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EPICLERRA INDICA

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY
JAS. BURGESS, LL.D., C.I.E.,

ASSISTED BY
A. Führer, Ph.D., Archeological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

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Price—Rupees 16.
I.—Jabalpur Copper-Plate Inscription of Yasahkarnadeva. [A.D. 1122.]

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E., Göttingen.

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

The plate is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 1' 6½" broad by 1' high. At the bottom it has a round hole, about ½" in diameter, for a ring which has probably disappeared together with the missing plate. The writing has suffered a good deal from corrosion, and there are in consequence several aksharas which cannot be read with absolute certainty. But, fortunately, everything of historical importance is clear and distinct, and there is no doubt about the purport of any part of the inscription. The size of the letters is between ¾" and 1½". The characters are Nagari, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the introductory om om namo Brahmane and a few words at the end, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 24, of which 16 occur also in the Kumbhli copper-plate inscription of Gosaladevi.\(^3\) As regards orthography, the letter b

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\(^1\) I call the plate the Jabalpur plate, because it is so called by Sir A. Cunningham. The district of Jávalipattana or Jáuli-patana was apparently mentioned in the last portion of the inscription. See the references in note 2, below.

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

\(^3\) Edited and translated in the Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. VIII, pp. 483—485; and re-edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, ib., vol. XXXI, pp. 116—123. It will be seen that the present inscription, in verses 3, 5, 8, 12, 14, and 20, furnishes decidedly better readings than those given by Dr. Hall, and that in verse 21 it supplies certain words which have been either omitted or given quite wrongly in the published versions of the Kumbhli inscription.
is throughout denoted by the sign for $v$, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal; besides, $k$ is used for $s$ in the word ārđāham, in line 21, and $j$ for $y$ in trijāmā, in line 15.

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

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

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

1. ॥ शैवः [॥१] ्पीतो नभी म(श)प्राये ॥
   जयति जलजनामसुखम् नाभीरोजेः जयति जयति तस्माजात्मवाचः॥१(१)
   प्रयः जयति स तस्मायमविशिष्टक्षुद्धतू जयति जस्म प्रायतः ॥

2. ॥ सन्थिवर्मः [॥१३—[१].
   प्रयः शैवः धनवसुद्रराजपुरे संहिजातसर्वोपश्रवस्यः ॥१३—[२].
   तनवं अनायांभवः भूवः राजा गमनभोगतादानराजः ॥१३—[३].
   पुत्रं पुष्पसमौरसमाय चः—

3. ॥ तुदवशससमजलसम(ग)रसायनससम ॥
   भारसीदनवसमभायाशोपियोष्वास्य यथोष्वास्य(शी) ्व सुकलवशिशराबरा च ॥१४—[३].
   च[शी]नये विश गतवशिसससमंधनपपुरवसु—

4. ॥ जितिविभीरस: [॥१]
   समासिफः (वी)रसः (श)नामणाभिमारसचविशः (श)भः (श)रसः (स)भरती भरती व(श)भूव ॥—[४].
   नेतायहरतुपुष्पसमसमस्म(श)चरो गोवः जयवशीन्द्रमस्म स वास्यायः ॥१(१)
   ्तः

5. ॥ श्रः द्विवशजयस्यपुर्वोपपुरसिं राजसित नाम म(श)शुल्काशि चकमाय य ॥—[५].
   स विसाचळः द्व चलुपुरिच्छ(श)मसूत चमायाः भासु [१३]
   सुत्सामाणिषिरवामलः पूत दण्डः—

6. ॥ तिमिः [॥१५—[६].
   तत्तावः यत्नां प्रवस्वारा नरस्वः गोर्यस्वानीव पुरी विपुरी युनानां: ॥१५—[६]
   भारसीदनवसमभायाशोपियोष्वास्य (शी)पा (शी)वशिशराबरा युवराजः ॥१६—[७].
   सिम्हासः श्रः—

7. ॥ तिमिङ्गवसुख सुनुस्माकप्रवर्णनमुनस्मायसुखः: [॥१]
   वोक्षःण्यन्वशत्वस्यविभंधनस्यं कष्ट्वशत्वस्य युवस्मायाः—[१८].
   ज्ञुपमाः मिंडः द्राक्रसुख्युप्वति—

8. ॥ चंद्रमाधवः [॥१]
   यव प्रभो दुर्गवा प्रयां वियोगिनीय प्रतिभाति कीसः: [॥१७—[९].
   मरक्षतयिण्यक्षः: (शी)ब्र: (शी)लब्धाचः (शी)सणः (शी)श्रः (शी)द्वेयः (शी)मिरः

9. ॥ कुलम(श)पानी दैवीण्यो िरस्मोपितिरभव्यां यव गाः: [॥१५—[१०].
   सीवेश्वरस्माणंसमौलः: (शी)स विक्रमादित्य द्वति प्रसिद्ध: ॥
   च[शी]द्राक्रः (शी)स्माछः [॥१५—[१०].

* From impressions supplied to me by the Editor and by Mr. Fleet.
* Expressed by a symbol.
* Read ‘शायपुरः’.
* Metre, Mālinī.
* Metre, ‘देर्णमकावः’.
* Metres, Anupachchhandakṣa.
* Metre of verses 3—5, Vasuñatālikā.

10. Metre, ‘देर्णमकावः’.
11. Metre of verses 7 and 8, Vasuñatālikā. As the noun niruddha does not seem to occur anywhere else, I suspect it to have been put wrongly for niruddhi (niruddhi).
12. Metre, Upajātī.
13. This word is quite clear in the rubbings.
L. 10. भृगुव्रतः स[स]सः[स]

11. अन्तःकृष्णभवं करण्यमः: \(I\) ।

12. \(II\) ।

13. \(III\) ।

14. \(IV\) ।

15. \(V\) ।

16. \(VI\) ।

17. \(VII\) ।

18. \(VIII\) ।

19. \(IX\) ।

20. \(X\) ।
Translation.

Om!

Om! Adoration to Brahman!

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

(2.) Now the king who is the swan in the lake of the expanse of heaven begat as
his offspring Bodhanna, the son of (that) primeval king (and) son-in-law in the house
of the friend of lotuses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

38 Metre, 1.116.1.4–5.
39 Metre, 1.116.1.4–5.
40 This first verse glorifies the god Vishnu, his navel, the god Brahman, Atri, and the Moon. Further on we are told
that the Moon’s son Bodhana (or Bodha, i.e., Mercury) married (Hā or Jā) a daughter of the Sun (or Mitra-Varuna), and
that their son was Pururavas. ‘The friend of the ocean’ is the moon; ‘the friend of lotuses,’ the sun.
41 i.e., the moon.
42 i.e., again the moon, under the name of Soma confused with the Soma plant.
43 For the same idea, compare ante, vol. I, p. 313, verse 16. Dr. F. E. Hall’s reading chakrame in the Kumbhā
copper-plate (instead of chakrame) yields no sense.
44 The original has only the word chaturāṇya.
(V. 9.) That lord having gone far away, his fame shows like a forsaken woman; deriding white sandal, it reproves the lustre of the moon, and is a reproach to a string of pearls.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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\[\text{Meru} \] denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances; Brīhatsāṃhitā, lvi, 20), and the word is chosen here because it is also the name of the well-known fabulous mountain of enormous height, the summit of which is the residence of Brahman. A similar temple is said to have been built by Gāṅgeyadeva; see v. 9 of the next inscription.

\[\text{Abhisheka} \] at an ordinary abhisheka water from all the oceans, golden jars, etc., should be used. To show the magnificence of Yaśahkarna’s abhisheka, the poet says that the ceremony here was performed in the midst of the four oceans, and that the Himālaya took the place of the circular golden jars, etc.; and he implies that Y. was inaugurated in the sovereignty of the whole earth, bounded by the oceans.

\[\text{i.e., a lamp in which jewels give out light. Jambudvīpa is the central division of the world, including India.}\]

\[\text{The general meaning of this verse is that the king possesses the properties of both the fabulous cow of plenty and the gem which grants every desire.}\]
Brāhmans; and they with these already quench their thirst, and afterwards show their contempt even for the ocean.\(^{42}\)

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

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

(23.) Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andaṟa (even though) the play of (that king’s) arms disclosed no flaw, he reverenced the holy Bhīmeśvara\(^{43}\) with many ornaments. The Godāvari, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo.

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

And this . . . the Paramabhatīraka, Mahārajādhirāja, and Paramēka, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vāmādeva . . . . . .

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II.—BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE QUEEN ALIHADEVI.

The [Chedi] year 907.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E., Göttingen.

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

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

\(^{42}\) viz., at the time when he is making donations to them.

\(^{43}\) i.e., the god Śiva. [I take this to refer to the Bhīmeśvara temple at Drāskhānā in the Godāvari district.—E. H.]

\(^{1}\) See the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499 and 534; and C. Grant’s *Gazetter of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 73.

\(^{2}\) It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Hall’s text and translation were prepared with his usual care and scholarship. Nevertheless, a few slight errors of his were pointed out already by the Committee of Publication of the American Oriental Society while his paper was passing through the press; and I have had occasion to differ still further from Dr. Hall, as regards both the text and the translation.
the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between 1/8 and 1/6. The characters are Nāgārī, carefully drawn and engraved; and they include the sign of the jihvānālīya in mahāpālaḥ-kaṇṇaḥ, in line 9, and that of the spadāmnāya in Hūṇaḥ-praḥarṣaḥ, in line 10. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the introductory on on namaḥ Śivaḥ and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse. The language is not quite free from mistakes. For, in line 10, we find the perfect form chakape, instead of chakampe (which would not have suited the metre), and, in line 25, the imperative vyadhāttām, possibly an error of the writer or engraver, instead of vidhāttām which would suit the metre equally well. Besides we have, in line 9, the wrong abstract noun chaṇḍimatā, and, in line 2, the adjective valgu, used in the sense of the participle valgat. And the rules of samādhi have not been observed in kim-vi, line 2, and in yushman-sārīraḥ, line 3. As regards orthography, the consonant b is seven times denoted by its own proper sign, but just as often by the sign for ṣ. Thus, in lines 7 and 10 we read bibhrat, but in line 6 vibhrat; in line 16 buddher, but in line 1 vuddhum, &c. The sibilants are generally employed each in its proper place; but in line 14 we have saṭāla, instead of saṭala as the word is correctly written in line 27. Instead of the sign of anusvāra the dental n has been wrongly employed in the word sinha (in the proper names Vairisinka, Vijayasinika, &c., in lines 10, 17, 21-23, and 29), in vanṣa, line 20, and in sucāhānub, line 18 (properly written sudhāṃsū in line 4); and even at the end of a word before an initial sibilant, in sansatan, line 5, and etān-sāriḥ, line 28. And, generally, it may be noted that out of about 60 cases where the use of the anusvāra would have been optional, at the end of a word before a following initial consonant, and where it would now be usually employed throughout, it has been actually employed only about 25 times, while in the rest of the cases the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs has been used instead; and that the sign of anusvāra never occurs, instead of the sign for m, at the end of a verse or half-verse.

The inscription was composed by Śaśidhara, a younger son of Dharaṇidhara1 and grandson of Maheśvara, of the Mauna gotra; written on the stone by his elder brother Prīthvīdhara; and engraved by Mahidhara, a son of the artizan Bālaśimha (verses 32-33 and 37). And its object is, to record that the queen Ahaṇadevi, the wife (or rather, widow) of the king Gayakarnadeva, and mother of the reigning king Naraśimhadeva and his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, founded a Śiva temple, with a maṭha or cloister, a hall of study, and gardens attached to it; that, probably for the maintenance of these buildings and their occupants, she assigned the income from the two villages of Nāmaṇḍilī, in the Jāuli pattalī, and of Makaraṇṭaka, on the right bank of the Narmadā in the land adjoining the hills; and that the management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pāṣupata ascetic, named Rudraraśi, of Lāṭā lineage (vv. 27-31). The inscription also records (in verse 36) that all the buildings, etc., aforesaid, at one of which the inscription may be supposed to have been put up, were designed or executed by the architect Pithe.

1 The second half of verse 20 grossly offends against a well-known metrical rule.
2 Similar mistakes are found in other Chedi inscriptions of the same period.
3 Dharaṇidhara, Prīthvīdhara and Mahidhara are mentioned also in the Tewar stone inscription of Gayakarnadeva, of the Chedi year 962. Compare Indian Antiquary, vol. XVIII, p. 210, note 2.
By way of introduction the inscription, after the words "om om, adoration to Śiva!", and six verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gāniṣṭhā, and Sarasvatī, furnishes the following meagre account of the royal family into which Alahanadevi had married, and of her own descent:

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

Our inscription is dated, at the end of the last line, in the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th of the bright half of Mārgaśirsha,—a date which must of course be referred to the Kalachuri or Chedi era. When writing on the epoch of that era, in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, p. 218, I felt inclined to accept Mr. Flett's suggestion, based on an examination of the photozincograph of this inscription in No. 10 of the Archaeol. Survey of Western India which alone was then available, that the figures for the day of this date were intended to be 10 (and not 11). But now my excellent impressions have shown me that the figures after all are 11, and that they are quite distinct and cannot be read in any other way. And accordingly the probabilities regarding the corresponding European date are as follows. With my epoch of the Kalachuri era, as to the general correctness of which there can now be hardly any doubt, and according to the way in which the other Kalachuri dates yield satisfactory results, our date should fall in A.D. 1155. But in A.D. 1155 the 11th tithi of the bright half of Mārgaśirsha commenced 2 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 6th November, and ended 0 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 7th November, apparently causing sudī 11 to correspond, civilly, to the Monday. In the following year, A.D. 1156, on the other hand, the same 11th tithi of the bright half of Mārgaśirsha ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 25th November, and consequently, in that year, sudī 11 was, civilly, really a Sunday. Now, that the day intended by the original date is either Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, or Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156, appears to me certain; but I am not at present prepared to say confidently which of these two Sundays is the true date. Supposing all the other Kalachuri dates to cite current years, the present date might be taken to quote, exceptionally, an expired year, and in that case its equivalent would be Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156. But a more careful examination of the practice of other eras has shown that it is rather the current years which are quoted exceptionally. And assuming that, what is true of other eras, must hold good also of the Kalachuri era, one would rather be inclined to look upon Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, as the proper equivalent of the date, and to assume that the tithi, in this instance,
was joined with the weekday on which it commenced, and which was almost entirely filled by it.

The two villages Nāmaṇḍī and Makarapāṭaka, mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify. The Jāuli pottalā, which apparently was mentioned also in the lost portion of Yaśahkarna’s copper-plate, must have been the country around Jabalpur.

TEXT.  

1. 1. कशालित्वशकानलं भवतां तनोत्त भलेक कशानित्वशकानलं श्रामारसक ||
एकं या प्रस्थायांगती कितीयां(कु)विभदोषविरुद्धकं करेरि निवशम् ||—[1].

2. किं माला: कुमुदशय किं गगनला: किंगगाराखधिकुर: 10
किंगगारा कालकाल्वुक: किंसयवा भुजुशम्मा भाभुममी ।
दशाकाकरितिभक्ति: निवशिष्य: स्वामिनारायणमा—
प्राकाशोदकम्भाभित: पुष्पमस ||—[2].

3. प: पालु व: ||—[3].
भूतं सहस्रं शारामारसन भुवनं शारामारसन—
भवनन्तकं गर्ववरसंस्फुटसंतु यत् ।
यह्वानुवर्तं यश्व यज्ञिं योगं यदेश्वतं: ।
समस्यं यद्रुपमेिभवसताभुस्वर्यूज्यम्(च)रोपे: ।

4. शिव: ||—[3].

5. न: नेय: परनिधयु: व: सदयं निपाष्य: ||—[5].
कुर्मेकाव्यवख्यातांसम्बन्धितां सापं सस्त्रीत: व: ।
कान्तकुलवासमारसयम् पुरस्यन्मारसयम् ||करियान्मप||—[6].

6. ब्रह्महि(विं)प्रवशस्वकार—
भारवकुलपक्षानोतिविनयनविनयानि राजस्वोऽदायिः ।
तेजोमितीभक्तात्मारिभिः नात्राजन: संस्कर्त:—
वर्षारामनवर्गमयं वदु गत्वोत्तं च शाेरविष्रम् ||—[7].

7. निष्क्रियत्वप्रत्यायाय: प्रथमो नाथं: कथाभुतयमारसयम् वया न यथा ।
कोणक्षेत्र चति किती: ||कुपशम्मा निर्देशक्रुधकसंस्नातकाम् ||—[8].

7 From the impressions.
8 Expressed by a symbol.
9 Metre, Vasantaśīla.
10 The sign of anusedra in the last word is very faint, but it is there.
11 Read शि शा.
L. 8. 

सुजः

प्रातासनवयः महूर्त नयनिमाणीऽवेदितयः।

पृथ्वी धैर्य विवाय निषादसमुस्तः कविदमोश्[प्र] धनं

स्वर्गदृशेषः स्वतान्तर्य विनुविधारे [स्] सापायिता। II—[9].

पुष्करेतेन संहिता यथसंख्यविवर्णः।

9. 

नेत्रः।

वर्गीयिन्तरति: सर्वथा याय द्वाराखम्मक्यम् महोः। II—[10].

तेजस्विनि महोपाल्पणं: स्थपणं कुञ्जता।

पूर्णंऽवन्धारणामर्गियिन्तितीतिता।।—[11].

पवनाबंधनमाल्योऽव पुरस्ततवार गय्य[प्र] देवः।

10. 

[कु]ः॥ ॥ सर्वत्रवभाजाम चाके वर्णः कलिंहः वर्णः।

कौर: कीर्तिरलास पञ्चरसः श्लोकावपनः चाहः

वहनाश्चति नीवविभसंभवं विन्युपर्य्यंप्रेः। II—[12].

चक्षुः पुराणवेचनः सहस्त।।

11. 

श्रूंगः[प्रु] यामसी

तामिनाशनवयः तनूतरासवाहिती विषयः।

वर्णविन्ते भूमशंकायवर्षः चाहः।

स्वर्गानुभेमकोभिंभिः पुनर्रसीं तं वह[याय]॥—[13].

12. 

क्षेरः।—[13].

वघ्यार्षविद्यार्णीनिः: युहोऽगुणाभास्य—

वायुखम्मक्यवाराववेद:। खापालः। दासमणः।।

तुषाराब्द समवसाद विन्य नीवमाल्यकायं इति—

वहनाश्चति[लिङ्क।]॥—[14].

13. 

चाकार विवुधाभ्य: प्रेष्य संवेदनापि। II—[14].

तुषारास्य्युपश्रविधिरसाधाराववेदः। समवहस्तर्वहः।।

यस्य प्रतापलाभीसर्वसुवन्द्रीरणं शोभाविभाषीयद्विय्यदानपद् प्रयः॥—[15].

14. 

वर्णितितितितितालः। वीलताक्षक्याशाल: पुनरत्युपश्रमाल:।

विनविन्विन्विन्विन्नाशाल: कान्तकीलो इत्[टा] शाल:। विन्नतरन्नाशाल: सोभविभिपाल।। II॥—[16].

खरिद

१५ वर्ष, स्त्रदुलविक्रीदिता। तो अक्षरा पुनर्वित्त विषय क्षणीय संहिता।

२० वर्ष, स्त्रदुलविक्रीदिता।

२१ Of the अक्षरा पुनर्वित्त विषय क्षणीय संहिता।

२२ The अक्षरा पुनर्वित्त विषय क्षणीय संहिता।

२५ वर्ष, स्त्रदुलविक्रीदिता।

२६ वर्ष, स्त्रदुलविक्रीदिता।

२७ वर्ष, स्त्रदुलविक्रीदिता।

२८ वर्ष, स्त्रदुलविक्रीदिता।

२९ वर्ष, स्त्रदुलविक्रीदिता।
15. परस्मयमभ गोभिलपुष्पभोज्यवाजनिशद्रुपिति: जिलः इश्वरान:।
शीर्षिकांश्वारमतिरस्त्रसमथवं मिश्रानुक्रमातिक्षिताः पदिद्धाऽप्रकाशः।

taṣaṃbavatatubh:।

16. पामसमस्यान्तरिन्वितक्रियापरिनिरिक्तः।
वैशिष्ठवश्वाधिपतिरिविवृद्धिप्रितिरितिमन्दिरस्य परमर्गिजनस्य चोऽशः।
सौक्तिस्वित्रि०यन्यादिपुरः कुलानि गङ्गेयपुरवः।

17. क्षणिः।
ख्यास्ते तवाभिमानी चक्रे पुराणे हर्षालितालमानि॥३॥—[१९]।
तन्त्राणार्तम समस्यान्वितवसीनयोययोगियंशयशः प्रक्षेपिताः॥

taṃ प्रतिक्षिप्तयात्मसंहः॥३५॥—[२०]।

18. प्रवहमान: सदा जगति यस्य यशःसुधारः।

taṃ स्थामण्डलवण्डलाचिनातियोद्यादित्वं हुः।

19. मनायामविषयं शंकरप्रकाशिनी चोऽष्ठीप्रत्यायः
वैशिष्ठयामिव शून्यभानुविनिर्दशाय चक्रार्तानां चुः।

20. ३७ दीर्घवन्धविषयश्रोताकाशिः।
विवाहिक्षिप्तसाध्य गयकस्यनरः।

21. भविण्यादिकरः कलामी कलामन्नावस्यमाला युः।
काप्प्रभूतः।

22. वात्सन्यादिकं प्रतिलक्ष्यारूपाः
वृत्तिबाज यथा मनायाच महाक्षीरितः भयति॥३४॥—[२५]।

23. मा यथा नानः िक्षिताविषयः स्वामि भविष्यवायमस्यकाश्॥३४॥—[२६]।

25 Metre of verses 17 and 18, Vasantatilakā.
26 Originally "हृः" or "हृस"; but altered to "हृः". At the commencement of the next line read गीतिविश्विनः।
27 Read नितििङ्गः।
28 Metre, Upendraavajā.
29 Read नितििङ्गः।
30 Read युध्यः।
31 Metre, Vasantatilakā.
32 Metre, Upajātī.
समस्यानुसार यीन्द्रसिक्षेत्रमुखरसमाबल्बसमुदायाः ॥—[27].
वायुपार्वती—

ल. 24. 

सामुद्रानमालामवल्लम्भमूर्च्छस्यं ॥—[28].
विवर्जनाय वैभवाः प्रवा विभागश्रवायम् ॥

वायुपार्वती: नामस्यत्वीत सर्वादायं ॥—[29].

25. व च वास्यस्यमं प्रवर्द्धितं ॥—[30].

सर्वादायं कृत्वा पर्वतोत्साहायां ॥

tया-परम्परा-मानस्य ग्रहणम् ॥—[31].

कामाचर्याय विस्तुरिल्लितर्विवर्त्तकाः ॥

26. विषम स्वयम विस्तुरिल्लितर्विवर्त्तकाः भवनार्ति श्रवः ॥—[32].

खान राजायिनी—

27. विद्वेषतालिनीये: विद्वेषतालिनीये: ॥—[33].

कामाचर्याय विस्तुरिल्लितर्विवर्त्तकाः ॥

28. कुमस्तनी विषमगणणि-विवर्त्तकाः ॥—[34].

प्रशास्तार्जनानांविख्यंतानांमुच्छित: ॥

प्रशास्तार्जनानांविख्यंतानांमुच्छित: ॥—[35].

29. धारार्जनानांविख्यंतानांमुच्छित: ॥—[36].

सत्यमरमोच्छितानांविख्यंतानांमुच्छित: ॥

संस्कृत १०७ मार्गस्यादि १९५ र्येव ॥—[37].

[Notes and annotations]

11 Read ‘वीरसिक्षेत्र’.
12 Metro, Upendra Vajrā.
13 Metro, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).
14 विसर्ग in विसर्ग is superfluous.
16 Metro, Śilāndu.
17 Metro, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).
18 The correct form would of course be ‘विषमगणणि’.
19 Metro, Indra Vajrā.
20 The correction may have been made already in the original.
21 Metro, Upājāti.
22 Metro, Ṭryā.
23 Metro, Upājāti.
24 Of the akṣara स् the superscript line which turns ॠ into o is rather faint, but it undoubtedly is there.
25 Read एवेत्.
26 Metro of verses 35-37, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).
27 Originally एष्, altered to एष्.
28 Read ‘वास्यस्य’.
29 There is no doubt whatever about these figures.
TRANSLATION.

Om!
Om! Adoration to Śiva!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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64 Viz., because the first lunar digit, by itself, is altogether invisible. The noun kalyāṇīḥ is not given by the dictionaries.
65 Valgu, ordinarily ‘handsome, beautiful’, is here used in the sense of the participle valgat, opposed to ruṅgat.
66 These eight bodies of Śiva are the ether, the sun, the moon, fire, the earth, the sacrificing priest, water, and air. It will be sufficient to refer the reader to the opening verse of Kālidāsa’s Sakuntal.
67 The two compounds of the first half of the verse would be applicable also to the dancing peacock (nilakanṭha) which causes great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (i.e., to the god Kārttikeya or Skanda, also called Śaktivah ‘the spear-bearer’, to whom the peacock is sacred), and the tail of which is covered with spots similar to the moon. Compare the very similar verse No. 1737 of Vallabhaḍevas Subhāshīkā, which will show that the translation of the word chandārika by the young (or small) moon is correct.
68 Dr. Hall quotes a verse found by him in an extract from the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, which expresses the same idea.
supporting huge mountains of pride, secured endless fame; a tree of paradise to suppliants, who made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods, by raising (on it) a Meru\(^{40}\) without equal.

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

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

(12.) While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Paundra relinquished violence,\(^{70}\) the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing,\(^{71}\) the Kuuga entered the path of the good, the Vaunga trembled with the Kaliunga, the Kira staid at home like a parrot in the cage, \textit{(and)} the Huna left off being merry.

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

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

(15.) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all excellencies, was born the favourite of the earth, Gayakarnadēva. In his case even the sun,—the sun of his prowess,—took upon itself the function\(^{72}\) of causing the rising of the sea,—the sea of sorrow of the wives of his adversaries.

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

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

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

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

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\(^{40}\) See note 42 of the preceding inscription.

\(^{70}\) The abstract noun \textit{champinātā} of the original is incorrect; the correct form of the word is \textit{chandimān}.

\(^{71}\) Properly 'his inclination to arrogance.'

\(^{72}\) This function belongs properly to the moon.

\(^{73}\) This is described as the seed or seminal energy of Vishnu, \textit{Hara-śirya}, (see M. Williams' \textit{Dictionary}); and the poet, who immediately afterwards has the word \textit{Sri}, undoubtedly was thinking of the god Hari or Vishnu. A proper rendering of this verse in which everything depends on the sound of the words employed is impossible, at least, to myself.

\(^{74}\) Literally 'Alaka' (the residence of Kuvera, the god of riches).
(P. 20.) From him was born the lord of the earth Vijayasimha, whose beauty was justly celebrated by all men, who by the vigour of his heroism made his adversaries' fortunes totter, (and) the moon of whose fame (accordingly) was always waxing in the world.

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

(22.) As Menā bore to the chief of mountains the beloved of Śāṅkara, (and) Virinī to Daksha, the creator of beings, the wife of the Moon, so she bore to that prince, able to protect the world, Alhanadevi, in appearance the unsullied fluttering pennon of her long pedigree.26

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

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

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

(26.) May victory attend his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, who in marvellous ways serves the first-born as Sumitra's son76 (did Rāma); who, behold !, when he lifts his hand, overpowers the enemies' most gigantic host, though it roars like thunder-clouds77 and practises many wiles!—

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

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

(29.) To make known her good report, the queen gave to this god, styled Vaidyanātha, the village named Nāmaūṇḍi together with every income (thereof), in the Jāuli pātalā.

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

(31.) May the Pāśupata ascetic, the holy Rudraśiva of Lāta lineage, arrange conformably to rule for the management of this place, so long as Śiva pervades the worlds!—

(32.) In the Mauna lineage, possessed of the triple prapara Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, and Sāvetasa,79 there was born from one named Mahēśvara Dharaṇidhara, (a mountain)80 by name, by weight, by fame, and by fortune.

26 Or, 'of a lofty flag-staff (vaṇṭa);'
27 i.e., Lakshmīman
28 Meghaduta and Atīkṣatā are also the names of two sons of the demon Rāvaṇa; and Prahasta was one of Rāvaṇa's generals.
29 Or rather, 'is coextensive with'.
30 Compare the Āśāvidāna-sramantāta, Calcutta ed., p. 872.
31 The word dharaṇidhara has this meaning.
(P. 33.) Who, shedding a pleasing lustre, filled to overflowing with kindness, long enjoying a gratifying position, acted the part of a lamp\(^1\) to the three worlds.

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

(35.) Of him the younger brother, the sage named Saśi\(^d\)hara, well versed in logic and wondrously clever, composed this eulogy.

(36.) The architect named Pith\(c\), who knows the rules of Viśvakarman,\(^2\) planned all this, as Prithu did the earth.

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

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

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

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 928.

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

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

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

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1. The adjective of this verse would of course be also applicable to a lamp; niṣṭha also means ‘oil’, and dārda ‘the pick of a lamp’.
2. The architect of the gods. The adjective would also mean ‘who knows how to execute every kind of work’.
4. Ante, No. II.
5. I merely have had to verify Dr. Hall’s text, which, so far as one may speak with confidence, is substantially correct.
used instead of the palatal in nāresvarāh, line 3, Kesavaḥ and aivaram, line 6, and Kesavayaḥ, line 8; and n instead of anusvāra in Jayasimhaḥ, line 4, (but not in Narasimhaḥ, line 3). Besides, the text twice offends against the rules of sandhi.

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

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

**Text.**

L. 1. शो ॥ परेन्न व्रस्त्रः यथादिकुर्विन्ति ॥ बंदेवः।

2. तिथिः महादेवे देवयान अगुम्बम् नीमायायाः।

3. घनोऽखरासवः सुरदेशरः व्यरसस्वर्ययाः। जीवस्थयणः।

4. दीप्तमुखोऽयद्यापिः स्वरवायोऽयद्यापिः।

5. तृतीयां योद्धाः जनाः शामुकां दलदेशस्वाम:।

6. विद्वषः व्यक्तरामहो द्राक्षराम मुखस्वरूपः।

7. सम्बंधः ८·८·२५ भागान्ति इ भवी बदने।

8. नायकस्वतरः वस्त्र गोवर्क्ष भाधायनां खान माः।

9. विकृतिः सिखायामः।।

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4 For two similar dates compare the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 212, and vol. XIX, p. 38, No. 62.
6 From the impressions.
7 Expressed by a symbol.
8 Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).
9 Metre, Upājñāti.
10 Read देवः।
11 Read स्वरापिः।
12 Read देवः।
13 Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

13 The reading of the akṣharas in these and the following brackets is not quite certain, because some of them look as if they had been partly erased and recut. The intended reading may possibly be ब्राह्मणसाक्षरमात्।
14 Read सम्बंधः।
15 The akṣhara in these brackets is so peculiarly shaped that it is impossible to say what it is meant to represent. I adopt Dr. Hall's reading of it, but am not certain of its being correct.
16 This line is on the proper left margin.
THREE LAND-GRANTS FROM SANKHEDA.

Translation.

Om!

(Line 1.) Let us adore (him) the knowledge and bliss, the supreme Brahma, who is waited upon by Brahma and the other gods,—Mahadeva, the god of gods, the parent of the world!

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

(5.) Keśava, the son of the late Brähman Áladeva, named Astaka (?), caused that temple of Íśvara to be built.

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

(8.) The náyaka Keśava’s gotra is that of Kátyáyana, his place of residence the village of Śikhá in Mā[la]vaka.

IV.—THREE LAND-GRANTS FROM SANKHEDA.

By H. H. Dhiruva, B.A., LL.B.

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

No. I.—A Gurjaras grant of Śrāvat 346.

This document is written on a plate, measuring about 8 inches by 3½, and is well preserved. It contains ten lines giving the usual injunctions and quotations from the Sūrīti regarding the inviolability of grants. The plate does not contain the name of the king or of the donee, nor a description of the object granted. But we have sufficient materials to identify the donor. The writer is the śāṃkhaśeṣa-grahika Ditya-Bhogika. Bhogika, Dr. Bühler informs me, is “a small man not more than a Ṭhākur of one or a few villages: for bhogika occurs frequently in the list of the persons to whom commands are addressed, e.g. in the Kāvī grant of Jayabhata (Ind. Ant., vol. V, p. 110). In the Deśikosha its Prakrit equivalent bhoio is explained by grāma-pradhānā.”

17 I.e., Mahadeva or śiva to whom all these epithets are applied.

13 Or possibly: “The Brähman, named Astaka, had (a son) Áladeva; his son Keśava.” See note 13, above.

Dr. Bühler’s Piśvalakahhindmamdāl, v. 104 (śanmi bhoio ya gāmavai, p. 32). Dr. Bühler translates it in the glossary as “headman or lord of a village,” and quotes bhogika from inscriptions. The Gujarāti for bhogika or bhoio is bhio, and grāmātii or gāmavai is gāmātī. The word bhoga, from which bhogika is derived, means plāna or “protection,”—see Amara, III, 23, and Mahādeva’s commentary on it, also Vītakosha, v. 208; Medinikosha, v. 15 of words ending in ą; and Trīkāyataḥsahakosha, III, 120 (prasāraḥ āśabhaḥ 2 niṁśeṣa prabhāsāda). Thus śivam bhaviṣayāḥ, prabhāsādaḥ 3 Thus śivam according to those authorities would be an equivalent of pārtha or “protector,” as an official term it may have subsequently acquired a technical meaning.
Of course such a man cannot be a great ruler.” If there were nothing else to connect this grant with the Gurjara, the title bhogika of the minister for war and peace Aditya would be sufficient; for this appellation of an officer is not known to have been employed by any other line of kings. Again, the characters of this grant so closely resemble those of No. II, an admitted Gurjara grant, and other published grants of the family, that there can be no doubt about it.

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

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. Bhāchandraśīvarājaśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśीvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśीvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśीvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśीvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśīvarājāśीvarājाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजाशीvarाजā}}

No. II.—A grant of Ranagraha, dated Sam. 391.

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

The donee of the grant (l. 1) is the Brāhma Adityaśarma (śī), the dītaka (l. 9) the bhogika Pālakaṭujñāna, and the writer (l. 10) the sanvhitragrahādhiṣṭi Mātribhaṭa. According to ll. 9-10 the donor appears to be a son of Vitarāga, called Raṇagraha, who is characterised as a worshipper of the sun (Dinakarakirunābhyargchanarā) and as “the close relative of the illustrious Dadda” (śrī-Dadda-pādāntar-jñāti); for it is his sign-manual which was attached to the grant. The date is (l. 8) Sam. 391, Vaiśākha bahula 15, i.e. the new moon of Vaiśākha.

* Read बहुत.
* Read जयम.
* Correctly वर्षावती.
* Read चर्मोगिनो.
* Read संबद्धि.
* Read संबद्धि.
* Read विश्वासः.
* Read विश्वासः.
* Read विश्वासः.
* Read विश्वासः.
THREE LAND-GRANTS FROM SANKHEDA.

Though the details about the family of the donor have been lost, the last two statements permit us to recognise that the document was issued during the reign of Dadda IV.—Prasântarâga II. and that the donor was the brother of the latter; for, as the two Kheḍā grants of Dadda IV. were issued in Sam. 389 and 385, it follows from the new date, Sam. 391, that the same person must be meant here by the expression “the illustrious Dadda.” Further, as Râñgrahâ is called both a son of Vitarâga and a relative of Dadda, and as the latter was a son of Jayabhâta II.—Vitarâga II., Rañgrahâ must have been Dadda’s brother or cousin. Our grant shows, therefore, that the reign of Dadda IV. lasted at least until Sam. 391, or, as the Gurjaras used the Chedi era of A.D. 249, until A.D. 640.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. राजारायणीतिने लिखितम् एकलं नाम द्राक्षराणि । यो किं एकलं संहिताम् नावः नामसंहिताम् नामसंहिताम् नामसंहिताम् ।
2. “स्मितारुणात्मकोत्सवम्” वासियसुधारणे दीर्घेषु बिन्दुकामकथा विकासानि । विकासानि ।
3. “संस्कारम्” भाषणम् भविष्यमाने दीर्घेषु बिन्दुकामकथा विकासानि । विकासानि ।
4. “संस्कारम्” भाषणम् भविष्यमाने दीर्घेषु बिन्दुकामकथा विकासानि । विकासानि ।
5. “संस्कारम्” भाषणम् भविष्यमाने दीर्घेषु बिन्दुकामकथा विकासानि । विकासानि ।
6. “संस्कारम्” भाषणम् भविष्यमाने दीर्घेषु बिन्दुकामकथा विकासानि । विकासानि ।
7. “संस्कारम्” भाषणम् भविष्यमाने दीर्घेषु बिन्दुकामकथा विकासानि ।
8. “संस्कारम्” भाषणम् भविष्यमाने दीर्घेषु बिन्दुकामकथा विकासानि ।
9. “संस्कारम्” भाषणम् भविष्यमाने दीर्घेषु बिन्दुकामकथा विकासानि ।
10. “संस्कारम्” भाषणम् भविष्यमाने दीर्घेषु बिन्दुकामकथा विकासानि ।

No. III.—A grant of Sântilla, general of Nirihullaka.

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

—Read भूमिका;
—Read वविष्यमान;
—Read ज्ञानम्;
—Read विन्दुकाम;
—Read भविष्यमान;
—Read संस्कारम्;
—Read गतिः;
—Read विन्दुकाम;
—Read भविष्यमान;
—Read विन्दुकाम;
—Read भविष्यमान;
—Read भविष्यमान;
—Read भविष्यमान;
Its contents are as follows. Writing from the victorious camp (vijayakāṭaka), located at Nirgundipadra (l. 1), Sāntilla, the general (balaḥikrita, l. 5) of the bhogikapāla and mahāpallapati (mahāpallapati) Nirihullaka (l. 4), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Śaṃkaraṇa (Śaṃkaraṇa, l. 3), son of the illustrious Krishnaraṇa (whose feet were worshipped by the whole circle of the earth, ll. 1-2), grants to Bhajikanantasvāmi (Bha jikā Anantavāmin, l. 7), an inhabitant of Paśāṇihrada (l. 6), a member of the Kautsa gotra and a student of the Vājasānyya (Sāṃhitā), a field requiring for seed-corn one pitaṇa of rice (l. 10), and situated in the western stm of Śrī Pānḍakā, which belonged to (the district of) Tāndulapadra (ll. 8-9). The purpose for which the grant was made is the usual one, the provision for the expenses of the five mahāyajñas. It is added that the donation was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun “for the increase of the spiritual merit and fame of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka’s feet, i.e., probably of Śaṃkara[ga]na.

As regards the persons named in the document, Sāntilla’s position is sufficiently clear. His master Nirihullaka must have been a Bhūt chieftain; for the title mahāpallapati means “the great lord of a settlement or of settlements of an aboriginal tribe.”

It agrees with this that his name is not Sanskrit, but a barbarous Deśi word. The phrase “who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Śaṃkara[ga]na” means, therefore, here merely that he was a vassal or servant of the latter, not that he was his successor. Pādānudhyāta is frequently used in the former sense. With respect to the question to which dynasty the two kings Krishnaraṇa and Śaṃkara[ga]na belonged, it is possible only to offer a conjecture. Dr. Bühler has suggested to me that, assuming the correction Śaṃkaraṇa for Śaṃkaraṇa to be certain, the two kings may be Hāihayas or Kalachuris of Chedi. I am inclined to accept this, as the Chedi era was used by the Gūjjaras, which is a certain sign of their power having extended to the province.

Moreover, the Chalukya inscriptions mention a Kalachuri king, Buddharaṇa, the son of Śaṃkaraṇa, from whom Māṅgaliśa took his wealth. And it is not at all improbable that the Śaṃkaraṇa of the Chalukya inscriptions is identical with that of our plate; for, as has been pointed out already, its characters closely agree with those of the earlier Chalukya inscriptions, and show also some affinity with those of Dadda’s Kheḷā plates. They may well belong to the period of Māṅgaliśa’s reign, which, as the latest researches of Mr. Fleet show, fell between Śaka Śaṃvat 519 and 531, or A.D. 597-98 and 610-11. There is also another detail in our grant which, I think, may be adduced in favour of this view.

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

25 Bhajika might be bhajaka, “a worshipper, votary, devotee;” V. S. Apte’s Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 807. Compare a similar use of the word bhajita in Bhaṭṭa Kumārīla, Bhaṭṭotpala, Bhaṭṭadbhāta, etc.

26 See Dr. Böhlings’s Abridged Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. palla. Mr. V. S. Apte (Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 687) assigns to the same word the meaning “a large granary.” On a local enquiry I find that the country about Śaṃkheḷā goes by the name of Palla (Gujarāt Pāla). Thus, mahāpallapati would mean “the lord of the great Palla or Pāla.”

27 See e. g. l. 33 of Mr. Fleet’s No. 1, Corp. Inscr. Ind. vol. 111, pp. 10 and 17, note 2.

28 See Ind. Ant. vol. XIX, p. 16.
NO. 3. SANKHEDA GRANT OF BALÂDHIKRITA SÂNTILLA. (plate 1).

From impressions by H.H. Dimora.

Size of original.
THREE LAND-GRAINTS FROM SANKHEDA.

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

With respect to the geographical names occurring in our grant, it may be noted that Nirgunḍipadraka, the place from which it is dated, would be in modern Gujarāt Nāgaravādā or something like it. And the Dehezāda of Gaṅgavādī Villages (published at the Hitechchhu Press, Ahmadābād) does give a Nāgaravādā, 6 kos from Dabhol. Further, the native place or home of the donee is Pāshānehrada, which would be Sānjiādari, 14 kos from Dabhol (given in the Dehezāda, p. 5). Hrada would be masculine dharo and feminine dharī, changeable to dāri in Gujarāt, and Pāshānī would drop its initial Pā, as Bagumra has done with its Ba in having Gumra, and give Sānja, and thus we get Sānjiādari. From the same Pāshānehrada we would get Sānjkheḍā if hṛada were replaced by kheḍa for kheṭaka, meaning ‘town,’ and Pā were dropped as in the other case. Tandulapadraka is obviously Tāndalaḷā, also 14 kos from Dabhol (as given in the Dehezāda); and Śrī-Pārṇākā is Paniu, now desolate (as noted in the same authority), 5 kos from Dabhol. The map of the Baroda territory does give Tandalā and Sānjiādari quite close to each other.

Transcript.

L. 1. चौ स्तिति निर्गुणदीपप्रदायसिद्धान्तकवि।

c — — [चिति] — — — 29

2. चितिचरणकामलं प्रेक्षयारुणं

3. सितिचितिचरणप्रदायसिद्धान्तकामलं

4. मण्डलकामनात्रत्यजनंत्सिद्धिभिक्षपालमविधापुनिषिद्धकं

29 Read समस्तिति... 40 Read समस्तिति...

41 Read “अच्छी”.

42 Read “निषिद्धकम्”; “पञ्चापशवत”.

43 Read “वायुस्तिति;” “वायुस्तिति;” “पञ्चापशवत.”
V.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTHERN GUJARAT.

By J. Kirste, Ph.D., Vienna.

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

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

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

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

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

"Read "विजयलाखानिया:".
"Read "वायुपु.".
"Read "शुष्क":
"Read "वायुसाइन्धु"; "वायुसिद्धि".
"Read "वायुसार्या".
"Read "शुष्कशासि".
"Can "शुष्कशासि" be for "शुष्कसिद्धि"?

"11 Read शुष्कः.
"12 Restore "शीर्षकार".
"13 Restore "शासि".
"14 Read महापादि. The remaining words I am unable to restore.
"15 This line too is unintelligible. [Restore नायकियिचिच्या-वर्हरविषा अवठपपवित्रि; —E. H.]"
chiefs of Sarotra—(1) Aranuṣṭ, who ruled in Samvat 1678, and (2) his son Haradāṇāṣṭ, who ruled in Samvat 1685 and 1689. No. xxvii makes us acquainted with a Mahārāṇa Khetala (?) who held the village of Suṇaka, the modern Sonak, in Samvat 1356.

2.—We obtain the following information regarding the spiritual heads of the Tapāgachehha:—No. xxix tells us that Hiraṇvijaya was Bhaṭṭaraka in Samvat 1642. This inscription mentions also Vijayasaṇa, who succeeded him (see Klatt, Ind. Ant., vol. XI, p. 250). Vijayadeva, the successor of the latter, is alluded to six times in the inscriptions Nos. xx—xxiii, xxv, and xxvi, which are all dated in the year Samvat 1689; while his appointed successor Vijayasimha is mentioned once (inscription xx). Inscription No. ii makes us acquainted with a Guru of the Mahidēśvarīya Maṭha called Jirāja, i.e. probably Jerāja or Jayarāja.

No. I.¹

2. प्र[ष्ट]तस्थानो वेर[ष्ट] — — [ष्ट]ल
3. समयवेन सूर्य काराय[ष्ट]² ... 

Translation.

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

No. II.³

L. 1. [ष्ट] महर्षिकेतृत्वस्थापित
2. जिराजस्थ[ष्ट]घातन गणाचार्य-
3. खः

Translation.

(The image) of the venerable Dhyānaganachārya, the guru Jirāja, the lord of the Mahidēśvarīya monastery.

No. III.⁴

L. 1. [ष्ट] वासव सुदिद १४ वर्ष वेष्ट वदि
2. सुदिद १२ दिक्षा। फागुण [ष्ट]

Translation.

Hail! The conception (chyavana) on the 15th (day) of the bright half of Śrāvana; birth on the 8th (day) of the dark half of Jyesṭha; consecration (dikṣā) on the 12th

¹ At Bhilri: on the base of an image in the Jaina temple.
² Read शूर्य: कारार्यस.
³ At Bhilri: on the base of an image in Mahadeva's temple.
⁴ At Bhilri: in an old well outside the village.
(day) of the bright half of Phālguna; enlightenment (jñāna) on the 13th (day) of the dark half of Phālguna; liberation (moksha) on the 9th (day) of the dark half of Jyesṭha...

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

No. IV.⁶

L. 1. संवत् १२३५ वर्षीये वटि ४ गुरी गाभलापाले दीनाविज-
2. मंगलंतर श्रीयामाननाथं समाधिपतिमुरिव खारिता चे:
3. रसपटकुमरभद्रेण ⁷

Translation.

In the year Sam. 1295 (?) on the 8th (day) of the dark half of Pausha, a Thursday, an image of the venerable Pārvanātha and a figure of his parents were made by the Śrēṣṭhin Kumarabhadra (?), son of Sohaḍa, in the village of Gābhala, in the district of Dīlāvika.

No. V.⁸

L. 1. [भो] सिद्धः | — | सजः | समु- ।
2. दो | याव [व] — [त,विन[त]्रे मेक[क]।।
3. यावस — — — — पृ | ताव-。
4. हि — — — — — य — || ख-。
5. || सिद्ध [संवत् १५१२]वर्षे दे-।
6. याव यदि १० उगोंबना।
7. || उत दा[ग]मुत वादराजन हि।
8. णेयः करापितः || तुत [भरव]
9. प्रभात् — [णेय]लके जनि सति उ—।
10. भय कुपान नदी [भवत] मूर्त्त दृ—।
11. बद प्रतित्तुल सागर जनि [ट]ज हृ ४००।
12. कामे[पाकु] भौ बधव।

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

No. VI.⁹

L. 1. संवत् १५१२ सैंसाय वटि ११।
2. ले जेन लाभालाखिचः |
3. जेन खापितो नारायणः।

Translation.

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

⁶ At Dīlāvika: on the base of an image of Pārvanātha.
⁷ Read हिम.
⁸ May also be हिमन्.
⁹ At Dīlāvika: on a pillar of the Kṛṣṭiṁabhā to the west of the large temple of Limbu Mātā.

At Dīlāvika: on the seat of an image in a small temple on the west of the large temple of Limbu Mātā.
No. VII.10

1. खर्वः संवत् १५३२ वर्ष वैशाख वादि ११
2. सवे रा[ष]त्सुत मा" सादामांटा
3. [यप]तरी माया ठा" नरसंग-
4. तनया बार रुणां मा" सादास[ष]
5. मा" ठा" दोपालनया बार मांडे
6. मा" मोणांस चहरिगि बोलभरी-
7. नारायणां प्रणामः || प्रति-
8. मा पिडी [तत्]: कारापिता विव-
9. मस्तु " कवारमस्तु गुरुभ भवनु "

Translation.

Hail! In the year Sam. 1532, on the 11th (day) of the dark half of Vaisåkhâ, a Sunday, Bât Rûpâi, daughter of Thâ(kura) Narasîng (Narasiṁha), wife of Mâ (nâa-likâ) Sâdâjhamta, son of Ke. Râghâ (?) (and) mother of Sâdâsaha (?)—likewise Bât Mâmâi, daughter of Thâ(kura) Gopâla and mother of Jhâmatsaha, bow day and night to Lâkshmi and Nârâyana. An image (and) then a base (for it) was caused to be made.

No. VIII.11

1. [क्र] दिन संवत् १५३४ वर्ष गोष्ठ वादि
2. — क्रमः संवतः मल्लिक थी [का]-
3. मर्मप्रदीपिन् राण दीरण[क]-
4. विजयरथे समस्तमांडलिनि[वा]-
5. [व]ीलकिरसान मांडवी [ढु] खप
6. [त]विकल कींकी ने पूर्व[द] दत्ती 14को
8. पवत्तिनिबताविलयं [ढंग तप]

10 At Dilmal: on the base of the image of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa in a small shrine.
11 At Mandal: on a stone in the Chauki.
12 The transcription of the Persian text I owe to the kindness of Prof. Karabacek at Vienna. Lines 4 to 6 are illegible.
13 L. 8. Probably युक्त is to be read.
14 Corrected below the line to कृष्ण [सम]—सी. The third letter may be स and the fifth seems to have been intentionally effaced.
TRANSLATION.

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

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

No. IX.18

L. 1. संवत् १२९१ वर्ष बैशाखे मुदि ५ बर—
3. मताल ता — — धव — श्रीव[पुर] सदेव कारापित...

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

No. X.19

L. 1. संवत् १२९३ वर्ष कार्तिक मुदि १०
2. के० खंदोकाषाने श्रीमचावरी
3. ले० रोजा मेदिकाण[खा]तिका प
4. [च०]० खंजर्मक कारापित II [शे]चि

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

No. XI.20

L. 1. संवत् १२८२ वर्ष गोष मुदि ४ गुजे मेदिका
2. राज्जल [से]वां [हुल] वशरां। [प्या]रातीय पतित: II

ABSTRACT.

In the year Saṁ. 1282, on the fourth (day) of the bright half of Pausha, a Friday, fell the Gēḍā Rāutta (Rājaputra) Vaṇgarām (Vaṇarāja), the son of Meghām. The stone must be a so-called Pāliā.

No. XII.21

L. 1. संवत् १२३४
2. चें कार्तिक मुदि १
3. शुक्रो। [ज]स्वयंस्वत

18 At Manipur: in the Jami Masjid, on a beam.
19 At Palanpur: on the side of a well.
20 At Roho: on a pillar of the Chhattri of Pārśvanātha; much defaced.
21 Read चें.
Translation.

In the year Sam. 1299, on the 13th (day) of the bright half of Vaisakha, a Monday, an image of Nemâlista was caused to be made, for his mother’s sake, by Vâlaka (?), son of Gauradevi of the Nirvîti-Gotra in the temple of Rishabhadevi (?).

No. XV.23

L. 1. II धीं II श्रीगणेशाय नमः I संवत् १६ [१२]
2. वर्षं I पोसमास I क्षणप्रेक्षे I घंटब्यं सि
3. धीं I गुरुवासे I [डाकी]वर्षं I भद्रेशरे I [—]24
4. भापायां I रात्रि श्रीमांडलवीं I भागी वाण्ड
5. श्रीवान्या सायों कारापिता I प्र[१] साद ही सहि
6. ता प्रति रष्ट्र कारापिता I बारे युद्धा श्रीशण
7. बार्षक श्रीतिना वीरोजी ५१००० एकावर्ष
8. सहस्त्रस्यं क्तं I भा चंद्राकं नथातु
9. मार्ग ११ कार्तीया प्रासाददुह श्रीतिं क्तं I
10. वर्षीया विश्वरत्नायातं I यात्रा पूर्णम वहस्तं
11. यशं I भारुःविपालता यात्रा I यष्टशा वा
12. पिताः क्तं II — [चरणेनाः] दाता क्तं II
13. धीं — — — — — — श्रीक्षणस्तु II क्षणस्तमस्तु II

21 At Rohe: on a pillar in the third storey of an old well,—much defaced.
22 At Rohe: on the arch over the old well,—first storey.
23 At Rohe: on a pillar in the third storey of the old well.
24 L. 3: Probably [धी].
25 L. 10. Read सरसा°। सच्चार.
26 L. 11. Read सच्चार°। श्रीसह.
TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1674 (?), on the 5th lunar day of the dark half of Pausha, a Thursday, a well was caused to be made by Rāmāta Māmānaṭajī, (whose) wife (was) Chāmpā, and together with two temples it was consecrated. He, together with his daughter Sajja Bātī, spent 51,000 Pīroji (Rupees) (for this purpose). May it rejoice as long as sun and moon endure! In 11 months the work (i.e. the well), together with the two temples, was completed. May the race extend! May great merit and fame come (to him)! May the life of him be lengthened who built this well! The Dhālā was made by Pam(dita) . . . . 10805

No. XVI.27

L. 1. श्री संवत् १६७४ वर्ष पीय गुंदि ४ दने [वारगाह भा]28
  2. — मानसत रात श्रीमदगि भारत श्रीप पाँच गुंदी सजनजे — पूरा [प]ला
  3. सुत ना[वा] स — — — — श्रीगंध न — — — —
  4. म श्रीनराम[न] — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

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

No. XVII.29

L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वर्ष पारगामासे गू पाँच नवर्मां तवी श्रीविषवरी रो[०]30
  2. || श्रीनराम || धन्या श्रीनाथदर्शन || साप माताप धान्या
  3. || धन्या वाणी कविवरसु || रामनाममुहुता || धन्या हेसे क्रिया
  4. प्रतिभावंत्31 जव रामाभवतारा धन्यो लोको नीसातममुंग || राम
  5. || वाणी नूपोत || १ || रात श्रीसरुणजी: || बारे श्रीपदमां बारे || बारे32
  6. || श्रीशराम || गुंद श्रीहरायजी वेजवराज || बंबी कारापिता

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1678, on the 9th lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna, a Saturday, under the Rohini Nakshatra, during the reign of Arjunaṭajī, whose wives were Padamāṇi and Amārī, and whose son was Haradāṣajī, a Chhatrī was caused to be erected.

No. XVIII.34

L. 1. सं १६७५ वर्ष स्वयं गुंदि ११ दने [हरदास लवण]35

27 At Roho: on the base of an image in a ruined shrine near the old well.
28 Perhaps वारगाह.
29 At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhwaja temple.
30 L. 1. Read न्व(ी) || निझी || रीमको31.
31 Bhārāḍa is meant for bhārādāvād.
32 The metre of the verse in l. 2—5 seems to be Mandākramā. It may be restored as follows:—
   Dhanyodhyādaṭhāntharīpah śāpi mātāpi dhanyā,
   Dhanyā vāni kavivarāmukhe rāmānamprasātité,
   Dhanyā deśō rāghuṇatibhānā yatra rāmāvatāro,
   Dhanyā loko nijatamagvānā rāmāvadah kriṇoti.
33 L. 6. Read विभवाराजोः.
34 At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhwaja temple.
35 L. 1. Read वारवार.
TRANSLATION.

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

No. XIX.36

L. 1. संवत १६८५ वर्षे चापादो [क्ष] [व]हुमयु [क्र]एकाडीसी ११ ताब [द] रविरासरे — —
2. भावना चिन्हग्दासरवनय सा माताय वान्या वान्या वां कविवरस्की
3. रामानामप्रहत: घन्धमा देवी [क्रुप]पतिभवानु जित रीमासचतारा घन्धा
4. [क्र] का नीपतमुग्ना रामावाचु वृतीति: ॥ १ ॥ रात्रं योकरंदास्री ॥ वा -
5. द्रवीः तिजन्ती ॥ वारं राज्ज् ॥ सवक ॥ वयद्ध्य नाम संवरो ॥ दुव भोतोगवै ॥ व -
6. अधराः ॥ शीतो करापितः:॥ ॥

ABSTRACT.

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

No. XX.39

L. 1.॥ चिन्ति ॥ भट्टारकरश्रीविजयदेवसरीषरकुलभीति नमः चाचाचय शीविजयसिंह -
2. सुरीशरकुलभी नमः ॥ सं १६८५ वर्षे यावण व० ११ दिने दूरेणीयया रंगे सं [अव]
3. लाउद भाऊ नाथी चुत सं हरदास । सं सांपा । सं संचा । सं देवकरणं रुपनव (— - ) ॥ चाचाचय चर [ि]

ABSTRACT.

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

No. XXI.42

L. 1.॥ चिन्ति ॥ भट्टारकन्तविजयदेवसरीषरकुलभीति नमः ॥ संवत १६८५ वर्षे [वदि]
2. [ना] सं हृद भार्या नाथसंहृत सं हरदास सं सांपा सं संचा सं [देवकरण]
3. — — — — [सुन वाक्य] — क — — — [खरखरुका] — दि[संबंध] गंधीय-
4. द्रवीः श्रीमहासीप्रसाद — ॥ देवकुलिनका — रुपके: [कारिता] ॥:

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, in the dark half of Sam. Lādana, whose wife was Nāthī (?), and his son Sam. Haradāsa, Sam. Sāmpā, Sam. Tejā, Sam. Devakarāṇa, erected a chapel in connection with the temple of Mahāvīra.

36 At Sarotra: in an old chhattri.
37 L. 1. Read एकानातीनित्री.
38 L. 6. Read विजयराजि । कारापिता.
39 At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Divaja temple.
40 Read ॥लैभी.
41 Looks like चप.
42 At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Divaja temple. Preservation bad and most letters indistinct,
No. XXII.*

L. 1. "भटारक्षिणीविजयदेवसुरिगुरुभो नमः"
2. सं. १६५८ वर्ष फागुण शुद्धि १५ दिने ए देशरीनीयजट\(०\) दु: दरदास—
3. दू[प]नाम माधव साह भोज — देवधर रूपर [——]०० आया है

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

No. XXIII.*

L. 1. "चोरं तपाग्यशापिताजगद्याजिज्ञाविजयदेवसुरिगुरुभो न"
2. सं. १६५८ वर्ष फागुण शुद्धि १५ दिने ए देशरीनीयजट\(०\) दु: दरदास—
3. दू[प]नाम माधव साह भोज — देवधर रूपर [——]०० आया है

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

No. XXIV.*

L. 1. "चोरं सं. १६५८ वर्ष फागुण शुद्धि १५ दिने दु[प] — कररा ए देशरी [सीपजट\(०\)]
2. रूप्रशा [——]०० आया है — रति मंगलम् \(०\) चोरं \(०\) चोरं \(०\) चोरं

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

No. XXV.*

L. 1. "चोरं अविषयदेवसुरिगुर\(०\)क्षो नमः" सं. १६५८ वर्ष फागुण यु
2. दि १० दिने उच्चरा-विषयकृत्र अर्थरी ए देशरीनीयजट\(०\) दरपर्शा — — आया है — — —
3. . . . .

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

* At Sarota: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
* Read भारवे, "भारवे".
* Possibly for भारवे भारवे.
* At Sarota: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
* Looks like भारवे.
* At Sarota: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
* Looks like भारवे.
* At Sarota: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
Inscriptions from Northern Gujarat.

No. XXVI. 43

L. 1. ॥ झों ॥ भवरक्षीविजयवेष्टसुरिपुरस् ॥
2. भो नमः सं १६८८ वर्ष जाति वदि ११ दिने ॥
3. देवरीमेतरासु माता [ता] तामा [रा]ज पान्छि रूप [व घि]
4. चाण्या छर ॥

Abstract.

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

No. XXVII. 43

L. 1. ॥ संवत् १५५६ वर्ष चैत्र व ११ ॥
2. गन्ध यथो रूपकपाले मः?
3. भवराण श्री[क्षे]तलमार्गितपती
4. लीला मंधियानें देवीयों
5. यमकियाब्राह्मण नाट [पूजाय]
6. मदन पर[ह] दि[न] पूर्म—
7. [घ]म— ना माता [बिधी]
8. नारक [प्रदापुर] सहित [सह]
9. लम्बू घ[म] ॥ झों: ॥

Abstract.

The inscription refers to some gift made by one Līsha (?) Mahipāka in Sam. 1356, on the 11th day of the dark half of Chaitra, during the administration of the Mahārāṇa, the illustrious Khetala (?) in the village of Sānaka, on the occasion of the Yāṭrā of Dēvi Śrīśivallī.

No. XXVIII. 43

L. 1. ॥ संवत् १५५६ वर्ष ॥
2. माता वदिर ११ सोमे — —

Translation.

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

No. XXIX. 43

L. 1. ॥ संवत् १५४२ वर्षे प्रातार्ग गुढि १० ॥
2. दने पातसा बीषकवर गंगि
3. गढीचा मंडेंक मंगी सोमा
4. पणी चीं गोचर्य पणी शोभाम

43 At Saratra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja Temple.
44 At Sonak: on a pillar in an old temple.
45 At Sonak: on the base of an image in the same temple.
46 At Taranga: on the side of the great temple.
Seems to refer to the restoration of the temple in Samvat 1642.

VI.—THE JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SATRUMJAYA.

By G. Bühlcr, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

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

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

¹ The dates of Nos. cxvi-cxvii are not certain. No. cxviii ought properly to stand after No. xii.
(2) notes regarding the schools of the Jaina monks; (3) notes regarding the subdivisions of the Jaina laymen.

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

With respect to the list of the sovereigns of Gujarāt, it deserves to be noticed that Sulṭāns Sikandar and Muhmūd, the two brothers of Sulṭān Bahādur, who reigned each for a short period after Sulṭān Muzaffar II., have been left out. I am unable to identify Khān Majhād or Majhādaka, who, according to our inscription, was Bahādur’s vazir in Saṃvat 1587. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandar, 3 that dignity was bestowed on Tāj Khān in A.D. 1526; nor is Karmarāja or Karmasimha mentioned in Tod’s account of the history of Mevād. But there is no reason for doubting the veracity of the document. The list of the four Rānās agrees with Tod’s. The statements of the Mirāt-i-Sikandar (op. cit., p. 350) prove that Ratnasimha really ruled in Saṃvat 1587, and that his relations with the Sulṭān of Gujarāt were of a friendly nature.

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

1. Jahāngīr is mentioned as Nūradīna J. Savāi in Nos. xv, xvii—xx, xxiii, xxiv, which are all dated in Saṃvat 1675, as well as in No. xxvii of Saṃvat 1683. Nos. xvii—xx mention also prince Khosrū (Shāhijāda Suratān Shosaḍā) and the governor (sobat) of Ahmadābād (Rājanagar), Sulṭān Khurме (Sahiyaṇa suratāna Shurame).

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

Among the local chiefs of Kāṭhijāvād, the inscriptions mention—

(1) Jām (Yāna) Śatrusālya and his son, Jasavanta, which latter, according to No. xxi (l. 4) ruled at Navinapura, i.e. Navanagar, in Hāḷāra, i.e. the Halār Prānt, in Vikrama Saṃvat 1675;

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

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

(b) Unādājī in No. ii, of V. S. 1861;
(c) Khāndhājī; his son, Noghānajī, and his grandson, Pratāpasinghajī, in Nos. lxviii and lxix, dated V. S. 1891 and 1892;
(d) Noghānajī and his son, Pratāpasinghajī, in No. xcvi, of V. S. 1910; and
(e) Pratāpasinghajī, V. S. 1916 (No. ciii).
(f) Sūrsinghajī, in No. cxii, of V. S. 1940.

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

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

I.—Paṭṭāvālī of the Kharatara gachchha.

The following list is given in No. xvii—

1. Ud(d)yatanaśūri, 2. Vardhamānasūri, vasatimārgaprakāśaka,

Navāṅga vṛtti, and discoverer of the Pārśva-nātha of Stambhana,
6. Jina-vallabhasūri,
7. Jina-dattasūri, to whom a devatā
gave the title yugapradhāna;
8. Jinachandrasūri II.

* The first seven Sūris are mentioned also in No. xviii.
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9. Jinapattisūri,
10. Jineśvarasūri II.,
11. Jinarabodhasūri,
12. Jinachandrasūri III.,
13. Jinakusalasūri,
14. Jinapadmasūri,
15. Jinalabdhisūri,
16. Jinachandrasūri IV.,
17. Jinodayasūri,
18. Jinarājasūri,
19. Jinaabhadrāsūri,
20. Jinachandrasūri V.,
21. Jinasamudrasūri,
22. Jinahamsasūri,
23. Jinamāṇikyasūri,
24. Jinachandrasūri VI., who awakened the Pātishāhi of Delhi, Akabara, received from him the title yogapradhāna, and obtained an edict not to kill during 8 days in all countries, who appeased the angry Jahāmgra and protected the Sādhus banished by him.
25. Jinasimhasūri, who caused the mantrin Karamachandra to institute a rāpanandi festival at an expense of 12,500,000 (sopādakoṭī), wandered through Kaṭhina, Kaśāmir and other countries, pleased Akabara-Sāhi, stopped for a year the slaying of aquatic animals, caused an edict of not killing to be proclaimed in Śṛīpura, Gola-kumāḍā (Golkonda), Gajjanā (Ghazni), and other countries, and received the title of yogapradhāna from Jahāmgra-Nūradī-Mahāmāda.
26. Jinarāja, whose parents were Sā Dharmasaṭi and Dharalade, who belonged to the Bohittha race, received a boon from the goddess Ambikā, and in consequence deciphered the prakriti on an ancient image at Ghamāhānipura. In No. xxvi there is a second date, Samvat 1682 for him.

The later inscriptions mention:—

Jinachandrasūri, Samvat 1794,10 (No. xxxix); Jinaharshasūri,11 Samvat 1887 (No. lx), Samvat 1888, Samvat 1891 (No. lxviii), Samvat 1892 (No. lxix); Jinamahendrasūri, successor of the preceding, Samvat 1893 (No. lxxx), stated to belong to the Pippaṇya branch (Nos. lxxxii–v),12 Samvat 1903 (No. lxxxviii).

Jinasauṭhāgaṇaṣūri, successor of Jinaharsha, Samvat 1910 (No. xvii).

Jinamuktiṣūri, Samvat 1922 (No. evi). The statements of the latest inscriptions show that there were several heads of the Kharatara gachchha, which fact is known to everybody personally acquainted with the sect. I met Jinamuktiṣūri at Jessalmir in 1874, and at Bikānir another head of the Kharatras called Hemasūri. The pupils of a third Yogapradhāna of the same community visited me in 1876 at Surat, when he passed through the town.

II.—Paṭṭavali of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xii mentions first Vardhamāna (verse 2), Sudharmā (verse 3), Susthita and Supratibuddha, the founders of the Koṭikagaṇa (verse 4), Vajra, the founder

1 This form, which is found also in the Pātaṇa Prakṣasti ante. vol. I, p. 319, seems to be preferable to Dr. Klatt's Jinapati, Ind. Ant., vol. XI, pp. 245ff.
2 Mentioned also in No. xviii.
3 Mentioned also in Nos. xvii—xx, xxiii, xxxiv.
7 Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii—xxxiv, add "before Akabaraśāhī."
8 According to No. xvii Śrīkāḷiśṭūpura, according to No. xix Śrīkāḷa-Śrīpura, according to No. xxii Śrīpura.
9 Mentioned in the same way in Nos. xiv—xx, xxiii—xxv, xxvi.
10 Klatt has a Jinachandra (No. 69) in S. 1834.
11 This is the last on Klatt's list, Ind. Ant., vol. xi, pp. 245ff.
12 Nos. lxxxii—lxxv have a note speaking of a Jinachandrasūri, successor of Jinadeva, being alive. Regarding the Pippaṇya Kharatara gachchha, see Klatt, ut sup., under No. 56.
of the Vajrā śākhā (verse 5), Vajrasena and his pupils Nāga, Indra, Chandra, Nirvṛiti and Vidyādhara, the third of whom founded the Chāndra kula (verses 6-7), Jagachchandra, who obtained in Samvat 1285 the Tapābirudra (verse 9), and then begins the enumeration with—

(1) Ānandavimala (Klatt No. 56), who reformed the conduct of the Yatiś in Samvat 1582 (verses 10-11).
(2) Vijayadāna (Klatt No. 57), verses 12-13.13
(3) Hiravijaya (Klatt No. 58), verses 14—24, who was called by Sāhi Akabbara to Mevāta, and persuaded the emperor in Samvat 1639 to issue an edict forbidding the slaughter of animals for six months, to abolish the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, the Sujīja-tax, and a šulka,14 to set free many captives, snared birds and animals, to present Śatrumājaya to the Jainas, to establish a Jaina library (paustakam bhāmdāgaram), and to become a saint-like king Śrenika, who converted the head of the Lūmpākas, Meghajit,15 made many people adherents of the Tapā gachchha, caused many temples to be built in Gujarāt and other countries, and made many natives of that country, of Mālava and so forth, undertake pilgrimages to Śatrumājaya. No. cxviii commemorates one of these pilgrimages, which was undertaken by Vimalaharsha and 200 others. The same inscription states that Hiravijaya belonged to the Śāpha race. He died, according to No. xiii, by starvation, at Unnataadurg, in Samvat 1652, Bhādrapada śukla 10, and his pādukās were erected in the same year, on Mārga vadi 9, Monday, by Udayakaraṇa of Stambhatirtha (Cambay) and consecrated by Vijayasena.
(4) Vijayasena (Klatt No. 59), (verses 25—34), who was called by Akabbara to Lābhapurā (Lahor), received from him great honours, and a phuramāṇa, forbidding the slaughter of cows, bulls and buffalo-cows, to confiscate the property of deceased persons and to make captives in war, who, honoured by the king, the son of Choll-begam (Choli Vegama), adorned Gujarāt. Latest date Samvat 1650.
(5) Vijayadeva (Klatt No. 60) is mentioned in No. xxv, Samvat 1676, No. xxxi of Samvat 1696, Nos. xxxii and xxxiii of Samvat 1710. According to the same he received from Pāṭisāhi Jiḥhāṁgīra the title mahālāpa. His appointed successor, Vijayāsimhasāri, who, according to Klatt (op. cit.) died before him (Samvat 1709), occurs in No. xxxii, which is dated Samvat 1710. It is stated there that the Sahasra kūṭa tīrtha had been dedicated at his request.
(6) Vijayasprabha (Klatt No. 61) is mentioned in No. xxxiii, dated Samvat 1710. He receives the titles āchārya and sāri, and seems, therefore, not yet to have been the actual head. Vijayadeva, on the other hand, is there called bhaṭṭāraka. This goes against Klatt's Paṭṭāvalī, which places Vijayadeva's death in Samvat 1709.

In the later inscriptions are named—
Vijayakshamāsāri, No. xxxviii.
Vijayadayāsāri, No. xxxvii, bhaṭṭāraka, in Samvat 1788 (Sumatisāgara, ibid., also bhaṭṭāraka), and in No. xxxviii, Samvat 1791.
Vijayajinendrasāri, No. xliv, Samvat 1843, Nos. xlvi—xlxi, Samvat 1860.
Vijayadhaneśvarasāri, No. lxviii, Samvat 1893.

13 Mentioned as head of the gachchha in Nos. iv, vi—x, all dated in Samvat 1620.
14 Possibly a tax on Jaina pilgrims, visiting their holy places, may be meant,—see also Elphinstone's History of India, p. 336 (6th edition). The Sujīja tax is, of course, the jīṣya, or capititation tax on infidels.
15 Regarding the Lūmpākas see Bhādpākar, Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1893-94, p. 158.
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Vijayadevendrasūri,16 No. lxxxvi, Samvat 1897, No. lxxxix, Samvat 1905, No. xlii, Samvat 1908, No. xcii, Samvat 1911, No. civ, Samvat 1916, No. cvii, Samvat 1924.

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

A Samvijñāyamārgiya Tapā gachchha, belonging to the line of Vijayasthasūri, is mentioned in No. lxxxvi of Samvat 1893 and in No. cxiii of Samvat 1940.

III.—Paṭṭāvali of the Aūchala or Vidhipaksha gachchha.17

The first seventeen teachers are named in Nos. xxi of Samvat 1675 and xxvii of Samvat 1688, the remainder mostly in No. cv of Samvat 1921:

(1) Āryarakshita,18 (16) Dharmamūrti,
(2) Jayasimha, (17) Kalyānasāgarā or Kalyānasamudra, Samvat 1675 and 1683,
(3) Dharmaghoshā, (18) Amarodadhi,
(4) Mahendraśimha, (19) Vidyāsūri (Vidyābdhi),19
(5) Simhaprabha, (20) Udayārṇava, or Udayasāgara,20
(6) Devendra or Devendrasimha, (21) Kirtisindhu or Kirtisāgara, No.
(7) Dharmaprabha, li, Samvat 1861,
(8) Simhatilaka, (22) Puṇyodadhi or Puṇyasāgara,
(9) Mahendra, (No. li, of S. 1861),
(10) Merutūṅga, (23) Muktisāgara, Samvat 1905,21
(11) Jayakirti, (24) Ratnodadhi, Samvat 1921;
(12) Jayakēṣari, (25) Vivekasāgara, Samvat 1940,
(13) Siddhāntasamudra or Siddhāntasāgara, No. cxii.
(14) Bhāvasāgara, (26) Gaurisāgara, Samvat 1895,
(15) Guṇanidhāna or Sugunaśevadhi, (27) Viśisṭaśankara, Samvat 1906.

IV.—Paṭṭāvali of the Sāgara-gachchha.

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

(1) Rājasāgara, (7) Ānandasāgara,
(2) Viśdhisāgara, (8) Śāntisāgara, Samvat 1886, No. lv, No. lix; Samvat 1889, No. lxii, No. lxv; Samvat 1893, No. lxx, No. lxxi, No. lxxii, No. lxxix.
(3) Lakṣmīsāgara, (5) Puṇyasāgara,
(4) Kalyānasāgara, (6) Udayasāgara,
(10) Merutūṅga, (11) Jayakirti,

Teachers of two other gachchhas are named:

(1) Rājasāmasūri of the Laghuposāla gachchha in No. xlii, dated Samvat 1815.

(2) Paṇḍit Aṇandakuśala of the Pāyachanda gachchha in No. xcv, dated Samvat 1908. One is tempted to conjecture that Pāyachanda is a

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16 Spelt also Vijayadevindra and Vijayadevidra.
17 The name Vidhipaksha gachchha occurs in No. xxvii, verse 6, and in No. cv.
18 Regarding this Āryarakshita, see Bhāḍārākar, Report on Sanskrit MSS. of 1883-84, p. 152. The Paṭṭāvali described by Dr. Bhāḍārākar (op. cit., pp. 14, and 319ff.) is that of the Āchāras-gachchha, and in the main agrees with the earlier part of the above text.
19 This form is required according to the metre.
20 No. li.
21 No. xvo. Before him appears Rājendraśāgara, Samvat 1866, in No. lii.
mistake for Pāśachanda or Pāśachanda, regarding which sect see Bhān-
dārkar’s “Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, p. 135”.

V.—Digambara Paṭṭāvalī.

No. xxx, dated Saṃvat 1686, gives (ll. 2 et seq.) the list of the spiritual heads in the line of Kumḍakunda (read Kundakunda) Āchārya in the Balātkāragaṇa, the Saras-
vati gachchha and the Mūlasaṃgha, i.e. the community of the Digambaras, as follows:

(1) Sakalakirti,
(2) Bhuvanakirti,
(3) Jñānabhūṣhaṇa,
(4) Vijayakirti,
(5) Subhachandra,
(6) Sumatikirti,
(7) Guṇakirti,
(8) Vādibhūṣhaṇa,
(9) Rāmakirti,
(10) Padmanandī, the actual head of the sect in Saṃvat 1686.

The list is, of course, a mere fragment of the Paṭṭāvalī of the Kundakundān-
vaya, which dates from much earlier times.

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

It is not in the least doubtful that Upakeśa is the original Sanskrit word from which the other forms have been derived. The processes by which the forms Īkeśa, Ukeśa, Uṣa and Uṣa were obtained, will be clear to everybody. With respect to Oīṣa, Oṣa and Oṣa, it may be noted that, according to the rules of the Jaina and Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrits, the preposition upa may be represented by o (see Hemachandra, Prākritān
vyākaraṇa, i, 173).

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

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

(Verse 9). “In her womb were born the following men belonging to the Rāja-
koṣṭhāgāra family, the sole vessel of piety, and the pure illustrious Uṣa race.”

The meaning seems to be that both the Uṣa tribe and the Rājakoṣṭhāgāra family, which latter is evidently a subdivision of the former, owe their origin to the king Āma and his consort of the Vaiśya caste. According to the Paṭṭāvalīs and the Prabandhas, Āma, whose existence is not proved by really historical documents, is said to have lived about Vikrama Saṃvat 800. I may add that the genealogy of Karmarāja, which is

23 See S. P. Papāṭit, Gaṇḍavahā, pp. cxxxvff.
given in verses 10—20, cannot be complete. It names only ten ancestors who cannot possibly fill the seven centuries and a half which intervene between the traditional date of king Āma and that of the inscription, Vikrama Saṃvat 1587.

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

I.—A Vṛiddhasākhā, which is subdivided into the following gotras or families, (1) Ūḍāda, No. xxxii; (2) Chājeḍā, No. cvi; (3) Nāḍāla, Nos. xxxviii, xxxix; (4) Nāhaṭā, No. lxxx; (5) Mummiyā, No. xcvi; (6) Rājakosthāgāra, Nos. i, ii, iii; (7) Yaduḍaṇḍa, No. lxviii; (8) Lālaṇa, No. xxi; (9) Luṇṭyā, No. ix; (10) Loḍhā, No. xvi.

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

III.—An Addaisākhā, to which belongs the Kūmkumalola gotra, Nos. xci, xcvi-xcix. The members of this sākhā and gotra, as represented by the family of the Nagarsheṭh of Ahmadābād, besides claim kinship with the Sisodiā Rajputs of Mevād, see No. xci. Vīsā Osavālas are mentioned in No. cv.

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

I.—A Vṛiddhasākhā, Nos. xxxvii, cxii, of which no subdivisions are given;
II.—A Laghuśākhā, Nos. xxix, xxxiv, lxxvi, to which belongs, according to No. xliv, the Kāśyapa gotra, the members of which claim kinship with the Paramāra Rajputs.

A Vīsā Śrīmālī occurs in No. cv.

About the same importance belongs to the Prāgāvāta tribe, called also Prāgavaṁsa, Nos. iv, vi and viii, or by its modern name Poravāda or Poravāla, (pronounce Porvād and Porvāl). It seems, too, to have an elder and a junior branch, as Nos. xv, xvii, xxx, and xli mention its Laghuśākhā. Vīsā Poravādas or Poravālas are named in Nos. 1 and xxvii; Dāsā-Porvālas in cvii. A few other tribes occur each in single inscriptions, viz. Gūrajra jñāti, No. x; Dīsāvāla jñāti, No. vii; Dūgula gotra, No. liv; Nimma jñāti, No. ci; Mohotā gotra, No. cv; Samghavāla gotra, and Kāchara samālana, No. xiv.

The native places of the donors are:

(1) Ājamera, i.e. Ajmīr in Rājpūtānā,
(2) Anāhilāpurā, also called Pattana,
(3) Antarāpurā in Vāgvaradesa or Dūngarpur,
(4) Ahmadābād, called eleven times by its Sanskrit name, Rājanagara, ‘the capital,‘
(5) Ugrasednapura,
(6) Kapaḍavaṇāja in the Khedā Collectorate,
(7) Kāśt, or Benares,
(8) Koṭhārā in Kachh,
(9) Khambanayara, i.e. probably Cambay,
(10) Ghandhāra in the Bharoch Collectorate,
(11) Chitrakūṭa, or Chiṭor in Mevād,
(12) Cheula, probably Chaul, near Bombay,
(13) Jaisalmera, i.e. Jaisalmir in Marwâd,
(14) Damaṇa bandira, i.e. Daman in Gujarât.
(15) Dīvabhâdîra or Diu in Kâthiâvâd,
(16) Devagirî or Daulatâbâd in the Dekhan,
(17) Dhanapura,
(18) Nabhinipura, in Kachh,
(19) Nalinapura, in Kachh,
(20) Navânagara, in Kâthiâvâd,
(21) Pâlaṇâpura, in Northern Gujarât,
(22) Bâluchara,
(23) Bhâvanagara, in Kâthiâvâd,
(24) Makasudâvâda—Bâluchara or Makâudâvâda,
(25) Mumbâi, or Bombay,
(26) Mesâna, in Gujarât,
(27) Râdhanapura, in Northern Gujarât,
(28) Vîkañera, or Bikaner, in Northern Râjputânâ,
(29) Visalanagara, in Northern Gujarât,
(30) Sirohi, in Southern Râjputânâ,
(31) Surata bândîra, in Gujarât.

The name of Ahmadâbâd or Râjânagara occurs most frequently.

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

No. I.²⁴

L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ स्वर्णी यृजूलर्चरित्रां पालसाहित्यमहिमांद्रभासियां जातसाहित्यमहिमांद्रभासियां ॥
2. पालसाहित्यमहिमांद्रभासियां जातसाहित्यमहिमांद्रभासियां ॥ संवत् १५५३ वर्ष राजस्‍थायापराधरण्यथा ॥
3. पारे योगश्रृंजयगिरी योगश्रृंजयाऱ्वस्थाँ ॥ दो ॥ कर्माकालसमस्मारारस्त्रा प्रमक्षिस्तिन्यां ॥
4. ॥ दो ॥ जीयात सुगदिजिनन्यायः ॥
5. ॥ बेवलश्राब्दियो विस्मिताचलमबन्दः ॥ ²⁵
6. बेकि विपादो ग्रामप्रावः [1]
7. भावन भः
8. ॥ श्रीसच्चृंजय सुकृतोपामानी [1]
9. वितास्माआनवित समस्तसन्तागः ॥ ²⁶

²⁴ In the porch of the east or main entrance of the great temple of Âdîvara Bhagavân; —see Lists of the Antiquarian
Remains in the Bombay Presidency, &c. (Bombay, 1885) p. 188.—J. B.
²⁵ Metro of verse 1, Anuṣṭubb. Read जीवात्. A good many of my corrections have been given between brackets in
the text.—J. K.
²⁶ Metro of verses 2—4, Upajâti. Read श्रीवात्.
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SATRUMAJAYA.

सबंदनो दातृसृष्ट्रुद्रेण [1]

tूँ

L. 6. गः सुप्रेमपि विहारसारः।
विजेत्त्वर्यार्थविभूषणः [1]
वीचिन्द्र्युतः सुर्यालाङ्कः। ॥ १
विमालसालिनिति-

7. तीचनाशो [1]
रक्षो कुर्ण् तीचनविचाराः [1]
विचिन्द्र्युता गिरिविचार्युता [1]
तीक्ष्ठु यथार्थविचार्युतमुखः। ॥ ४
तथा श्रीकृष्णः

8. भराजः १८/२० कुंस्यवननन्दिभा तुपः।
वैरिवः समुद्ग्रो दि धेन पीलः। चिरातः चितोः। ॥ ५
[त] तुष्णे राजमश्रोभुरायां म-

9. बब्योऽकारः।
स्वतः। विनामसंत्रकः स्वसंग्रासविजयो तुपः। ॥ ६
तत्तत्त्वभुव्यरम्यः। सिंहेऽंव्यराकारः।
रघुसेना ॥ ६

10. शुमा राजा राजस्यः विराज्ये। ॥ ७
इतसः गोपातसिन्धरः। ॥ ८
वीचिन्द्र्युतात्त्वविशेषः।
श्रीभामराजे उज्जनि तथाः

11. पश्चि [1]
काचिन्द्र्युतः वधारणी। ॥ ९
तत्त्वज्ञानः। निकल राजकोटा। ॥ १०
गारात्त्वर्यें सुत्तेनकापेँ।
श्रीराधवें विन्देते

12. विमाल्य [1]
तत्साम्ये भो पुष्यः प्रसिद्धः। ॥ १०
श्रीसर्वदेवनामः तत्प्रो ह्य राजदेवनामभूतः।
लखिसंहः पुष्णोऽवस्तः। तत्सुः。

13. श्री सुखनपालाखः। ॥ १९
श्रीमोहराजपुरे। ॥ ॥
श्रीतात्त्वक्षत्रुणो नरसिंहः। तत्सुः।

27 Metro of verses 5—7, Anusṭubh.
28 Read  "तीर्थैः।"
29 Metro: Upajāti. Read सरिषः.
30 Metro: Indravajrā. Read "श्रीहृदः। श्रीहृदः। पुष्यः। श्रीहृदः। पुष्यः। श्रीहृदः। पुष्यः।"
31 Metro of verses 10—19, Aryā.
32 Looks like वल
14. [--- ---]²² II १९
तत्सुत्रसस्तः पञ्ची तथाः[ख्य]प्रसृतकुक्कुला अता।
तारादे परनाथी बोल पुष्पभावपुर्णी II १९
तत्तुल्लिसफुला: व[द्यू]

15. पुष्पा²⁴ कन्यापदपात्यारा: [१]
[ख्या]|तुढानपरा: श्रीवंत: श्रीशणी दम्भः || ११
प्रथमो व[ख्या]ध्रुवम: सम्यक्षीधीतकरः काम।

16. श्रीविष्णुव्रतस्वरूपो प्रासाद: [कारितो]वेन || १४
तथा एक्षे कोमला पाश्ववर्तिः²⁵ विश्वदासदा || ३६
भायो रजसंदेही पुष्प[ुः]श्रीरवणा:-

17. माती || १५
भारत १२: प्रमाणः पतिभक्ता दानगीलगुणतः।
पशुपास्तवत्वो पुष्पो मातिभक्तीराजी || १६
वंशुगंगसपूः

18. तीयबराणवधिविशिष्टा [१]
गडरागारतरत्वीय पुष्पो देवाभियो श्रयः: || १७
तुम्मा देवाश्चारा || भायी तथासिन्देवयुः

19. कुमारः
देवाय[द्यू]रमेहेयो पुष्पे: केलाभियो श्रयः: || १८
भारत १२: भोजाभः भायी तथासिन सकलगुणसुः

20. श्रीवाल्लव्येहेयो पुष्पो श्रीमंडलो श्रीवार || १८
सदा सदाचाराविचारचारावतुर्षेवादिसुः: प्रयुकः
श्रीकमराराजः

21. भगवन्म व तेहः श्रीवाराक्षे सुखभिवांभह्य[या] || २०³²⁶
कार्मिकाभायो प्रथमा कपुर [११]-
देवी पुने: कामलदे द्वितीया ।
श्रीभीयो-

22. कन्यकुलदयायं-³²⁹
सूर्यदत्ते: कामलदेहिपुष्पे: || २१
श्रीतीर्थश्रावानवञ्जनितिपुष्पा:-
पदमपन्द्राश्चिममुखयो: ।
सुपाराश्चारानं पन-

23. विज्ञानः:
सर्वदा: सत्युः: परिवा: || २२³⁰
श्रीश्रवणारणी राजव्यापारभावपीयः ।
श्रीमान्शीवरुणि सुखोऽ

³² Read "सी जातः -
³³ Read पुष्पः।
³⁴ Read कन्यक्षीवा। Above पर there is a mark.
³⁵ Read विश्वदा शदा।
³²² Read "प्राची।
³²³ Metre: Upajati।
³²⁵ Metre: Indravajra। Read "श्रीच।।
³²⁶ Metre: Upajati। Read "विला।। ये" stands for यह ३६।
Jaina Inscriptions from Satrumjaya.

24. यव्भारिणां मध्ये ॥ २५¹
वृद्धासना विजयाश्रमं जुलासुधरसनिधि ॥
तत्कालात भाषय: कामिनज्ञा - दामुरु ॥ २५²

25. व्यासरस सदे सिवते नरायणी ॥
वसंति विभुता लोक: पुष्पश्रोका द्वार बुना: ॥ २५³
तत्तत्त्व सहिष्ठी श्रमिके जीतस्य ॥ २५

26. वाहुरस निधं ॥
तत्त्र प्राय हस्तरसां सुड़ोरीके समाय सी ॥ २६
राज्योपारसहितः वाण: श्रीमान् समरकादः ॥
तत्त् गिरी म- ॥

27. जसामध्ये रक्षा समायं नररिज्यकु ॥ २७
तत्त्र श्रममु माप्राय वहुविचीयोऽयो च ॥
उद्वर: सर्वाय क्षेत्र सुपुत्रस सिरें ॥

28. ॥ २८
श्रीपादलिंगसनासरसमि श्रीपादलिंगसनासरसमि ॥
श्रीकमलासरसमि जलया[स्त्रि]कायं चक्र सहीक- ॥

29. वधर: सुषुप्पदेशात् ॥ २८³
वंचरसमुद्रगंगरसरसामरीसेविरवामि-
वीरः [स्त्रि]विनयवालसवासरसमि [वाच्य] ॥

30. वह ॥
वश्वासंवितः [हस्त] तंगुरसारसीन च स [स्त्रि]गंग-भीव [विस्त] गन्धर्व विष विष मर्माविषाय ॥ ३०⁴
विक्षामसाधारितातिन- ॥

31. विविधतंवसरस श्रवसरस ॥ ३१ ॥
श्रार्थे जग्मवारोऽनि वैभवे पुराणमेय च ॥ ३१ ॥
मिष्करा: चुरुय: संभा मार्गमुसु ॥

32. निषुपरवाम: ॥
वश्मये धनुर्वीके प्रतिष्ठा कारिता यतः: ॥ ३२ ॥
वश्मयास्माक्षेत्र पंडिते महामना ॥
स [स्त्रि] मोबारसका ॥

33. च प्रायदेहा: प्रज्ज्वलाकु ॥ ३३
श्रीस्वराह: [हस्त] विलीबिवालसागरः श्रुतं ये [१]
पालाद विघटतर्थः चेन च च चें चाब्या- ॥

⁴¹ Metre: Āryā.
⁴² Metre of verses 24—28, Anushtubh.
⁴³ Metre: Vasantatilaka.
⁴⁴ Metre: Sārdulavikrījita. Read चर्चा: The context is not clear.
⁴⁵ Metre: Āryā. Read चर्चा.
⁴⁶ Metre of verses 32, 33, Anushtubh. Read चर्चा.
34. रीय च ।

35. क्षमाः किल वसमः कलिकूल चक्रेश्वर ना — — —
    जीयादिष सदोषयंश्यामुक्तः श्रीकर्मराजाधिबं ॥ १४॥

36. स — — —४०थैति बक्ष्णि संधे
    कुक्षाति भवधः परम्[च] काले ।
    कर्मोंविधानयथावचारिषये—
    षार्ष: तत: श्रीवि—

37. मलाद्रश्मृणी । १६॥
    श्रीचचकृतदेश्लेखमृणी ।
    कर्माक्षमान्यद्यावचारितसखः
    प्रजनये विनविवाहारिषये—
    [कामो—

38. वःश्रीय भुतरीति विच्छ ॥ १७॥
    श्रीमिद्यपाते विपये निवासिनः
    श्रीकर्मराजस्य च कौरसिंह[बला] ।
    देशोऽन्निषये [संचर्या]

39. यो
    व्योर्ष्वभं चंद्रश्य नमोविश्वारिषः ॥ १८॥
    दहस्य येन पुरा च च दुर्षणाय तथान्तरो
    यात्रा येन [च—

40. यां उ संधपतिनां प्रकुण्येकारिता ।
    साधनां सुगृहित च च विखिता चके मृतिः प्रतिति—
    मिलल्यं वर्षने सुधारे विभय—

41. दहस्य श्रीकर्मराजस्य तु ॥ १८॥
    येनोऽयु: भवम्यति नगे कारित: पुंडरीकेः
    खःबोधारी विनवद्रतिनां दुर्गः—

42. नस्ते हे चके 
    येनाकारि प्रकरविधिना तीर्थनायप्रतिनिधा प्रासा
    द्रोह निभुतमति सौवैवप्रतिनिधा ॥ ४०॥

44 मेत्रेः: सार्धाद्विक्रिष्टिः.
40 मेत्रेः: इंद्रावर्जः.
46 मेत्रेः: इंद्रावर्जः.
47 मेत्रेः: पर्फहिः.
48 मेत्रेः: इंद्रावर्जः.
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SATRUMJAYA.

46. — — कमराजः || ४२
कमरी चोकसरायक्ष कर्मणा केन निःसेरे ।
तियां प्रभारिन करोपरि वैद्यः पुष्करपुरी || ४३
47. स्थानेशः चंद्रकेसर महेशवर[व्]कपिरिराठी ।
चांद्रीकरणानव्युत्थमा भविष्यम् || ४४

48. कामतव[व्] साधनाधारक सा भार भार भार भार भार || प्रवाहदा-
वादवायुः बुधवार जोड़ा
49. पुष्च बुधवार विद्या[व्] भोमा टू बुध टू बुधा || वीचिचः शुद्धातामत सू ठीला सू
पोपा सू गंगा भू मोरा सू ठाला
50. सू ठाला || चूंचे नाकर सू गाइया सू गोविन्द सू विषय घु सू ठीला सू बहार सू गंगा सू का[हु] सू
51. देवदास सू ठीला सू ठाकर — प् काला वा विषय घु गाम ता सू ठारा सू

52. संगांच चाहिदेपुष्य संगां विषयाली । संगां || संकल्पसंगां संगां लिङ्काच च । प्

53. [ता प्] गृहिः || पूच्छ प् समंद्रशिष्यः प् लावणसमविचारसंह || चाहि-देवि
54. — देवदासस || भूमी सू मोरा सू ठारा का[हु] ठा भवा सू माघ भू ठारा । को

No. II.

1. भीम || सच्चे[व्] १५५३ वचन गर १५५३ प्रवर्तनाने[वेष्टो] पून दौ || रवी || वीचिचः [हु]
2. बासहोष्मरय[व्] जानाय || बुधवारा । दौ नारिंद्र नारायण कर || [क्] भार भार भार भार पून |

60 On the base of the image of Adinātha in the great temple.—J. B.
61 Looks like दौ?
62 Read“बाच”.
63 Read दौलारोय।
3. रजा भायो रजमलि पुष चौराण दों बौमा भा पंचादि दिं पत्रादि पुष मातापाचर दोंगावा भा गुराद [चित्र] गारवथे पुंंत दवा

4. दों दसरार भा देखते दिं ददरादि पुष कृषि दों सीसा भा भाच्छादि दिं [चित्र] वसमने पुंंत — — भामीनी [चित्र] विदे [चित्र] वसमने प्रदातवासातामाराशीपुस्सातमारा।

5. कारंज दों कर्मा भा कपुरादि दिं कामसुदूं गुष्ठ भिवलिके बारे संगी या लोना या मन या प्राप्ता प्रसृतसंतसुदुरवसयोगी [चित्र] र जीवाशीवायमिव प्रतिपादित " मं रामो मं सरसिन्धुकियाई वा प्रतिपादित [चित्र] जी ॥

No. III. 70

1. बीं॥ संवत [त्व] १५८७ वर्ष बैशाषि दि
2. बीं\\n3. दोंगणा दों दशरा दों सीसा भा दों कर्मा भा कपुरादि दिं कामसुदूं गुष्ठ भिवलिके बारे तन जीवुरुसीवाचुगुपनिरूहू ॥

No. IV. 71

L. 1. बीं॥ बीं नाम: संवत [१४] २० वर्ष चाषाड युद्ध २ रवी ।
2. गंधारावस्था। प्रागः[वस]दोस्य। बीगोविषा खुत दी।
3. बैतपार भार्या बोरगर(भोग) की खुत दी। पंचारण।
4. आतु दी। मीस दी। नन्दे। देवरावसेन।
5. [व्य]कुटवेज युद्ध। जीवाचीविदेशुकलिता।
6. कारापिता हर्षेश। तपानेशुनिविनयित ॥
7. विश्वदाससूक्तिविश्वविश्वविश्वसुप्रसाद।
8. प्रमं भवतु ॥ चित्र: जी ॥ चित्र: ॥

No. V. 72

L. 1. "बीं॥ संवत १४२० वर्षांत कालिंग युद्ध २ दहि
2. गंधारावस्था। बींगोविनिता। बीं [चित्र] बीं [चित्र]
3. भार्या बार्ष [पुं] तत्त्व युद्ध सा। बींगोविनिता भार्या बार्ष।
4. वसमाने पदमादि युद्ध सा। बींगोविनिता भार्या मा। बीं-
5. लक्ष्मी सा। दद[रा]ण सा। मनंज प्रसृतसुदुरवसयोगी-
6. बंद दवा। बींगोविनिता भार्यातिनिदेश्यमारा-
7. हं। प्रतिपादित। बींगोविनिता। बीं-
8. प्रमं भवतु। चित्र: ॥
9. [चित्र: ॥]

70 If the beginning of such life stands a symbol, like प..
71 Read वारी।
72 Read बीं।
73 On the back of the image of, Pundartika in the temple facing Adiśvara Bhagavatam's temple. Līśa, a. a. p. 196, No. 88—J. B.
74 In a temple on the south of the enclosure round the temple of Adiśvara; conf. Līśa, p. 194, No. 91—M. K.
75 Looks like प॥
No. VI.

1. चौं ऐ नमः । संवतः १६२० वर्ष वैशाख युद्धः ।
2. ग्रुटी । श्रीमंगलाराधारणास्वामित्वाय । संरक्षणः
3. वी श्रीमाता बुद्ध सं । श्री[चौधरि] मायी बाबा ॥
4. गिरि [सुशुभा बुद्ध । सं] जिम्बा भानु । सं। काव्य ।
5. श्री चौहु किंवदंशुरु मसुर[ख] कुटुंब पुत्रः
6. श्रीपार्वतीबदेशकुलिका । बारापितः ॥
7. श्रीतपावकः । श्रीविजयदाससरिणः। श्री-
8. श्रीपार्वतीरिप्रसादाद [न] ॥ यमभवतः ॥

No. VII.

L. 1. चौं ऐः । संवतः १६२० वर्ष वैशाख युद्धः । गुष्टः
2. श्रीमंगलाराधारणास्वामित्वाय ।
3. तीव्र मर्यादाविधानस्वामित्वाय । श्रीमाता
4. भावना बारेः । मर्यादाय । महर । वोटास्
5. खसुत्वेन पुत्रः । श्रीविजयदाससरिणः
6. श्रीमाताबदेशकुलिका कारापितः । श्री-
7. तपायेश्वरबदेशकुलिका कारापितः । श्री-
8. यद्यपरिप्रसादाद ॥ यमभवतः ॥

No. VIII.

I. 1. चौं ऐः । संवतः १६२० वर्ष वैशाख युद्धः
2. दिवसे श्रीमंगलाराधारणास्वामित्वाय[वाम]योः
3. परमत पुत्र योः फोकका दृक कोः । यः[—]
4. चा खसुत्वेन बुद्धः श्रीविजयदाससरिणः
5. परि देशकुलिका कारापितः । योि-
6. यद्यपरिपरिप्रसादाद ॥ यमभवतः ॥

No. IX.

L. 1. चौं ऐः । दे नमः । संवतः १६२० वर्ष वैशाख मुः
2. दिवसे श्रीमंगलाराधारणास्वामित्वायः
3. योः समर्पया भावी बारेः । भोलु झूमे बा-
4. परि खसुत्वेन । बारेः कोवारे खसुत्वेन मुः
5. तः । श्रीमाताबदेशकुलिका कारापितः
6. पिता । श्रीतपावकश्रीविजयदाससरिणः
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SATRUMJAYA.

पायाष्ट् परमप्रभाववसं ह्रीवहँकमान् प्रमुखः।
उत्तरसिखिंत[सं-]

5. तस्मिनमात्यायं यदृ भीतमात्यावनि।
स्वर्णिक्षि महानिमातिमण्डलायस्तीदु रसोजासिनः।
धारीसरववंदयंदितपद्धती।

6. संततितत्वति भगवती वीरप्रभोगीगि।
भीतुरूखिष्ट्व: सुप्रस्तवत् एतो।
सुरी चमृताः तदनुक्रमः।
याभ्या गणोः ॥ भुः।

7. दिश कोटिकां।
बंद्धामयायामी सुप्रस्ताव:।
तत्रामुखिष्ट्वां बंधः। स्वर्णिक्षितः।
मूलः ह्रीवहँकान्या।

8. गाय जिभवायावः।
तत्तदंवत्त्वदिनामणि। बदित: स्वेतसेनमुखरास्ती।
नागेन्द्रंदितन्वति। विधाधरसंकङ्काय तत्त्विश्लेषः।

9. ॥ ॥ ॥
खलनामस्मानाभि। येभववायार अजिरी।
कुर्णनि कालमेतिनष्ट कुंण चांद्र्व तु दियुत्ति।
भास्करा द्रव तितिर। चुर्ण: स्यायाः।

10. भाजस्त।
भृगु: सुर्यस्त्र। अजिरे जगताः मततः। ॥ ॥
वपुः: क्षमास्त्र। योगचंद्रस्य:।
येन्द्रपाविष्ट्य लिमः। वाणिष्कः ॥ ॥

11. ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
क्रमेणिष्टां गणे इहः। विमल: सुर्योभवः।
तपः सुर्योभवः। ब्राह्मद्विमालाभिधः। ॥ ॥ ॥
साध्वारविश्लेषः। य:-

12. य: शिविलः। सम्यक् त्रियां धाम ये।
वरुणे स्तनसिविवायासक्ष्यारं। किं न नैसिः।
जोसूर्यतिरः येंजंगायनरं सायं।

१० राय तं: परं संपरं। १० मेत्र: इद्रवि।
९० मेत्र: इद्रवा। ॥ ॥ ॥
९१ मेत्र: इन्धवाली। ॥ ॥ ॥
L. 13. 

धरणिष्यं

सदीवं विद्वे गवां श्रुति: । सोमे राजसा धरमं: ।

पवाद्यकालमं लक्ष्यते च सेवा ।

प्रीणाम्—

14. 

मि गतानं कमलोद्यनेन ।

पहः प्रवाहां द्रव निक्वैर्निहिनेः।

शुचामुक्तिविजयदयानसुनिरूपेः: ।

विषयं सदातनं मध्यत्मिवमिश्रतः षोड्यो।

अतातः

15. 

वंशवंस तु च रवहारित ।

योजिनं शतपशामिः ब्रह्मसं च चारं प्रतापं युगः।

वेयं बुध सनातनं मध्यत्मिवमिश्रतः षोड्यो।

जाताः

16. 

कामकपणपापको गोपवमातासः ।

तपः: प्रकटः। प्रकामकलितोदयोतक्षया सीधवः।

संजेत्वर्य [त] राजः—

17. 

शैवविषयश्रेष्ठविद्याभिमाणे ।

वीभायं सदातनं भरीषण महतामन्यमद्वार्तिष्ठानाः।

विभाषाः: स्ययाजजितं सुध्यं कामप्राप्

18. 

मोदास्यं । १४

देवमादु गृहाल्परं चुरस्वप्नः भावारिता: सादरः।

शीतलशाहिष्ठरवेण निघयं ।

अयातसंस्य युग्मः।

शा—

19. 

— — — योगायो: वमासं स्वं चरितो गवाः।

सोमे: चुरितविषयविषयमोलीस्मृतिः ।

विषयं । १५

वधु: नवपुरम्

20. 

— — — — [स]भोम ।

दृश्य युमकोवकुलमासुखं स्नेत:।

अयातकायवक्ष्यप्रभवति १६२८ क्षगोभी।

शीघ्र—

21. 

— — — — — बुज्वकारनम् वे । १६।

पवाद्यकालम्बहुमृषेऽनिजामाः सदा धारायणः।

वीमान् शाक्षिकवक्ष्यर्नरवो।[देवेश]

22. 

श्रीवशेषम्।

वषुमासायदानपुष्पद्विशोचनचवाचिनः।

कामार्चार्यत अशुद्धदयो यद्यक्लार्जितः।

34 Metro : Sārdaḷavikrīkita.—Read अभिव्यक्तम्।
35 Metro : Vasantatilaka.—Read अभिब्यक्तम्।
36 Read राजभावे।
37 Metro of verses 13—15 : Sārdaḷavikrīkita.
38 Read विषयं।
39 Metro : Vasantatilaka
40 Metro : Sārdaḷavikrīkita.—Read अभिव्यक्तम्।
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SATRUMJAYA.

23. युवपतिषयेन सुदृं दर्थिषिकिमपकं वासिणी निःजे।
    सूरतवं च करं च सृष्टीभोभिरभुव्यभितिरमृत्ति।

24. यहांत्या तत्कालया विसंगतशांतांशुरुः जन्म नै।
    पूर्वी: शादेश्वरनितिहितानीयाताको [डीक्वातामा]वाक्यू।
    श्रुतं त्य [शु]।

25. [स] यहांचम्पधरणाराजा जनमाठी।
    तदार्थाः वुण्जपुमुखपालणां बाहुरुप्तरंिधा। || १८ ||
    यहांत्या नीपत्ये मुँहसात्रथात्साक्ताः [टे]।

26. त्यान्तरपरं सृष्टि सृष्टि सृष्टि सृष्टि सृष्टि सृष्टि।
    ध्वनिः श्रीमद्भक्ष: ज्ञितिष्कृतः परं तन्त्रपुष्पास्यः।
    वर्ज्यत तत्कालवर्त्सारूमरुषां वेषं सन्मातिस्थी।
    वेदाभ्यास्य।

27. प्रतीती च तीर्थालक्षणां श्रणे योगियोंचिवः || २०||
    यहांमुनिदित्वाकार कांक्षाकृत्वास्याना: योग्यतं।
    भोगाभम्पारायणाम्।

28. मयं वन्द्येव वायैवः।
    यहांवेदं भावितविदेश: शान्ति: पुनः प्रवर्स॥
    पूताया वाः मण्ड्ये भावतां सहस्राधीन दर्शनम् || २१||

29. यहांत्या तत्क्रियावेद कल्लोकासं मन: यंगज:।
    विभवष्कारिण्यकरो असनधीपायोंनी चंड्माः।
    श्री तात्कालिनीरीक्षू युक्ताः।

30. मस्य देवीषोऽपि।
    व्यातीतबन्धनमहाभावितत्वम्: श्रीवन्दशकारपवस् || २२||
    लंकाष्ठियमेंवजीवविसुखा दिला कुमावशष:।
    मेघोऽपि।

31. रामयमुदितं भुगा इवांस्थमोंजिनी।
    उक्तां सर्वेऽवत्त यदीवतां प्रारंभारोगिनमूखे ।
    गोऽता: अक्षमतं विषाय बामस लीकामसाक्षाक्षा।

32. भासिष्यान्विधानायतिदशृद्धायेव विन्यायो।
    मूलाण यहांनें गूढ़रथरामुखे दण्ड:।
    यहां गूढ़रथमालवायुदित्वाद्याद्यो।

33. नाइंतेऽपि:।
    सत्यश्रीधराः विद्वर्ये श्रंचुः ये गिरोत || २४||

1 Read सृष्टि। Metre: Drutavilambita.
2 तत्कालया।
3 Read सृष्टि। Metre of vv. 19–24: Sārddevāvīkṛṣṇita.
4 तत्कालया।
5 Read विन्यायो।
तत्प्रथमविभिन्न रस्मतमं खण्डः ।
स्मृतिसंग्रहं साक्षात्संबंधं पुराणः [1]

[क]-

L. 34. तत्त्वसम्भवाय प्रदानं ज्ञातं [1]
खण्डं जीवं विजयनीयमुग्धंचर्चा: । २५[२६]°
यथातापम साक्षों वर्षसंख्येन विश्नेत: ।
प्रमोऽविश्वासं येन साक्षी [तो]-

35. वि खि वासिनः । २६[२६]°
सीमां विषमसुव्याख्यायिनीकांताष्ट्र तेजस्विना ।
मृत्युं गिरिचार्य्य: कुमुदिनीकांताकालामालिनाः

36. श्रीप्रकाशबुधां गांभीर्यमंभोदिले ।
राधायंकुमरः प्रभु: प्रविद्धं यम्मांसिद्धि सत्यरः । २७[२७]°
वे च श्रीमदवक्ष्य मित्रायादाकाशिते:

37. सादरः ।
श्रीममापुरे पुराणपुरे व्यालं सुपवीकारः ।
भूयीभिभंतिभुवै: परित्वति [१]वेगार्दश्चक्षः
सामोद सरसं सरीरसहनं लोकामाराला

38. वषं । २८[२८]
क्षरं परमेश्वरवक्षं विश्वामरसंभवाऩ।
साक्षां विषवकाव्यं सदसं स्मृती मृदेर्मारस्तः ।
वे: समीलवलोकना ॥ विविधे

39. प्रत्यक्षे:१० निया ।
वादश्वासद्राह्दों विजयार्थतयो भवति निमश्ता वषं ॥ २८[२८]
श्रीममारसारसारससंभवाऩ प्रोक्तप्रमारसिन्बर-[१]
वान्धार्दि-

40. वरानु विजय समदार्यिषार्धिं यज्ञाविनं ।
सर्वज्ञानयुगुष्ठरहरुणपरद्रव्यं स्थलं ।
वे: कौमार द्वन्त्ववशो विजयसं:संभो

41. निऩ्दञ्चु महान् । १०[२२]
द्वाराजसिकीर्षिविजयशीवहिनाराजः पुरा ।
वर्षाकारिप्तसम्यक्यो चरणोपन्यासं तत्वीयं
तस्मातिक्षलम्यवालम-

42. तिना यस्माद्वाराणियाम [१]
तत्पर्मु परमाशां सम्ममनवसवीः ॥ दियो व्याग्ने ॥ ११[२२]

6 Vasantatilakā.
7 Anuśṭubh.
8 Metre of vv. 27—31, Gāyatrīvākśita.
9 Read "किमके”.
10 Perhaps meant for "अब".
11 Read देश, "उः देश”.
ल. 43. नमुन मातविनमणि [1]
बंदिनीपि न च वचणयाः। ॥ १२ ॥
यञ्जामसिवज्ञविज्ञविज्ञविज्ञविज्ञविज्ञविज्ञविज्ञ
वीक्तं खयामकामवा विक्षामिः

44. ना सकलंमेतदपीडः ॥ ११ ॥
चीलोयममगंदुनः वेषापारीयं सवारानितः
गुर्विन् गृहारीयमिद्यतुदिनं स्वर्गादशीयोक्तिनः

45. सहृद्यो महसां भरेश सुभम्ब गाठ युणोपासिनः
वे चारा च वं वां वां वां वां वां वां वां कुर्वेत्त ऋषभाभु
॥ १४ ॥
पति
वामुखरयाय[प]-

46. ब्रपाप्षवया चकेरकमभव ॥
छेषी[१४] गौरिवराज प्रविक्षया गोर्विक्षयः।।।
तवृविनः सीधरस्त तनान्यस्याभवतवेत्
[क]–

47. व्याहोगिनः तत्तुस्त तत्तज्ञस्यापि वाचाभिषः। ॥ १५॥
तत्त्वाभुविशिष्याभिभव ततंज्ञो रजारेभव ॥
सत्त्वाभुवित्त वहसिस्य[नि]

48. श्रविक श्लोकः पञ्चव द्वापरः।
चंद्रणामसाराजस्यवित्तम जयः।।।
सेज:पाल त्रिति पञ्छक्षसनमः। चित्रम्यः:प्रोतिततः। ॥ १६॥
[क]–

49. मध्येष्व लिंगं रंगम गीतो गीतोगतः।
रासीसंजयति चं त्रिति प्रत्यामम सवारानि: [ ― - - ]
मोक्षस्याभुवव गुरौ प्रत्यामनि शयनमुपविद्रशी
पौलो–

50. मध्येष्व श्रविषेधाराविव सुखं ती दंपती भेजतः। ॥ १७ ॥
वैराणायनिष्ठुविस्यनिपालकाराः
तेवां च श्रविषेधायतितिसंभाराः।
सीभायः [अ]-

51. ययपरभागविभासुराराः।
तेवां चूर्विरेष्विसनुमिशाराः। ॥ १७ ॥
वामामुनासत्तुशाहविभंविचेत:।
शास्त्र: स शैवक्षणमाना सजः

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[1] उपयोग के लिए व्याख्यान
[2] उपयोग के लिए व्याख्यान
[3] उपयोग के लिए व्याख्यान
[4] उपयोग के लिए व्याख्यान
[5] उपयोग के लिए व्याख्यान
L. 52. तिता भाव [१]

चिरुसः[चभ]चिगंदागजिःन्द्रेष्ठरो- [१]
चारकर्त्तराणु ध्रुव चुकृतिमयेणुः ४६१६

विरेष्ठकाणा

चित्ते: प्रमस्तिः सुपालमानुः-

53. [र]नंकथेंषु शमाः प्रतिष्ठा

सिद्ध सीवर्षिष्ठकतेजपाल: ४० [२]

भाद्रार्थियभिर तीर्थन्तरके श्रमुः[ज]-

54. भे ५ चोकर

सीख् १० शेखरकार दृशीर्यमध्यगबर्षादिभिन्दावरुः

चन्तन्त्रेष्ठृतुवार्जितां फलवतीसुत्रे: खजंत: पियं

[प्रा]-

55. सातिसदुक्षगुणवाकारायणम्भृजः ४२[२]१०

तीर्थिण् साधुर्रामभिधे चन्द्री चिर्यिति[र]९५५ संस्थे ।

चेष्ठम[चि]-

56. करिदुर्गार्णादिविषयस्मुनिराजा ४१२०

तं दीक्षा जीवी भगवदिहारं

स तेजपाल: खजंतीति दण्डी

भावो कदा सो ज्वस-

57. रो वरियान

यजा अव चेष्ठं भविता नवीनं ४४ [२]

पञ्चयुः: खफुरुपदेशगर्दा कामं वलकोवत|-

खमतिधा: स वरिण्य व[र] पु-

58. रवरे शीतकुमारो वसन्

तीर्थे श्रीमति तुंगतीर्थितिल्ले श्रुण्जयेश्वरसी [१]

हरे काशुम्भा चजायतनमा साप्तथमिश्च: पियं: ४६ [२]

59. चष्क्षुत सुलत्त सतं ततुसतं चे: चिर्यां कारणं

मतिवं निजपूर्वतेजमहान्तर्पमोदाये

तीर्थे श्रीविस्मालाचलितिकिले [१]

60. मौलिको मंदिरे

जीर्णार्काकारायणवरुण सुलत्ती कुंतितनूज्यवरुण ४६

श्रीणिव भवगमांगमितादुः

सीखं चकास्ति गि-

१५ Read ओजिनेरो, भवं.
१७ Metre: Upajāti.
१८ Read सीब्रचे, श्रेष्ठ.
१९ Sārēlāvikrīḍita. The figure 89 is missing: Read प्रायाः
२० Metre: Ārya.—Read ओन्ध.
२१ Metre: Upajāti.
२२ Metre of vv. 45, 46: Sārēlāvikrīḍita.
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SATRUMJAYA.

61. खराक्कित्थेमकुं ।
दलोतु ५२ वस्मिन्तिसुनुपैति नाक ।
लुक्को विजीत्तुमृत्य वामसश्रव्यावर्गम् । ४०[२]३३।
वषादीयाकिस्त जितागरकुमुः ।

62. भिरुपम् ।
कः सा विभांति यायेवदर्दें १२४४ संख्या ।
किं शैवितु प्रस्वसः । प्रस्वसःःपाप ।
पूर्णितादिनकरः । पत्तेवकु पः । ४८[२]

63. उद्यत्रितप्रमद्भुमिसचानेशायान् ।
विक्षेरु विपचरणो युगपतिनन्तरः ।
सण् का विभामिभादुतिमित्युदेनेजः । २१ ।
सिंहा विमालुपुः ।

64. गता जिनधारणां यथा । ४८ ।
येन्नीयो यथा शोभंति चतुरं जिनधारणां ।
निषेधित्वमित्वार्जांतः प्रतापेयमुहम्-धिम् । ५०[२]५५
राजतं च हितं ॥

65. भा पाभा [-I] यथा ५ चंदलाये ।
मुर्तिमंतः किमायाता तथ्याकाश्यमिनामसः । ५९[२]
हाससतः विनयशयति किमेक्षे यन्त्रोऽवन ।
विनासं देशकुलसः ।

66. याखु च तावतीथुः ।
हाससतः विनयजनाविकास्ततांसः ।
किं कुद्माला-परिवर्तेश्वरवं भरंत: । ५२ [२]
राजते यथा चलारं गवाया जिन्ने ॥

67. ख्यानि ।
विन्यासविरव वस्माणि विम्माकार्यवंसि ॥ ५१ [२]
यथा चैवे विराजति । चलारस तपोवण: ।
भभसिहतः किमायाम् ॥

68. त: । प्रभृपृथ्वी वपुषूम: ॥ ५६ ॥
वंशालिकाः विनयमयिति किमेदाधिकाः ।
हासिंहादं क्रिष्णवृषिश्वरेभद्रयः ।
झाला पतनीगः ॥

69. च जिन्नेकिमु सचारसि ॥
राजां प्रिया विम्माकार्यविम्माकनोऽवाः ॥ ५४ [२]
हासिंहादंतमनानि च तोरशानि ॥
राजतो य: ॥

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३३ Metre of vs. 47—49: Vasantaritakā.
३४ ओग: visible on the reverse.
३५ Metre of vs. 60: 51: Anuṣṭubh.

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३६ Metre: Vasantaritakā.
३७ Metre of vs. 63, 54: Anuṣṭubh.
३८ Metre of vs. 55, 56: Vasantaritakā.
70. \( \text{ṣa jijnāśāṃ} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ

71. \( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ

72. \( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ

73. \( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ

74. \( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ

75. \( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ

76. \( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ

77. \( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ

78. \( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ
\( \text{vimaṇḍa loka māṇḍeśaṇa} \) maṇḍeśaṇaṃ sarvāni sukhāsnaṃ

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27 Metre of vs. 57, 58: Upajāti.
28 Metre: Śārdulavikrīḍita.
29 Metre of vs. 61, 62: Vasantatilaka.
L. 79. समृद्धः ||
पौयस्यब्रह्मिसिंह नीरनिघे: प्रवाहः ||
केशिर्जन: संस्काराभिप्रवास निंगानि: ||
चैव निरौक सुमातेित तनः ||

80. समस्य: || ६३ || कः
चैवं चाह चतुर्मुखं चतुर्मुखं चौरामालकारिः |
प्रीतुगं जसुढ़िकुरेण विरङ्गत चैवं विनौिंय श्रामं ||
रघ्य सुंकुः

81. रज्जवित्तुमित्रस्य || भृजीवं तुनीयं युनः ||
मूलाद्धिकिर्तिः निवाससुभागः चैवं चतुर्यं तथा || ६४ ||
एक्तःवित्तुमित्रसिंहुत्तिमिरी:-

82. ख्यायंसुकितीयं
बोलो दिख || खिलाकु निजिरपारिः: खलोकामिरिकः
ब्रोमकुंभःभृजीवानांतुकं चैविश्वरुविमुः

83. तः ||
प्रासारी || गिमानविव || नोदकमलाःचैवं चिरं नैत || ६५ ||
वस्त्रालिप्या वर्णस्वरुप्रय यिष्यं ||
चैवं चैविवाद्वसुदोषं

84. निरोगपीयं
मिलालसिस्तति || कलाकारात्सीणि विख्यं ||
कामास्य शिक्षिपति भवितु मप्रिति: || ६६ ||
सदाचारार्थों भागवतिष:-

85. यायाजनसुचियं
पद्धांभोज्यमभस्मयामीयो शेषविजयः
परंतुविराज्याः बिश्वविव युनां यां विश्वितवान
प्राप्ति: म[श्चे]-

86. या जगति चित्तकालं विजयसं || ६७ ||
चति सौरवधकाश्यपितेशोऽपलोलवित्वम्भावचनः
[पात] नन्दीभाद्रेश्वरमूल्यामादभ्यः [मो]**

87. कुधस्तानगराणां विनियोगासगरे || लिखिते||
मिलिमित्वासुदीकी || माधवान्नामानिवाते नामया || ६८ ||

No. XIII.**

L. 1. || चाँ || सन्निधि: श्रीस्वातं १९१२ वर्ष सामं विदि २ सोमवारे पुष्यामे निवित्तिमर्य ||

2. निष्कृष्टादिगुरुराज्ञाते समिरलोक्यवर्णद्विप्र मप्रिति वाष्पालिकस्कलान्निरुताः

** Metro of vs. 64, 65: Śārdulāvākṛkita. Read "श्रादुलावाक्रक्ति".
** Metro: Vasanatālakā.
** Metro: Sākhārinī.
** Read श्रादुलावाक्रक्ति.
** Metro: Āryā beginning with श्रा.
** Bound a pair of Pādūkas in a small temple to the west of Ādīvāra Bhaṅgavāna temple: Lists of Ant. Rem., p. 198, No. 119.—J. B.
3. भयान्रामवत्तनस्वत्तमालोकोलोगवादमिवववत्तसंवत्त्मोलीलाविद्वारंस्मृतिमंगलकोनमहेंदरुकरोकालोकनमुंडका—
4. भिषजालकपूजनमथापनीसुनेर्वकानुसारोपणमनिश्चितयोपलकरोपालुका प्रदत्तबु २ सागाराना नामादि—
5. श्रीरामसन्यासदाय रघु श्रीरामजी महाराजार्थेत अग्रिम अनुमुद्धित प्रमाणार्थ वं. १६५२ व—
6. ये माहरा सत्तेनाश्वास्या उदयसुर्योपायो प्रसादरूप विश्रामैकोन साधितसत्तमाहोग तान्त्रातया-
7. श्रीरामरविजयस्वतीया परदाया: कारती संततीयां वंदेवसुलिखित प्रमोद—
8. श्रीरामरविधिकारम्: सर्वप्रथाय सीताकारविजयां वंदेवविजय—
9. — शिवान्स स[ढ]प्रशि:वतू || एताच भ[वा]
10. [ — — — रा] रायमानाचिर||
11. [ नमः ] तु || स्री: ||

No. XIV.²⁹

L. 1. १४५५ सैनाघाट सुद्दि १३ युग्म संवल्लाेगी—
2. श्री ⁰ कारककस्ताने सातं बेला पुष सा ⁰ धना—
3. पु ⁰ नरसिंहं पु ⁰ कु ंभरा पु ⁰ नक्षा माया नव—
4. रंगदे पु ⁰ सुरालाभ मायां सैन्दृष्टी पुष श्रीमुं—
5. वर्तियान्त्यायविधानगमितसंगमसंप्रतिविवा—
6. सच्चेरोलकविन सातं बेलसी सा ⁰ सीभागदे—
7. पु ⁰ पदभमि भागी प्रभागदे पु ⁰ चंद्रीभागी [भा]
8. ⁰ बीमार्दे बङ्गारुपुष सीभागी बलभुपुष सा ⁰—
9. विवम्बसीलो भागी बाबाड़दे पुष पोमसी हिजीं—
10. भागी विमलायेदे पुष दूरपीय सीभागी भागी—
11. केँदरदे पुष वि ⁰ बुंदरसी मसलिमपीठम—
12. श्रीरामरविधानसिन्हान चतुर्वेदिविवाकर्पि—
13. भिमसुस्थाने — — — — देवयश्वाका घुटी—
14. बेन्देुँ कारता श्रीकृष्णदरमशाकार्याराज—
15. बुद्धभानीजनिसंसिंहसुपरिपालिकाराराम[२]—
16. श्रीमुंगलभानीजनिसंसिंहसुपरिपालिकाराराम—
17. चुङ्चुरी[समाज]राज्याचि: राज्य: "[२][]

No. XV.⁴⁴

L. 1. ॥ सं १४५५ सैनाघाट सुद्दि १३ तितिवी मुँकर रुपालार्थेत सर्वान्त्यमूलि: संगीर्वकारविधानराजाचि: ॥ श्री:
2. चश्मदात्वात्मराजाय ट्रान्तीयांकुशाकार्यादपक संॉ मार्ष्या भागी मार्ष्य पुष संॉ ज्योती भागी अजस्माते—
3. पुषजय सकलसुव्यवाहार्यतात्मकारविविधयां संॉ सीभागी भागी राज्यदे पुष संवयाति क्षेत्रीयो भागी

²⁹ On the shrine door of the temple of Pupadarka in front of the Chaumukha temple in the Kharataravad Tank; Lists, p. 205, No. 312.—J. B.
³⁰ Read श्रीमती.
³¹ Read "मुँकर".
³² Read बुंगल.
⁴⁴ Read "राजाराम:".
⁴⁴ Round pddukas in a small temple in the north-west of the Kharataravad Tank; Lines 1, 2 and 3, are on the south, west and north sides respectively, and 4—6 on the east. Lists, p. 206, No. 320.—J. B.

8. सार्वज्ञायितः जनगीतेर्षार्थकार्यकाल: समंज्ञायतः समार्थरः समुच्चयेण प्रार्थना श्रीजीतः 
कार्यकाल: समंज्ञायतः समार्थरः समुच्चयेण प्रार्थना श्रीजीतः।

9. जलामुखविनायितः श्रीपुरुषोऽकार्यकार्यार्थकार्यकाल: समंज्ञायतः समार्थरः समुच्चयेण 
प्रार्थना श्रीजीतः।

10. तस्मिनिष्वार्यः सार्वसङ्गेड़स्तः शाखाप्रार्थकार्यकार्यकाल: समंज्ञायतः समार्थरः समुच्चयेण 
प्रार्थना श्रीजीतः।

[संपूर्णता]
No. XIX.\textsuperscript{44}

1. संवत् १४७५ मिले सुरतान्त्रकर्मीयांकर्मविधियांचे साधियांकर्मविधियांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

2. करते राजनगरी सोवर्कर्मविधियांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

3. [डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

4. संवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

5. संवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

6. विश्वासयोगीयांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

7. विश्वासयोगीयांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

8. विश्वासयोगीयांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

9. विश्वासयोगीयांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

No. XX.\textsuperscript{57}

1. संवत् १४७५ मिले सुरतान्त्रकर्मीयांकर्मविधियांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

2. सुरतान्त्रकर्मीयांकर्मविधियांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

3. सुरतान्त्रकर्मीयांकर्मविधियांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

4. सुरतान्त्रकर्मीयांकर्मविधियांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

5. सुरतान्त्रकर्मीयांकर्मविधियांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी[डू]प्रथमसंवर्गांकनकर्मकालविद्यांसाठी

\textsuperscript{44} In the same on the west image.—J. B.
\textsuperscript{57} In the same on the north image.—J. B.
6. नायिकरं कार्तिरं प्रतिषिद्धं च श्रीविद्यार्करसाधितििविवस्थानोत्तरस्याधिपः
श्रीकरसाधितििविवस्थानोत्तरस्याधिपः ।
विवस्थानोत्तरस्याधिपः ।
7. साधितििविवस्थानोत्तरस्याधििवस्थानोत्तरस्याधििवस्थानोत्तरस्याधिि
प्रथानिरीक्षणाविषयं ।
8. चार्गं श्रीमणागसागरसिंहं ।

No. XXI. ।

L. 1. । चाँ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसरसायीं न विश्वेषुरानन्दः ।

2. १६७५ वर्षं मासिक १५४१ मयंसमाहिः ।

3. ॥ ॥

4. ॥ [प] मार्क्का श्रीसरसायीं ।

5. ॥

6. ॥

7. ॥

8. ॥

60 Read श्रीधर.
61 On the north wall of a temple near the वाल्मीकिकोपल, in the विमलगवास तुकः Listo, p. 201, No. 234.—J. B.
सम्प्रभुपुप्पुक्षिः खृष्टियोजयकीर्तिः।
तत्तदेव सुधास्री।

L. 9.
मधुरसिद्धानान्तः जयोऽधिकरतास्य। १०।
स्वतिश्वस्तरादिश्वरायो भूरिकीर्तिः।
भवसागरसूक्तिरान्तः भूखस्तु गणाधिपतः॥ १९॥
श्री-

10.
महुर्यसत्रिधानान्तः जयोऽधिकरतास्य। १०।
स्वतिश्वस्तरादिश्वरायो भूरिकीर्तिः।
भवसागरसूक्तिरान्तः भूखस्तु गणाधिपतः॥ १९॥
तत्तदेवश्रीसाधारायत्तत्तथेवने॥

11.
निभाः।
जयमि खुरिराजः श्री। युजः कश्यपसागरः। ११।
बुद्धष्ठस्त्रायं वासु। पवेशन्ग्राहातत्तपः।
श्री-श्रीहस।

12.
स्यालास्त्र चारोरस्त्राजीभुव्यो:। १२।
स्यश्रीकाव्यस्त्र तत्तुः। विघ्नानमा तद्भवः।
उदेशीत्रास्य तत्तुः। पवेशनानसः।

13.
तिं भवस्तु। १३।
कश्यपसागरः स्य तत्त्रो चाभूखस्त्राजीभुव्यकः।
तत्तरम्भारासिंहस्तराजीभुव्यकः। १४।
श्रीः।

14.
देवीदुत्तति तत्त्रो तदाराध्यः यथा। जयमि जीवस्त्रावत्सवराज्ञीस्त्रावाषनः। १५।
श्रीः। पवेशनानस्यावत्ससनमानसः।

15.
सार्वहिदशास्त्रास्त्राजीभुव्यकः।
स्यालयवेशण समुद्राभास्य चाणेन घन्टापमः।
स्यालयवेशणसूक्ष्माः वोधिना श्रीः।

16.
योगः। १६।
प्रातावृत्तामनुसरास्य सत्त्राधिकारतः।
स्यालयवेशणमान्यस्त्रावपितं सहोदरः। १७।
श्रीः।

17.
मानसाः। ववादेविति विवस्त।
तद्यथाऐवः ख्याती। वीरास्त्राविज्ञप्तकः। २०।
वर्षिनी वप्पसः। रवायब्धा।

18.
सुवादारः।
श्रीपालक्षुपालस्त्राजेश्वरस्त्रावच्छासः। २१।
एवं सत्त्राधिकारः। सम्भवक्ष्यपूः।
श्रीस्वामाधनः।
L. 19. पश्चिमं प्रधानधारां । २२
प्रामुखयांग रन्धे । माधवाकुणनपश्चे ।
रौद्रिनमुद्गवतीयां बुधवाससंयुक्तः

20. । २१ ।
शिवासिनिवन्युक्तां । जिननां दांतुमा ।
शिक्षय प्रतिमा खुदा । भारतां भ्रमितां । २२ ।
तुम्मुः ।

21. पुरासिंहवुद्या । सफलीकारेन ।
शिवललिखर ज्ञाति । प्रासादः शेषासनाः । २३ ।
हस्तासित्विनः-

22. कोमि । वंदनित सदृशः ।
केशास्थरंगोदोऽगुणरीर । शापि: योगितो भ्रमतः । २४ ।
तुम्मुः ॥
साहित्यी-

23. पश्चिमं ज्ञाति दशुकयोऽपि ।
उन्नुवतेव योगमायु । प्रासादः भिक्षरोजतः । २५ ।
यं दृढ्य भविषयः: स-

24. । वितयं गति स्वच्छताः ।
उच्चैः चित्तिं: विस्मयोऽविद्रि । दृष्टं श्रृङ्खलं यतः । २६ ।
शेष शैवतिरवाजोऽरुते सा-

25. वातसः ।
प्रतिमा: खापितस्तत् शेरियांसुनुकः अवतामः । २७ ॥
तथा च । संवत् १४७६ वर्षं फाल्गुन रिति ॥-

26. तीथयां निश्चित देवगुणवासः देवतीन्द्र श्रीमती तृणवरसर । ताहिरसुप्रवलीकृतम् योभरतप्रकः-
27. वर्तमानिर्धारितसंस्कृतं महासंस्कृतं ज्ञान श्रीमाकाराधिकारमहाकुरुपं श्रुग्रान्धानपुरुषः-
28. यो । श्रीकालासागरसुरीरः: सारां श्रीविन्यागतिमहारसने सनेश्वरं कारित्वीयुंर्य-गिरिर्मि-

29. प्रासादः सम्भोजेन्द्र श्रीविन्याससुनुकानेकोऽरुते संति: सिंवानि खापितानि ॥
सिद्धः पुण्यमानानि

30. चिरं जटदृः ।
चारितिभक्तिविद्यार्थोऽकुणार्थसुरविषयः: निमित्त ज्ञातीतः ।
श्रीयांसुप्रवलीकृतमद्विस्तम् ता-

31. यद्यदनवमभविकीविविधविद्यामासम्भ ॥ १ ॥
वामकालासागरसुरीरः: सिंवातेव साग्निष्ठं विशिष्टं प्रयस्तः: [१]

२८ Metre: Vasanatilakā.
No. XXII.

L. 1. वैष्णव संवत् १६७५ वर्ष वैष्णव चुळ
2. १५ तिथि युक्त्वारे श्रीमद्विनंगके
3. खारिजराजपूजमेवमार्गसिद्धिरः
4. सामाजाञ्जसूतियत्राधानं युगां
5. धानपूजनक्षणाशास्त्रमाहा
6. रिविजयारंगे श्रीमालोकाचा
7. तौरवतावादवाचार्यां वास
8. बहुम भायारं राजसदे पुण साह
9. श्रीमालोकानं दार्शनमिका देश
10. तीरारागिता विनादासे वत्तुः

No. XXIII.

L. 1. [सं] वैष्णव संवत् १६७५ शृतां ज्ञानदीतदीर्शांगीरसवार्थप्रणालिकाने कोराजनगर भवान्यमार्ग
2. तीरार देवराज भायारं [क]ड़ी पुण सं श्रीमालोकारं राजसदे पुण सं सार्वेचा भायारं नालूक पुण सं श्रीमालोकारं ना
3. तिरार देवराज श्रीमालोकारं श्रीमालोकारं पुनायत पंड्रारे राजसदे भायारं नालूक पुण सं श्रीमालोकारं ना
4. खारिजराजपूजनक्षणाशास्त्रमार्गाधानेनिः भवान्यमार्गवाचार्यां च वीधातवेशामार्गाद्वारे संवत् १६७५
5. युगप्राप्तिजीविन्द्रां श्रीमालोकावराधार्यां विनादासे विशार्यांद्राधार्यां श्रीमालोकानं दार्शनमिकाचा देश
6. श्रीमालोकानं दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं

No. XXIV.

L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैष्णव संवत् १६७५ शृतां ज्ञानदीतदीर्शांगीरसवार्थप्रणालिकाने कोराजनगर भवान्यमार्ग
2. प्रामाण्यातीक सं सार्वेचा भायारं नालूक पुण सं जोगी भायारं असार्वेचा पुण विनादासे वाचार्यां
3. बालूक भायारं श्रीमालोकावराधार्यां सुंदरास्वामिर् जोगी भायारं नालूक पुण सं जोगी भायारं असार्वेचा पुण विनादासे वाचार्यां
4. युगप्राप्तिजीविन्द्रां श्रीमालोकानं दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं
5. [विनादासे वाचार्यां दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं दार्शनमिकानं]
No. XXV.\textsuperscript{67}

1. चौं || संवत् १४३६ || वर्ष || वै शाबासित || खुने सुपुण्यधूमण्डनी ||
2. श्रीमालिनीस्य || मनोजीवा || भाये || वार्ष || रंगारे || सुत || मनोज[०] ||
3. श्रीतामके भाये || वार्ष || गणारे || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || [४] ||
4. [४]शतासात्तीयोऽस्वायत्त || सर्वसप्तभित्रभवमनम- ||
5. वस्तुंकुलं वार्ष || वार्ष || वार्ष || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || [४] ||
6. [४] तदारकस्योऽस्वायत्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||
7. [४] वार्ष || ववर्ष || ववर्ष || ववर्ष || ववर्ष || ववर्ष ||
8. यावं || यावं || यावं || यावं || यावं || यावं ||
9. तावं || तावं || तावं || तावं || तावं ||

No. XXVI.\textsuperscript{68}

1. चौं || नम् || श्रीमालिनादिविद्वार्मानां || मनोजीवाः || श्रीपुण्यधूमण्डने ||
2. क्षास्मायुः || गणारे || समभने || पुण्यधूमण्डने || श्रीमालिना || संवत् ||
3. १४३२ || वेशं || वेशं || वेशं || वेशं || वेशं || वेशं || वेशं || वेशं || वेशं || वेशं || वेशं || वेशं || वेशं ||
4. श्रीमालिनादिविद्वार्मानां || मनोजीवाः || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||
5. सर्वसप्तभित्रभवमनम- || सर्वसप्तभित्रभवमनम- ||
6. प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||
7. श्रीमालिनादिविद्वार्मानां || मनोजीवाः || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||
8. श्रीमालिनादिविद्वार्मानां || मनोजीवाः || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||
9. श्रीमालिनादिविद्वार्मानां || मनोजीवाः || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||
10. श्रीमालिनादिविद्वार्मानां || मनोजीवाः || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||
11. श्रीमालिनादिविद्वार्मानां || मनोजीवाः || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||

No. XXVII.\textsuperscript{69}

1. संवत् १४३२ || वर्ष || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || चौं || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||
2. चौं || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || चौं || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||
3. चौं || चौं || नम् ||
4. चौं || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||
5. चौं || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||
6. चौं || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त || प्रभुखुल्लुलिंगनन्त ||

\textsuperscript{67} In a temple in the Vimalavasū Taṅka, near Adilvāra's. — J. B.

\textsuperscript{68} Round the margin of pāṭuka or foot-prints, No. 3, north side, in a temple in the west of the Khantaravasū Taṅka. \textit{Liste}, p. 205, No. 317. — J. B.

\textsuperscript{69} In a niche in a temple in the Vimalavasū Taṅka, on the left hand between the Vāghana-pola and Hāṭha-pola; \textit{Liste}, p. 204, No. 138. — J. B.
L. 5. जिनपः जीतातिभुरसूते मे || 1 ॥
उधायोऽछिन्दः क्षतिकरः उषारः ॥ 1 ॥
स्थायः प्रामसः[37]-
6. यह इति उपलब्धः सुधीरं गांवांमथाः ॥
रीरानोवनालप्राप्तस्वरुपो सौवासः प्राविन्दः ॥
वंदः [कथि]
7. अतिभिषे सिनिवसतः जीविषेन्द्रमहान् ॥ 2 ॥
वान्य रामसीतिः य यज्ञिन्ति द्विगुणादपशोः ॥ -
8. पाः ॥
सिनिवसः भूरिवर्तापरिवर्तवः चक्रवर्तिनरक्षरीमपृषः ॥
लोके वधात्वारिपि सुरदतितः[वान्] ॥
9. व्यपारिति नामन[1]
स जीवित्यजनिणिनी दियतु विविधसं खाल्दन्तयोगिनाय: ॥ 3 ॥
धर्मस्तत्र वंदृवः [वान्] ॥ 372
10. दुनन्ने बिन्धिन्तुभेष: [1-]
धर्मस्तत्राश्वरयेवति विवचरणापि प्रयंदे हुः ॥
देवलं चुत्कंकलम्[स]-
11. तुम्ह यथातुख्यानाशि: ॥
स जीवादातिभुवसूते चति विविधान्त खाल्दन्तयोगिन्यः ॥ 4 ॥
यथा जीवसः[न]
12. ज्ञातति जीवादातिभुवसूते [1]
धर्मस्तत्र भूरकुमुरुवर्ताश्रीयों पीतायं देविनां ॥
यद्धान[स]
13. विवाहाञ्चलन्तवं मंगावधाराय: ॥ 74
सौपायसोऽव्याहारायां सोऽवेश्त्रि श्ये सम्भवेदा ॥ 5 ॥
14. धन पदावली: ॥
सौपायसोऽव्याहारायां सोऽवेश्त्रि श्ये सम्भवेदा ॥ 6 ॥
15. धारापाकः विविधान्त खाल्दन्तयोगिन्यः ॥
सौपायसोऽव्याहारायां मायदः ॥ 4 ॥
तन्त्रादातिभुवसूते[न]-
16. लक्षावधाराय: ॥
सौपायसोऽव्याहारायां मायदः ॥ [1]
सौपायसोऽव्याहारायां मायदः ॥ [न]

70 Metre of verses 1-2: Śardālvikṛhitā.
71 Metres: Śrāddhākārā.
72 Read "आदर्शप्रवाहः".
73 Metre of verses 4-5: Śardālvikṛhitā.
74 Read "गंगा".
75 Metre of verses 6-7: Vasantātilakā. Read "परो".
70

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

L. 17.  ²⁷:[ः]वदमलोकयुक्तायतः।  ॐ
चौधर्ष्यश्रीगुरुवो वर्तविसितभाषः[1]
धूरोश्रारजपद्व पूर्णमेवः

18.  द्विसंहः।
शास्त्रसत्त: चकलस्थिरिशिविवंतसः।[1]
सिंत्रपञ्चामामयकुंसामुगुणप्रविष्टाः।  ॐ =  ॐ²²
तेष्यः:  ॐ-

19.  अस्य गुरुमो जिनसङ्क्षुरः।²³
गौरा वभूतस्य पूर्वस्तमा गणेष्यः।[1]
देवद्विसंहश्रीगुरुप्रक्षेत्रः

20.  समाया य]
पूर्णप्रत्सिन्धित्वकाशास्त्रम प्रभृत।[1]
समाया

21.  मद्विशभवो गुरुवो²⁹ वभूतः।[1]
वृक्षरोभज्यतोविन्यितप्रसादः।[1]²⁹
शीतिसपुमलुको नर्देवयः[ख]-

22.  ॐ²³
तेभोभमयु गणेष्या वज्यकिसिंधुरः।[1]
सुखास्ततथा जयकिसिृहस्तः।²³
विन्यितसागः

23.  रणाधिभस्यश्चतोत्तु।[1]
श्रीभवसागरशुक्लयुगः²⁹ चभूतः।  ॐ²¹
तदशुक्लरितभासन् "भा-

24.  नुऱ्पः।²⁵
चूरोखः: शुद्धः[ख]वधयो भवितः।  ॐ²⁵
तत्तपदोंपदोंश्रेयौगिर्मणः

25.  वस्त्राकाँडः भास्मः।[1]
स्वधारामालामलास्यामभंग्रानः।[1]²⁵
शैलमयी विन्यितप्रसादः[ख]-

26.  तिलकः वार्द्ध्रंधंशानः।
शासनः  श्रीभवसागरसिंहः।  ॐ²²
ततः-

²⁷ व stands above the line.
²² Metre of verses 9-11: Vasantaśilaka.
²³ Read "भैरवराजः. र stands above the line.
²⁴ Read "भृजः".
²⁵ Read "भृजः".
²⁶ Read "भृजः".
²⁷ Read "भृजः".
²⁸ Read "भृजः".
²⁹ Read "भृजः".
³³ Read "भृजः".
³³ Metre of verses 12-13: Sārdalavikṣkṣita. Read "भृजः".
L. 27. 

28. 

29. 

30. 

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35. 

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37. 

38. 

39. 

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41. 

42. 

43. 

44. 

Read "धारणेयः".
Read "चारशास्यः".
Read "सुमिष्टः".
Read "सतः".
Read "समर्थः".
Read "शतः"
Read "शरणः".
Read "सतः".
Read "सतः".
Read "सतः".
Read "सतः"
No. XXVIII.\(^{46}\)

L. 1. चौँ || सं० १ [१०] ५४ माघ वट र ५ यशोधरनवास्यानिर्याय तिथि अस्वाधिकारिणि नि-

c 2. तृ १ि राजा मान ॥ के [सहेि दशि] ३ि भाषाके वीरांगनाधिकारिणि वर्षाकालिणि कारिनि ॥

No. XXIX.\(^{47}\)

L. 1. \(\cdot \) चौँ || संवत् १८५६ वर्ष चैत्र मुँडि १५ दिने देवीधरये देवीरीरिमारगे-

c 2. वास्मयीष्यान्योकारिणी बालकुलकृपाये ताहा तुकाजी भारी बा् तजजली

c 3. छुत सा् छाड़ी भारी बाद छात्रवदै बघुबातात सा् बघूजी सा् देवी

c 4. भारी बाद चाहरी देराची बाद देवलदे पू [पु] व सा् धव्यापास भागी[गिज]नो बा्

c 5. कुच्छरि प्रमुखमधूरतें वीरामाल्याचली याचा करीनि

c 6. सीढ़ियाः ठा \(\cdot \) [ग्या] चालने मटनेरी की \(\cdot \) स्कृते फे-

c 7. री उवाच कराल \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) हारक [हो] \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) [रा] \(\cdot \) ब्ये

c 8. तपरानांकरसे [सी] \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) [सी] \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) \(\cdot \) [न्य]

c 9. वेदीनास रीड़ नम - सुपारीशातुयुभेन भवतु ॥

No. XXX.\(^{48}\)

L. 1. संवत् १६५६ वर्ष बैराकर कुडिये १५ दिने ग्राम के १५५१ प्रवर्षसाथे सीमासंचे कार्याणि गये

L. 2. बलक [च्छा] गणे योकुलकुलाधिकारिणि महाराज वीराभकचरीविसिद्धानुष्ठाती भो बीमुखविसिद्धानुष्ठा-

c 3. स्वाधिकारिणि महाविष्णुविसिद्धाती भो बीमुखविसिद्धाती भो बीमुखविसिद्धाती भो बीमुखविसिद्धाती भो बीमुखविसिद्धाती भो बीमुखविसिद्धाती भो बीमुखविसिद्धाती परिवर्ज्यातु दस्तहाथियीगांवा-

L. 4. व्यापारिकोणे वीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती परिवर्ज्यातु दस्तहाथियीगांवा–

L. 5. चुत ब्रह्मचारिकोणे परिवर्ज्यातु दस्तहाथियीगांवा बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती परिवर्ज्यातु दस्तहाथियीगांवा–

L. 6. दहादीविष्णुविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती परिवर्ज्यातु दस्तहाथियीगांवा–

L. 7. दहादी बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती बीमुखविसिद्धाती परिवर्ज्यातु दस्तहाथियीगांवा–

No. XXXI.\(^{49}\)

L. 1. | \(\cdot \) | \(\cdot \) महाराजपूर्णर्मभावानांनी毁灭—

c 2. | \(\cdot \) | \(\cdot \) विश्रुतस्रारपूर्णमाणि तस्मात् तत्—

c 3. | \(\cdot \) | \(\cdot \) परम्परागतभावार्थविष्णुचर—

\(^{46}\) On the base of a Chaumukha image in a small temple, west of the great Adiśvara Bhagavan; \(\langle\text{Liste, p. 198}\rangle\).

\(^{47}\) No. 114.—J. B.

\(^{48}\) In the shrine of "Bhima Deva,"—the great rock-cut image,—on the wall beside the doorway.—J. H.

\(^{49}\) In the Digambara temple, in a small court to the north-east of the great Adiśvara temple; \(\langle\text{Liste, p. 202}\rangle\).

\(^{50}\) Beside the doorway of the Šeshakoṭa temple, facing the south door of the great Adiśvara temple; \(\langle\text{Liste, p. 187}\rangle\).
Jaina Inscriptions from Satrumjaya.

L. 4. सूरुग्रहणयो नमः संवत [स्त्री] १६९१ वर्ष वै-
5. मार्ग चौदी रजौरी -श्रीदेवरकारसाद्धार सं-
6. चंद्रि बतच मायाय वायु वेण्ण वायु तवो १००ं चुंचुक
7. संत्रियो गौरविरो भायो मायु वयु वयु वायु
8. प्रसुकु रोकुरुकुण े तरुणसे श्रीयुक्त-१२
9. इंदु तरमः प्रासाद [ः] कारापित [ः] श्रीयार्ण्याय-
10. विबंधे खापित्र प्रतिष्ठितेः श्रीदायणाय-
11. कब्दहरेरथीविजायदुरिकित: तत्पु-
12. हाल्कारशुरलाजीविजायसंगति विरं श्रीयः

No. XXXII—(610).

L. 1. भर्ती १७ नाम:
2. स्वतिभिषिकरद-संवध तीय्तः
4. रायविश्व दस वर्षांतः [ः]
6. मायीविभव-यत्वावरी: स-
8. भारेर विद्यायिनियत-न म १ ॥७
िं विभि: सिद्धिसंरक्षितः: स ज्ञात तपगच्छिी- लम्बायिकां
15. चारानिं युतुः पदेश्यात् स- इत्थारामित-धं तीव्रम् ॥ २ ॥८
19. इत्थारामित-सप्तिविद्येः १७१ ० सिन धं-हर्ष्यां वेष्टाचारि तीर्थिनिम १६ ॥
24. चर्यार्थं च खापितस-दीर्घसं वर्धे ॥ १ ॥
27. याज्ञवल्क्षमुक्तां: स्वमित् स्व-जीयाप्रकाश-श्रीयाय: ॥१०
ि म श्रुणुतमुणी-निः सहस्र-कृत: जिद्द-दीयम् ॥ ४ ॥

No. XXXIII.\n
L. 1. भर्ती
2. भर्ती च श्रवण दीपम्
3. वायु १७१ ० वर्ष विषूः
4. चुंबक पदी: तिनवी गुः
5. वर्मारे ब्रम्हबन्धपुः
6. सत्राभ्यासक्षेत्रम्
7. तीय्तथाविशालक्षुः
8. श्रेष्ठगुण सा । वर्मामा-

9. न भार । बाल्याये पु: स
10. सान्तिभिषिकरनिघः
11. रायरिविभवकारिः
12. उपसेनप्रभुभदानी: स
13. सा। जगत्संगीतः जीवः
14. तस्य: श्रीप्रनववानस
15. शुद्धिः राजाविकाश
16. तुष्टार्थः जीवसंस्कृतः

\footnotesize{\textit{Read} स्त्रीसे.\\Read "अंधक".\\Read अंधक: अंधक:\\Read अंधक.\\Read विसंगीत.\\Read श्रीयायः.}

\footnotesize{In the temple of Seshakota, on the left hand column.\textit{Liste}, p. 147, No. 97. — J. B.}

\footnotesize{\textit{Read} स्त्रीसे.\textit{Read} स्त्रीसे.\textit{Read} स्त्रीसे.\textit{Read} स्त्रीसे.}

\footnotesize{\textit{Read श्रीपनववानस.}}
L. 17. ततोथं कारितं ज्ञानति—
18. हायं प्रतिद्वापितं। त—
19. पालके म। शीलेऽवि—
20. जयसरिप्रभाकर
21. म। शीलनिद्रापरि—
22. पालकारपालिका—
23. हिवीरिहिंगीप्रगस्त—
24. नुगतापविद्धप्रापि—
25. चिनंकराजाधारदाग्र—
26. तिबोकारिबाराक
27. श्रीं नौ शीलनिद्रापरि
28. रीवराचार्यश्रीविग—
29. चरमधुरिनिदेहायात्

30. शीलेऽविश्वसुरं
31. शिष्याः श्रीपालिका
32. श्रीं नौ शीलनिद्रापरि
33. श्रीं नौ शीलनिद्रापरि
34. नौकारिविज्ञानं
35. यन्त्रिकपत्रिका—
36. तं ज्ञेषु नौ शीलनिद्रापरि
37. नौकारिविज्ञानं
38. रण्डिन्त श्रीं नौ शीलनिद्रापरि
39. चरमधुरिर्मित्रं
40. श्रीं नौ शीलनिद्रापरि
41. ज्ञेषु: तिरिक्षताद्
42. चरमधुरिर्मित्रं

No. CV. 15

2. || श्रीं नाम: ||
बसुं: श्रीमायारो: प्रातुक्कमभूपयया: [I]
श्रीमायारो: चायितसुरय:। [II] 1 [II]
3. तयस्यकाराद्या श्रीमायारो: समर्पय:। [I]
श्रीनामस्यकाराद्या: मन्त्रंसुरय:। [II] 2 [I]
4. सिंहस्त्रेषु: || चरमधुरिर्मित्रं
श्रीमायारो: समर्पय:। [II] 1 [I]
श्रीमायारो: समर्पय:। [II] 1 [I]
5. श्रीमायारो: समर्पय:। [I]
श्रीमायारो: समर्पय:। [II] 4 [II]
6. स्तं: [I]
तत्तद्य चूर्याक्षेत्र:। [II] 5 [II]
7. श्रीमायारो: समर्पय:। [II] 6 [I]
श्रीमायारो: समर्पय:। [I]
श्रीमायारो: समर्पय:। [II] 1 [I]
श्रीमायारो: समर्पय:। [II] 1 [I]

14 Read प्रतिद्वापितं.
15 In the Khartaravat Tunk, on the south wall in the hall outside the shrine door of Narsi Kesakavi’s temple.—Litts, p. 306, No. 342.—J. B.
16 Read श्रीराज। चारणसिवि,
L. 9. अर्धेरसुर्य [I] ततः [I]
तत्त्वर्द्धपीटायः: प्रोपतत्वपिःसत्पिः [I]
प्रम्पिःपिःराजसुर्यकुण्ड: कस्तायकागारा:

9. [I] ततो [I]
श्रमनोदिविचरोऽद्रतो विशासुरय; [I]
उदयार्थ्यवणुर्ख योगिःसिंहसुनिपति; [I] ततो [I]
ततो पु:

10. कोदिसुवर्णायांत्रिकः विसर्जनः [I]
पुज्यागार्हरीत्रा वभु: गुणकालिन; [I] १० [I]
ततो [I]

11. दिक्खलित्यति विचारसुविचारः [I]
शातातत्त्वमास्वामः भवान्[I] धर्मपदेशः [I] १२ [I]
प्रति प:

12. हावलिः [I]
भष वक्ष्युराढः च कीठाराजन्ये वरे [I]
वभु: लघुश्चायास्वामि: [I]

13. तितुयुक्तवल [I] १२ [I]
ततुनो नायबी जजे जीर्णवारे च तत्विया [I]
पुरो [I]

14. उपवासपुर्वमसें [I] १४ [I]
मातुकिण सम मूँवैवंद्रे सिलकीपस्ति [I]
प्रागासुम्भुप्रभावेन

15. वशु श्व समुपार्जित [I] १४ [I]
देभंसिद्युरारागी[I] धर्मस्वार्धार्यः [I]
दाता भोक्ता यातः:

16. कोस्म ख्यामं विज्ञातो वशु [I] १५ [I]
पाबेति तस्म पद्मि च नरसिंहसुतोजनि [I]
रक्षवार्दः तः

17. ख्याय पतिभंजासुगृहवाम् [I] १६ [I]
वेश्वविकास्य भायी विनियमः [I]

18. भव्या तीकामयी तथा पुनःपुनान्त्रा ख्यायवियोगः [I] १७ [I]
नरसिंहसुता उपवासः\n
23 Read L. 9: अर्धेरसुर्यः.
24 Read ततः.
25 Read L. 10: अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
26 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
27 Read L. 11: अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
28 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
29 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
30 Read L. 12: अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
31 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
32 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
33 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
34 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
35 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
36 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
37 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
38 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
39 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
40 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
41 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
42 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
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44 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
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65 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
66 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
67 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
68 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.
69 Read अर्द्धेरसुर्यः.

19. सुदराजनि [1]

चति संयावरि:।

20. गांवी मौसोमाणी को वेळज्य सिद्धिजौरार्ध्यार्थिनीव धर्मसारायणि कुसूः अर
21. तथया निजपरिकारसुती संघसरसविविमयावदेशी वसेन फेंक लोगोराइयांहृः स।२९
22. शचकपुवञ्जुकुणादिवशायामगमत सः याचुंसजीतेऽ: भिन्नितः बचनवयारः
23. प्रतिदानमिदस्रोक्षवाय विमायासंध्यं कार्यति ता तथार्थ नवमयिनविविहारः
24. नां ब्रह्मयासर्वः पुसुः पुसुः सूपुः सुलमे योधीपतिर संज्ञा।३०
25. व्य तथा विचयः नायावारणायः [३१] श्रीरजस्वार्धृस्वरुपविपणकमङ्कपेशादि-
26. वस्तः सुपरन्त्यवेष्ठर्दगर्भना तथा जीव्या जुगलवाहः सः शाक्तीशर्मा।३२
27. गुढ़कोया कुद्वृ श्रीराजसीमासंगीतः संवत्१९२१ ना वर्षः तथ्याः [३३] श्रीमण-
28. लीक्राकमभास्माणतः च १३८६ मिवः साकिनिमाही मारीतम [३४] श्रीमाधवार्थे मुखा
29. पश्चे तिथि समयः गुढ़कार्ये मारीडयुपर्यायाः सूपुः सुलमे वेष्टिधी।३४
30. लाजः जिन्नुस्ताः श्रीराजश्री भागुरुशिं हनुभरजनकः श्रीमणः सवलोकः
31. नू शुचस्थारानु वद्वण्डः नीतगात्रवाजिवपूर्वक समेव जिनकु नन्दीः।३५
32. नार्द्विक्षियायाचारानादिद्वाचारखादिद्वाधिकारणात्तथिकृः पुसूः धर्ममणा-
33. लाजः चाराप्रमणनिमित्त वास्तकवभवादिशनानाच चतुरुः पैवाः पुसूः गिरिक
34. विश्वरोपरी श्रीभिन्ननिनन्दक विमायासंहिरः तथा प्रतिदानी भार्ण संस्त व
35. योः गुढ़कार्ये मारीसविचित्र्या नियमः ज्ञातः [३६] श्रीरजस्वार्धरूपाश्रयाशुपुः
36. हैतत: श्रीराजपरिवर्तिक श्री श्रीभिन्ननिनन्दादिवशिनिबिवर्तः [३७] श्रीमणश्राकसर्वर्णाश्रयाशुपुः
37. पिताः ततः गुढ़कार्याप्रवित्तमयानुसे ज्ञातः गोशिलयविपणुकृः।३८
38. ठाकुरौरचूरासागरार्षीत्य पादकितपुः [३९] सदनःस्वलमृतूत श्रीराजसंग्रहः
39. भूयतः [४०] काळावास्तमु ग्रामे भवतुः [४१]
सरुपकालासुरसुभिम्निविश्वाः।४२
40. तत्तत्त्वनैस्वर्वविनायाधिरेण [४३]
एव प्रमृणां नवष्टतत्त्वाकाः पर्यः
संहः
41. खः भार्णमसुस्वत्त्रकालीशीः [५३] १॥
वाच्यपरिवर्तिनियांशियेऽ भ्रविः
ABSTRACTS.

No. xxxiv. 18 Samvat 1783, Māha sudi 5; Siddhachakra, dedicated by Aṇandabāli, wife of Shetā (Khetā') of the Śrīmāli laghusākha, inhabitant of Dhanapura; consecrated by pāṇḍitaśvara Devachandra, pupil of upādhyāya Dipachandra, pupil of mahopādhyāya Jñānadharma, pupil of mahopādhyāya Rājasāraji in the sākṣa of Jinachandra Sūri, yugapradhāna of the Brāhat-Khatatara gachchha, who awakened Pātisāhi Akabbara.

No. xxxv. 19 Samvat 1788, Māgha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Bhimamuni dedicated by Dullchand, son of Sā(hu) Kīkā of the Khatatara gachchha; consecrated by upādhyāya Dipachandragaṇi.

No. xxxvi. (Date as above); an image of Śrī-Yudhishtira [shṭhira] munī (remainder as above).

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

No. xxxviii. Samvat 1791, Vaiśākha sudi 8, pūshyārke; an image of Pārvanātha, dedicated by bhaṇḍārī Ratnasimha, a mahāmāntrī, who caused an edict of amārī to be proclaimed in Gujarāt, son of Udayakarana (and Udayavantadevi), son of Shetashījī, son of bhaṇḍārī Dipājī, of the Oṣāvāla vṛddhaśākha and the Nāḍūla-gotra; consecrated in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Dayāsūri, successor of Vijai-Kshamāsūri, of the Tapā gachchha.


44 Read L. 43: "विषयः । अग्निवर्गः । न".
45 Read "पीठः" । मंदर गंगीर.
46 On a Siddhachakra slab in the south corridor of the Khatararavasī Ṭunkt.—Lists, p. 206, No. 357.—J. B.
47 On the base of the image, on the right side of principal one in the Pañcika Panjiya temple.—Lists, p. 207, No. 350.—J. B.
48 In Pañcika Panjiya temple, on the base of the principal image.—Lists, ib.
49 Outside the door of a square temple opposite the south-west corner of the great Ađāvara.—Lists, p. 197, perhaps No. 100.
50 In the Vimalavasī Ṭunkt, on right hand when going towards the Hāthipola, about half-way up.—Lists, p. 202, No. 247.
51 In the south wall outside the shrine door of a temple in the Chhipavasī Ṭunkt.—Lists, p. 207, No. 357.
No. xl. Samvat 1810, Maḥa sudi 13, Tuesday; an image of Sūmatiṇātha, dedicated by the whole Saṅgha, Saṅghavi Kacharā Kīkā and the rest; dedicated by Sarvasūri.

No. xli. Samvat 1814, Māgha vadi 5, Monday; a temple with a śikhara, dedicated by Vo. Kāśarśaṅgha, son of Vo. Lādha, (and Prāṇakumāra) son of Vo. Dīpakand, son of Vo. Sakalachanda of the Prāgovāṭa-vaṁsa, loghusākhā, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated by Udayasūri.

No. xlii. Samvat 1815, Vaiśākha sudi 6, Wednesday; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by māsa Kuyaraj Lādha of Bhāvanagara; consecrated by Rājasāmasūri, of the Lāghuposāla gachchha.

No. xliii. Samvat 1822, Phālguna sudi 5, Thursday; two images in the Viśā, Deshavāla-Tapā gachchha's āria, dedicated by gāndhā Parasottama Sūdarajī and by his nephew Amāidāsa and his brothers Nāthā and Kūmbera, all of Mesānā. The inscription was incised by Kubera, in Samvat 1863, Chaitra sudi 2, Friday.

No. xlv. Samvat 1843, Śaka 1708, Māgha sudi 11, Monday; an image of Ādi-nātha, dedicated by Premachanda, of Rājanagara, a Śrīmālī of the loghusākhā of the Kāśyapa gotra and Paramāra race, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendraśūri of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xlvii. Vikrama Samvat 1860, Śaka 1726, Vaiśākha sudi 5, Monday; an image of Sāntinātha, dedicated by Haras ḍaḥa ma, son of Hirāchanda (and Kumārabāt), son of Sā Rāyakarana, a Śrīmālī of the vriddha śākhā, a native of Damāna-bandira (Daman), honoured by the Phirangijaṇi Puratakāla pātasālī (the king of Portugal).

No. xvli. (Date as in the preceding); a new image in the new temple of Vijjhaṅa-Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Savāichanda, son of Premachanda Jhaverachanda and Joyatt, a Jhaverter (jeweller) of the Usavāla race in Surat, in the name of Premachanda and others, during the victorious reign of Vijaya-Daivachandrāsūri, of the gacchha Vijaya-Aṇandasūri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendraśūri of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xlviii. (Date as in No. xlv); a new image in the new temple of Asraṭa (Vijjhaṅa? Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Jhaverter Premachanda, ... an Usavāla of Surat, belonging to the gacchha of Vijaya-Aṇandasūri, in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Devachandrāsūri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendraśūri, bhajādraka of the Tapā gacchha.

No. xlix. (Date as in No. xlv); an image of Sahasauṭaṭi (Sahasroktā), dedicated by Dāhābhā, son of Sā Lālabhai, grandson of Sā Bhāḷāsāji, a Śrīmālī, at the request of Pūṇyasāgarasūri of the Amohala gachchha, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendraśūri of the Tapā gachchha.

No. l. (Date and contents as of the preceding.

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61 In a temple on the south of the way to the Hāṭhpola, in Vimalavālī-Tūṅk.—Liste, p. 204, No. 285.—J. B.
62 On south side corner of a temple in the outer compound of the Āḍāvāra temple.
63 On the base of an image in a temple on the south side of the way to the Hāṭhpola.—Liste, p. 204, No. 291.
64 In Modi Premachanda’s temple No. 84?
65 In Vimalavālī-Tūṅk, in a small temple on the south of the Vāghana-pola.—Liste, p. 204, No. 304.—J. B.
66 In Modi Premachanda’s Tūṅk, on an image in the principal temple.—Liste, p. 207, No. 302.
67 On the base of an image in the temple on the right upon entering the Tūṅk of Modi Premachanda.—Liste, p. 208, No. 307.—J. B.
68 In Modi Premachanda’s Tūṅk, on the base of the image in the temple facing the preceding.—Liste, p. 208, No. 364.
69 On a column in the Seṣhakoṭa in the Paṅcha Pāḍīva’s temple.—Liste, p. 207, No. 351.
70 In the same temple.—J. B.
No. 1. Samvat 1860, Mâhâ sudya 13; a temple was begun and finished Samvat 1861, Phâguna vadi 5, Wednesday, by Virachanda, son of Pitâmara, grandson of Harashchandam, a Pârekh of Ahmadâbâd, of the Visâ-Poravâla gachchha, and of the gachchha of Vijaya-Ânandasûri.

No. lii. Vikrama Samvat 1861 and Śâlikâhâna Śâka 1736, Dhattâ samvatsara Mârgaśîrsha sudi 3, Wednesday, Pûrvâshâdha nakshatra, Vrîddha Yoga, Gira Karana, in the victorious reign of Pûnasâgaramûrya, successor of Kirtisâgaramûrya, successor of Udayasâgaramûrya of the Amchala gachchha, a kumâda, called Ichchâkumâda, was dedicated by Ichchhâbhâ, son of Nihâlachandabhâ, a Śrimâl of Surat; while the Gohil chief Unnadâji ruled over Pâlitânâ.

No. liii. Samvat 1867, Chaitra suda 15; an agreement in Gujarâti not to allow anybody to build temples in the Hâthi Pola.

No. liiv. Samvat 1875, Mâgha vadi 4, Sunday; an image of Suvadhinâtha (?), dedicated by Sosaji, son of Mûlaji and Mûnâkumâra, of Râdhana pura; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Sêdugarasi, son of Mûlaji and (?); an image of Mallinâtha, and a little temple (dehâri) dedicated by Kântiyâ Hemaji, son of Tokerâsi.

No. liv. Samvat 1885, Vaisakha sukla akshayatritiyÂ, Thursday; a temple of Chandraprabha, built, at the request of the Sâvikâ Gulaâvabeni, by Bâbu Harshachandaji and Visanachandaji, sons of Jeñhamallaji, Bûranachandaji and Kesavadasaji, sons of Sâha Bohtithaji, of the Dûgâda gotra, inhabitant of Bûlûchara; consecrated by Jinaharsahasuri of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lv. Samvat 1886, Śâka 1751, Mâgha, suklapaksha 5, Friday; an image of Pûndarika gañadha, dedicated for the welfare of his father by Lallubhâ, son of Sešth Pânâbhâi and his wife Mughivahu, daughter of Sešth Vakhatachandâ Khuâyâlachâmda of the Vrîddhasâkhâ of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated during the reign of Sântisâgaramûrya of the Sâgara gachchha.

No. lvii. (Date as above); a temple built and an image of Pârvanâthâ, dedicated for the welfare of Bâl Rûmâkumôrya, wife of Sâha Harakhachandâ, son of Sâha Mûlachandâ, of the Vrîddhasâkhâ of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara, and for the welfare of her daughter Jhaverâbat, wife of Dosi Kusalaâchandâ, in the reign of bhâttâraka Râjendrasâgaramûrya of the Amchala gachchha.

No. lvii. (Date as above); a chaturvimsatitithâkarapatta with hrînkâra, dedicated by Motichandâ, son of Sâha Malukachandâ, and Kusalaâbat, of the Vrîddhasâkhâ of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated by the bhâttâraka of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lvii. (Date as above); a parameshï[shthï]pada, with Omkâra, dedicated by the donor of No. liii; consecrated as above.

71 In Vimalavati Tuńk, to the south-east of the Chaumukh of a hundred pillars.—Lists, p. 202, No. 245.—J. B.
72 On a tank by the roadside part of the way down the hill.
73 On the wall, beside the Hâthipola, or the gateway separating the enclosure of the Âdivâra Bhagavân and the eastern section of the Vimalavati Tuńk.—J. B.
74 In Modi Premachandâ Tuńk, in a cell or chapel in the north corridor.
75 In a small temple to the south of Puñdarika's.—Lists, p. 207, No. 345.
76 In Hemabhai's Tuńk, at the entrance.—Lists, p. 209, No. 408.
77 On the east of an image south of Puñdarika's in the entrance to Hemabhai Vakhatachandâ's Tuńk.
78 In Hemabhai's Tuńk, on the north wall of the Mançapa of the principal temple.—Lists, p. 209, No. 407.
79 In the same temple, on the south wall.—J. B.
No. lix.\textsuperscript{11} (Date as above); a temple and an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated for her husband's welfare by Ichhâvahu, wife of Naginâdas, son of Sêtî Himabhâl, son of Sêtî Vakhatachamda Khûyâlachamda, of the Vriddhasâkhâ, of the Osa race, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated in the reign of Sântisâgarasâri of the Sâgara gachchha.

No. lxi.\textsuperscript{12} Samvat 1887, Vaisákha sudi 18, jñâvásara, in the reign of Gohel Kâmâhdj, kumâra Noghañj, of Pâdalipanagara, a temple (vihara) built, and an image of Kumthanâtha by Gajamalaj Parakh, son of Himatarâma, son of Sâha Tilokachamda of the Luñyâ gotra, Ukeâ jâtîya Vriddhasâkhâ, inhabitant of Ajmeranagara; consecrated by Devachamda, in the reign of bhâtt. Jînâharshasâri, of the Brihat-Kharatara gachchha.

No. lxii.\textsuperscript{13} Samvat 1888, Vaisákha vadi — sôrivásare (!), three images of Chandraprabha, etc., dedicated by Khamakuvarabâ, wife of Nîhâlachamda, son of Sâha Pâmâchamda, Oçavâla of Ahmadâbâd; consecrated by Devachamda, in the reign of Jînâharshasâri of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lxxi.\textsuperscript{14} Samvat 1889, Śaka 1755, Vaisâsha śukla 13, Wednesday; an image of Dharmanâtha, dedicated by Ujamabâl, daughter of Vakhatachamda, an Oçavâla of the Vriddhasâkhâ, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated in the reign of Sântisâgarasâri of the Sâgara gachchha. A small temple in the Moṭi ūnâk near Pûchabhâl's temple by the same.

No. lxxii.\textsuperscript{15} (Date as above); an image of Rishabhadeva, dedicated by Parâdhamânavau, wife of Sûryamala, son of Śrîshî Vakhatachamda, of the Vriddhasâkhâ of the Ukeâ race, inhabitant of Râjanagara; consecrated in the Sâgara gachchha (?).

No. lxxiv.\textsuperscript{16} (Date as above); an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Kapurachamda,aj, inhabitant of Sirohi, son of Pubachamda Jasurapaj, younger brother of Jasurapaj, son of Patâj Parakh; consecrated in the Tapâ gachchha.

No. lxxv.\textsuperscript{17} (Date as above), chaturmukha bimba, dedicated for the welfare of Hemabhâl by his whole family, viz. Naginâdas, his wife Ichhâvahu, his younger brother Premabhâl, his wife Sâmkalivahu and his sisters Rukhamañj, Prasana, Motiku-marâ—Hemabhâl's wife Kaîkuvahu, parents Sêtî Vakhatachamda and Jâdévâl, grandfather Khushâlachamda, Oçavâlas of the V. S., inhabitants of Ahmadâbâd; consecrated by Sântisâgara of the Sâgara-gachchha.

No. lxxvi.\textsuperscript{18} Date as above, but śukra 12, Wednesday (?); a paîchaparameshṭî-[
\textit{[shṭī]-paṭṭa}, containing an Omkâra, dedicated by Ujamabâl (see No. lxxii); consecrated in the Tapâ gachchha (?).

No. lxxvii.\textsuperscript{19} Samvat 1889, Śaka 1754 Vaisâsha, śuklapaksha 12, Wednesday, a chaturvimśatîthamārkapat, containing a Brîmkâra, dedicated by Ujamabâl (see No. lxxvi), consecrated in the Tapâ gachchha (?).

\textsuperscript{11} In a shrine in Hemabhâl's ūnâk.—\textit{Lîtas}, p. 209, No. 413.—J. B.
\textsuperscript{12} Outside Kharatara śvâl ūnâk, in a temple at the north-east corner.—\textit{Lîtas}, p. 307, No. 347.—J. B.
\textsuperscript{13} In one of the shrines round the court of Hemabhâl's ūnâk, on the north side.
\textsuperscript{14} In a small shrine on the south corridor of the same.
\textsuperscript{15} In Hemabhâl's ūnâk in a shrine in the south corridor room No. 4.
\textsuperscript{16} In Hemabhâl's ūnâk, north corridor, room No. 2.
\textsuperscript{17} In the shrine of the temple in the north-east of the court.—\textit{Lîtas}, p. 209, No. 412.
\textsuperscript{18} In the principal temple in Hemabhâl's ūnâk, on the south wall, see No. lxxii.
\textsuperscript{19} In Hemabhâl's temple, in the Mapyâpa north wall, east corner, see No. lxxvi.—J. B.
No. lxviii. Samvat 1891, Māgha, śita 5, Monday, during the reign of Gohel Khamdajī, his son being Noghaṅajī and his son Pratāpasinghjī, of Pālitānā, an image of Rishabha, dedicated by Imḍrajī, son of Nihālachandī, of the Yadugadha-gotra, Ośavāla race, Bṛihāt-Sākha, inhabitant of Makadāvād-Bāluchara; consecrated by Pām. Devachandra, pupil of Pām. Jayavanatī, in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Bṛihat-Kharatara gachchha.

No. lxix. Samvat 1892, Vaiśākha, śita 3, Friday, in the reign of Gohal Khamdajī (etc., see No. lxviii), images of Sambhavanāthā, Pārśvanāthā and Śītālanāthā, dedicated by Mahetābakumāra, wife of Bābu Pratāpasinghjī, brother of Bābu Bahādarasinghjī, son of Bābu Rādhāsinghjī, of the Yadugadha-gotra, Ukesa race, Bṛihāt-Sākha, of Makadāvād-Bāluchara; consecrated in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Bṛihat-Kharatara gachchha by P. Devachandra, pupil of P. Jayabhuda, pupil of P. Kanaka Sekharajī.

No. lxx. Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha vadi 2, Wednesday; a temple built and image of Ādināthā dedicated by Phulakumāra, daughter of Anopabhāi and Manachhī, Anopabhāi being son of Vakhatachamīanda (see above, No. xlv); consecrated by Śāṃtisāgara of the Sāgara gachchha.

No. lxxi. (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāmīnāthā dedicated by Ujallavah, wife of Phatebhāi, son of Motichandā, Vṛiddha-Sākha, Ośavāla, inhabitant of Rājanagar, consecrated by Śāṃtisāgara of the Sāgara gachchha.

No. lxxii. (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāmīnāthā dedicated by Bhagubhāi, son of Phatebhāi (wife Acharatavahu), son of Motichanda (see No. lxxi); consecrated by Śāṃtisāgara of the Sāgara-gotra.

No. lxxiii. (Date as above), a temple built in Hemabhāi's tuṅk and image of Ajitanāthā dedicated by Sā Lashamṭehamīanda, (wife Pāravati), son of Sā Jēsāṁgha, son of Sā Hirāchamīanda, of the Vṛiddha-Sākha, Usavāla, inhabitant of Khambhānaya.

No. lxxiv. Samvat 1893, Jyēṣṭha śūdi 3, Wednesday; an image of Gomukha Yaksī, dedicated by Bāphaṅnā Gumāṃnachamīdajī Bahādaramallajī of Jēsāmer, consecrated by ṽinamaḥemdrasūri of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lxxv. Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10; an image of Pārśvanāthā dedicated by Premachanda, etc. (see next inscription), consecrated by Pādmavijaya, etc. (see next inscription).

No. lxxvi. Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10, Wednesday; an image of Pārśvanāthā dedicated by Ajab and Mānakumāra, the first and second mothers of Sā Pitāṁara, son of Sā Sākalachamīanda, son of Sā Premachamīanda, son of Sā Dāmodaradēsa of the Laghu Sākha of the Śrīmāla race, inhabitants of Aḥammadāvād, consecrated by
Rūpavijayagani, pupil of Padmavijayagani, a Saṁvijñamārgī, of the line of Vijayashasūri, in the Saṁvijñayamārgiya—Tapā gachchha.

No. lxxvii.9 (Date as above), an image of Padmanātha, dedicated by Sā Mūlachanda, son of Sā Karmachanda, son of Sā Premachanda (etc., see above) consecrated by Rūpavijayagani (etc., see No. lxxvi).

No. lxxviii.10 (Date as above), an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Amara- charmīda (and family), son of Ratnakhamachanda and Devakūrā Bāt, son of Premachanda and Ichhābālī of the Ośa race, LaghuŚākhā, inhabitant of Mumbāt, consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Dhanesvarasūri of the gachchha of Vijaya-Ānandasaūri, called the Tapā gachchha.

No. lxxix.1 (Date as above), an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Sā Sāhavisimigha, son of Sā Kesirisimigha, son of Sā Khusālachanda, son of Sā Nāhālachanda, an Ośavāla of the Viruddhasākhā, inhabitant of Ahamadāvād, consecrated by Saṁti-sāgarasūri of the Sāgara gachchha.

No. lxxx.2 (Date as above), an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by Khemachānda (and family), son of Šēth Motichānda and Divālī Bāt, son of Šēth Amichānda and Rūpā Bāt; an Ośavāla of the Viruddhasākhā and Nāhātā gotra, inhabitant of Mumbai-bindara (Bombay), consecrated by Jinamahemdrasūri, successor of Jinaharsasūri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara gachchha (Kharatara Pippalitya), during the reign of Gohel Pratāpasinghālī.

No. lxxxi.3 (Date as above), image of Šēth Motichānda and his wife Ichhāvālī set up by Šēth Khemachānda, in the Kharatara-Ghinaliya (Pippalitya?) gachchha.

No. lxxxi.4 (Date as above), image of Saṁtinātha, dedicated by Šēth Amichānda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrā, (Kharatara-Pippalitya-gachche bha-ja-yu bṛi-Jinadevasūri tatpāṭe bha-bṛi-Jinachāndrasūri vidya-māne soparikaraṇāyute).

No. lxxxi.5 (Date as above), an image of Supārśvanātha, dedicated by Rūpā Bāt, wife of Šēth Amichānda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahimdrasūri, etc., (see the preceding No. lxxxi).

No. lxxxi.6 (Date as above), an image in the temple of śrīvat-Kesaridevi (Ambā), dedicated by Mūnigīvahū, wife of Khemachānda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasūri, etc., (see No. lxxxi).

No. lxxxi.7 (Date as above), an image of Puṇḍarika, dedicated by Khemachānda (and family, etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasūri, etc. (see No. lxxxi).

No. lxxxi.8 Saṁvat 1897, Śāka 1763, Vaiśāka, śukla 13, Monday; an image

9 In the temple in the north-east corner of Sākhalachand Premachand's Tuṅk.—Liste, p. 213, No. 408.—J. B.
10 In Motiśākha's Tuṅk, in the temple on the south side of the principal one.—Liste, p. 210, No. 420.
1 In Motiśākha's Tuṅk, on the base of image in a temple on the north of the principal one.—Liste, p. 210, No. 433.
2 In Motiśākha's Tuṅk, on the base of the principal image in the temple next to the preceding.
3 Near the door below the image of the Šēth and his wife, in the principal temple in Motiśākha's Tuṅk.—Liste, p. 209, No. 417.
5 On the base of an image to the left of the principal image in a temple to the north-east of the central one.
6 On the base of image of Ambā Mātā (Chakrēśvarī) to the right of the principal temple in Motiśākha Amichand's Tuṅk.
7 On the base of Puṇḍarika, in the temple at the entrance of Motiśākha's Tuṅk; the temple of Puṇḍarika always faces the principal shrine of Ādinātha.—Liste, p. 209, No. 418.—J. B.
8 On the base of image in a temple behind the principal one in Motiśākha's Tuṅk.—Liste, p. 210, No. 431.
of Ādinātha, dedicated by Phulachāmḍa, son of Kapurachāmḍa and Kasali, son of Pārekṣa Jibogha (?) and Lashamlī, Śrīmālī of the Vṛiddhā Sākhā, inhabitant of Muṇābābidār (Bombay), consecrated in the reign of Vijaya Devīdrasūrī of the Tapā gachchha.

No. lxxxvii.9 Samvat 1900, Śāka 1765, Māgha śukla 7, Friday; a temple built by Kṣemachāmḍa.

No. lxxxviii.10 Samvat 1903, Śāka 1768, Māgha, krīṣṇa 5, Friday; an image of Rāpakāṭ (etc., see No. lxxviii), dedicated by Kṣemachāmḍa; in the reign of Jinamahīṁdrasūrī of the Brihat-Kharatara Pipaliya gachchha.

No. lxxxix.11 Samvat 1905, Vaisāśa, śukla 1, Monday; an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by mehetā Mottīchāmḍa, son of m. Khetasī, Osavāla of the Vṛiddhā-Sākhā, inhabitant of Pālaṇapāra; two other images of Ādinātha, dedicated by his wives Rāmakīrṇa and Imdara, two more images of Ādinātha, dedicated by Māngīl, son of metā Iśvara and Jñānavahu, son of Rāmakīrṇa and Motīchāmḍa, as well as by Dilubā, wife of Khetasī, son of Mūlachāmḍa, in the reign of Devīdrasūrī of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xc. Samvat 1905, Śāka 1770, Māgha, śukla 5, Monday; a temple built, thirty-two images of Chamḍraprabhu and other Jinas dedicated, a dharmakālā 120 gaja long and 40 gaja broad, built in Pālitāṇa, south side, an upāsar in Pālitāṇa for the Amchala gachchha restored, (all) by Śā Hīraji and Śā Viraji with their wives Purābāṭ and Līlā Bāṭ, they being sons of Śā Narasī and Kuarabā, son of Bhāramalla, and Māmā Bāṭ Ośavālas of the Laghu-sāśa, and Nāgaḍa-gotra, members of the Amchala gachchha, inhabitants of Nabhīnpura in Kachha, the pious works being made by the advice (upadeśā) of Muktiśāgarasūrī of the Amchala gachchha.

No. xci. Pedigree and record of the benefactions of Śeth Vakhatachanda, his son Hemābhāī and his grandson, the late Nagarśeth Premābhāī of Ahmadābād. He belonged to the Ośavāla jñātī, the Addai Śākhā, the Śīsodīya-vanīka, the Kunīkumalalagotra, worshipped the gotra-devī Asāpurī, the Kshetrapāla caraṇa. The pedigree includes (1) [K]lautapatirājā Sāmabītaśaunīgha rāmī, (2) his son Kuarpāla, converted to Jainism by Āchāraṇya Dharmagoshāśurī, (3) his son Śā Harapati, (4) his son Śā Vachchhā, (5) his son Śā Sehasakaraṇa, (6) his son Śeth [Śā]mtiḍāsa of Rājanagara, a courtier (rājasabāsvara) in the time (pravartī) of Dalipatipatasha—Sāhajāṃgajī, his son Śeth Lakhamichāmḍa; (8) his son Shusulachāmḍa (Khusbalchand), wife Jhamaku; (9) their son Śeth Vashatāchāmḍa (Vakhchand). Then follow the names of the latter’s wives, children and grand-children, an enumeration of hīs, and his family’s benefactions with dates, from V. S. 1864 to 1905 and a paṭīāsoli of the Sāgaragachchha; (1) Rājasāgarasūrī; (2) Vṛiddhishāgarasūrī; (3) Lakshmisāgarasūrī; (4) Kalyāṇāsāgarasūrī; (5) Punyasāgarasūrī; (6) Udayasāgarasūrī; (7) Anandāsāgarasūrī; (8) Śāntīsāgarasūrī, V. S. 1905.

No. xci.14 Samvat 1908, Chaitra vada 10, Wednesday; a temple built in the Muhatā

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9 In Śākalachand Premachand’s Ēḻūk, on the left side wall, near the shrine door of the temple on the south-east.—Liste, p. 213, No. 499.
10 On the base of a female image near the door of the principal temple in Motīābhī’s Ēḻūk.
11 In Motīābhī’s Ēḻūk, south corridor, first room.
12 In the Kharatavasi Ēḻūk in a temple outside the Chamukkh enclosure and behind that of Narsi Ketavji.
13 In Hemabhāī Vakhatachand’s Ēḻūk, on the front wall, at the south corner, outside the principal temple of Ajjianath, built by Premabhāī.—Liste, p. 206, No. 407.—J. B.
14 In Motīābhī’s Ēḻūk, in a room in the south corridor.
Moti-vasi (Motisnāh’s Tūnk), by Vṛiddhishāmadajī, son of Muhatā Pāmchaṇa and Punyakura, of the Ośa race, inhabitants of Vīkānera; consecrated by Paṁ. Devendraśala, brother of Ānam dikusāla of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xciii.15 Samvat 1008, Vaisāsha krishṇa 7, Monday; an image of Dharmanāthajī, dedicated by Khusālabhāī, son of Dīpachāmda, a Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Rājanagarā.

No. xciv.10 (Date as above), an image of Śumatināthajī, dedicated by Jethābhāī, another son of Dīpachāmda (see No. xciii).

No. xcv.17 (Date as above), an image of Rishabha, dedicated in the reign of Harkhachamāsūri by Jethābhāī (&c., see No. xciv) of the Pāyachāmda (? gachchha, consecrated by Paṁ. Ānam dikusāla.

No. xcvii.18 Samvat 110, Chetra, śukla 15, Thursday; in the reign of Rājarājesvāra Mahārājādhirāja (!) Gohil Śrī Noghāna, his son being Pratāpasmīghajī, of Pālitanā, a new temple built and eight images of Adijina, Suvrata, Āēnāthā, Nāmāthā, Adināthā, Śrūvarta, Śûttinātha and Pārśvanāthā, dedicated by Śēṭh Vaghamal-ajī, son of Agarakuvarabāt and Dhanarūpa-malla, Osavāla of the Vṛiddha Śākhā and Śrī-Mūmīmya gotra, inhabitants of Ajamerā, consecrated in the reign of Jinasaubhāgya-āśūri, successor of Jiṇa harāsha of the Khar ga. by Hemachāmdra, younger pupil (laghusikṣha) of Māmsunudmārajī, of Harshakṛttī, pupil of Dayāvilāsajī, pupil of Jayabhadrājī, pupil of Paṁ. Kanakasahārajī.

No. xcvi.19 Samvat 111, Phalgun, krishṇa 2 Monday,29 an image of Abhinam- danasvāmīmūnāyakā, dedicated in the MotivasṭunKa by Sā Kālidāśa, son of Baṭ-Deva and Bhagavāna, son of Sā Harashachāmda, a Vīsā Poravāda, inhabitant of Rājanagarā; consecrated by Paṁ. Ānam dikusāla in the reign of Devimdrasūri of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xcviii.21 Samvat 113, Māgasara, śudi 6; Navāsare, an image of Śrivītivithā, dedicated by Śēṭh Phattebhāī, son of Sā Motiabhāī and Rupakumvarabāt, of the Sisodiā-sākhā and Kunākamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ammadāvād.

No. xcix.22 (Date as above), an image of Dharmanāthajī, dedicated by Śēṭh Chagana-bhāī, son of Siradārakumvarabāt and Sā Mānasushabhāī, of the Sisodiā sākhā and the Kunākamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ahammadāvād.

No. c.23 (Date as above), an image of Abhinamādana, dedicated by Samarathakua-rabāt, daughter of Pradhānakumvarabāt and Śēṭh Surajmalabhāī, Osavālā of the Sisodiā sākhā and the Kunākamalola gotra, inhabitant of Ahammadāvād.

No. ci.24 Samvat 114 (written 19014), Mārgāśirsha, śudi 7, Monday; an image of Dattajīna, dedicated by Bāṭ Aimdra, wife of Sāhā Velachāmda Mānyekachāmda of Rājanagarā.

No. cii.25 Samvat 114 (written 19014), Mārgāśirsha, vadi aikame,26 Wednesday (vārabuddhe); an image of Śūvattajīna, dedicated by Bāṭ Harakumyyāra, wife of Māṇikachāmda Khimachāmda, an Usā of Rājanagarā.

15 In Motisāh’s Tūnk, in a room in the south corridor, next the preceding.—J. B.
16 In the same room as the preceding.
17 In the same place as in No. xciii.
18 In the Chaumukh enclosure, on the east wall of a marble temple behind the great one.—Lista, p. 206, No. 326.
19 In Motisāh’s Tūnk, in a room in the south corridor.—J. B.
20 Date on the image 903.
21 In Hemabhāī’s Tūnk, south wing, room No. 33.—J. B.
22 Hemabhāī’s Tūnk, south wing, No. 32.
23 In the same corridor, No. 31.
24 In Motisāh’s Tūnk, south corridor, No. 28; see No. cvi.
25 In Motisāh’s Tūnk, south corridor, No. 22.—J. B.
26 Date on the image Samvat 1893.
Jaina Inscriptions from Satrumjaya

No. ciii.27 Samvat 1916, Vaisakha, krisna 6, Thursday, (uttarashadhanakhatra samkrantimeshha, surjo udhayat ghafii 1, pala 45); a temple (śrīśvāmūpīyoprasāda) built, yatra and various benefactions made by an inhabitant of Kapaḍavāna, a Nēmīma by race, of the Vṛiddha-sāśā and Maṇiyanagotra, called Sā Hirājī, his son Galabhamda and wife Manakuvara, their son Pārekha Mithūbhāni and wife Benakumvara, their son Karamachamandha and wives (1) Bāl Jadhav, (2) Bāl Śiven, consecrated in the reign of Vidyānandasūri, successor of Dhanaśarasūri of the Anandasūri gachchha by Gaṇḍ Ramgavijaya, pupil of Pām. Viravijaya, pupil of Pām. Dhīravijaya, a samvapakshi, pupil of Pām. Khemavijaya of the Tapā gachchha, during the reign of rujñā dhīrāja Pratāpasinghajī.

No. civ.28 Samvat 1916, Śaka 1781, Phalguna, krisna 2, Friday; an image of Ajitamāthā, dedicated in the new temple in the Vakhatachamavasi, by Sēt Anopachamda, son of Vakhatcchamda (etc., see No. xci), and by his wife Adhira and daughter Bāl Dūhrīya (Dhiraj), in the reign of Vijaya-Devedrasūri of the Tapā gachchha.

No. cvii.29 Samvat 1922, Mārgasara, vadi 7, Thursday; an image of Aranātha, dedicated by Sīvaprasāda, son of Mōli Namidasa, Ośavāla of the Vṛiddha Sākhā and the Chhājedā gotra, inhabitant of Kāśi, consecrated by Hirachamdra, pupil of Pām. Devachamda, by command of (?) Jinaṃkutisūri of the Bṛhat-Kharatara gachchha.

No. cviii.30 Samvat 1924, Māgha sukla 10, Monday; an image of Sitalanathajī, dedicated by Sā Amolakakasala, a Dasā-Poravāda of the Laghu-Sākhā, inhabitant of Viśālanagar (Visalnagar?) in Gujarā-daśa; his sons were Mūlachamda, Mayāchamda, Ravichamda, their sons Gokala, Dipachamda and Shimachamda; consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Devedrasūri of the Tapā gachchha by Pām. Ratnavijaya.

No. cviii.31 Samvat 1928, Māgha sukla 13, Thursday; an image of Parśvajīna, in their own temple (deharī) in the Šūnk of Sēt Matisa, dedicated by Prāgajī and his father Galalāchamda, the latter being the son of Bāl Iraitana, and Khimajī, son of Jhaverī Velājī of Navānagarā.

No. cix.32 Samvat 1930, Chaitra vada 2; an image of Dharmanathā, dedicated by Sā Māmnaṅkachamda Motichamda, of Amadāvād.

No. cx.33 Vikrama-Samvat 1930, Mahāmāsa, krisna 12, Tuesday; an image of Sāmthātha, dedicated by Nānāpujā Sā Pitāmbaradāsa, a Poravāda of the Laghu Sākhā inhabitant of Amadāvād.

No. cxi.34 Samvat 1940, Saka 1805, Vaisakha sukla 3, Monday (ishtha ghaṭi 3 pala 10 suryodayāt); during the reign of Goyala Sūrasiṃghajī of Pālitānī, in the time of Vivekasagarsūri of the Amchala gachchha, an image of Adinātha dedicated in Sā Keśava Nāyaka’s Šūnk in the temple of Pumdarika, by Sāhā Trikama, who lives in Nalinapura, in Kachchhā and in Mu[m] bāibūndar (Bombay), an Ośavāla of the Laghu Sākhā and Shotā-gotra; consecrated by Muni Shetasi.

27 In the Bālābhāl Šūnk, near the shrine door of the temple in the south-east. — Lists, p. 212, No. 493—J. B.
28 In Hemabhā’s Šūnk, in another room, No. 27 of the same Bhāmīti, with No. o.
29 In Motākha’s Šūnk, in a room in the south corridor, No. 23; in the same room as No. ci.
30 In Motākha’s Šūnk, in the south corridor room No. 23.—J. B.
31 Date on the image—Samvat 1903.
32 In Motākha’s Šūnk, in the south corridor room No. 30—J.B.
33 In Motākha’s Šūnk, south corridor No. 35.
34 In Sākhaland Premchand’s Šūnk, west side corridor, small shrine No. 18, under an image.
35 In the shrine of Pumdarika at Keśavī Nāvāk’s temple in Vimalavasi Šūnk.—J. B.
No. cxii.Śvamat 1940, Māgha śukla 6, Saturday; an image of Pārvatanātha, dedicated by Pārasatāmīdhāya (?), son of Jayasimha Himachāmā, a Śrīmālī of the Vṛddha Śakha, inhabitant of Amatavāma (?), consecrated by Pānṇyāsa Gulābavijayagani, pupil of Pānṇyāsa Manivijaya-ganī, pupil of the Sapīja-paksha of the Tapā gachchha.

No. cxiii.Śvamat 1940, Phālguna śukla 3, Friday; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Rāmāchāmā Phulāchāmā, a Vṛddha Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Anāhilalapura; consecrated by Pānṇyāsa Gulābavijayagani, pupil of Pānṇyāsa Manivijayagani of the Sapīja-paksha of the Tapā gachchha.

No. cxiv.Śvamat 1943, Pauṣa, krṣṇa asṭami, Monday; a Vāsṇupiyajina, dedicated by Śā Kevala Lakhamicha(m)da, a Dasa-Saramālī (Śrīmālī) of Amadāvād, his wife Kesara, his son Chunilāla, with his wife Parasanabāt, and their daughter Bena Sāmukā.

No. cxv.Śvamat 1943, Māga sukala 10, Thursday; an image of Śā(m)tanāth, dedicated by Śā Lalū Vakhatakhamā, a Vīśa-Osavāla of Amadāvād, his wife Bāt Adhir, his daughter Dhraja, and his sons Vāḍilāla and Bholābāt.

No. cxvi.Śvamat 15 (??) . . . sudi 5; buddhe, an Aṣṭāpada, dedicated by Jhaśerachāmā (?), mentions also the name of Udayasāgarasūri.

No. cxvii.Śvamat 1650, Chaitra, full moon day; Vimalaharsha, pupil of bhaṭṭaraka Hiravijaya, of the Sāphā gotra, which latter was honoured by Śāhi Akabbara and received from him the Siddhāśāila (Sātunjaya), made a pilgrimage, together with 200 other monks.

L 1. वै एवं सं १६५० [७] संपूर्विः
2. साहाय चुनचित्रलासीसरीरे
3. साहिर्साॊवालीयिन्दरादात
4. निजवर्चनरजलितसाधिखरी
5. पवाल्मरात्तस्मिन्दिवसी
6. लातान् ताॊताजीविषयसे
7. नानादिसारित्तस्विधित
8. भक्तभवश्वायसारामपातः
9. रविवर्तान् चौक औ जीर्णविर
d. अयनमिि़लामासहायाप्रि
11. शिष्यमिि़निस्मितवकल.

12. सल्लकङ्कणसूनिलिा
13. यां प्रमाणपैलोपुषिंसस्याम [त ]
14. विविधशिलापीविकोटे
15. कोरिरकारविलिति औ जीविः
16. स्वल्पविष्णुसि " | वे | पं | देवो |
17. शुरु गं | शीतवच्छरकाला
18. पं | चन्द्रवज्र गं | अं | ज्ञयविः
19. अय गं | जसविजयवचकरि
20. अय गं | तुनिः [व ] चक्कादुपिनि
21. घंटघंटवाकारितिनिर्मिति
22. २०—सॊज्ञस्ता यात्रारं दत्ति भद्दम [१]
VII.—VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SĀNCI STŪPAS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined transcripts of a large number of the votive inscriptions, found on the Sānci, or more correctly Kākanāda,1 Stūpas Nos. I and II, have been prepared according to impressions by Drs. Burgess and Führer. The former took impressions of about twenty inscriptions in the beginning of 1889, and Dr. Führer, who visited Sānci during the cold season of 1889-90, made copies of the whole collection. Compared with Sir A. Cunningham’s collection,2 Bhilsa Topes, plates xvi—xix and xxi, the present ones show a hundred and ten inscriptions less for Stūpa I, and twenty-seven less for Stūpa II. On the other hand, there are, counting the duplicates, forty-one inscriptions from Stūpa I and five from Stūpa II which I cannot trace in Sir A. Cunningham’s work. The missing inscriptions are probably incised on stones, which may have been lost in the repairs executed some years ago, or during the forty years which have elapsed since the preparation of Sir A. Cunningham’s book. The most serious loss is that of Sir A. Cunningham’s No. 177 (Bhilsa Topes, plate xix), see also Corpus Inscr. Ind., vol. I, Plate xx3, which, as I have already pointed out in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, p. 124, seems to contain a second version of Aśoka’s so-called Kosambi edict on the Allahabad Pillar. This much appears highly probable from a comparison of the middle portions of the two inscriptions:

Allahabad.

. . . . . . . . . . sangham [ ]
[Bho]khati bhikhu-va bhikhuni-vā. [pi]
chā [ . ] (2) dā[tā]ni [d]usāti . nam
dhāpayitu ānapaśa . v. s. y. y. [ . ]

Sānci.

. . . . . . . . . . . sangham (3)
Bhokhati bhikhu [v*] ā bhikhuni [vā*]
[ . ] dātā (4) ni du[s]āni s[ā]* nam.
[dh* ā]p[a*]yit [u*] anā[p*]e (5) sasi
visapetaviye [ . ] Icchā hi me sā (6) ti
sanghasa * mage chihatlitikey siyā ti (7).

Assuming a new sentence to begin with bhokhati L. 5, the remainder of the Sānci version may be translated as follows:

“Monks and nuns will dine,5 (and) causing white cloths to be put down for them, (you) will order it to be spread. For my wish is this, that the path of the Community (of Buddhist monks) may endure for a long time.”

The order is evidently addressed to an official, probably to the mahāmātra in charge of Mālā, just as the edict on the Allahabad Pillar gives directions to the governor of

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1 See J. F. Fleet: Corp. Inscr. Ind. vol. III, p. 31.
2 Inscriptions found only in Sir A. Cunningham’s collection will be referred to in the sequel, according to his numbers to which C is prefixed.
3 During the repairs under Major Keith, many loose stones were built into the dome, some of which may have borne short votive inscriptions. The Aśoka edict was on a fragment of a large pillar, which still lies at the great stūpa. This and others may possibly have been overlooked by Dr. Führer in his hurried visit.—J. B.
4 Sir A. Cunningham’s two facsimiles (A, Bhilsa Topes, Plate xix; B, Corp. Inscr. Ind., vol. I Plate xx) have the following readings, which I have corrected:—

L. 4, to bhikkhu . . i onādā (A) chā bhikkhuni yi bhuddā (B);
L. 5, dupduni (A), du [s]iv (B); sanāth (A, B); chhavah andte (A); pāyita and (B);
L. 6, viśapetaviye (A).
L. 7, tiva sanghama (A), tiva (B); miḥatlitikey (A).
I do not dare to propose a restoration of the first three lines of the Sānci version. Mr. Prinsep’s and Sir A. Cunningham’s attempts (Bhilsa Topes, p. 260 f.) do not seem to me successful.
5 Or perhaps “(if) a monk or a nun will dine, (then) etc.”
Kosambi. According to Childers, Pali Dictionary (sub voce dusso), it was customary with the Buddhists to spread white cloths on the seats prepared for the reception of distinguished monks. It is this mark of honour which both versions order to be shown to the monks and nuns visiting the sacred places. The concluding sentence of the Sânchi version, which probably was omitted on the Allahâbâd Pillar, may mean either that the king wishes the tenets (mage) of the Buddhist monks to exist for a long time, or that he desires the visits of the faithful to the sacred places to continue for a long time. The wording of this inscription shows the peculiar breadth which the Beloved of the Gods affects in his edicts, and we have the phrases, familiar to every reader of the latter, “for it is my wish” and “that . . . may endure for a long time.” Finally, it must be pointed out that chilathilika, instead of which the dialect of Mâlava would have required chirathilika, as well as the final e of the masculine nominative singular mage, is a Magadhiism, and that (as already stated by Sir A. Cunningham) the letters of the Sânchi version show the type of Aśoka’s Rock and Pillar edicts. This inscription furnishes, therefore, the proof that the pillar at the South Gate, on which it has been found, dates from Aśoka’s times. It, further, permits us to infer that those inscriptions on the railings of the Stûpa, which show the same characters, belong to an equally early period. The latter inference agrees with Sir A. Cunningham’s views, who, besides, has assigned the inscriptions on the gateway to much later times.6 According to his opinion all the latter documents belong to the first century A.D., because their characters are of the same type as his No. 190, which records a donation of Vâsiṭhiputa Ânamdâ, Æcesaui or foreman of the artisans of king Sîri-Sâtakâṇi. Identifying this Sâtakâni with the third king of the Andhra dynasty, Sir A. Cunningham assigns to him, in accordance with Professor H. H. Wilson’s calculations, the years 19-37 A.D., and thus places the date of Ânamda’s inscription in the beginning of the first century of our era. Though I fully agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the Sâtakâni of his No. 190 to be the third Andhra king of the Paurânik lists, I must differ from him regarding the date. The characters of his inscription No. 190, as well of the others on the Sânchi gateway, are in my opinion much earlier than the first century of our era. They are almost identical with those of the Nânâghâṭh inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of the characters of Aśoka’s times. It deserves also to be noted that among the inscriptions of the Šêth Nagapiya two, our Nos. 85 (=C. 182) and C. 192, are in the later characters, while one, our No. 7 (= C. 13) on Stûpa No. II, shows the same characters as Aśoka’s inscriptions. Such a vacillation is easily explicable, if Nagapiya lived in the second century B.C. But it is difficult to understand on the supposition that his donations were made two centuries later. Further, there is another important argument, which makes it probable that the first Sîri-Sâtakâni of the Andhra dynasty ruled, not after the beginning of our era, but about the middle of the second century B.C. I can only agree with Dr. Bhagvanlâl7 in identifying the first Andhra Sâtakâni with the Sâtakâni, whom Khâravela, king of Kailînga, protected in the second year of his reign.

6 Bhâlsa Topes, pp. 271 ff. Sir A. Cunningham’s assertion that the occurrence of the name Gotiputra (in our No. 49) possesses a great value for determining the age of the railing, is of course no longer tenable. Correctly interpreted, Gotiputra, in Sanskrit Gaupiputra, means only that the royal scribe Subhâšita was the son of a lady of the Gota or Gaupla race. It by no means follows that she was the same person as the Gota or Gaupl who bore the famous Buddhist teacher of Aśoka’s times.

7 Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orient, vol. III, 2, p. 146. Dr. Bhagvanlal, who assumes that the Maurya era began with Aśoka’s conquest of Kailînga, fixes the beginning of Sâtakâni’s reign in 98 B.C.
thirteenth year of Khāravela corresponds with the year 165 of the Maurya era (Bhagvānālā, op. cit. p. 149). Assuming, as I believe must be done, that the Maurya era begins with the coronation of Chandragupta, which fell between 322—312 B.C., Khāravela’s second year lay between 169 and 159 B.C., and Siri-Satākāni was on the throne about that time. For these reasons I must assign our Nos. 83—88 and Sir A. Cunningham’s Nos. 178, 179, 188, 184, 186—192, 194—196 to the first half of the second century B.C. To the same, and partly even to a later, period belong also our Nos. 13 (C. 25), 21 (C. 39), 51 (C. 112), 96, 108, 111 and 123. Among these, Nos. 13, 51 and 96 particularly show the characteristics noticeable in the inscriptions of the first century A.D., viz. the inverted da, the square sa, the angular ma, and the anusvāra above the line. All these inscriptions, with the exception of No. 21, are very badly engraved and not much better than mere scrawls. Their occurrence on the railings among much older documents may possibly be explained by the supposition that they record repairs of older broken vedikās.

With respect to the age of the inscriptions on Stūpa II, it is important to note that one person, who contributed to the gateways of Stūpa I, appears as donor of a piece of the railing. This is Śeth Nāgapiya, whose case has already been noticed. It is further remarkable that Balaka, the pupil of Araha Gupta-Sāsādaka, occurs in No. 19 (C.) of Stūpa II, while his teacher is named as donor in No. 18 (C. 35) of Stūpa I. These two facts point to the conclusion that portions of, or perhaps the whole, railing were erected somewhat later than Aśoka’s times. But the interval cannot be very great, because, as Sir A. Cunningham has pointed out (Bhisa Topes, p. 291), the letters of the inscriptions on Stūpa II fully resemble those of Aśoka’s edicts. And it agrees with this estimate, as Sir A. Cunningham has likewise stated (loc. cit.), that the Stūpa II contained the relics of contemporaries of Aśoka, of Moggaliputa, who, according to the Buddhist works, presided at the third Council of Pāṭaliputra, and of Majhima who was sent as missionary to the districts in the Himalaya and is called in the inscription on the relic box savahemavatāchāriya “the teacher of the whole Haimavata district.”

The language of the inscriptions likewise agrees with the assumption that they belong to the third century B.C., and to the first half of the second. It differs very little from the literary Pali and still less from the dialects of Aśoka’s edicts, and it shares all the peculiarities of that of the Bharhut inscriptions, which latter, with the exception of the inscription over the gateway, on the evidence of their characters belong to the time of the Maurya dynasty.

The inflected forms show, like the Bharhut inscriptions, a mixture of the case terminations used in the eastern and western versions of Aśoka’s edicts. This is particularly noticeable in the genitives of the feminine stems in ტ and ა, which sometimes end in ი or ა, and sometimes in ე. Not traceable in Pali and Aśoka’s edicts is the ablative in აto, which occurs three times in I, 51, 59, and 64. It is found once in the Bharhut inscription No. 116. It is very common in the Jain Mathurā inscriptions, and the

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8 It is also possible that Nāgila, the pupil of Aya, mentioned in No. 1 of Stūpa II, may be identical with the venerable Nāgila, whose relatives according to No. 84 (C. 181) made a portion of the gateway of Stūpa I.

9 I cannot agree with Sir A. Cunningham that there were relics of ten contemporaries of Aśoka. There are only two names which agree with those mentioned in the Dipawansa and the Makkhapansa.

10 See Dr. E. Hultsch’s excellent edition of these documents in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XL, p. 68 ff. The references in the sequel give his numbers and readings.

original from which the Saurasent termination ādo and the Mahāshtri यो have been derived. Peculiar is also the nominative, instead of the crude form, at the end of the first part of a compound. It occurs once in I. 3, where kekāṭeyakasa jāmāta-vijitasa is a negligent spelling for kekāṭeyakasa jāmātā-vijitasa, and takes the place of the grammatically correct jāmātu or jāmāti-vijitasa. The some anomaly is repeatedly observable in the Bharhut inscriptions, see e.g. No. 10, isimigo-jātaka, and it is very common in the Jaina Mathurā inscriptions. Further, the use of the feminine affix á at the end of female names in devá, e.g. Sonado [de]vá, I, 8; Dhamadevá II, 3; which agrees with that of the Bharhut inscriptions e.g. in Chāpadēvā, No. 22, differs from the Pali. But it would be correct even in Sanskrit, if the compounds are taken as Bahavṛthis and in the sense of “she whose god is Sona, Dhama, or Chāpa.”

The word-forms are in general of the type of the Pali and of Aśoka's Gînâr edicts. Even the ra, which is never changed to la, is occasionally preserved in groups of consonants. And it is worthy of note that in the name Prātiśhānāsa, I. 12, even the spelling of the initial syllable agrees exactly with that used in the Gînâr inscriptions for words like prāṇa, priya and so forth. The á stroke is attached to ra, and both are placed above the pa, which thus shows at the top the well-known wavy line. Some of the words, which differ from those used in Pali and Aśoka's edicts, are at least formed according to principles prevalent or traceable in the most ancient Prakrits. Bhicchhu, which appears far more frequently than bhikkhu, shows the change of ksha to chhah or chha observable in Pali achchhā, a variant for akkhi, and Aśoka's chhudaka for khudaku and other words.

The only remarkable point is that the form with chha does not occur in this particular case in Pali, nor in Aśoka's edicts, but that it is found repeatedly in the Bharhut inscriptions see, e.g., Nos. 27, 31, 65, 120. Nhusā, I. 22, which clearly stands for Sanskrit snushā “daughter-in-law” has been formed according to the principle applied in Pali to medial sn. It is interesting, because neither the Pali nor Aśoka’s dialects admit the group nh in the beginning of this or any other word. The Pali forms for snushā are suṇiṇā, suṇhā and huṇā. Nusā, a further corruption of nhusā, appears in our inscription, I. 73. The proper name Patīṭhiya, I. 22, 23, no doubt represents the Sanskrit prātiśhitha, and thus shows an elision of a medial ta. Such elisions are rare in the most ancient Prakrits. Nevertheless, a number of similar forms has been collected in Professor Kuhn’s Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik, p. 56.

A large number of other peculiarities which the Sânchi and Bharhut inscriptions exhibit are, I think, merely graphic and partly due to negligent spelling. Among these I would reckon:—


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13 Such compounds would fall under the general rule of Pāṇini, IV. 1, 4, which teaches that nouns in a take d in the feminine.
15 Another abnormal chha occurs in sekkha, Sanskrit saikha and Pali sekkhā, Bharhut inscriptions, No. 15.
16 The latter probably stood in I, C. 58, where Sir A. Cunningham gives a meaningless pusa; see below, note 27.

(2) The occasional omission of short i, e.g., in Dhamarakhatáye for Dhamarakhítáye, I. 76, and bhichhunýá for bhichhunýá, I. 119

(3) The almost invariable omission of medial anusváras, e.g. in Udubarághara and its derivatives (see Appendix, List V), in Nádínagara and its derivatives (see ibidem), Tubavana (ibidem), Upídata (see Appendix, List III), in the proper names beginning with Dhamá (see Appendix, Lists I-V), and in otevási for amtevási I. 12, 66, 88, 112.

It seems to me that the omission of the long á is due everywhere to carelessness, and has for its ultimate cause the custom, common even in late times among clerks and tradesmen, of omitting the vowel-marks altogether; for, the real existence of forms like jamata, jataka and jítamita, in the spoken language, has little probability. As regards the omission of á-strokes and of the Anusváras, it is possible to conceive also of other explanations. The syllables in which the i is omitted stand, one and all, in thei, i.e. immediately before or after the syllable which bears the stress-accent. A vowel which is placed in such a position is very indistinct, and it is not impossible that na and kha were sometimes actually pronounced instead of ni and khi in words like bhichhunýá and Dhamarakhatáye. A good many vowel-changes in the literary Prákrít are due to this principle, and a still greater number in the modern vernaculars of India. It must also be noted that in Ásoka's inscriptions aya appears occasionally instead of iya, 18 and for the same reason.

With respect to the omission of the Anusváras it must be borne in mind that the spelling dhíma for dhanma is perfectly admissible, because in these inscriptions a single consonant does duty for a double one, and hence dhíma may be read dhanma, as the word is invariably spelt in Pali. Further, Upídata and Tubavana may stand for Upídata and Túbavana, because long t and á are marked very rarely in these, as in other old inscriptions. But forms like Upídatatta and Túbavana are again admissible in Pali and other ancient Prákrít, where t and á may be put for in and um as in sita; visuti and so forth. And it must be noted that the form Ída for Indra occurs repeatedly, e.g. in L. 1 of the large Nánághát inscription, Archæological Rep. West Ind., Vol. V, p. 60. A form like Nádínagara, which actually occurs in our inscription I. 7; for the Pali and the other Prákrít, show in a number of cases á for um, e.g., in daítha for dánshírá, sanásá for sandámá and so forth. It is no matter of surprise that the dialect of the inscriptions should show these changes more frequently than the literary language of the Buddhist canon. These explanations of the omission of the Anusváras seem to me more probable than the assumption that it is simply in every case due to negligence.

Turning to the contents of the inscriptions, the latter offer, in spite of their extreme brevity, a good many points of interest. Among the two hundred and eighty-five in-

17 Analogous cases are extremely common in the Bharhut inscriptions, and it will suffice to quote one sentence, No. 165, yath bráhmano svayami jatákath, which, as Dr. Hultsch has pointed out, is a quotation from Játakas, vol. I., p. 203, verse 61 (Fausböll), where the text has yath bráhmano ardési.
18 See M. Senart's collection of such forms in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, p. 304; and my additions in der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XLV, p. 154, to which instances chétaya for Sanskrit chétya, Pali chetiya, has to be added from the Bharhut inscription No. 11.
scriptions, contained in Sir A. Cunningham's and the present collections, there are ten, recording donations by corporate bodies or families. The remainder give the names of individual donors. If a certain number of mutilated, or according to the facsimiles inexplicable, inscriptions are left out, and if the homonymous donors are considered to be the same persons, we find among them fifty-four monks and thirty-seven nuns, as well as ninety-one males and forty-five or forty-seven females, who probably were lay members of the Buddhist sect.

On the other hand, it is not improbable that two persons, bearing slightly different names, may be identical. Thus the monk Jonaka, I, C. 152, may be the same as the monk Jonhaka, I, 75.

Among the corporate bodies making donations, there are, according to the explanations given below, two villages, Vejaja I, 17, and Pāḍukulikā II, 1. Sir A. Cunningham (Bhilsa Topes, p. 230, and p. 280) takes in both cases grāma as a personal name or as a part of such. But grāma is not used in such a manner, and the translation of Vejajasā gāmasa dānām by "Gift of Vejajagrāma," is grammatically inadmissible, as that could only be Vejajagāmasa dānām. On the other hand, the form of the two names agrees well with the suggestion that they denote villages, for, Pāḍukulikā corresponds to Pāṇḍukulikā, 'the little dwelling,' or the little sanctuary of Pāṇḍu, i.e. the Nāga Pāṇḍu, and the word Vejaja closely agrees in its ending with the terminations aj, ej, and ij, which occur in hundreds of Indian village names as corruptions of the affixes aya, eya and tya. Its first part corresponds to Sanskrit vaidya, which possibly may be an abbreviation of Vaidyanātha. Pious donations, made by villages or towns, do not occur frequently in the inscriptions, and those recorded on the Śāndhi Stūpas possess a particular interest for, though, perhaps, they do not prove that all the inhabitants of Vejaja and Pāḍukulikā were Upāsakas of the Buddhist Sangha, they yet indicate that their most influential men, the members of the village Pancha, belonged to the Baudhā sect, and that Buddhism had gained a footing among the agricultural population of Mālvā. Of equal interest is the mention of a Bodhagothī, in I, 25, 26. The compound corresponds to Bauddhagothī. A goshti is a committee of trustees in charge of a temple or of a charitable foundation. The inscriptions teach us, therefore, that the village of Dharmavardhana possessed a Baudhā shrine, or perhaps a Vihāra, which was managed by such a committee. The fact that Goshti existed in the third century B.C. is of some importance. The term goti occurs also in I, 51, where it is preceded by the word Barulamisaya or Barulamisāna. I am unable to explain the latter term. The collective gift of the Vedisakā dámtakārā, or workers in ivory of Vedisa, I, C. 189, probably indicates that these artisans formed a guild, or brent, such as the Nāsik inscriptions mention repeatedly.

Among the remaining inscriptions of this class, which mention the Vākiliyas of Ujjain, I, 27, C. 21, all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila, I, 84, and the Upāsikās

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19 This is, of course, by no means certain, because in some cases persons bearing the same names are clearly distinct. Thus Avadā, the mother of Bahadara (I, 30), is certainly not the same person as Avadā, the mother of Samika (I, C. 83), nor the nun Isidatā of Madhuvana (I, C. 132), the same as the nun Isidatā of Kurāra.

20 The number of the Upāsikās is uncertain, because possibly the Oḍi, mentioned I, 82, may be identical with the nun Oḍi, II, 11, and because the interpretation of I, 21 is uncertain.

21 The map of Gujarāt furnishes e.g., Adālaj, Arnej, Kamlej, Kamrej, Pariyaj, Paljej, Prāntij, Sarkhej. Among these Kamrej (also Kamlej), east of Surat, was called in Sanskrit Karkamanyā or Kamānyya (Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, p. 193).

22 Vaidya occurs as the name of a village in the Nepali inscriptions; Ind. Ant. vol. IX, p. 175.

23 The Bharut inscription No. 16 mentions a gift of the town of Karahakaṭa (Karahakaṭa-nigamasa).
or female lay worshippers of Navagâma, I. C. 53, the first two are the most interesting. If, as I believe to be the case, the Vâkâlâ devî, the mother of Ahîmitâ, mentioned in I. C. 8, belonged to this family, it must have been a royal, or at least a noble race. With this supposition, Vâktilya, further, must be considered to stand for Vâkâlya. It would then correspond to Sanskrit Vârkalîya and Vakalâ to Vârkalâ. Both forms might be somewhat irregular patroonyms from Vrikala, which name is found in the mythological lists of the Purânas (see the Petersburg Dictionary, sub voce).

Proceeding to the inscriptions which mention donations made by monks and nuns, the first point, which must strike every reader, is their great number, which is proportionally greater than that found on any other Stûpa except at Bharhut or in the caves. As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics, who, according to the Mathurâ and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions. Another interesting point in which these inscriptions again agree with those of the Bharhut Stûpa is the entire absence of all mention of the Buddhist sects, which are frequently named in the Nâsik, Kârâlê, Amarâvattî and other inscriptions. There are, on the other hand, a few specifications or titles given to certain monks and nuns, which are not without importance. Two terms of this kind, Sūtātikini or Sūtātikini, I, 79, 80, “a female reciter of the Suttanta or the Sūtras” and dhamakâtihika, I, C. 191, “a reciter of the Dhamma,” have been recognised by the earlier decipherers. But, a third very interesting one, pachanekayika, I. 66, has escaped detection. Pachanekayika is a negligent spelling for pāchanekeśika or pâchanekeśika, which former occurs in the Bharhut inscription No. 144, in Sanskrit pāchanekeśika, and means, as Dr. Hultzach has translated it, loc. cit., “one who knows the five Nikâyas.” The five Nikâyas are (see Childers, Pali Dictionary, sub voce) the five divisions of the Sutta Piṭaka, the Dighanikâya, Majjhimanikâya, Samyuttanikâya, Aṅguttaranikâya and Khuddakanikâya. The title furnishes, therefore, a clear proof of the existence of these divisions of the Sutta Piṭaka at the time when the inscription was incised. And this time must be the third century B.C., as the letters of the inscription fully agree with those of Aśoka’s edicts. 44 The discovery that the five great subdivisions of the Sutta Piṭaka existed at so early a period lends some support to the view of those scholars who, like Professor Oldenberg, identify the titles of some of the treatises mentioned in Aśoka’s longer Bairâṭ edict with portions of the Majjhimanikâya and Aṅguttaranikâya. Yugapajaka, I, 74, which I translate tentatively by “the path-(finder) of the age,” seems to be a new title.

Among the individual monks named in the inscriptions, there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in the Buddhist scriptures. But the names of some, e.g. Bhamḍukâ and Tisaka, agree with such as are found in Dr. Wenzel’s Index. Aya-Pasanaka, I, 5, must, however, have been a man of some importance, as two pupils of his are mentioned on a pillar of the Somârî Tope No. 1. Monks and nuns, who

44 See also Dr. Hultzach’s remarks on this and other clerical titles in the Bharhut inscriptions, op. cit., p. 68, and on the quotation from the Jôtaka, ibidem, p. 76.
had one pupil, there are several. Peculiar and noteworthy are the names of monks and nuns, which like Kāboja, Prātiṭhāna, Chirāṭī, and perhaps also Oḍī, consist of adjectives derived from the names of countries, towns and races. In these cases it would seem that the real name of the donors has been left out. Some similar names occur among the laymen — thus the name of Kekaṭeyaka, I. 1, 3, the father of Dhama-and father-in-law of Vijita, apparently stands for Sanskrit Kaikaṭeyaka, and means 'he of the Kikaṭa country or Magadha.'

As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their social position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest. To the highest rank belongs the Vākalādevī, I, C. 8. Descending lower in the social scale, we have a gahapati, or village landholder, I, 22, 23. Next we find numerous persons bearing the title sēṭhi, sēṭh, or alderman, II, 11, 85, 57, 85, 99, 115; C. 45, C. 46, C. 94, II, C. 8. Simple traders vāṇīja or vāṇika are mentioned I, 47, 81, 91, C. 119. A royal scribe rājalikāra occurs I, 49, a professional writer, lekkaka, I, C. 48, a (royal) foreman of artisans, āvesani, I, C. 190, a trooper, asa-vārīka, I, 117, and a humble workman, kamika, I, 10. The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title pujavatt, literally 'a mother of children,' I, 8, 45, 95, 117; C. 45, C. 46, C. 62, is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely 'the mother of N. N.,' and that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own, is worthy of note. Very peculiar is the phrase I. 73, Tāpasiyānam nusāya Mitāya 'of Mitā, the daughter-in-law of the Tāpasiyas.' The inscriptions I. C. 58, C. 59 and C. 67, of which unfortunately no impressions are accessible, indicate that the Tāpasiyas were a family or tribe residing in Ujjain. If Mitā is called the daughter-in-law of this community, that looks very much like a confirmation or practical illustration of a view regarding the legal position of married women mentioned as existing, but combated as objectionable by Āpastamba, Dharmasūtra, II, 10, 27, 3. He says, 'For, they declare that a bride is given to the family (of her husband, and not to the husband alone).' I must content myself with the present with pointing out the possibility of a connexion between the wording of our inscription and the passage of Āpastamba. In order to prove it, more inscriptions containing the same or similar statements, and further information regarding the Tāpasiyas, are required.

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* 27 See I, 2, 59, 72, 108; I. C. 37; C. 69; C. 166.
* 28 See e. g. I, 80; C. 83. Similar cases occur frequently in other Buddhist, and also in the Jaina inscriptions.

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26 According to Sir A. Cunningham's copies the three inscriptions run as follows: — No. 53, Ujjeniya Tapasvīdāna Puṇānajaya dānam; No. 59, Ujjeya, Tapasvīdāna Jīmāntasa dānam; No. 67, Ujjeniya Tapasvīdāna Sibhadataya dānam. None of the texts can be quite correct. I suspect that the real readings are: (1) Ujjeniya Tapasvīdāna huṣṇa-Naddaya dānam, 'The gift of Nadda (Nandā), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasiyas, from Ujjain;' (2) Ujjeniya Tapasvīdāna Jīmajmānasa dānam, 'The gift of Isimita (Rishimitra) of the Tāpasiyas, from Ujjain; (3) Ujjeniya Tapasvīdāna Sibhadataya dānam, 'The gift of Sibhadatā (Sikhadatā) of the Tāpasiyas from Ujjain.' If we combine the information conveyed by these inscriptions with the statement of our No. 78, it is evident that the Tāpasiyas were a family or tribe, settled in Ujjain. I do not think it necessary to assume, with Sir A. Cunningham (Bālīka Topes, p. 366), that they were ascetics. We have also Pārīvarjaka Hājāka, Corp. Inscr. Ind., vol. II, pp. 97 ff. I may add that Sir A. Cunningham identifies, loc. cit., the Tāpasiyas with the 'Tabas Magorum' and the 'Tabasa gens' of the classical authors.
The names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurânik worship during the third and second centuries B.C. A very large proportion of the names, *e.g.* Araha, Arahaka, Arahadata, Arahadina, Arahadâsa, Arahâdastâ, Arahapatâlita, Arahaguta, Dhamadata, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhamapâlita, Buddhila, Budhapâlita, Bodhi, Sagha, Samghila, Saghadinâ, Saghadéva, Saghâmita and Samgharakhita, is decidedly Buddhist. Another considerable group of proper names, *e.g.* Asâda, Mulâ (*i.e.* Mûlâ), Muladattâ, Phaguna, Poñhaka, Pusa, Pusaka, Puñinâ, Pusagiri, Pusarakhita, Poñhaka, Poñhâdeva, Rohini (*i.e.* Rûhini), Sâtila, Svatiguta, has been derived from the names of Nakshatras, and points to the conclusion that the rule of some *Griyásutras*, which recommends the use of *nakshastra-nâmnâni*, was practically obeyed. The same inference may be drawn from almost all other collections of ancient inscriptions and from various ancient Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina works. There are further some names, such as Agisimā (*Agniśarmâ*), Agido-[de]*vâ, Bahadatta (*Brahmadatta*), Mahida, Mitâ, Vesamanadattâ, Visvadeva, Yamarakhitâ, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some, Nâgâ, Nâgila, Nâgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brahmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, the name Vinhukâ, an abbreviation for Vishnudattâ or Vishnurakshita, Upidatta or Opedatta (*Upendradatta*), Balaka and Balamitra (connected with one of the heroes of the legend of Krishna, Baladeva or Balarâma, who is also called Bala), furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, while Nandiguta (*Nandigupto*), Namidi-giri, *Samidatta* (*Svâmi*, *i.e.* Kumâra-datta), Samika and Samikâ (*Svâmika*, *Svâmikâ*), Sivanadi (*Śivanandi*) do the same service to Śaivism. It is also possible that Isadatta and Himadatta are likewise Śaiva names. If the former has been correctly read, it corresponds to Sanskrit Isâdatta. The other two *may* be connected with Hima, a name of Durgâ. They *may*, however, be also derived from Hima, "the moon."

The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaishnavism and Śaivism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families. The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax among the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay the prevalence of Vaishnavism and Śaivism, not only during the third century B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaishnavism and Śaivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism. *By exactly the same method of analysis which has been here applied to the names on the Sânchi Stûpa, it is possible*

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30 I would explain *Namigiri* by "he whose mountain (*i.e.* protection) is or may be Nandini," on the analogy of *Dantidurgâ*, for which name *Dantinarman* appears. Devagiri, Himagiri, Dhanagirika, Shiva-giri may be explained similarly, though Devagiri and Himagiri may also be considered as personal names derived from mountain names. Vîhâra, *i.e.* Vinthiya, furnishes a certain instance of the latter kind.

31 Possibly the correct form may be Isidatta, *i.e.* *Rishidatta* (*compare Isigata*).
to extract from those occurring in the canonical works of the Buddhists, the proof that the Pârâník religions flourished at the time when those works were composed. If, e.g., we learn from the Bhikkhupâchitiya, II, 1, that the ox of a Brahman in Takshaśilâ was called Nandivisālo "as big as Nandi," it is not doubtful that the animal had received its name in honour of Śiva's vehicle, and that Śaivism was popular at the time when the Suttavibhâṅga was composed and probably earlier.

The last point which calls for remark is the identification of the numerous geographical names which the inscriptions offer. A small proportion of the latter causes no great difficulty. Erakina, as must be read instead Dharakina, is without doubt the modern Erañ in the Sâgar district of the Central Provinces, which on the ancient copper coins is called Erakana or Erakana, and in Sanskrit Airikina.32 Mahisati is the ancient town of Mâhishmattî, identified with the modern Mandul,33 Pokhara, the ancient Pushkara and the modern Pokhar near Ajmir, Pratiṭhâna (the base of the male proper name Pratiṭhâna) either Allahâbâd34 or Paithân on the Godâvarī, Ujenâ, the modern Ujjain, and Vedisa the modern Besnagar.

Further Kurarghara, which appears five times, I would identify with the village of Kurarghara, which according to the Buddhist scriptures lay in Avantî or Eastern Mâlvâ, and was the residence of Mahâkâchâyangâ.35 Kurarghara is, of course, the etymologically correct form of the name, and Kurarghara, a corruption by a kind of haplophony, which occurs more frequently in geographical and other names. The Indian Atlas, Quarter Sheet, No. 53 N.E., shows in 23° 38' N. Lat., and 77° 5' E. Long., an apparently not inconsiderable place, called 'Kurawar,' which may be the modern representative of Kurarghara.

With respect to the remaining towns and villages it is difficult to offer more than more or less uncertain conjectures, because there is no indication to which part of India they belonged, and because many of the names occur scores of times on the map of India, and more than once even in the immediate neighbourhood of Sântchi-Kâkânâda. Thus it is possible to suggest that Tubavana may be identical with the southern district of Tumbavana mentioned in the Brihat-Samhitâ, XIV, 15, or with its chief town; that Sonara, the etymon of the adjective Sonaraka, is the modern Sonâr close to Sântchi where some stûpas exist; that the name of Pâdâna, the etymon of the adjective Pâdâniya, is preserved in the modern Parana, Lat. 23° 36' N. and 76° 38' E. Long. (Ind. Atl. Q. Sh. No. 53 N. W.); and that Na(m)dinagara and Kapasigâma correspond with the modern 'Nandner,' Lat. 23° 4' N. and Long. 76° 6' E. (Ind. Atl. Q. Sh. No. 53 N.W.) and Kapasi Lat. 23° 28' N. and Long. 77° 54' E. But it must not be forgotten that there were, and are, several 'Nandinagaras' and Nandners, and that another 'Kapasi' is found at no great distance in Lat. 23° 55' N. and Long. 77° E. The same remarks apply with still greater force to such places as Madhuvana, Udubarghara, the etymon of the adjective Udubarghariya, and Aba, i.e. Amba, the etymon of Abeyaka; for the corresponding modern Madhuban, Mahu, Umra or Umrer and Ambagam are found over and over again in the neighbourhood of Sântchi and in more distant districts. For the present it is not advisable to do more

33 Cunningham: Ancient Geography, p. 488.
34 Jhâd, opposite to Allahâbâd,—see Führer: Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, p. 138.—Ed. E. I.
35 See Dr. Wenzel's Index: Jour. Pali Text Soc., 1888.
than to note the names and to point out some of the possibilities which they suggest. All of them may, hereafter, become important. Hence they have been given in alphabetical order, just as well as the personal names, in the Appendix to this paper.

**Tope I.**

No. 1 = C. 1.

केकटेयकपुत्रस धमसिस्व दानं [18]  
“The gift of Dhamasiva (Dharmaśiva), son of Kekaṭeyaka (Kaikaṭeyaka).

No. 2 = C. 4.

धमागिरिकस मातृ दानं [18]  
“The gift of Dhamagirika’s (Dharmagirika’s) mother.”

No. 3 = C. 5.

केकटेयकस जमत विजितस दानं [18]  
“The gift of Vijita, son-in-law 37 of Kekaṭeyaka (Kaikaṭeyaka).

No. 4 = C. 6.

कादस भिखुनी दानं [18]  
“The gift of the monk Kāda (Kānda).”

No. 5 = C. 13.

स्मासनकास भिखुनी दानं [18]  
“The gift of the monk Aya-Pasanaka (the venerable Prasannaka).”

No. 6 = C. 14.

नादिनगरा चचलय भिखुनिया दानं [18]  
“The gift of the nun Achalā, from Nadinagara (Nandinagara).”

No. 7 = C. 15.

नादिनगरा कामोजस भिखुनी दानं [18]  
“The gift of the monk Kāboja (Kāmboja) from Nādinagara (Nandinagara).

No. 8 = C. 16.

सिंहरकितस पञ्चायतिय सीप्रद्देय दानं [18]  
“The gift of Soṇadevā (Swarnadevā or Śoṇadevā), wife of Siharakhita (Simharakhita).”

35 Possibly केकटेयक, but see No. 3. Below this is a modern Devanāgarī inscription: र शी शास्त्री स्यावाद भवमोित्निर्णय [18]. The king (f), the illustrious Sāvadeva, adores constantly.
36 An apparent s-stroke above the last ह is an accidental scratch.
37 जमत seems to stand for जामत, the nominative being used instead of the stem.
38 There are three impressions showing these words, and the differences in the shape of the letters seem to indicate that they have been derived from three different inscriptions.
39 चचलय stands for चचलय and हर्ष for दानं.
40 सीप्रद्देय is meant for सीप्रदेय.
No. 9 = C. 19.

प्रसरितस भिकुनी दान [1]

"The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (Dharmarakshita)."

No. 10 = C. 20.

चठस कसिमस दान [1]

"The gift of Aṭha (Artha), the labourer (?)."

No. 11 = C. 23.

L. 1. सामनेरस
2. चत्वयकस
3. बैठको दान [1]

"The gift of Sāmanera, the Abeyaka Sheṭh (i.e. the Sheṭh of a town or village called Aba or Amba, in Sanskrit Ámra- gráma)."

No. 12 = C. 24.

प्रातिठानस भिकुनी घाटिस्य चत्वासस्न दान [1]

"The gift of the Prátiṭhāna monk (i.e. the monk from Pratishṭhāna), pupil of Hātiya."

No. 13 = C. 25.

उदुबराग्रिस सीहरितस दान [1]

The gift of Siharakhita (Sinharakshita), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (Udumbaragriha)."

No. 15 = C. 30.

प्रसरिताय मधुवनिकाय दान [1]

"The gift of Dhamarakhitā (Dharmarakshitā), inhabitant of Madhuvana."

No. 16 = C. 33.

L. 1. [वो] तिष्पतस
L. 2. भंडुकस
L. 3. भिकुनी दान [1]

"The gift of the monk Bhāmāduka, son of Gōti (i.e. of a mother of the Gaupta race)."

No. 17 = C. 34.

L. 1. वेजफस गामस दा
L. 2. म [1]

"The gift of the Vejaja village." 

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1 The i-stroke is expressed by a prolongation of the upper right limb of व.
2 With the proper name Sāmanera (Srāmanera), literally "a novice," compare the name Samanā; Bharhut Inscrip., ed. Hultzsch, No. 29, and Samana; l, C. 179.
3 The म is faint and blurred, the Anusvara distinct. Both stand above the line.
4 Regarding the correctness of Prinsep's interpretation, which the above translation follows, see the Introduction.
No. 18 = C. 35.

"The gift of Arhataguta (Arhataguta), inhabitant of Sāsadā."

No. 19 = C. 36.

L. 1. सुभगस
L. 2. कोरचरस दन

"The gift of Subhaga, inhabitant of Kuraghara (Kuragarīha)."

No. 20 = C. 38.

बुद्धिनाघुपक्षिकाय दन

"The gift of Vudinā (Vuddhīnā), a female lay-disciple.

No. 21 = C. 39.

कद्र[वा]धु भववसत्त पराशरशति

"The measuring-staff of the Divine one (Buddha, the gift) of Kākanā (i.e. probably kākinī, 'the little crow')."

No. 22 = C. 40.

तुबंत्र नवतिनिनि [प]तितियवत्साय बेललह[र]ाद दन

"The gift of Vesamanadā (Vatāranadattā), daughter-in-law of Patitīhiya (Pratishṭhita), a gahapati from Tubavana (Tumbavana)."

No. 23 = C. 41.

तुबंत्र नवतिनिनि पतिति[व] दन
The gift of the gahapati Patitīhiya (Pratishṭhita) from Tubavana (Tumbavana).

No. 24 = C. 43.

नदावु व नादिविरोहस च दन

"The gift both of Nādāvū (Nandāyu?) and of Nādivirohi (Nandivirohin)."

No. 25 = C. 73.

बोधगोठय धम्मवतना दन

"The gift of the Baudhāya Committee of Trustees from Dhamavaḍhanana (Dharmavardhanana)."

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43 Regarding this name see the Introduction.
44 The vowels of the first two syllables of the first word, and of the last two syllables of the second word, are not quite distinct.
45 Possibly वावप्रम to be read.
46 Dr. Bhagvānal Indrāji according to Mr. Fleet, Corp. Ins. Ind. vol. III, p. 31, took वावप्रम to stand for वावप्रम.
47 The fourth and fifth consonants of the last word but one are not certain. At first sight they look like र्द."
48 Regarding the precise meaning of वावप्रम, see the Introduction.
49 Regarding the explanation of Bodhagōthi, see the Introduction. Though the term Dharmavardhanana occurs twice, it is probably a mistake for Dhamavaḍhanana. Only the letter gives a sense, and its Sanskrit equivalent is mentioned as a village-name in the Bāndyaṇa, I, 74, 10, see the Petarb. Dict.; s. v.
No. 26.
बीघामोधिया धमदन्नना दाने [1*] [13]

No. 27 = C. 76. [14]
बजेनिया वाणिज्याने दाने [1*]
"The gift of the Vâkiliyas, from Ujjain."

No. 28 = C. 78.
विह्वातिय बिखुनिया दाने [1*]
"The gift of the nun Chirâti (Kîrâti)"

No. 29 = C. 79.
सचनस बिखुनी दाने [1*]
"The gift of the monk Sadhana (i.e. Sa-dhana or Sad-dhana”).

No. 30 = C. 80.
चबदेबे बहदसमातु दाने [1*]
"The gift of Asvadevā (Abvadevā), mother of Bahadatta (Brahmadatta)".

No. 31 = C. 81.
वदरियकस बलिगुतास दाने [1*] [14]
"The gift of Svatiguta (Svātigupta), an inhabitant of Ugirā.

No. 32 = C. 82.
परवगुताये दाने [1*]
"The gift of Arhabagutā (Arhadguptā)".

No. 33 = C. 84.
यसिद्य चतितिकलिं संग्रामिताये दाने [1*]
"The gift of Samgharakshitā (Samgharakshitā), pupil of Yasilā (Yaśilā)".

No. 34 = C. 86.
यसिद्य दाने [1*] [15]
"The gift of Yasilā (Yaśilā)".

No. 35 = C. 87.
शेठनो चतिकमकारिकाना दाने [1*]
"The gift of the Sheṭh, the great executor of repairs". [16]

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[13] This is apparently a second inscription of the same import as No. 25, not a second impression of No. 25. For the size of most letters does not agree in the least and the termination of the first word ends in शत instead of in बाल.
[15] The subscribed श of शितुगुत्य is not quite distinct.
[16] Possibly शितिक्षिते to be read.
[17] I take परिकस्थारिका as pluralis majestatis, agreeing with the singular शेठिका, see above, vol. I, p. 673.
No. 36 = C. 90.

“The gift of Uppardatta (Uppadradatta).”

No. 37 = C. 92.

“The gift of the nun Saghadintā (Saṃghadattā) from Vāghumata.”

No. 38 = C. 93.

“The gift of the nun Yakṣī (Yakṣī) from Vedisa (Vidīśa).”

No. 39 = C. 98.

“The gift of Kurarī, the mother of Tāpasi.”

No. 40 = C. 99.

“The gift of Arhat (Arhat) from Kāpāsigūma (Kārpaśigūma).”

No. 41 = C. 101.

“The gift of Bhadra (Bhadra) from Kaṭakaṇu.”

No. 42 = C. 102.

“The gift of Apartha (Apartha).”

No. 43 = C. 103.

“(The gift) of Ajitigupta (Ajitigupta?), inhabitant of Bhogavadhana (Bhogavadhana).”

No. 44 = C. 104.

“The gift of Arhaddatta (Arhaddatta) in Morasihikatā (Mārasimhikatā).”

No. 45 = C. 105.

“(The gift) of Dhamarakṣitā (Dhamarakṣitā), mother of Sivanadi (Sivanandina) from Bhogavadhana (Bhogavadhana).”

77 Perhaps Baṣāvaseṭi.

78 Tāpasi may be either a proper or a family name, as there was a Tāpasiya family (see the Introduction).

79 There are two impressions with these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.

80 The letters are much blurred.

81 I take the name to be formed from apārtha, “who has renounced (the acquisition of) wealth.” It may, of course, also correspond with Sanskrit apārtha, ‘poor.’

82 There are two impressions bearing these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.
No. 46 = C. 107.

मवगमकसभिमाे इजीनहरा दानम् [1°]

"The gift of Samikā (Svāmikā), inhabitant of Navagama (Navagrāma) from the district of Ujjain."

No. 47 = C. 108.

L. 1. बिरिगुमस
L. 2. वानिज्य दानम् [1°]

"The gift of the merchant Siriguta (Śrīgupta)."

No. 48 = C. 109.

सुबासितस पञ्जावतिया मभिमाया दानम् [1°]

"The gift of Majhimā (Madhyamā), wife of Subāhitā.

No. 49 = C. 110.

L. 1. सुबासितस गोविन्दस-
L. 2. स रजालिपिकारस
L. 3. दानम् [1°]

"The gift of the scribe Subāhitā, son of a Goti (i.e. of a mother of the Gaupta race)."

No. 50 = C. 111.

तिरिड्यथा नागय उपासिकाय —

"(The gift) of the female lay disciple Nāgā, from Tiriḍāpada (Tiriḍāpadra?)."

No. 51 = C. 112.

बालमस[साय] मोहिया दान [ब]दिसातो [1°]

"The gift of the Barulamisa Committee from Vedisa (Vidiśā)."

No. 52 = C. 113.

L. 1. धमरक्षिताये भिन्ननिख कालुपये
L. 2. दानम् [1°]

"The gift of the nun Dhamarakhitā (Dharmarakhitā) in Kāchupatha."

No. 53 = C. 114.

धमरक्षितस कालुपयस भिन्ननी दान [1°]

"The gift of the monk Dhamarakhitā (Dharmarakhitā), inhabitant of Kāchu patha."

43 Ujjenicārā may stand for Ujjeni-dhārā (see E. Müller: Pali Grammar, pp. 40-41). Āhāra is the well-known ancien revenue term, corresponding to the modern Collectorate. It follows that Navagama was situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain.

44 There is a second copy, which bears only सुवासितस पञ्ज[ह] ... The letters show that it has been taken from another inscription.

45 The last two syllables दानम् and half the preceding ख are wanting in the impression.

46 Possibly वशबिन्दम.

47 Possibly विनुभेस्व; According to Sir A. Cunningham's copy the letter ख has been lost after कालुपये. I am, however, unable to make any sense out of such a reading.
No. 54 = C. 115.
“The gift of the monk Samdhana.”

No. 55 = C. 116.
“The gift of Pusagiri (Pushyagiri), inhabitant of Navagama (Navayrama).”

No. 56 = C. 117.
“The gift of Bhichhuka (Bhikshuka), inhabitant of Padasana.”

No. 57 = C. 124.
L. 1. Samanera Chamol -
L. 2. Kas Rattana Dan [1]
“The gift of Samanera, the Abeyaka Sheh.”

No. 58 = C. 125.
“The gift of Nadiguta (Nandigupta), the monk.”

No. 59 = C. 127.
“The gift of Arahadina (‘s mother) from Arajana.”

No. 60 = C. 128.
“The gift of Kuja—(?) from Tambalaama.”(?)

No. 61 = C. 129.
“The gift of the monk Dhamaguta (Dharmagupta) from Madhuvana.”

No. 62 = C. 131.
“The gift of the monk Mahagiri.”

No. 63 = C. 135.

Read Bhikshu.

See above, No. 11.

The apparent d-stroke at the end of Dhamaguta may possibly be an anusvara, run together with the ✈.

Sir A. Cunningham completes स मात् दानस्.

Last sign of त्र is not decipherable. I suspect that द्र, i.e. द्र, is meant (see Bharut Insor). No. 104.

Restore मात्.
"The gift of the monk Upasijha (Upasidhyā), brother of Phaguna (Phāl-guṇa)."

No. 64 = C. 136.

भीमवदनातो दसिरखिताय [⁴]

"(The gift) of Isirakhitā (Rishirakshitā) from Bhogavadhana (Bhogavar-dhana)."

No. 65 = C. 139.

समिदतस भिक्षुनो दान [⁴]

'The gift of the monk Samidata (Svāmidatta)."

No. 66 = C. 140–141.

L. 1. देवमरिनो पर्यन्तमिकस
L. 2. भिक्षुनो स च वसुभि — — शी [⁵]''

"(The gift) of the monk Devagiri, who knows the five Nikāyas,⁶ and of his pupil."

No. 67 = C. 142.

पुसकस भिक्षुनो दान [⁴]

"The gift of Pusaka (Pushyaka) the monk."

No. 68 = C. 143.

बुद्धस च चमरिखितस च भिक्षुन दान [⁴]

"The gift both of Chudā (Kshudra) and Dhamarakhita (Dharmarakshita)."

No. 69 = C. 144.

उजेनिये चागिसिमवे दान [⁴]

"The gift of Agisimā (Agniśarmā) in Ujjain." ⁷⁶

No. 70 = C. 145.

L. 1. [प्र]विठानस स्मिक्षुनो दान
L. 2. [व]यस्सकस च चतिवासिनो [⁴]''⁷⁷

"The gift of the monk Prātiṭhāna,"⁷⁸ pupil of Aya-Tisaka (the venerable Tishyaka)."

No. 71 = C. 146.

बुधरिखितस भिक्षुनो दान ज्ञावतस [⁴]

"The gift of the monk Budharakshita (Buddharakshita), the Ejāvata." ⁷⁹

⁷¹ Though the last sign looks like शी, I suspect that the writer meant to give Sa-atevāsino dānam.
⁷² See the Introduction.
⁷³ Possibly भविष्यवं is to be read.
⁷⁴ Possibly पतिवास or पतिवासस.—The other three bracketed syllables are very faint.
⁷⁵ See above, No. 12.
⁷⁶ The etymological meaning of ज्ञास्व would be "endowed with desire." This, of course, does not suit here. I take the word to be an adjective, derived from the name of a town.
No. 72 = C. 148.

परापणा चसाॅडस मातू दान [१०] ८०
“The gift of Asâda’s (Ashâda’s) mother, from Arâpâna.”

No. 73 = C. 149.

L. 1. उजेनिया ताप-
L. 2. मियाओ नूशा-
L. 3. मिताय
L. 4. दान [१०]
“The gift of Mitâ (Mitrâ), daughter-in-law of the Tâpasiyas, from Ujjain.”

No. 74 = C. 150.

[भ]राधियस सुरुसस दुग्धजकस दान [१०] ८१
“The gift of the Bharaôiya, the holy man, the path- (finder) of the age.” ८२

No. 75 = C. 153.

जोहकस भिकुनी दान [१०]
“The gift of the monk Jôhaka (Jyotsnaka).”

No. 76 = C. 154.

धमरखात्यि मधुवनाकायि दान [१०] ८३
“The gift of Dhamarakhatâ (Dharmarakshitâ), inhabitant of Madhuvana.”

No. 77 = C. 155.

माहमोरगिक्स सिङ्गरिनियि दान [१०] ८४
“The gift of Sihagiri (Simhaôgiri) from Mâhmaragi.

No. 78 = C. 160.

L. 1. धम[सि]रिया सिङुनियि मडलिकृतिकायि
L. 2. दान [१०] ८५
“The gift of the nun Dhamasiri (Dharmaôtri), inhabitant of Maôdalakhîkaûta (Mândalâkhîkaûta?).”

No. 79 = C. 161.

L. 1. चविसिनियि चुस्तातिकिनिया
L. 2. मडलिकृतिकायि दान [१०]
“The gift of Avisinâ (Avishanâ), who is versed in the Sutta-Piûaka, an inhabitant of Maôdalakhîkaûta.”

८० Possibly चसाॅडः is to be read. But the wavy line below the ् is probably accidental.
८१ The left side of the initial भ has been almost cut away in the impression.
८२ Or, perhaps, the gift of the holy man of Bharaôa, etc.
८३ Meant for धमरखात्यि मधुवनाकायि.
८४ Possibly सिङ्गरिनियि. Though there is a second inscription of this individual, I, C. 28, I suspect that we should read Mahâmoragirîmihâ, from the great Maydrâgiri. Compare Bharhut Inscri. Nos. 81, 94, 95, where Moragirîmihâ occurs.
८५ The third sign of सिङुनियि has been originally घि, which afterwards was altered to ्घ.
८६ Compare Pali nissâna for निष्कृता, and the male name Avisana; Bhar. Inscri. Nos. 141, 142.
No. 80.
L. 1. चविसिनाये सुतातिकिनिः
L. 2. संजलिवादिकाय दानेः [l*]  

No. 81 = C. 162.

L. 1. सचीदव्स वेरीशकतस
L. 2. चारिस्स दानेः [l*]

“The gift of Saghadeva (Saṅghadeva), a trader, inhabitant of Viṁhakaṭa.”

No. 82 = C. 167.

L. 1. चोडिय
L. 2. नदिनगः
L. 3. रङ्ग दन [l*]

“The gift of Oḍi, inhabitant of Nadinagara (Nandinagara).”

No. 83 = C. 180.

चर्चन्दनस्स भिङ्गुनो पोरेियकस दानेः [l*]

“The gift of the monk Arahadina (Arhaddatta), inhabitant of Pokhara (Pushkara).”

No. 84 = C. 181.

L. 1. भद्दनासिलस
L. 2. सवन्न भाटीने
L. 3. दानेः यमोः [l*]  

“A pillar, the gift of all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila.”

No. 85 = C. 182.

कोफास नागपियस चखङ्के सेंठस दानेः [l*]

“A pillar, the gift of Nāgapiya (Nāgapriya), inhabitant of Kurara, a Sheṭh in Achhāvāḍa.”

No. 86 = C. 184.

बुस्फालितायया भिङ्गुनो दानेः [l*]

“The gift of the nun Budhāpalitā.”

No. 87 = C. 185.

पोडास्स भिङ्गुनो दानेः [l*]

“The gift of the monk Poṭhaka (Prōṣṭhaka).”

No. 88 = C. 193.

चक्युदकस सैंसिनिस्स वलामिस्स दानेः [l*]

“A pillar, the gift of Balamitra, the pupil of the venerable Chuḍa (Kshudra).”

77 Restore चुतातिकिनिः.
78 There are two impressions. One shows in l. 2 यमोः and the other दिनेः, as Sir A. Cunningham reads. The latter reading gives, however, no sense.
79 The proper form of the name is Kurdra; see No. 98.
80 This means probably that Nāgapiya had his shop in Achnāvāḍa.
81 Meant for भिङ्गुनय.
82 The apparent d-stroke after दीः is in my opinion accidental.
No. 89.

चरणान देवका दानम [=]

"The gift of Devaka from Arapāna (Arāpāna)."

No. 90.

भरहदीनस दानम रमोरज़(रज़)काड़ —

"The gift of Arahadina (Arhaddatta) in Ramorajakaḍi (?)

No. 91.

पञ्चवतिया रिसिगुटा भगवत दानम [=]

"The gift of the merchant Isiguta (Rishigupta) from Asvavati (Asvavati)."

No. 92.

रिसिका भगवनी दानम [=]

"The gift of the monk Isika (Rishika)."

No. 93.

L. 3. रिसिका रोहा —
L. 2. रिपिदिस दा —
L. 1. न [=]

"The gift of Isika (Rishika), inhabitant of Rohinipada."

No. 94.

रिसिघुतां दानम [=]

"The gift of Isirakhita (Rishirakhita)."

No. 95.

L. 1. उजिनिया विखर्ते—
L. 2. वस पञ्चवतिया
L. 3. सुलाय दानम [=]

"The gift of Mulā (Mūlā), wife of Visvadeva (Visvadeva), from Ujjain."

No. 96.

[उ]दुबरवर्ति संचिनितक दानम [=]

"The gift of Sachamita (Sutaymitra), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (Udumbaragriha).

No. 97.

L. 1. क[ट]क[श्य]कस भयवसुश्नक
L. 2. मलुर्नी दानम [=]

"The gift of the monk, the venerable Patuḍa (?), inhabitant of Kaṭakaṇu."

---

82 The impression seems to be incomplete. The last word probably ended in वेष and designated Arahadina as inhabitant of Ramorajakaḍa (?)
83 The inscription has to be read from below. Read रोहीकार.
84 This is a mere scrawl, and the bracketed letters are mostly uncertain.
85 Most of the letters of l. 1 are very faint, and the first bracketed one is not certain.
No. 98.

कुरारा समविलस दान[1]*

"The gift of Samvalita from Kuràra."

No. 99.

L. 1. कोयप्रस सेठनी
L. 2. सीवस्थ दान[1]*

"The gift of the Sheṭh Sìha (Sìnha), inhabitant of Kuraghara."

No. 100.

मिरिगुता मिठुनिया दान[1]*

"The gift of the nun Giriguptà (Giriguptà)."

No. 101.

जितामिता मिठुनिये विखिमिकाये दान[1]*

"The gift of the nun Jitāmità (Jitāmità), inhabitant of Vādīvahana."

No. 102.

धमताय दानं पुञवचनियाये [1]*[8]

"The gift of Dhamatà (Dhrmatatà), inhabitant of Puñavadhana (Punyavardhana)."

No. 103.

धमदतस मिठुनो दानं प[य]नदिकय[स] [1]*[9]

"The gift of the monk Dhamadata (Dhrmatatà), pupil of Aya-Bhaḍuka (Arya-Bhaḍuka, No. 16)."

No. 104.

L. 1. [चित्र]धमाय
L. 2. बेदभिष च
L. 3. कोयप्रस च
L. 4. मिठुनिय दानं [1]*

"The gift of Piyadhâmà (Piyadharmà) and Bodhi, the nuns of Kuraghara."

No. 105.

पुष्ये मिठुनिये नदिनगरिकाये दानं [1]*

"The gift of the nun Pusà (Pushyà), inhabitant of Nadinagara (Nandinagara)."

No. 106.

L. 1. पोखरा हिम-
L. 2. गिरिनो दानं [1]*

"The gift of Himagiri from Pokhara (Pushkara)."

No. 107.

पोविकप धमसिव दानं [1]*

"The gift of Dhammasiva (Dharmaśiva), inhabitant of Puravikha(?)."

* Probably धमताय is to be read.
* चयनकेति looks almost like चयनकेति; but see No. 122, where the reading, given above, is plain.
No. 108.

बेऌकरा मंदिरित्रिराय माॅतु द[१]न्न [१*]

"The gift of Namādigiri's mother from Bejakara."

No. 109.

[भोगवल]नक्श महिद[०] — — —

"(The gift) of Mahida (Mahendra), inhabitant of Bhogavaṭhāna (Bhogavardhana)."

No. 110.

L. 1. मथुरनिनाथे बुधरकिते भिखुनिये

L. 2. दाने [१*]

"The gift of the nun Budharakhitā (Buddharakshitā), inhabitant of Madhumana."

No. 111.

महिष्मति देवभगस दाने [१*]

"The gift of Devabhaga (Devabhāga ?) from Mahisati (Māhishmati)."

No. 112.

L. 1. यथिरस भिखुनी षङ्ख्येबिगितो घाते-

L. 2. बालिनी दाने [१*]

"The gift of the monk Yakhila (Yakshila), pupil of the venerable Devagiri."

No. 113.

L. 1. रोहिष्पिदिये-

L. 2. स निगाहिस दाने-

L. 3. न [१*]

"The gift of Nigadī, inhabitant of Rohanipada (Rohanipada)."

No. 114.

L. 1. रोहिष्पिदिये-

L. 2. स बुलिकस

L. 3. दाने [१*]

"The gift of Bulika,9 inhabitant of Rohanipada."

No. 115.

L. 1. रोहिष्पिदियसि

L. 2. शेठनी नामाशि-

L. 3. नस दाने [१*] ¹

"The gift of Sheṭh Nāgadīna (Nāgadatta), inhabitant of Rohanipada."

9 Restore महिलाश दाने.

9 Compare the Buli tribe (Wenzel: Index, sub voces) of Allakappa.

1 Read प्रदीर; the फ़ स्तं बङ्गा above the line, and is a correction.
No. 116.

"The gift of the monk Chhadika (Chhardika?) from Vādīvahana."

No. 117.

L. 1. वेदिकवय [ङे] सरचितास प्रसवारकास
L. 2. पत्रांति — मागदनय [ङे] दान [ङे]

"The gift of Nāgadatta (Nāgadattā), wife of the cavallerist Hamsarakhita (?)
(Hamsarakhīta), an inhabitant of Vedisa (Vidiśā).

No. 118.

"The gift of Samikā (Svāmikā) and of her daughter."

No. 119.

"The gift of the nun Sīridinā (Śīridā), inhabitant of Nadinagara (Nondinagāra)."

No. 120.

"The gift of Soyasa (Sauryasa), inhabitant of Bhādanakaṇa."

No. 121.

"The gift of the female lay disciple Revā, inhabitant of Ujjain."

No. 122.

"The gift of the monk . . . . , pupil of the venerable Bhaṇḍuka."

L. 1. बे — — [ङे] दान
L. 2. [ङी] दान
L. 3. — — [ङ] — — त — स दे
L. 4. — दि — —

TOPE II.

No. 1 = C. 3.

"The gift of the village of Pāḍukulikā (Pāṇḍukulikā)."

1 The letters are mostly faint, and the bracketed one is very doubtful.
2 Possibly another त may have stood in the beginning.
3 See above, Nos. 16 and 103
No. 2 = C. 4.

बुधिलस भोग[व]दनक्स दानः [१*]

"The gift of Budhila (Buddhila), an inhabitant of Bhogavadbhana (Bhogavar-
dhana)."

No. 3 = C. 5.

धमडेख्य देन भिंतसिसिरिचंतिासिनि [घ] [१*]

"The gift of Dhamadevâ (Dharmadevâ), (who is) a pupil of Mitasiri (Mitrasiri)."

No. 4 = C. 6.

रिसिलस भिखुनो दाना [१*]

"The gift of the monk Isila (Rishila)."

No. 5 = C. 11.

विभक्त भिखुनो दानाः [१*]

"The gift of the monk Vijha (Vindhya)."

L. 1 नागापिया भकादः
L. 2 स छेठिया दाना [१*]

"The gift of Nâgapiya (Nâgapriya), a Sheôth of Achhâvada." ६

No. 6 = C. 12.

यक्षिलस भिखुनो दाना [१*]

"The gift of the monk Yakhila (Yaksha)."

No. 7 = C. 13.

L. 1 नागापिया भकादः
L. 2 स छेठिया दाना [१*]

"The gift of Nâgapiya (Nâgapriya), a Sheôth of Achhâvada." ६

No. 8 = C. 14.

L. 1. सप्काय कौराय दान
L. 2. भिखुनिय [१*]

"The gift of the nun Sapakâ (Sarpaka ?), an inhabitant of Kurara." ७

No. 9 = C. 16.

L. 1. धम्मसेना दान भिखुनी
L. 2. य [१*]

"The gift of Dharmasenâ (Dharmasena), an inhabitant of Kurara, a nun."

No. 10 = C. 17.

नागवालितय दान यभो [१*]

"A pillar, the gift of Nâgapâlîtâ."

No. 11 = C. 25.

[भो]तिय भिखुनिय यभो दान [१*]८

"A pillar, the gift of the nun Oṭi." ८

---

* Read दानम्; the third letter of भिंतसिरिचंतिासिनि was originally an घ्, which was afterwards corrected to घ्.

* This inscription can be restored in accordance with No. 85, and C. 192 of Tope I.

* Properly कुररा; see I, 98.

* Possibly चौबाव.
No. 12 = C. 30.

सहसितस सिनारकस दान [1*]

"The gift of Saghāmita (Saṁghaimitra), an inhabitant of Sonara (Sonārī)."

No. 13 = C. 32.

च[मि]स दान षमपोरिकस [1*]

"The gift of Agila (Agni), inhabitant of Adhapura (Ardhapura)."

No. 14 = C. 33.

यसोगिर सिनारकस दान [1*]

"The gift of Yasogiri (Yasogiri), a monk."

No. 15 = C. 36.

गड़य नादिरिकाय [1*]

"(The gift) of Gaḷā, inhabitant of Nadinagara (Nandinagara)."

No. 16 = C. 38.

धयानुकस भिक्षु दान [1*]

"The gift of Aya-Nāduka (the venerable Nānduka), a monk."

No. 17.

पुसरकितस दान [ष]स प्रेतसिनो [1*]

"The gift of Pusarakhita (Pushyarakshita), the pupil of Aya (Ārya, i.e. the venerable one).

No. 18.

सिस्याद दान [1*]

"The gift of Siha (Simhā)."

No. 19.

L. 1. समनस सिनारकस
L. 2. दान [1*]

"The gift of the monk Sumana (Sumanas)."

No. 20.

धमगुतस पुसनियाच दान [1*]

"The gift of Dhamaguta (Dharmagupta) and Pusiniya (Pushyanika)."

No. 21.

विसारख पाऩड़ा — यस [1*]

"The gift of Visākha (Visākha), an inhabitant of Paṭḍā[na].

9 Restore यासानिब्ध, according to I, 56.
APPENDIX.—LISTS OF NAMES.

I.—Monks.

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10 *Pasanaka* occurs as teacher of *Dhamaguta* and *Sagharakhta* in the inscription on a pillar of the Sonari Topse No. I, Cunningham, *Bhula Topse*, plate xxiii.

11 This corresponds to Sanskrit *avaddikd*, literally 'the pure one.'
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*Note: If the following sethaka stands for saikshastra, this person was an ascetic.

*The name is probably wrong.*
SANCHI STUPA INSCRIPTIONS.

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Kācūpātha (adj.) I, 52, 53.
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15 Achana, on facsimile.
16 See also Bhārhat Inscriptions, No. 99.
17 Karndya, on facsimile.
18 First syllable obliterated.
19 Dharakina, on facsimile.
20 See also Bhārhat Inscriptions, No. 13.
21 Third syllable obliterated.
22 Pokhāmreyakāja [s], on copy.
Rohapadiya (adj.) I, 113, 114, 115; Roháni I, 93.
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"saka I, C. 28.
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VIII.—HARSHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAHAMANA VIGRAHARAJA.

THE [Vikrama] YEAR 1030.

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

The stone which bears this inscription lies among the ruins of an ancient temple on the top of a hill, called Harsha or "Uchápahar," which is near the village of "Harasnath" in the Shaikhawati province of the Jaypur state of Rájputána, about 7 miles south of Sikar and 60 miles north-west of Jaypur, Long. 75°15', Lat. 27°31', Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 33, N. E. There it was discovered, in 1834, by Dr. G. E. Rankin and Sergeant E. Dean, who both sent facsimiles of the inscription which it bears to the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1835. And, Dr. Rankin's copy having on the way become so much injured as to be totally illegible, the inscription was edited shortly afterwards from Mr. Dean's facsimile by the Rev. Dr. Mill, with a lithograph prepared by Lieutenant Kittoc, and an account of the ruins on the hill Harsha by Mr. Dean, in the Journal As. Soc. Beng., vol. IV, pp. 361-400.1 In the course of last year Mr. Fleet kindly presented me with a pencil rubbing of the inscription, found among Sir A. Cunningham's papers, which, though it helped me to amend Dr. Mill's readings in many places, was yet not sufficiently clear to furnish a trustworthy text throughout. I therefore applied for assistance to Dr. Burgess, and owing to his interest and exertions in the matter I am now able to re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions, obtained by Colonel S. S. Jacob for Dr. Burgess; they were prepared by Mr. Lâla Rám Bakhsh of Jaypur.

According to Mr. Dean's account the inscription is on a slab of black stone, about 3½" thick and 3' square. It consists of 40 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2'11" broad by 2'10" high. Small portions of the inscribed surface are broken away at the four corners, and the right and left margins are slightly damaged; besides, about a dozen aksharas have become illegible in the body of the inscription by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The rest of the writing is well preserved, and may be read with certainty almost throughout. The size of the letters is between ½" and ¾"; it is largest at the top and becomes gradually smaller towards the bottom. The characters

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1 See also Bharkut Inscriptions, Nos. 22, 82, 85, etc.
2 See also Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. III, pp. 932—937.
are the ordinary northern alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs, and they are skillfully formed and well engraved. The names of the writer and the engraver are not given. The language is Sanskrit, and by far the greater portion of the inscription, to nearly the end of line 33, is in verse. This poetical part is called a prākāsti, and was composed by Dhīranāga, the son of the karanika Thīruka (verse 45).—In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter ṣ is throughout denoted by the sign for v; before r, t is always doubled after a vowel, e.g., in vichitra, line 4, and sātradrāhā and dagdha-tripura, line 6; and a single j is written instead of jj in ujjvalah, line 16, and visphurojñāna, line 22. The dental n is employed instead of anusvāra in dhvansa, line 22; the dental sibilant instead of the palatal in auttareśvarah, line 22, and in Chaṇḍasiva, line 29 (in a verse which offends against the metre); and the dental nasal has been incorrectly changed to the lingual in prasannah, line 15, and wrongly retained in nirnāśitd, line 17.—Both the verses and the prose part of the inscription contain some words which are not given by the dictionaries or are employed in an unusual sense. To such words attention will be drawn in the notes on the translation.  

The proper object of the poetical part of the inscription, which consists of 48 verses, is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva, worshipped under the name of Harsha, on the hill Harsha, by the Śaiva ascetic Allaṭa, and the completion of other works of piety by Allaṭa’s disciple Bhāvadyota. But more interesting is the account which is furnished, by way of introduction, of the princes to whose kingdom the hill Harsha belonged and by whom the ascetics were patronised, and of their wars with other princes who have not yet become known from other sources. And the value of the inscription is enhanced by the fact that it yields a considerable number of names of districts and places, and contains several dates, for one of which the corresponding European date may be given with absolute certainty.

The first twelve verses of the inscription are mainly devoted to the glorification of the god Śiva or, as he is more particularly styled here, Harshadeva, of his place of residence, the mountain Harsha, and of the temple erected to the god on that hill. After that the poet, in verses 13-27, celebrates a line of princes belonging to the Chālamanā family, who are said to have become illustrious through their devotion to the god Harsha. The first prince mentioned is—

1. Gūvaka I., said to have been famous as a hero in the assemblies of the Nāgas and other princes (v. 13). His son was—
2. Chandrarāja (v. 14); his son—
3. Gūvaka II. (v. 14); and his son—
4. Chandana, who defeated or slew in battle the Tomara prince Rudrena  
(v. 14). This prince was succeeded by his son—
5. Vākpatirāja, who put to flight Tantrapāla, a neighbouring chief, by whom he had been attacked (vv. 15-16). And he again was succeeded by his son—
6. Simharāja. This prince, though he is said to have subdued, amongst others, a Tomara leader, who appears to have been allied with a certain Lavaṇa, was evidently defeated by his opponents and probably slain in battle (vv. 17-19). He was succeeded by his son—

2 See notes 64, 66, 69, 70, 77, 79, 81 & 85.
3 I take this name to be equivalent to Rudrapāla.
7. Vīghrāharāja, ruling at the time when the inscription was composed; who restored the fortune of his family; but nothing specific that need be repeated here is mentioned regarding him, except that he had a younger brother, named Durlabharāja (vv. 20-26). It will appear below that, besides Vīghrāharāja, Simharāja had two other sons, Chandrarāja and Govindarāja, and that he also had a brother, named Vatsarāja.

These seven princes are apparently mentioned in the same order in the inscription from Bijnart of which a rough reading is published in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LV, part I, p. 40. From verse 16 of the present inscription it appears that the country over which they held sway, and in which Harsha was situated, was called Ananta, a name which is repeated in verse 28. The princes with whom they are represented to have been at war have not hitherto met with in any other inscription, but the fact that two of them are described as Tomarās leads me to suspect that at any rate some of them were ruling the country around Delhi, which we know to have passed from the Tomarās to the Chāhamānas in later times.

The contents of the remaining verses of our inscription may be given in very few words. In the country Ananta there lived a sage Viśvarūpa, a devotee of Śiva, who followed the *Painchārthala* doctrine (v. 28). He had a disciple named Praśasta (v. 29); and his disciple again was Bhāvarakta, also called Allatā, who was born in a family of Brāhmans of the Vārgatika tribe, and had come to Harsha from the neighbouring Rāṇapallikā, a village where the Sāmārika doctrine was practised. Allatā built the magnificent temple of Harshadeva at which the inscription was afterwards put up, but died before he could accomplish all he had intended to do (vv. 30-34). And the works begun by him were therefore completed at his request by his disciple Bhāvadyota (vv. 35-42). The temple erected by Allatā was built by the architect Chaṇḍasiva, a son of Virabhadrā (v. 43), and completed on the 13th of the bright half of Áśadhā of the year 1013 (line 32). And the sage Allatā is (in v. 48) reported to have died in the expired year 1027, when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with the yoga Śubha and the nakshatra Hasta, on a Monday. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, I find that the corresponding European date is Monday the 8th August, A.D. 970; for in northern Vikrama 1027 expired the Simha-sankṛanti took place on the 26th July, A.D. 970, which was the 6th of the dark half of the pūrṇimānta Bhadrapada, and the third of the following bright half (of the same Bhadrapada) was Monday the 8th August, when the third titki of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m. and the nakshatra was Hasta up to 12 h. 29 m. and the yoga Śubha up to 15 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. The date is interesting, because it is the earliest Vikrama date known to me in which the writer has quoted a solar sankranti, instead of giving us the name of the lunar month.4

To the poetical part of the inscription is appended, in lines 33-40, the following list of endowments of the temple of Harshadeva, which were received up to Áśadhā-sūdi 15 of the (Vikrama) year 1030, the date on which I take the inscription to have been composed:

The king Simharāja, after having bathed at Pushkaratīrtha, had given the villages Simhagosṭhā in the Tūnakūpaka group of twelve, Traṅkalakaka and

4 The practice is common enough in modern dates of Sanskrit MSS. written in the Bengali character.
Itánakúpa in the Paṭtabaddha ka viśhaya, and Kāṇhapallikā in the Sarah-koṭṭa viśhaya; his brother Vatsaratā the village Kārdamakāta in the Jayapura viśhaya; the king Vigraharaṇa the villages Chhattradhāra and Samkarāṇaka (verse 25); Simharāṇa's other sons Chandrarājya and Govindarājya two hamlets in the Paṭtabaddha and Darbhakakṣa viśhaya; Dhanadhuka, an official of Simharāṇa's, the village Mayūrapadra in the Khattakāpa viśhaya; and a certain Jayanaraṇa the village Koliṇkāpa. Besides, fields had been given by various pious people, at Madrapurikā, Nimbadikā, Marupallikā, Harsha, and . . . [ka]lāvanapadra. And taxes on salt and on horses had been assigned for the benefit of the temple by the traders (?) of Śākambharī and by the horse-dealers from the north.

Of the localities in this list, to which may be added the village of Rāṇapallikā near Harsha, mentioned above, few have as yet been identified. Jayapura, Śākambhari and Pushkaratirtha near Ajmere are well known. Of the rest, Rāṇapallikā must be the village "Ranoli," about 7 miles east of "Harasnāṭh" and one mile west of "Shishu;" and Nimbadikā, the village "Nimara," 4½ miles south of "Harasnāṭh," near a salt-lake which may have given its name to . . . [ka]lāvanapadra.

The inscription ends with the usual appeal to future kings to respect these endowments.

TEXT.

L. 1. . . . . . [ṛ]" ||  


śāṇājīparmarṣayāsīn|ṁ nisamś bh[ṛ]| - - - - "||[1.]  

. . . . .  

2. . . . [ṛ]aktivitamaniṣe: ||  

śrayamānasya saṁye: pātā viciṣyatvam: ||[2.]  

pādvīyasyaśruti nimbati vadyamati śayyōgavatmatā  

[ṛ][ṃ] [ṛ][ṃ]| - - - - - - - - - - - -  

3. - - [ṛ]candṣe: ||  

bhyāśayam samastam bhavyat hi svayam yasya śṛṇiḥ prahāse  

s vīdhiyābhādharāno jayātī paripatātaviśhṭātupam: ||[3.]  

sṛṣṭe puruṣā vinirṣamayā teṣāṁ [ṛ][ṃ][.Paths]  

bhūva - - - - - -  

4. [ṛ]javam: ṣ豇tika nīkṣapante: ||  

netvābhāṣṭīnām bhrami bhāṣi teṣām vinirṣam

5 See note 79.  
6 From impressions obtained, at the Editor's request, from Col. S. S. Jacob, C. I. E., and made by Lāla Rām Baksh of Jaypur.  
7 The words broken away at the beginning were probably  
8 The aksaras in these brackets are slightly damaged at the top, but the reading is certain.  
9 The word broken away here was probably śravāṇam.  
10 Metre: Ratrodhātā.  
11 Metre: Sloka (Anubhūthi).  
12 Metro: Śragdharī.


13 Metre: Mandakranta.
14 Metre of verses 5-8: Sragdhara.
15 Read स.
16 Originally म, was engraved, but the initial स seems to have been altered to स.
17 Originally ट्था, altered to 'था.
18 Metre: Śloka (Anusṭubb).
19 Read न्रुस्वयः श्रीवः.
20 The two aksaras here broken away were perhaps न्त्वा.
21 Metre: Sragdhara.
22 The word here broken away was perhaps 'वित्ते.
23 Metre: Śloka (Anusṭubb).
11. [एत्]सूर्यांकांतिमचरतमश्रास्मास्माश्मापेयामधि
प्रांतसाधसाधविज्ञक्षाौक्षुःस्माविरामम्।
ममेति: खालीपादम खूबतात्त्वकतोर्वचारतर्मः
नानाश्रोतसु ज्ययति भगवती स्वर्गेश्वर [ष्९]-
12. [मर्यम्]॥ ॥—[12.]
भाष्य: नृपशास्त्रायाम्यतन्त्रपतिषाष्मामात्मयोभूतः।
30 नृपशास्त्राय[ष्९]नृपशास्त्रायाम्यतन्त्रपतिषाष्मामात्मयोभूतः।
यथा नृपशास्त्राय वर्षवनमय्यो तीर्थयो कीर्तित्वृत्-
विशेषीयपिणी विशेषीय विषयसति प्रतिष्ठति परस्य—
13.
[ष्९] नृपशास्त्राय [ष्९] नृपशास्त्राय [ष्९] जयसि:।॥—[13.]
पुत्र: नृपशास्त्राय नृपशास्त्राय नृपशास्त्राय नृपशास्त्राय
सत्तुएशाय भूषा: प्रयम्य इव युज्याय खालीपादम: प्रतापो।
तत्रास्तिरे नृपशास्त्राय मूर्तित्वयाम्यतन्त्रपतिषाष्मामात्मयो सद्योः
हला हलेिमृपः॥ ॥ समरः।[भुजि]
तत: परस्तेश्वरी सदा समरंज्वलः।
श्चौमायाम्यतन्त्रपतिषाष्मामात्मयो महाराजिमवऽतुः।॥ ॥—[15.]
श्रीनालेवं श्रीनालेवं कामसापि दूष्टता वामवंशा सुलखान्
प्राचीन चारसिद्धम्: सरस्वति चै[किर]॥ ॥ रॉटडिडिडयाँकु॥
15. —[ष्९]॥
वन्यानामुखां समरभिः[ष्९] इवागतेनतपारेः
आलिखुसंपापेः दिशः दिशः दिशः गमितो द्वैविशिष्यः प्रस्पणः[ष्९]:।॥ ॥—[16.]
शुरुकवः।
कोकिक्ये चि मर्रीले गतु चर्मदेयवर्मो गोयते
श्यामेश्वः[ष्९] जयेचुः की[सौऽि]॥
16. [ष्९] शाला चापण यस्त्वहाच[ष्९]हत:।
श्रीनालेवं पररयं मंडिरन्यिेति भल्ला प्रमुखः च्वः
श्चौमायाम्यतन्त्रपतिषाष्मामात्मयो महाराजिमवऽतुः।॥ ॥—[17.]
श्रीमारोपमं धैन्य विख्यति भवनीपिर।
पूर्णपदेयं तौ च उत्सव च[ष्९]॥ ॥ पालया[ष्९] का[ष्९]॥ ॥—[18.]
17. ——[ष्९]॥ तीर्थनायकं सकववं सैमानिचिप्रवेशं
युष्मे चैन नवधरा: प्रतिष्ठितं निर्ग्रामलिखितविश्लेषनाः।

34 Metre of verses 12-14: Sragdharā.
35 Read "पूजसे". The akshara ष्, preceding सु, may possibly have been altered to ष्.
36 Originally undoubtedly शैलसापाम् was engraved, but the akshara ष् appears to have been altered subsequently, and the only akshara which would suit the context appears to me to be ष्; I am not certain, however, that the adopted reading is correct.
37 This word, for which Dr. Mill has read चर्म युष्म, is quite clear and distinct in the original.
38 Metre of verses 12-14: Sragdharā.
39 This akshara might possibly be read व्यस्ति.
40 The lower portion of this akshara is not quite distinct.
41 Metre: Sragdharā.
42 Metre: धाराविक्रिता.
कारावेश्मणि भूयस्य विस्ताराविष्टि याबृहत्
तन्मुखस्यसुपागतस्य रघुकुले भृकुटिकर्त्तां स्वयम् ॥ ३५—[१९.]
श्रेयसा—

L. 18. [भृगुः]पश्चातजोस्तुलतुती वासवपत्रः।
वंशलखोजययीश वेदाते विब्रुरोहिनि ॥ ३६—[२०.]
श्रीसिंहराजार्जिता किन्तु विहारितो भोजस्य संपति विशुद्धीलोकां न समेति।
वेदातरात्मा(ब)हुयुः विसर्जितवांसं धनिरितिते दृष्टा निन्जः।

19. [रा’]वज्ञानंि। ॥ ३७—[२१.]

१९. वधेन तुरुद्वरने सम्वेदि: साधिताशिवलस्मी ख्या(ब)दुःखः।
लोकस्य वधवांसनी हत्वा विकृरकिय निजपायदयोऽस्ति। ॥ ३८—[२२.]
यथा चाह चरितं सतम् सद्य मुखतां जगति कौशिकं जनम।
श्लिष्टातपतरोक्षमकं।

20. — [३९] जायनं तन्तुरलं सुमुखुः || —[२३.]

२०. सुकाश्चरः: सुतता: प्रतिरथुतेनाब्राह्मणक्षेत्र शरी:।
कर्मच: पूवपूर्वेपितवस्लेषमभरतीयः।
उदाहरः समानेकजेकुरालिगरिभिज्ञिवरः सदारं—
श्रीवर्माः: पारितर || —

21. — || महरिति शते: प्राच्यते: सिवेशे। ॥ ४०—[२४.]

क्रस्ताराजरायोश्चित्यः: संकृतंयः। ॥१॥
तस्मा वर्तना(यव) भक्त्वाच दत्ती स्वाभावसः। ॥ ४१—[२५.]
श्रीसिंहराजार्जितं योगुन्यं किरुद्धिदेवीमुखिति: ॥१॥
तत्र वर्तन्यं काकुल्लो किरुद्धिवन्यव्यक्तुयः। ॥ —[२६.]

22. [संहर्]राजावती चाली शंभुसिद्धिपौर्यदया।
श्रीसिंह: कुलवीकश्चार्यास्माहिः: कुलक्रम:। ॥ —[२७.]
पञ्चार्थेलकुलात्माः विश्वविभोविवुः। ॥ —[२८.]
द्रिष्टातत्तमलाखविलसुरा:।

23. [नन्दाः]भृगुः।
प्रत्स्ताथोमविभोविष्यस्त्र पालनत: जती। ॥ —[२९.]
भाच्छ[व] ॥ रक्षोऽभ्ययं यथः: विषयं विषयं विस्तारसम्प्रद:।
वार्त्तिकायान्यिकातस्तसिद्धकुलसंबन्धः।॥ —[३०.]
श्रेयस्यावतः यथाः: प्रसिद्धो रायपञ्चवीकरः।
सांसारिककुलात्मायश्चतो यथेय बिन्दूः गंभीरः। ॥ —[३१.]

३५ Metro: Śārdhālavikrīchita.
३६ Metro: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
३७ Metro: Vasantatiñkādā.
३८ Metro of verses 23 and 23: Rathoddhata.
४० Metro: Sragdhara.

The two akharas here broken away, were probably

४५ Metro of verses 25—32: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
४६ One would expect to read here राजायान्यिकायान्यिकात, and I believe that the aksharas य यां has been altered to या already in the original.
४७ "वार्त्तिकायान्यिकातस्तसिद्धकुलसंबन्धः".
४८ Originally विन, but apparently altered to वः;
24. चौरस्थयबद्धर नई जियावसञ्चितकम्।
व्यायाराधनेय नूर्य स्वरूप सर्द्दिवातरम्। —[32.]
भाषाज्ञ 3[५] अंवारी दिगमबर: संयस्याः तपस्वी।
व्यायाराधनायं क्षमस्यमुभमस्यज्ञनसारमोहः।
भाषायमी स्वर(७) ज्ञान भवताः।[पाच]याः। — ○

25. —[पाच] स्वर(७)भु-।
सनींद प्रतिविवृत्ति: सुपूर्विधिवकारित ज्ञानस्मिरह। —[33.]
प्रवर्धवंदनक्षेत्र गमनपथव्यवहारप्रमिन्यं
इत्यं सौष्ठवप्रम्भितप्रयत्नः: महिमान्यः।[पाच]समानम्।
ढूढ़ा सहस्रयुगं व(७)हुसरभवन कारित धैर्यः।

26. — —
नासायणं भिक्षितं सुतंमिति तपस्वी सिद्धशापं यतोतानम्। —[34.]
भाषाविभिन्नकृपयो यो दीपपापप्रत्यतः।
तीर्थ[५]वेशं गतिपीजातपुव्वात्पुस्मतस्य:। —[35.]
सदा गुरुमाराकारसृष्टिक्षमस्यस्य:।
भवायविस्मरत्वच्छः: संदेशपतिनु-।

27. [कक्ष]म:। —[36.]
शुरुरस्मायं प्राप्त प्रतिविवृत्ति: गुरुवालयः।
यवाप्राचर(७)कार्यारमंगीज़ातथतत्तताभेदवत्। —[37.]
पुरुस्कारवर्डशापिकतं धैर्यः कारितस्मि।
सल्कीस्व बाटिका दिव्या मोनमा चतुर्तोपस्य:। —[38.]
सदेव वर्ज़वास्न कुपेन स्वादुवास्ना।
बाटिकासिच-。

28. — — — प्रपावतरणस्याः। —[39.]
सत्यवैरचंन्त प्रशो: पव:पान्त गवार्तय।
कार्यवार्तमाद सारं दृष्टं वर्णकारिविष्णम्। —[40.]
दिव्यवर्त(७) जटा भगवः। तथा च विमुण्य महं।
भवमा बन्धन कर: पास्य यशीतानि विपायः। —[41.]
गितावास्यु-।

29. — — —[पाच]र यदार्थसदापिक्षमुखः। युद्धविवलं हिरीरः।
समस्तस्वरूपम् प्रस्त्रस्तल कारं सक्षणतार्गारिन्यः। कारित भर(७)परिविवः। —[42.]
टीरम्[५]पुत्त: ख्यात: कुर्वाणारोजूंन चंढिवः।
विमुक्तकारव वर्षेभो वासुविन्यम्[स्म-]
— — —[पाच]ु-। —[43.]

[वेण]न निमित्तितसिद्ध मनोहरं चार्क्क्षभवं सम्भवयुः।

* Metro of verses 33 and 34: Sragdhara.
* Metro of verses 35-41: Śloka (Anuśṭabh).
* Originally सृज, altered to सृज.
* Metro: Mahān.

* This word is perfectly clear in the impression and cannot possibly be read in any other way. It offends against both the metre and grammar.
* Metro: Śloka (Anuśṭabh).
[स]विद्वेशमयचाहतोरः संगमंदरसिमन्व चेघसा फलम् ॥ २६—[४३] ।
गंगाधरस्वमसैन कर्णवीरसहस्तितेन भवेन ।
विनितात्मवं सुगमाप्रमक्षरिव धीरनागेन ॥ ३४—[४४] ।
वास्तवमो ॥ ।

३१. — २० नमुनजन्देवपल्लुपतिः ।
वास्तवमो सुगमसैनरेव विनितात्म योगसम् श्रीसुभूमी ।
गायकर यह[ढा] सततसुपुन्नतास्ते प्रेयसी ब्र[ढा] ब्राह्मणस्ते ।
केलासाकारस्ते तथापतु भवन् वृहदेशः तावतु ॥ ३५—[४५] ।

३२. । [ह]त: संबु: कथं काल्कं नीचरः ।
सब्राह्मणीकालसू यवाद्दशी निव(व)धये ॥ ५४—[४६] ।
संवत् १०००[४] धर्माधुदिदि १२ शंभो: प्रासादसिद्धि: ॥ ॥ ॥
ानेश्वर(वर)नां सच्चिद् सिंहासनवनयों सिंहासनी गतिकेऽद्र
श्लोका याससू[ती]ः—

३३. । [या] युभकरसाहितया सोमवारिणया तथाम् ।
भादिजः: संभुनाथसी [पूव] ममवापर्यं दिलुमा शिकस्य च ।
लक्षमू[ग्र] वेदिष्टामयं सिंहवनमसभिस्तो प्रस्तोति ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
अवस्य । संवत् १००० धर्माधुदिदि १२ निवर्ष यवाद्व(व) शास्त्रातः।

३४. । वैव विवधये । महाराजाधिकारियोऽस्मातः ।
समोमें तुनुंकुक्तादयों सिंहगोविंदः ॥ ॥
तथा पाहव(व) वजन्यमेव भैकालजोगिष्ठावः ॥ ॥
सर्वः कृष्णविवधयेव किष्पक्षकामेव भारायातुरवनं
वंद्राकामिश्रिपरि । ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

३५. नवं श्रीगृहङ्गदेवयुक्तवं श्रीभुभुजक्षितीयं वाला यवाद्वान्वितविहिष्ठोपालेय-वालीसत्ताबिन्नतायां स्वायत्तानवित्वसिनियांक्षस्य वादं ।
धर्माधुदिदि: तथा महाराज: स्वरस्य च श्लोकायाः।

३६. ॥ कहन्तवालातमभास्यानेन । तथा श्रीविष्णुराजें शासनमयकामिविष्ठिः ।
तया श्रीविष्णुराजजै सदनंविष्णुलीविद्वाराजी स्वरस्य श्लोकायाः।
श्रीस्वरस्य च ॥ ॥ ॥

३७. ॥ [या] सयं क्षत्रमविनावासी [घा] ... ॥ तथा पावलावयं ॥
श्रीसविन्नायुदः साधारीरुचिः: ।
श्रीश्रीविष्णुपर्ययं स्वरस्य भाग च भागावस्य ॥ ॥
धर्माधुदिदि: ॥ ॥

३८. विवधय: ।
महाराजः श्रीविष्णुराजः ॥
स्वरस्य नानातिरिक्तवादपरम्यं भवन्ति यवाद्व: भाषिणेन दत्तवान्।
(॥)
तथा समस्तस्वमयकामेव श्रीमांश्च वाल्यायां ।
श्रीसविन्नायुदः: ॥
श्रीसरसाय: ॥

३१ बृहस्पति: ।
३५ बृहस्पति: ।
३३ बृहस्पति: ।
३५ बृहस्पति: ।
३७ बृहस्पति: ।
३८ बृहस्पति: ।

४५ मृते: स्रावः ।
४६ मृते: स्रावः ।
४७ मृते: स्रावः ।
४८ मृते: स्रावः ।

[१] वृहस्पति: ।
[२] वृहस्पति: ।
[३] वृहस्पति: ।
[४] वृहस्पति: ।
[५] वृहस्पति: ।
[६] वृहस्पति: ।
[७] वृहस्पति: ।
[८] वृहस्पति: ।
L. 39. [व] रेण वर्तमान रत्न एवं के दशः (॥) पुषः ज्ञातिसंवर्गम देवसुभूमानिष्ठारी यथा । म[शष]—
परिवर्तिता मित्रविषयको निर्मल्यहितरित्वा [शशिका] र्वर्तमान प्रभृतिकाराणां [आर]—
त्रेतीयो वष्णु लाभेये ॥ ॥
40. . . . [क] लाभराप्ते सेवकेष्टे तयाश्रे विश्वलिकाम्यो [वि] तोमते देबाकलमिति II
सर्वान्तत्त्वाभिनि भूमिपालाभूम्यो भूमि याचि रामभद्रः ।
सामान्यीय सम्बद्धतायु पापार्थि वालि कालि पालनीयो भवति [॥२५] ॥ [२५]—[४९]

TRANSLATION.

[Om!]
[Om! Adoration to Śiva!]

(Verse 1.) I adore him who removes all obstacles, the first-born of Śiva and his spouse, who is worshipped by the gods, [Gajānana,] the granter of boons, who gives enjoyment, salvation, and true perfection.

(2.) May the destroyer of Tripura guard you, who is... with bewildered minds, but praised by the true gods!

(3.) Victorious is that Paśupati, the bestower of compassion on all, who is named Harsha, the holy, at whose dancing the whole world verily changes its position; [for] the earth, resting on Śesha's hoods, bends low beneath the tread of his feet, [while the sky] with the sun and moon [rises high] with the lifting up of his arms.

(4.) “A three-pointed spear is in thy left hand, in the other an alms-dish; the ornament...; a serpent serves as necklace for thy blue throat; nowhere have I seen, O three-eyed one, such wondrous vesture;”—may Hara, smiling when thus jestingly addressed by Gaurī, guard you!

(5.) May the river of heaven, who with her masses of water pervades the sky where the sun and the planets are shaken by her velocity, and who with the thousands of lines of her waves puts to shame the oceans with their decreasing water; who, white like the moon, appears like a graceful veil on the crest of the moon-crested (god), fast bound with huge uncouth tresses of hair;—may she grant your petitions!

(6.) May the god Harsha, that unfathomable architect for the construction of the world, preserve you,—he by whose will and power all that was not is produced and vanishes again, the universe with its moving moon and sun and stars, with its expanse of worlds, mountains, rivers, islands and oceans, and together with the gods, demons, serpents, his own attendants, excellent sages, Yakshas and mortals!

(7.) May the moon-crested (god), who in the form of the Linga has (here) a twofold dwelling, promote your happiness; he who—full of joy at having burnt Tripura, the enemy of the gods, with the fire of his arrow, (and) worshipped on this hill by the joyful divine hosts, Indra and the rest, who praised him and bowed down to him,—verily under the name of Harsha... stayed on (these) two mountain peaks for the welfare of Bhārata!

(8.) When the gods saw how his own nature broke forth, like a mighty fire issuing from the hollow of his eye, frightening the creatures with its scorching rays, darkening
the quarters with thick volumes of smoke of the trees which were consumed by its flames all round, roaring terribly in its impetuous progress, (and) annihilating the god of love, they became afraid lest the destruction of the world had come, out of season.

(०. ९.) May this mountain Harsha, which grazes the clouds on high (and) on which the god Harsha, the destroyer of Pura, resides, purify you!

A hero speaks the following verse:—

(१०.) The water of the torrents which flows here is indeed not that of the Ganges; here there is not the charming beauty of the garden of paradise; nor are there [palaces] here which glitter brightly all around with their jewelled and gilded pinnacles. Yet this hill possesses another, superior, unrivalled beauty; for that Sambhu dwells here in person is surely a paramount cause of loveliness.

(११.) Since the eight-formed (god), the lord of the eight perfections, himself dwells here, this mountain possesses supreme grandeur which baffles description.

(१२.) Glorious is this mansion of the holy Harshadeva which is charming with the expanse of its spacious chapels, embellished with eggs of gold, (and) pleasing like the sons of Pāṇḍu by reason of the court-yards which are formed by the flights of buildings along its sides. Surpassing in height the peak of Meru, it is beautified by an excellent porch at which a bull is skilfully carved, and is endowed with manifold objects of enjoyment.

(१३.) First came the lord of men known as the illustrious Gāvaka, of the Chāhamāna family, who attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assemblies of the foremost princes of the world, the illustrious Nāgas and the rest; whose fame, remaining on earth in visible form, as an excellent dwelling for the holy Harshadeva, even now endures here and illumines with great...

(१४.) His son was the illustrious Chandrarāja, of spotless fame and fierce valour; and his son was the valorous prince who again, like the first, was named Gāvaka. From him sprang, inspiring kings with fear, the illustrious Chandana, who, when he had slain on the battle-field the proud Tomara lord, prince Rudrena, by force secured the fortune of victory.

(१५.) After him came his son, the Mahārāja named Vākpatriśa, the illustrious, endowed with supreme splendour, ever victorious in battle;

(१६.) Who, managing to sustain the spirit of his army, eager to loosen the reins of their chargers, forced Tantrapāla,—the ruler of the country adjacent to Ananta, who had come arrogantly defying (?) the command of the prince whom he should have honoured,—to wander, quieted, overwhelmed with shame, in every direction, after his elephants had before already been frightened by drums...

64 The reading of the second line of this verse is quite clear in the impressions, but owing to the word vikafā its meaning is not clear to me. Vikafā is apparently used here as a feminine substantive, and should, judging from the context, denote both a hall or court-yard and a female, related somehow to the Pāṇḍavas. In the former sense the word is evidently used also in verse 33, below; and as regards the other meaning, it may at any rate be noted that Vikāta is the name of one of the hundred sons of Dhritarāṣṭra.

66 I am doubtful about the correctness of my translation, but see no other way of explaining the original text.

68 I do not properly understand the second line of this verse, which is damaged in the original: Trāśitaka might of course also mean 'who had frightened the elephants.' The word abhināhaṇa (supposing the reading to be correct) of the third line appears to be used in an altogether unusual sense. Dr. Mill's translation of the second line is: 'even he, having his elephant terrified and driven into a lake by the sounding cymbals of the hostile war-elephants.'
A hero speaks:—

(17.) Vākpatirāja's peerless son was the illustrious Simhārāja, who verily all the earth over is sung of by people as the equal of Hariśchandra, of spotless fame for his liberality, majesty, and victories, and of resplendent virtue. He piously gave abundant wealth to Hara for a temple.

(18.) And on Śiva's dwelling he set a golden dome (?), his own fame in bodily form, resembling the full moon.

(19.) [After having defeated] the Tomara leader, proud of the command of armies, together with Lavaṇa, the victorious one annihilated in war rulers of men in every direction. To him, who kept as many (princes) in his prison as he did in his house, the universal sovereign of the earth in Rāghu's race came of his own accord to bring him final liberation.

(20.) His son was the illustrious Vigrāharāja, resembling Indra, who rescued both the fortune of his family and the Fortune of victory from the distress which had thus befallen them.

(21.) By him the Fortune of his realm, deprived of the illustrious Simhārāja and as it were frightened at the idea who might now be her lord, was re-assured by offering her a lasting home in his two arms.

(22.) Having subdued with his arms the whole earth by overpowering the wicked on all sides, he easily made it obedient to his commands, so that it was like a servant bowing down at his feet.

(23.) When good men hear his noble conduct constantly celebrated by mankind throughout the world, their bodies again and again are closely covered all over with hairs erect through delight.

(24.) He has been served with many presents, offered without guile and exceedingly pleasing,—with strings of pure pearls, gay steeds, fine garments and weapons; with camphor, quantities of betel, first-rate sandal-wood and endless quantities of gold; and with spirited rutting elephants, huge like moving mountains, together with their mates.

(25.) Piously he has assigned by deeds two villages to the lord Harsha, the excellent village of Chhattadhārā and Śamkārānaka.

(26.) He is adorned by his younger brother, the illustrious Durlabhārāja, as Rāma was by Lakṣman, and as Halayudha is by Viṣṇu.

(27.) This row of great kings had the origin of their virtues in devotion to Śambhu. The holy Harsha is their family-deity; through him has the family become illustrious.—

(28.) In the land of Ananta dwelt the blessed preceptor Viśvarūpa, learned and a devout worshipper of Uttareśvara, whose hereditary doctrine was that of the Pañchārthas.

(29.) His disciple was Praśasta, a true worshipper of (Śiva) Pañapatī, purified by knowledge which shone brightly because the rite of initiation had removed all stains from it.

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67 The following verse shows more clearly that Simhārāja had been unfortunate in war and was probably killed in battle. The universal sovereign in Rāghu's race, spoken of in this verse, I understand to be the divine Rāma (or Viṣṇu).

68 This verse contains the two words uttareśvara and pañchārthaka, which I have not met with elsewhere. The former is derived from uttareśvara which we have in Uttareśvara-trīthka, the name of a Trītha, and Uttareśvarāśrama, the name of a Līga, and which apparently is a name of Śiva. Pañchārthaka is evidently equivalent to pañchārthāka, which occurs in line 6 of the Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarnaśa (Indian Antiquary, vol. XVIII, p. 211), and the meaning of which is apparent from the Sauraśastana-saṃghraha, translation by Cowell and Gough, p. 103.
(Pr 30 and 31.) His disciple was Bhāvarakta, also called Äallaṭa, sprung from a family of holy Brāhmans belonging to the Vārgaṭika tribe, who had migrated from the well-known village of Rāṇapallikā, near Harsha, where the hereditary doctrine is that of the Sāṁsārikas.²⁰

(32.) In Äallaṭa surely Nandin¹ himself, whose place is ever near Śiva, had descended to the state of mortality, to worship the holy Harsha.

(33.) He who from his birth was a religious student, with mere space for his pure covering, with the soul completely controlled, and practising austerities; whose excellent mind was solely bent on worshipping the holy Harsha, and who had forsaken the infatuation of the outer world; who as soon as he was born was a dear friend ...... of those eager to cross (the sea of) life,—he caused to be built this mansion of Harsha with its well-constructed halls (?), with the wealth received from pious people.

(34.) When one sees how on this hill of the moon-decorated (god) which with its lofty peaks kisses the path of heaven he built this incomparable mansion of the holy Paśupati, celebrated under the name of Harsha,—this mansion which surpasses the palaces of the immortals and is a home for many gods, endowed with excellent objects of enjoyment,—it becomes evident to one that there is nothing which the penance of sages who have renounced all desires would not accomplish.

(35 and 36.) Of him; resplendent like Īśvara, the disciple was Bhāvadyota, always like Śiva himself in appearance, who shed light on the (spiritual) lineage of his preceptor. A perpetual religious student and fervently practising the vows of a Paśupata ascetic, he by fierce austerities acquired holiness and got rid of the defilement of unholy deeds.

(37.) Having received the command of his preceptor about to depart for Śiva's home, he took upon himself to complete the works as they had been commenced.

(38.) To the east of the mountain, at the foot of it, he had three works executed, an excellent well, a beautiful garden, and a cistern for watering cattle, built of stone.

(39.) Watering the garden by means of a well of sweet water which never dries up ......... and filling the cistern.

(40.) To worship Śambhu with beautiful flowers and to give water to cattle to drink, these two things have been declared to be the best for people desirous of religious merit to accomplish.

(41.) Raiment consisting of mere space, matted hair, ashes, a broad couch formed by the earth, food received as alms, and the hand used as a drinking-cup,—these represented all his wants.

(42.) Having filled up with masses of stone all that immense .... which was [in front] of Śiva's temple, he caused to be made a beautiful court which, laid out with very smooth stones, is level and pleasant for walking.

(43.) The architect in this (work) was Chaṇḍaśiva, the famed son of Virabhadra, omniscient like Viśvakarman, in the art of building houses .........

(44.) He built this delightful house of Śaṁkara with its chapels, the beautiful porch which contains all the gods, like a portion of heaven made by the creator himself.⁷²

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²⁰ This apparently is the meaning of dvindmataḥ, which does not occur elsewhere.

⁷⁰ What the doctrines of this sect were I have not been able to find out.

⁷¹ An attndant of Śiva, commonly the bull on which he rides.

⁷² In his account of the ruins of the temple, Mr. Dean speaks of a doorway relieved by an arbitrate of most elaborate sculpture, divided into twelve compartments, in each of which a group from the Hindu Pantheon occupies a place.
(V. 45.) Dhīranāga, the pious son of the karaṇika73 Thirukā, has composed this lucid eulogy here, at the excellent dwelling of Gangādhara.

(46.) As long as Śambhu owns . . . . . . the river of the gods and the moon’s crescent, as long as Lakṣmī sports and the Kaustubha river on the bosom of Mura’s foe,74 as long as Gāyatrī abides near Brahman as his ever-devoted spouse, so long may this Kailāsa-like dwelling of the god Harsha shine forth!

(47.) . . . . . . how should Śambhu come within the range of time? But the time when this mansion was built is recorded here, as we have learnt it.

In the year 1018, on the 13th of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, was the temple of Śambhu completed.

(48.) When a thousand and three times nine years had gone,75 and when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with (the yoga) Śubha and (the nakṣatra) Hasta, on a Monday,76—then that Aḷāṭa, commanded by Śambhu who desired to give him an eternal, undefiled, essentially bright home, departed for the abode of Śiva, about to obtain freedom from bodily existence.77—

May it be well!

The following is a record of the endowments as they were severally received up to78 the 16th of the bright half of Āṣāḍha of the year 1030:

The Mahārājadhirāja, the illustrious Simhāraja, having on an auspicious day bathed at the sacred Pushkaratirtha, made over by deed of gift to the holy Harshadeva on the hill of the moon-decorated (god Harsha), to be his as long as the moon, the sun and the sea endure, four villages in his possession, viz. Simhagopiṭha in the Tūnakūpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and Īsānakūpa79 in the Paṭṭabuddha vīshaya, and Kanhapallikā in the Saraṅkotṭa vīshaya, for the purpose of bathing, worshipping and anointing (the god), for oblations, incense and lamps, and for the celebration of processions on festive days.

Similarly his brother, the illustrious Vatsarāja, gave by deed the village of Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura vīshaya which he had become possessed of.

Similarly two villages, already mentioned above,80 were given by deed by the illustrious Vigrahamāraja.

Similarly the sons of the illustrious Simhāraja, the illustrious Chandrarāja and the illustrious Govindarāja, piously presented by deeds bearing their signatures . . . . two hamlets81 . . . . in the Paṭṭabuddha vīshaya (and) the Darbhakaksha vīshaya which they had become possessed of.

73 i.e. a writer of legal documents.
74 i.e. Vishnu.
75 i.e. in the expired (Vikrama) year 1027.
76 The name of the week-day is similarly put in the instrumental case in other dates, where we should have expected the locative.
77 I take evideha as an abstract noun, derived from videha ‘bodiless.’
78 The word of the original, so translated, is niruddham, which I have not met with in this sense elsewhere.
79 The names of these two villages form in the original a Dvandva compound, which I cannot be sure of having resolved correctly.
80 See above, verse 25.
81 Owing to the mutilated state of the text I am unable to translate this sentence properly. In particular I do not see how the meaning of the word pāṭaḍaka here differs from that of pāṭikā. On pāṭaḍaka see the Indian Antiquary, vol. XVIII, p. 185.
The illustrious Simharāja’s duḥsādhyā, the illustrious Dhandhuka, with the permission of his master, gave the village of Mayūrapadra which he possessed in the Ḫaṭṭakūpa visghāya.

The illustrious Jayanarāja, the son of . . . . . hila, piously gave by a deed to Harshadeva the village of Kolikūpaka, possessed by him.

Likewise one vimśopaka on every kūṭaka of salt was assigned by the most illustrious . . . . . 83 at Śākambhāri.

And one dramma on every horse was assigned by the . . . . of horse-dealers 84 from the northern country.

The fields given by pious-minded people and now possessed by the god are as follows: at Madrāpurikā a pippalavālikā field, at the village of Nimbaṭikā a darbhāṅgikā field, at Marupallikā a ḥāṭa field, at Harsha a lāṭa field, at . . . [ka]-lāvaṇapadra a sekyaka field; likewise here at . . . . . 85 a big plough of land.

(Verse 49.) Rāmahadra again and again entreats all the kings to come: this common causeway of religion to princes must at all times be guarded by you!

IX.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUBA OF DHIĻI.

BY PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

The papers relative to Muhammadan inscriptions already published by scholars in India, especially those of the late Professor Blochmann, are so valuable that they have laid a solid foundation for further advances; but the number of inscriptions still unedited must be very large, and their collection and publication may be looked to with confidence for many additions to, and corrections of, our information.

The following inscriptions are from impressions taken by the Archæological Survey officers of the Panjāb circle at diverse places in the former Sāba of Dihli.

I.—JHAJHAR (r full; in inscr. No. 5 ṛ full).

Jhajhar is now the head-quarters of the tahsil of the same name in the Rohtak District. It is situated in the plain 35 miles west of Dihli. The town is said to have been founded at the time of the first Muhammadan conquest of Dihli, and is not seldom mentioned by the chroniclers. Many ruins testify its later importance. In 687 A.H. it is named among other cities which were conferred upon Nūṣrat Khān (Tab. Nāṣ, p. 274); in 756 Firōz Shāh dug a large canal from the river Satlaj and prolonged it to Jhajhar, a distance of 48 krōḥ (Firishta, lithographed edition, vol. I, p. 262). In the Āin-i-Akhbār it is registered with 128,417 bighas, 1,422,451 dāms, Sayyūrghāl 306,461 dāms, 60 cavalry and 1,000 infantry; the castes were Afgāns and Jats. In A. II. 967, when Akbar made his encampment at Jhajhar, Abū’l Ma’ālī, who was set free from his confinement at

82 This word apparently denotes an office. In other inscriptions we find duḥdhyayadāhanika.
83 The word here left untranslated is bhāmmaka-detya about the reading of which there is no doubt. Detya apparently is used in the same sense which it ought to convey here in the Pehera inscription, ante, vol. I, p. 187, l. 8, and probably denotes 'a guild' and in that case bhāmmaka should denote a class of traders. The former bhāmma as synonymous with bhāmma, ante, vol. I, p. 166. Kūṭaka probably denotes a certain weight or measure (of salt).
84 The original has ṭedāvika instead of ṭedāwika, which occurs in the Mitakshara on Yājñavalkya II, 30.
85 The terms here left untranslated probably denote various kinds of grain.
86 The words here omitted I do not understand.
Bayâna by Khán Khânân, dared to present himself before the emperor; but the latter was so greatly offended by this that he ordered the rebel again into imprisonment.

The town was almost ruined by the great famine of 1783 A.D., but has since regained its prosperity. The following twelve inscriptions belong to seven mosques in it, and date from the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Hijrat.

1. A loose stone (20½" by 18") from the destroyed Kâli Masjid, now in the house of Mardân 'Ali Shâh Bhattân in the town of Jhajhâr, bears the following inscription of four lines:—

"The Prophet—may he be blessed!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for Allâh, will have built for him a house like it by Allâh in Paradise.'"

"This mosque has been built by the high Majlis, the great Khân, the chosen of the Merciful, the educator of the world,—"

"Dâ'ûd Khân, the pardoned deceased son of the Malik Ashsharq ('Aladdaula) Wâddîn Malik Miyân, the Afghân;—"

"May God preserve him from bad accidents and crown his reward with the crown of Paradise!—on the twenty-fifth Ramazân 799 [22nd June 1307]."

The date falls in the reign of Mahmûd Shâh; an inscription of the same year has also been published by Blochmann in the Journal As. Soc. Beng., vol. XLII, p. 304.

2. Over the mihrâb of the Bâzârwallî mosque in the middle of the town, a sandstone slab, measuring 28" by 15½", bears the following five lines:—

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no God, etc.

"In the time of the pillar of the Kalifat, spreading justice and clemency, Jalâlâdîn Muhammad Akbar Bâdîshâh-i-Ghâzî—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his
reign! the erection of the honoured
"And beautiful mosque", the lady over natures (?), has been made by the Nawáb Rûmî Khân, governor of the sarkâr Khwâj Katânì (?),
"On the 27th of the month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 970 [22nd March 1563]."

This inscription is interesting because it gives new information about Rûmî Khân, who is not often mentioned in the histories. Blochmann has noted two services of his in his translation of the Âin (No. 111, p. 424), the one from A.H. 971—one year later than the present inscription—the other of A. H. 983 (No. 146, p. 441). His full name is not certain. Blochmann styles him Rûmî Khân Ustâd Jalâbì.

3. Over the northern outside arch of the mosque of Shâh Bura in the north of the town, is a sandstone, measuring 22" by 10", bearing the six lines:

Brahā Ḥaq Rād anīq Ghãr Dād
Badr Shē Ḥalâl al-Dīn Ākār
Muḥammad Râst Ibrāhîm Dâshâd
Khâṭâb Khânsâl Marâd Dâd
Yâddâ râhâmâs râshâ Dâd Estâdâ
Dâshâdânâ râhâmâs râshâ Dâd Dâd

Metre: Hazaj.

"When God the only one, put away (my) misfortune, the building of this mosque was designed.

"In the time of the king Jalâl ad-Dîn Akbar—may his days be equal to his desire!—
"Everybody who comes to that mighty one, becomes a new one; Muḥammad Ibrâhîm (also) is happy through him.

"He is true and a companion of the followers of God, he exhilarates the afflicted.
"To him especially the pole and time devote their service, the masters.

"As the design of the world is for ten kings, so, O God! may his glory be eternal!
"When nine hundred was increased by sixty and ten and five, it was in the month Ramazân that he laid the foundation. May the friendship of God be over Muḥammad!

2 Līfād has been distinctly engraved, but perhaps aṭīb is to be read and Bkâga (i.e. Bâqî) aṭīb synonymous with daryâ khântâry—Bâkâr’s Memoirs, p. 480.
3 The reading Katân is somewhat doubtful; the word may be Ganaur or Kansaum, but even if read thus, we get none of the well-known sarkârs of the Moghul empire. The same strange use of sarmât occurs in Nos. 4 and 44.
4 More famous was the homonymous mîr âdash of Humâyûn (died 942), who effected in 942 the conquest of the fort of Chanâr by the practice of old Zopyrus’ stratagem, after having quitted the service of his former master Sulṭân Bahâdur of Gujarât, which treachery has given matter for the anecdote of Sulṭân Bahâdur’s parrot in Khâlî Khân’s Mustâkhab at-tultâb. The Turks of Europe were celebrated in Asia for their knowledge of artillery, which was always the most remarkable weapon of the Turks in their wars with the Persians Shâhâns, a fact that Shâh Tâhmâs P. I. in vain attempts to deny in his Memoirs (see my German translation of them, p. 129. Strassbourg, Trübner).
'From the heavenly speaker I asked the date of completion, a voice gave me 'jā (-yi) sijda fayz da' (Bestow a place of adoration). 976.' [Ramazān 976 began on the 17th February 1569].”

The words of the tārīkh give only 975. The poetry is very poor and difficult to understand. I do not pretend that my readings are absolutely correct.

4. Over the central arch of the ruined mosque of Miyaṁ Rāšt to the south of the Bāzārwallī Masjid is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 19” by 15”, bearing the following five lines. This mosque is in the last stage of ruin, the yard being filled with filth and sweepings; it is no more used for religious purposes.

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion;"
"And I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by Miyaṁ Rāšt, son of Piya(ra, on the tenth of the month Zi-l-Hajj,"

"In the year 989 [5th January 1882]. His commander (was) Miyaṁ Dāud."

5. The graveyard of Miyaṁ Rāšt is situated half a mile east of Jhajhar, near the Buawalla tank. A red sandstone over the eastern gateway (27” by 13”) bears the following inscription of four lines; the lettering is very poor:—

"In the time of Shāh Akbar, by whose justice came blessing upon the crown of the world"

... "Miyān Rāšt, son of Piya(ra.

"In the year 1002, in the month of Ramazān [began the 21st May 1591] ...

The marble gravestone itself measures 3’ 5” by 10½”. It contains the Kalima and the words qabr-i Miyaṁ Rāšt; round the open middle space runs the Fāṭiha. At the foot of the stone the Persian sentence has been engraved, ‘Whatever came has gone.’

6. Over the outside central arch of the mosque attached to the tomb of 'Abd asSamad, half a mile east of the town near the Buawalla tank, is a red sandstone slab (21” by 17”), containing the following six lines:—

Qf the ford of Bād Piyāra on the river Narmada, Īgbān. Jah., p. 301.
Metre: Khaṣṣīṭ.

"In a good career is the faith of Islâm in the time of the king Nūr ad-dîn (Jâhângîr) O God! may his justice and equity stand firm and solid a thousand years!

"This masjid has been built by Ism‘â’îl Îrah Râîb, who is a student of the faith.

"I asked the mind the date-year, the guiding mind (said) to me ‘1020’ [began 16th March 1611].

"(I), a hermit, the poor ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, the son of Makan, who belongs to the family of the ‘Abbassides,

"To the companions of Muḥammad the Arabian, the pious ones in the high Paradise."

In No. 11 ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad’s father is named Mankan.

7. Over the gateway of Rustam Khân in the south of the town, on a sandstone, measuring 4 feet by 12¾″, are two lines, and flower arabesques:

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion; and I testify that Muhammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The date of the gateway of Rustam Khân, son of Muḥammad Khân Sarbâni (i.e.) 1029’ [began 8th December 1619].

"Jâhângîr elevated the builder from a commander of 60 to a chief of 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse and named him Rustam Khân; besides he bestowed on him the government of Gujarât. He put much confidence in him and placed him in 1032 as general under the command of Prince Parwêz, after he had abandoned the service of the rebel Prince Shâhîjâhân. Iqbalu. Jah. 209, Waqî‘ât-i Jah. in Elliot’s History, vol. VI, p. 388."

8. Over the central arch of the same mosque as No. 6, on a red sandstone measuring 4’7½″ by 9″, is an inscription of two lines; (not in situ):

"In the time of Jâhângîr, the king of the world, this light tomb of Hasan Shahîd has been made.

"The date of it for a tomb has been brought by somebody (?) in the year 1035" [began 3rd October 1625].

9. Over the central outside arch of the Shaikhânwalla masjid, a soft sandstone slab, measuring 4’11″ by 8¼″, contained originally four lines, but the first, in Arabic, has almost vanished. Also the other lines are much injured, and some words are
missing, so that it is not possible to decipher fully the eighteen Persian hemistichs. I give only the beginning and the date:—

نايات خوبی جلبر

به در شاه نزارالدین جهانگیر

بنایی کرد رستم خان مهد خان

بنو اف رنگ وسی

(مرتب شد عمارت) بتاریخ دهم از ماه رجب

Metre: Hazaj.

"In the time of Shâh Nûraddin Jahângîr, who is more exalted than the kings of the world, Rustam Khan, son of Mu'âammad Khan, has built it, who has not his like on the earth."

In the verses that follow the beauty of the mosque is described. The building was completed on the 10th of the month Rajab in the year 1035 [the 7th April 1626].

10. Over the north-west arch of a small burj on the west side of the tank of Shâh Ghâzi Kamâl, a short distance north of the town, is a red sandstone, measuring 4′ 11″ by 8″, and containing eight hemistichs, arranged in two lines:—

در زمانه خلیفه نورالدین

رای رایان رای درکل

سال تاریخ از خرد جسم

ابن مکت كه صاحب عرفن

سنه هزار سی راشش برد

Metre: Khafīf.

"In the time of the king Nûraddin the tank, which has scarcely its like, became a sign

"Of Râ'î Râyân Râî Darghal, for the benefit of the happiness of the people of the world,

"I asked the mind the date-year; the mind spok to me 'Know it in ghulâw'

"(I) the poor hermit 'Abd as-Şamad, the son of Mankan, who is a master of knowledge.

"The year was 1036" [began the 22nd September 1626].

The name of the builder is not certain.

11. Over the central outer arch of Kalâl Khan's masjid, half a mile outside Jhajhar towards the east near the Buawalla tank, on a red sandstone measuring 2′ 9″ by 7½″, sculptured at the ends, is an inscription of three lines:—

بططف و کرم عذایات کارناس جهان

بدر شاه نزارالدین خوان کرده

خداون عز و نعمت پادشاه باید امانت

6 Concerning Rustam Khan, see above No. 7. 7 Corrected from خالیق نماه
Metre: *Mujlass.*

"By the grace and favour of the aids of the settler of the world, this high place has been arranged and constructed.

"Kalâl Khân has built this high mosque in the time of Shâh jahân, the refuge of men.

"It was in the year 1039 [began the 21st August 1629]. God—may he be honoured and exalted!—keeps it in safety and security."

II.—PâniPat.

PâniPat lies to the north of Dihlī, as the *Akbarname* (II, 35) says 30, according the *Munt. allub.* (I, 50) 40, krôhs distant. It dates back to the wars between the Pândavas and the Kauravas. The modern town stands upon a high mound composed of the débris of earlier buildings. Because of its importance in the Muḥammadan period it was frequented by the kings, especially by the Mughal emperors, so that its name occurs very often in the chroniclers. Bâbar, in his *Memoire*, names it as a considerable city. Besides, it has at several times witnessed decisive battles which were fought on its plains and sealed the fate of the whole of Upper India. Timūr found it a place of consequence where were stored large provisions of wheat. In 933 A. H. Bâbar met Ibrâhîm Lôdî near PâniPat and defeated him, his adversary himself being killed in the fight. The emperor considered the place of his victory a fortunate one and bestowed as a special favour the government of PâniPat, together with the gift of the revenues due on one harvest, upon Sultan Muḥammad Anghult, who had bravely assisted him in that battle (*Târîkh-i-salâtîn-i-Afghîna*; Elliot’s *History*, vol. V, p. 34). Sixty years later, Akbar, or speaking more exactly Khân Zamân, conquered Hêmû on the same field. On account of these victories Jahângîr, in his *Tuzaq*, speaks of PâniPat as of a place ‘which has always been a fortunate one for my ancestors’ (Transl. of Lowe, p. 47). In 980 it was plundered, together with Sonpât and Karnâl, by the rebel Ibrâhîm Hussain Mîrzâ. When Nâdir Shâh entered India, battles were again fought in the vicinity of PâniPat. In A.D. 1761 Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî gained there his great victory over the Marâthas.

The *Āin* states the area of the district to have been 568,444 bûghas, its revenues were 10,756,647 dâms, 3,540, 632 say dâms, and its contingent amounted to 100 horse and 2,000 foot. It had a castle built of brick. The principal tribes were Afghâns, Gâjars and Rânghars. Two learned men born at PâniPat in Akbar’s reign were Shaikh Zamân, author of a commentary on the *Lavâîk* and other excellent works (*Badâun*, II, 258), and of the renowned surgeon Shaikh Hasan (*Āin*).

12. Over the central arch in the western wall of the tomb enclosure of Hâfiz Jamâl, half a mile north of the town, is now fixed the sandstone (8’ 8” by 13½”) which bears the following inscription. It has been transported thither from Munk, where (from its contents) it seems originally to have belonged to a mosque. The middle of the second line has been completely destroyed by the weather, which has injured also other words and has taken away all dots:—

> امرهنا هذه العماره مي عبد السلطان المعظم عالددا رالدنس ابراملطر
> مسعود سان سلطان ر حلد ملينه ... دركه مرکم مطهر مصبر عالد ندر الدرده رالدنس [اب]
> سداللاطرا هليل الشرف (م) ... مرحم (م) السلطاني اعتلاله ... مي المنصع من سرال
> سد نلب ر ارمي ردمانه
"This edifice was ordered to be built in the time of the honoured king 'Aladdunyā wa'din Abūl-Muzaffar Mas'ūd Shāh, the king—may God perpetuate his reign... of Pargana Munk, Muzaffar Manṣūr 'Ālā Badr addaula wa'din,

"(son) of the chief of the Amirs, Pahlacón ashšarg..., the defunct, the royal—may God increase his...!—in the middle of Shawwāl 643" [began the 19th February 1246].

This is the first inscription of Mas'ūd Shāh, who reigned from 639 till 644 A.H. He was the son of Firōz Shāh and succeeded Bahram Shāh on the throne. The name of the father of the grandee is not quite certain; the latter bore the title Badr addin, which Malik Badr addin Sunqar-i-Rūmī (put to death in 639) had before him (Tab. Nās 255). Afterwards the title was bestowed on Malik Nusrat Khān Sunqar-i-Sāfī. As two persons could not have the same title at the same time—which is specially stated, e.g., in the Rīyāz asalātīn, p. 284—Malik Sunqar-i Sāfī must have been named Badr addin, but in the reign of Mahmūd Shāh, under which king he was more of a persona grata than under Mas'ūd, who permitted the Nizām al-Mulk Khwāja Muḥazzab addin to take all functions out of the hands of the Turkish Amirs. It is not surprising that the name of the Malik of our inscription does not occur in the Tabaqát-i-Nāṣirī among the Shamsī Malik, for Minhaj addin gives also a defective list of the Maliks of Mahmūd Shāh’s reign, from which Major Raverty concludes that the author intended to continue his work to the period falling within his own lifetime.

Pargana Munk has been identified by General Cunningham (Archaeol. Survey of India, vol. II, p. 186) with the old Nicole of Alexander the Great. It is not mentioned in the Aīn, but it occurs once in the Akbarnama, vol. III, p. 604, where it is said that Akbar gave it to Ziyā al-Mulk.8

13. Over the south door of the tomb of Shaikh Jalāl addin in the east of Pānpīpat is a sandstone slab (2’ 8½” by 19”) bearing four lines; the inscription is not visible from the enclosure owing to a high verandah which has been attached:—

باني إبن عمارت فخور حمد الله محمد، ابنغي نافع سلطان السلاطين
سندنار شهاب شهاب سلطان الامام باروی، تابع وناری، دانست تا کنید حظیره، بنگی شیخ
المشاور والرایه، شیخ جلال‌الله، الفرع والرذین قدر الله سره
الزین بارود بخاطر دم ماه شوال سنه اربع و تسع‌میا

"The builder of this edifice is Firūz Muḥammad Luṭfīllāh, the Afghān. The builder of this religious edifice, during the time of the king of kings Sikandar Shāh, son of Buhīlāl Shāh, the king, by the kindness of God Almighty, found grace to erect the vault of the tomb of the revered Shaikh of Shaihiks and saints, Shaikh Jalāl al-ḥaqq washšar’ wa'din—may God sanctify his dear secret! Dated 2nd Shawwāl, 904" (13th May 1499).

8 Because Blochmann has overlooked the fact that Ziyā al-Mulk is mentioned several times in the Akbarnama, I add here briefly what is there said about him, as a supplement to the Aīn Translation, p. 497, No. 276. In 994, he served under Shaikh Farīd Bakhtiār; in 1000 A.H., he became Governor of Munk. Afterwards he and Abū Nasr were sent as ambassadors to Shāh 'Abbās of Persia. In 1011 he became bakhsīgar of the army sent against Bir Singh Dīv Būndēl, the murderer of Abu-l Farz. In 1012 he was elevated to the rank of a commander of 700 foot and 300 horse. The Aīn names him only as a chief of 350.
The words Bānt-yi in khair in the first line are doubtful, but, as I cannot make out the correct reading, I have recurred to that of Blochmann, who has published the inscription in the Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng. for 1873, July, p. 141. (Perhaps Pāntpatī should be read, written بان پتی.) In the same place is given an account of Shaikh Jalāl addin. The inscription falls in the 11th year of Sikandar Shāh Lodi’s reign.

III.—Sewāh.

14. In Sewāh, 4 miles south of Pāntpat, is the tomb of Sayyid Bāyazīd. A sandstone, measuring 13" by 9", over the doorway of the dome, bears the following inscription of three lines:

بنا نمرده کنید سید پایزید شهید
پلر راحت ساکن مرفع سرما
سنن م فرخ سیدی

“The dome of Sayyid Bāyazīd, the martyr, has been built by Balu, son of Nayat, an inhabitant of the village of Sewāh, in the fourth year of Farrukh Siyar.”

Farrukh Siyar really became emperor in 1124 A.H., but he gave orders that Jahāndar Shāh’s reign should be considered as rebellion, and that his own reign should date from the 1st Rabī‘al awwal 1123 [19th March 1711], Munt. allub. II, 737.

IV.—Sonpat (سونپت، سونپت).

Sonpat is also a town of great antiquity which is said to have been founded by the earliest Aryan settlers. In the Āin it is registered with 283,299 bighas, 7,727,323 dāms, 775,105 say. dāms, 70 horse, and 1,000 foot. It had a brick fort. The principal tribes were Afghāns and Jats. The following inscriptions are from three mosques and several tombs there. A celebrity buried at Sonpat is Sayyid Naṣīr ʿĀbidallāh ibn Aḥmad, whose tomb is still extant, but no inscription relative to himself has been discovered. Khizr Khān, son of ʿAlā addin Muḥammad Khilji, is said to have made a pilgrimage to the tombs of certain martyrs buried here (Ibn Baṭūta, French edition, vol. III, p. 187).

15. Over the central outside arch of a mosque attached to the tomb of Imām Naṣīr, just outside Sonpat to the south on the Dihlī road, is a sandstone slab (7' 6" by 17") which bears an inscription of two lines, the letters being thick and clumsy:

تیہد هذه العماره المصحد المبارک المدمنه في دومن السلطان الفخم طی اللہ می العالم عادہ الدنیا گائیم بنایہد الرحمن باسلام الفخم

"The building of this blessed august mosque was renewed during the reign of the great king, the shadow of God on earth, Ghiyāth addunyā waddīn, who stands by the assistance of the merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Balban, the king, the aider of the

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* See the facsimile No. 1 on the accompanying plate. The fact that the late Mr. Blochmann, the acknowledged authority for these inscriptions, has several times given faulty readings in the Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng. for 1873, May, p. 94, where he has published this inscription, may show how easily errors may be committed in deciphering.
I. SONPAT INSCRIPTION OF GHAYAS AD DIN BALBAN, A.H. 670.

II. ONE SIDE OF A PILLAR AT SONPAT, A.H. 884.

III. MAHIM INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 949.
Commander of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by the weak slave Mîr Beg, son of Aî Beg, the muqit of Sonpat. Dated the 12th of the blessed month Rajab—may God increase its honour!—670” [13th February 1271].

Three other inscriptions of Balban’s time are extant: the first from Barwâla, 680 A.H. (see No. 51); the second from Garhmukhtésar in the Mirat District, 682 A.H. (E. Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dihlî, p. 136); and the third from Sakti in sarkar Qamaj, 684 A.H. (Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng. for 1874, May, p. 104⁹).

16. In a part of the graveyard of Imam Naṣīr a square pillar, of coarse black sandstone, is standing, which has been inscribed on each side with Persian verses and some Arabic religious sentences. Its dimensions are 6' 2½” by 1' 3½” by 10½”. It is beautifully sculptured and copiously ornamented with flower arabesques and scrolls. The verses in the middle of each side have been written in a large handsome Ta’alîq; round these middle pieces run also verses in smaller letters. As there is no information about the builder or the name of the holy man buried in these, the historiographer loses nothing if I omit the marginal hemistichs—18 each on the top and on both sides, and 6 each on the two ends. That it is the tomb of some saint follows from the poetry, which throughout points to a pious man. The date of the erection has been inscribed on the left side of the stone, viz. the third Rajab 884 [20th September 1479], which falls in the reign of Buḥlûl Lûdî.

It has been said that the stone was put up in the time of Aurangzêb, and that it is the tomb of some Pir Yûsuf, but such local tradition is of no value compared with the statement of the stone itself. The stone is broken about 2 feet from the head; it is exposed to the weather, and the margin has thus been ruined in many parts. Besides being broken, the sides near the basement are crumbling and the stones forming the base are very rotten. This beautiful object should be protected.

At the head and foot of the stone the following verses are inscribed (Metre: Ramal):

KR SIRA PIR; QADIR TOR BR ANFALAK BOOD

UQBAND ZAIR ERT ZAIR KHÔ SHAKAK BUD

"Even if the curtain of thy power were near the heavens, in the end under thy head and armpit will be the dust."

Rastee ke kar khand bharas voda kar torast

KE JÎR ÀZHÂR SHÔDHT UMÎR VODA KAR TÓ RAST

"Make ready thy work to-day when thou art in full life, so that thy work may be ready when thy life is finished."

Both sides contain two Bubâ’is each:—

TAKI ZAMâL DÉIN KAM RAKSATA KENI

AZ MÉTÉR SADAH NGÜME DHÔWSATA KENI

EHMTÉ NOVAI UPI KAM KAM EJL

CHANDÀN KÔFAR KAM NGÜME RAKSATA KENI

"For what length dost thou bid defiance to the fundamentals of the faith, requesting a smooth melody from the musician?"

⁹ Besides those mentioned there exist the following two inscriptions of Balban; viz. at Kîb, or ‘Allgârî, A.H. 652; and at Manglaur in tahâil Burkt, A. H. 688; see A. Führer, Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, pages 2 and 17.—Ed. E. I.

¹¹ See the facsimile No. ii of the right side of this stone on the plate.
"O eye! resign to thy new purpose, for death scarcely allows the soul to become ready."

"If thou wilt do thy works as a man of judgment, thou must listen to the words of the wise.

"Do evil to no one and nobody will do evil to thee, or whatever evil they do thee forget it."

"Happy is one by whose generous practice the heart of the poor receives quiet.

"He belongs to the good people, who does well to the creatures of God and gets reward from them."

"If thou wilt pass from the plain of perishableness to the kingdom of eternity and become satisfied,

"Thou must preserve thy words and be like a silent one and always have silence in thy mind."

On the top are inscribed the Kalima, Qorán, Sûra II, 256, and some other short sentences.

Respecting the Imám Naṣîr, near whose tomb the inscription has been found, Mr. F. G. Delmerick gives some information in the Proceedings, As. Soc. Beng. 1873, May, p. 95.

17. Over the eastern doorway of the enclosure of Khwâja Khizir's tomb, a quarter of a mile north of Sonpat, is a red sandstone, measuring 7' 1" by 1', containing two lines:—

"The portico of the tomb of Miyân Khwâja Khizir, son of Daryâ Khân Shîrwânî—may God have mercy upon both!—was erected on Monday the 15th Shawwâl, 928 [7th September 1622].

"In the time of the just and liberal king, who relies on the assistance of the Merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrâhîm Shâh, son of Iskandar Shâh, son of Buhîlîl, the king—may his kingdom be perpetuated until the resurrection!"

3 The second last words are uncertain.
18. Over the southern doorway of the same tomb is found another inscription of two lines; the stone measures 9' 5½" by 11'. It runs—

"With the help of God, who is blessed and exalted, and by His grace, the building of the vault of this tomb of the great and noble saint, Miyān Khwāja Khizr, the deceased, the pardoned, son of Daryā Khān, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Aḥmad, son of the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Mandākī Darwēsh of Shirwān—may God have mercy and pardon upon them!—

"The muqti' of the town of Sonpath, was completed in the time of his Majesty the king of kings, who confirms the laws of Islām and the faith, the shadow of God in both worlds, who trusts to the aid of the Merciful, Abu-l Muaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Sikandar Shāh, son of Buḥlūl Shāh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by order of Langar Khān Khizr, on the 15th Rajab—may its honour increase!—930'" [19th May 1524].

19. Over the central outer arch of a small masjid in the sarāi near the dispensary, on a brown sandstone slab (21" by 13"), are two lines. The stone belonged originally to a tomb which is now used as a police rest-house:

"O God! There is no God, etc. O forgiving! forgive me my sins, O God!"

This tomb has been built by 'All Khān, brother of Mahmūd Khān, the Afghān, muqti' of the town of Sonpath, in the time of Babar Pādishāh, on the second of the month Safar 937' [25th September 1530].

'All Khān belonged to the Farmūli tribe and is mentioned in Babar's Memoirs as 'Umdat al A'yan 'All Khān Shaikhzāda-ya Farmūli, in the battle against Rana Sanka (933); in 935 A.H., he was sent against the rebel Baban (pp. 416, 435, 452). Abu-l-Fazīl has inserted the same statements in his Akbarnāma.

20. Over the outside of a doorway, leading to the west from the enclosure of Imām Naṣīr, is a sandstone slab (3' 5" by 1' 3") containing 16 hemistichs in four lines:

* Both inscriptions have been published by Blochmann in the Proceedings of At. Soc. Beng. 1873, May, p. 94, et seq. Mr. Delmerick there identifies the Khwāja Khizr with the homonymous Khān, who is several times mentioned by Firishta.

14 Corr. from Naṣīr.
"In the world nobody has seen such a building since the beginning of time;
"It suits to the time of a king who is a sovereign on the battle-field of manliness,—
"Jalâlâddîn Muḥammad Akbar, the rose, which is a reminder of the spiritual flower garden;
"A conqueror of the world, who makes (men), as the emperor of China and the Caesar, his accustomed servants and slaves.
"An Amîr was the builder of this building, of whose power the foundation is solid,—
"The chief of the kingdom of the majesty, 'Alî Dōst, who is like Ispandyâr on the day of battle.
"I never saw a practiser of justice like him who is sovereign in the reign of justice.
"When I asked the mind the year of its erection, he said 'It is 964' [began the 4th November 1556].

'Alî Dōst Khân Bârbegî (master of the ceremonies), son of Hasan 'Alî, is mentioned in the Akbarnâma (II, 69), 963 A.II. as one of Târdî Beg's officers in the war against Hêmû. A.II. 961 he is named among other nobles who accompanied Humâyûn to Persia (I, 223). In 984 he was attached to Shiḥâbaddîn Aḥmad Khân; and in 991 he was intrusted with the care of the army and the pay of the soldiers (III, 404). For the last time he is mentioned A.II. 1006 (III, 644). He had a son, Fatḥ Dōst, who died in 989 (III, 354).

21. Over the south outer arch of the masjid of the Qâzîzâdas, in the Maḥalla of the Qâzîzâdas, in the fort of Sonpat, is a rectangular soft sandstone slab, measuring 2' 6" by 10", which contains three lines:—

لاَّ إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ محمَّدٌ رسولُ الله
خُشُشَاعُ مرشدٍ زينَ انطلَقَ صفاَبَيٌّ عَرْشَ جُوُّ خُشُشُورُ
زمَانِيَ شَهِيدَ بهاءٌ جَلَّ الْعَالَمِ جَالِدُ الْأَديبِ محمَّدٌ شَاهُ أَكْبَرُ
شَهِيدُ تَارِيخِيّ (sic) بناءٌ أَرْسَلُ بإِمْسَالِ بَابِرٌ تَأُذِيّ إِيَّامُ بَنُو ذُكَر
ماَهُ رَجَبَ رَجُبُ قَدِيرُ سَنَةٌ تَسعُ رَسُومٌ رُسُومُماَتِ

Metre: Ḥazaj.
"There is no God, etc.
"Well! the repairing of the mosque—the clearness of its roof under the heavens is like fragrant ambergris—
"Was in the time of the kingdom of the soul of the world, Jalâlâddîn Muḥammad Akbar Shâh.
"The date of the erection has been intrusted to the command of Qâzî Aḥmad and five others (?).

"In the month of Rajab—may God increase its honour!—A. 969" [began the 7th March 1562].

The Qâzīzâdas mentioned in the Akbarnâma were all rebels, or bad-andésh (malicious men); one being a partisan of Ma‘ṣûm Khân; another who had the surname khâṭṭha-yâ Mávarannâh (the impure from Transoxania) obeying Abu-l Ma‘âlî’s command and attempting to murder Mâh Chochuk Begum, Prince Muḥammad Hakîm’s mother; a third being united with a pretended son of Mîrza Shâhrukh to murder Qâsim Khân.

22. Over the northern outer arch of the same mosque is a second inscription sculptured on a sandstone (measuring 2' 8" by 18") in five lines:—

لالة إلا الله وحده وتولى الرسول
بفعه شهادة شامحمد كه اسم را زنعت وزيت داد
مغند مسجد فقانتي نصر كه خليق آر دو سجدي دیک
چرتپاغش ازعلق جسم بکفید که مسجد برای خدا نزیه
مربت شد عمارت هذه المسجد المبارکة المجيدة في التاريخ ياردهم شهر ربيع الأول سنة الف و سته و ستی

(Metre: Mutagârib.)
‘There is no God, etc.’

"In the time of the king of kings, Shâhjâhân, who gave ornament and beauty to Islâm, Qâzî Naṣr has repaired the mosque that people might bow the forehead in adoration. When I asked the mind its date, he said ‘He has newly built the mosque for God’s sake’. The edifice of this blessed and august mosque has been prepared on the 11th of Rabî’ al awwal A. 1066” [8th January 1656].

23. In the southern wall, outside Imâm Naṣîr’s tomb, is a stone which has been whitewashed so much that the letters of the inscription have been partly ruined. Nor has Imâm Naṣîr’s tomb a right to the stone, which originally belonged to a mosque; the dimensions of the inscription, which is in one line, are 3' 8" by 43'. Above the letters there are ornaments in the form of Cufic characters:

عماره هذا المسجد مسجد ع布尔 الامام السديد ابن ذكر (؟) مسجد ابن احسن العصري ادام الله نعما
می احمر سد احمری رمانی ر رامش

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by the leader, the guardian, the Sayyid Abî Bakr (?), Muḥammad, son of Hasan, the Fuzûlî—may God perpetuate their reward!—in the Muḥarram of 1181."

The first name of the builder and the two last words are very doubtful; instead of 1100, it may also be 700 or 900.

V.—ROHTAK AND MAHIM.

The cities of Rohtak and Mahim have suffered in general the same fate during the Muhammadan period. In the environs of both are to be found many remains of antiquities, also of Hindu origin; in the vicinity of Rohtak have been excavated coins of
Rāja Samanta Deva from about 920 A.D. These districts had the misfortune to be plundered by every invader who came to the Panjāb, from Mahmūd of Ghazni till the present century, so that there are everywhere remains of destroyed villages; they were laid waste by Mahmūd the Ghaznavide, by Timur, by Shihāb ad-dīn Ghōrī, by Bābar, by Nādir Shāh, by the Marāthas, and by the English under General Lake. Now Mahīm belongs to the district of Rohtak lying 19 miles north-west of the town of Rohtak; also in former times, before Akbar, both appertained to one sarkār, the older name of the tract of country being Hāriānā. 'Abbās Khān states in his Tārīkh-i Shērshāhī (Elliot-Dowson's History, vol. IV, p. 416) that Shēr Shāh 'gave the sarkār of Sirhind to masnād Ali Khwās Khān as jāgīr, who kept in that sarkār his slave Malik Bhagvant at the capital Dīlī. Miān Aḥmad Khān Sarvānī was amīr, and 'Ādīl Khān and Iftām Khān shiqdār and faujdār.' If Dīlī was the capital of Malik Bhagvant’s sarkār, it is to be supposed that Rohtak and Mahīm were also allotted to his province. Under Akbar they were separated: Rohtak fell to the Dīlī sarkār, and Mahīm to sarkār Hīśrī Fīrōzā. The Āin-i Akbarī has the following details concerning them: ‘Mahīm has a fort of burnt brick; 188,080 bighas, 4,968,613 dāms naqdī, 84,202 dāms sayurghāl. The inhabitants were Tunvar Rājpāts and Jats, 700 horse, 2,000 foot’ (I, 527). ‘Rohtak has a fort of burnt brick; 636,835 bighas, 8,599,270 dāms naqdī, 428,000 dāms sayurghāl. Jats; 100 horse, 2,000 foot.’ (I, 519). At Rohtak Kai Khoṣrav, grandson of Balban and designated heir of his throne, was murdered by Kai Qobād’s emissaries.

Both towns, especially Mahīm, bear traces of great importance in past times. The following inscriptions refer to five mosques at Mahīm and four at Rohtak. The most important and interesting of the nineteen Rohtak and Mahīm inscriptions is No. 33. below.

24. Over the central outer arch of the new mosque in Rohtak, the tomb-stone of Fīrōz Khān is now placed. It measures 3' 8" by 8", and contains two lines. The letters are partly illegible:

"This tomb has been finished in the prosperous time of his Majesty Bābar Bādīshāh-i-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—The tomb of ...... the high Masnad
"Fīrōz Khān, son of the high Masnad Aḥmad Khān, son of ...... Jamāl Khān, both defunct, on the 10th Rabī‘al awwal 934" [4th December 1527].

Fīrōz Khān is mentioned in Bābar’s Memoirs and in the Akbnāma, 932 A.H., as a renowned officer who was generously rewarded along with other men of merit by Bābar after the victory over Ibrāhīm Lōdī. Besides one krōr of tankas—(according to Bābar’s Memoirs,—1 krōr 46 lakhs and 5,000 tankas, p. 384) from Jaunpūr, he received some jāgīr (chīzī jāgīr). The emperor sent him afterwards against Itāwah.

18 It may be remarked incidentally that the mention of Rohtak in the text of the Tubaqīt-i Nāṣirī, p. 217, is not correct, as Captain Ræverty states in his translation of that work, p. 693, note 7.
26. Over the central outside arch of the mosque in the *garhi*, or fort, of the Pathans at Rohtak the following inscription of three lines is engraved on a rectangular sandstone—size 16½ by 12½ inches. The *garhi* of the Pathans is in the north-west of the town, where the road comes in from Hansi:—

"In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate! He who brings a good work shall have ten like it; but he who brings a bad work shall be recompensed only with the like thereof. My grace does not come through any one but God. He (the Prophet), upon whom may God's blessing be, has said:—"

"He who builds a mosque in the world will have a castle in Paradise." 96,251

26. On a rectangular sandstone over the central outside arch of the *maqjid* in the Khoban Mahalla, west of the town Rohtak, is a stone, which measures 13 by 12 inches: the inscription is in three lines, and is worn:—

"With the aid of God almighty and His apostle for the erection of this mosque in the time of the reign of Nasir. Muhammad Humayun Baidishah-i Ghazi — May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—found grace the poor, chief of the Paradise and the faith, Muhammad Jamal of Najr, the Chishti. In the year 945." [began the 30th May 1538].

The inscription being much defaced some words are doubtful. Humayun's common title *nasir adha* does not certainly occur here, though the word after *nasir* is not clear.

The Chishtis are a well-known family of Muhammadan saints. There exist shrines of members of it in several places. Chishti saints—khwajagan-i Chishti—in the inscription on the tombstone of Princess Jahannah at Dihli (Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, for November 1873, p. 170)—are mentioned in the following published Inscriptions:—Qutb adin Khal Chishti, commonly known as Shaikh Khub (Blochmann, *Ala-Translation*, p. 496), the foster brother of Shah Jahangir, in *Proceedings*, A. S. B., for December 1873, p. 190; Shaikh Faiz Allah Chishti, ib. p. 200; Shaikh Muhammad ibn Shahik Mahmud Chishti, *Proceedings*, A. S. B., for April 1877, p. 94.

At Najor, the birth-place of Muhammad Jamal of our inscription, was a Chishti shrine. A contemporary and fellow-countrman of his was Shaikh Mubarak, the

18 Qorba, *Stv. ii. 90.
19 There follows a group like a vamps, sign turned upside down.
20 See Cunningham's *Archaeological Reports*, vol. IV, p. 31.
father of the poet Shaikh Faiz and of Abū Faiz, but in the year 945 Shaikh Mubarak had already left Nāgor.

27. Over the central outer arch of a mosque at Gaokaran, about half a mile west of Rohtak, a red sandstone (3' 2" by 2' 5") contains three lines with one line going round the stone as a border. The stone is getting worn partly by the weather and partly by copies being taken from it, but the inscription is quite legible. In the midst of the stone the period of the erection has been engraved in a square (in the time of Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad AKBAR)⁴:

مَسْتَ جَانَ دَرَیْشْ سَبْهُ مُکْرَمَت
کشته از جان بندید نُیما هم
کرده از جان، بقیعہ خیرالامیر
شَد از آن رخزا رَنابل آن حَتی
مَسْتَ جَانَ مسْتَد مَسْتَن کس رَنَّد شَد
سری آن مسْتَد مَسْتَن کس رَنَّد شَد
زاہدی تاریخ اپنی مسْتَد تَوشْت
کفَت برَکو مَعید خاصی حَتی

$\text{Metre: Ramal.}$

"The Darwesh Mastjān, the heaven of benignity, has gone out of life a slave of the order of God;"

"He has made his soul a temple of good works, he became happy by it, and a receiver of the time of God (of eternity)."

"Every man who has come to this mosque shall get a drop of the ocean of the kindness of God's banquet. (?)"

"Zāhidī (or 'a hermit') wrote the date of this mosque; he said, 'Say, 'A temple of God's favourites',""

The letters of the tārikh give 966 [began 14th October 1558].

28. A loose stone standing on a grave in the graveyard near the Dāk Banglā of Rohtak, on the west side of the Dhiblī road, bears an inscription of three lines; its dimensions are 17" by 16". On the left side the last letters of each line and the border have been lost:

سَانِحَت شمسِرُخِلی زِلمَفِضِ الله کَنِب
برسرُقرِبدیر صَافِی دل عَا
تَسمُعیاَ خَمسِ سُعیِبِ سال اسَت هُسِر [ت]

"Shamshēr Khān has made with the favour of God the vault over the tomb of Pir Sāfī-Dīl 'Ā...975 H. is the year" [began 8th July 1667].

Shamshēr Khān was shiqqād of pargana Rohtak, A. H. 973, as we learn from inscription No. 43. His name occurs several times in the Akbarnāma. In 987 he was Khwājasardāl and was sent to Bihār to quell the disturbances which had broken out there; and to Bengal, together with Bāl Purukhōt, Maulānā Ṭayyib, and Shaikh Najm ad-Dīn (III, 284). When a rebellion arose in the same year at Pātīna, Shamshēr Khān was despatched to Bānāras (III, 286). In 991 he was one of the four judges who were named for the four "meadows" of the empire, the others being Bāl Purukhōt, Qāsim 'Ali Khān, and Hākīm Humām (III, 405). Later he seems to have revolted, for it is related that in 1008 the besiegers of Ahmadnagar received 'the joyful tidings' of his death."³⁴

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²⁴ The border contains the passage from the Qor dān, Sura ii, 286.
²⁵ According to a notice on the inscription, a Shamshēr Khān lies buried at Bēthāl; I know nothing about him.
29. In the wall of the Dogawalli masjid in the north-east of the town on a soft red sandstone (19" by 16") is an inscription of four lines which has been so much eaten away by the weather that the decipherment is almost an impossibility. But the year of erection and the name of the king are legible. All I can read runs:—


The builder...by the grace of God in the time of the reign of Jalâl ad-Dîn Muḥammad Akbar Pâdishâh-i-Ghâzi,—may God perpetuate his kingdom!...anno 979" [began 26th May 1571].

The year is perhaps 972, instead of 979.

30. A sandstone partly cylindrical and partly octagonal, each face measuring 19 by 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)", in a graveyard on the west of the fort of Rohtak, near the western gate of the fort, bears an inscription of nine lines. The rubbing does not permit the decipherment of the fourteen engraved hemistics; the first and last lines are the same, they contain the date—sana 998 (began 10th November 1589). On a brown sandstone (2' by 6") over the gateway of the same graveyard has been engraved, Sûra xlviii, 1.

31. In the south of Rohtak, near the Government school, is a tomb the pillars of which are connected by eight lintels of red sandstone, each measuring 4' 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)" by 9". The single lintels have been inscribed with the following sentences from the Qur'àn: Bis-millâh, Sûra ii, 256-59 incl., Kalima, Sûra cxii. No details of the date or of the builder are found.

32. Over the Dhòbi Gate in the Mahalla of Wazîr Khân, is a sandstone (18" by 17") containing an inscription of four lines:—


“With the favour of God Almighty and His apostle, the erection of this building in the time of the reign

“...And the Khalifat of Abu-l Fath Shihâb ad-Dîn Muḥammad, the second Shâhib-qirdî" (Timûr)

“Shâbâjâhân Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzi—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the endeavour of the slave of the...

“Pîr Khân, son of Sarkhân, the Sarwâd[né?] has been finished. In the beginning of the month Muḥarram A. 1044" [began 27th January 1634].

33. About half a mile from the Khâna, on the Rohtak road to Mahim, is the tomb of Jamâl Khân. The door has fallen in, but the walls are well built, and will stand many

**Elsewhere Shâbâjâhân is named Tâhirî šâhâb qiran a phrase which is to be interpreted Thâni-yi Shâhibqirdâ, see Rückert-Pertuch, Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser, p. 240, note 1, and Tenfel, Z. D. M. G., vol. XXXVIII (1881), p. 253, note. Titles such as Thâni-yi Iskandar-i-daurân or Thâni-yi Iskandar-i Zâl qarnain and others occur very often.**
years yet. A red sand-stone (size 14 by 10½ inches) fixed over the south arch of the tomb, bears the following important inscription:

\[
\text{بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله}
\]

در عهد ملك سلطان السلطانن جلال الدين محمد أكبر باشا غازی

مقبل الرحمظ جمال خان بن مرنصر روحه ترنيق يثبت راست كنائذ جمال خان را اميت ثراب كه

يابذ من تاريخ ذي القعدة(2) سنة ألف ر مية

“In the name, etc. There is no god, etc.

“In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, Jalâl-Adîn Muḥammad Akbar Pâdishâh-i-Ghâzi,

“The friend of the Merciful, Jamâl Khân, son of Manşûr, found grace to build this tomb. Jamâl Khân has hope that he will obtain reward. In the Zîl‘qâ’da A. 1100” [began the 17th August 1689].

This inscription is unique, as no other mention of Muḥammad Akbar, son of Aurangzêb, has till now been found. Prince Akbar proclaimed himself emperor, assisted by the Râjpûts, in 1089, and attempted to maintain the assumed title until 1100, when he fled to Persia. There exist no coins of his. The foregoing inscription shows that he adopted the jûlûs name of his great predecessor, whose name he bore. It is highly interesting to find a document of the rebel king’s son in a place lying so far north as Mahim, because Prince Akbar fled to the Marâṭhas in the beginning of his insurrection and always lived in the Dekhan.31

31. In the north wall of the enclosure of the mosque of the Pirzâdas is a red sandstone, measuring 19” by 16”, which bears an inscription of five lines:

\[
	ext{فرعى حضرت درلت (توز) شهنشاه عالم بدأ ظهرالدنس محمد دامر}
\]

غازی باشنده خلدالله ملكه و سلطانه وله درسه مجری

القلمير حکیم جانپور سلوا اين شهين سدو ساكن حصار شامانی

بترونى الله تعالى ترنيق يثبت مجد در قصبه مام رسن كنائذ حق تعالى

هجاب و مستجاب كرودان بمته و فصله بتاريخ بدم ماه ربيع الاله سب ر بابس و سعيمانه

“In the time of the reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the refuge of the world Zahiroddin Muḥammad Bâbar

“Ghâzi Pâdishâh—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—the slave of the court of the sun,

“The poor, base Janyu Sunu Aghâ, son of Shaikh Sunu, an inhabitant of the town of the joy,

“Through the grace of God Almighty found grace to build the mosque of the town of Mahim—May God Almighty

“Make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and His wisdom!—On the fifth Rabî’al awwal 936” [7th November 1529]
V. - INSCRIPTION OF AKBAR FROM KHOKRAKOT, NEAR ROHTAK, OF A.H. 973

[Image of the inscription]

Scale: 1:3rd.
35. On an arch over the pulpit of the Jāmī’ Masjid in the centre of the town, is an inscription. It is inside the arch on the east side, so that no one can see it without entering the arch and crouching. The stone is a red sandstone; it measures 3' 1" by 2' 2¼" and consists of five lines:

```
در زمان سلطان محمد علی افواهمی و سلطان علی افواهمی را خراب کردند
و ایشان را در زمان سلطان سرپرسته نامویان شیرخان خسرو پهلوی
که پسر میرزا وکیل نامور خان، فرزند حسین خسرو پهلوی بود و
در زمان سلطان رسوفیان فومنگی این سنگ خوبی و عظیمی نسبت
به رومی نداشت. خسرو نامور خان به سلطان رسوفیان فومنگی
و پسر او به همراه او در زمان سلطان رسوفیات فومنگی به
درگیری کردند و راه‌های سرپرستی را به همراه باعث افتاد.

In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, the shadow of God in both
worlds, the adorned of the throne of kingdom

And Khalifat, his Majesty Muhammad Humâyûn Fâdishâh-i-Ghâzi—may
God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign and exalt his condition and dignity!—his high-
ness the admitted

To the palace of Baga Bégum Sultân,77 the worthy of the faith, the chosen of
the court Amîr Yâdgâr Taghâî, by the grace of God Almighty

Found grace to build the mosque of the town of Mahîm—may God Almighty
make him accepted and favoured

Through His kindness and His wisdom and His perfect liberality!—On the 7th
Rajab 937 [24th February 1531].

Respecting Yâdgâr Taghâî the Akbarnâma furnishes the following information:
One of his girls (according to II, 243 a grand-daughter) gave birth to Prince Alamán, son
of Humâyûn, anno 934 (I, 113)28; and she most probably is the Baga Bégum Sultân of our
inscription. She made a pilgrimage to Makkâ and Madînâ in 972 (II, 244), whence she
returned in 975 (II, 329). This journey may probably have been why she was styled
Hâjî Bégum. Afterwards she lived at Dîhlî, and was in 981 welcomed with great honours
by Akbar, who loved her much because she had cured him as a child of six years of
vehement tooth-ache by a potent drug (III, 77). Akbar visited her, anno 989, at Dîhlî
(III, 373). She died in the same year (III, 375). The Hâjî Bégum, who with other
Bégums made the pilgrimage in 983, was probably not Prince Alamán’s mother, who
then was too old for such a toilsome journey. Blochmann mentions Hâjî Bégum in
his Ain-translation, but he is in error about her descent. In the Akbarnâma, II, 243 the
words dukhtar-i-Taghâî are to be understood ‘a daughter of (Yâdgâr) Taghâî.’

Over the mihrâb in the western wall of the mosque a sandstone (8 5" by 10½") is
fixed which contains in two lines Qurân, Sûra lixii, 1—8. Round the inside of an arch
over the mihrâb runs the Kalima and Qurân, Sûra, iii, 16-17 (to al islâm).

The Jâmî’ mosque was repaired according to inscription No. 39 in A.H. 1078,
by Aurangzéb’s order.

36. On a rectangular sandstone—size 21 by 13 inches—originally belonging to the
old mosque of the butchers, now fixed over the central outer arch of the new masjid at

28 See the facsimile reproduction No. iv on the accompanying plate.
27 The words majhâl addârin Baga Bégum Sultân see [4] yâda addârin are perhaps uncertain.
28 Bâbar mentions in his Memoires the chronogram for the birth of the prince invented by Shaikh Abdul Wâhid, p.
359. According to the Memoires, Alamán’s mother was a daughter of Yâdgâr Taghâî. For Bâbar’s not agreeing with the
name of Alamán see p. 451 (Pavot de Courteille, tome II, p. 363).
Mahim (finished in 1857 A.D.), is the following inscription of three lines, which is considerably worn by exposure to the weather:

در عهد قرئت شهرها عالم بنا حضرت مسجد حمام بناداشه
خبد الله ملكه عمارت هذه المسجد توقيق یافت

......

قصاب قصبة معم رأس كلامية بتاريخ ماه شعبان سنه اثنان یربعين ر تسمعلاء

“In the time of the reign of the king of kings, the refuge of the world, His Majesty Muhammad Humâyûn Bâdîshâh—

“May God perpetuate his kingdom! —................ found grace to build the edifice of this mosque of the butchers of the city of Mahim. During the month of Sha‘bân of the year 942” [began the 25th January 1536].

As some of the letters appear to be broken, it is not possible to decipher the whole inscription. A butcher’s mosque is also mentioned at Nágôr.30 The mosque was rebuilt in Aurangzéb’s time, see inscription No. 40.

37. The rectangular sandstone that bears the following inscription is no longer in situ. It is now fixed over the outer doorway of the court of the ruined mosque of the Qassâyân30 at Mahim. The inhabitants know that it is not in its original place; they say it belonged to a mosque in a quarter of the town called Daulatpûr, the Daulatbâd of the inscription. The size of the stone which is yet entire is 4’ by 11½:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم إن فتحنا لكم فتحاً مبيناً كشاف بناء دشام هبى بناء الهربان سراج أبن مسجد

۹۴۲ هـ. در به قرئت ندرت یک برکت سلطانی شیر شاه حسن سر سلطان توقيق یافت بناء این مسجد

ر مقام دتتامیا آیت محمد شریفین سر سید علی یزدی دنیا

با میت برادر حضور نوری من بی مسیتی بیه الله تعالی له قصر ي اجید راخان ایباق

الله تعالی نی اخانی ر رقه الله تعالی علی عدل راحان

دینی اجیدی والبعضین من شهر المبارک، المک که شهر رمضان سنه نهم جهله نه بود که مسیر سانیا

الله الكريم الشعیر

“In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! Verily, we have given thee an obvious victory.31 May this liberal door always be opened with joy! I testify that there is no god but God.

“In the time of the reign of the king, powerful as Salomo, Shér Shâh, the son of Hasan Sûr, Yûsuf ibn Hasan Sûr, the high Sayyid (surnamed) Daulatkhân, found grace to erect this mosque and the place of Daulatbâd,

“In the hope of the reward of the prophet’s saying ‘He who builds a mosque will have a castle built for him by God Almighty in Paradise, and as for the merciful, God Almighty gives to him long life in the world and protects him for his justice and beneficence.’

It was on the 21st of the blessed and venerable month, month Ramazân of the year 949 [29th December 1542], when it became ready. God is the generous and the omniscient.”

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30 See facsimile No. iii, on the plate at p. 138. Qasîd and qasîd occur in Hindustân (Shakespeare); see No. 40.
31 Qdrn Sûr. xlvi, 1.
It is known that Shér Sháh built numerous mosques and káravádsáráts, but only very small remains of them have come down to our day. Besides his stately mausoleum at Sáhísháram there exist some ruins of his time at Dillí. If I am right, the above inscription is the second of Shér Sháh’s reign that is known, the first being published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for May 1874, p. 105 (947 A.H.).

Yúsuf, the builder of the mosque at Mahim, was one of the seven brothers of Shér Sháh (*Táríkh-e Shérsháh*, in Elliot-Dowson’s *History*, vol. IV, p. 310). He may be the same who built in 958 II. a door to the shrine of Khwája Quṭb addin (Journal Asiatique, Vème Série, tome XVI, 426).

38. In the south wall of the enclosure of the masjid of the Pirzâdas (No. 31) is a sandstone, measuring 17" by 6", which bears three lines:

> در عهد درلبد حضرت بندگان خالق بت ہُن با سلطان شہباد الدین محمد صلحب قراں تابی شاه جہان بادشاہ غازی خلد خلقتہ ابدًا ترکیق یائست شیخ ناصر ابی شیخ الهداد مامی فلفل خمسبن راہد

“In the time of the reign of his Majesty the slave (of God), the asylum of the Khalifat, the king.

“Shihábaddín Muḥammad, the second lord of the conjunction, Sháhjáhán, Bádisháh-t-Gházi—may (God) perpetuate his Khalifat for ever!—Shaikh Nāsir, son of Shaikh Iláhdâd of Mahim, found grace. A. 1051” [begun 12th April 1641].

Kháft Khán, in his *Muntakhab allubáb* (I, 550) and ’Abd al Hamíd in the *Bádesháh-náma* (I, 2, 337) have each inserted an account of Shaikh Násir, whom they mention among other saints and learned men of Sháhjáhán’s time. Both authors evidently made use of the same sources, Kháft Khán citing the *Sháhjáhánáma*. I extract the following:—His original name was Násir Muḥammad; he was born at Ajmír, and lived afterwards in Gujarát. He made many voyages, and at different times attended the emperor. Always, night and day, he was clothed in mail and with a garment of cotton, and he perpetually bore arms. Besides his daily alms, he gave, if urged, all his property to poor men, even the horses and elephants which he had received from the king, and was content if he could get a fire of straw and wood in the open air to care for his own body, eating roots and leaves. Many wonders were effected by him. He was a disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad, son of Sayyid Ruff′addín, son of Sayyid Ja′far, from Shiráz.

39. On the south outer arch of the façade of the Jâmi’ masjid is a red sandstone (3’ × 1’ 11½"), bearing nine lines:

> در عهد سعادت محمد رمد زمین ر زمان خدیا مسیح ر محل سلطان السلطانین شیخ اللہ فی العالمین محمد ارنگزیب

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88 See Garkin de Tassey: ‘*Décription des monuments de Delhi en 1832 d’après le texte hindoustaní de Sayyid Ahmad Khán*’ Journal Asiatique, Vème Série, tome XVI, passim, e.g. pages 192 (No. xvii), 426 (No. ivii), and 428 (No. iviii).

89 The printed text of ’Abd al Hamíd has Shaikh Násir.

99 Many histories of Sháhjáhán’s reign are so entitled.
In the happiness-spreading reign, extended over all the earth
And the time of the master of authority and dignity, the king
Of kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, Muhammad Aurangzèb
Bāhādur 'Ālamgīr Bādīshāh-ī-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his kingdom
And his reign!—the repairing of the Jāmī’ī masjid of the town of Mahim, according to the holy order,
Was finished through the endeavour of the slave of the court, Khwāja Raiḥmat Allāh—
May God Almighty make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and wisdom!
On the 17th of the month Muharram, the holy, A.H. 1075 [9th July 1667], in the tenth year after the blessed accession to the throne.
Sarbuland Khān Khwāja Raiḥmat Allāh was a man of great consequence under Shâhjahān and Aurangzèb, and died in 1690. But, as Sarbuland Khān received this title, which is omitted in the inscription, in the 30th year of Shâhjahān (Moásir al Umarā, II, 478), i.e. 1666, and as he was in 1078 in the Dakhkan with Prince Mu’azzam, whence he came back in 1080, it does not seem probable that both were the same person. A homonymous person is named as a commander of 800 soldiers and 200 horsemen under Shâhjahān (Bádīshāhnāma, II, 741).

40. The following inscription is engraved on a red sandstone (size: 11 by 7 inches), now lying on a heap of bricks in the ruins of the former mosque of the Qâssâyân at Mahim; the whole is in a bad condition and the stone will probably get lost in a short time. The inscription contains eight lines, and is poorly cut:—

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. In the time of the reign and the life of the divine shadow Abu’l Zafar, Muḥyīddīn Muhammad Aurangzèb
BADISHAH-I-GHAZI—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—The mosque of the butchers...was rebuilt. In the month of Ramazán 1090 [that month began the 6th October 1679].

The two last lines being hopelessly worn, the name of the restorer is not legible; the year may perhaps have been sab'in. It is interesting to learn from this inscription that the butchers' masjid erected in 942 H. (Inscription No. 36) was repaired a century and a half afterwards.

41. An inscription of five lines is engraved on a rectangular red sandstone (size 17½ by 14 inches) over the northern outer arch of the mosque of Daula Khân in the garhi of the Pathans in Mahim. The building being in a critical condition, the inscription, till lately safe, is now in danger of getting lost:—

لله الحمد *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*، يا الله يا نبي الله
بانيش درله خان* را* بالاتش
مغفرت دستکا دریا خان
مسجد مفسدرو خان برخوان

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God."

"O God! O opener!

"This edifice for the merciful God"

"His father was a celebrated Bakhtiyar,

The year of the completion—name with wisdom and discernment:

The letters of the tārikh give 1108 [began 31st July 1690].

42. Daula Khân, the builder of the mosque of the preceding inscription, erected a tomb for himself in the same year as the masjid. It is now a ruin, and the inscription on its wall being engraved on sandstone (size 2’ 8” by 1’) will be destroyed when it falls. It runs in four lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا الله الا محمد رسول الله
بندية درلا رحماني
درلا خان مammadي مرید کیلاتی دانستم که چهار یار برمح لین دنیا هم فاتی توفیق یافت
در هند کام زندگانی این مقدوسار ساخت از لطف رانی در عهد ارک زید
بادشا چنان سعیانی نداریم که شهر وشنال تمازگ که بر چهاردک هرمی پر یکدی و چهارده هرمی باهم باشد
ابرل طلب معمار

‘In the name, etc. There is no god, etc. The slave of the court of the Merciful Daula Khân Muhammed Murid of Gila—

"I knew that the four friends (the Khalifs) are over this wholly perishable world—found grace

* Metre—Kha’if.
"In his lifetime to erect this burial-place with the favour of the Lord, during the reign of Aurangzehb

Badishah, the shadow of God. On the 14th of the month Ramazan, the blessed A.H. 1114 [1st February 1708]. Through the effort of the architect Usta Aba Vaidad Tayib."

The inserted Sunnite dogma in the first person seems to be an allusion to the formula asssadu an la ilaha illallah, etc.

VI.—Khokarakot (کوکوکو گوت)

43. Khokarakot is a village in ruins situated to the north of Rohtak. Over a gateway of the village, built by Shamshar Khan, a stone was placed, which has been dug up out of the ruins and is now in the Museum at Lahore. Its dimensions are 2' 2" by 1' 73/" and it bears a bilingual inscription, three lines in Persian and five lines in Hindi. The Persian text runs—

در ایام سلطنت بندگی حضرت خالد الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ غازی
خد الله ملکه ابد فتحت کی جہت آنا شمشیرخان شقدار برکہ وہتک عمارت
این دروازہ بندگی نہدی فی شهر المبارکة رمضان سنه نہدی رسد رہ فتحت باتم رسید

"In the days of the empire of the slave (of God), his Majesty Jalal addin Muhammad Akbar Badishah-I-Ghazi—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever (and) his highness in Paradise!—Abā Shamshar Khan, the shiqqadar of pargana Rohtak,

"Has laid the foundation of this gateway. In the blessed month Ramazan anno 973 it has been finished" [began 22nd March 1566].

The words ra'fatullah fi jannat Aba are not certain. There is no doubt that the Shamshar Khan of this inscription and of No. 28 are the same persons.

VII.—Bohm.

44. The village of Bohm (پوم) is 4 miles east of Rohtak on the road to Dihli. In the east wall of the tomb of one Mahmud of Bohm, a stone (3' 93/" by 4") has been recently fixed which contains an inscription of three lines not relative to its present place. The passage from the Qur'an, Sura ii, 256, is followed by these words:

کبیرف ابراهیم عرن مواسلخنی فرماش علی تانی پهاین

"The writer (was) Ibrahīm, known as Muwāsakhānī, by the order of 'Ali Qāzī Bahākhān."

VIII.—Hisar Firōza.

45. From a mosque outside the Dihli gate, situate in the Sarāt Nathūa Bhatyarā (a baker). Four lines on a stone 2' 5" by 1' 3".

36 See the faceimile No. v, at p. 149.
37 The Hindi inscription, as Professor G. Bühler informs me, is not quite intelligible. But it is of the same year, A.D. 1566. The date is Salāt 1623, فاثکا 1623, which corresponds according to Dr. Schram's approximate tables to the 20th April 1566, if the year is taken as an ended northern (padnimdena) Vikrama-year; the 20th April was the last of Ramazan. Akbar, Shamshar Khan and the gate are all mentioned in the Hindi version.
38 For a short historical account of the town of Hisar Firōza, see Blochmann, Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng. 1877, April, p. 92, where some of the following inscriptions have been published.
In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God Almighty in Paradise.' By the grace of God, the omniscient king, and the blessing of the Lord of prophetship—on whom be peace!—

In the auspicious time, and the day-increasing reign of the sovereign, the helper of the world, the just one of the age, the king of India and Khorásán, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humāyūn, Pādishāh-i Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his reign

And his khilafat and extend over both worlds his justice and his compassion! this fine mosque was built and adorned, in beautiful structure, in order to please the Lord, who is adored by the slave who hopes in the mercy of the All-nourisher, who seeks help from God, the strength of the merciful, Nazar Qult, son of Shāh Qult Khān,

Who is known as Nizām addin Jānym, the Turkmān—may God increase what He has given him, and bring him to what he desires for the honour of the chief of the pious and the saints!—Dated 4th Sha'bān—may God allow the month to end in victory and security!—anno 939 [1st March 1533]. The writer of these letters is 'Abdallāh Yūsuf Aḥmad, son of Ruknādīn.'

46. The inscription from the Jāmi' mosque of Hiṣār consists of nine lines, ana measures 1' 11" by 1' 5". The last line is written very closely, and is almost undecipherable on the rubbing, so that I can only accept Mr. Blochmann's readings, whose translation I have also adopted, so far as I approve of it,
Malak e wafi e jahar e loos e jogi e film e bse e Ghan e sadaat e nigr e zinda e fos e ilam e ly e (emrah e usam)

Amir e Usam e

Ulaj e jahab e amrit e maga e mukhak e laqay e Dini e bial e meraj e bse e Ghan e maghaf e mird e mmur e Khoshkam e...

Ben e Ghan e maghaf e Mab e...

... Amqar e makan e [ ]

Sh e bulay e masje d e bur e xa am d e Husayn e Am e Hameer e kiran e serbend e

Yes e hula e qadar e kiran e haze e mazoon e flad e

Harka d e dind e aska e taraj e eyn e masje d e sind e

Har e Industries e Am e tamaam e abl e dal [ ] Tariq e ar e bab e...

Rihmet e ehn e

Kanbe e qabale e ilam e... Sene 260 e

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! [Qoran, Sura Ixxii, 18, 19] 'the mosques are God's.' You should not call on any one with God, and 'when God's servant stood up to pray they (the jimnus) called out to him and well-nigh crowded upon him.' The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God desiring thereby God's honour, will have one like it built for him by God in Paradise.

'This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king of kings, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, the accomplished Sultan, the perfect, the chief, the ruler, the just prince, the high, the exalted, whom to obey is as necessary as to obey God and the Prophet, according to (Qoran, Sura iv, 62) 'Obey God, and obey the Apostle and those in authority amongst you,' the guardian of God's countries, the helper of God's servants, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humayun, Badishah-i-Ghazi—may God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and guide his ship in the seas of his favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amirs, Amir Muhammed, son of the distinguished noble, the meritorious Nizamaddin Beg Mirak, son of the pardoned and purified Khushgeldi, son of his highness, whose sins are forgiven......

(Metre: Ramaj). 'A mosque has been built in Hisar for the sake of God, which is as high in dignity as the seventh heaven.

'Because it is high in dignity, and has the aspect of the seventh heaven, and has turned out well-adjusted, every one who saw it has approved of the style of this mosque. Because all people of sense approved of it, its chronogramm is......

'Its writer and composer is Nizam...... A. 942' [began 2nd July 1535].

The father of the builder was already, in Babar's time, an officer of Prince Humayun (Babar's Memoirs, p. 402), who afterwards employed him during his own reign in several situations. In 942, the year of the above inscription, he appointed him commander of the fort of Chanar, then just conquered (Akbaranama, I, 151). In the report of the victory gained over Rana Sanka (Babar's Memoirs, pp. 410 ff.) ten grandees bear the title Nizamaddin, but that was probably not their proper title, and is only a declamatory addition of the learned composer of the letter.
47. The ruins of Ulugh Beg’s mosque are near the Commissariat in the town of Hisâr. The inscription consists of five lines; it measures 1’ 4” by 2’—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام من بنى لله مجيدًا
يبتغى به رجح الله تعالى بنى الله له بينا مثله في الجنة در عهد
معبُور ودرست انفرز حتَّى سلطان السلاطين ناصرالدُّينُ ر و
اللَّهِ رائف رايت العُجَباَدًا إِلَى المغازي محمد صَحَّابه أبو واشة خانة خلد خالته بانيه
بتوريني الله السُّعَدَ أمير معظم أمير الغَيْبَة ابن امیریورسفن احمد سِرآخور رُكَّان فی

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! He upon whom may be peace! says, ‘He who builds a mosque for God

‘Desiring thereby God Almighty’s honour, will have a house like it built for him by God in Paradise.’ In the auspicious time

‘And the increasing reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the helper of the world

‘And the faith, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn Bâdishâh-î Ghâst—may God perpetuate his khilafat!—its builder,

‘By the grace of God the eternal (was) the great Amîr, Amîr Ulugh Beg, son of Amîr Yûsuf Aḥmad, the master of the horse. Dated in 951[4] (began 25th March 1544).

48. On a dome outside Hisâr, about a mile to the east, inside the commissariat godowns, on a slab, measuring 1’ 5” by 1’ 10”, are four lines of very bad poetry—

خوش رضه كنبد جون بهشت
كان ربخه ار مشق وعذب شرست
زانفلس باشcup مطر دماغ
دربك ٥٠ كشه بر كره ار که تاریخ بر كنبد ام amend نیست
سنده

هزار آئرون بر ابایي زیده
كه حکمتش بنیاد بهاد خشت
کتاب کبیر

(Metre: Mutaqârib). ‘How beautiful is the dome of the paradise-like mausoleum; its mortar and bricks are like musk and ambergris.

‘From the scent of its garden the brain is perfumed; and a salsabil (a spring in paradise) flows from its trees.

‘The secretary of heaven (Mercury) turned round it, when the date was written on the dome: A. H. 975 [began 8th July 1567].

A thousand praises are due to Bâyazîd, by whose order the bricks were placed on the foundation. The writer was Kâbir.’

49. On a mosque in the yard of Shêr Buhlûl’s mausoleum, outside Hisâr, one mile to the south, is an inscription, 2’ 5” square, in six lines of well-formed Nasta’ïq:—

یپربی شرع رسول مجنی عبدالعی
آنها دیدارش دهد آلیه دلار جال
پیش‌نشینی رضه بهبل شاه افکند طرح
مسجدی علی‌که باشد مسکن اهل دعا
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

Metre: Ramal.

"The follower of the law of the Prophet, the chosen one,' Abd-annabi,
"Whose sight gives brightness to the mirror of the heart,
"Erected, before the courtyard of Shâh Buhârî’s mausoleum,
"A grand mosque, which is to be the dwelling of worshippers.
"A heavenly speaker said without hesitation, ‘write the hemistich
"This building was completed in 1106’" [began 22nd August 1894].

An inscription from a tomb near the Commissariat godowns, 6' 2½" by 10½ inches, is of no value, as it consists only of Qorán, Sûra V. 98.

IX.—BARWÁLA.

Barwâla is now the head-quarters of a taksil, distant 18 miles north-east of Hişâr. In the Ain-t-Akbart, Pargana Barwâla is mentioned as belonging to Sarkâr Hişâr. Its area was 136,799 bighas; the revenues were 1,097,807 dâms (109,052 Say. dâms); the tribes were Sayyids, Malikzâdas, Baqqâls; the military contingent consisted of 100 horse, 1,500 footmen.

50. An inscription from an old mosque, measuring 2' 5½" by 8" is in very bad preservation:

ابن المنصور عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك

السلطاني دام ادامه مع العرو [٣] من ربيع الآخر سنة ميلاد رمادان رمضاناء

"This mosque was ordered to be built in the time of the noble king Mu‘izzaddunyâ waddín—may (God) perpetuate his reign!—

Abu-l-Muzaffar Kâiqobâd, the king, by the glory of the saints and the poor, Tâajaddaula waddín . . . the royal—may his prosperity be perpetual!—at the beginning of the Rabî‘ al awwal 688" [began 25th March 1289].

The inscription is important, as it is the first known of Kâiqobâd,42 son of Bughrâ Khân, viceroy of Bengal, the last emperor of the Balbant Turks, after whom the kingdom was transferred to the Khiljâs.

51. A second Barwâla inscription is of Balban’s reign; it consists of two lines. It has also been much injured by the weather. The dimensions are 3' 3½" by 11 inches:

ابن المنصور عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك بن عبد الملك

"The light of Islâm and of the Muslims Abul-Muzaffar Balban, the king, the helper of the Lord of the Muslims—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—

. . . . . . may his prosperity be perpetual!—on the 20th of the blessed month Ramazân—may its blessing be general!—680" [2nd January 1282].

The extant Balban inscriptions have been mentioned above under No. 15.

42 Another inscription of Kâiqobâd, dated A.H. 686, exists in the Sadho masjid at Amroh, Murâddâbâd district, North-Western Provinces, (see A. Führer; l. c., page 35).— Ed. E. L.
X.—Fathābād.

52. In the town of Fathābād is a round sandstone pillar, 10' 2" high and 6 11" in circumference. It is a pity that it is not possible to decipher this evidently most important document, which consists of thirty-six lines going round the pillar. The letters have been much injured and many patches of the stone have fallen off. Only single words are here and there legible on the rubbings (in five pieces). The inscription belongs to a king of the Tughluq dynasty, and contains long historical accounts. Tughluq Shāh himself is mentioned. An occurring date, the reference of which is not clear, is the first Sha'bān 725 [13th July 1325], which falls in the first year of Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shāh.\footnote{I cannot let this opportunity pass of recommending this interesting document to travellers visiting Fathābād. From rubbings alone it cannot be deciphered. An examination of the original may perhaps be more successful. It would be necessary to make a transcript directly from the original which would assist in the reading of the rubbing. Ghulām Husain, one of Mr. C. J. Rodger's staff, who prepared the copies of all the Panjāb inscriptions in this paper, says in a note that Zin ud Dīn, Extra Assistant Commissioner, spent more than a month at Fathābād trying to decipher the inscription, but he had not been able to see what he did.}

XI.—Hānisī.\footnote{For the history of the town of Hānisī, see Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng. for 1877, 117, fig.}

53. On the Dīnī mosque, near the Sarāogyān mandir, is an inscription in three lines, measuring 2' 9" by 1' 4"—

بتردين حاجی علام ر درکت مصطفی علمیالسلام در عهد مدنی ر درب همانیر
حداکن الالعهدان ناداسه ی اسلام رازی الادام میرزاسا السلطان خلدارالله ملک
ر سلطانه بنده درکه ساهن سلطانی داردی غیب دی اعدم سن سیه ر سیده ای
مصدع دعا کرد

"Through the grace of God the omniscient and the blessing of the chosen Prophet—upon whom be peace!—in the auspicious time and the august reign

"Of the lord, the refuge of the world, the king of Islām, the shepherd of the people, Firōz Shāh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom

"And his reign!—this mosque was erected by the slave of the court, Šāh(i)n, the royal, on the beginning of Zilqa'āda, 767" [10th July 1366].

54. From the middle arch of Ja'far Beg's mosque. Two lines, 1' 3" by .1", evidently a fragmentary piece, containing the words—

ر مظهر كلمة [الله] ناصر امير المو

"......and who manifests the word of God,\footnote{These words occur as an epithet of Husain Shāh in an inscription from A.H. 906 (see Journal As. Soc. Beng. vol. XLII (1874), p. 304, note).} the helper of the Lord of the faithful."

There is also a defective inscription found on the middle arch of the Jod Goh (?). It consists of two lines (2' 13" by 30") and belongs to the reign of Íltimish (Altamsh), whose name it contains.

Finally, a third inscription, which is found on the back corner of the mosque of Makhādum Ashraf, measuring 1' 22" by 12", contains some words from Qordn, Sūra ix, 19.
X.—BADAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAYANAPALA.

BY PROFESSOR P. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

In November 1780 Charles Wilkins discovered in the vicinity of the town of Badal, in the Dinajpur District of the Province of Bengal, a stone pillar, about 12 feet high, which was found to contain, at a few feet above the ground, an inscription engraved in the stone. Some years afterwards he succeeded in deciphering and translating this inscription; and his translation was published in 1788, in the Asiatic Researches, vol. I, pages 131-144, with a drawing of the pillar and a specimen of the characters, and accompanied by some valuable remarks of Sir William Jones. In 1874 Mr. E. V. Westmacott obtained a careless and mutilated transcript of the original text from Pandit Harachandra Chakravarti, which, with a translation by Mr. Pratapachandra Ghoshla, will be found in the Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, vol. XLIII, part I, pages 356-63. I now edit the inscription, of which a complete and trustworthy text has not yet been published, from impressions which at Dr. Burgess’s request the Government of India has had prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing—28 full lines and one line only 5″ long,—which cover a space of from 1′ 8 ½″ to 1′ 10″ broad by 1′ 7 ½″ high. With the exception of two aksharas each at the commencement of lines 1 and 2, and altogether sixteen aksharas at the commencement of lines 25-28, which have become illegible by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and a few slightly damaged aksharas in the body of the inscription, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between 7/16″ and ½″. The characters are of the same type as, but decidedly more modern than, those of the Ghosrawa inscription, of which a photolithograph is published in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, page 310, and may be assigned to about the end of the 9th or commencement of the 10th century A.D. They are skilfully formed and well engraved. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the short line 29, which merely records the name of the engraver, Vishnu-bhadra, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter b is throughout denoted by the sign for v. Before v the consonant m has been retained, instead of being changed to anusvara, in samvrita, line 6, brantham = vikatam, line 8, samvalgitā, line 9, salām = vismayah, line 10, vāchāṃ = vaibhavam, line 20, and tādriṣam = vyadhita, line 21; and instead of anusvāra the guttural nasal has been used in vanāc, lines 1 and 26, and vanāsya, line 21; and the dental nasal in pānsuḥ, line 7. We also have -sauṭi for -hasti, line 17, and -saṅghater for -saṅhater, line 4. Besides, it may be noted that the rules of samdhī have not been observed in vidhivat Rallā, line 11, and -pitān chatur-, line 13; and that the sign of anagrāha has been exceptionally employed in bhidhābhavat, line 17, and tāro badat, line 21. As regards grammar I need draw attention only to the first compound in verse 11, which is formed incorrectly.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (in verses 27 and 28) the erection of a pillar, bearing on its top a figure of the mythical bird Garudā,—the pillar on which the inscription still is, but the upper part of which is now missing,—by a Brāhmaṇ,

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1 See Montgomery Martin’s (Buchanan Hamilton’s) Eastern India, vol. II, page 672. [Badal Kacheri is in the south of the Dinajpur district, 3 miles south-west from the village of Mangaltāri, which is on the borders of the Sagarpārāng of the Bogra (Bogra) district and 7 miles south-west from Dāmāmarā station on the Northern Bengal State Railway. Badal is in Long. 88° 6" E., Lat. 25° 5’ N. (Indian Atlas, sheet 119), and the pillar is about a mile north from it. (Conf. Hunter’s Stat. Acc. Bengal, vol. vii, p. 461, and vol. viii, p. 198) — J. B.]
named Rāma Guravamiśra. But the inscription is really a prakasti, or laudatory account, of Guravamiśra and his ancestors, and it is of some value mainly because it furnishes the names of four of the so-called Pāla kings of Bengal, of whom some of the said Brāhmans were counsellors or ministers.

In the race of Śāndilya there was one [Vishṇu?]; in his lineage was Viradeva; in his family Pāṇchāla; and his son was Garga, the adviser of Dharma (or Dharmapāla), "the regent of the east" (vv. 1-2). Garga married Icchhā, and their son was Darbhapani, who became minister of the king Devapāla (vv. 3-7). He, again, married Šarkarādevi, who bore to him Someśvara (vv. 8-9). Someśvara married Rallādevi (v. 10); and their son was Kedāramiśra, by whose counsel the lord of Gauḍa (whom I understand to be Devapāla) is represented to have defeated or held in check the Utkalas, Pāṇas, Dravidas and Gurjaras (v. 13), and who is intended to have consecrated the king Śūrapāla (v. 15). And, finally, Kedāramiśra married Vavvā, a lady born at Devagrama (v. 16), and she bore to him Rāma, called Guravamiśra (v. 18), who was held in high esteem by the king Nārāyaṇapāla (v. 19). There can be no doubt that this last-named Brāhman is the Bhaṭṭa Gurava who is mentioned as dīkaka in the Bhāgalpur copper-plate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla.

Of the four kings mentioned in this inscription three, Dharma[pāla], Devapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla, are well known to us from copper-plate inscriptions. As to Śūrapāla, I readily adopt Dr. Hörnle's suggestion that he is identical with the Vigrahapāla of the Bhāgalpur copper-plate, the immediate predecessor of Nārāyaṇapāla. But regarding the Pāla kings in general my views differ from those of Dr. Hörnle, and I hope to prove before long that the successors of Nārāyaṇapāla were: his son Rājyapāla; his son Gopāla II.; his son Vigrahapāla II.; his son Mahipāla; his son Nāyapāla; and his son Vigrahapāla III.

(Text.)

L. 1. . . . "शाफ्तिश्वयम्भूसीरविश्वसदन्वयः"

पाण्डवो नाम तत्रोदर्गात्मांवादयात् II — [1.]
शब्दः पूरोदित्य पतिर्महिमस्थितु तत्ताया दैवपतिमिश्रित एव

2.

— ☞: [I*]

धम्मः जनसाध्यविचलितां देव्या स्वामिः मय्यति विज्ञास ह(वृ)हयात् य: II — [2.]
पश्चात् नाम तस्यामिद्विचलिताभिविश्वसिनी।
निमीत्त्वान्ध्वक्षिताः कालिवर्ग-

3.

सदी यशा III — [3.]

वित्तावत्रुप्तसुखक्ष्ठु)व्यासानुक्ष्ठमाणत्वस्तुपारिवर्तिकमः: [I*]

guhusūryo: कक्षणयमैतिनिविजेश सदर्परविशिष्टात्म नाम निजस्य-


See ib., page 307.

4 See the Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society Bengal, Part II, Appendix II; and Indian Antiquary, vol. XIV, pages 162—165.

From impressions prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, and supplied to me by the editor.

6 The word which has almost entirely disappeared here was probably विन; and it may have been preceded by the symbol for नः.

7 Read गङ्गः.

8 Metre: Śloka (Anusṭubh).

9 Metre: Vasantatīlaṅkā.

10 Metre: Śloka (Anusṭubh).
L. 4.

भा रिवाजनकाः बायमज्ञमदसामर्ज्ञानवाङ्कांति
रा मौरिमतितर्कर्ताहृतकरणं। पुष्पिक्ष्णिकाम निर्मि।
मातार्जसम्यदायतवशंिकाद्याति मातिरि।

5.

शिवकां
गोविया यथा भुवं चकार दवार जीविद्वाली गुप्त। [5]
मात्रायनाब्मदवचयवतीहामदामानवालो
मृत्युभोग्यविवस्थितभन्येण।

6.

जनर्जः सम्भवामावधाय। [6]
दिशायातबुध्मपालिकबिसर्काहृतिहृतिलिङ्गः
सहायी जीविद्वाली गुप्तिरवस्य शरीरः।

7.

यश। [7]
द्वायनकसुभुभुपिष्ठवशे वस्त्रासर्न नरपति। सुरराजक। [7]
नागार्जुनसुकुताख्तिपादपमयः। सिर्का। [7]

8.

कित। श्रमासाद। [7]
तथा तोम्सराद्वधायकोऽऽ: सोम द्रव विजः। [8]
भृत्योपधिमयः। तीमासु परमीषवव्यः। [8]

न भृमालिकः। [9]

9.

चन्द्रायुतासाय विकामता। [10]
विनाशयिविद्वैयता सुतिमिर्गो नोहवासासांविधितव्यायः। [10]
नैनोन्ता मधुरमष्ठ। प्रणयिनः। सम्विताः तार विवः।

10.

वा। [11]
ते मेन्तं सङ्गुपूतिस्थितीश्रीको सतामविधाय। [11]
मिस्न वव कर्म विशावय दुरिमिर्थ वल्लभा। [11]
चन्द्रायुताविविधः।

11.

वदृः राजाधिका: स जयच। [10]
भृत्योपधिमयः। तीमासु परमीषवव्यः। [10]
दुरिमिर्थासांविधितव्यायः। श्रमासादसामीषवव्यः।

12.

प्रतिषः।

ताथ्यो जन्म प्रवेदे विद्याजनमनीवन्नन्त: प्रक्षिपामः।
तीमासु सूदरमिर्गो गुष्ठ द्रव विवस्यातःप्रभावः। [12]

12. Read चृद्धि।
14. Read "सूदृशी". Originally विषाल was engraved, but the sign for श is struck out.
16. Read चृद्धि।
19. Read त्वरा निविस्तवः।
20. These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
21. Read मधुर वव प्रणयिनः। श्रमः।
22. Read त्वरा विषालः।
23. Metre: Śàrdūlalavikrītā.
24. Read विषालः।
13. संस्कृतसमयितान् चतुर्विंशतियोगिनीं [१५]
वज्रासागरसम्पत्तिसूत्रिकर्मा(व्य)क एव य: ॥२८ — [१२.]
उद्विन्तितोत्सवसंवल्लुलं खुशक्षरोमय खुशक्षरी—

14. सदृढ्यज्ञवीणायामयः
भूपोधकत्भव(व्य)राजस्वयम्भरणम्(व्य)भोज गिद्धवधर्मिर्मसुप्रासा चिंत्य यदीया ं ॥३० — [१३.]
ख्यातपद्यपल्लितानायिनीं येती—

15. तुम्हें दिवसित चुन्द्रद्व चारितमिर्मिको यदाबा।
भवज्ञतिमिर्मियां यथाभोज तथा ॥३० परिप्रेक्षया(व्य)ये ॥ परेचापिः परम् ॥३३ — [१४.]
यथः—

16. ज्ञातु ह(व्)प्रक्षमिनिनर्तिने श्रीशूरपाली चुपः
साचारिद्व इव चतारमीय(व्)लो गल्य भूयः ख्याम ॥
नानाभीमिनिनिश्चलखस जगतः

17. कल्पाणस्वरूपः चिरं
विद्वाध्युतानसो नतमिरा ज्ञानय पुनर्मयः ॥३४ — [१५.]
देवायामं ॥३५ तथा पवो वसाभिवाभवत् ॥ [१३.]
भुवना चल्या ल—

18. ख्या सत्या छाया[नपत्य]या ॥३७ — [१६.]
सा देवकोव तथापथोदयाः श्रीकृतप्रावत्त सत्याः।
शोपाल्प्रमायाकर्मसुखु पुनर्मसस्त्र स्वरूपः ॥३९ — [१७.]

19. जमदात्रकुलोत्पत्ति सम्पद्वचविचित्रः ॥ [१४.]
य: श्रीगुरुभिमिर्मायो रामो राम द्रव्याः ॥ ॥३० — [१८.]
कृपणो शुभविस्वामिन विजित्तिपुरुषं—

20. व(व)कस्मिने ॥
शीर्षारायणपालम प्रमसिरपरशु ॥ तथा ॥३५ — [१९.]
वाचार्माभिवाभविवजमम् नीति पराशिवत ॥४२
वेदार्थानुगमादसः—

21. समाजो वाचा ॥ सम्प्रियां द।
श्रीगुरुभिमिर्मायो चित्ताविभंजातां स्वरूपां
तथा ज्ञानस्मृतिः भवनाय श्रीमिर्मिको च ॥४५ — [२०.]

22. यज्ञिश्व: श्रीमिर्मिको विषय वैदिक निम्नं जानि न दै।
उत्तरे खिंत्यं सर्वमिर्मिको(व्य)गम्यविनाद लक्षणे सर्वन्ति च ॥४५ — [२१.]

शामीयो—

27 Read "श्रीमिर्मिको".
28 Metre : Sloka (Anuṣṭubh).
29 Metre : Vasantatilaka.
30 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
31 Originally "व्यचरी", altered to "बवारी".
32 Metre : Mālinī.
33 Read चापाधारितै.
34 Metre : Sāndulavirādha.
35 Originally "व्य", altered to "भारी".
36 The lower portion of the aksarās in brackets is damaged.
37 Metre : Sloka (Anuṣṭubh).
38 Metre : Āryā.
39 Metre : Sloka (Anuṣṭubh).
40 Metre : Āryā.
41 Read वनश वेनश.
42 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
43 Read वनश वेनश.
44 Metre : Sāndulavirādha.
45 Metre : Upajāti.
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) In Śaṅdilya’s race was . . . 67, in his lineage Viṭradeva, in his family Pāṇḍhala; from him was Garga born.

(2.) As he made Dharma 68, the regent of the east, sovereign over all the regions, while Indra ruled no other than the eastern quarter, and was even there defeated . . . . by the Daitya chiefs, he laughed Brihaspati to scorn.

(3.) His wife was Ichchhā 69, like love dwelling in his heart. By nature pure and tender, she was like the beauty of the moon.

(4.) Their son was the illustrious chief of the twice-born, named Darbhapāṇi, who, by his innate high rank rising above the three worlds and distinguished by his

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66 Metre of verses 22 and 23 : Vasantatilakā.
67 Read "daun ūṣhūrāt."  
68 The akṣara M was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line. The following M, which I have added, is not in the original.
69 Metre : Āryā.
70 Metre of verses 25 and 26 : Śloka (Anushtubh).
71 Read "mān."  
72 Metre : Śaṅḍulavikridita.
73 The akṣara in brackets looks like M, altered to Ā.
74 Metre : Āryā.
75 The akṣara M was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.
76 One would have expected pradhaṅgatiḥ.
77 The name, here missing, probably is Vishnu.
78 i.e. the king Dharmapāla, whose adviser Garga is represented to have been.
79 i.e. 'desire, love.'
knowledge of the four Vedas, was like the lotus-born Brahman, the possessor of four lotus-like faces.  

(V. 5.) By his policy the illustrious prince Devapāla made tributary the earth as far as Revā's parent60 whose piles of rocks are moist with the rutting-juice of elephants, as far as Gaurī's father,61 the mountain which is whitened by the rays of Īśvara's moon, and as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and setting of the sun.  

(6.) At his gate stood, awaiting his leisure, the illustrious prince Devapāla, scarce visible among the vast armies attending on princes who had come from all quarters, (in such numbers) that the prospect of the regions was hidden by thick clouds of dust rising from the earth, (though) swept by the constant and abundant streams of rutting-juice, flowing down from lustful elephants of various breeds.

(7.) Though the prince, who resembled the king of the gods, and the dust of whose feet was marked with the diadems of sundry kings, first offered to him a chair of state with a seat bright as the moon, he ascended his own throne with trembling.

(8.) To him was born, of the illustrious Śarkarādevī, the twice-born Someśvara, the illustrious, a favourite of the supreme lord, as the moon had sprung from Atri.

(9.) Never exulting, though like Dhanāujaya62 he displayed unlimited prowess; never listening proudly to words of praise, though he showered riches upon suppliants; and never addressing friends with many honeyed words, though he made them leap with joy by his bounties,—he roused the wonder of good men by such qualities of his, not common in the world.

(10.) Desirous of attaining the state of a householder, he in due form took the hand of Rallādevī, a suitable spouse, even as Śiva had done of Śivā, and Hari of Lakshmi.

(11.) From them took his birth the illustrious Keḍāramiśra. Filling the circle of the quarters with the flames of abundant (sacrificial) fires, radiant with the presence of the gods, of irresistible great might, of a pre-eminence in every branch of knowledge matured from within, and brilliant as glowing gold, he, like unto Guha, delighteth the minds of gods and men by his deeds.64

(12.) Pouring forth, even as a boy, the oceans of the four Vedas which he had drunk at a single draught, he laughed at Agastya's proficiency.65

(13.) Attending to his wise counsel the lord of Gauḍa long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūnas, and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Dravīḍa and Gurjara.

(14.) He allowed suppliants to take freely away his riches; his mind made no

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60 Darbhapālī was chaturvidya (or chaturvedin), as Brahman is chaturmukha; and the epithet dvijeta, applied to him, besides suggests that he was like the moon.
61 i.e. the Vindhyas mountains.
62 i.e. the Himalayas.
63 i.e. Arjuna.
64 The general meaning of this verse, in which Keḍāramiśra is compared to the god of war, Guha or Kārttikeya, is clear enough; but two difficulties are presented by the compound which forms the first line. Since that compound is a āhu-vṛtī, we should have expected a past passive participle, conveying the sense of 'touched' or 'filled,' in the place of chumbā, 'kissing,' which is the reading of the original. Besides, when the compound is referred to Keḍāramiśra, none of the ordinary meanings of ajīkma ('not crooked, straightforward, a frog, a fish') appears very appropriate. I therefore incline to think that the writer has confounded the word with animaśka ('a fish, a god'), and I have translated accordingly. Applied to Guha, the first two compounds of the verse would mean: 'who fills the circle of the quarters with the big crest of his peacock which shines brightly when frogs are near, and who wields an irresistible, large spear'.
65 Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.
distinction between friend and foe; he was both afraid and ashamed to fall into the ocean of worldly existence; and having crushed the attachment to the pleasures of this life, he took delight in the supreme abode.

(P. 15.) At the sacrifices of him, the image of Bṛhaspati, the illustrious prince Śūrapāla, having destroyed the forces of his enemies, often attended of his own accord, like Indra himself, the destroyer of the demon Vala; and ever desirous of the welfare of the earth, girt by the several oceans, he there with bent head received the pure water, his soul being bathed in the water of faith.

(16.) His wife was Vāvvā, born at Devagráma, unlike the fickle Lakshmi and the childless Sañj.

(17.) As Devakī gave birth to Purushottama, the adopted son of Yaśodā, Lakṣmī's husband, who delighted the cow-herds, so she bore to him a son, famous and compassionate, who was a lord of fortune, and who caused pleasure to the king, being the most excellent of men.

(18.) He, Rāma, called Guravamīśra, the illustrious, born in Jāmadagni's race, and conversant with the constellations which bode good fortune, was like another Rāma Jāmadagnya, to whom the thriving Kṣatriya order caused anxious thought.

(19.) Since the illustrious prince Nārāyaṇapāla, desirous of victory, skilful in discerning excellent qualities, held him in high esteem, what need is there of further eulogy?

(20.) The spread of holiness told that he, of no mean intelligence and of immeasurable fame, possessed great power of speech, knowledge of traditional lore, and profound skill in politics; that he belonged to a family which had acquired boundless luster by searching after the meaning of the Vedas; that he was eager to celebrate the virtues of great men, and was well versed in astronomy.

(21.) In him, who was possessed of fortune, as well as a master of speech, Lakṣmī and Sarasvati resided both together, having forsaken, as it were, their natural enmity and joining in friendship.

(22.) In the assemblies of the learned he at once confounded the pride of self-conceit of opponents by his speeches to which the constant study of the Śāstras imparted deep meaning, just as, possessed of boundless wealth of valour, he did in battle the conceit of bravery of enemies.

(23.) He never uttered words gratifying to the ear of which the fruit became not at once apparent, nor did he ever bestow a gift which the suppliants having received went to another more bountiful donor.

(24.) This pious-minded man expounded the Vedas in books of moral tales, which excited a thrill of joy and showed that he was born a Vālmiki of the Kali age.

(25.) Being a river of heaven which does not proceed to the ocean . . . . , his pellucid and profound language both delights and purifies.

(26.) To his ancestors and to him people were wont to resort, considering that (in them) Brahman himself had first become a father, and that the same Brahman (in him) had again become their offspring.

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66 i.e. the prince, at those sacrifices, was as it were consecrated as sovereign of the earth.
67 i.e. the god Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa.
68 Or perhaps, 'this pleasing person, called Guravamīśra.'
69 In other words, he never made a promise which he did not at once fulfil, nor did he mock suppliants with valueless gifts.
(P. 27.) He has placed Tārkshya,70 [the foe] of serpents and dear friend of Hari, here on the top of this pillar, the . . . . beauty of which, like that of his own person, attracts the eyes of people, which like his own aspiration rises to an unparalleled height and is firm like his affection, and which clearly is as it were a stake planted in the breast of the Kali age.

(28.) Having roamed to the furthest ends of the world, and hence descended even to the bottom of the lower regions, his spotless fame has risen here in the guise of this Garuḍa with a serpent in his mouth.

This eulogy was incised by the artisan Viṣṇubhadra.

XI.—ATAKUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNA III.;
DATED SAKA-SAMVAT 872.

By J. F. Fleet, I.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice, in 1889, in his Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, pp. 19, 21 (see note 6 below). It is now published in full for, I believe, the first time. I edit it from inked estampages, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultzsch.

Āṭakūr is a village about fifteen miles to the north-east of Maṇḍya, which is the head-quarters town of the Maṇḍya Tālukā of the Maisūr District in Maisūr. It is shown in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 60, as ‘Atcoor,’ in Lat. 12° 40’ N., Long. 77° 8’ E.;¹ and it is entered, as ‘Atagur,’ in the map given in Mr. Rice’s Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg, Vol. II, pp. 190-91. In the inscription the name occurs in the slightly different form of Āṭakūr. The inscription is on a stone slab, set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challēśalinga, about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village. The temple is mentioned in the inscription, by the name of Challēśvara.

Towards the top of the stone there are, in connection with part of the record, the sculptures of a dog and a boar fighting with each other; the dog is on the proper right, and the boar on the proper left; they occupy a space of about 3’ 2” broad by 1’ 6” high.—Below this lies the inscription proper, lines 1 to 19, covering a space of about 4’ 11” broad by 4’ 0” high. At each side, however, of the boar and the dog, and along the top of the stone, there were left blank spaces, which were subsequently utilised for a slightly later additional record, consisting of four lines, which I have numbered 20 to 23. Lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin of the stone, curve round at the corner, run right along the top, and then curve down into the proper left margin. Line 22 breaks off on the proper right margin with the ppa of pponneradum, and continues on the proper left margin, below the ends of lines 20 and 21. Line 23 is a short line, lying below the ends of lines 20, 21, and 22, on the proper left margin. The writing is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout; and, with the exception of two aksharas in line 4, the whole record can be made out with perfect certainty. The

70 i. e. the bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu.
1 The name seems to be not an uncommon one. The maps show an ‘Atagur,’ forty-nine miles north-east of Maisūr, and an ‘Adagur,’ eleven miles north by west of Hassan.
estampages, however, are not suitable for lithography; and, the surface of the stone being apparently rather rough, it would probably be very difficult to obtain impressions which would serve that purpose.—The characters belong to the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet, and are of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The average size of the letters, both in the original inscription and in the addition, is about $1\frac{1}{2}$.

The language is Old-Kanarese; and, except for two verses in lines 15 to 19, the whole record is in prose.—In respect of orthography the only points that call for special notice are (1) the use of ri for rī in nripa, line 1, prithwī, line 2, and kriśṇa, line 3; (2) the use of b for v in the word bīra, lines 16, 18; (3) the occasional use of s for ṣ, e.g. in saka, line 1, and saktiy-āge, line 16; and (4) the doubling of s after r, in ār=sunagara, line 17.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a king named Kṛṣṇarāja, whom, partly from the date that is given, and partly from the mention of a predecessor, we know to be Kṛṣṇa III., a son of Amogha-varsha III., of the Raṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mālkhēl: in the body of the inscription, he is also called Kannaradeva; and in the addition at the top of the stone, this form only of his name is used. We are told that he was making a display of triumph, after fighting against and killing a Chōla king or chief named Rājaditya, at a place called Takkōla. The inscription then introduces a Gaṅga feudatory of his, called in the body of the record Permāṇaḍi, and in the addition Bāṭuga, who, as we learn from the addition, had killed a certain Rāchamalla, the son of Erēyapa, and (as the result) was ruling over a Ninety-six-thousand district, which is evidently the well-known Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six-thousand. From the addition we also learn that it was Bāṭuga himself who slew Rājaditya; treacherously, and while they were out taking the air together: and that, in approbation of the deed, Kṛṣṇa III. gave to Bāṭuga the districts known as the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Belvola Three-hundred, the Purigē Three-hundred, the Kisukaḍ Seventy, and the Bāgenaḍ Seventy. The record then introduces a follower of Bāṭuga, named Māṇalarata, of the Sagara lineage, with the hereditary title of "lord of Vajabhi." And it proceeds to state that, in recognition of his valour in battle, Permāṇaḍi-Bāṭuga granted some land to a temple of the god Challaṅvara (a form of Śiva) at the village of Atukūr; a stone,—evidently the one bearing this

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3 The fact that Rājaditya died in battle with Kṛṣṇa III., is mentioned also in the large Leyden copper-plate grant (see Dr. Hultzsch's Report No. 79, dated the 6th April 1891); the passage speaks of the "lordly elephant," on which Rājaditya was riding.

4 The use of the paramount title in dharma-mahārājadhirāja must be taken, with the use of the name Satyasākyasākhagunivarman, to be only an hereditary custom. The construction of the whole record, and the subject-matter of it, show clearly the nature of the relations between Permāṇaḍi-Bāṭuga and Kṛṣṇa III.

5 This name occurs also in the body of the inscription, among the titles of Māṇalarata. That passage (l. 9) is probably enough to show that Permāṇaḍi and Bāṭuga were one and the same person. But the point is rendered quite certain by the other reference to Bāṭuga and Māṇalarata in ii. 21-23.—When I wrote the preceding remarks, I overlooked the fact that Bāṭuga is distinctly called Permāṇaḍi-Bāṭaya in the Hebbāj inscription (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XII., p. 270).

6 One might perhaps expect the name of Rāchamalla, rather than Rāchamalla. But the original very distinctly has cha in the second syllable.

7 Mr. Rice (loc. cit., p. 21) summarised this part of the record thus:—"Moreover, from a subsequent addition "engraved at the top of the same inscription, we learn that this Gaṅga king [viz. the Satyasākyasākhagunivarman, or more specifically the Permāṇaḍi-Bāṭuga, of lines 5, 6, 8] "was Rāchamalla, the son of Erēyapa; also, that he defeated a rīva "named Bāṭuga, who then proposed to Rājaditya, the Chōla prince mentioned in the previous part of the inscription, to join "him in attacking Kannara Dēva. His treachery becoming thus known, he was defeated and slain, and the provinces of which "he was governor absorbed into the Gaṅga territories."—Mr. Rice's extract from the text (loc. cit., p. 21, note 5) showed that this summary could not be correct, but did not suffice to indicate the real meaning with any completeness and certainty.
inscription,—being set up, to commemorate the grant, on the spot where, a dog having been loosed against a boar, the boar and the dog killed each other. The inscription proper ends with two verses descriptive of the prowess of Mañalarata. And from the addition we learn that Bûtuga also granted, to Mañalarata himself, the group of villages known as the Ātukûr Twelve, and the village of Kôtâyûr of the Belvola country.

In the date the only details given are the Saumya sanûvatsara, coupled with Śaka-Samvat 872 (current) (A.D. 949-50), expressed in words. This falls within the limits of the dates already obtained for Krîshna III. And all else that can be said is that, as, by the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, which is the only one that can be made applicable in this case, the Saumya sanûvatsara coincided with Śaka-Samvat 871 as an expired year, we have in this record another clear instance of the use of a current Śaka year.

This record refers to a variety of places. Ātukûr itself is mentioned, as Ātukûr, in the inscription proper (l. 12), and in the addition at the top of the stone (l. 22); and the latter passage shows that it was the chief town of a group of twelve villages. The inscription also mentions (l. 10) a neighbouring village named Beṭatûr, in the Kejale nád; but for these names I cannot find any representatives in the map. It gives Takkóla (l. 4) as the name of the place where Râjâditya was slain; this, again, I cannot identify. In the titles of Permânadi-Bûtuga it mentions the town of Kolâla and the Nandagiri mountain (l. 5). Mr. Rice (e. g. Mysore Inscriptions, p. xxviii) has taken Kolâla to be the same with the Kôlâhalapura of the Eastern Gaṅga records, and has identified it with “Kôlâr, in the east of Maisûr.” The identity of the two names, Kolâla and Kôlâhalâ, is probably established by the statement, in the eastern grants, that Kôlâhalâ was in the Gaṅgavâdi vishaya (Ind. Ant., vol. XVIII., p. 170). The identification of the place with Kôlâr may be correct; but I do not know of any conclusive proof of this point: and I notice, in the map, a small village named ‘Kolala’ close to Dêvarâyadurg in the Kortâgiri Tâlkâ of the Tumkûr District, Maisûr; this seems to me to suggest that Kolâla may possibly be the ancient name of Dêvarâyadurg itself. Nandagiri has been identified by Mr. Rice (Mysore Inscriptions, p. xliv) with Nandidurg, a fortified hill in the Chikbalâpur Tâlkâ of the Kôlâr District, Maisûr. And finally, in the titles of Mañalarata, the inscription mentions the town of Valâbhi (l. 7-8), which is, of course, the well-known Valabhi in Kâthiâwâd. The reference is of interest, as being the only one from Southern India that is known to me; but, whether it may be taken as implying that, like Mañalarata, the rulers of Valabhi themselves claimed to belong to the lineage of Sagara, seems not very clear. The addition at the top of the stone first mentions a province called the Ninety-six-thousand: this is undoubtedly the well-known Gaṅgavâdi Ninety-six-thousand, which probably included the whole of Maisûr, and is known, from many other inscriptions, to have been the hereditary territory of the Western Gaṅgas; towards the north it extended as far as Lakkunî, near Gadag, in Dhârwâd (Inscriptions at Śravanâ-Beḷgola, No. 53). It then mentions a province and four districts which were given by Krîshna III. to Bûtuga; i.e. the feudatory government of which was entrusted to Bûtuga. The province is the well-known Banavase Twelve-thousand, which took its appellation from one of the ancient forms of the name of the modern Banâwâsi in North Kanara. Of the districts the
first is the Belvola Three-hundred. This district is equally well-known; and its name, being derived from the Kanarese bele, 'growing corn, a crop,' and pola, hola, 'a field,' means 'the country of luxuriant crops,' with reference to the fertility of the rich black-soil which constitutes one of its chief features. It included Gadag in the Dhārwāḍ District (Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 297), Aṇṇigere in Dhārwāḍ (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 220; apparently Aṇṇigere was then, A.D. 866, the capital of the district), Kurtakōṭi in Dhārwāḍ (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 218), Nargund in Dhārwāḍ and Hāli in Belgaum (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 47; here the name is written Belvola, and the district is said to be a part of the Kuntala vishaya), and Kukkanūr in the Nizam's Dominions (Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, p. 275; here the name is written Beluvala, in Nāgarī characters). From the wording of the passage in line 22 of the present inscription it seems not to have included Ātakūr. The second is the Purigere Three-hundred. This, again, is a very well-known district, taking its appellation from the ancient Kanarese name of Lakshmēśwar in the Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhārwāḍ District. The third is the Kisukād Seventy. This was in later times one of the divisions of the hereditary territory of the Sindas of Erambarage; and the chief town of it (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. XII, p. 272) was Kisuvalal or Paṭṭada-Kisuvalal, which is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bijāpur District, near Bādāmi. To the south it included (id., p. 257) Kiri-Narayangal, which is to be identified with Koḍikop, a hamlet of Naregal in the Rōn Tālukā, Dhārwāḍ. And the fourth is the Bāgenād Seventy. This is plainly identical with the Bāgadage Seventy, or Bāgadige nāḍ, which was another of the divisions of the Sinda territory. I have only recently obtained the means of localising precisely the position of this district, and of determining the town from which it took its name. That town is Bāgalkōṭ in the Bijāpur District. It has long been known to me that the rustics call this place Bāṅgadikōṭe; the popular explanation of which is that some Nawāb assigned it to his wife for pin-money (lit. for bangles, bāṅgad). And I had a suspicion, but no more, that it might be the ancient Bāgadage or Bāgadige. All doubt has now been removed by my examination of an inscription on a stone which stands in the courtyard of the Tālukā Kachēri at Bāgalkōṭ, and was brought, I understand, from the neighbouring village of Hērkal, and which mentions "the famous capital, Bāgadageya-kōṭe," (śrīmād-d-r)ājadhāni Bāgaḍag[ë]ya-kōṭeyā srī-mālā-[śtānʹa]dhi[pati] Nilakanṭha-paṇḍitadēvaru; (lines 9-10). Taken with the rustic appellation, this is quite sufficient to establish the identity of the two names, Bāgadage and Bāgalkōṭ. And finally, in line 22, the addition mentions the village of Kōṭeyūr of the Belvola country. This place I cannot identify with any certainty; but it may possibly be either Kurtakōṭi in Dhārwāḍ, or the small village of 'Kotoor,' 3 miles west of Koppar in the Nizam's Dominions (Lat. 16° 20' N., Long. 76° 10' E.).

There can be, I think, no doubt that the Ereyapa of this inscription is the Gaṅga king Ereyapa or Ereyapparasa, ruler of the Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six-thousand, of the Bēgūr inscription (edited by me, ante, Vol. I, p. 346 ff). This record, therefore, fixes the period of the events recorded in the Bēgūr stone, and adds another interesting link in the history of the Western Gaṅgas. It shows internal dissensions among them; for Permāṇadī-Būtuga, himself a Gaṅga (see lines 5, 6), acquired the province by killing Rāchamalla, the son of Ereyapa; and Ereyapa, though he has been stamped by Mr. Rice as an "usurper" (e.g. Mysore Inscriptions, pp. xliv, xlv), was most distinctly of the
Gaṅga lineage (see ante, Vol. I, p. 349). Also, the construction of the record, and the grant of districts to Būtuga by Krīṣṇa III., distinctly prove that at this period the Gaṅgas were feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Incidentally it may be noted that, as the period of Ereyapparasa is now known to be about A.D. 949, it follows that there is some real probability of the Ayyapadeva of the Bēgūr record being identical with the Western Chalukya Ayyaṇa I., whose period was two generations before A.D. 973-97.

Among the territory given by Krīṣṇa III. to Būtuga was the Banavase Twelve-thousand. This point is of interest, because this province was the principal component of the territory of the Kādambas of Banawāsi and Hāṅgal; and the present record shows that they had not the ancient, or at least the uninterrupted, enjoyment of their possessions, which their inscriptions seem to imply.

### TEXT

1 Švas[t]i Sa(s)a-na-nri(nri)pa-kāl-āṭita-saṁvatsara-sa(sa)taṅga-enṭu-nūr=elpatt-craḍa-

2 saṁvatsaram pravarttise [1*] Svasti Amoghavarisha'deva-sripirithvuvāllabhā-

3 paramēśvara-parama-

4 bhāṭṭ[ā]raka-pāḍapaṅkaja-bhūmara[m] n[r]pa-Tri[n]e tran-āne-vedeṅgam vana-

5 gaja-mallaṁ kachehegaṁ Krī(kri)shnārājam śrīmat

6 Kan[n]araṇḍeva[m] . . lū(?)[p]vajam Chōla-Rājādityana mēle [ba]ndu

7 Takkōlado-kādi kondu bijayāṁ-geyyutt-īldu [1*]

8 Sva[st]i [S]atyavākya-Koṅguṇivarma-dharm[m]amahāraṇājādhirājan Koḷāla-pura-

9 var-ēsvaram Nandagiri-nāthaṁ


7 Svasti Saka[a-lōka-paritāp-Āvi(?)]hata-[pra]bhāv-avatāri[ta]-Gaṅga11-pravāh-ōdārā-

8 Sagara-vāma Va-

9 labhi-puravar-ēsvaṁ udāra-Bhagirathana-īriva-vedeṅgam Sa[gara]-Trinētram

10 seṇase-mūgārivoṁ

11 kadan-aika-Su[sa]dakām Būtugan-aṅkakāṟam śrīmat Maṇalarata[ṅ-g-a]nuvaradōl

12 mechchi beḷi-kō[l]=endo-

13 dē dayeṇa mere-voI(?)[I]=emba Kāliyam daye-geyy-endo konḍanā nāya[m]

14 Kejale-nāda Beḷatāra padu-

15 yāṇa deseya moradiyo piri[dum pa]ndige viṭṭode pandiyum nāyum-oḍa-

16 sattuvadarkke-

17 y-Aṭukurōl Challośvarada munde kallan-naḍiṣi piriya kereya keḷage Māṅti-

18 kāḷāṅgado-ir-kka(kkha)ṇḍugi-

19 manṇa[m] koṭṭar-Ā maṇḍan-okkal nāḍan-ā[vo]mn12-ūrān-ā[vo]r-f maṇṇa-

20 aṭḷa[n] a[na] geyda pāpama[m] konḍom-

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7 From the inked stamps.
8 Read  "vāraka".
9 Read "pRitiva" or "pRitiva".
10 We should expect tann(a), with the double a. But I notice that Sanderson's Canarese Dictionary gives mana as a variant of manna.
11 Read gaṅgā or gāṅga.
12 Read  "āvono".
THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

20 Svasti Śrī-Ereyapana magaṁ Rāchamallanaṁ Būtugaṁ kādi kondu tombhatt-aru-sāsimamunāṁ āḷutt-ire [I*] Kannaradēva[m] Chōlanaṁ kāduvandu Būtugaṁ Rājadityanāṁ bisugeye kaḷan-āgi gurig-iridu

21 kādi kondu Banavase-pannirechhā (? rchehhā)siromunu Be[vola-mūnāruṁ Purigere-mūnāruṁ] Kosukād-[elpattuṁ Bāgenād-]elpattuva (ma)m Būtugaṅe Kannaradēvaṁ mechchu-goṭṭam [II*]. Būtuganum[19] Maṇalarata-

22 na munde nind-iridurdkke meechi Ātuk[u]r-ppaneraḍum Be[volada Kōteyurum] bālga[m]

23 [me]2-chechu-goṭṭam [II*] Maṅgalā-mahā-śri [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! The saṁvatsara named Saumya, (which is) the eight hundred and seventy-second (in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, being current:

(Line 2).— Hail! When Krishnarāja (III.), the glorious Kannaradēva,—a very bee at the water-lilies which (were) the feet of Amoghavarshadēva (III.), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the Paramēvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka; a very Trinētra (Śiva) among kings; a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance); a hero against wild elephants; a (real) fighter (or, disputant),—having . . . . . . . . . come upon the Chōla, Rājaditya, and having fought and killed (him) at Takkōla, was going in triumph:

(L. 5).— Hail! (He who has the hereditary titles of) the pious Mahārājādhīrāja Satyavākya-Konguṇivarman; the lord of Koḷāla, the best of towns; (and) the lord

13 Read konḍon.[

14 This seems to be the reading; but appode would be better.

15 Metre: Champakamālī; and in the following verse.

16 The prāsa is wrong here; in the third syllable of this word, there ought properly to be ri, instead of ī.

17 This me was omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

18 Read pūṣīdanāṁ.

19 Read veditaram; the copulative ending is not required here.

20 Read mūnārum.

21 Read būtuma; here, again, the copulative ending is not required.

22 I cannot find the place where this syllable, me, stands in the original; perhaps the akṣara was omitted altogether.
of the mountain Nandagiri,—(viz.) the illustrious Permāṇaḍi, the truthful Gaṅga, the arch of victory, a very Gaṅgēya among the Gaṅgas, a very Nārāyaṇa among the Gaṅgas,—

(L. 7).—Hail!—being pleased in battle with his follower, the illustrious Maṇalara, who is of the lineage of Sagara, which brought down the stream of the (river) Gaṅgā through (its) prowess that was unimpeded in causing the affliction of all mankind; (who has the hereditary title of) the lord of Vaṭalbi, the best of towns; who is as noble as Bhagiratha; who is a marvel among men who pierce; who is a very Trinētra among the Sagaras; who cuts off noses when he is angry; who is a very Śudraka (devoted) only to war; (and) who is the arithmetician of Būtuga,—said "Prefer a request!" Thereupon, Kāliya, who is called "the shining river (of) kindness," said, "Do (this) favour!" Then they loosed his dog at a [great] boar, on the hill in the western quarter of (the village of) Belatūr of (the district called) Kelale nāḍ. And then, having set up a stone in front of the temple of (the god) Challēsvarā at Ātukūr, at (the place where) the boar and the dog killed each other, he (Permāṇaḍi) gave land yielding two khandugas (of grain), at the site called Maltikālāṅga below the large tank.

(L. 13).—Any cultivator (who destroys) that land, (or) the ruler of the district (if he does so), (or) any governors of the village who destroy this land,—he incurs (the guilt of) the sin committed by that dog! If the Gorava, who presides over that locality, eats without doing worship to that stone, he incurs (the guilt of) the sin committed by (that) dog! Ōm!

(L. 15).—Saying "We ourselves saw how powerfully the Chōla, like a male buffalo in coitus, approached and pierced the heroes who were vaunting (their) prowess in saying 'Pursuing and besetting the forces of the army of the Chōla which, blazing (with wrath), have opposed (us), we will resist the valiant men who confront (us), if (indeed) there be any (to make a stand) at the place of meeting and piercing',"—what people have failed to express approbation of him who is a very Trinētra among the Sagaras? The king was at (his) back; a multitude of enemies opposed (him) in front; all the people here, emulously rivalling each other, are bathed (in perspiration) to the (very) edges of (their) garments;—under these circumstances he, a very Śudraka (devoted) only to war, dripping (with sweat), with the assistance of (the god) Hari (and) the brave Laksmiti, passed on like a lion, cleaving open the forehead of the elephant that was called "the fortress of the Chōla." Ōm!

**The Addition at the Top of the Stone.**

(L. 20).—Hail! When Būtuga, having fought and killed Rāchamalla, the son of the glorious Ereyapa, was governing the Ninety-six-thousand:—At the time when Kannaradēva was warring against the Chōla, Būtuga treacherously, while (they) were taking the air (together), aimed at and pierced, and thus fought against and killed,
Rājaditya; and then Kannaradēva gave to Būtuga, in token of approbation, the Banavage Twelve-thousand, the Beḷvola Three-hundred, the Purigere Three-hundred, the Kisukād Seventy, and the Bāgenād Seventy.

(L. 21).—Being pleased with the manner in which Maṇalarata stood out in front and pierced (his foes), Būtuga gave (to him), in token of approbation, for subsistence, the Ātukūr Twelve, and the village of Kōṭeyār of (the) Beḷvola (country). (May there be) auspicious and great good fortune!

XIII.—KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF THE CHEDI LAKSHMANARAJA.

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

The stone which bears this inscription1 was found at Karitalai, a village in the Mudwārā Subdivision of the Jabalpur District of the Central Provinces (Indian Atlas, sheet No. 89, Latitude 24° 3’ North, Longitude 80° 46’ East), whence it has been removed to the Jabalpur Museum. And an account of the contents2 of the inscription has been given in Sir A. Cunningham’s Archaeological Survey of India Reports, vol. IX, page 81. I now edit the text from a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

The inscription is only the concluding portion of an apparently much longer inscription the upper part of which is missing. The writing of what remains covers a space of 3’ 8” broad by 4’ 34” high; but of this, again, a large piece, about 1’ broad by 1’ 8” high, is broken away at the lower proper right corner, and a small piece at the upper left corner. Besides, the stone is broken in several pieces, and some akṣharas have thereby become damaged or illegible in the body of the inscription. The average size of the letters is 1”. The characters, well formed and skilfully engraved, are Nāgari of about the end of the 10th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the words yaḥ-cha, in line 5, and kim vahunā, in line 26, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography it will be sufficient to state that b is throughout written by the sign for v, and that the sign of the fiṃvāmālīya once occurs in line 9, and the sign of the upadhmānīya once in line 30.

The missing introductory portion of the inscription in all probability contained a number of verses eulogising the earlier Chedi (or Kalachuri) rulers of Tripuri, especially Yuvarājadeva and Lakshmanarāja, who are actually mentioned in the sequel. In verses 2-6 of the extant text we are told that in the family of the sage Bharadvāja there was a Brāhman, named Bhākamīrā, who was chief minister of the king Yuvarājadeva; and in verses 7-17 that he had a son, Someśvara (in verse 9 described as bhatṭa-Someśvara-dikṣīta), who became minister of the Chedi lord, the illustrious Lakshmanarāja. And the proper object of the inscription is to record that this Someśvara built a temple of Viṣṇu, at which the inscription evidently was put up, and which is glorified in verses 18-29. Beyond this, verses 1-29 contain nothing of interest.

1 See Sir A. Cunningham’s Archaeological Survey of India Reports, vol. IX, p. 8; also Dr. Fleet’s Gupta Inscriptions, p. 117.
2 This account, which no doubt was furnished by some native assistant, is very incorrect. Here it will be sufficient to say that the word, which was interpreted to denote a place called Pāṭangir is really a name of the planet Saturn; see line 24 of the text.
From verse 30 it appears that near the temple there was a pura (or brahmapura, as it is more commonly called) for eight learned Brāhmans; and the rest of the inscription enumerates various donations, made for their maintenance and in favour of the temple generally. To the Brāhmans mentioned the king, apparently Lakshmanaṇarāja, gave the village of Dirghaśākhika (verse 30). To the temple he assigned, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, another village, the name of which has not been preserved (verse 31); while his queen, Rāhaṇḍā, gave the village of Chakrarahi (verse 32). Another donation was made, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, by the illustrious Śaṅka[ragaṇa, the king’s son(?)], a devout worshipper of Visnu (verse 33); and at a solar eclipse were given (it is not certain by whom) the village Chhaliipāṭaka in the district of Dhavalahara and the village Antarapāṭa (verse 34). Several fields, and the village Vatāgarthika in the Mālā ‘group of twelve,’ are besides mentioned among the donations to Vishnu, after the founder of the temple called ‘the holy Somasvāmidēva,’ in the mutilated verses 35-37. And finally verses 38-42 enumerate various taxes and tolls which had to be paid in favour of the temple.

The kings Yuvarājadeva and Lakshmanaṇarāja, mentioned in this inscription, undoubtedly are Kṛyāvarsha-Yuvrājadeva and his son Lakshmanaṇarāja, the father of Śāmcaragana, of the Bilhari inscription (ante, vol. I, page 253); and accordingly the present inscription is older than the Bilhari inscription, and must have been composed some time between the middle and end of the 10th century A.D.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, none have been identified with certainty; but I suspect Dirghaśākhika to be the village Dighees of the maps, about 6 miles south-east of Kārītalāi (or Kareetullae).

**Text.**

1. L. 1. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
2. "विश्रामीय द्वार वासनमहायाय हर्ष्याइरे।
   प्र[श्य]चित्तदान एव सु जनि: प्राददनेभवितो
3. वंशाजर्जसुनेरनाग्नाणाटो धर्म द्वारकर[शू]ल।
   भौषणे विविधविन्दविन्दमार्गिणो: वर्णधर्मविविशीष्टेष्यो: । । — [2].
   कृषितविचिन्द्रेष्यो विषय[षो] । ।

3 The mutilated verse of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word khāriyāpu, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean ‘a field sown with a khāri of grain,’ or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of Kārītalā.
4 I am unable to explain fully all the particulars stated in the mutilated verses 38-42. Verse 40 again contains the word dēnt, mentioned ante, p. 130, note 83.
5 From Sir A. Cunningham’s rubbing, supplied to me by the editor.
6 Of this line only the lower part of about half the number of aksharas, which it contained, is preserved; but what remains is sufficient to show that this was not the first line of the inscription.
7 The last akshara of the preceding line must have bee न्. The poet is speaking of the Daitya Bali, with whom he evidently compares a king (probably the Chedi Lakshmanaṇarāja), who must have been spoken of in the lost portion of the inscription.
8 Metre: Śārdūlavikrṣiti.
9 I should have expected to read here में वर्गांगविन्दवि नावीष्टायी.
10 Metre: Upajāti.
11 The aksharas, here broken away, probably were रूप, i.e. चरित्रय...
4. सीम्यो त्र(सु)धो न सु(सु)धः।

5. चक्रवर्तिकरिनप्रत्ययोऽवेगमधुरिः ॥१३॥—[३]।

6. रहस्यवाचस्यकरणिः कूट ॥१८॥—[५]।

7. वै एव हिमवत्त्रेऽग्रीहो स्तानिकः।

8. नयतंत्रित्रप्रतिमण्डितं तीर्थं व इमाणम् यः कुमारः।

9. तोहम्मुनिम्मेत्तीत्वम् म्रणाः। कालाञ्च मटयति जोति कः ॥२२॥—[९]।

10. अनीत: सुमिट्कामिणिचन्द्र: पुष्पादिरोक्तजः —

11. न लग्नोत्तमस्य।

12. चन्द्रन्ति अवधारं वेष्ट एव। ॥२५॥—[१२]।

13. चन्द्रन्ति अवधारं वेष्ट एव। ॥२५॥—[१२]।

14. अस्तमो व द्वारकंतः। अतोर्त्तरं कर्मसंबंधितः।

15. अनीत: सुमिट्कामिणिचन्द्र: पुष्पादिरोक्तजः —

16. न लग्नोत्तमस्य।

17. तस्मैविभवतः सविं मार्गेष्व यः —

18. It is somewhat doubtful whether सुरः or सुरः was engraved.

19. अस्तमो व द्वारकंतः। अतोर्त्तरं कर्मसंबंधितः।

20. अनीत: सुमिट्कामिणिचन्द्र: पुष्पादिरोक्तजः —

21. न लग्नोत्तमस्य।
13. 

श्री- 

सत्यार्थिक वासमननन्तरी गामळो चाञ्चला 

वाशीजन देशी बासरमिश्रा [ए] समदेशाय [वि] इत्यादि ॥(1) 

संस्कृत- 

14. 

श्रीमुनि निधिरिष्टम ग्रहमितल राशि लम्बादृष्टा 

वेगे या दत्त यादि (स) रिकीर्दितममत्राय [ए] दलः पुरे ॥(9) -[14]. 

विशेषीपि विश्वज्ञिकोटममम्भकतय:। 

[ए]एक दृष्टक हीमविदेश[ए]- 

15. 

मित्र: ॥(9) -[15]. 

[श्री] यादश्रुये रघुमित्ति सदा शंखास्त्रो श्रोत्रशुद्धे 

शृंगारं बहुज्ञातकेशदितस्मिनिरोज्यात्मकायीकु ध 

श्रीमुनि: [ए] भवयोऽवरति च करी दानसंस्करे- 

16. 

उर्ज्ज्र्य- 

सदर्श श्रीभमसंभवमुग्नशनि के वर्ष सुविमंत्र: ॥(10) -[16]. 

वारतृ लम्बाशङ्कर [ए] यति दोल ध्यत्याभावस्थितः। 

17. 

हीमविदेशराज रत्नमदायक शोभायां ॥(9) -[17]. 

प्रासादोममकारि लिन जतन देशक दृष्टकः 

हीमविदेशराजमनन्तरिकोटमनाभावातिकात्मासुखः। 

पक्षोऽ: [ए] नापहो भध्ययः वेषपन्नवामिनिः[ए] 

संस्कृत- [ए]- 

18. 

पुढ़नी करोत्त्विरतं वसाध्योनी निधिमुनि ॥(9) -[18]. 

मुनि करोत्त्विरतं वसाध्योनी निधिमुनि: 

[पिः ओ ओ] इव समुच्छती विनाशति प्रकटविविविष्टसमस्तयोक एवः: ॥(9) -[19]. 

19. 

समदेशाय: परे [ए] ददरान्न विसुस्कमादिशी[वि] तविविष्यः। 

[ए] जानतामार्शित जागवरभेदोपयोगा [वा ओ ओ] मनाने ॥(9) -[20]. 

समदेशाय: परे [ए] जानतामार्शित जागवरभेदोपयोगा [वा ओ ओ] मनाने ॥(9) -[20]. 

विशेष- 

20. 

रितिनिक्षिप्तो एवजीः। 

कमकः [ए] शास्त्रोपि श्रीमुनि वासमनन्तरी देशी बासरमिश्रा [ए] इत्यादि ॥(9) -[21]. 

[ए] जानतामार्शित जागवरभेदोपयोगा [वा ओ ओ] मनाने ॥(9) -[21]. 

विशेष- 

17 Metro, Mandākrāntā. 

18 The akshara in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line. 

19 Metro, Śārdulavikrānta. 

20 The exact meaning of this line I do not understand. 

21 Metro, Āryā. 

22 Metro, Mālinī. 

23 Metro, Āryā. 

24 This correction appears to have been made already in the original. 

25 Metro, Śārdulavikrānta. 

26 Metro, Pushpigāra. 

27 Metro, Upajāti. 

28 The akshara in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line. 

29 Metro, Mālinī.
22. 

23. ॐ — ॐ [ह]षः

24. सत्यं सत्यं जनानं\textsuperscript{46} कल्यंति नितरामचयं समयं \textsuperscript{47} —[24].

25. \textsuperscript{48} — [ह]ष

26. 

27. ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — [रसुः]-

28. ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ — — [क]षः \textsuperscript{50} —[29].

\textsuperscript{46} Metro, Śloka (Anuṣṭubb).
\textsuperscript{47} Metro, Mālinī.
\textsuperscript{48} This may have been altered to "षः" in the original.
\textsuperscript{49} Possibly this has been altered to ष.
\textsuperscript{50} Metro, Śloka (Anuṣṭubb).
L. 29.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [13]

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [31].

शिपातस्मया भस्म च स्मृतया तत्त राष्ट्रा।

धामम चक्षुषदीमस्ते महादेवी वन्धक्षणि। इ[32].

श्रीमुँ

30.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

देवया द्वारशीष्टो ग्रहणे सोमस्व वेष्ठवल्लः। [33].

ध्वललहरास्व(अ)व प्राय्यहल्चक्षणि। धाम।

भानवरम्पूर्ष प्रहणे देव।

31.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [15]

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [34].

तत्त्वभिष्पे वराहाय वैं द्वादशश्चरणः। [35].

मालावाहाण्ये धामशासनं वटमलिङ्कां।

स्वनीये शासने श्रीमान्ये

32.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [15]

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [36].

कोसोमोधीसरिवाय क्षरिवापलसंस्तानत।। [37].

पुराणस्य: श्राम्। गुलामेवाहाणी धरी।

हः

33.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [15]

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [38].

का तथा।

निम्बेऽकां घटे गोष्टा घोड्णेश्वत्यं तथा। [39].

क्षयायपश्चे देशाइहभाषी वंदे।

चार्द्वारम्यं बा बा(वा)बा पाद।

34.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [15]

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [40].

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

[वादिदंकक्ष्मान्ये पश्चात्तामण्येम ददी।। [41].

पश्चात्तामण्येम ददी पायुटिस्सत्या।

श्रविष्ठायत्तथाय मण्डलं सकलं ददी।। [42].

52 Metro, Ārya.
53 Metro, Śloka (Anuśīṣṭubbh).
54 Metro, Udāṅti.
XIII.—NAGPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE RULERS OF MALAVA.

THE [Vikrama] YEAR 1161.

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

This inscription, which is on a slab of stone in the Nâgpur Museum, was first edited and translated into English, in 1843, by Bál Gangādhar Śastri, from a copy sent to him by Dr. Stevenson, who had received it from Mr. L. R. Reid.¹ And a few years later it was re-edited, with a German translation, by Professor Lassen.² In addition to the previously published text Lassen was enabled to use a copy of the text sent to him by Sir W. Erskine, which was reported to have been taken from a copper-plate at Sattārā.³ On the value of the two published editions it is unnecessary to express an opinion, but I may say that Professor Lassen once or twice has unjustly censured the Hindu translator for having misunderstood the original, in passages where the English translation, if not altogether correct, shows its author to have had a fairly accurate idea of what the writer of the original meant to say. And I must add that, for the proper understanding of some really difficult verses, more help may be derived from the English than from the German translation. I now re-edit this inscription from excellent stampages, prepared and supplied to me some time ago by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

The main body of the inscription contains 40 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 5½" broad by 2' 8½" high; and beneath it, and separated from it by a narrow empty space, is an additional line about 4' 11½" long. No part of the writing is entirely lost, but the lower half of the stone has suffered greatly, apparently from exposure to the weather, and in consequence many single aksharas and whole groups of words are either badly damaged or only faintly visible. I nevertheless hope that, with the exception of about a dozen syllables (in lines 21, 33, and 37) which I have been unable to restore, and a few others which have been marked as doubtful, my transcript may be taken to be an accurate and trustworthy copy of the original text. The size of the letters in lines 1-40 is about ½" in the separate line 41 about 7/8". The characters are Nāgari of the beginning of the 12th century A.D.; they include the sign of the jīhāmālīya⁴ in vāśpāmbhalikanā, in line 12. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory om om namo Bhāratīyai and the date sam 1161 at the end of line 40, the inscription is throughout in verse. The whole has been written and engraved with such care and accuracy that the orthography is almost perfect and calls for very few remarks. Except in the word nirbhāra, in line 16,⁵ the letter b is throughout denoted by the sign for v. Besides, attention need only be drawn to the wrong spellings āshanna for āshāna, in lines 6 and 10, nistrimā for nistrimā, in line 16, chakshuḥkarṇam for chakshuḥkarṇam, in

³ According to Lassen his copy was marked on the title page 'Sanskrit No. 67', and he believed it to have belonged to a collection of transcripts of inscriptions at Bombay. Having studied Lassen’s text as well as his notes, and compared his various readings with my stampages, I feel certain that, what Lassen was told about the origin of the copy sent to him, was incorrect, and that there never has existed such a copper-plate as is mentioned by him. In my opinion, what he received from Sir W. Erskine was simply another transcript of the stone inscription, made by a Pādīt and brought to Bombay. To prove this in detail would be a waste of time. It will be sufficient to say that Lassen’s copy furnishes no help wherever the stone is damaged, and that its readings in these places are just such as might be suggested by an intelligent Pādīt.
⁴ This sign of the jīhāmālīya is hardly to be distinguished here from the sign for āh.
⁵ But not in line 41, where we read nirbhārau.
line 24, *tajñair* for *tajjñair*, in line 35, and *vidhadhvam* for *vidhaddhvam*, in line 41. The language is correct. It contains several uncommon words; but the only word which is used in a sense for which I can find no authority is *brahmāṇḍakhayāda*, apparently denoting ‘the vault of heaven’ or ‘the firmament,’ in lines 5, 7, 11, and 13. As regards versification, the author has twice offended against an elementary rule of metrics, in line 3 of verse 28 and line 1 of verse 31. The style of the whole poem is highly bombastic and artificial, and the author has not without reason (in verse 57) exhorted his readers to exert themselves well and to make their intellect sharp as the point of *kuśa* grass.

The inscription is a *Prañasti* or laudatory account of the Paramāra rulers of Mālava, from Vairisimha (II.) to Lakshmamadeva, the son of Udayāditya and (probably elder) brother of Naravarmadeva; but, compared with its great length, the actual facts reported in it are few indeed. Beginning with seven benedictory verses, the poet (in verses 8-15) tells the well-known fable how on mount Arbuda (or Abū) the sage Vasishṭha, when his wonderful cow Nandini was being carried off by Viśvāmitra, produced from the sacred fire the hero Paramāra, who defeated Viśvāmitra and became afterwards the founder of the royal family here eulogized. The first king of this family, mentioned by the poet, is Vairisimha (vv. 16-19). He was succeeded by his son Siyaka (vv. 20-22); and after him came his son Muñjarāja (vv. 23-25), Muñjarāja’s younger brother Sindhurāja (vv. 26-28), and Sindhurāja’s son Bhujadeva (vv. 29-31). The description of these five kings is purely conventional and for the historian worthless. In verse 32 the poet intimates that Bhujadeva’s end was unfortunate; and he relates that, during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, Bhujadeva’s relative Udayāditya became king, whose great achievement was that he freed the land from the dominion of (the Chedi) Karṇa who, joined by the Karṇātās,7 had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean (vv. 32-34). Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmamadeva, the glorification of whom takes up no less than twenty verses (vv. 35-54). According to the poet’s account Lakshmamadeva subjugated the earth in all directions; but the only tangible and probably true facts mentioned are an expedition undertaken against Tripuri (v. 39), the well-known capital of the Chedi kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turushkas or Muhammadan invaders alluded to in verse 54, which speaks of the king’s encampment on the banks of the river Vaṅkṣhu, and contains a well-known play on the word *kira*,8

To the above laudatory account verses 55 and 56 add, that Lakshmamadeva, at the time of a solar eclipse, had granted, it is not clear to whom, two villages in the Vyāpura *mandala*, and that his brother, the king Naravarmadeva, afterwards assigned the village of Mokhalapātaka instead. Naravarmadeva, moreover, ordered (the architect) Lakshmīdhara to build the temple at which this inscription was put up, and which is said to have been adorned with many eulogies and hymns composed by (the king) himself. From this last remark I feel strongly inclined to believe that this *prañasti*, the author of which is not mentioned, was likewise composed by no less a personage than the king Naravarmadeva.

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6 The use of *udbhavan* in the first compound of verse 20, for *udbhava*, I ascribe to an error of the writer.
7 As Karṇa is joined here with the Karṇātās, so the lord of Chedi apparently is joined with the Karṇātās in the Udaypur *Prañasti*, ante, vol. I, p. 235, line 20.
8 See, e.g., above, p. 16, verse 12.
This main part of the inscription closes with the date, the (Vikrama) year 1161 = A. D. 1104-5. The additional line 41 (vv. 57 and 58) appeals to the reader to study carefully and with impartiality and to appreciate properly the poem, here set before him.

The history of the earlier Pāramāras of Mālava, down to Udayāditya, has been fully treated of by Professor Bühler, ante, vol. I, pp. 223-233. The names of the later rulers of the same dynasty I have given from their copper-plate grants in Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, pp. 346-347. All these later records make Nāravarman the immediate successor of Udayāditya, and so does the inscription from Madhukargadh, the substance of which is given in the Transactions Roy. As., Soc., vol. I, p. 226. But from the present inscription it is clear that Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmādeva, and he by his brother Nāravarman; and the dates available show that Lakshmādeva’s reign falls between the years A. D. 1080 and 1104.

Text.9

L. 1. | (10) "[" चोः "[""] चोः नमो भारतः "[""]
   प्रसादीदयमाचुरुसांमाधिपतिमतात्यदयः।
   युवव्यव्यृत्ते युमः सत्स ब्रह्मवेदः ते तेष पद्मानुष:।
   एक्क एव भूमुर्ताविषय म सोपत्तमवतु मो विमृत्तज्ञे।
   वच्चम मध्यमपद्वितीयाः मो भारतन्न्यतयाद्वाकात्त॥२॥
   जातात हरद्र वि[भाषा]10 गुः।  

2. | शालकाचारावः।
   सरसाय मकोऽदलु त्याः त्रयव्य न।
   दु: परिपत्तिकभौरत्नाप्रियसुधूरीतिसचिवैः[भूमुर्ताव]।
   [रा] जाराज्ञातस्यलिङ्गः वियाद्भावनस्यादी: विय: गियत्वा।
   जाताय स्थानोऽस्यरङ्गं स्र[ब्र] द्वादशकस्यस्ययु:।
   मकोऽदः[भाषा]।  

3. | ता सुका जयन्याभोजयोत्यन्।
   देवर्याः च सरसायाः च श्रियैःसारयाः च मार्गाचि च।
   व्यासान्नकपरम्मन्वि च वसन्ते वाहुतें हरारादिः।
   यहति च विवेकवं च मंगलोऽरोऽऽ संहं च तवाय।
   यहति च विवेकवं च मंगलोऽरोऽऽ संहं च तवाय।
   द्वेकर्षूयं सम[भ]।  

4. | स्वरे भोगालाक्षोऽत्तकाव्यः।
   सरसायात्मानवेशवक्को विष्णु: पुनात्व:॥१०॥

9 From impressions supplied to me by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.
10 Expressed by a symbol.
11 Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
12 Metre, Rathodhātā.
13 Read ब्रम्थ्या. The aksharas in brackets are much damaged, but I believe the reading to be correct. There is no doubt about the words जातात हरद्र, वि[भाषा].
14 Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
15 The aksharas in these brackets are almost entirely illegible.
16 Metre, Rathodhātā.
17 Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
18 Metre, Śardulavikṣṭita.
19 Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
नागपूर स्टोन इंस्क्रिप्शन.

कस्ति प्रकरणीर्दशांगतिरा नीलाम्बासानकसः
काळिनात्मकविधि (विन) तार्क (म्य) रतन: श्रीसाकुटाद्रिकु (श्र) द।।
यथा योगितलोहितलिङ्गिरमानस्मारप्रायम्याकरः
हेमरुपप्रभागक्रमः

5. तत्त्व (श्र) श्रापाक्षकायये ||२५—[८]
देह्येसारग्रामाक्षेलमिदं मथिष्ठा भूमिक्षल
कला यम्भुतलायमानवपुष्पो यश्रामायोगी च।
जाने यावदगृहेण सिखिद्धि मिष्टीः ब्रम्हीतयोः
हृद्य तावद्ग्रामादमशिवेश्वरस्थापनाभस्माशकल || —[९]

6. धि भूमिचकर्मक्राकाशक्रमः वेन दिग्ननिम्
संसाराननोनि मद्यरिमं नियत (षण) भवयज्ञकंतदिवर्याकव्यास्तीः ||२१—[१०]
सत्येवेवदवरं वर: स भवानादाकाय ग्रामवः
पुरुस्ताविनानांकोमलतं तिष्ठितिः सुनि:।
यक्तनालधवस्माष्यम्

7. नाने प्रस्तो वितृषण (श्र) भणो
ग्रामाक्षास्विशी तमनयुक्त(ष) श्रापाक्षक्षण प्रति ||२२—[११]
विभासारिद्यायतिविवर्तिनं दोमस्य संसारसैकत्वपञ्चमक्रममिति।
यथा विद्याकर्ममुख्यमथिष्ठा प्रायोगितयुपेक्षायाः ||२३—[१२]
शायातन कदाचन चित्रिततसरास्त्रितः कौशिकक्रामः
क्षाति

8. निद्रवितवस्तुतातजननादानिनः नवनिनः
निजता कृपयिन तन चिबिया संख्यितां (ष) धिंगोः
नाट्य: चित्रसराद युक्ताय: समस्तिगारीशभवः ||२४—[१३]
राज्यस्वयनसारविधानाक्षेत्रेऽनोद्वीपिपिरिविवर्तितः。
वर्गास्तमाण्डलयुक्तम् संसत्य्यांति तमति तति द्विभय

9. ||२५—[१४]
वराजासराजयोगलोकः समार:।
भर्त्रहयोनिप्रयोग अवात्याभमयः || २६ ||२५—[१५]
संख्यावैविविघ्नः चित्रिपतिरभवक्रिमितिभयः
प्रागाभ्रमिस्यादि तिथियमाय प्रमाणायस्य सरास्त्रितृ:।
नमक्षापायभाष्यसंख्यकितततिवालकांको

10. टीरकोटि
तुस्माचिथिक्राक्षसुपिति सम्बन्धादिपोधिपक्षः ||२७—[१६]
समस्तिगारिक्षप्राईशस्मयमश्वेतीसोलिष्याम्।
ब्राह्मणान्तपवारे: श्रीभरे नष्टावकाश दिश:।
सप्ततिशक्ति:त्रिकर्णमचरयानांभार्द्रांशियारा-
रस्तौतिरिवेश(वष)शेषस्विव-।

L. 11. महाबलवधा इव ॥२९—[१७]॥
पाताले वदवासुकानलसिपायसृष्टीति च सुर-कौतिवपणीवालोति च ब्र(व)श्रािकक्ष्मश्वायुः।
[च]शतकशमखचरवालवयावाजा दिप्पककले
यस्यायापि सुकृतसमविचरश्चर्यृतः प्रतापान्तः ॥—[१८]॥
क्रमाशितु च विविधपल्लितु च वालीन्ध्राङ्खु च

12. सतारां च विपुत्रे च सुरजाजाभिभिरां च यः।
शंभयः प्रभावितः प्रभामनोत्तर च
भ्राष्टर्मं पराभायमनं सभंसितामनं प्रवीक्षापावः ॥ २०—[१९]॥
तत्तपातिष्ठानसरावस्यदृढस्यग्रन्थः हृदयः
हा(वा)याप्तक्षण्यानकापदसुन: श्रीशिक्षाभूषणः।

13. प्राविभित्तप्रति शिविन्निततिरिय स्र(व)श्रािकक्ष्मश्वायुः-
यस्यायापि विलोकयते वियः[द]धोभः। ॥—[२०]॥
भुजगनसुदरः: श्रािकक्ष्मया यथे यदसिद्धदिक्युलक्षुकक्ष्मश्वायुः।
सतारामपि पतनायाय याय यथोऽयुऽश्वुततरलताराया-।

14. अभाज्यो भजने ॥३०—[२१]॥
प्रत्यासयम्ब्रम्बमधुतं रसी कर्ण समाचारः
को नेत्राक्षरशीत्य त तद्यति प्रस्तुतायोऽनुसारात् ।
उजायापि वरंथारसमस्तेर्धी लम्बृ(प्रुत)पि लक्ष्मीः च यः
कुब्रायायामनंकः सुमनसामायात्वैनक्ष्मायः ॥ ३१—[२२]॥
तत्तादेन-।

15. विविधायनव(व)हुविघमार्य(व)ह[श]शाब-प्रथमतपाठिनयावारणिन श्रीसुक्तराजो दूपः।
प्रायः: प्राहात्वारिपायसिपाय यथा प्रतापानां
वोकातीमहान्नृत्यविवायावाहिनिमाणः।—[२३]॥
यथासपैति जोलायाय याति: संभृतः सुमुखः।

16. स्थितं
वाणािकसारिविसर्षितपतलायायासिपायः।
भवद्रोऽह[श]करोध[श]यपदेविलोत्नीक्ष्मः
प्रक्षुजालावदमानिभृतस्त(व)श्रािकाश्रीतः।—[२४]॥
यविष्ठ(विष)णिरमससमर्तता वज्रः(क्ष)व्ययः दुःस्मं
देवतं स्त्रजः(व)मसु[व]तमयो दृश्या महत्-।

२९ वर्तमान श्लोक १७-२०, शारद्यालिक्रमिता।
३० विशेष श्लोक था चेतना, तथा यह एक मिलकर
३१ में विशेष नहीं था था, बल्कि यह एक मिलकर
to विशेष था था।
18. गान्तवलितभूजादुबंधुद्रातोऽद्वैतसः
  व्यवहारायिनसःसङ्कुटः[व]वनाममयःक्रमं
 ।—[26].

19. याप्रवेशः च व[(व)]ः कङ्कणवातः च
  अभाषिणिः कमठेशत्वः [सु]ः [व[(व)]ः]
  लेखः कालुठागमसः च नक्षियं युक्तथः च
  व्यवहारः विनिमित्तः यस्मिः प्रलापः पूवो-भुजः.
 ।—[28].

20. चायायायः (अ)ः रुक्मिणी(व)ः तांडक्कमः
  शीघ्रानः द्रुपः
  याप्रायः [पिप]ः शायणः चरणीः श्राब्धानः [था]ः
  अभाषिणिः (व)ः भविनमनिः रात्रिकोटिस्तिपः.
 ।—[29].

21. तक्षरुक्श्रपदशंपतःकङ्कणमयः[स]ः भमणः [तिः]
  यक्षः [क्ष]ः कङ्कणवातः
  वदः
  प्रलापः चराय ब्राह्मणः दुक्कानः पुत्रायः च
  सङ्कणालिङ्गः दन्दार्जकतः च सङ्कणानाः
  वायारः सङ्कणः

22. व्यवहारायिनि य[पिप]ः सक्रोत्सिञ्यः.
  !—[31].

23. आदुप्रतपत्रायः [पवनो]ः पाठदुहिश्चिता-
  साध्योऽक्षरि विभमभादिभुजः प्राप्तः
  !—[32].
मन्ये सौयमिति प्रतीतितिततामर्थप्रकरणेण ते
भिः[१] भाशकारसंख्यं रिपुभट्टं: प्रायु: परां निवृत्ति [३३]।
एक्ष्यां समिती विलोक्य विजय य-  

प्रायरखां स्तु-  
[३४] — [३५] सम्न म्यायति दृढ़ज्ञातासहखस्ये ।
किंतुनदीनिशिलित्वलंपत्या श्रीलो: सुधार्थित-  
३७ बहुः कर्नःकर्णःपरमपर्याप्ताति: श्रीयो वरुपिसंबद्धति [३५] [३६]।
प्रायप्रकर्यं जागरणविकतरणं: सम्यक्षापालन-  
प्रायप्रक-  

चण्डीली थेः मनुस्तायासुविद्ये नासी न बैववत् ।
सब्ज्जातां स्वरुपित यथा कोरिच्छेदे खल: [३६] — [३५]।
संभूय प्रियतां जश्विः(अ)सम्बन्धूः कुर्मयाराजादयः ।
सदो नस्ति [वा दुः] संस्मरत वा प्रबु-  

liches ।

चण्डीली पितीयतामनिष्ठिणा: पार्श्वः पुरा पूर्वय-  
तेष्व याहरति प्रय चर्पकायो यथा खण्डयणवम्॥ [३६]।
यधिन्द्रवन्धिति वा (वा)भविषयर विभुरि: पूर्वः: परिवर्तिते  
कथायण्य कथायिष्य कार्यं कार्तर्त्या नापेपकते द्रव्येषे: ।
प्रायरविष्कर-  

प्रलित स्वकृतिश्रीयते पपिमारो ।
स्मृतै क्रियकसम्बृपितमिच्वाचोध्योध्यक्ति ॥ [३७]।
प्रयाति यथिनिर्ग्रहः दित्र चौरार्ज्जीवियानन्यसमानदलिताः ।
यथाविभूर्यायम्: पूर्व देव[सत्या]मभं सहसा पुरंदर: [३९]- [३८]
उक्तिओहितसंविभिन्नितानि-  

ताजाप्रयासक्रम-  

उक्तिइ बिपुरी रणकारसिकारि[अ] विद्वेषिष: ।
वैनायवति विद्वेषनिर्मार्यवनाचार्यास्स्स-  
होरिहाकानंतरविनयवति रन्योपक्षथ[ख]सो [३९]- [३९]।
जातानि जन्मथमाङ्गानि वीजानि याजुर्महाज्ञानानि ।
तटाचलिः  

वाचनतत्त्वराय विद्वेषवाहोरिस्मपरंपराया: [४०]- [४०]।
व्य व्यालोकारालोपिनंतरम: कुशाय मानोशम-  
कटान्त्या: कांपाक्षेत्रविहीलानायमानाश्वस: ।
प्रायस्तित्विविभिषिक्षुरविय यहान्हीवायचेशे ।  
होरिस्मदेशुद्देशीय्यं (विधि)ग्राहिणि स्विस्मन-  

37 Read बहुः.
38 Metre, उपेन्द्रव्रताराजानि.
39 Metro, शारदुलाविक्रम.
40 Metro, उपाज्जाति.
30. पादावर्षा: [(?)]—[41].

31. नमः चायमसीदास[ता]ः शृः
क्रोडाकोइकुर्म(स)का[(फ़ि)]जनसुक्र(व)चयोशुपः।
केसुनारम्यचन्द्रमशक्षेत्रीविर्षेश्वरीकृते—
सौरधरासुम्बरकुलैंयाब[ [=][९] (व)दोखः॥—[43].
देवासी पुजोऽनमः स भगवानातिपियः य तिया

32. ऐपेड (व)लोकवर्ग(व)अधिधना विपण समाधानितं।
केनासुरी वदयुर्वति द्रवत: सानमसदागतां
ब्रह्म ऐपायोसिनी तु(दु)धनीवर्ज्यस्तं: प्रयूता॥—[44].
देव वयानन्दमखण्डलिन्यः कादिन्य(स)नीविन्हः—
संवत्सीशिला मथ्यावः चुणदुःखः

33. तिरहताः(प्र)न्यः।
[व] — — ○ ○ [बाल्य]समसुदे पा[वी]वगाहोकाते—
वन्यभाषामतक्षेररर्ताकलेवस्यु(मु)णिमयः।—[45].
कुस्मवभवसोदयः यदापाचोसुपाः[क्ष]ति।
तोलाधरिनी[च]को[स्व]विन्यावा(ब्र)वयताद्॥—[46].
शो[ख]थोऽज्ञवे यदैकवतनासामस्—

34. सीमलिनी—
श्रीणिव[स]श्रीरिणीविशोऽयेश्वर[स]नामसुजः: पतिति या या।
तापि संप्रति पवेशु श्रीविन्हें व्यासामन्यपरंपायः—
पप्पवीपपि तदेव पाख्यापपि[क्ष]वाते [आ]य[त]॥—[47].
माभवेः स सेवरंत्रभनो रामस्य यो माति—
प्रायोपाध्यातः

35. दीर्घमूर्खरुपः वर्षः[श्रीविष्णु]ऽनि।
वतः[दु]व्यः कुलभल्यं क्रियंत तः[स]व्याधवः।—[48].
ब्रह्मायांमण्यं यमाम् यशस्वा नवेः सम्पर्वत साधस्य: ।
भूतस्वकीयः कक्षेऽन्त्रं व्याप्ताहोः—

36. पायतुं पायथृद्धापः॥—[49].
वेनाकमसुक्ता वर्षित कुशशिवलङ्कारः कावि—
कार्तारीक तिर्मितीप्रभुत्वः कुशारी रूपे चरितः।
एतेष्यति न कौरिय यश जलधि [त]खाय(शेष) पय[ः] 
[पीवा] यशारिभि: सचेतकसुकोस्तीसी- ।

L. 37. 
रघुवार्यां ||57—[50].

ष्कैः संभूय तिमिःसङ्कन्ध्यातितिः: संसर्गिःसङ्क[व्]से 
पोतार्कानसृव(व)भूतां मिलिविणि सनातनसुक्ता चति ।
भास्मादन्दरस्व(व)रायः दण्डे[ः]४० तैराप्रेशेकृष्ण(व)धे धी 
यशेनाराजेजाठ[पीव]रकरा — — कोष्कुक्ते: || —[51].

शयात्तित्वचोविच राज- ।

38. 
राजसमि तदायं प्रति यश यातुः ।
विधापि भैयुज्ञिततविच्यायायभूद्धि: प्रतिपरिष्यंजयभूद्धि(श्री)भूवे ||52. 
शाराजः: सर्वत्र मराधिपि तदा पुसागपुरवादिम- 
हस्मानकृतन्यकायायतितजयविशेषायायधारण: ।
तथा सन्तुज्ञदशस्त्र[ष्कै]मलस्नातालित्वदीक्त- 
चोवीपालक- ।

39. 
पालसम्भवलगलकलालकुक्ताकृता: ||53. 
केशोत्तातुतुष्यददत्विलसदाहलविशेषाय- 
स्मालकुकृतजसराधिकारधीदी वंचंपकषठले ।
शेषवाच्य सर्वत्रीसवित्तसाधिकायवाक्यावत- 
करानुकर[ण]विप्रज्ञरगत्व: कीराधिपोध्यायत || —[54].

तैन व्यापरमण्डल सुकति- ।

40. 
न यशी प्रहेदप्रेते 
याहासम्मयमन्न्येय विधिना विशारातिः सचया ।

tद्राता नरवभदेवन्याति: पहात्यरीवशि त- 
हाम मोलकापाठकायममदिनियग्रत्यथेच्याय ॥ ५२ ॥ —[55].

तैन प्रयुक्तानमकविन्मत्सुतितितिः ।
श्वमकशीर्णोर्णेतिलाहागारमिजयायत ॥56—[56].

सं १९६२ ॥

41. 
कंडी वू(बु)धा: सातस समुखवयं कुमातपनष्ठं च चिर्य विधाय ।

tथथभभवं च समायवयं सुरव च न: चस्मायथसुपपन्तं ||57—[57].

वन्दनीयादृशी सुखविताते ती विपुलितो ।
खायु सुखत: साम्मानन्दालाख्याम्व(के)ते || ॥ ||58—[58].

47 Metre of verses 50 and 51, Sārdalavikrīdita.
48 Originally निधिरे seems to have been engraved.
49 Metre, Upajāti.
50 Metre of verses 53-55, Sārdalavikrīdita.
51 Originally दीवसय was engraved.
52 Metre, Slokā (Anuṣṭubh).
53 Read विधि.
54 Metre, Upajāti.
55 Metre, Slokā (Anuṣṭubh).
NAGPUR STONE INSCRIPTION.

TRANSLATION.

Om!

Om! Adoration to Bhārati! 56

(Verse 1). O goddess of speech and divine Durgā! Let simplicity, 57 force, sweetness, depth, harmony, and whatever other qualities you possess, let them all be shared by us!

(2). May Lakshmi’s husband, that sole lord of fortune in all the three worlds, grant you prosperity,—he from whose middle stride even the sun and the other luminaries yonder shine forth!

(3). May good utterances, clad in jāti and vṛtta metres, 60 pleasing by their style and by figures of speech, and expressive of poetical sentiment, be gracious to us! And may sages be so, men of taste, of noble birth and good conduct, who charm with the qualities that adorn them!

(4). May Śiva grant whatever is auspicious,—he who, terrific when he destroys the irresistible foe Pura, singularly embellished with copious ashes, and revered by the lord 60 of the Yakshas, resembles this fire-born race, 61 which is terrible when it breaks the strongholds of irresistible foes, is exquisitely adorned with abundant good fortune, and paid homage to by the kings of kings!

(5). Glory be to the lotus-born Brahman who, engendered in the mundane egg which was produced in the great ocean, and, when set free, an object of reverence for Śiva, is like the pearls which grow in the oyster-shells of the sea, and are prized by great lords!

(6). May that form 62 of the husbands of Umā and Lakshmi grant you both enjoyment and salvation, which, both passionless and passionate, wearing both a wreath of human skulls and flower-garlands, clad both in tiger and elephant skins and in costly garments, adorned both with serpents and with pearl-strings and other ornaments, and both smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes, is fearful as well as auspicious!

(7). May Vishnu purify you, who, in the guise of a fish and other creatures having assumed one after another all forms, made the whole universe not differing from himself!

(8). Well-known is the glorious mount Arbuda, which utterly humbles the pride of the noblest of mountains, and rivals the firmament with the rich splendour radiating from its sapphire crest. The circle of the pollen of the lotuses that swing to and fro in the pools on its broad sky-piercing top looks as if it were indeed another vault of heaven.

(9). I fancy, it was when the creator, wishing to know whether the gods or the mortals were purer, attached the round of heaven, filled with the former, and this orb of

56 I.e., the goddess of speech or eloquence.
57 For the exact definitions of praṇāda, auddhyya, madhurya, samādhi and samātā, denoting certain qualities of style, see, e.g., Kāvyadārśa I, 45, 76, 51, 93, and 47. But these terms should be understood here, not only in their technical, but also in their ordinary senses, ‘serenity of disposition,’ etc.
58 The madhyama Vaishnavā padam, ‘Vishnu’s middle stride,’ is the air. The idea which the poet intends to convey apparently is, that, if Vishnu’s madhyama-pada already is so high, his uttama-pada must be infinitely higher still.
60 I.e., the god Kuvera.
61 I.e., the Paramāra family which will be eulogised in the following.
62 I.e., the form of Hari-Hara or Vishnu-Siva; see ante, vol. I, p. 311, note 47.
the earth, filled with the latter, to the two extremities of this mountain, using it as a balance of virtue, that the round of heaven rose higher even than the top of mount Meru.\(^3\)

(V. 10). Piercing with one end the ocean-surrounded orb of the earth, and with the other the horizon-encircled round of the sky, this mountain has assumed the glorious appearance of an axle of the chariot of the universe, one side of which lies down, broken on the rugged road of this world, while the other is lifted upwards.

(11). On this mountain, whose slopes, bathed by the streams of water of the heavenly Ganges, are pleasant and soft, dwelt that chief of those versed in the Vedas, the venerable sage Vasishṭha, who, to delight his father Brahman, led the Yamuna, enveloped in the smoke of the three sacred fires, up to the vault of heaven, to effect her junction with the Ganges.

(12). His hundreds of precepts, like horses, extricate the chariot of the three worlds, so that it may proceed without hindrance, when, turned into a wrong road, it has stuck fast in the terrible quicksand of worldly affairs, bordering on the great stream of knowledge.

(13). Once upon a time, when the royal descendant\(^4\) of Kuśika visited him and took by force the cow Nandini, which caused delight by yielding all things suitable for hospitable entertainment, Vasishṭha, enraged, pleased the fire by an oblation, and from that fire sprang, to conquer Viśvamitra, the unparalleled hero, the illustrious Paramāra, rightly so named.\(^5\)

(14). Ever prosperous is his family here, which, made up of rulers illustrious for having increased the realm, who were supporters of the law, whose banner was truth and whose fame is widely spread, is an image of the solar and lunar lines, in which there were the princes Rājyavardhana, Viśāla, Dharmabhṛt, Satyaketu, and Prithukirti.

(15). This family, unsurpassed by the blessed never-aging immortals, sprung from fire, and taking delight in the assemblies of the learned, has been propagated like those of the Sun and the Moon, which are adorned by the eminent Aja and Rāma, gave birth to Nala, and include the descendants of Bharata.

(16). In this race there was the king Vairisimha, whose rule was supremely prosperous, because he was abundantly endowed with good fortune, might, resoluteness, generosity and bravery; while the ground around his jewel-inlaid foot-stool was made uneven by the mass of rubies, broken from the edges of the tremulous handsome diadems which fell from the foreheads of kings who bowed down before him.

(17). When he set out to conquer all the quarters, the regions of space, withdrawn from view, were beautified by his umbrellas of peacocks' feathers, shining like sapphires, so that they seemed enveloped in the poisonous breath of the distressed serpent Śesha, rising up through the fissures of the earth, rent as it was by the massive feet of the arrays of his marching ruddy elephants.

(18). Not to be interfered with, the fire of his prowess shines forth even now, in the lower regions under the guise of the fire proceeding from the mare's mouth, on the earth under that of the glittering golden mountain, in the sky as the starry firmament, and near the confines of space as a range of mountains of quivering gold.

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\(^{3}\) Literally, 'higher than the pillar-like mountain of the immortals.' What the poet wishes to convey is, the mount Arbuda is higher even than the fabulous mountain Meru.

\(^{4}\) \textit{I.e.}, Viśvamitra.

\(^{5}\) \textit{Viz.}, 'the slayer of enemies.' \textit{See ante}, vol. I, p. 236, verse 6.
(V. 19). He ruled the earth, humbling Indra in heaven by his majesty, defeating host of enemies in hostile lands by his valour, and surpassing Vishnu's lord of serpents in his serpent-home by his ability to uphold the earth.

(20). From him sprang the illustrious king Sisyaka, the fire of whose wrath was extinguished by the tears, caused by the pangs of widowhood, of the royal ladies of hostile princes; while the fire of his prowess even now is perceived here, in the guise of the starry firmament, presenting a novel appearance inasmuch as the smoke, in the guise of the atmosphere, is beneath it.

(21). The clusters of big pearls, which flew up into the air from the frontal globes of furious elephants cleft by his sword, though constantly falling down, have, disguised as they are as large sparkling stars, not even now reached the earth.

(22). To whom shall we tell this great unseen and unheard-of wonder? Or who will understand it? Yet for curiosity's sake we report it: Although he delivered the earth, although he wedded the unique goddess of fortune, although again and again he did the work of the gods, he never was Vaikuntha.66

(23). From him was born the illustrious king Munjaraja, who alone, with the bow in his hand, put an end to many a fight commenced by hostile armies, as Siva did to (Daksha's) sacrifice;67 and the fire of whose prowess, to protect the orb of the earth, used to envelop it under the guise of the belt of the lofty Lokaloka mountains.

(24). Even when he was marching for mere pleasure, his frolicsome soldiers turned out in such numbers that the horizon was obscured by the clouds of dust, raised by the squadrons of his cavalry, and that the cavity of the universe was completely filled with the excessive noise of the trembling chains, swung to and fro by the feet of the arrays of his huge elephants, taller than the hugest mountains.

(25). When, having their heads struck off by his sword, heroes had obtained the rare fortune of being transformed into divine beings, and when, proudly viewing their bodies below surrounded by champions, eager for the fray, they were throwing themselves from the aerial cars, they were joyfully embraced and forcibly held back by the Siddha women, clustering round them.

(26). After him his younger brother, the far-famed illustrious Sindharaja, became king, the fire of whose bravery bore the brilliant beautiful lustre of the roaring submarine fire. As the mass of waves, raised by the fierce blast which springs up at the destruction of the world, submerges the mountains, so the broad scimitar, brandished by his arm, when it was lifted in war, dealt out destruction to princes.

(27). When this prince marched forth victoriously, the cloud of dust raised by the onset of his fleet horses appeared to the host of his enemies like the smoke of the all-devouring fire rising all round from the fissures of the surface of the earth, broken by the weight of his formidable elephants.

(28). In every battle princes found out that the creator had as it were combined in him the depth of the ocean and the might of the wind, as they are at the destruction of the world, the firmness of the lord of tortoises, the weight of the whole universe, the splendour of the all-destroying fire, and the magnitude of the celestial vault.

66 Vaikuntha, i.e., Vishnu, uplifted the earth, obtained Lakshmi, and did the work of the gods; the king freed the earth from troubles, secured fortune, acted for the benefit of well-minded people, and never indeed showed dullness or indolence (Agam na vai kunthadam).

67 See the first verse of the first act of Kalidasa's Sakuntala, and Sir M. Monier-Williams' note on it.
(V. 29). His son was the unique ornament of the world, the illustrious king Bhoga-
deva, whose lotus-feet were richly adorned with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings,
and on whose feet rests even now, while he is occupying Indra’s throne, the vivid
splendour of the edges of the diadems of the immortals, bowed down with envy.

(30). His army, distinguished by the sharp sound of roaring kettle-drums, by the
thunder of loud jharjhara,⁶⁶ by a multitude of shrill damaru, and by tabors heard
above the tumult, roamed, filling the world with its noise, over the whole earth, thrown
into confusion under the footsteps of his ruddy elephants.

(31). Even now, when they recite his fame in the assembly of the gods, Vaikuntha
is ever jealous of the four-mouthed Brahman, Svayambhū again of the five-mouthed
Hara, Śambhu too of his six-mouthed son Kārttikeya, and this leader of the divine
hosts of the lord of serpents with his thousand mouths.

(32). When he had become Indra’s companion, and when the realm was overrun by
floods⁶⁷ in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king.
Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who,
joined by the Kṛṇāta, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the
holy Boar.⁷⁰

(33). The hostile champions who met their death facing this king, similar to the sun
and confounded with it because the terrible fire of his valour made him difficult to look
at, I fancy that they became supremely happy, when, their fury heightened by the
belief that the luminary was their opponent, they split the orb of the sun.⁷¹

(34). The lord of serpents, having in battle witnessed his victory and eulogizing it
in an assembly, . . . . shows that his thousands of eyes and tongues indeed serve
a purpose; but, cheated of the pleasure of listening when he has closed his eyes with
delight, he scorns his body because, bereft of ears, it must use the eyes in their stead.

(35). A son of that sun of the three worlds was the illustrious Lakshmadeva,
resembling the lord of creatures in his eagerness properly to rule his subjects; who verily
in his conduct so allowed himself to be guided by that son of Vivasvat, Manu, that
everywhere and at all times new fame grew up for him of its own accord.

(36). This is what his marching-drum proclaims, under the pretence of resounding:
‘Join together, you king of tortoises and ye others, in upholding the earth, heavy with
the load of this army! Either perish at once or bow down speedily, ye opposing princes!
Quickly shut your eyes, O gods, before the dust fills them!’

(37). When he marches, the princes of the east, bewildered, forsake even their rela-
tives; those of the south in their perplexity take no note even of good news; the princes
of the west find out to their sorrow that the creeping-plant of hope bears no good fruit
to them; while those of the north throw themselves on their swords, and thus court death
as the best and only fate left to them.⁷³

(38). When, desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he first proceeded to Hari’s

⁶⁶ Jharjhara and damaru are names of certain kinds of drums.
⁶⁷ Kulaśekhara would also mean ‘crowded with nobles.’
⁷⁰ i.e., Vishnu in his boar-incarnation, in which he raised the earth from the sea with his tusks.
⁷¹ See the Pārhāna-smṛti, Calcutta ed., p. 626: Deda śmouse purushau loke stṛya-manḍala-bhedinaṃ, parihrdaya
yogayuktas cha rane chdhikumukho katuḥ.
⁷³ I take the words dvadhāpy ayodhyayate to mean, that the princes of the north did what is expressed by
ayodhyayate, in the two senses which these words are capable of conveying. Ay Österreich, may be taken as the nominative
of either the neuter aya, ‘iron, steel,’ or the masculine aya, ‘favourable fortune.’ Compare below, verses 49 and 52.
No. 35: MATHURA JAINA INScriptions (NEW SERIES): Nos. XXXV-XXXI.

No. 35:

No. 36:

No. 37:

No. 38: Inscription of Gupta period?

No. 39: Inscription of Kumbhagupta. S. 113

No. 40:

No. 41: S. 1080.

No. 42: Buddhist Inscription from Kaman, Sash. 74.
quarter, then, just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gaúda, so Puandara even was of a sudden filled with apprehension. (V. 39). When in the course of an unchecked expedition, undertaken in the height of power and under favourable auspices, he had attacked Tripûri and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries, he encamped on the banks of the Reva, where his tent were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains.

(40). The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Reva a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river-banks.

(41). Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, taking them for the elephants of the enemy because their tremulous broad torrents appeared like trunks, their projecting peaks like frontal globes, and the water flowing from their ridges like rutting-juice.

(42). He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land, and which were black with herds of countless wild elephants, excited by the odour of the rutting-juice which thickly covered the broad cheeks of the elephants of his army.

(43). Even the troops of elephants of Ánga and Kaliṅga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain-clouds, dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime,—even they had to sue for mercy, when they were bewildered by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of his army.

(44). Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully: 'O lord, it was the holy Purushottama to whom Fortune resorted, who relieved this universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth.'

(45). The elephants of his feudatories, eager to plunge into the water to get rid of the fatigue of battle, worsted even those ocean-waves which resemble the circle of smoke of the all-consuming fire, and rival a bank of clouds, and are befriended with the darkness that spreads at the universal dissolution, when they harbour the down-breaking sky.

(46). When, like the pitcher-born Agastya, he directed his steps towards the south, the Cholas and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountains.

(47). The water of the Tāmrapurāṇi which is fainted all the earth over for the pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles on their hips, behold, even to this day that water affords a livelihood to the Pándya chief.
(V. 49) Respectfully informed by the people, that the dam before him, which looked like the growing Vindhya range, was the bridge of the holy Bāma, constructed on many mountain-peaks which were fetched by Māruti, he listened attentively, but scornfully crossed over to the opposite island, simply on the elephants of his army.

(49). When his army afterwards, having reduced both the quarter and the expectations of Yama, continued its march unshathed, the noose-bearing Varuna despaired of guarding his own quarter from destruction.78

(50). It is surely in some ocean or other that the Mainaka and the other mountains rest, that the all-devouring fire dwells, that the Timṅgilas and other monsters live, and that Hari sleeps; but where this is, nobody has discovered at any of the oceans at which his elephants, in swallowing all the water at a single draught, have severally acted the part of Agastya.79

(51). By those same Timṅgilas and other monsters of the sea, floating about in company with which the Mainaka and other mountains appeared like shoals of young fish, by them, unchecked . . . . in the whole ocean, the massive trunks of the lordly elephants of his army were made to assume the marvellous appearance of revolving Mandara mountains.

(52). Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings, he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of Yakshas, the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of Kuvera.80

(53). And all the time even in the wilderness his wars were pleasure-gardens, the trees of which were his fame, reared in the midst of multitudes of distinguished warriors as among Punnāga and betel-nut creepers, and attended by the Fortune of victory who acted as a forest-deity in the thicket of his troops; gardens which were irrigated by the streams of blood flowing down from many skulls of princes, aimed at by the flashing sword which was fiercely wielded by his strong arm.

(54). Being encamped on the banks of the Vāṃśhu,81 which were even softer than nature made them, because the saffron-flaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turushka whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kira chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage.

(55). This blessed (king), on the occasion of a solar eclipse, piously gave82 with due rites two villages in the Vṛāpura mandala. Afterwards his brother, the king Naravar-madeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhalapāṭaka, at the request of the three places.

(56). And he has ordered the illustrious Lakṣhmidhara to construct this temple, which is adorned with many eulogies and hymns, composed by himself.

78 Yama, the ruler of the dead, is the regent of the south, and Varuna the regent of the west.
79 Agastya is said to have swallowed the ocean.
80 Kuvera, the chief of the Yakshas, is the regent of the northern quarter.
81 According to Sir M. Monier-Williams' dictionary, a small arm or branch of the Ganges.
82 The original does not say in whose favour the donation was made, but contains only the relative yasmi, in reference to which the demonstrative tasmai would have to be supplied in the second half of the verse.
The year 1161.

Oh!

(V. 57). O ye learned! Exert yourselves well, and make your intellect sharp as the point of kūsa grass! Try to judge with impartiality, and with pleasure do homage to the nectar of our poetry!

(58). Blessed are both those wise men, the poet and who listens to him, who completely overcome with delight shed plentiful tears of joy.

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XIV.—FURTHER JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURĀ.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The impressions of the subjoined inscriptions have all been furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer. Nos. i—viii, x—xxi, xxxi—xxxvii and xxxix—xli belong to the splendid discoveries which Dr. Führer made in the Kankāli Tīla at Mathurā during the period from November 1890 to March 1891.¹ No. ix comes from the same site, but was discovered during the working season of 1889-90. No. xxii is identical with Sir A. Cunningham’s No. 19 (Arch. Surv. Rep., vol. III, plate xv), and No. xxxviii with Mr. Growse’s No. 5 (Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, p. 218). No. xlii is a Buddhist inscription, brought by Dr. Führer from Kāman or Kādambāvana. I have added it, because it helps to interpret more correctly a sign used in one of the Jaina inscriptions, and possesses some interest in other respects.

The earliest among these inscriptions, which probably cover more than 1,200 years, is without doubt No. i, which shows exceedingly archaic characters. Its letters do not differ very much from those of Aśoka’s edicts, and they look somewhat older than those in Dhanabhūti’s inscription on the gateway of the Bharhat Stūpa which is dated in the reign of the Śunag (Indian Antiquary, vol. XIV, p. 188). It may, therefore, be assigned to the middle of the second century B.C. Its language is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, which shows a few peculiarities, partly traceable in other ancient documents. The genitive in ṛṣa from a-stems, instead of asa, occurs in one of the older votive inscriptions at Bharhut.² It may be explained by the substitution of the long vowel and a single consonant for the short vowel and a double consonant. The lengthening of the initial a of āntevasi, which is also found in āntevasini, No. iv, finds an analogy in the curious paryāntam, which occurs twice in Āpastamba’s Dharmasūtra, I. 3, 9, 23 and I. 3, 11, 33, and has been explained in the Introduction to the second edition of that work (p. v, note 4). The use of the nominative at the end of the first part of the compound pāsādotorana is well known from the inscriptions of the Indo-Skythian period, see ante, vol. I, p. 375 and below. Possibly it is found also in one of the votive inscriptions from the Sānci Stūpa, No. i, see ante, p. 90.

Next in age comes No. ii, the inscription from the reign of the Mahákṣhatrapa Soḍāsa. The existence of this ruler was first made known by Sir A. Cunningham, who found another inscription with his name in the Kankāli Tīla, (see Arch. Surv. Rep.,

¹ Dr. Führer has sent me during the period mentioned altogether 74 inscriptions, among which 64 are new Jaina inscriptions from the Kankāli Tīla. Those not given in this paper are either very small fragments of no particular interest or not readable with any certainty.

² See Dr. E. Hultsch’s article Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Bd. XL, p. 60ff., No. 115.
vol. III, p. 30, and plate xiii, No. 1). On the evidence of his coins, which resemble those of Azes, Sir A. Cunningham placed Śoñāsa about 80—70 B.C., and conjectured that he was a son of Rajubula, another Satrap of Mathurā. The latter conjecture is confirmed, as he has stated of late, by a passage on Dr. Bhagvānīlā’s lion-pillar, where Śoñāsa is called the son of Rajula. Though the precise date assigned to Śoñāsa may be doubted, still he must have ruled at Mathurā in the first century B.C., before the time of Kanishka and his successors. I do not dare to offer for the present any conjecture regarding the era which Śoñāsa uses. Sir A. Cunningham (loc. cit.) is inclined to identify it with that used by the Mahārāja Moga and other foreign rulers of Northern India. The inscription No. ii is also in pure Prakrit of the Pali type. The next inscription, No. iii, mentions also a Mahākṣatrapa, whose name seems to have begun with Ma. It is to this circumstance that it owes its place. Its appearance indicates that it is much later than No. ii, and as it is incised on a sculpture cut out of the back of that on which No. x is found, it must be later than the latter. Still its date will fall before the time of Kanishka, as the Mahākṣatrapas of Mathurā must have passed away before the Kushānas reigned there. The mangala of the inscription, the only portion fully preserved, is in pure Sanskrit.

The next seven inscriptions, Nos. iv—x, which have been grouped under the name “arcnic,” all belong in my opinion to the period before Kanishka. But I am not able to say anything regarding their relative position towards each other or towards Nos. ii and iii. The chief differences which separate them from the documents of the Kushana-period are the use of the tripartite subscribed yo, the want of the loop on the left side of the ordinary ya, the da, slightly open to the left (which occurs in Nos. iv and ix), and the well developed vertical stroke and symmetrical shape of the ta. The va has a very curious shape in the word Śivayakā, No. v, l. 2a, as it consists of two triangles with the apexes joined. The language of most of them is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, but No. iv shows one Sanskrit form and No. vii is apparently in pure Sanskrit. With respect to No. ix I must add that I am inclined to identify the Gōṭi putra Īḍrapāla or Īḍrapālita with Gōṭi putra, “the black cobra for the Śakas and the Poṭhayas” mentioned in No. xxxiii of the collection, published ante, vol. I, p. 396. If that is correct, the document must go back to the times before the consolidation of the foreign rule at Mathurā.

The next group, Nos. xi—xxiv, consists of the dated inscriptions which in my opinion all belong to the time of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Not one shows the name of a king. Nevertheless, I believe that nobody, who carefully compares them with the dated documents, mentioning the three kings, will come to a different conclusion. The dates range within the well-known limits from Samvat 4 to Samvat 98. The characters and the language are of the same mixed types described in the introduction to my first paper, ante, vol. I, p. 371ff. I have nothing to add to the remarks made there on the alphabet and the spelling. As regards the language, I will only call attention to a few points. The few verbal forms, bhavatu, No. xiii, astu, No. xviii, and nirvartayati, No. xx, are pure Sanskrit. No. xxiii, where we have śīhṣasya ganisya

* Academy of April 25th, 1891, p. 397. On an impression of the inscriptions on the lion-pillar, which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Burgess, I, too, read Rajulasu putra Suñāsa chhatraus. But I do not feel quite certain that Rajula and Rajubula are the same person, nor that the words given above, which stand in two consecutive lines with other signs in between, are really connected.
Nandiye, furnishes an exact analogy to the curious form Havanamūdia in No. ix of the collection in vol. I, and shows that masculine i-stems really take the terminations of the feminine. Possibly No. xxix, which shows ganisya uggahinīya, furnishes a third instance. Very interesting, too, are the numerous cases where the nominative takes the place of the crude form, both in this and in the next group. Among the remarkable words I note asma or asmi kshunye, “at that moment,” in Nos. xv, xxiv and xlii, pāya “fifty” in No. xvii and dvāpanā “fifty-two” in No. xviii, among which the latter possesses some interest on account of the Mahārāṣṭrī bāvanṇa and the bāvan or bāvan of various modern vernaculars.

After this group have been placed thirteen inscriptions, Nos. xxv—xxxvii, which in my opinion, likewise belong to the period of Kanishka and his successors, though it is impossible to exactly fix their dates. With respect to Nos. xxv—xxvii, which show the names of Devaputra Huvishka and Devaputra Huksila, as well as the titles māhārāja rājatiraja, the correctness of my view is evident. It can also be proved or made probable for some others, e.g., No. xxxiv, which mentions the venerable Balaṭrāṭa and his pupil Sandhi. Both names occur in No. v of the earlier collection (ante, vol. I, p. 384), which is dated in the year 25. Again, No. xxxvi certainly did bear a date, which may have been Samvat 50, and the teacher Jēṣṭhāhaṅkari, mentioned in No. xxxvii, is known from No. xiv of the earlier collection, where the name of his pupil, looking like Mahalo, has to be read Mihilo, on the evidence of the new inscription. With respect to these two inscriptions, as well as to Nos. xxxviii, xxix and xxxiii, the close resemblance of the letters to those of the inscriptions, showing the names of the three kings, must be allowed its due weight. I must, however, admit that Nos. xxx and xxxi are somewhat doubtful, and that they may possibly have to be transferred to the archaic group, belonging to the time before Kanishka. The characters of some of these thirteen inscriptions show a few peculiarities worthy of note. In pratimā No. xxix, the ṭ-stroke has been undoubtedly placed below the consonant to which it belongs. This is quite in keeping with the “anyhow-style” of the Indian writers and masons. In No. xxix of the earlier collection (ante, vol. I, p. 305, fourth plate), the same vowel has been attached to the lower right limb of ta in the word arahantāna, and similar instances occur in later inscriptions. In No. xxxiv, l. 2, the looped ta of Navaḥastiṣya is remarkable, especially as the same sign is used for na in bhrātrinām (l. 3). The looped form of ta is common enough in the southern inscriptions, where it first appears in those of Siriyaṇa Sātakani. But I have not observed it on any document which comes from the northern half of India. Another curious sign is the va which looks, owing to a continuation of the two side-strokes beyond the apex, almost exactly like ma. It is quite distinct in the word vadhuṣye, No. xxxii, l. 1, likewise in vihāre, No. xlii, and in Huviskṣasya, No. xxv. As regards the spelling, I would call attention to the tachygraphic abbreviation of the word, siddha, discussed in the remark on No. xxvii, in note 2 on No. xxxvi, and note 2 on No. xlii. Among the linguistic peculiarities, I would point out the phrase bahavo[ta] vachaka cha ganino cha, “of the great preacher and ganin,” No. xxxvi, which affords another illustration of the principle discussed in the introduction to the earlier collection, ante, vol. I, p. 375. Another amusing instance of the

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4 Arch. Rep. West. Ind., vol. IV, plate 1r, No. 22; compare also No. 20.
utter absence of all feeling for grammatical forms is furnished by the description of the *donatrix* in No. xxxiv, *Navahastiya dhīlā, grahasenasya vadhu ... Sivasenasya ... bhūtrināṃ mātuv jāyāye*, where two nominatives are co-ordinated with two genitives.

The next three inscriptions, Nos. xxxviii—xl, belong, in my opinion, to the Gupta period. This is, of course, indisputable with No. xxxix, which is dated in the reign of Kūmāraguṇa. The shape of the letters, and especially the peculiar method of marking the long and short ī, by turning the former to the right of the consonant and the latter to the left, makes it, I think, impossible to assign No. xxxviii to an earlier period. If my conjecture is accepted, its date, the year 57, is the earliest Gupta date yet found. No. xl may perhaps be a little later than the Gupta period. With respect to the remaining two documents it will suffice to say that No. xli clearly belongs to the eleventh century A.D., and that No. xliii, the Appendix, dates from the Indo-Skythic period.

Short discussions of the historical results, obtainable from these inscriptions, have been given already in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. V, p. 50ff, and p. 175ff, and a fuller one will appear in this publication. Here I content myself with giving a brief résumé of the chief points. First, as regards the political history, we have now, through No. ii, actual proof that the Kṣatrapas of Mathurā used a particular era, different from that of Kanishka and his successors. The importance of this fact will probably become still greater when Dr. Bhagvānīlā’s paper on his Lion-pillar will appear. For the history of the Kushana kings, we gain through No. xxvi the certainty that the name Hushka, which the Rājatarangini has preserved and which still survives in the name of the Kashmirian village Ushkār-Hushkapura, was actually used in ancient times for Huvishtka. Secondly, with respect to the history of the Jaina sect, we learn through No. i that the Jainas were settled in Mathurā in the second century B.C., and through No. xx that an ancient Jaina Stāpa existed in Mathurā, which in A.D. 167 was considered to have been built by the gods, i.e., was so ancient that its real origin had been completely forgotten. The inscriptions further furnish the new names of the Vachchhāliya kula (No. xiii) and of the Vidyādharī Śāhā (No. xxxix) for the Koṭṭiya or Koṭīka *gaua*, as well as those of the Nāṭika, or perhaps Nāḍika *kula* (No. xxviii) of the Aryabhūyīsta or perhaps Aryyanyīsta *kula* and of the Sa[mkāsiyā] Śākhā (No. xxxvi) for the Vāraṇa *gaua*. The schools connected with the Koṭṭiya *gaua* offer no difficulty, as they agree with the corresponding names of the Kalpasūtra. The Nāṭika or Nāḍika *kula* may be considered to correspond to the Malijja *kula* of the Sthāvirāvalī, and there is just a possibility that the last name may be an abbreviated spelling for *Arya-Aniyasa* (to) and correspond to a Prakrit corruption of Ārya-Kānīyasa, another equivalent for which, *Ārya-Kānīyasika*, occurs in the inscription No. xxiii of the earlier collection (see note 1 to No. xxxvi).

**No. I.**

*समस्यां माहर्षिकताः भक्तिविस्मृतिः वशीयुजस्त्रा दावश्रास्त्र[३]य पासादीवीरसं* [११]*

**TRANSLATION.**

"An ornamental arch for the temple" (the gift) of the lay-hearer Utarāḍāsaka

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* Incised on a large ornamented rectangular slab, measuring 4' 2"—9".
* According to the impression the reading धावश्रास्त्र is perhaps possible. Possibly धावश्रास्त्र is to be read.
* Regarding the irregular compound, see above the introductory remarks.
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA.

(Uttaradásaka), son of the Vachhi (Vátei mother and) disciple of the ascetic Máharákhtá (Mágharakshita).

No. II.

L. 1. नम परशु सर्वमानस [11]
2. ख[1]मिन मङ्गलवस शोडास सवबरे ४० (?)[2] देवतपाणि २ दिवसे ८ दिविनुम वास भायिये समसारिविन्याये[12]
3. कोकिये चनोकिनिये सहा पुवंति पालवोणि शनवोणि भायवती प्रतिवाधिता प्राय—[भ]—
4. भार्यवती चर्चतपुजाये [13]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamána! In the year 42 (?) of the Lord, the Mahákshatrapa Soḍása, in the second month of winter, on the 9th day, an Áyavatí (Áryavati), was set up by Amohini (Amohini), the Kochhi (Kauté), a female lay-disciple of the ascetics (and) wife of Pála, son of a Hariti (Hariti or Harítí mother), together with her sons Pálaghosha, Pòsthaghosha (Prośhthaghosha and) Dhana-
ghosha... the Áryavatí (is) for the worship of the Arhat."

No. III.

L. 1. तिबस्तम् | नमोवंशकेः: [14]
2. महाराजमहासमय — [15]

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration be to the Arhats! .... Mahárája, Mahákshatrapa-
Ma ... 

No. IV.

L. 1. भद्रत्यसिंहः पातिवासिनियि
2. घामघोयाये दानी पासादः [16]

TRANSLATION.

"A temple, the gift of Dhámaghosha (Dharmaghosha), the female disciple" of the venerable Jaya-seṇa."

8 Compare the Buddhist name Uttarasena. Uttara probably stands bhimavat for Uttarabháguni or Uttarabhadr-
páda.
9 Regarding the form चतिवाचि see above the Introduction. The term means here no doubt that Māhārakhtá
was the spiritual director of Uttaradásaka; for the latter was, as the description shows, a layman, not an ascetic.
10 Incised on a slab measuring 3' 2" by 3' 8" and bearing the representation of a royal lady, surrounded by attendants
one of whom is holding up a parasol.
11 Possibly मति, as the ends of the upper strokes of वा are somewhat thickened.
12 The first figure of the date may possibly be 70. The Aññavár of पुलिं is not certain. See समसारिविन्याये.
13 Incised on the top of a small statue cut out of the back of the panel, which bears the inscription No. X.
14 The second vowel of मति is expressed by two abnormally short strokes. An accidental scratch gives to मति: the
appearance of मति: —
15 The last syllable may have been मति: —
16 Incised on the back of a broken sculptured Torápa, measuring 1' 2" by 6'.
17 I suppose चतिवाचि means here, like चतिवाचि in No. 1, that Jaya-seṇa was Dhámaghosha’s spiritual director, not
that she was an ascetic.
No. V. 19

L. 1a. नमः परशुरामः प्रणामसः
2a. नतकसं भवायि निवयायि
3a. — — र — — र — कायि
1b. भायागप्ते कारिनो
2b. पप्पतु जायि [ii]

Translation.

"Adoration to the Arhats! By Śivayāśa (Śivayāsa), wife of the dancer Phagu-
yāśa (Phalguṇyasas), . . . . a tablet of homage (āyāgapaṭa)\(^{20}\) was caused to be made for
the worship of the Arhats."

No. VI. 21

भग्वा नेमेसा भग — —

Translation.

"The divine Nemesa (Naigamesha), divine . . . ."\(^{22}\)

No. VII. 23

L. 1. य — च
2. — र[रतन]ख च यो मनी
3. —यतनन्त धनस्य महतः
4. — — [वेष्य]खव [न] किं\(^{24}\)

The fragment admits of no continuous translation. It would seem that we have
in line 2 the beginning of a verse in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, and in line 3 the middle
portion of another. The whole was no doubt a metrical Praśasti written entirely in
Sanskrit.

No. VIII. 25

नमः परशुरामः महाविरः | सामुरक — — सवास [शा] —
भवायि — — व — — नेतायि भायागप्ते [ii]

Translation.

"Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvīra (Mahāvīra). A tablet of homage (āyāgapaṭa
the gift) of . . . itā, wife of . . . lavāda (?), an inhabitant of Mathurā."

\(^{19}\) Incised on the base of a mutilated tablet measuring 2' 4" by 1' 9", and bearing the representation of a stūpa with
rails and gate, as well as of two naked dancing women in the same posture as those on Dr. Bhagvānlī's slab, *Actes du
\(^{20}\) Possibly कार्यायिक, but I believe the apparent i-stroke to be accidental.
\(^{21}\) Regarding the meaning of भायागप्ति, see ante, vol. I, p. 396.
\(^{22}\) Incised on a small sculptured frieze measuring 2' by 10", and bearing the representation of a large seated figure
with a goat's head, of a small naked male and several large female figures, one of whom holds a child in her lap.
\(^{23}\) The inscription seems to be intended to explain the meaning of the sculpture, regarding which see a subsequent
article on sculptures from Mathurā.
\(^{24}\) Incised on a fragment of a large slab, measuring 1' by 8'.
\(^{25}\) The bracketed letters look almost like दि, but the lower part of the vertical is faint, and the top so damaged, that
be apparent i-stroke may have been only a serif. The Anuśāvāra of दि is doubtful.
\(^{26}\) Incised on the base of a beautifully-sculptured square panel (an ०यागप्त, measuring 2' 10" by 2' 10".

No. 1: Early undated inscription.

No. 2: Of Sodasa. Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Mathura.

No. 3: Of unnamed Kshatrapa.

Archaic Inscriptions: No. 4.

No. 5: Archaic.

No. 6: Archaic.

No. 7: Archaic.
Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura.

No. IX.

I. 1. मा भर्तिनिः (ढे) 27
2. नौतिनिः (ढेवर) — — 28

Translation.

An image of . . . . for the worship of the Arhats . . . of Ídrapála (Idrapála), the son of the Gāt (Gaúpti mother).

No. X.

— दे जीवनादाये —

Translation.

"Of Jivanadá (Jivanandá)." . . .

No. XI.

A. सिंह स ४ घि १ दि २० दारणाती गणाती भव्येणाकियाती कुलाती बलबत्तिः स[१ या] — — 32
B. पुष्यमित्रा गिरिजिन सत्यमित्राहृ गिरिजिन पुष्यमित्र घटरि — — 33
C. दति सहा पश्चेतेन प्रहसीन — — 34

Translation.

"Success! In the year 4, the first (month of) summer, the day 20, — . . . of . . . the female convert (saúdhachari) of Sihamitra (Simhamitra), the female pupil of Sathisihá (Shashisimha), the female pupil of Puṣyamitra . . . out of the Váraṇa gana, out of the Aryan Háttakiya (Ārya-Hāttakiya) kula, out of the Vajana gari (Vārjanagar) kháhá . . . the gift . . ., together with Graha chepta (and) Grahadása."

No. XII.

— — — छवि ५ घि ४ दि ५ कौतिह्या — — — — — — — —
त[१] माहात[१] वा[१] गच्छस्त्र पर्ये — —

Translation.

"In the year 5 of . . ., in the fourth (month of) summer, on the fifth day, — . . . of the preacher (váchaka) Aryan . . . (Ārya . . .) out of the Kota niya (gana) . . . . . . . . . out of the . . . kháhá . . . . . .

27 This inscription belongs to Dr. Führer’s collection of 1889-90. It is incised on the pedestal of a small squatted Jina measuring 1’ 6” by 1’ 2”.
28 Restore pratimā.
29 As the right half of the la has been lost, the name is not certain. It may have been Ídrapáliya.
30 Regarding the person meant, see above the Introduction.
31 Incised on lower border of a sculptured panel, see inscription No. III.
32 Incised on base of a squatted Jina, 1’ 1” by 1’ 7”.
33 The i-stroke of siddhá has been lost; the Anuvára is not certain. The i-stroke of aryaútākīya has been lost; the impression. Below the ja of vajana gari a letter, probably another ja, has been lost. Restore tákha, but more syllables have probably been lost.
34 At the end of the line, the name of the nun has been lost, and probably also the word nirantarād
35 The line is mutilated both in the beginning and at the end, the name of the donor or donatrix and the description of the gift being certainly lost.
36 This translation is, of course, merely tentative; the Sanskrit equivalent is śrāddhachāri.
37 Incised on base of a squatted figure of Jina, measuring 2’ by 1’ 0’
No. XIII. 77
B. समीराती वशस्वियाती कुशातो गशि — — — — —
D. १. — — — वाति जयस्स — त मारिपियि (?) दार्पं बक्रिश्चं [र]भ[ड] — — — —
2. — [सवस]वा[न] सुखाय भवतः ॥ ॥

TRANSLATION.
“The year 18, the fourth (month of) the summer, the third day,—on that (date specified as) above a fourfold (image), the gift of मैसिग (?) (mother of) जया . . . . . [at the request] of . . . . a गाँड out of the [कोत्ति]यागांडा . . . , out of the . . . सम्भोगा, out of वाच्चिहलिया (पादलिया) कुला. May it be for the welfare of all beings!”

No. XIV. 88
A. — — — घ १० [च] घ २ दि १० ॥
B. भित्ति मितर्थिये भवती बरमेस्विस्म [वेन्ति] ? — —

TRANSLATION.
“The year 18, the second (month of) the rainy season, the day 11 . . . . . [the gift] of मित्रींटि (मित्रींटि), the daughter of . . . a . . . of divine आरिष्ठातेनि (आरिष्ठातेनि) . . . . .

No. XV. 89
A. स १० । घ १ ॥ दि १० पश्च चरणे
B. १. — — — याती गशित च [घ]शवरिति शाश्चाति [डा]खियाती कुशातो गशि[ती]। कुर्निकियि — शियि [घ]स ॥
2. — — — — — [घयि] — दास्स्य निकर्त्तना बुद्धि निति दिव्य लखि ॥ मितियि दार्पं ॥

77 Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, 1" by 8". The section C. has been cut away.
78 Read अयति. The restoration कृष्यदत्ता is highly probable. At the end of the line the name of the Sambhoga has been lost.
79 Indistinct remnants of अयति are visible after गाँड. The last piece C must have contained the name of the Gopin and the greater portion of the description of the donatrix which is very imperfect.
80 The impressions point to मदु. For मदुसिये it is possible to read मदुसिये or मदुसिये, but none of these forms, admits of an explanation. May it be मदुसिये for मदुसिये? See below No. xxxvii. Restore सुरवतोवहद्रिक्क प्रतिमाद.
81 Read सर्वशास्त्रादाधार.
82 Incised on base of small standing Jina, measuring 3" by 10".
83 Perhaps सरस्या is to be restored.
84 The third syllable of the proper name is not certain.
85 Incised on base of small squatted Jina, 3" by 1".
86 Restore कृष्यदत्ता गोदाता; वाहतो (च—चितातो). Before कुजुम्बिये the impression shows a faint vertical stroke, which apparently indicates that in reality the line is at an end, and that one must read on from the beginning of B 2. the last words, which would give no sense, must be read at the end of the second line.
87 Probably गोदाता is to be restored in the beginning. As only one syllable has been lost between अयति and ददुस्या, the restoration गोदाता seems certain. The name occurs in the Kalpasutra (p. 70 ed. Jacobi). After ददुस्या stands again a faint vertical stroke, exactly corresponding to that in the upper line. The proper order of the words is therefore । शीजियि, जया, गशित, शवरिति, शाश्चाति, [घ]शवरिति, शाश्चाति, गशि[ती], [घ]शवरि, शाश्चाति, गशि, [घ]शवरि, शाश्चाति, गशि, [घ]शवरि, शाश्चाति. The restoration कृष्यदत्ता निकर्त्तना बुद्धि निति दिव्यलय कुर्निकियि शियि दार्पं.
TRANSLATION.

"The year 31, the first (month of the) rainy season, the tenth day,—at this moment a gift (was made) by Grahâsiri (Grahâsiri), daughter of Buddhi (and) wife of Devila at the request of the great (?)[Gaṇi] Arya[-Go-]dāsa, out of the [Koṭṭi]ya (gaṇa), the Arya-Veri (Arya-Vajri) lākhâ, the Thāṇiya (Sthāniya) kula."

No. XVI.\textsuperscript{48}

A. 1. सिस्सुं। सव[व]रे १००। २ हेमतमासे ४ दिवसे २ वारणाती गाणा ।

B. 1. किं धर्मनिधिजात जीवर्ज्ञाता जितात्मापर [चित्त] महिमयो न्यो डूरी बुधिज जीतबिंटंये 

2. विजापु नी य यो मादु यन्त्रत्वात परमस्थानिता स्वन्तीर्णिक्ष।

TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the year 32, in the fourth month of winter, on the second day, a fourfold image of the Arhat (was dedicated) by Jitāmitrâ, daughter of Rituṇandi (Rituṇandi), wife of Buddhi (and) mother of the perfumer . . . . . . at the request of Gaṇi Aya-Nandika (Arya-Nandika), . . . . . out of the Vâraṇa gaṇa, the . . . ya kula . . . . . . ."

No. XVII.\textsuperscript{43}

L. 1. पव ५० हेमतमासे य — — —

2. चार्यचर्चा — — —

3. ये चुरसिंधु

4. धित

5. पुष्कुरिंधु — — —

No continuous translation of the fragment is possible. The date is "the year 50 and the first or fifth (?) month of winter."

No. XVIII.\textsuperscript{44}

L. 1. सिस्स संवर्ग हापना ५० २ हेमत[भा]स पव—दिवस पंचवीं २० ५ पव हुशे की[रे] तियाती गणान[१]

2. धारती खहती जायनकोटा जुजात।[३] चितारानो संयोगता वाचकावायवचस्परसिका

3. थिथो गणिधियायमंगुलस्तिख पठनो वाचको पर्याप्तिवित्त निर्वाचिता सूखा श्रम.

4. एक्कुलतर गीतयाश मेंटमालयारास्त दान संयोगलय पितसुचायल।

\textsuperscript{48} Incised on base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 8" by 11".

\textsuperscript{49} Possibly gaṇita koṭṭidhyo is to be restored.

\textsuperscript{50} Restore gaṇi; riṣu is uncertain.

\textsuperscript{51} Perhaps praddārikṣaya to be restored, which might mean 'a ferryman.' See below, No. XXXIX.

\textsuperscript{52} Incised on base of large squatted Jina, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 10".

\textsuperscript{53} Perhaps Arjya kharasya.

\textsuperscript{54} Incised on the base of a broken image, measuring 8" by 1' 6".

\textsuperscript{55} The Amavâra of samveda is doubtful.

\textsuperscript{56} Read tākdkho.

\textsuperscript{57} Saṅkhachāra stands no doubt for saṅkhachāra; possibly devastaya or devastaya.
TRANSLATION.

"Success! the year fifty-two, 52, the first month of winter, the twenty-fifth day, 25—at that moment (was dedicated) the gift of the worker in metal Gotnika, the Sura, the son of Sramaнака, at the request of the preacher Arya-Divita, (who is) the convert of the gani Arya-Maṅguhasti (and) the pupil of the preacher Arya-Ghastuhasti out of the Koṭṭiya gana, the Vera (Vajra) ākha, the Sthāṇikiya kula (and) the Śrīgrīha sambhoga. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures!

No. XIX.60

L. 1. सि म ६० २ व २ रि ५ एतस्स पुयक वाणझाक वाणझाकुक्का[स]61
2. वारणमविय ग्रियो वाणको चारणियो तस निवरतना

"Success! the year 62, the second (month of the) rainy season, the day 5, on that (date, specified as) above, the pupil of the preacher Āya-Karkuhaṣtha (Ārya-Karkabapharṣita)62 of the Vāraha gana, was the ātipika Grahabala, at his request . . . . .

No. XX.63

A. 1. सं ३० ६ व ४ रि २० एतस्स पुयविय कोषियिय ग्रेन वर्तराय वाणझाय — —
2. को प्रवहधहासिभि करवतीहि वाण[स]वर्तस प्रतिम निवरतविभि —
B. — — मारविे वाणझाय [दिनायि] दहां प्रतिमा बोशु पुये देवसिमित्रि प — — — 65

TRANSLATION.

"The year 79, the fourth (month of the) rainy season, the twentieth day—on that (date, specified as) above, Āya-Vriddhahasti (Ārya-Vṛiddhabhastin), a preacher in the Koṭṭiya gana (and) in the Vaiṛā (Vajrā) ākha, gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandiāvarta (Nāṇḍyāvarta)66 . . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay-disciple Dinā (Dattā), wife of . . ., was set up at the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods."

No. XXI.67

L. 1. सं ३० १ व ६ रि ६ एतस्स पुयाय [च]विकारीवायि वंते—
2. वारिकावियति दतायि निवरतना। [च]हसिदरियि — — —

61 I take Sura, as the name of the family or the clan.
62 Incised on the upper part of the base of a sitting Jina 2' 8" by 1' 8"; the lower part has been destroyed.
63 On further consideration, I read the numeral sign, which I formerly believed to possibly stand for 40, always as 60.
64 The persons named here are probably the same as those in Sir A. Cunningham's inscription, re-edited in the Vienna Or. Journ., vol. I, p. 172.
65 Incised on the left portion of the base of a large standing figure of Jina, measuring 2' 8" by 1' 8"; the right portion is missing.
66 I now recognise that the second figure is 9, not 8, as I read it formerly. Possibly the apparent ra-stroke above may be accidental. Possibly kālya to be read. At the end of the line the two syllables ekās have certainly been lost, because the syllable 4o in 1. 2 stands exactly under āya and 1. 2 is, therefore, complete.
67 The ma is abnormal, and so is the marking of the length of e by a stroke going upwards.
68 It is possible to read also sōre, which, however, is as unsatisfactory as sōre. Perhaps sōḍa, i.e. sōḍa "ancient," is meant. Professor E. Leumann proposes to divide pratiesmase dos and to take this in the sense of pratiesme dos (two images)? This exceedingly ingenious explanation becomes difficult, because in A only one statue is mentioned. Restore pratiesmāpād. At the beginning of the line stood the name of Dīna's husband, as a small remnant of a eye is still visible on the impression.
69 The Arhat Nāṇḍyāvarta, i.e., whose mark is the Nāṇḍyāvarta symbol, is Aras, the eighteenth Tirthankara.
TRANSLATION.

"The year 81, the first (month of the) rainy season, the sixth day—on that (date as specified) above at the request of Dātā, the female pupil of Ayikā-Jīvā (Aryikā-Jivā) —Grahaśirī (Grahaśīrī) . . . .

No. XXII.

L. 1. श [४ • व] — — — — — — — — दुर्बनिष दिनशा चढ़ूँ
चनकय भतिकलाभ—भिनि

This inscription is Sir A. Cunningham's No. 19 (Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. III, pl. xv). It seems to have suffered since the time when the first facsimile was prepared. The date, which I have given according to Sir A. Cunningham, has disappeared, and several letters at the end of line 2 have become indistinct. Its chief value consists in the mention of the Majhamā sākhā and the Pa-rava-ka kula, which latter I have formerly identified with the Praśnāvahanaka or Paṇhāvāhanaya kula of the Jaina tradition. Dr. Führer's impression shows pretty clearly that the first letter is pa, which is not equally certain according to Sir A. Cunningham's facsimile. It also makes it probable that the third letter of the name is not hu, but ha. The name of the gāna was without a doubt Koṭṭīya, as the first syllable ko is tolerably distinct.

No. XXIII. 70

A. नमो घर्षीती महाबिरास सं ८० २ [व] — — —
B. 1. गिजया म[विज]या [न]न्दिया [विज]विर्याया तेवर्या देवर्यखा धितु — — — — 1
2. — — — f — [भ] — वती वर्यात्माप्रतिमा प्रति — — — — — — — — — पुजा[वे] [ह] 13

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Mahāviṣṇa (Mahāvētra)! The year 93, the .... (month of) the rainy season .... at the request of the gani Nandi (Nandi) pupil of ....... an image of divine Varādhāmāna was set up by ........., the daughter of the goldsmith Deva, for the worship [of the Arhat]."

No. XXIV. 74

स ८० ६ छैं १ दि ५ चन्द्र छैं व[र]जियात [र] गणाती धनन्य — — — 74

TRANSLATION.

The year 98, the first (month of) winter, the fifth day, at that moment,—out of the Koṭṭīya gāna, the Ucchānakārī (Uchchānagarī) [sākhā] .........

70 Atervaśikini, as well as ayikā, are properly diminutives. Compare pavajītikā, which is common in the Buddhist inscriptions.
71 Incised on the base of a sitting Jīna, 1' 8" by 2' 2'.
71 Regarding the form nandiye, which is indissoluble, see above, the Introduction.
72 Restore bhagavato and further on prati-khādīpā rakta or arakta.
73 Incised on the base of a squatted Jīna 1' 10" by 2' 4'.
74 Restore uchānakārī sākhāta.
No. XXV. 78
--- --- [व]चुक्ता भविषय स --- 79

Translation.
"In the year ...... of ... Devaputra Huvishka ......."

No. XXVI. 77

2. वा ---  2. --- [र]चल  2. प्रतिस ---

D. 1. स्‌ स - र - ख दे[पु]चस्त [स्त्]चस्त - --- 79
2. [वा]ख[क] नगदत्स गिलो निम्न का --- दू स ---

I am not able to give a certain connected translation of this fragment. It is only evident that D. 1-2 gives us the names of the Mahārāja Devaputra Huksha, (Huksha or Huvishka), and of a monk named Nagadatta (Nagadatta). It may also be suggested that the inscription begins with D. 1, because that line contains the group ākha, an abbreviation of āśīham, and the name of the king. The continuation may possibly be looked for in A 1, where the word ekunattā, the twenty-ninth, seems to belong to the date. The year 29 would fall in the reign of Huvishka.

No. XXVII. 79

L. 1. सिवम् महाराजस्म् राजातिराजस्य --- --- --- --- ---
2. चोक्षविद्या शिष्यभ से --- न --- --- --- फ --- 80

Translation.
"Success! Of the great king, the supreme king of kings . . . . by Sena, the pupil of Ohanandi (Oghanandin") . . . . 81

No. XXVIII. 82

A. --- भगवतो उपमस वार्ये गधे मादिके खुले --- --- --- खा [व] --- 83
B. चुक्ता वायुकता सिसिसिए सार्दिताए नि --- --- 84

Translation.
"[Adoration] to divine Usabhā [Rishabha]! At the request of Sāditā, female

78 Incised on the base of a standing Jina, measuring 3' 6" by 2' 6".
79 Incised on the base of a broken standing Jina, measuring 1' 8" by 1' 1".
80 The bracketed letters are all more or less uncertain: ākha looks, because the first letter is blurred, like pukha-
81 But two impressions show a small curve at the extremity of the top of the right-hand vertical stroke.
82 Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1' 6" by 2' 1".
83 Restore sena according to C. No. 10 (republished ante, vol. I, p. 306, No. xxx), where Sena, pupil of Ohanandi, is mentioned. The last na is faintly visible on the impression. It is important to note that in this inscription the initial letter of Ohanandi's name is unmistakable and that the reading Dekō is impossible.
84 As the other inscription is dated Sām. 47, the king, whose name has been lost, must be Huvishka.
85 Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 2' by 1' 8'.
86 Restore name before bhagavato. Possibly ndīka or ndīka to be read. Restore tākṣadhya.
87 Restore tārvartand.
pupil of... dhuka, a preacher\textsuperscript{66} in the Vāraṇa gana, Nādika kula and... śākhā...

\textbf{No. XXIX.\textsuperscript{66}}

ख[\textsuperscript{1}]निकिये कुले मनद्य उत्कथिन यियो वाचको धार्ष्टो\textsuperscript{97} परक्षेः प्रतिमा — —

\textbf{Translation.}

...“The preacher Ghoshaka, pupil of the Uggahini,\textsuperscript{68} a gani (ganin) in the Sthānikiya (\textit{kiya}) kula; an image of the Arhat Pārśva (Pārśva).”...

\textbf{No. XXX.\textsuperscript{69}}

L. 1. नमो भरस्ततन्न सिक्षक वाणिज्य पुत्रेन कृमिकिपुलेन\textsuperscript{70}
2. सिक्षानिदित्ते भायाणापाटो प्रतिसापिती भारस्तुङ्गाये [॥]

\textbf{Translation.}

“Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (āyāgapāṭa) was set up by Sihānādika (Simhanādika? “nandika?”), son of the Vānika\textsuperscript{71} Sihaka (Simhaka) and son of a Kośiki (Kauśiki mother), for the worship of the Arhats.”

\textbf{No. XXXI.\textsuperscript{72}}

नमो भरस्ततना शिवजी[एक]ष भरि[वा] — — — ना — — — ना — —

\textbf{Translation.}

“Adoration to the Arhats! ... the wife of Śivaghoshaka ... .”

\textbf{No. XXXII.\textsuperscript{73}}

L. 1. नमो भरस्ततन्न [सल] — पव धित भद्रेवस वववे भद्रनिद्रभये\textsuperscript{74}
2. ख[चल]ख चा[वा]मपटी प्रतिसापिती भरस्तुङ्गाये [॥]\textsuperscript{75}

\textbf{Translation.}

“Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (āyāgapāṭa) was set up by Achala (?), daughter of Mala-ṇa (?), daughter in-law of Bhadrayaśa (Bhadrayaśa), and wife of Bhadranaḍi (Bhadranandin), for the worship of the Arhats.”

\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Vdyaka} is the Jaina-Prakrit form for edhaka.

\textsuperscript{68} Incised on the left side of the upper part of the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 2" by 1' 9", the right side being broken off.

\textsuperscript{70} The word looks like a female name, and might correspond with Sanskrit udgrahini. But the difficulty is that it is joined with the title gan, which is given to males alone.

\textsuperscript{72} Incised on the base of a beautifully sculptured square panel measuring 2' 1" by 1' 11", the central figure of which is a seated Jina.

\textsuperscript{74} The word looks like a female name, and might correspond with Sanskrit udgrahini. But the difficulty is that it is joined with the title gan, which is given to males alone.

\textsuperscript{69} Incised on the base of a beautifully sculptured square panel measuring 2' 10" by 3' 11".

\textsuperscript{75} Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 7" by 2' 6".

\textsuperscript{97} The bracketed letters are uncertain. The first may be व्र. The second and third letters of this line are uncertain.
No. XXXIII.  

A. वर्द्धानयमस्मि वज्रवचन धिता वाचिनिवध — — — —
B1. — नास्य कुटीरनिः दिनायश दाति विद्विष[ष] धे — — — —
B2. — — — — — — — — — —

TRANSLATION.

"An image of Vardhamāna, the gift of Dinā (Dattā), daughter of Vajaranadāya (Vajranandī), [daughter-in-law] of Vadhiśiva (Priddhiśiva?) house-wife of . . . . i; Badimasi's (?)" . . . .

No. XXXIV  

L. 1. उच्चनगतां श्रव्य पञ्चवालसंस्कार मितिक्रिय पञ्चवालस्कर — — — — 100
2. पञ्चवालसंस्कार मितियो पञ्चसिंहिन्य परिपर्वन वनस्पतिय धिता पञ्चसिंहीक धे — — — —
3. हिमशिलय देवशिलय शिवशिवय च श्रव्यान्य मातृ जामे प्रपतिमा प्र — — — — — — 3
4. [मा]न्य सर्पस्तरां ग्रितस्करय ॥

TRANSLATION.

"For the acceptance9 of Arya-Sandhi (Arya-Sandhi), pupil of Arya-Balattrata (Arya-Balatratā) [and of ?] Arya-Bahuma, . . . (Arya-Brahma . . . ), the female pupil of Arya-Balattrata (Arya-Balatratā) out of the Uchenagarī (Uchchānagarī) Bākhā, Jáyā, daughter of Navahasti (Hastin), daughter-in-law of Grahasena . . . . , mother of the brothers Śivasena, Devasena and Śivadēva, has set up an image of [Vardha]māna for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

No. XXXV.  

A. तिथितत्रतिना
B. 1. सदय श्रव्यकरो मितिवत्ती संभवत्ताय चर्ये
2. ——चर्यार्य गितवता गितवद[ष] — —
3. — — सन्नद्ध मातृ धे — —

Remark.

If the two fragments, which admit of no connected translation, belong to one inscription, the occurrence of the words nirvartanā and nivatana is very remarkable. There is no other instance of the kind.

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9 Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 1' 11' by 1' 6".
10 The ba of kustīna is abnormal, being made round and not perfectly closed.
10 The restoration proposed may be safely made according to the analogy of the other inscriptions.
10 Incised on the base of a large slab, measuring 2' 10" by 2' 1".
11 Read शब्दाशी. Restore पञ्चचंद्रमेत्रो ग्रितसिद्धय.
1 The apparent 8-stroke after the la of Balattrata is an accidental scratch, not visible on the reverse. The same remark applies to the apparent 8-stroke above the 3 of Navahastinaya. According to the reverse of the impression the real reading is parigrakte, not parigrakato, as the obverse seems to show. At the end of the line, five or six letters have been lost, probably bhagā or bhagyā, preceded by a male name in the genitive.
3 Read śivasenayā. Restore pratishthapīd varāha.
3 Parigrakte 'for the acceptance' is common on the Buddhist inscriptions of the first and the following centuries of our era. Here it indicates that the ascetic named hurted Jāyā to make the donation and that the spiritual merit is made over to them; for, the image itself could, of course, be of no use to them.
Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura.

No. XXXVI.6

L. 1. — — ५० (?) से २ दिन १ चाष पुष्य वरणी गणनो धर्मभिस्तकुलसे [स] — — —
2. — खस निर्मित्रिणूति सभोगी वन्धनो वचनेषि च गणनो च सरसिद्दै[स] —
3. — वस दिनरस निर्मितिः धर्मस्थायिनिर्धारणशिल्पिनिप — —
4. चक्रोपनिलकित्रसमस्तोपरिवंति बुद्धस्व धित रक्षक्षसर्वधर्मस — —
5. [प्र]विलक्ष मनु विषयः[भ]वस्ते पितरमस्किं विज्ञानशिलिः दन वथ — —
6. — — — — — — — — — —

Translation.

· · · 50, (?) second month of winter, first day, on that (date, specified as) above, [an image of] Vadhā[māna] (Vardhamāna), the gift of Vijayaśīrī (Vijayaśīrī), paternal grandmother of Vishnuḥbhava, who fasted for a month12 (and) obeys the command13 of A[yya] ghakarabā (?)(who is) the female pupil, obeying the command14 of Ayya-Jinadasi (Arya-Jinadasi), (who was) the female pupil of Samadi . . . va Dīnara, the great (?) preacher and gacī out of the Varāṇa (Vārāṇa) gacā, the Ayyabhyista (?)[kula, the Sa[mkāsiyā] sākha, and the Sirigriha (Śrīgriha) sambhoga . . . . . .]

No. XXXVII.15

A 1. सिष्य को[है]यो गणनो उच्चन—
2. गरिरो शब्रो बहादाखिच्छरी16
3. कुलसे निर्मितिषितो सभोगीत्री
4. चक्रोपनिलकित्रसमस्तोपरिवंति च[स्त्री]स्तितसे[स]
B 1. चक्र चित जरै[त] चयंचेर17
2. [को]वाचको तथा नितंत—
3. न वर[ण]हसि[स्ता]18

6 Incised on the base of a broken image, measuring 10" by 1' 4".
7 The first figure may possibly have been 7. In the transcript, I have given the apparently plain, but inexplicable, recalling ayyabhystakulato. It is, however, possible that the third syllable may be intended for aya. If this were the case, and if we might assume that we had to deal with a combination of the consonants and a partial omission of the vowels, as in edha for siddha (see No. xxvi), the first four syllables might be a kind of tachygraphic representation of ayyadhigato and correspond to ārṇakṣayāsataḥ. This kula of the Vārāṇa gacā is mentioned in No. 23, ante, vol. I, p. 392. The Sākha was probably Sāmkṣiṣyā, see Kalpaśāstra, p. 80 (ed. Jacobi).
8 Restore tarkato i.e. sākkāto; read sambhogato and bakato; the last bracketed letter is very doubtful.
9 Restore aya.
10 Restore dharmaapati.
11 Read devilaṣya. Restore vadhānaramaprimā or perhaps vartīma, as the inscription does not mark the d-stroke. The last three syllables do not sound in line 6, which has been completely destroyed with the exception of the tops of a few letters.
13 Panatidāvita corresponds with Sanskrit dharitraprajñapti.
14 Panatīkārā i.e. in Sanskrit prajñaptikārā.
15 Incised on base of a large quadruple image, consisting of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 1' 7" by 9'.
16 Read bākama.
17 Read tasya.
18 Nirvāṇa is, no doubt, meant for nirvāṇa.
C 1. [च] देविय च धित जय-
2. देवस्य वघु मोक्षितिमिये
3. वघु कुठस्य कस्मुखये
D 1. चमय[सि]ह खिरणे\(^{19}\)
2. दन गवडीमित्रे\(^{20}\)
3. संबंसलन खितुखिये\(^{21}\)

**Translation.**

"Success! The pupil of Ayya-Jesṭahasti (Jyeshṭahastin) out of the Köṭṭiya gaya, the Uchenagari (Uchchānarā) Sākhā, (and) the Bhamhadāsia (Brahmadāsikakula) (was) Aryya-Mihila (Ārya-Mihira); his pupil (was) the preacher (vadh-ka) Arya-Kshēraka (Ārya-Kshairaka?); at his request a fourfold (image was dedicated as) the gift of Sthirā, daughter both of Varanāhastī (Chastin) and of Devi, daughter-in-law of Jayadeva (and) daughter-in-law of Moshini (and) first wife of Kuṭha Kasutha for the welfare and happiness of all creatures."

**No. XXXVIII.\(^{22}\)**

संवत्सरे सम्पर्वाष ५० ओऽ मिश्यानि —\(^{23}\)
—सत [दि] वसे लगोदे च—पूर्वाया —\(^{24}\)

**Translation.**

In the fifty-seventh, 57, year, in the third month of winter, on the thirteenth day, on that (date specified as) above • • • •

**No. XXXIX.\(^{25}\)**

L. 1. सिद्दोः । परसम्पत्तकमाहाजाधिकाराः विषयार्थवसं [१०० १०]
व क — — — — — समा — — [दि]— स २० प्रस्त रू[वाया] कोहित्रा गणा–\(^{26}\)
2. हिदाराती[ती] शास्त्राती दत्तत्वाचायाप्रज्ञपत्याय शास्त्राधाराः महंस्यव धीतु प्रज्ञानन्तरमं—
लिन[म]प्र[ता] विकिरकुब्विनीयों प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता।\(^{17}\)

**Translation.**

"Success! In the year 113, in the victorious reign of the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Kumāragupta, on the twentieth day [of the winter-month] Kārttikā—on that (date, specified as) above an image was set up by Śāmāḍhyā (Śyāmādhyā), daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava (and) house-wife of the ferry-

\(^{19}\) Dhamrapatita seems to be a misspelling of dharmaapatīya with dhamra for dharmas. Compare the forms of the Gīrṇār version of Aśoka's rock-edicts drabhipta for drabhisptā, tiṣṭamī for tiṣṭamī, and so forth.

\(^{20}\) Meant for dānasa sarvatobhadrikām pravāte.

\(^{21}\) Meant for sarasastāna hitaskhāde. The spelling sarvra for sarva is not uncommon in bad MSS.

\(^{22}\) This is Mr. Growse's No. 5 (Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, p. 219). It is incised on the base of a small statue, now preserved in the Mathurā Museum.

\(^{23}\) Read kemanta; restore tritīya or tritīye.

\(^{24}\) Restore māte and aryātā.

\(^{25}\) Incised on the base of a large sitting Jina, measuring 3' 8" by 2' 7".

\(^{26}\) Read -mahārdeva; restore kārttikahemantamāsaya divae.

\(^{27}\) Read dat'idchāryya.—Possibly prabhārikasya is to be read.
man (?) Grahamitrapālita,38 who had received the command (to make the dedication) from Datilāchārya (Datilāchārya) out of the Koṭṭiya gana (and) the Vidyādhari Sākhā."

No. XL.39

L. 1. —प्रद[रच त]30
2. चन्द्रवारदाता भर्तु
3. तारविलिई। भोविन्दक
4. रत्नभंगुरया विन —
5. भस्तोब्रेषिक्ष सुन्दरोंनिदं

This fragment, of which no continuous translation is possible, belongs to a longer metrical Praśasti, which apparently recorded the building or restoration of a temple. For the remnant of line 5 says: —“By him this . . . of the sage, which touches the sky.” It is evident that a word like रक्षाम् or भायतनम् has been lost. The verses to which the pieces in lines 2, 3 and 5 belong, seem to have been in the Śāradālavikṛṣṇa metre.

No. XLI.31

L. 1. भी ब्रजिन्देव; दुरिन्ददु श्रीभावदेवनादामातु।
प्रचारोपकाजयिन्द्रे—
2. सशीष्यदेव च प्रोजी। [११३]32
सुसायकावन्यामकानादिदैः समिस्कितः।
3. वर्द्धमानठुरविवच वारतियं समिस्कितः। [१२५]33
सिद्धवर्मः १०५० शमक्यः—
4. पकायं घटित; || प्रोजी31

TRANSLATION.

"Oṃ! The illustrious Jina deva (tow) a Sūri; after him was he who is named the illustrious Bhāvadeva. His pupil (is) the Achārya Vijayasīṅga (Vijayasimha). Exhorted by him the virtuous laymen, who reside in Navagrāma, Sthāna and other (towns), caused to be made, full of devotion, (and) in accordance with their means, this fourfold Vardhamāna; it was fashioned in the [Vikrama] year35 1080 by Thambhaka and Pappaka. Oṃ!"

38 The translation of pradārika by “ferryman” seems to be justified by the use of pratri, which frequently means "to carry over in a ship or boat."
39 Incised on the back of a large broken slab, the surface of which is beautifully carved.
40 Only the lower portions of the bracketed syllables are visible.
41 Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four sitting Jinas, measuring 2' 5" by 1' 3".
42 Read भी। Both here and at the end of the inscription, the word is expressed by the symbol resembling the figure 0. Read -vijayasimha.
43 Read sūtraśvakār; sthaiḥ, svaśaktiḥ.
44 Read ष्ट्रैर्चरे
45 It is evident from the characters, which show the common Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.D., that the era must be the Vikrama Samvat, and that the date corresponds to A. D. 1022-24, accordingly as the year was expired or current and a northern or southern one. This donation was, therefore, made within five years after Mahmud’s expedition against Mathurā (A.H. 409) during which the temples of the town are said to have been burnt (Elliott, History of India, vol. II, p. 456f). Probably the Jaina temples of the Kankali Tila escaped destruction; for, it seems hardly likely that they could have been rebuilt so quickly.
No. XLII. 38

L. 1. सिद्धं सं २० ४ दि १० ९ च [च[चचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचच�चचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचचच chá

2. वर्ष[त]्वा च [विष्णु] व्रजयाः ।

Translation.

"Success! The year 74, the first (month of) summer, the fifteenth day,—at that moment, a statue of divine Śakyamuni (Śākyamuni, was set up as) the gift of the monk Nandika in the Mihiravihāra, for the acceptance of the Sarvastivādi, (Sarvāstivādin) teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (the donor's) parents and of all creatures."

XV.—SANGAMNER COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YADAVA BHILLAMA II.

The Śaka Year 922.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.; Göttingen.

I edit this inscription from excellent impressions prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of Western India. The original plates belong to an inhabitant of Sangamner, in the Sangamner Sub-Division of the Ahmadnagar District of the Bombay Presidency.

The inscription is on three plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and which are held together by a ring, bearing a Garuda as seal.1 Each plate measures about 8½" broad by 14½" high. The first plate contains 23, and the last 22 lines of writing; on the front of the second plate are 37, and on the back 29 lines. Below the writing on the third plate, in the proper right corner, the figure of a couch-shell is engraved; and the same plate, in line 110, contains an ornamental device, shaped like an open flower. The plates are on the whole well preserved, but in the upper part of the second plate the writing on both sides has suffered slightly from corrosion, and in consequence a few akṣharas, of no great importance, have become illegible. As may be inferred from the numbers of lines on the several plates, the writing, though done by one and the same writer, is wanting in uniformity. The size of the letters is about 1½" on the first and last plates and on the lower part of the back of the second plate, but only between 3½" and 4½" on the front and at the top of the back of the second plate. The characters are those of the ordinary Nāgarī alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Saṃskṛta, but the names of the Brāhmans, men-

38 Incised on the base of a large seated Buddha, found in the town of Khāman.
37 The curve open to the left with a small horizontal bar in the centre is, as now appears, a peculiar form of the full-stop. It occurs also in No. ix of the collection, published ante, vol. I, p. 397. There I failed to recognize its value (see note 8), because I misread the preceding sign as sū. The letter s, as I now recognize, sāka, the abbreviation for śāka, which occurs also in No. xxxvii of the earlier collection as sāki and as sākā in No. xxvi of the present one. The first numeral sign may also be read as 40. The vowels of the bracketed syllables are not certain. Possibly the stone has madā, which has to be restored in any case. The long ō-vowel in pitṛvineśa is plainly expressed on the impression by a curved stroke slanting to the left, to which a second stroke is attached.
39 The third sign of sarvavaitīsund is so badly injured that it is impossible to say if it was not tād. The vowel of the last sign is perfectly plain on the impression.

I owe this information to Mr. Cousens.
tioned in lines 66-77, and the name of the writer in line 114 are given in their vernacular forms (Kēlavaiṇupādhyāyena for Kēlavaiṇupādhyāyena, in line 114, Nārāyaṇaiṇupādhyāya for Nārāyaṇaiṇupādhyāya, in line 66, Vidyādharaiṇayya for Vidyādharaiṇayya, and Śrīdharaiṇupādhyāya for Śrīdharaiṇupādhyāya, in line 67, etc.). Besides, attention may be drawn to the term khaśrevādha, in line 88, which is equivalent to the expression khaśrācādha of the Siyaḍōṇi inscription, ante, vol. I, p. 165; and to the title or bīruda selloviḷe,ga, which does not look like Śaṃskrit and which I am unable to explain, in line 51. Excepting the words om nunaḥ Sivāya and a date in lines 1-2, the first part of the inscription which treats of the genealogy of the grantor, up to line 45, or perhaps 47, is in verse. The formal part of the grant, beginning with line 48, is in prose, but quotes a large number of benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 55-61, 89-98, 102-106, and 108-110; and another verse, asking the reader's indulgence for any clerical mistakes which the writing may be found to contain, is given in lines 114-116. As regards orthography, the letter b is throughout denoted by the sign v; the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal, e.g., in Sivāya, l. 1, īsah, l. 6, visālāh, l. 26; and the palatal occurs instead of the dental in samārā, l. 60, and śakolā, l. 82. Besides, the vowel ri is employed instead of ri in Atri, l. 10, and ṭigramaṭi, l. 84, and ri in the place of ri in the word rishayāh, l. 95. Altogether the inscription has not been written carefully, and, though corrected in several places, it is by no means free from serious mistakes. The rules of sandhi are frequently disregarded; the verses of the genealogical portion are only partially numbered or have wrong numbers appended to them; single aksharaḥ and whole words or groups of words are either given quite wrongly or left out; and I hope to prove below that even one or more whole lines have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription is one of the Mahāsāmananta Bhillama II., and it is the earliest record, hitherto discovered, of the Yādava dynasty (of Devagiri). After the words 'om, adoration to Śiva', it gives (in lines 1-2), both in words and in figures, the date—the Śaka year 922. It then has (in lines 2-7) two verses, one of which glorifies Śiva (Chandramauli), while the other invokes the god's blessing on Bhillama, the donor of this grant. The genealogy of Bhillama forms the subject of lines 7-47. Of these, lines 7-22 are of no importance because, beginning with the god Śambhu, they merely contain an account of the descent of the mythical prince Yadu, the reputed founder of the Yādava family,—the intermediate beings mentioned being Brahman, Marichi, Atri, Indu, Pururavas, Āyuṣ, Naghusha, and Yayāti. Nor do the following lines, from 23 to 34, record anything that was not known before. The first historical prince spoken of is Seuṇachandra (lines 22-26), who here as elsewhere is reported to have called his dominion (mandaṭa) and the people of it after himself. His son was the prince Dhāḍi[yappa] (lines 26-28). After him came, evidently his son, the prince Bhillama I. (lines 28-33). And he again was succeeded by his son, the prince Rājan or Rāja, called elsewhere Śrirāja or Rājagi.

The inscription resembles it the Kalas-Budrūkh grant of Bhillama III, Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, p. 121.

The inscription resembles it the Kalas-Budrūkh grant of Bhillama III, Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, p. 121.

Compare, in addition to the Kalas-Budrūkh plates of Bhillama III, the Puṣeṇī grant of Seuṇachandra II, Indian Antiquary, vol. XI, p. 119, and Professor Bhāyānarkar's Early History of the Dekkan, pp. 75-77.

Bhillama provided the god Sumanātha (or Śiva), at the place where this inscription was composed, with a valuable head-dress or turban.
From the end of line 34 our inscription becomes more interesting, but also presents some serious difficulties. According to the Kalas-Budrūkh plates of Bhīllama III. and the Bassein grant of Sūnachandra II., Śrītrāja was succeeded by his son Vaddiga, and he again by Bhīllama II., who married Lākṣmī or Lācchhiavvā, a lady born in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. The present grant first tells us (in lines 31-40) that from Rājān or Rāja sprang the prince Vandiga (the Vaddiga of the other plates), a great warrior, who was a follower or feudatory of the illustrious king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja, and that this Vandiga married the lady Voddiyavvā, a daughter of the great prince (māhānripa), the illustrious Dhorappa. It then has to be referred, as the text stands, to the same Vandiga, two verses (in lines 40-45), the first of which glorifies (as it seems) Vandiga for having in battle destroyed the fortune of the great prince Muṇja, and for having thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious king Raṇarāṅgabhīma; while the second verse, among the advantages or blessings which he enjoyed, besides recording that Sindinagara was his residence, somewhat pointedly enumerates the fact that Lākṣmī incarnate, or in visible shape, always dwelt in his house, full of joy. After these verses, what may be called the poetical part of our inscription contains three more lines (45-47), which read like fragments of verses or like verses turned somehow into prose, in praise of a new Śiva-temple, called Vījayaśekharaṇanātha; but there is no indication as to who erected this temple or why it is mentioned here at all, an omission which must appear the more remarkable because this temple is poetically described as the collected fame, or the fame in bodily form, clearly of its founder who is not named.

The grant recorded in this inscription was made by Bhīllama II., and there can be no doubt that the genealogy given in the introductory prakāasti should have been continued to, and that the author who composed it did bring it down to, that Bhīllama. Moreover, I consider it to be perfectly certain that the Lākṣmī, spoken of in line 43, is the Lākṣmī or Lācchhiavvā of the other grants, the wife of Bhīllama, the donor of this grant; and I feel almost as sure that the temple, spoken of in lines 45-47 which, or the god worshipped in which, was named Vījayaśekharaṇanātha, was founded either by Bhīllama himself one of whose titles or birudas, as we learn from line 51, was Vījayaśekhara, or by his wife. I am thus driven to the conclusion that the writer, who copied this inscription, has omitted at least two verses, one verse, before the words evaṇā rāṭi in line 40, recording that Voddiyavvā bore to Vandiga a son, named Bhīllama and another, after the word -mahaṇaḥ in line 45, stating that Bhīllama or his wife Lākṣmī erected the temple eulogised in lines 45-47. And accordingly, what is stated in the verse in lines 40-42, must in my opinion really be referred, not to Vandiga, but to his son, and it was Bhīllama II. who defeated the great prince Muṇja, and who thereby secured uninterrupted fortune for his sovereign lord, the illustrious king Raṇa rāṅgabhīma. The question then arises, who were these kings Muṇja and Raṇa rāṅgabhīma, and who was the king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja, to whom Bhīllama' father Vandiga owed allegiance?

* According to the Bassein grant Lācchhiavvā was the daughter of Jhunjhurāja.

* This lady built a Śiva-temple, the exact name of which I am unable to make out.

* See note 32, below.
lived during the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. The only great prince Muñja known to us, who could have been his contemporary, was Vākpatirāja-Muñja of Mālava, and it is undoubtedly this Muñja whose defeat by Bhillama is recorded in line 41 of this inscription. From this it follows that the king named Ranaraṅga-bhīma in our grant, as whose general or feudatory Bhillama was acting, was an adversary of Vākpatirāja-Muñja; and I believe that he was really no other than the Western Chālukya Tailapa, by whom Muñja was utterly defeated and taken prisoner, and at whose orders he was finally beheaded. Tailapa ruled from A.D. 973-997; we know him to have also been called Āhavamalla; and Ranaraṅga-bhīma is little less than a synonym of Ālāvamalla.—Bhillama's father Vandiga or Vaddiga may reasonably be supposed to have lived during the third quarter of the 10th century A.D., and, such being the case, the king Krīṣṇa or Krīṣṇarāja, whose follower he is represented to have been in this inscription, can only have been the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krīṣṇa, for whom we have the dates Śaka 867 and 878 = A.D. 945 and 956, the son of Amoghavarsha-Vaddiga. Evidently, down to Vandiga, the Yādavas were feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas; after the overthrow of this dynasty by the Chālukyas, which took place in A.D. 973, their allegiance was transferred to the Chālukyas.—As the father-in-law of Vandiga our inscription mentions another great prince, the illustrious Dhorappa. About this prince I am unable to speak with confidence, but I will not suppress a conjecture on the probability of which I leave others to judge. Dhorappa is only a Prākrit equivalent of the Sanskrit Dhruva, and we know that one of the earlier Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings was named Dhruva or Dhora, or Nirupama. Now Krīṣṇarāja, the sovereign lord of Vandiga, had a younger brother likewise named Nirupama, the father of Krīṣṇa's successor Kakkala, and it seems to me not at all improbable that this Nirupama, like his ancestor Nirupama, may too have been called Dhruva or Dhora, and that it is he whose daughter was given in marriage to Vandiga. The description of Dhorappa as mahānripa would thus, I believe, be well accounted for.—I will only add here that, if, as we apparently are obliged to do, we place Vandiga in the third quarter of the 10th century A.D., the rise of the Yādava family and the date of Seuachandra (or his predecessor Dridhaprahāra) can hardly be put earlier than A.D. 850.

The proper object of our inscription is, to record that Bhillama, the king (as he is called), granted certain lands, described in lines 78-84, to twenty-one Brāhmans who are enumerated in lines 64-77. The general meaning of the passage (in lines 48-86) which contains this information is clear enough; but the construction, changing as it does from the active to the passive, and again to the active construction, is altogether ungrammatical.

Omitting what is of no importance, the illustrious Bhillamarāja is described in lines 48-52 as a mahāsāmanta or great feudatory who had obtained the five muhāśabda, the supreme lord of the city of Dwāravatī, born in Vishnu's family, eager to worship Śiva, and rendered illustrious by such royal titles as Arāti-nishūdana, 'the destroyer of enemies,' Sungrāma-Rāma, Kandukāchārya, Sellaviḍega, and

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10 See Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, loc. cit., pp. 50, and Dr. Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 41.
11 See Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, ib. pp. 54-57, and Dr. Fleet, ib., pp. 37-38.
12 It may be noted that Bhillama III. married 'Hāmmā, the daughter of Jayasimha and sister of Āhavamalla, the Chālukya emperor.' See Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, ib., p. 78.
**Vijayabharaṇa.** Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has already pointed out that, 

since Vishnu Krishna is represented in the Purāṇas to have belonged to the Yādava family, even the later princes of Devagiri called themselves Vishnuvarṇasodhava, and that, as Krishna and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvārakā, they assumed the title of Devaravatipurāṇavarādhiśvara, 'the supreme lords of Dvāravati, the best of cities.' As regards the titles or birudas of Bhillama, the term Saṃgrāma-Ilāna is applied to him also in line 8 of the Kalas-Budrākha plates. Kauḍukedārīya apparently means 'a master in playing at ball', and Sellavidēga seems to be a Prākrit expression, the meaning of which I do not understand. The title Vijayabharaṇa has already been referred to above.

The names of the twenty-one donees, given in lines 64-77, it is unnecessary to repeat here. From line 64 it would seem¹⁴ that they lived at Sīndinagara, which according to line 43 was the place of residence of Bhillama, and which has been identified with the modern Sīnār, the chief town of the Sīnār Sub-Division of the Nāsik District. All were Brāhmans. some students of the Rīgveda or Śāmavēda, and others members of the Kāhuṇa or Mādhuyandina Ṛikhās of the Vājasaneyin branch of the Yajurveda, or of the Maitrāyanīya kāhā of the black Yajurveda. Some belonged to the Gautama, Kaṇḍinya, Bhāradvāja, or Kaṇśika gotra. And one (in line 72) is described as rājadauvārika, 'the king’s doorkeeper.'

To these Brāhmans Bhillama gave¹⁵ (lines 78-80) the village of Arjunonādhikā, situated on the banks of the river Mātuliṅgi, and some land between the two villages Laghu-arjunonādhī and Laghu-vavvulavedra. The boundaries of the village were (lines 83-84), to the east, Samgamanagara, to the south, the village of Chikhali, to the west, the village of Jamvalenimva, and to the north, the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra. On the maps at my disposal I find no names similar to Arjunonādhikā, but Dr. Burgess has suggested to me that the village granted may be the modern Rājapur, on the Mālungi river of the Samgmaner Sub-Division of the Aḥmadnagar District, which perhaps may have received this name in consequence of this grant. And judging from the position, this identification would suit very well indeed. The Samgamanagara of the grant would of course be the town of Samgmaner of the Aḥmadnagar District, which is about three miles east of Rājapur. Chikhaligrāma would be the village of Chikhali on the river Ārdalā, about two miles south of Rājapur, and Jamvalenimagrāma the village of Javlekarād, which is about 2½ miles west of Rājapur. And the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra would be represented by the village Velhāle (not marked on the G. T. S. Map, sheet 38) on the Mālungi river, about two miles north of Rājapur, and two deserted “wādis” not far from it.

Lines 86-110 in the usual terms admonish future rulers to protect the donees and their descendents in the possession of this grant and warn them not to resume it. Lines 110-113 add that the illustrious Bhillamarāja made the donation here recorded on the new-moon āṭṭhī of the month Bhādrapada of the year Sārvāraṇ, on the occasion of a solar

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¹¹ See ib., p. 85; compare also Indian Antiquary, vol. XII, p. 121; and this inscription, lines 21-22.

¹² I am not sure about this, for after the word Sīrī-Sīndinagara-dātahpāti one would certainly expect the name or names of one or more villages, situated in the district of Sīndinagara.


¹⁴ In the formal part of the grant the only unusual term is sādāḥdatapakrityopetam in line 80. I can only compare with it sādāḥdatapakritya in line 14 of the inscription published in the Proceedings, Beng. As. Soc., 1877, p. 73, but am not able to explain the term properly.
eclipse, at the holy bathing-place of the confluence of the Arunâ (and Godâvari) at Nâsik. And line 114 gives the name of the writer of this bûsana-pattâ, Kesâva-upâdhyâya, who (in lines 114-116) asks the indulgence of the reader for any mistakes, and winds up with the remark that no verbal deficiencies of this document will affect its validity.

The date of this inscription does not work out satisfactorily. The Jovian year Šârvarin, mentioned in line 110, correctly corresponds, by the southern luni-solar system, to the expired Śaka year 922, given in lines 1-2; but there was no solar eclipse on the new-moon tithi of either the pûrṇimânta or amânta Bhâdrapada of that year,—the 2nd and 31st August, A.D. 1000. There was a solar eclipse a month later, on the 30th September, A.D. 1000, but it was not visible in India.

**TEXT.**

**First plate.**

L. 1. ची [नमः] जिति सिद्धवाय। क्रिः क्रिः शक्तिप्रकाष्ट्रका कृष्टिसंवृवत्तवधु नवम सुधाविनः।
2. [द्व]पि द्वि वार्तोत्तर संवर्तम्। 6.22 II वायस्मित॥ सुवानामायसिदूपेषि।
3. [त्-]माता नक्षत्रवत्। तवेन यज्ञवादपूर्वे। इतीयाद।
4. तवरं त्रिगामि नामः स मूल जाति देव॥।
5. [नाथ]्योऽजय्य।॥।
6. बुध बुध हृद्वं कालवित्तु। विषयमाला।
7. मािसाय तथा। वायु विशालजाति। नामः च।
8. आ बृहस्पतिसे तस्माद विनियमित्वे। तस्माद च।
9. विक्रमः संहिता। विक्रमः शास्त्रमित्र।
10. [सिं]सिं बृहस्पतिसे तस्माद विनियमित्वे।
11. नामाभिवंतमायसिदूपेषि।
12. लघु तथा। तस्माद विनियमित्वे। तस्माद विनियमित्वे।
13. याः। [ ] गुहराँ गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां गुहरां
14. ।
15. [ ] वृहस्पतिसे तस्माद विनियमित्वे।
16. पत्तिकांस्थथा। नामाभिवंतमायसिदूपेषि।
17. चारणे ।
18. विनियमित्वे।
19. स्थानां तस्माद विनियमित्वे।

18 From an ink-impression, prepared by Mr. H. Cousins,
19 Metre, Mâlid; and of the next verse.
20 Here and in other places below which it is unnecessary to point out separately the rules of râdhi have not been observed.
21 The akshara च was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line between त्र and त्र।
22 This sign of punctuation is superfluous. In the preceding the metre is incorrect.
23 Metre, Sikharinî. In the first half of the verse five syllables have been omitted, and the words given, though their general sense is apparent, do not admit of a proper construction.
24 Metre, Śûka (Amsûṭṭhabh).
25 Metre, Vainisâthâ.
26 From here the numbers of the verses are wrong.
27 Metre, Sikharinî.
28 Read यायाम।
29 The two aksharas च[च] were originally omitted, and are engraved above the line.
30 Metre, Mâlid; and of the next verse.
31 I believe the reading intended to be cintamînâ-yaḥ; although this would offend against the metre.
32 Here I would propose reading विनियमित्वे। तस्माद च।
33 The akshara in brackets, as engraved, is च।
20. भविष्य यादवः सौजन्यद्वाराय युद्धपुप्पतिरेखाप्रा- 21. नदायः(या)दच्छः [1] सकलबिरु(क)चमकजालवनितोसै सुरारेखः- 22. गद्वानलिनिम वध व्यंजन प्रसवतः II 8 II 84 एतप्रदा- 23. नतः 35 समवद्वद्यालयायामणप्रमुखः 36 कलिकास- 24. कलमः [7] कविकाव्योलितो भूताः ख्यातः वेदवचन्द्र एव स- 25. कुष्णा नाभा निधानाशः 37 यदी वैषय निरुक्षणं च सम्बन- 26. रामरक्षकः II 10 II प्रथतात् 38 शास्त्रेयः विस्त्र(वा)लः- 27. संध्यायुद्धपुप्पतिरेखाप्राः 39 अजातः: तुवदादत्तमाला- 28. भाषाः चुतुः [1] चिन्तमालाशिल्पः 40 ग्रंथाः II 11 II “तदत्त विवु(क)पढः-

Second plate; first side.


11 Metre, śārdulavikārdita.
12 Originally ष्ट्री, but altered to सम्बा.
13 Originally ष्ट्री; व, but altered to वीरिदृष्टा.
14 Read भावयोः; this correction may have been made already in the original.
15 Metre, Śālini.
16 Read जाधवः.
17 The intended reading most probably is भाविकारी.
18 Metre, Śālini; and of the next verse.
19 Read सम्बा.
20 The aksara in brackets is ष्ट्री rather than सी.
21 Metre, Śāsavā (Amsūṭlakha).
22 Metre, śārdulavikārṣṭa; and of the next two verses.
23 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
24 The aksara in brackets looks very much like ष्ट्री.
25 Read वीरिदृष्टा.
26 The consonant of the first aksara of this line is slightly damaged, and it may possibly be स; the following aksara are quite clear.
27 Originaly चत्र was engraved.
28 Of this aksara, again, only the superscript vowel is quite certain, and the whole aksara might possibly be read च.
29 Read सुधा.
30 Metre, Śākṣeṣṭha.
31 Read वीरिदृष्टा.
32 This passage, from here to the end of line 47, looks as if it were intended to be in verse or contained fragments of verses, but I cannot recognize in it any of the known metres.
33 Read वीरिदृष्टा.
Second plate; second side.

66. — श्रीपाथायः नारायणपाथायः तथा वाजिकासः शाक्यायः कौशिकोगती तथा (विद्या देवीयै)
67. [प]राययाः ब्रजेन्द्रपाथायः कुष्टीयाः तथा व(व)छुमीशाखयाः भरतजीविवायः म[सहल ?]-
68. [प]राययाः व(व)पैयोयाः कुष्टीयाः तथा शिवरामचंद्रिनिभावमयाः कौशिकोगती(त)व[सहल ?]-
69. [प]राययाः पैयोयाः कुष्टीयाः तथा व(व)छुमीशाखयाः देवपैयाः कुष्टीयाः तथा [क ?]-
70. [दौ ?]गणभाटकरिणीयाः तथा मित्रावलीकुष्टीयाः तथा (शमुद्यजीवियः)
71. [त]याः मार्यादनय(त)हिन्दीयाः तथा ख्रीटोमयाः, [सो]रीयुक्ताः तथा मार्यं-
72. दिनमहकुष्टीयाः तथा व(व)छुमीशाखयाः देवपैयाः तथा व(व)छुमीशाखयाः तथा [क ?]
73. [व(व)कर्सावमयाः तथा शिवरामचंद्रिनिभावमयाः तथा व(व)कुष्टीयाः तथा [क]ग्रंथमयाः तथा
74. [व(व)छुमीशाखयाः] कौशिकोगती विद्याय कौशिकोगती तथा

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58. Read "कुष्टीयाः तथा मित्रावलीकुष्टीयाः तथा (शमुद्यजीवियः)
59. [त]याः मार्यादनय(त)हिन्दीयाः तथा ख्रीटोमयाः, [सो]रीयुक्ताः तथा मार्यं-
60. दिनमहकुष्टीयाः तथा व(व)छुमीशाखयाः देवपैयाः तथा व(व)छुमीशाखयाः तथा [क ?]
71. [व(व)कर्सावमयाः तथा शिवरामचंद्रिनिभावमयाः तथा व(व)कुष्टीयाः तथा [क]ग्रंथमयाः तथा
74. [व(व)छुमीशाखयाः] कौशिकोगती विद्याय कौशिकोगती तथा
75. [भो?] पत्राय वौक्षिकाएवा। व(ि) वृष्टिशिनं। ताथा व(ि) श्रवणना- 76. य भूश्चकायाः तथा व(ि) श्रवणना। दृश्यायाः कालपेशुताय 77. तथा योग्यतेवं/ पशुपेशुताः। एवमसाहित्या हिन्याणां पिन्नर्थे ।- 78. तथाभाषिताः। समुक्षितस्मसमासस्तिः जन्मतिथि- 79. काथायं तथा लघुद्वारकोनिक्षास्सन्नुववेशभाष- 80. [ि] यामेन्तरं सहचरमालकुतं बा(ि) तु: सीमापरं सापा- 81. द्राघमेविन्ने वपीङ्कुपतकागरस्माभिः सत्तकाँ ।- 82. वागशीर्षिन्वे श(ि) कलसमस्तिले। [ि] धामस्वावाटा। लिङ्गिने [ि] । 83. पूर्वतः समावानगर: द्रविषयं: विकल्पायाः। रक्षयम्। 84. म: यम्बलिनिम्पायाः। उः भस्मवेदृङ्गसिः न्यायी [ि]। एवं च। च। 85. तुरुच्चवाणपिरुण्यिन्यिवः वर्मार्मतिस्थिः। युनविवाहिणिः। 86. तानां वन्दा यावदिवेद्वाणायं। एवमबन्धवं वंबूनाम्पि। 87. [ि] भुज्जनानां भो। जयति। कष्टातं कर्मपथ्यात्मः। यथेष्ट प्रतिश्रियातं प्रति। 88. देवतातं। [ि] केनापि। खिलवादा। न: करणया। अनं च सुनिष्ठ। [ि]। 89. यानीः। दत्तानि। हुरान्नेरवविन्नाि। धर्मार्थवायस्विराण। [ि]। 90. निम्माठावालारतिमाः। तानि। [ि]। को नाम सापु: वुनराद। 91. दृश्यम्। [ि]। च। धर्म:। यदा/ यदा। भृमभुख्यः। तस्माऽः। 92. स:। यह। यदा। भृभृश्चतः। तस्माऽः। 93. फलं। [ि]। सर्वो दानं। निरावायं सारायं। तस्माऽः। 94. नमुः। [ि]।

Third plate.

95. एवं चि। रीण:। प्रापः। दानाश्रयेऽपवानमसम्। दला। भू[ि]। भावम्। 96. याधववेदः। भूमि:। भृहारो। याचते। रामभद्रः।। सा- 97. सम्मिहं। धर्मस्तुपर्यायां। काति। काति। याशी। 98. यो सर्वहः। [ि]। रविष्कितोपय:। कविवालसचा(○)। हीमा- 99. भृभृति। या। । पूर्ववादनमपपरिशिष्टाः। [ि]। पूर्वम- 100. चापत्तैववह्यापित्तैः। रीवादिदशु। नरकेशु। 101. पृथ्वामीयुक्तस्मुविष्टाः।। तथा/ च।। ासभद्र- 102. क:। दान।। खदिता।। परद्वासः।। यो घरतेन। वधुहथाम(०)। [ि]।

84. Read "वादारं तथा। 87. Read "वहोयस्। 88. Read "राघान्। 89. Read "वहिनिम्बायाः। 90. Read "वहिनिम्बायाः। 91. Originally only श्रवणयं was engraved; but three or four akṣaras were afterwards engraved above the line, which, together with the former, appear to me to yield the reading given in the text. 92. Read "वहस। 93. This sign of punctuation is superfluous. 94. The second akṣara might also be read "इ," but compare अपवादः, ante, vol. i., p. 165.
XVI.—STONE INSCRIPTIONS AT VAGHLI IN KHANDES.

THE SĀKA YEAR 991.

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

According to the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. XII, p. 478, Vāghli, a village six miles east (or rather north-east) of Chalisgaon in the Khândes District, has three temples, an old temple of Madhâidevi, a small ruined temple to its right, and a temple of the Mān-bhâva sect. "The Mān-bhâva temple, built in Hemādpecti style, 33 feet long by 22 broad and 13 high, with ornamented pillars and doorway, formerly contained a liṅga, and has still the sacred bull outside. Three large stones (within) bear illegible Sanskrit inscriptions. Near the temple is a well, inside and on each side of which is a small cell. The temple is undoubtedly very old, and has for the last seven generations been in the possession of the Mān-bhâva sect." Good impressions of the three inscriptions thus referred to, taken by Mr. H. Cousins, have been supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. They show that the three inscriptions are indeed damaged, especially one of them, but that they are by no means so illegible as they have been reported to be. And their contents appear to me sufficiently interesting to justify my furnishing a short account of them. I shall denote the inscriptions by the letters A, B, and C, but shall show that all three really form part of a single inscription.

A.—This inscription contains 14 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' 6" broad by 1' 14" high. On the proper right side the writing is much damaged and
partly altogether illegible, but, as will be seen from my transcript of the text, the greater portion of the inscription is fairly well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between \(\frac{3}{8}\)" and \(\frac{3}{4}\)". The characters are Nāgari of about the 11th century A.D. The language is Sāṃskṛt, and the inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter \(b\) is throughout denoted by the sign for \(v\); the dental sibilant is several times used instead of the palatal; and the vowel \(rī\) is employed instead of \(rī\) in \(trītāya\), line 5.

The inscription opens with a verse invoking the blessing of Gaṇapati; after that it has twelve verses, numbered 1–12; and it breaks off, at the end of line 14, in the third Pāda of another verse which would have been verse 13. Verse 1 describes the origin of the solar race, and tells that from Māndhātṛi, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya family. Verse 2 then relates how Soma, i.e., the god Śiva, left his home on the mountain Kailāsa and came for the welfare of the people to settle in the country of Surāśṭrā; and verse 3 states that here, in Surāśṭrā, there is the city of Valabhi, the capital of the Mauryas, the Brāhmaṇa citizens of which enjoy all the blessings of life through the favour of the Mauryas. Verses 4–13 then record the names of a series of princes or chiefs, the first of whom is stated to have been born in the Maurya family, and each of whom has a verse, eulogizing his valour, allotted to him. This list, for it is nothing more, is as follows:

1. The illustrious Kīkāta, born in the Maurya family (v. 4).
2. After him came the illustrious Takshaka (v. 5).
3. After him, Bhiima (v. 6).
4. Sarvaśātra (v. 7).
5. After him came the prince Govindarāja (v. 8).
6. After him, the prince Sādhvāsika (v. 9).
7. The prince Jhānjha (v. 10).
8. From him was born the prince Devahāstīn (v. 11).
9. From him, the prince Muñja (v. 12).
10. From him, the prince Padmākara (v. 13).

B.—This inscription contains fragments of 16 lines of writing, found on a stone which apparently measures about 3' 3" broad by 1' 8" high, and the inscribed surface of which is greatly damaged. The size of the letters is between \(\frac{3}{8}\)" and 1". The characters are the same as those of the inscription A. The language is Sāṃskṛt, and the inscription is throughout in verse.

Though, owing to the damaged state of the stone, I am unable to furnish a text of this inscription, I feel no hesitation in saying that we have here the continuation of the preceding inscription A. Here, too, the verses have numbers appended to them, and the first number which is preserved is 14, and occurs towards the end of line 2. This verse 14, in the Mandākṛantā metre, must have commenced about 13" from the commencement of line 1, where verse 13 would have ended, on a part of the stone which is broken away. Comparing the end of the inscription A, we see that that inscription ends in the third Pāda of a Vasantatilakā verse which would have been verse 13, and that 19 syllables are wanted to complete that verse. Now 19 syllables would in the present inscription have taken up a space of exactly 13", and, moreover, the akṣharas preserved at the commencement of line 1 of B undoubtedly do belong to a Vasantati-
lakā verse, and their sense suits well the incomplete verse at the end of A. For what we can read at the commencement of line 1 of B, is—

\[ \text{prat} \text{chchham} \text{Lakshmyāś} \text{chala} \text{vadaniyam} \text{a} \]

which, with the end of A, would give us the following verse:—

| Padmākara nārāyanaḥ: Prabhuśvabhavaḥ: Padma[|]gainvājīrāñca[|]|
| Dāvana yamūvandra[|] | Prabhavākāraśuḥvandana[|] | Padmavāra[|] ? |

As stated before, verse 14 ends in line 2; verse 15 ends in line 3, verse 16 in line 4, verse 17 in line 6, and verse 18 in line 7; verse 19 probably ended towards the end of line 8; verse 20 ends in line 10, verse 21 in line 11, and verse 22 in line 12; verse 23 must have ended in line 13; verse 24 ends in line 14, and verse 25 in line 15; and the end of verse 26 must have coincided with the end of line 16, the last line of this inscription. I believe, I cannot go wrong in saying that, exactly like the verses 4-13 of the inscription A, each of the verses 14-24 gave the name of one prince, and that the eleven verses together therefore recorded the names of eleven princes, who one after another succeeded the prince Padmākara, spoken of in verse 13. The names of the two immediate successors of Padmākara (the 11th and 12th members of the family), which must have been contained in verses 14 and 15, are broken away or at any rate no longer legible. Further on the following are mentioned:—

14. Vappaiya's son, whose name has not been preserved (Vappaiyasya sutas- | tala-vanitale, in verse 17).
17. Sāntirāja (śrī-Sāntirāja iti bhūmipatir-vabhāva, in verse 20).
21. Govinda (Govinda-bhūpatir-iti, in verse 24).

No further names seem to occur in the short passages which remain of the verses 25 and 26.

C.—This inscription contains 18 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 2½" broad by 1' 10½" high. With the exception of a few aksharas, lines 1-16 are well preserved; but the middle of line 17 is greatly damaged, and the writing of line 18 is almost entirely effaced. The size of the letters is between ½" and 1". The characters are the same as in the inscriptions A and B. The language is Samskṛita, and the inscription is throughout in verse. As regards orthography, b is everywhere denoted by the sign for v; the vowels ri is used instead of ri in vimiṣkṛta, line 3, and tridiva, line 8; and the jihvāmālāya and upadhāmānya, both denoted by the ordinary sign for sh, are employed in anvitah kirtti-, line 8, savadhīh padma-, line 5, and tānāh pūrya-, line 7.

From the text, which will be given below, it will be seen that the inscription commences with a verse which is numbered 27, and which thus at once shows it to be the
continuation of the inscription B, which ends with verse 26. The inscription clearly divides itself into two portions, the first of which, extending to nearly the end of line 9, comprises the nine verses 27-35. All that it is necessary to say about this part, is, that it eulogizes the piety of a prince (narapati, nripati, bhūmipāla) Govinda or Govinda-rāja, who in verse 27 is styled Mauryakula-pradipā, ‘the light of the Maurya family,’ and who evidently is the Govinda spoken of in verse 21 of the inscription B; and that in particular it records the foundation by this prince of a sattra, or hall of charity for travellers and for the learned and indigent, and the erection of a temple of Śiva, under the name of Siddheśanātha or Siddheśvara, with a tank or well attached to it. In all probability, the temple is the same at which the inscription is still preserved.

The second part of the inscription, the verses of which are numbered separately, opens, towards the end of line 9, with a date, and records up to line 15 various donations in favour of the temple and the charitable institute mentioned before, made both by Govindarāja himself and by (his sovereign lord) the mahāmaṇḍala-nātha, the illustrious king Seuṇa.

According to verses 1-3 (lines 9-11), the king Seuṇa, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Āshādha of the Jupiter year Saumya which was the (expired) Śaka year 991, granted to the temple of Siddheśvara the two villages of Saṃgami and Madhuvāṭikā, together with the income due from them to the king himself.—The date corresponds, by the amānta scheme, to Tuesday, the 21st July, A.D. 1069, when about half an hour after mean sunrise there was a solar eclipse which was visible in some parts of India; and the king Seuṇa is the Devagiri Yādava Seuṇachandra II., of whom we possess a copper-plate grant which is dated only a fortnight later than the present inscription, on Gurudina or Thursday, the 14th of the bright half of Śrāvana of the year Saumya, corresponding to Śaka-samvat 9913.—The villages of Saṃgami and Madhuvāṭikā I am unable to identify on the maps at my disposal.

Govindarāja’s donations are enumerated in the verses 4-13 (lines 11-15). Some of the particulars of this passage I do not fully understand; but it is clear that Govinda provided for the worship of the god in the temple founded by him (verses 4-5); that, for the support of the learned men and their pupils who resorted to his sattra, he gave four fields which are described as Vagalākunmatadbhūmi, Vakhulikshetra, Varakūṭakabhūmi and Paṭayakshiśīvāṭa, and the exact boundaries of which are recorded in the text (verses 6-12); and that he besides granted sixteen nivartanas of land to certain secular and religious teachers (verse 13).

The concluding lines of the inscription once more state that the temple, referred to in the preceding, was founded by the prince Govinda and his wife, the rájñī Nāyakī (verse 14), and contain the usual admonitions to future rulers to watch over, and not to resume, the donations here recorded.

Taken as a whole, what is contained on the three stones is a single inscription, dated in Śaka 991 or A.D. 1069, of a chief Govindarāja of the Maurya clan, a feudatory of the Devagiri Yādava king Seuṇachandra II. Its proper object is, to record that Govindarāja built the temple at which the inscription was put up, and made various

3 See Indian Antiquary, vol. XII, p. 120. It should be stated, however, that the date of the copper-plate is incorrect; for Śrāvana-aadi 14 of Śaka 991 expired (=Saumya) corresponds to the 4th August, A.D. 1069, which was a Tuesday, not a Thursday.
donations in favour of it; and by way of introduction the inscription furnishes a list of the names of the ancestors of Govinderâja for no less than twenty generations, and records that the original home of the Maurya clan was the city of Valabhi in Suráshtra, which was their capital. As Govinderâja himself is indirectly described as a feudatory of a Yâdava king, it may be assumed that his ancestors or at least some of them owed allegiance to the same family, and that these Mauryas came from Kâthiâvâd to Khândes together with the Yâdavas, the lords of Dwâravatì. As regards the individual chiefs mentioned in this inscription, I have not met with any of them in other inscriptions.

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION A.

3. \(\overline{3}\) [कृत्]मन्बुः[मन्बु]
6. [कृत्]मन्बुः[मन्बु]

4. See Professor Bhâpâjârka’s Early History of the Deccan, p. 76.
5. I know that the Yâdava Bhillama II. married the daughter of a Râja Jhâñjha (see ib. p. 77), but that Jhâñjha could not possibly have been the Jhâñjha of the present inscription; for, not to mention other reasons, Bhillama lived about A.D. 1000 (see ante, p. 212), and the Jhâñjha of this inscription lived fourteen generations before Govinderâja (A.D. 1069).
6. From impressions taken by Mr. Cousens.
7. Metre, DrutaviRambita.
8. Metre, Srâgûrâkâ; and of the next verses.
9. The akshara in brackets was originally र.
10. Read ताजां.
11. Originally विक थित was engraved.
12. Metre, Vaasanatilakah; and of the next verse.
13. The aksharas in these brackets are almost entirely effaced.
14. Originally विक थित was engraved.
15. Metre, Sârdulavikridita.
16. Originally a sign of punctuation was engraved here; but it is struck out again.
17. Metre, Vaasanatilakah; and of the next verse.
TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION C.

L. 1. [०]दामभूमिसित[दान]जिरन्धक्रमाकरवरारघायनवाचवाहचतवसिद्धि शब्दम्।
संपूर्ण: य: प्रवर्तितम|प्रवर्तन| शा|दामभूमिसित| शाबायमीमूकमधुमे| ॥ २७ ॥
वाक्यन्त्राभियतति म[४३]

2. महान्यायीकर्त्ति प्रश्न|दोन|विवक्षितकला| न|जना|व(व)|भूमि।
शस्त्रमार्गवपर्यं|ल|नानां|धाम्यकामकामसिद्धिमार्गसिद्धमार्गमु| ॥ १८ ॥
य: प्रीयायुक्त|त|मंगलसुनग|साधारण|च| ॥

3. प्रभुवी|प्रवर्तितम|ब|भूमि。
देवस्थितावृहद|रिव|तुम|न|शाबायमी|च|राजाय| ॥ २८ ॥
कर्म|ं|काम|धारिताधिवक्ष|कर|भूमिम|निःर्ण| च|तृतीय|।
संत| ॥ ॥

4. चाद्यव| सिव|धार|म|च|द|क| ॥ ५० ॥
य: पांड|प्रम|सिद्ध|सिद्ध|दी|धार|धार| च| तृतीय|।
संत| ॥

5. जाप| तप|म|च|द|क| ॥ ३१ ॥
य|प|न|क|म|च|द|क| ॥
संत| ॥

18 Metro, साँदुलाविक्रिलिता।
19 Read राजाः।
20 Read राजा।
21 Metro, वासनतिलक।
22 Metro, इद्राश्रमा।
23 Metro, साँदुलाविक्रिलिता।
24 Metro, वासनतिलक।
L. 6. दित्य[भू]यं सुरसदनसम मंदिरं चंद्रमीके: 
कुं भो गोविंदराजारपतिरसवं मर्यमोके चकार II १२ II
॥ ॥
म(ू)भ[ण]ानाजहुतःरवसवरराजसयोमलामो 
राजसनाचारवाणिदितरत[त]॥

7. तुषपुष्यकऽरवयः स्वृत्तः।
धाबा भट्टययीके समकति नरपति: सजननन्दकारी
वेघाराजासचन्दनश्चररजसुलोकनिवासः II १३ II
॥[च]॥ सर्वनाशरायाभिनवतनुभिविष्णुपूर्वे—

8. त
चक्षः सिद्धेश्वरायाभिमतिसङ्क्षेपकोयपसः।
सर्वेद्वारा पार्थवानां तु(च)दिपर्वतपुराणजन्तिनिविषयसृतः 
गोविंदस्य भूमिपारस्तुभमलर्नपुग्यर्ज्ञकोयपसः: II १४ II
वार्ती च—

9. कार सुविंतोपलासदव(ब)स्वर्याणां[०]सुर्वेश्वरभिविष्य दीनयः।
शक्सकलिङ्गम(ब)〔०〕ग्[च]लज्ञश्च संपलाभासभिमयनाभवाण्यश्चाम् II १५ III
रूपादानातुष्ण तु १५.१

10. शक्सकालस्य भूपती [१२]
सीमासंवरायाधरविस्तारविपन्नविषयं II १ III
समुद्राङ्गनायस्तु चिमांचिमकथायुपातः:।
सिद्धश्राय परमदेव प्राणशुद्धायस्य: II २ II
वनजन राजभोगन संग[भी] III

11. म(०)पाठिकाम् II १ II
गोविंदराजीय दशी प्र[न]ग[भी]ग各种 दीपाकं देवपुजः छायां दीपविविषये II ४ II
पाठं गोत्राभ्रायं विश्वासरिचिस्मत्वः।
तृष्णाः देवमोगः ग्रहकानां च भूमि — II [४.१८]

12. विपरायों भोजनार्थय स्थ(स)सुविष्णु शापस्य 
विवाहायरस्तां च० छावा(चा)णां भोजनाय च II ६ II
चेतायश यां भूपालो दौड़ी तत्ती लिखायस्य:।
श्रमाद्वर्तभूमिः[४] पूर्वादेवा तु भेषभी —

32 Metre, Sragtharā; and of the two next verses.
33 The akṣara च was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.
34 The akṣara च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.
35 I am doubtful about this akṣara, and the intended reading may possibly be भूपति भी.
36 Metre, Vasanatilaka.
37 Metre, Sīkka (Anushṭubh); and of the following twelve verses.
38 Of this akṣara only the sign of anusodra is doubtful.
39 The reading here and up to the end of the line is quite clear in the original. Read विपरायोऽऽिकावी? (४).
40 I do not understand this, nor the following भोजनाय; 
these lines may have been put for विहरण.
41 This च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.
42 Originally सुर्वेश्वर was engraved, but the akṣara च has been struck out.
XVII.—KHALARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF HARIBRAHMDEVA.

The [Vikrama] year 1470. 

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.; Göttingen.

This inscription is on a polished stone, which is fitted into the wall of a small temple at Khalari, a village about 45 miles east of the town of Raypur in the Central Provinces. It contains sixteen lines of writing, which cover a space of about 1'11\frac{1}{2}'' broad by 11\frac{1}{4}'' high. The writing is well preserved throughout, and the reading is no

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49 Read चाम चाराबा.
49 The akṣaras शा was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.
50 Metro, शारदालविक्रिया.
51 Metro, Vaṣaṇatiśakhā; and of the next verse.
52 From here, up to the end of the line, the writing is so seriously damaged that only a few akṣaras, which yield no connected sense, are at all legible. There can be no doubt that this was the concluding line of this inscription.
53 Wrongly for 1471.
54 See Sir A. Cunningham's Archæol. Survey of India, vol. VII, p. 156; according to the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces, p. 248, Khalari is only about thirteen miles from Raypur.
KHALARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF HARIBRAHMADADEV.

where in the least doubtful. The size of the letters is about ¼. The characters are Nāgari of the period to which’ the inscription belongs, the 15th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, employed by a person of little knowledge; and, excepting the introductory om śrī-Gaṇapataye namaḥ, and a date and the name of the engraver at the end, the inscription is in verse. The letter b is, as usually, written by the sign for v; otherwise the orthography calls for no remarks.

The inscription, called by the author a prakasti, was composed by Misra Dāmodara (verse 11), written on the stone by Rāmadāsa of the Vāstavya family (v. 13), and engraved by the artisan Ratnadeva (line 16). And its proper object is to record the foundation of a temple of Nārāyaṇa (or Vishnu) by the shoemaker (mochi) Devapāla, a son of Śivādāsa and grandson of Jassu (vv. 9, 10, and 12), at the town of Kālavāṭikā (v. 7), i.e., the modern Khalāri. By way of introduction the inscription—after the words ‘om, adoration to Gaṇapati’ and three verses in honour of that deity and of Bhārati, the goddess of eloquence, and Nārāyaṇa,—gives us (in verses 4-6) the following genealogy of the prince, the illustrious Haribrahmadeva, whose capital (rājadānt) Kālavāṭikā is represented to have been when the inscription was composed:

In the Kalachuri (or Kalachuti) branch of the Haihaya (here called Ahihaya) family was the prince Śīnhaṇa, a worshipper of Śambhu (or Śiva), who conquered eighteen strongholds of adversaries. His son was the prince, Rāmadeva, who slew in battle Bhonigadeva (apparently a prince, whom I am unable to identify). And his son again was the illustrious prince, Haribrahmadeva.

The inscription is dated (in lines 15 and 16) in the (Vikrama) year 1470, the Śaka year 1334, and the year Plava of the sixty-years’ cycle of Jupiter, on the 9th of the bright half of Māgha, a Saturday, while the moon was in the nakshatra Rohini. Had the years been given correctly in this date, the Vikrama year 1470 would have to be taken as a current year, and the Śaka year 1334 as an expired year. But the date works out satisfactorily neither for Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired, nor for Vikrama 1470 expired, and its proper year undoubtedly is Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, as will be seen from the following equivalents:

For Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired Māgha-sūdi 9 corresponds to Wednesday, the 11th January, A.D. 1413;
for Vikrama 1470 expired = Śaka 1335 expired, to Tuesday, the 30th January, A.D. 1414;
for Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, to Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, when the 9th tithi of the bright half ended 16 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in the nakshatra Rohini, from 1 h. 8 m., or, by the Garga-sidhdanta, from 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise, or, by the Brahma-sidhdanta, from about sunrise. This Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, also, as required, fell in the Jovian year Plava, which by the Śdva-sidhdanta rule without bṛja lasted from the 24th April, A.D. 1414, to the 20th April, A.D. 1415.

* See ante, Index of vol. I, under Vāstavya.
Of the reign of the prince Haribrahmadeva we possess another (carelessly written) inscription of the Vikrama year 1458, which was found at Bhopur and is now in the Nagpur Museum\(^4\), and the full date of which I have given in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 28, No. 20. In that inscription, which records the foundation of a temple of Haṭakeśvara (Śiva) by the Nāyaka Hājirājadeva, the prince is described as *Mahārāja- dhiraśā*, and called Rāyabrahmadeva, Harirāyabrahma, and simply Brahmadeva. The inscription also mentions his predecessors, who are there called Simhā and Rāmachandra, instead of Simhana and Rāmadeva.

I may mention, besides, that the names of these princes Simhana and Rāmachandra also occur in a large mutilated inscription at Ramtek\(^5\) in the Central Provinces of which I owe a faint rubbing to Dr. Fleet.

**TEXT.**

I. 1. भो [ⅷ] वीरभूत्ते नमः: (॥)
    सकलपुरुषकरोही विबिधसाधनकरोही विन्याससुस्मिति: वेशवकीयिति: ।
    लक्षितमुक्तातिवोऽः

2. विवता गंगावतीस्वामि वर्णाधिक: पाटु वो विधा वर्णः: ॥ १ ॥
    वेदानाराधे वेषः: परित्वमण्डितां वामनान्तरखिष्ठः
    श्रीकंठाकीण्यो नवदरवर्तित मनः

3. पार्वती किरुरिक्रमः। ।
    ज्ञान नारायणासिंहेः रहस्सिः रणाकरणः यवुषः: ।
    सदा: सकाय्यस्तिः: स्वरुतु काविसुधीर् सहारती सा ॥ २ ॥
    व(श्र.)ब्राह्म- ।

4. धी (विषयः: विषयः: निश्चितावर्तमानः आयंष्ठित वं दशमालाद्रिद्भवसूलः ।
    पापाति वर्गायतः विशयं प्रायतं नारायणः: स्वरुतु चेतसिः सर्वंत व: ॥(॥) ३ ॥
    चाहिँसः। ।

5. वनरणा श्रावंशिकाएवाद: कल्पितित गाध्य तीखत्रेव (श्र.)परतापः:
    निविज्ञामुवदन्धोऽविन्दुर्गाविन्दुभृत्यूष्णु कुष्ठ चार्य सिन्धुशासिष्याण: ॥

6. ॥ ॥
    धवनविनायाचसात्सुनिरत्त्र सर्वदेव: समरागिरिः धीरी धित्तो श्रीरिवर्तिवः ।
    मार्गार्थो निदिन्यांध्राभिषोऽविनुष्ठानः लम्बोः ।

7. तद्युत: युक्तिः: जगतिः: जवन्दलोऽभवत: ।
    श्रेष्ठोऽपि वाणिस्तोऽश्विचारणे सुमुखातिः ।
    सर्वं राजानां श्रुतसमरसहस्तिक: विलकातः ।

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\(^4\) See Sir A. Cunningham’s *Arcahol. Survey of India*, vol. XVIII, p. 17.
\(^5\) See id., vol. VII, p. 112.
\(^6\) From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.
\(^7\) Read ग्रिन्तोः
\(^8\) Metre, Mālinī.
\(^9\) Metre, Sragdhāra. In the second line of this verse a relative pronoun has been omitted.
\(^10\) Metre, Vasantarātikā.
\(^11\) I give this verse exactly as I find it in the original. Its meaning is clear enough. In the Kalachuribranch of the Haihayas family there was the prince Simhana, who conquered eighteen fortresses of adversaries. But the Haihayas are called by the writer Ahibhayas, and the Kalachuris Kala-chutus, not to mention the grammatical mistakes which the verse contains.
\(^12\) Metre of verses 4 and 5, Mālinī.
L. 8.  

नां

गोत्स्वान्न हितीयो भरत द्व द्रुप: श्रीतिर्भव(भ)श्रेयेष्व: ॥ ६ ॥

तद्राजधानी नगरो गार्हस्थ्याका राजती वाचिकाभि: ।

द्रुपाला यज्ञ हिमालयाभा विहान्

9.  

श्रीतिर्भवभ्रंगी: ॥ ७ ॥

भृदेवा यज्ञ वेदाध्ययनमत्र रता: श्रीतिर्भव कस्यंति

श्रीमंत: श्रीविष्णुस्चरासपििृष्ठ राजराजं इस्सत: ।

कामिन्य: कामदेव विपुर्षरः

10.  

दृशा द्राम्यकौयञ्जः:

प्रायोहोऽखण्डकाला विमतमुष्णरगीरा भृदतादव(व)रेण ॥ ८ ॥

भृदेवा तत्तदुर्विश्वाशिवतयामा: कामिन्क्षाणञ्चदः

श्रीजन्या-

11.  

द्राम्यनासारसंजय धव जसीनामधेयस्य धीम: ।

जनाभवर्गभिमलायो गुर्णितिःधियवदालाभिवाहास्य पुजः

श्रीमद्भारायणस्य भार्णविदमलि राजसि

12.  

देवपाल: ॥ ८ ॥

नारायणायायानं भवस्तरं भवस्तरं महेश्वरं सक मंडवेन ।

निभावितं तेन परं चापं तबं धर्मदिखतं वाचित(छ)तापी ॥ १० ॥

धर्मदिवसरोजयानाः

13.  

पीयुषिनिम्बुमस्तरसङ्कुच्चाधस्वाकलितेः

सरसकविनानात निम्नित्यम प्रमस्तित्व निवादासामन्दोदरेण ॥ ११ ॥

वस्त्रं जगति गंगा यायाः

14.  

दादितपुंरा स्वर्ग स्वरूप स्वरूप तारामंडलांकंदैनः

तरिकरमस्तल्लियाना तात्पंदेशा जयति जयति भोमिदेवपालस्य कीर्ति: ॥ १२ ॥

श्रीवास्तवायर्मेषु

15.  

प्रत्यतजरात्मकरः

सिंहिता रामदासीं पंडिताधिरेष्वरेण ॥ १३ ॥

खण्ड्यत्त चित्रसंत् १४०० वर्ष साले १४१६ पवायोत्तमेऽः ॥ १४ ॥

भवनामसंवकरं मापसदवि ॥

16.  

सक्षावरी रोबिष्णुयुण्डे ॥ ॥ सुभासु गयवजगत: ॥ सहस्त्राधिकराधिकरे

18. Metre, Sragdhara.
11. Metre, Upajiti.
16. Metre of verses 8 and 9, Sragdhara.
19. Metre of verses 11 and 12, Malini.

15. The word akhandala is perhaps (wrongly) used here in the sense of 'rain-bow'.
20. Read जयस्वर्गम 'in the sixty-years' cycle.'
XVIII.—DUBKUND STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KACHCHHAPAGHATA VIKRAMASIMHA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1145.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIRLHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered, in 1866, by Captain W. R. Melville, in the ruins of a temple at 'Dubkund,' Indian Atlas, Quarter-sheet 51, S. E., Long. 77° 5½ E., Lat. 25° 43½ N. The place is in a dense forest on the left bank of the Kunu river, 76 miles to the south-west of Gwâlior; and the temple is situated in the middle of an enclosure on a peninsula, the neck of which is defended by a fortified wall, and all around it are a mass of ruined houses and the remains of several smaller temples. Captain Melville sent two copies of the inscription to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but they were probably too imperfect to be used for editing the inscription. The ruins of Dubkund were examined again, in 1882-83, by Sir A. Cunningham's native draughtsman, and from his account a description of them is given in Archæol. Survey of India, vol. XX, p. 99, and Preface, p. v, together with a small photo-lithograph of the inscription, ib., plates xxii and xxii. I now edit the inscription from one of his rubbings, apparently the same from which the photo-lithograph was prepared.

The inscription contains 61 lines of writing which cover a space of 1 8½" broad by 3" 2½" high. With the exception of about twenty aksharas in lines 1 and 2 which have become damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and perhaps a few other aksharas which are illegible in the rubbing, the writing is well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between 1½" and 1¾". The characters are Nâgari of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the introductory om om nomo vitarágaya and the greater portion of lines 54-61, the inscription is in verse. It is called a prāsasti (lines 47 and 60), and was composed by the Jaina Vîjaya-kîrtti (line 46), written on the stone by Udayarâja (line 60), and engraved by the stone-mason Tilhanâ (line 61). Both the writer and the engraver have done their work with great care, and in respect of orthography I have only to note that the letter 5 is throughout written by the sign for v, and that the dental sibilant is occasionally employed instead of the palatal.

The object of the inscription is, to record the foundation of a Jaina temple—clearly the temple at which the inscription was discovered—by some private persons (lines 52-53), and certain donations made in favour of it by the Mahârdâjâdhirâja Vikramasimha (lines 54-59) who ruled the country around Dubkund when the inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1145 (line 61). And the inscription clearly divides itself into two parts, the first of which (lines 10-32) gives an account of the prince Vikramasimha and his ancestors, while the other (lines 32-51) treats of the founders of the temple and certain Jaina sages connected with them. In six introductory verses (lines 1-10) the poet invokes the blessings of, or glorifies, the Jaina Tîrthakârâs Rishabhasvâmin, Sântinâtha, Chandraprabha and the Jina (Mahâvîra), the sage Gotama, and the goddess of eloquence (bruta-devatâ) 'famous in the world under the name of Pañkajavâsini.'

1 See Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, vol. XXXV, part I, p. 188.
2 In the rubbing before me it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between the palatal and dental sibilants.
The poet’s account of the Mahārājādhīrā, Vikramāsimha (lines 10-32) is as follows:—

“There was, an ornament of the Kacchhhapaghāta family, and a son of the illustrious Yuvārāja who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince Arjuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a bowman who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth.”

Having, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādharadeva, fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neck-bones, he unceasingly filled all the three worlds with his imperishable fame, brilliant like pearl-strings and like the orb of the moon and the foam of the sea.

The notes of his musical instruments which rose, when he marched out, resembling the roaring of the sea, and the sounds of the bells of his countless troops of mountain-like elephants, eagerly marching forth, vied with each other in spreading on all sides, and never left off filling the hollow of heaven and earth, joined by the loud echo which rose from mountain caves.

From him was born Abhimanyu, who, always possessed of many unblemished qualities which supported crowds of suppliants who (but for him) would have wandered round the circuit of the quarters, and which in splendour rivalled the moon’s crescent, having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious, valued other princes as lightly as a straw.

Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella?

When he marched forth, the thick clouds of dust which rose from the earth, pounded by the sharp hoofs of his chargers, covering the sun’s orb, predicted as it were with certainty that soon indeed would be dimmed the lustre of all other illustrious beings.

From that illustrious prince was born the prince Vijayapāla, who filled the circuit of the quarters with his boundless glory which spread about, bright like the quivering rays of the autumnal moon, and who allayed all suffering whatever on the whole orb of the earth.

Moreover, this prince in a high degree roused the feeling of wonder in the minds of the learned, because in the battles which were viewed by the damsels of heaven he imparted fear to all his enemies one after another, although he had not got it himself, while he never gave to them a portion of the earth, which he did possess.

From him was born the illustrious prince Vikramāsimha, ‘the lion of valour,’ rightly so named, because in the display of his mighty valour, which performed valorous deeds, he cleft asunder the projecting fleshy frontal globes of the arrayed elephants of

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3 Arjuna being the name of one of the Pāṇḍava princes, the poet manages to bring into the verse the words Pāṇḍu, Bhumisen (the second son of Pāṇḍu and elder brother of Arjuna), and Dhanesin (an epithet of Arjuna).

4 The words of the original would also mean ‘possessed of many uncut bow-strings which supported crowds of arrows able to conquer the circuit of the quarters’.
all his enemies, and because his brilliant fame, as if it were his big shining mane, spread at once in all quarters.

Having perceived that his club-like right arm, even while he was a child, was taken possession of by the Fortune of heroism, who had given up all idea of occupying any other resting-place, the Fortune of royalty, proudly desirous of asserting her superiority, when he was older, determined on embracing his whole body, turning away with disdain from all other men.

Useless indeed is yonder sun, so long as this sun of a king disperses the thick darkness of exceedingly haughty adversaries, and eclipses the stars of the badly-conducted, and illuminates all round the wide expanse of this whole earth, and uninterruptedly touches with his fierce rays of supremacy, which spread to the confines of the regions, mountain-like princes.

At his conquest of the quarters, the dust which rose from the orb of the earth, crumbling to pieces under the sharp hoofs of his choice chargers, spread over the chief towns of his adversaries, and, enveloping all things, foretold as it were the time of the universal destruction.

To this noble prince belongs the town named Chaḍobha, the lustre of which spreads on all sides, the excellent markets and the thriving trade of which are celebrated by the people that come to it from all quarters to traffic in things which they have got or wish to acquire."

The historical information contained in these verses is this:—

In the Kaĉchhhapaghāta family there was—

1. Yuvarāja. His son was—

2. Arjuna, who, as an ally or feudatory of Vidyādharadeva, slew in battle Rājyapāla. His son was—

3. Abhimanyu, whose valorous bearing was eulogized by the king Bhoja. His son was—

4. Vijayapāla; and his son again—

5. Vikramasimha, for whom the inscription (in line 61) furnishes the date Monday, the third of the bright half of the month Bhadrapada of the year 1145, corresponding, as I have shewn in Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, p. 361(No. 170), to the Northern Vikrama year 1145 expired, or to Monday, the 21st August, A. D. 1088.

Of the Kaĉchhhapaghāta family we possess two other inscriptions of about the same time and from the same part of India. One is the large Gwālior Sāsbahū temple inscription of the Vikrama year 1150, which gives us the line of princes Lakṣmīnā, Vajradāman, Maṅgalarāja, Kirtirāja, Māladeva, Devapāla, Padmapāla, and Maḥīpāla. And the other is the Narwar copper-plate inscription of Virasimhadeva of the Vikrama year 1177, which mentions, as the immediate predecessor of Virasimhadeva, Śaradasimhadeva, and as his predecessor, Gaganasimhadeva. As these two inscriptions contain totally different names, and as none of the names occurring in either agree with the names furnished by the present inscription, it is clear that the three

* The date is one of those in which the tīkhi is joined with the week-day on which it commenced.
* See Indian Antiquary, vol. XV, p. 35.
inscriptions belong to three different branches of the Kachchhapaghatā family, which must have been in possession of the country round Gwālior in the 11th century A. D. We know that the prince Vajradāman of the Gwālior inscription, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1084, defeated a ruler of Kanauj and conquered the fort of Gwālior which before belonged to Kanauj. And I shall try to show that one of the princes mentioned in the present inscription, too, had some share, perhaps an important one, in the wars which must have been waged against the rulers of Kanauj during the first quarter of the 11th century A. D.

About Vikramasimha and his predecessor Vijayapāla the author of our inscription has nothing of importance to report. I myself believe Vijayapāla to be identical with the nripati Vijayādhirāja, who is mentioned as a ruling prince in an inscription of the Vikrama year 1100 at Byānā, which is about 80 miles north of Dubkund, and whose name is preserved in the local traditions as Vijayapāla; and I may mention that, like the inscription of Vikramasimha, here published, the Byānā inscription of Vijayādhirāja also is a Jaina inscription. Of Vijayapāla's father Abhimanyu our inscription merely says that his valour and skill were highly eulogized by the intelligent king Bhoja. Considering that for Vikramasimha we have the date Vikrama 1148, and for Vijayapāla (Vijayādhirāja) the date Vikrama 1100, Abhimanyu must have ruled shortly before Vikrama 1100, and there can therefore be no doubt that the king Bhoja, here spoken of, is the Paramāra Bhojadeva of Mālava, for whom we possess the two dates Vikrama 1078 and Śaka 964—Vikrama 1099.

Abhimanyu's father Arjuna, whose rule may be placed some time between Vikrama 1060 and 1090, is said to have slain, in the cause of the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva, the illustrious Rājya-pāla; and this, in my opinion, is really a valuable piece of information. As regards Vidyādhara-deva, he can be no other than the Chandella king of that name, the successor of Gaṇḍadeva and predecessor of Vijayapāladeva. Gaṇḍadeva was preceded by Dhaṅgadeva, who ruled from about Vikrama 1011 to about 1055, and Vijayapāladeva was succeeded by Devavarmanadeva, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1107. Gaṇḍadeva therefore must be placed approximately about Vikrama 1060-1080, which shows that his successor Vidyādhara-deva may well indeed have been a contemporary of the Kachchhapaghatā Arjuna. As to Rājya-pāla, I think it highly probable that he is the Rājya-pāla who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Trilochna-pāla in the Jhāst (or Allahābād) copper-plate of this king of the Vikrama year 1084, published by me in Indian Antiquary, vol. XVIII, p. 34; and I now believe that the three kings Vidyāpāladeva, Rājya-pāladeva and Trilochna-pāladeva of that inscription, about whom I could say nothing at the time, were really rulers of Kanauj. For we know that the Chandella Vidyādhara brought about the destruction of a ruler of Kanyakubja (or Kanauj) and it appears very probable that he allied himself for that purpose with his neighbours, the Kachchhapaghatā chiefs, and that the prince of

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* See Dr. Fleet in Indian Antiquary, vol. XIV, p. 8.
There can, in my opinion, be little doubt that the Mahāgāraja, mentioned in another fragmentary inscription at Byānā (ib. p. 9), is the Kachchhapaghatā Mahāgāraja of the Gwālior inscription, the successor of Vajradāman.

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11 *Ib.*, p. 196.
12 *Ib.*, pp. 124 and 130.
14 See also ante, vol. I, p. 219.
Kanauj destroyed by him was the very Rājayapāla, mentioned in the present inscription and in the Jhūsi copper-plate. As indicated by Dr. Hultzsch, ante, vol. I, p. 219, we have hitherto known nothing certain of the kings of Kanauj between A. D. 948 and 1097. If my suggestions are approved of, we have now at least the names of three kings of Kanauj, who together must have ruled approximately from about A. D. 980 to about A. D. 1040.—About Arjuna’s father Yuvarāja the author of our inscription has nothing to say.

Of the second part of the inscription it will, I think, be sufficient to give an abstract of the contents. The last verse translated above told us that to Vikramasimha belonged the town of Chaḍobha, evidently the place now called Dubkund which at the time must have been noted for its trade; and in continuation of it the verses in lines 32-39 give the genealogy of the two Jaina traders Rishi and Dāhada, on whom Vikramasimha had conferred the rank of kreshtiṃs in that town, and one of whom is mentioned afterwards among the founders of the temple. Both were sons of Jayadeva and his wife Yaśomati, and grandsons of the kreshtiṃ Jāsaka, who is described as the head of a family or guild of merchants which had come from Jāyasapur, a town which I am unable to identify.

Lines 39-48 then contain an account of some Jaina sages, the last of whom, Vijayakirti, not only composed this inscription, but also by his religious teaching incited the people to build the temple at which the inscription was afterwards engraved. The first sage spoken of, an ornament of the Lātavāgaṭa gaṇa, is the Guru Devasena. His son was Kulabhūṣaṇa; and his son again was Durlabhhasenasūri. From him sprang the Guru Sāntishena who, in a sabhā held before the king Bhojadeva, defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambarasena and other learned men. And his son was Vijayakirti.

Of the founders of the temple lines 48-51 mention by name the Śādhu Dāhaḍa whose genealogy has already been given, Kūkeka, Sūrpaṭa, Devadharā, Mahi-chandra, and Lakshmana; but others also, who are not named, are said to have rendered assistance.

The prose passage, commencing in line 54, records that the Mahārājādhirāja Vikramasimha, for the building of the temple and for keeping it in good repair, as well as for purposes of worship, assigned (a tax of) one vimśopaka on each gont (of grain?), and gave a piece of land in the village of Mahāchakra, capable of being sown with four gonts of wheat, and a garden with a well to the east of Rajakadraha; and that he moreover provided a certain amount of oil14 for lamps and for anointing the bodies of holy men.—I can find no names like Mahāchakra and Rajakadraha anywhere near Dubkund on the maps at my disposal.

- After the usual appeal to future rulers to keep the above donations intact, lines 60-61 give the names of the writer and of the engraver, already mentioned; and the inscription closes with a date, the European equivalent of which I have given above.


14 The original has the compound kara-ghosikā-deyam, the first word of which I am unable to explain properly.
Text."^

L. 1. चीः० [चीः] म[मी] सीतारामय [चा]

रेहनालक[य] दमोदर लुढ़का दुर्वका[य]

स्वर्ग[म] पुज़क[द] विद्यांतरांतिविद्यां [तु]

2. [त्या] रेहनालक[य] सजनी[य] रामाय[य]

काव्यकर्म लहरसल्लामी

गिर्ये स्वामकार [भें] [शं] जां जान जान जान

3. [चीः] गुण[स] [रं] निजातिता निर्भोतिता [प] [श] [क] शाकाये

जगति संतनतास्यक्रण [भें] कार

4. कर[य] जोतितसिन्धुसारसरसीं संसरोपवद्धिदेशः स मम

शीर्ष्या [यो] तिनायो जिनः

5. विज्ञायनुपांतमय लन्दतंतर [जान]

6. [सर] रंजनसे प्राप्त विमुखदंपनाकेन स

शीर्षण प्रणय[दुम]

7. — [त्या] अनुपूर्व मुनपात्मक्याकालहातो

8. वन्न निनाय जयतालोय जिनः सम्पादितः

9. प्रसादितां गुप्तवंकाभकर [भा] स्वर खें खें खें

10. तमो सुनितसमः ये मिनाशिपि गुप्तवंकाभकर

11. समकृतिसे नागः शुभायुतः पतिरपायमय खुशुतां

12. विवेयाः वीविवाहदिवसकायं निर्भोतिता

13. ॥ [दू] विलिंगदंपन [दि] लक्ष्मीकालपोष [दव]

14. प्रकाशकारोक्तित्वमेववार्ताविद्यावर्णा [द्वा]

15. वत्त: संरसाशविद्विन्य अर्प्यं दितीयं

16. शुभायुताः [न] भारतवासारामनीयाः

FROM SIR A. CUNNINGHAM'S RUBBING, SUPPLIED TO ME BY

DR. BURGESS.

EXPRESSED BY A SYMBOL.

METRE, Sārdūlavikṛtī; AND OF THE NEXT THREE VERSES.

REDA T."
L. 17. [फ़िल्ड]त्र्युंगुणः॥ विजयनोदयाजी विजुलोऽजते जातोर्षादिकसृष्टिपतिनामभासांनकमृशृष्टम्॥ यस्यांकुन्तनं।

18. वाष्ट्राधिकारमप्रमाणं यद्यावस्थाश्चतुर्विद्यितां प्रयुक्तमहत्वमिर्गे संपूर्णात्॥ अक्षारोऽत्तति।

19. भयति दृष्टारिष्टचक्रप्रदशाय याज्ञवल्लक्षणे निःसूयत् च। श्रवणचक्रार्थीपति। प्रतिःक्षताः पाणी।

20. समुद्रसागरद्वयमहाविद्याकोसमूहतः मृदुः ययायोऽत्तति। प्रतृपत्तिविज्ञानविदसततिः भिषितमिनितः।

21. एवा[य]सतोवासनारस्त॥ श्रद्धाधिकारकरूपाचर्यम्ययोद्यम्यकारिनिर्मितासारासारासार।

भजनि विषयः

22. पालः श्रीमतोप्रार्थिनंराजं शमसतसुशक्तिवर्धिणीकृतिमेलिसं।॥ "भयति कर्तव्यं विद्याविकृतं।

23. अमेठ्याधिकारां यतदसद्धारणिः सदाः। सतोमहादात्रात्। वाज्ञवाळीसुरनामात्तति। धु[ढ] पाणी।

24. नरेंद्रो दृष्टि मणि॥ "तत्तथांत्रिन्तरं कार्यकालप्राप्तं भविष्यति। भविष्यति।

25. भजनसः। श्रीमान्यात्मकसंभूमात्भुतवृद्धिनामयाः सम कृणाः। (श्र) पर्यविविधाश्रयः सारणकृत।

26. याधाः। लघुकथा स्वप्नः स्वप्नः। पिता परिचारक सुर दृष्टिं श्रीमान्यपरमेतिनिधियो वीराधित्या

27. वर्गुणापेशसंमयकरार्द्धरुपिका॥ राजश्रीरः। तत। धिगसं। "विसुद्धिः श्रवणचक्रार्थी॥ "भविष्यति।

28. रामविनोदिव्यद्रविनोदिच्छातिनात्। ताराभरी विग्ने विद्याध्यानाय सक्तिलक्ष्मिनात्। जयाणि।

29. अमरसमुहरुपुरुषाधिकारां॥ दिगातिविज्ञानवर्षे। ताराभरी विद्याध्यानात्।

30. मन्त्राधिकारनलिखज्ञयोभिष्यतु॥ विहितिधिः पुरहुः। तिरिगहिताध्यायशुलार प्रविज्ञानभिद्रविनोदिता॥

31. प्रार्य। कर्तव्यं विद्याः। श्रवणान्तरसंगमसंस्कृतस्मां॥ प्रातिभिष्क्रियं।

32. अमितायुसमुहरुपुरुषाधिकारां। "भविष्यति। तत। धिगसं। "भविष्यति।

33. वीराधित्या॥ प्रभाविनिः। श्रवणान्तरात्ति यो दृढ़त पारंपराः। धिगसं। श्रवणान्तरात्ति यो दृढ़त पारंपराः।

34. अमरसमुहरुपुरुषाधिकारां॥ दिगातिविज्ञानवर्षे। ताराभरी विद्याध्यानात्।

35. मन्त्राधिकारनलिखज्ञयोभिष्यतु॥ विहितिधिः पुरहुः। तिरिगहिताध्यायशुलार प्रविज्ञानभिद्रविनोदिता॥

36. वीराधित्या॥ प्रभाविनिः। श्रवणान्तरात्ति यो दृढ़त पारंपराः। धिगसं। श्रवणान्तरात्ति यो दृढ़त पारंपराः।

The above appears to be what was originally engraved, but the akṣara य may have been altered.

Read विज्ञानाः।

Read विचारा।

Read मालिन्द। and of the next verse.

Read स्मरणार्थ।

Read विचाराः।

Read विचाराः।

Read विचाराः।

Read कालं। and of the next verse.

Read स्मरणार्थ।

Read अक्षारोऽत्तति।

Read प्रभाविनिः।

Perhaps altered to विचाराः।
विक्रमसिंहाच. 239

12. भारेभारी दानातित: तबतया। चिन्मत्रीमिलनं जस्तदृशः पृजयति। विजयकांशवति। अभागः। पुत्रार्जुन तर्कः। 35. एते चक्रवर्तिवाचा सौम्यायनस्थिरोत्तरम् तत्त्वात्。

14. भिषजः। एते दचनाति व(त)भूष भायो यथीमतीं। प्रविश्य इति। तथायानीति जननशासनस्तुलीयः पुत्री पाराप्रतिपा॥

16. कृष्णारंभिताहस्तिहृदयं। \(\text{मां} \) महाविश्वामित्रं। समायुत्तकुलस्वरूपः। कृष्णावस्थाय। \(\text{मनुष्य} \) महाविश्वामित्रुपरिप्रेयः। भयावहोऽस्माभासी।।

18. श्रीमाण्डलस्मिन्

20. त्यतित्रितीयोऽयं ज्ञानं भुजोऽन्यः तत्समधवः। प्राकृतविश्वम्। तत्त्वात्। \(\text{मां} \) महाभिज्ञानवधः।

22. जनसः। वीरुभुधश्चिलनविश्वासीयास्यायामः। सम्भवदेशविक्षिप्तः। विद्वतात्त्वकारात्तिहारः।

24. भानवाद्याः। कतमः। श्रीमाण्डलस्मिन्। तत्त्वात्। \(\text{भम} \) महाभिज्ञानवधः।

26. कृष्णारंभिताहस्तिहृदयं। \(\text{भम} \) महाभिज्ञानवधः। तत्त्वात्। \(\text{भम} \) महाभिज्ञानवधः।

28. प्रभुवाद्याः। \(\text{भम} \) महाभिज्ञानवधः। तत्त्वात्। \(\text{भम} \) महाभिज्ञानवधः।

30. श्रीमाण्डलस्मिन्। तत्त्वात्। \(\text{भम} \) महाभिज्ञानवधः।
XIX.—PABHOSĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY A. Führer, Ph.D.

The small modern village of Pabhosa stands on a cliff about 30 feet high, overlooking the northern bank of the Jamnā, in taḫṣīl Manšānpur, 33 miles south-west of Allahābād, and represents the ancient site of the once famous Prabhāsā.1 The classical hill of Prabhāsā, which is the only rock in the Ḍabārā, or Deob between the Ganges and Jamnā rivers, is 3 miles to the north-west of the great fort of Kosām Khirāj, the ancient Kauśāmbī, and not more than 3 miles from the present villages of Kosām Inām and Pālli,2 which formed the old city outside the walls of the fort. High up, in the face of this hill, there is a typical rock-hewn cave, in an inaccessible position. This lofty stone cavern is, no doubt, the stone dwelling of the venomous Nāga described thus by Hiueng Tsang3 in his account of Kauśāmbī:—"To the south-west of the city, 8 or 9 li (about 1½ miles), is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nāga. Being enraged

1 Metre, Śārdūla-vikrītīta.
2 These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
3 Metre, Śīkha (Annya-hūbh).
4 Read "pālītā".
5 The Prabhāsā, mentioned in the Maṅgbuddha inscription of Śaṅkararasa, Tālā, vol. 1, p. 237 (see note), most probably is the modern Pabhosa on the Jamnā and not the distant place of inscription in Deob.
6 A copperplate grant, measuring 7 inscriptions by the Brahmā, of Mahākāla, nāhakāla, dated (Śukra-saṅkrānti, 1056) was found in this village in May 1901.
7 Beal, Si-yu-ki, vol. 1, p. 385.
this dragon, Tathâgata left here his shadow; but, though this is a tradition of the people there is no vestige of the shadow visible." Hiuên Tsiang's statement that the cave is 8 or 9 li to the south-west of Kauṣâmbi, is erroneous, as the hill bears north-west from the fort of Kosâm. According to the popular belief of the villagers there is a Nâga inside the cave, of which everybody has heard, but which no one has seen. The serpent is believed to have his head in the Jamâ while his tail remains in the cave, which is more than a quarter of a mile from the river. The Nâga is said to be seen once a year at the time of the Divâlû festival. Not a little surprised were the people, therefore, to find that no Nâga was encountered when I entered and examined the cave during the night of the 25th March 1887.

At the back of the village a flight of about one hundred and ten steps leads up to a platform, formed of a mere mass of débris, the refuse of former quarries, on which stands a small modern Jaina temple. Close by are three small standing figures of naked Jinas cut in the rock. About 150 feet from the north-east corner of the temple rises the rock perpendicularly about 47 feet in height, in the highest scarp of which the cave is situated. Above the solid rock, in which the cavern is hewn, several large boulders of hard grey quartzite are lying, one upon another, in a sloping position. No doubt, the access to this cave from below was removed by the quarrymen, as it would seem, shortly after the eighth century A.D. In order to effect an entrance into the cave and to copy its inscription outside (Facsimile No. I), which is visible to the naked eye from below, I intended first to erect a staging from the temple below up to the cave and inscription; but finding this to be extremely dangerous on account of the locality and its surroundings, I had a wooden crib made to let down by means of strong ropes from above the cave. As, however, the neighbourhood of the cavern was infested by numerous swarms of wild bees, the cave had to be entered by night and the inscriptions to be copied by the light of a lantern, which added much to the difficulty of the undertaking.

The cave is entirely hewn in the solid rock, the marks of the chisel being apparent throughout; the left side is occupied by a stone couch and pillow, or sej, for the hermit's use. The roof is of very curious formation, being cut into vaulted shelves or cupboards, on each side of the centre; these shelves occupy about half of the roof, and the remainder is plain. The main entrance, a door measuring 2' 2" by 1' 9", has a stone lintel and plain pilaster of red-coloured sandstone on each side, with square holes above and below, seemingly to bar up the entrance. The lintel of the door is 10 feet from the upper edge of the precipice. To the left of the door, at a distance of 2' 3" are two small windows of irregular shape, one with a diameter of 1' 5" and the other of 1' 7". The thickness of this wall is only 9 inches. About 1' 3" above the left top corner of the entrance door, there is an inscription (Facsimile I) of eight lines, in characters of the second or first century B.C., carved on the rough surface of the natural rock. Inside, the cave measures 9 feet on the left and 8' 6" on the right in length, by 7' 4" in width and 3' 3" in height. The stone bed, or sej, is 9 feet in length, 1' 8" in

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1 Compare, however, Sung-Yun's account of Buddha's Shadow Cave, or the Cave of Gopâla, Beal, l.c., vol. I, page 88.

2 Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. XXI, p. 2. Sir A. Cunningham, although speaking of the cave, does not mention its rock-cut inscription.
breadth, and 1' 2" in height. On it are ten short pilgrims’ records: five of the early Gupta period, four of the fifth or sixth, and one of the eighth century A. D. On the west wall of the cave, opposite to the entrance door, there are three inscriptions: one of the second or first century B. C. (Facsimile II) and two short records of visitors in early Gupta characters.

No. I.

On the rock outside the cave.

The inscribed surface of the rock measures 14" by 10½". Each letter is on an average 1'3" long and 3'6 inches deep. With the exception of four akharas in the sixth and nearly the whole of the eighth line, the record is in surprisingly perfect preservation, considering its great age and its long exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather. This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. S. J. Cockburn of the Opium Department who made a (not very accurate) eye-copy of it by means of an astronomical telescope, a tentative reading of which was given by Dr. Hörnle in the Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, for March 1887, page 105. In January 1887, during a short visit to Kausambi, the inscription was independently discovered by me, and I now edit it according to impressions taken from the rock.

TEXT. 7

L. 1. राजो नीपालीपुच्छ
2. वस्तितिमिश्च
3. मातुमेत गोपालीयः
4. बैश्वदीपुच्छेन [वाला ] 9
5. भाषाविवेचन लिगे
6. कारित [उदाक्षः] 10 दस–
7. मे ससवाण भाष्यपायार भरवः

TRANSLATION.

"By Asādhasena, the son of Gopālī Vaihidari (i.e. the Vaihidara-princess), and maternal uncle of king Bāhasatimittra (Bṛihaspatimittra), son of Gopālī, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of . . . . of the Kāsāpya Arhats (i.e. either the Buddhists of the Kāśyapiya school, or the pupils of Vardhamāna who was a Kāśyapa by gotra)" . . . . .

No. II.

Inside the cave.

The inscription is incised on the rough surface of the west wall of the cave and measures 32" by 12". On an average each letter is 1'6" long and 3'6 inches deep; the record is in perfect preservation.

* See Journal As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. LVI, part I, pages 31 to 35.
* See Facsimile No. I.
* Possibly नीपालीया. The genitive नीपालीया is construed with the crude form बैश्वदी which stands in the sense of a genitive, compare, e.g. वैश्वदीन नवयुक्तम् (Apastamba); र जाप: मातिविवादान (Pāṇini).
* Afterwards erased.
* All letters doubtful.
* I am indebted to Dr. Bühler for the interpretation of this passage.


TRANSLATION.

"Caused to be made by Ashāhasena, son of the Vaihidari (i.e. Vaihidara—princess, and) son of king Bhāgavata, son of the Tevani (i.e. Trayavān-princess, and) son of king Vaṅgapāla, son of Śonakāyana (Śonakāyana) of Adhīchhatrā."

On account of the resemblance to the letters of the Śunga times, the two inscriptions may be assigned with confidence to the second or first century B.C. Of special historical value is the pedigree of the early kings of Adhīchhatrā, the capital of the once mighty kingdom of Northern Pāṇḍāla, here furnished to us:

Sonakāyana

Vaṅgapāla married to Tevani (the Trayavān-princess)\(^{17}\)
(King of Adhīchhatrā)\(^{18}\).

King Bhāgavata md. to Gopāla, the Vaihidari (Vaihidara-princess).

Gopāla          Ashāhasena

King Bahasatiṁṭrā.

Where king Bahasatiṁṭrā ruled, and who his father was, is not stated; but we may safely conclude that he was king of Kauśāmbī, as the latter place is close to Prabhāsa, and as many of his coins\(^{19}\) have been found at Kauśāmbī.

No. III.

In the modern Dharmatīla.

This inscription is incised on a tablet of red sandstone, and is now fixed into the wall of the modern Dharmatīla in the village of Pabhosā. It records the consecration

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\(^{13}\) See Pārisimile No. II.

\(^{14}\) Possibly श्री or श्री."""

\(^{15}\) The modern Rāmagnāra in Rohilkhand, see Cunningham, "Archaeological Survey Reports," vol. I, pp. 265–266.

\(^{16}\) "The modern Rāmagnāra in Rohilkhand, see Cunningham, "Archaeological Survey Reports," vol. I, pp. 265–266.

\(^{17}\) Führer, Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, pp. 26–30. The same form Adhīchhatrā, and not the usual Aḥikhatra, Aḥikhattra, or Aṭhikhattra of the Mahārājadīr, Harivān, and Pān śāla, occurs also in several inscriptions of the first century B.C., lately excavated by me at Rāmagnāra.

\(^{18}\) Compare the 'Aṭhikhattra of Pōlaṇy, Giv. vii, 1, 58.

\(^{19}\) The epithets Trayavāna and Vaihidari are no doubt derivatives from the names of nations or countries although not found in the Paurāṇī texts. Compare e.g. तेजस्वी "the queen of the Kekaya race," शिरस्व "the queen of the Kumaṇa-family." Compare also the epithet Tevaniśv, or Tranvaripka occurring in one of the Mathurā inscriptions, note, vol. I, p. 394 and 397.

See Sir A. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, pt. I, p. 76, where the king's name is wrongly read Bahasaṁṭrā. The Lucknow Museum coin cabinet possesses fifteen coins of Bahasatiṁṭrā, nine of which were excavated by me at Kauśāmbī in 1887, and six at Adhīchhatrā (Rāmagnāra) in 1891.
of an image of the glorious Jina (Pārśvanātha) on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrṣha, in Samvat 1881, by Śādhu Śrī Hirālāl of Allahābād, on the top of the hill of Prabhāsā, outside the city of Kauśāmī. The document is also interesting in another respect, as it clearly shows that the modern villages of Kosām and Prabhōsa were identified already in A.D. 1824-25 by the people of the country with Kauśāmī and Prabhāsā.

TRANSLATION.

"(This) image of the glorious Jina (Pārśvanātha) has been consecrated under the rule of the noble English, on a site made auspicious by the consecration and invocation of the glorious Jina Padmaprabha, on the upper side of the hill of Prabhāsā, outside the town of Kauśāmī, by Śādhu Śrī Hirā Iāl, son of Śādhu Śrī Mānīkya Chand, younger brother of Sumeru Chand, brother of Śādhu Śrī Mehr (t.e., Mihir) Chand, son of Phur Mall, younger brother of Śādhu Śrī Rāyajī Mall, inhabitant of the town of Prayāga (Allahābād), belonging to the Goyāla gotra, the Agrawala family, and being (spiritual) client of bhattāraka the illustrious Lālīśakirtti[j], in the line of bhattāraka the illustrious Jagatkirtti, the descendant of Lohārya, in the Pusphkara gāya, the Mathurā gachchha, and the Kauśāmīgāna, on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrṣha, in Samvat 1881. May it be propitious!"

The modern Jaina temple possesses a small stone image of Neminātha, dated Samvat 1881, and a large undated copper statue of Pārśvanātha, the setting up of which in this temple pur inscription undoubtedly records.

16. i.e. banker and merchant.
17. See facsimile No. 1111.
18. The modern Agarwalā Ramgāha, see ante, vol. I, p. 84.
XX.—THE PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the Pillar edicts of Aśoka the following materials have been used:—


II. Dehli-Mirat,—Dr. Fleet’s facsimiles, published in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, p. 122ff., and the paper-impressions, according to which the excellent facsimiles have been prepared.¹


IV. Radhia (Lauria-Araraj), Mathia (Lauria-Navandgarh) and Rāmpūrvā,—Mr. Garrick’s facsimiles, published with this paper.

None of the older reproductions have been consulted, because they are of no value whatever. They have been made either according to eye-copies or according to rubbings,—not impressions—where the outlines of the letters have been afterwards marked in with pencil. The preservation of the Pillar edicts is in general so excellent that, except in the Dehli-Mirat and Allahabad versions, hardly a vowel-stroke is doubtful. For these two versions, especially for the first, a comparison of the original impressions is highly desirable. Unfortunately the originals of the Allahabad version were not accessible to me, and it is therefore not impossible that on a comparison of the squeezes some small corrections may become necessary. Such corrections will not, however, affect the interpretation in any way. Compared with the readings of other scholars, the present ones show very few differences in the Dehli-Sivalik and Allahabad versions, for which accurate facsimiles have been accessible during the last eight years.

The changes in the Radhia and Mathia texts are more numerous and, thanks to the new materials, decidedly for the better. The fragments of the Rāmpūrvā version have been printed once before with my German papers on the Pillar edicts in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XLV, pp. 144ff, and vol. XLVI, pp. 51ff. According to the account ² of Mr. Garrick, the Rāmpūrvā Pillar lies half buried in the ground. Hence only a portion of the inscription is accessible. As the Rāmpūrvā version agrees exactly with those of Radhia and Mathia, it is of no great importance for the interpretation of these documents. These three eastern versions have either been engraved according to the same MS., or, at least, according to three MSS. written out by the same Karkun. Their verbal discrepancies are so exceedingly slight that they cannot possibly be ascribed to different draughtsmen. The two Dehli versions are also closely allied to each other. This agreement extends in both cases also to the grouping of the words, which the present edition indicates by hyphens put between those written continuously. I believe that it is advisable to attend to this point, because evidently only those words have been placed close together, which may

¹ These impressions, which Dr. Fleet kindly presented to me, have been made over to the Oriental Institute of the Vienna University.

² See Cunningham’s Arch. Survey Reports, vol. XVI, p. 110f.
be joined according to the construction. There is not a single instance in which words written continuously belong to different sentences. It would seem that the clerks connected those words, which in reading the documents they pronounced together. Hence the breaks are equivalent to signs of interpunctuation, commas, semi-colons and full stops, and they, as well as the combined groups, must be taken into account in the interpretation. And it follows, e.g., that in the second edict the division of the group chakhudānepi into cha khu dāne pi is impossible, and again that the attempt to combine the separated words isya kālanema, in the third edict, cannot be upheld.

As regards the translation and interpretation of the Pillar edicts, the majority of the numerous problems, which Lassen and Burnouf left behind, have been solved by Professor Kern in his Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten, and in his Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien, or by M. Senart in his Inscriptions de Piyadasi, tome ii, and in his articles in the Indian Antiquary, vols. XVII and XVIII, which Mr. Grierson has translated in excellent style. Hence there was not very much remaining for me, especially as M. Senart in his latest publication has adopted my suggestion (Indian Antiquary, vol. XIII, p. 306) that the so-called eighth circular edict on the Dehli-Sivalik pillar is only the end of the seventh. Nevertheless, I hope that my translation and notes will not be superfluous.

I differ from my predecessors, especially from M. Senart, in several essential points. First, as I hold on principle all conjectural emendations, which alter the texts of several versions, to be inadmissible, I have tried to show that in all cases, where such changes have been proposed in the Pillar edicts, the original readings admit of explanation. Secondly, I have attempted to further substantiate my view that a full explanation of Aśoka's edicts can only be given with the help of the Brahmanical literature and by a careful utilisation of the actualities of Hindu life. I have called attention to this point in the introductory remarks to my German articles on the Rock edicts, and in explaining the latter, I have shown how a certain proportion of the institutions in Aśoka's empire agrees with those prescribed by the Brahmanical Rājānti, as well as, that certain other details become easily intelligible, when one consults other Sāstras or pays attention to still existing Indian customs. This principle of interpretation is, it seems to me, particularly important for the fourth and fifth Pillar edicts, and hence the remarks on these two pieces have become rather extensive.

Thirdly, I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi-Aśoka had not yet joined the Buddhists, when the Pillar edicts were completed. His conversion to Buddhism fell, as I shall show in a new discussion of the Sahasrām and Rūpātθ edicts, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Up to the end of his twenty-seventh year the king continued to preach and otherwise to work for the spread of that general morality which all Indian religions, based on the Jñānamārga or Path of Knowledge, prescribe for the people at large and which is common to the Brahmans, Jainas and Buddhists. This conviction, of course, has forced me to demur against a specially Buddhistic interpretation of various words and terms.

Finally, there are some passages, e.g., in the second, third, fourth and seventh edicts, where I have tried, by new divisions of the continuously written syllables or new trans-

In justice to Professor Kern I must point out that he has recognised this very obvious fact quite independently, Dor Buddhismus, vol. II, p. 384.
PILLAR EDICTS OF ASOKA.

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literations of the Prakrit words into Sanskrit, to elicit a more satisfactory sense than that obtained through the older interpretations. Most philologists will have felt that the hitherto current explanations of chakhudane-pi-me bahuvide de inne, kalanena-va-hakam 

ma palihbasayisanti, ndikka-va-kani njhapayisanti, etc., do not carry conviction, and could only be regarded as make-shifts which might be excused as long as nothing more plausible offered.

In the fifth edict I have left many names of animals unexplained. Every one of them will probably be traceable, if the medical Samhitas and Nighantas are thoroughly examined, of which for the moment only a small proportion is accessible to me. A special examination of the older Buddhist and Jaina literature, which I have begun, but been unable to complete, will probably furnish the means for the further explanation of some other words, which have still to be translated conjunctively or stand in need of further elucidation. In his contributions to the Academy of 1891, Dr. Morris has shown that something may still be done in this way, and some of my notes will show that the Jaina literature also furnishes contributions for the Asoka inscriptions. Eventually, and, I believe, in a not very distant future, every word and form of these precious documents will admit of as certain an interpretation as those of the ordinary classical texts.

EDICT I.

Dehli-Sivalik.  

Dehli-Mirat.  

Allahabad.

Devamarn-piye Piyanasi laja- 


vasa abhisitena me iyan-dham 

malip ikhapita [3]  

hidatapate 

dusunapitapade arnata 

agaye-dhammakamattaya [3]  

agaya-palikhey agaya-susaday a 

agens-bhayenab 

esa-chho-mama anusathiyab 

dhammpekkha dhammakamat 

cha suve-suve-vaishhi va 

sadhisattachevab 

Pulsia-pi-cha-me ukasab 

cha geveya-cha mahimab-cha anuv 

vidhysati 

samapitapadayan 
	
ti-cha alam-chapalamb-samadapay 


mata-pi [1] Esai-pi-vidhi ya 

iyan-dhammena-palan dham 

mena-vidhane [3] dhammena 

[1] vidhane dha[r]m 

sukhiyan dhammena-gotit [4] 


The sign, read here qu, appears exactly in the same shape in the Saho no inscriptions, e.g., in Padukulika, i.e., Padum 

kulika. With the form saujuisati compare duve, duveda, kujumala.

Possibly the stone may have Ai instead of pi, which former appears to be the correct reading.

I give the words ti-cu on the strength of Dr. Piot's note, Ind. Ant., vol. XII, p. 290. The vowel sign of ti stands irregularly to the left of the consonant, just as in the Kali version of the Rock Ed. XIII, 2 l. 12, in the last syllables of anuvihyaniti and anuvihyisanti.
Edict I.

Radhin.


Mathia.


Rāmpārvā.


Translation.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the sacred law, the greatest circumcision, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy. But, through my instructions, these have, indeed, increased day by day, and will increase still more (viz.) the longing for the sacred law and the love of the sacred law. And my servants, the great ones, the lowly ones and those of middle rank, being able to lead sinners back to their duty, obey and carry out (my orders), likewise also the wardens of the marches. Now the order (for them) is to protect according to the sacred law, to govern according to the sacred law, to give happiness in accordance with the sacred law, to guard according to the sacred law."

7 Burnouf's explanation of lidatapālāte and pālātā, which are found also below IV, (l. 7 (D. 8), l. 18 (D. 8), VII, 2, 1.10 as inflected forms of the adverbs in tro, is no doubt correct. In popular Sanskrit, too, paratram is used in the sense of paralokā or paralaukikam, see Pañcchātantra, iii, p. 54, l. 17 (Bo. edition).
8 Circumpection, i.e., a careful examination, whether one's actions are lawful or not; obedience, i.e., towards Piyadasi's sacred law; or, i.e., of sin.
9 Gevpā, the lowly ones or 'subalterns' is derived from the Sanskrit root gevp or glep, which the Dhātupāṭha explains by devāya. The corresponding Sanskrit word was, no doubt, *geppa*-geppa, literally 'the poor' or 'wretched.'
10 Chapala, literally 'sickle'; means both in Pali and in Sanskrit durvisiṣṭa, 'ill-behaved', 'a sinner.'
11 The antamahāmāṭi, 'the wardens of the marches,' are the antapāṭha of the Sanskrit writers, see, e.g., Milavikā- kāraṇtrapāṭha, p. 16, l. 7 (Bo. S. Ser. 2nd ed.).
12 It will be best to take hi here oradārane, i.e., in the sense of 'indeed', 'even', which it has not rarely in Sanskrit prose.
PIIL AR, EDICTS OF ASOKA.

EDIT II.

Pāli.

Dekhi-Stablikh.


Kathā.


Mañjā.


Allahbad.


Translation.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"(To fulfill) the law is meritorious. But what does (the fulfillment of) the law include? (It includes) sinlessness, many good works, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity. The gift of spiritual insight. I have given (to men) in various ways; on two-footed and four-footed beings, on birds and aquatic animals. I have conferred benefits of many kinds, even the boys of life, and in other ways have I done much good. It is for this purpose that I..."
have caused this religious edict to be written, (viz.) that men may thus act accordingly, and that it may endure for a long time. And he who will act thus will perform a deed of merit.

Remarks.

a. I explain apadesava by apadevam, used in the sense of apadevasevam. It may be noted that the Jainas possess a term asakeya, which exactly corresponds to desinava; and is, derived, like the latter, from demu (see Weber: Indische Studien, vol. XVII, p. 326, note 7). Piyadasi's theory of the desinava, which is more fully developed in the next edict, does not agree with the Buddhist doctrine of the threefold or fourfold asava, but comes closer to that of the Jaina asakeya, which includes injury to living beings, lying, stealing, unchastity, and attachment to worldly possessions.

b. The usual interpretation of chakhus as cha khus dana cannot stand, because the enclitic words cha and khus cannot begin a sentence, and because the continuousness of the syllables in the text does not permit their being taken as parts of two sentences. The metaphorical use of chakkus, in Sanskrit chakkus, "eyes" for "spiritual insight or knowledge," is common with all Hindu sects. Piyadasi alludes here to the dharmavadanini and dharmamadhathini, "sermons on, and instruction in, the sacred law," of which he speaks more fully below (VII, 2, 1); compare also dharmaddamo (Rook Edicts XI and the note to the latter passage).

Edict III.

Dehi-Sipatik.


Badhia.


Mathia.


Rāmpāvādā.

EDICT III—contd.

Radhia.

Rāmpūrvā.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"Man only sees his good deeds, (and says unto himself) 'This good deed I have done.' But he sees in no wise his evil deeds (and does not say unto himself) 'This evil deed I have done; this is what is called sin.' But difficult indeed is this self-examination. Nevertheless man ought to pay regard to the following (and say unto himself): 'Such (passions) as rage, cruelty, anger, pride, jealousy (are those) called sinful; even through these I shall bring about my fall.' But man ought to mark most the following (and say unto himself): 'This conduces to my welfare in this world, that at least to my welfare in the next world.'"

EDICT IV.

Dehli-Sivalik.

Dehli-Mirat.

Allahabad.

2 The e-stroke of dasinaregdāmini is too distinct in the new facsimile to be considered as accidental. But it is probably only due to a mistake of the mason.

21 Mina, mind (D. M.) and mana represent in my opinion the Sanskrit manāk, Pali maññā. Na manāk or no manāk 'not in the least, in no wise,' which fits here excellently, is very common in Sanskrit.

22 Or 'may I not cause my fall through them.' The Sanskrit translation of the phrase is [tekhām] kṛṇenmaitakaṁ mā parākkāntakayādāmi, and mā may be taken in this case to stand for mām, or as the negative particle. M. Senart's attempt to connect isyād-kālanema is barred by the fact that all versions have breaks between the two words.
Dehli-Sivalik.

nisijitu[10] avsathe-hoti[.]
bihuskhye[.] yena-ete-abhitâ[12] avsathe-sanma avmâ-
kañmâni-pawatyvev[.]
etena-me-lajûkâna[13] abhitâle-
dhâ[m]-ve atapatiyê-kañê[.]
ichhidavi yô[14] viyôhâlasamatâ-cha siyâ damshad-
samatâ-chê[.]
ava-ite-pi-cha-mê-
avuti[15] bôrnhànabadhânam-
munisânañÊ tilitadâmânân pas-
vahânâm-timnî-divvâsañi-me
[16] yô-te-dîmne[.]
Nâtkô-kañÊ nihapaysañi jîvityê-tân-
âm[17] nãsanîtâm-ve-nihapay-
yît dâmân-dhâmân-pâlîtikam
vpavâm-ve-kañhâm[.]
iChhi-hê-me[.]
hevam-niludhaisi-
pi-kâlasi pâlatañ-álahâyuvÊ-ve
janasa-cha[.]
vadhâtî-vivihde-
dharmachalam samâyame dâmâna-
vibhâge-ti[.]

Epigraphia Indica.

Edict IV—contd.

Dehli-Mirat.

ti[18] [viya].
li[ha] tave[.]
h[ê]vam-mamâ[19] lajûkâ[.]
yena-ete-abhitâ[5] avsathe-sanam
[pa]vasteryê-
ti[.]
etena-me[6]
[â]ÜkânañÊ
atapatiyê-
kañê[.]
iChhidavi
*hâlasamatâ-ch[â-
siyâ damshadmatâ cha[.]
ava-ite pî cha me avuti[.]
bôrnhànab-
hânam munisânañÊ tilitadâm-
dâmân pasvahânâm timnî divvâsa
yô-te-dîmne[.]
Nâtaskañi nihapaysiañi jîvityê-tân-
âm[17] nânîtâm-ve nihapaysia-
yît dâmân-dhâmân-pâlîtikam
upavâm-ve kânâm[.]
iChhidavê ki-
hê-me-ve-kâñê kiñê-
lañka asvah abhita kâmânî
pawatyevÊ-ve janasa-jânâpadas-
âm[.]
heitaukham upadahashev anugahi-
nev-cha[.]
Sukhiyânau-
dukhiyamân jânisañti dharmay-
utelya-cha-viyovaisañti jânān-
jânâpadan[.]
kiñê-
[?]
bind-
am-châ[.]
pâlatañ-cha alâdha-
yevÊ[.]
Lajûkâ-pi-
laghânti-pa-
țichalitave-mânÊ[.]
purisañi-pi-
me-chhâmârñāñÊ pațichalisañ-
ti[.]
[pi]-ve-cha-kânî
viyovaisañti
yena-mamân[17]
lajûkâ-
chaghati alâdha-
yitave[.]
Athâ-
hi-pajan-ve-viyo-
âye-dhâtiye-
nisijî-

Mathia.

Devanañ-piye Piyadasi-lâja
hevam-âha[.]
sâduvisatâvisah-sris-
itenæ-ve iyañ-ñâmâlapi-li-
khâpira[.]
Lajûkâ-
me-lähûsu-
pâ-sânasatasañase[14]
janasi-âya-
ta tesam-ve-abhîhè-
ve-damhê-
ve atapatiyê-
me-kañê[.]
kiñê-
[?]
lajûkâ-
asvah abhita
kâmânî
pawatyevÊ-
ve janasa-jânâpadas-
âm[.]
heitaukham upadahashev anugahi-
nev-cha[.]
Sukhiyânau-
dukhiyamân jânisañti dharmay-
ultyena-cha-viyovaisañti jânâ-
jânâpadan[.]
kiñê-
[?]
bind-
am-châ[.]
pâlatañ-cha alâdha-
yevÊ[.]
Lajûkâ-pi-
laghânti-pa-
țichalitave-mânÊ[.]
purisañi-pi-
me-chhâmârñāñÊ pațichalisañ-
ti[.]
[pi]-ve-cha-kânî
viyovaisañti
yena-mamân[17]
lajûkâ-
chaghati alâdha-
yitave[.]
Athâ-
hi-pajan-ve-viyo-
âye-dhâtiye-
nisijî-

Râmpûravâ.

Devanañ-piye Piyadasi-lâja
hevam-âha[.]
sâduvisatâvisah-sris-
itenæ-ve iyañ-ñâmâlapi-li-
khâpira[.]
Lajûkâ-
me-lähûsu-
pâ-sânasatasañase[14]
janasi-âya-
ta tesam-ve-abhîhè-
ve-damhê-
ve atapatiyê-
me-kañê[.]
kiñê-
[?]
lajûkâ-
asvah abhita
kâmânî
pawatyevÊ-
ve janasa-jânâpadas-
âm[.]
heitaukham upadahashev anugahi-
nev-cha[.]
Sukhiyânau-
dukhiyamân jânisañti dharmay-
ultyena-cha-viyovaisañti jânâ-
jânâpadan[.]
kiñê-
[?]
bind-
am-châ[.]
pâlatañ-cha alâdha-
yevÊ[.]
Lajûkâ-pi-
laghânti-pa-
țichalitave-mânÊ[.]
purisañi-pi-
me-chhâmârñāñÊ pațichalisañ-
ti[.]
[pi]-ve-cha-kânî
viyovaisañti
yena-mamân[17]
lajûkâ-
chaghati alâdha-
yitave[.]
Athâ-
hi-pajan-ve-viyo-
âye-dhâtiye-
nisijî-

Possibly chô-siêd is to be read.

Possibly deça-ite is to be read.
Edict IV—contd.

**Radhia.**

![Image](image-url)

**Mathia.**

![Image](image-url)

**Rāmpūrva.**

![Image](image-url)

**Translation.**

King Piyaśadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My Lajūkas are established (as rulers) among the people, among many hundred thousand souls; I have made them independent in (awarding) both honours and punishments—Why? In order that the Lajūkas may do their work tranquilly and fearlessly, that they may give welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (on them). They will know what gives happiness and what inflicts pain, and they will exhort the provincials in accordance with the principles of the sacred law;—Ifow?—That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the Lajūkas are eager to serve me. My (other) servants also, who know my will, will serve (me), and they, too will exhort some (men), in order that the Lajūkas may strive to gain my favour. For, as (a man) feels tranquill after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself, 'The clever nurse strives to bring up my child well,'—even so I have acted with my Lajūkas for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquill, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the Lajūkas independent in (awarding) both honours and punishments. For the following is desirable:—What? That there may be equity in official business and

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23 It is possible to read lājūka-kāte. But the seeming e-stroke is much shorter than the real ones, and, hence, is probably due to an accidental flaw in the stone.

24 Though viyohāla, in Sanskrit vyaśhvaḍha, frequently means 'legal business,' 'judicial proceedings,' there is no objection to taking it here in the not less common wider sense 'business,' 'official business,' as the translation of abhiḥḍha by "awarding honours" makes advisable.
equity in the award of punishments.' And even so far goes my order, "I have granted a respite of three days to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death." Their relatives will make some (of them) meditate deeply (and) in order to save the lives of those (men) or in order to make (the condemned) who is to be executed, meditate deeply, they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts'. For my wish is that they (the condemned) even during their imprisonment may thus gain bliss in the next world; and various religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow among the people."

**Remarks on the Translation.**

*a.* In note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III, I have pointed out that Professor Jacobi has found the Jaina Prakrit representative of lajūka or rájūka (Girnār) in the Kalpasutra, where rajjā means "a writer, a clerk." I have added that lajūka, i.e. lajjūka, was an old name of the writer caste, which is later called Divira (Dabir) or Kāyastha, and that Asoka calls his great administrative officials simply "the writers," because they were chiefly taken from that caste. Though I do not see any reason to change this view, I now leave the word untranslated, because the rendering "writers" might mislead. Regarding my explanation of dyatā, which I take to be equivalent to pratishthihā, note 2, on Sep. Ed. I, in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XLI.

*b.* Professor Kern has without doubt correctly explained the general meaning of this sentence. Piyadasi declares that he has made his Lajākas independent in the discharge of their duties and has abolished the appeals to higher authorities. This follows from the further statement (see below) that he has confined his subjects to them, just as a man confides his child to an intelligent nurse. I may add that there is a weighty objection to M. Senart’s view, according to which Piyadasi says that he will keep legal proceedings against, and punishments of, the Lajākas in his own hands. For, in all Native States of India a high official, who is "placed over many hundred thousand souls," is solely answerable to the king for his actions, and it is a matter of course that the same was the case in ancient India, as indeed in all despotic countries. An order enjoining that such men were to be punished by the king alone would have been quite superfluous. As regards the construction, I explain the sentence in Sanskrit as follows:—teshām yo bhīhāra va daṇḍō va [tatra] mayā [teshām] svatantratā kritā, and I take ātmapiyatam [svatantratā] as a substantive, formed according to the analogy of ādhipatiyatam and so forth. The term abhīhāra occurs in Pali in the sense of "honour, honorarium," see Jātakas, vol. V, p. 58, verse 148, and ibid. p. 59, l. 28f. In the former passage the commentary explains abhīhāram by pājam. It is obvious that this meaning fits here excellently.

c. I interpret dharmayuteṣa with Professor Kern by dharmayuktena, i.e. dharmayuktyā. M. Senart’s attempt to translate it by ‘together with the Faithful,’ i.e.

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27 In the interpretation of ənv ite (Dh. A.) and ədv ite (M. R.) I follow Professor Kern and M. Senart, who explain it by ydvad iteḥ, and I take dnti with M. Senart as equivalent to āyuṣṭa. Tītka or tītā has here the same sense as tītaka Manu, IX, 233.

28 Nītukāsi pi kālasī, literally niruddha pi kāla, may be taken in the sense of mirodhaḥ kāla. Similar phrases occur in Pali, e.g. mitkadharmam and andhāḍharmam chinjapānasas for andhāḍharaṁapānasas, Jāt. i, p. 300.
the Buddhists, is not tenable. The passage, Pillar Edict VII, 2, 2, which he connects with this, has nothing to do with it. For, dharmayutam janan means there 'the loyal people,' and denotes Piyadasi's subjects, as distinguished from the aṁtā, 'the free borderers.'

(d) M. Senart's conjectural emendation chaghānti for laghānti is barred by the fact that the four complete versions all offer laghānti, and that the supposed varia lectio 'chaghānti' does not exist. Laghānti seems to be the representative of Sanskrit raṅghānta 'they hasten', i.e. 'are eager.' I fully agree with the same scholar's remark that paṭīchal must be taken in the sense of Sanskrit parichar, because in Pali the preposition paṭi is frequently used for pari. Its correctness is demonstrated by the fact that in the Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, paṭīyar, i.e. literally pratiyar, means 'to serve,' see Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Mahārāṣṭrī, glossary sub voce 'paṭīyariya.'

(e) As there are no other instances in which the neuter terminations are added to feminines in a, I cannot explain chhandamānāni with M. Senart as a Dvandva compound, formed of chhanda and ājñā. I take it with Burnouf, as a Tatpurusha compound, equivalent to chhandam ājānātīts chhandajñād, 'knowing the will,' and construe it with paṭīsāni, 'the servants.' This explanation seems also advisable, because one naturally expects that maṁ must be understood and is the object of paṭīchalisānti, as of the preceding paṭīchalitavē. The 'servants', whom Piyadasi mentions here, are most probably the paṭīvedakas, the spies, whom the great Maurya employed according to Rock Edict VI, in order to watch the actions of his great officials, of the Pāñcha and other bodies in accordance with the precepts of the Indian Rājanīti. The further statement that these servants will exhort kāṇi, 'some' (as must be read with M. Senart), in order that the Lajukas may strive to gain the favour of the king, probably means that these 'servants' will exhort remiss Lajukas, and that they will also, by exhorting or spreading the Dharma among the provincials at large, rouse the zeal of the Lajukas. Kāṇi thus refers both to the Lajukas and the provincials. With the phrase maṁ-ādaḥhayitave compare lājālokaḥ,—Sep. Ed. I, 15 (Dhualli). To Professor Kern's excellent explanation of the verb chagh by the Hindi chāh-nā, I would add that chāh occurs in all Indian vernaculars and without doubt belongs to the ancient stock of Aryan speech.

'Regarding this passage I can only agree with one of my predecessors in a single point. I believe that M. Senart is right in deriving niḥhapayiyantī and niḥhapayitā from the Prakrit causative of nidhyāi and not from nikshapayati. This derivation is perfectly justified by the word niḥjati, below, VII, 2, 8, which in its general sense is certainly equivalent to Sanskrit nididhyāsanā 'profound meditation.' In all other respects I differ. I am unable to accept the assertion of Professor Lassen, approved of by Professor Kern and M. Senart, that nātikāva-kāni is a compound, meaning 'neither more nor less.' The six syllables certainly must be separated into the three words nātikā-vā-kāni, i.e. jñātaya eva kāṁsahit. That is the only explanation which is grammatically possible, and gives, as will be shown presently, an excellent sense. I am further unable to disregard the well authenticated reading niḥhapayitave, which R. and M. offer, instead of niḥhapayitā. Niḥhapayitave is clearly an infinitive in tave, such as occurs frequently in Piyadasi's inscriptions. This form must in my opinion be used in order to explain the more difficult niḥhapayitā. The latter may be, too, an infinitive, on the supposition that it stands for niḥhapayitāya. And the contraction of the syllable dyā does occur in Pali, e.g., in
esaná for esanáya (E. Müller, Simplified Pali Grammar, p. 67), just as it is found in the older Vedic Sanskrit and in the later Prakrit inscriptions. Finally, I cannot agree to the transliteration of násantam by násántam, because the latter word can never mean the term, i.e. ‘the period of the execution,’ but only either, ‘the end of the execution’ or ‘that which has the execution for its end.’ Neither translation gives any sense in our passage. I take násantam as equivalent to násyamānan ‘him who is going to be shortly executed.’ It is thus the present participle of the passive of násayati with the sense of the immediate future. And this explanation is formally unobjectionable, because even in the ancient Prakrit the passive may take the terminations of the active.

With these new interpretations the passage may be translated into Sanskrit as follows:—jñātaya eva kāṁśhit [prāptavadhān] nididhyāsāyiśhyanti [tathā] teshāṁ jīvanāya nāśyamānām vā nididhyāsītām pārutikam dānaṁ dāsyanty upādānām vā karisyanti. The general sense is: “During the respite of three days the relatives will exhort the condemned criminals to turn their thoughts to higher things, and they will give religious gifts (not bribes to the Lajūkas) or undergo fasts, hoping that either the lives of the condemned may be spared, or that at least the hearts of those who must die, will be softened and turn heavenwards.” This sense is a perfectly natural one and agrees with the further remark in the next sentence, that the king wishes them, i.e. the criminals, to gain heaven, while they lie in prison, and that among the people at large the performance of religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow in consequence of the king’s measures. Against the earlier interpretation, which ascribes the gifts and fasts not to the anxious relatives, but to the condemned criminals themselves, it must be objected that a Hindu criminal sentenced to death has nothing to give away. His property is confiscated just as that of an English felon was formerly taken by the Crown. The written Hindu law does not always state that capital punishment entails confiscation of property. But, numerous stories from ancient and modern times leave no doubt that the practice prevailed universally under Native Governments.

EDICT V.


ahā[1] saduvāsatvasadbhisitena me


suke sālikā alune chakavāke hain-se nāmīnīmukhe gelāte [3] jatukā ambākapālikā daētha anathikā-

machhe vedaveyake [4] gungā-pupatake samkujamachhe kapha-

ṭasayake11 parināsase simale [5] samjake ekapinde palaante seta-

kapote gāmakapote[6] save-chatapade ye-paṭibhogam-no-eti na-

cha khādiyati... i[7] eda-

29 Possibly jatāke, or jatākā.
30 The strokes which make daētha look like daēθā are, according to Dr. Fleet, loc. cit., due to flaws in the stone.
31 The apparent i-stroke above the last syllable of kaphaṭa is, as Dr. Fleet states (Indian Antiquary, vol. XIII, p. 310) the lower part of the visarga of Mahādevaḥ in the intervening line of later writing just above kaphaṭa.
Dehli-Sivolok.

[a] v. dh. y. p. t. k. pi cha-kâ-
[1] ni [1] ... ke [.] [Vadhi]ku-
kute no-kaṭaviye [.] Tuse-sa[ji-
ve] [2] ... [taviye] [.] dâve
ana(ṭ)ay-e-vâ vihîsay-e-vâ no-[3]
[įhāpetaviye] [.] jîvēne jivē no-
pusataviye [.] Tsû châṭhumâsâ-
su[4] [tisâyâ[1] puṁnamâ[si]
yarn tirnînâ-vaâni châvudâsarā
paṁna(ś)arâ[5] paṭipâdâ. dhu-
vâye-cha anuposatham mach-
he-avadhîye no-pi [6] viket-
aviye [.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni nâ-
gavanasi kevaṭabhogasi [7] [yâ].
[a] [ni]-pi-jîvanikâyãn[8] no-[ha]
mtiavîyân[8] Āṭham(i)[9] ye
châvudâsâye paṁna(ś)âye
tisâye[9] puṁavâsne tisù
châṭhumâsâ(ś)u sudvâsâye g[ō]
[10] no-ni la[khi]taviye ajake
edâke sûkale e-vâ-pi-arâme nîl-
khîyati no-nilakhtaviye [17]
Tisâye puṁavâsne châṭhumâs-
ia(ś)ye châṭhumâsîpakhâye asvâas
gonas[10] la[khanen]o-kaṭaviye[,]
Yâva-saḍuvâsiva abhisîten-
me etâye[19] a[m]râkîyâye par-
na(ś)ârâ brâhmânamokhâni kaṭâ-
ni [.20]

Radhia, North Side.

Devenâm-piye Piyadasi-lâja-
hevarâm-âhâ[7] saḍuvâsivaśabhi-
sâsa-me imâni-pi-jâtâni avadhî-
âni [1] kaṭâni [,] se-yatha suke
sâlika alun chakavâke harâse
namîndukhe gelâte jatukâ [2]
ambâkâprika duô-anâthikam-
chhe vedâvâyake gaṅgâpûptake
samkumâmachhe kâphâseyake
[8] paṁna(ś)âse simâlânâkâre
okâpinhde palasate setakapote ga-

Edict V—contd.

Dehli-Mirat.

Allahabad.

[^1] It is, of course, possible to read asadkhâ. But the right side of the vowel is mutilated, and the real reading was no doubt asadkhâ, as the sense and the variants of the other versions require.
[^4] This might be read' nikîyâma, but the double stroke above na is probably due to a flaw.
[^5] This looks like khatavîyadâ, but the double stroke above na is probably due to a flaw in the stone.
[^6] The quantity of the third vowel of āṭhamâ is not certain.
King Piyasadi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I forbad the slaughter of the following creatures, viz. parrots, starlings, aluvas, Brāhmani ducks, swans, nandimukhas, gelātas, jatukas, ambākapilikās, terrapins, boneless fish, vedaveyakas, gamgāpuputakas, sankuja-fish, tortoises, porcupines, panunasasas, srimaras, bulls set free, okapiṇḍas, rhinoceroses, grey doves, village-pigeons, and all quadrupeds, which are not used nor are eaten. She-goats, ewes and sows, (i.e.) those which are with young or in milk, must not be slaughtered, nor their young ones, (i.e.) some (of them) which are less than six months old. Caponing cocks is forbidden; husks, containing living animals, must not be burned; forests must not be burnt out of mischief or in order to injure (living beings); living creatures must not be fed with living creatures. • At the (full moon of each) of the three seasons and at the full

20 Read paṭībhogaṃ.
21 According to the smaller Petersburg Dictionary the Nandimukha is mentioned as an aquatic bird in the Bādes-prakāda.
22 Jatuka, no doubt, means 'a bat'. But I must confess that I do not understand, how bats come on this list, as in general they are neither eaten nor used in any way. Possibly the flying foxes which otherwise have the separate name manthkā or rāgra, may be meant. These are eaten at least by low-caste people, like the Kāṭkaras. Their flesh is forbidden in some of the law-books, e.g., Gautama, xvii, 34.
23 Gāmakapote is, of course, the blue rock pigeon, found in most villages and towns, especially in the wells.
moon of Taisha fish shall neither be killed nor be sold during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth (and) the first (of the following fortnight), nor constantly, on each fast day.* On the same days no other animals, found in the elephant-preserves and in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed. † On the eighth of (each) fortnight,* on the fourteenth, the fifteenth, on the Tishya and Punarvasu days,* on the full-moon days of the three seasons, and on festivals⁴ bull shall not be castrated,* nor he-goats, rams, and boars; nor shall any other animal be castrated which is (commonly) castrated. On the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the seasons, and during the fortnights connected with the full-moons of the seasons,* the marking of horses and oxen is forbidden.* Up to the twenty-sixth (anniversary) of my coronation I have decreed twenty-five (times) the liberation of (all) prisoners*.

REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) According to the general maxim, prevalent in Sanskrit and the Prakrits, which permits the neuter of the perfect participle past to be used in the sense of the noun of action in ti, jātaḥ might be interpreted with M. Senart by jāti and be translated by “animals of the following kinds.” But, as the neuter jāta means also “creature,” I prefer this simpler interpretation. The eastern versions offer: “Of even the following creatures.”

(b) M. Senart’s latest translation gives correctly the modern Indian expression “maina.” I prefer to put the English word. All the European dictionaries translate sārikā wrongly or omit the translation. Molesworth gives the right meaning in the Marāṭhi Dictionary. The scientific name of the bird is Acridotheres tristis, Linn., Murray, Avifauna of British India, No. 912.

(c) This term probably includes wild geese and large ducks, see Molesworth, Marāṭhi Dictionary sub voce. The birds, which were pointed out to me as hamsas in the palace at Kolhāpur and elsewhere, looked very much like Turkish ducks.

(d) M. Senart connects the first part of ambākapilika or ambākapilika with ambu, ‘water,’ and translates “water-ants(?).” As far as I am aware, no such animal is known in natural history. The explanation ‘mother-ant,’ or ‘queen-ant,’ is at least possible. For the queens of the white-ants are eagerly sought after and eaten, because they are considered to act as a strong aphrodisiac. The only time when I obtained a queen-ant, it was at once stolen by my servants. But, as three versions read kapilika, it may be doubted if the word is the Pali representative of pipilika.

(e) As duḍi is said to be a small tortoise, it is no doubt the terrapin, which is found in many Indian gardens. Tortoises belong to the five-toed animals that may be eaten, —see remark (h).

(f) M. Senart’s conjecture that prawns are meant by the expression ‘boneless fish’ is not improbable.

(g) M. Senart’s suggestion that samkujja is identical with Sanskrit  śaṅkuchi ‘a skate,’ seems very probable.

⁴ The translation of udvinaḥ by ‘festival’ is merely conjectural, but may be defended by its etymological meaning sobhana dīvasa, which would suit a festival. I think that popular festivals, like the modern Divāli, Dusāra, and the like may be meant.
(h) Sayaka and seyaka (R. M.), of course, represent Sanskrit bālyaka. The bālyaka is one of the five-toed animals that may be eaten by Aryans, see—e.g., Āpastamba, Dh. Sū, i, 17, 37, Baudhāyana, Dh. Śā. i, 12, 5, Gautama, Dh. Śā. xvi, 27, Vasishṭha, Dh. Śā, xiv, 30. It is associated with the kaphaṭa, i.e., according to M. Senart’s excellent conjecture, kamaṭha, ‘the tortoise,’ because in the law-books bālyaka and kakchhāpa are always closely put together among the edible five-toed animals.

(i) According to the analogy of parvamriga, ‘an animal living in the leaves of trees,’ paṁnasase i.e. parņasaśah may mean ‘a hare, i.e. a hare-like animal living in the leaves of trees,’ and denote the large white-bellied, red squirrel, which is found in the forests of the Western Ghaṭs. It is quite as large as a hare, and its skinned body looks exactly like that of a hare. I have shot it near Yellapur in Kanara. Its meat tasted very much like that of a hare.

(j) Simale corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit srimara. Vāgbhaṭa, Aśtleṅgakṛityāya Śā. I, 49, names this animal, among the ten mahāmṛiga or large wild animals, next to the chamara or yak-ox and the rhinoceros. It stands also next to the yak in the enumeration of wild animals, which occurs in the Jāatakamālā xxvi, 7, see the smaller Petersberg Dictionary, sub voce srimara). Perhaps it may be the large Bārāśing stag.

(k) M. Senart has called attention to the passage of the Mahāvagga, vi, 17, where the ukkapinḍa are said to cat the provisions of the monks. According to the note to the translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. XVII, p. 70, Buddhaghosha explains the term by bhālamāṭikagodhāmāvasuṭa, ‘cats, mice, iguanas and mungooses’. He takes it evidently in its etymological sense, ukke i.e. oke pinḍo yeshām te ‘animals which find their food in the houses,’ i.e. ‘vermin.’ This general explanation does not suit here, because cats, mice and mungooses are not eaten, and because a particular kind of animal must be meant. I would suggest that Piyadasi forbids the slaughter of one of the animals named by Buddhaghosha, viz. of the godhā, the large lizard, which, according to the law-books, quoted in note (h) belongs to the eatable five-toed animals.

(l) M. Senart’s correction palapate for palasate is inadmissible, because all the three versions agree, and because the turtle-dove is denoted by the next term. Mr. Trenckner’s explanation of the corresponding Pali parasato by ‘rhinoceros’ (Pāli Miscellany, I, 50) fits excellently. For the rhinoceros is also one of the five-toed animals which may be eaten,—see the passages from the law-books, quoted in note (h). Moreover, the rules regarding the Śrāddhas show clearly that the meat of the rhinoceros was highly esteemed. According to Manu, iii, 272, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis, rhinoceros meat satisfies the manes “for an endless time.”

(m) Setakapote, no doubt, denotes the whitish-grey doves, which are found in large numbers in many parts of India, and which are usually included in the general term hollo or kullā. White pigeons, as indeed all tame pigeons, are only kept by Musalmans, not by Hindus.

(n) M. Senart has stated that paṭibhoga, literally ‘enjoyment,’ does not refer exclusively to nourishment. I should say that on account of the following clause “nor are eaten” it must mean “other use than for food” and that Piyadasi means to forbid the slaughter of all animals whose skins, fur, feathers, etc., are not required, as well as of those which are not eaten.
(o) Ajakánáni must be separated into ajaká náni. Náni is the neuter plural of the pronoun na, which is associated with a feminine in utter disregard of the rules of concord, as happens more frequently in these inscriptions. The proper form of the sentence would be in Sanskrit ajá eñikáscha súkaryaścha tá garbhinyo dhayantyo vá ava- dhyāḥ. M. Senart’s conjectural emendation piyamáná for pāyamíná is inadmissible, because all the versions agree in giving the latter word and because piyamáná is against the Pali idiom. Pāyati, not pīyati, means in Pali ‘to suckle’, see Childers Dictionary, sub voce pibati. Nor is it necessary to change the vowel of the affix. The affix mina- mina occurs more frequently for mána in the inscriptions, and it is evidently an interesting relic of ancient times, as the Zend mana-mna, the Greek menos and the Latin mini- mina show. The additional clause may be translated and explained thus:—

Potakás cha [api cha, D. S., D. M.] kechit [te cha kathambhiṭāḥ] āśhayāmásikāḥ [avadhya iti śeshāḥ]. The plural kāni is joined with the singular potake, because the latter is taken in a collective sense. M. Senart’s derivation of āśayamāsikā from āśhayamāsam ‘up to six months,’ may be defended by the analogy of ākālīka, the adjective belonging to ākālam, ‘up to the same hour on the next day’. Piyadasi’s prohibition agrees with the sentiments of the Brahmanical teachers, who all forbid to sacrifice animals which have not changed their teeth, and who sometimes forbid their flesh to be eaten, see, e.g., Gautama, Dh. Śā., xviii, 31.

(p) This prohibition probably refers to the practice, which here and there still survives, of burning the last remnants of the husks remaining on the threshing-floor of the village, in order to destroy the vermin.

(q) Vihisāye, ‘to injure living beings’ very probably refers, as M. Senart suggests, to the custom of setting the jungles on fire in order to drive out the game and of thus destroying it.

(r) I here again follow M. Senart, whose explanation appears to me the most natural. The prohibition probably refers to cases where sacred crocodiles or snakes, tame tigers and other carnivorous animals were fed with living fowls, sheep or goats.

(s) Chátumāsī, which corresponds to the Sanskrit cháurmāsī, is the full moon of each term or season of four months, which according to one reckoning is considered the last day of that period, and according to another as falling in its beginning. The formation of the Sanskrit cháurmāsī is taught in Vārttika 7 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 94:—svamijñayán an. “To chāurmāsa,” “a period of four months”, (is added) the affix a, which causes Vṛddhi of the first syllable, in a (word of) technical import.” Patañjali adds: “chāur- shu mässhe bhavá chāurmāsa pauryamāsat, ‘the full-moon day which falls after a period of four months is called chāurmāsi;’ and the Kāśikā, which repeats Patañjali’s explanation, says further that the three full-moon days of Āśādha, Kārttika and Phālguna are meant.” More explicit are the statements, which the Sūmanāga Vilāsīnt makes on Dīgha Nikāya, ii, 1 (p. 139), while explaining the words Komudiya cháurmāsiniya “on the full-moon (night or tithi) of Kārttika (which is) cháurmāsi.” It says:—cháurmāsiniya ti cháurmāsiniya sā hi chaturmaṁ māsānam parthyosānabhūtā cháurmāstidha pana cháurmāsiniiti vuchchati. “Chāurmāsiniya is equivalent to cháurmāsīya. For that (full-

44 This must be understood from Vārttika 6: chauturmāsan yova yajña tatra bhave. See the Mahābhāṣya, Vol. II, 361 (ed. Kielhorn).
44 Compare also Haradatta on Āpastamba, Dharmasūtra, I, 10, 1.
moon of कार्तिक) is the end of four months (and is) hence (called) chátumāst, but here chátumāsinī. It thus appears that the real meaning of chátumāst-chátumāsinī is “that which falls at the end of a period of four months.” And this explanation presupposes a division of the year into three periods of four months each, the months ending, according to what is called the पुरुषमा́nta scheme of Northern India, with the full-moon days.

The division of the year into three seasons of four months certainly was in India the most popular in the prehistorical period and in the earlier part of the historical period. Each of them was called a Chátmášam or Chátmáśayam. Both the Brāhmánas and the Brahmanical Sūtras, as well as the canonical books of the Buddhists, frequently refer to the division of the year into three seasons, which is at the bottom of various religious institutions. With the Brahmans it was the cause of the celebration of the Chátmáśya sacrifice which were offered according to some ‘at the end,’ according to others ‘at the beginning’ of each season. With the Buddhist monks it was the reason for extending the retreat during the rainy season, the vassa, over four months, see Mohávagga, iii, 2, 2 and iii, 14, 11. The same period was kept by the Jaina Nigranthas and the ancient Brahmanical ascetics. It further was used in official documents, and influenced the manner of dating them in most parts of India. The second Separate Edict prescribes the reading of the document ‘on the Tishya day at each Chátmáśa.’ The large majority of the ancient dated inscriptions, those from Mathurā incised during the rule of the Indo-Scythic kings Kanishka, Huviśhka and Vásudeva (Epigraphia Indica, vol. I, p. 371, ff, and vol. II, p. 195 ff.; Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep. vol. III, plates xiii-xv), two Gupta inscriptions from the same town (Epigraphia Indica, vol. II, p. 210), the early dated inscription of the Mathurā Satrap Soñśas, the edicts of the Andhras and Abhiras (Burgess, Rep. Arch. Surv. W. I, vol. IV, p. 103ff. and vol. V, p. 73ff.), the old Pallava land grant (Epigraphia Indica, vol. I, p. 1ff.) and the Sanskrit Kadamba inscription (Indian Antiquary, vol. VII, p. 37), invariably mention the season in which the documents were issued. And only three seasons occur, viz. grishnā-himindā, ‘summer,’ varshā-hvaśā, ‘the rains,’ hemantā-hemantā ‘winter,’ the names of which are frequently abbreviated to gri or gri, va and he. In the inscriptions from Mathurā and the neighbourhood each season is divided into four months, and we actually find, Mathurā inscriptions, 2nd series (Epigraphia Indica, vol. II, No. 4; Cunningham, Arch. Rep., vol. III, No. 12) gri, (i.e. grishmamāsē)

46 The Sanskrit equivalent chátumāsinī likewise exists, but has a different meaning, see Vārttika 5 on Pāñini, v. 1, 94.
47 Other divisions, especially that into six seasons, are no doubt equally ancient, see Prof. Weber, Die Nachrichten von den vedischen Nākhatra, ii, p. 327ff. But they do not seem to have been used in popular life to an equal extent.
48 Chátmáśayam is formed according to the analogy of śratākṣaya, trámśayam, chátmáśrayam, and so forth, see Vārttika 1 on Pāñini, v. 1, 124, and the explanation of the passage in the Kāśikā. I point this out in order to meet the doubt which M. Senart, see Indian Antiquary, vol. XVIII, p. 76, feels regarding my explanation of the compound anuchátmáśayam in the second Separate Edict. He thinks that, if anuchátmáśayam meant ‘at the commencement of every term or season of four months,’ it must be anuchátmáśayam with a short a in the third syllable. In stating this he has overlooked that chátmáśayam, in Pali chátumāśan, is a perfectly correct synonym of chátmáśayam.
49 The word chátmáśya is according to Vārttika 6 on Pāñini v. 1, 195, derived from chátmáśayam by the suffix ya, causing Vṛddhi, and meaning tatra bhava, falling into that.
50 See Manu, iv, 26, and the parallel passages in the synopsis to my translation. Manu says that they are to be offered rítvante, and thus reckons the three full-moon days as the last of the season. Similarly he uses IV, 119, rítvanāt tātriśku for chátmáśayam. Bindaśayana has rítumukha, and other passages from the Śrāuta Sūtras and Brāhmánas are quoted by Professor Weber in his Nachrichten u.d. Nākhatra, ii, 329ff. The discrepancy has no doubt been caused by a difference in the reckoning of the commencement of the seasons.
4; Mathurā inscriptions, 1st series, No. 3, and second series, No. 20, va, (i.e., varshamāse) 4, Cunningham, No. 20, varshamāse 4; Mathurā inscription, 1st series, No. 21, hemanta-
māse chaturthī 4, ibidem No. 8, hemantamāse 4, and Cunningham, No. 20, he 4. In the
inscriptions from Southern India each season is divided into eight fortnights, and the latest,
actually mentioned, are the fifth (Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 16 and 17, Kaṇhēri inscriptions
Nos. 4 and 16), the sixth (Pallava land grant of Śivaskandavarman) and the eighth (Kadamba
inscription of Mṛigeśavarman). The period during which this method of dating was
in general use, embraces the first century B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. But, in
Mathurā it survived until the fifth century A.D., as No. 39 of the second series was
incised during the reign of Kumāragupta and in the Gupta year 113 or A.D. 431—2
Kā[rttikakēna]ntamāś[e] divase 20, "on the 20th day of the winter month of Kārttika.
In Southern India it presumably lasted at least until the same period, to which the
Kadamba land grants probably belong.

Finally, it may be noted that the old division into three seasons is the only one
used by the common people in the districts known to me. The Gujarāti villagers and
all persons not affected by the learning of the Śāstras speak only of the uphālo (uṣṭha-
kāla) varṣād nā dhvāldā or omāsmun and shiyālo. The Marāṭhas know only unhālā,
pāvasālā (prāvīshk and kālā) and hīnvalā (hīmakāla.) Further north and east I have
frequently heard the terms mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari,\textsuperscript{41} dhūpkāl, bakhkāl and
sīkāl or equivalents thereof. With respect to the beginning of each season the author-
ities differ. The oldest, the Brāhmaṇas, as well as some Śrauta Sūtras, begin the hot
season with the month of Phālguna, other Śrauta Sūtras with the month of Chaitra.\textsuperscript{42}
The two schemes of the seasons, therefore, are:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
I & II \\
Grismāh & \{ Phālguna. \\
& Chaityra. \\
& Vaiśākha. \\
& Jyaishtha. \\
& Āshādha. \\
\textbf{Vasrāh} & \{ Sṛavana. \\
& Bhādrapada or Praushtapada. \\
& Āsvina or Āsvayuja. \\
& Kārttika. \\
& Mārgaśirha. \\
& Pausha or Taisha. \\
& Māgha. \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The statements of the Buddhists show the same discrepancies. Hiuen Tsiang, Si-
yūki, vol. I, p. 72 (Beal), alleges that "according to the holy doctrine of Tathāgata the
year is divided into three seasons," the hot, the wet and the cold, the scheme of which
agrees with the second given above. But the canonical books of the southern Buddhists
show clearly that their authors knew also the scheme according to which the hot season
began with Phālguna. For they prescribe for the vasatto, the retreat during the rainy
season, an "earlier" period, beginning with "the day after the full moon in Āshādha,"

\textsuperscript{41} Gladwin ed., vol. I, p. 266; see Sir A. Cunningham, Book of Indian Eras, p. 3; Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, §1983; and Hillebrandt, Die Sonnenwendfeste, p. 306.
\textsuperscript{42} See A. Weber: op. cit., p. 329f.
and a later one, commencing “a month later than the full-moon of Ashâḍha,” *i.e.* with the day after the full-moon of Śrāvana. And it is further stated that the “later” term closed with *Komudī chātmásini, “the full moon of Kārttika with which the season of four months ends”.²⁸ Both these passages presuppose, just like that from the *Dīgha Nikāya* (above, p. 261), the use of the *pārṇimánta* reckoning for the months.

In the inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period there is no indication showing when the seasons began. But, if the restoration of the Gupta inscription No. 39 is correct, it follows that in the fifth century A.D. the winter began with Kārttika, and that the scheme of the seasons was the older one, given under No. I.

Under these circumstances it is not possible to decide with certainty which full moons are meant by “the three Chātmásins.” They may be either those of Phālgunī, AshÂḍha and Kārttika, or those of Chaitra, Śrāvana and Mārgaśirsha. It is further not certain if these full-moon days were considered respectively as the last days of winter, summer and the rains, or as falling in the beginning of summer, the rains and winter. But the *consensus* of the three passages from the Buddhist scriptures and of Manu’s passages induces me to assume that the former view was that held in Piyadasi’s times, as these works were probably composed not very long before and after Piyadasi.

The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of Taisha or Pausha, December—January. The forms *tīṣyām* (R) and *tīṣyām* (M) are derived from the feminine adjective *tīṣi, which has been formed from *tīṣhya* without Vṛddhi in the first syllable. With the form *tīṣyām* (D. S., D. M.), the locative of *tīṣā, i.e. tīṣā (tīṣyā), compare the first part of the Vedic *tīṣyā-pārṇamāsa* (see Prof. Weber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326). The word *dhruvāye* which stands before *anuposatham* must no doubt be taken in the sense of the Sanskrit *dhruvāya, “constantly”* (see the Petersburg Dict., *sub voce*) i.e. “in all months”. *Anuposatham* consists of *anu* and *posatha*, and it is worthy of note that the form *posatha*, with which Piyadasi denotes the fast days or Parvan days, stands midway between the Pali *uposatha* and the Jaina Prakrit *posaha*.

The total number of days on which Piyadasi prohibited the killing and sale of fish, amounts to fifty-six in the year, *viz.* :—

(1) Six in each of the months in which a new season began and in Taisha or Pausha, the eighth of each fortnight, the full-moon days with those immediately preceding and following them and the new-moon day, or 24 in all; (2) four in the remaining eight months, the full and new-moon days, and the eighth of each fortnight, or 32 in all.

As regards the reasons which induced Piyadasi to apply his prohibition to the particular days mentioned, the selection of the *Posatha* days as well as of those at the end and beginning of the seasons is easily intelligible. The four days of the changes of the moon, which the Brahmans designate by the astronomical term Parvan, were the ancient Sabbath days of the orthodox Hindus. The Brahmical Sūtras prescribe on the two chief Parvans, the full and new-moon days, for every householder, the performance of sacrifices, which are preceded by fasting. Moreover, there are in the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Dharmaśastras*²⁴ a number of rules which make the Parvan days times of


²⁴ See Manu iii, 45, and iv, 128, as well as iv, 150 and 153, and the passages quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation.
continence, worship, prayer, and abstention from doing injury even to plants. According to the commentaries most of these rules refer to the two chief Parvans alone. But the texts, one and all, state explicitly that the injunction of continence applies also to the eighth days of each fortnight, and it is not improbable that the other rules in reality were meant to apply likewise to these two days. All the four Parvan days were kept as holidays in the Brahmanical schools. The Dharmasūtras and metrical Sūritis prescribe that the Veda-study is to be interrupted on these occasions for a whole day and night and a verse is adduced which describes the bad results of a breach of this rule. It would thus appear that the Buddhists and the Jainas, in giving their rules for the Uposatha or Posaha days, did not much more than take over and perpetuate the ancient rules of the orthodox Hindus, and it would further appear that, by ordering a partial amaṛt, Piyadasi acted in accordance with the sentiments not only of the heterodox sects, but also of his orthodox subjects. It is equally easy to understand why Piyadasi's rule applies to the end and the beginning of each season. The three Chāturmāsta full-moons were also great holidays. The orthodox Brahmins, who kept three sacred fires, performed on these occasions the Chāturmāsya sacrifices, those who kept a single fire celebrated corresponding rites, and the Brahmanical schools kept them as holidays on which studying was forbidden. According to the Buddhistic Su'maṇgala Vīḍāsīnī, p. 140 (explanation of the words upariprāśādavaraṇa) at least one of these days, the full moon of Kārttikā was kept as a popular festival. The Nakṣattra, i.e. the conjunction, was publicly proclaimed, the houses were gaily decorated, and the citizens gave themselves up to celebrating the Nakṣattra by amusements of various kinds. From the Dīpaṇca, XV, 19, it appears that the Buddhists worshipped the sacred relics on that day. Similar popular and sectarian festivals were probably held on the other two days, and it is very likely that the modern Śivite festival on Kārttikā sudi 15, the Holi on Phālghaṇa sudi 15, and the practice of making presents to Brahmins on Kārttikā and Āṣāṇa sudi 15, may go back to the earliest times or be connected with the more ancient popular holidays at the end and the beginning of the three seasons.

More difficult is the answer to the question why Piyadasi included in his prohibition the three days at full moon of Taisha or Pausha. But it may be suggested that the day may have been regarded as the conventional beginning of the Uttarāyaṇa, the sun's progress towards the north. This is still a great festival, now called Makarasamkrānti, and celebrated not on the actual day of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign, but later in January.

The term nāgavama, "elephant-preserve," is found both in Pali and in Sanskrit. It occurs repeatedly in the Chulahatthipadopamasutta of the Majjhima Nikāya. Thus we read, p. 178 (ed. Trenckner):—Seyyathā pi brāhmaṇa nāgavaniko nāgavanam pass- seyya, so passyā nāgavane mahanam hāthipadam dighato cha ayataṁ tīrtyān cha vitthatam, etc. "Just as when, O Brāhmaṇa, the keeper of an elephant-preserve, enters

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66 Vībhū, lxxi, 97, says: "Let him not cut even a blade of grass."
67 Mann, iv, 113—114, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis.
68 Partial and temporary prohibitions to kill were issued occasionally even in much later times. Thus the Śatruṣījaya inscriptions, Epigraphia Indica, vol. II, p. 37, state that the emperor Aksor stopped for a year the killing of aquatic animals at the instance of Jīhahāna Sūri, and that the same prince forbade the slaughter of all animals during six months in accordance with the prayer of Hravijaya Sūri.
69 Mann, iv, 119, and the parallel passages in the Synopsis.
the elephant-preserve, he may see in the elephant-preserve large footmarks of elephants, both long in length and broad in breadth, etc." In Sanskrit it occurs in Bana's Harsha-
charita.\footnote{See also passage quoted in the smaller Petersburg Dictionary.} The taming of elephants was in India a royal prerogative and the sale of elephants a royal monopoly, see Medhatithi on Manu, viii, 399. Particular forests, belonging to the Crown, were no doubt reserved in Piyadasi's days, as at present, for the breeding of elephants, and these are meant here.

The word kevalabhoga has not been traced in literary works. But its meaning is not doubtful both on account of its co-ordination with nivâvana and on account of its etymological meaning, 'that which is enjoyed or used by fishermen.' Probably particular lakes or portions of the rivers are meant, which were set apart for the fishermen of the various towns and villages, and were consequently their bhog, as the modern phrase is.

\(a\) M. Senart's explanation of athamipakhya by "pakshasyashthanyam on the eighth of (each) fortnight" is no doubt correct. In the Jaina Acharanga, ii, 15, 17, p. 125, Jacobi we have an exactly analogous compound dasamipakkheya "'on the tenth of the fortnight.' The position of the parts of the compounds is inverted in accordance with a license or slovenliness, frequently observable in all Prakrits, compare, e.g. the Deisi valayabhahu 'armlet' (Hemachandra, Deśikoshā, VII, 52) for bhumavalaya. Some formations of this kind like vârabâna, 'a protection against arrows, i.e. 'a coat-of-mail,' have even crept into Sanskrit in addition to those words where the grammar or classical usage sanctions the irregular position of the parts of the compound.

\(b\) The days of the month were commonly named according to the Nakshatras, with which the moon was supposed to be in conjunction, see my note 11 on the Sep. Ed. I, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Ges. vol. XLI. As no specification is added, Piyadasi's prohibition probably applies to the Tishya and Punarvasu days of each month. Both are among the punya nakshatra and Tishya or Pushya is occasionally cited as an example of an auspicious constellation. It is probable that, as the holier one, it has been placed before Punarvasu, which in the list of the Nakshatras stands earlier, being the fifth, while Tishya is the sixth. Brhaspati is the guardian deity of the latter; Aditi of the former.

\(c\) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained nilakhiyati by nirlakshyote, and correctly assigned to it the meaning 'is castrated.' I may add that the Deisi word\footnote{See Hemachandra Deśikoshā, iv, 44, and Pâiyogachchhî, verse 235, as well as the note in the glossary to the latter.} nelachchho or nelachchho, 'a eunuch,' furnishes the proof for his assertion.

\(d\) According to the analogies, found in the Shruta Sutras, ohatuvamāsipakha, the fortnight connected with the full moons of the seasons, may mean either the dark fortnight following the Chaturmatsī pûrmī, as Mr. Senart assumes, or the bright fortnight preceding it. For Katyayana uses māghipaksha for the dark half of Māgha, and Látâyana phālguṇipaksha for the bright half of Phālguna.\footnote{See the Petersburg Dictionaries under the two words, and the commentaries on the passages quoted there and in Professor Weber's Nachrichten von den Nakshatra, Bd. II, p. 327.} If, however, as I believe, Piyadasi used the pûrmimānta reckoning, the second explanation is the more natural one.

\(y\) According to a passage, quoted by Professor Weber (Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra, II, p. 330, Note 2), the Brâhmans considered the new-moon day of Phālguna to be the proper time for marking cows (see also Śâṅkhâyana Grihya Sūtra, III, 10.)
(z) It is not necessary to depart with M. Senart from the natural sense of the passage and to assume that Piyadasi restricted his order to certain classes of criminals. For, it must not be forgotten that long terms of imprisonment were not in favour with the authors of the ancient criminal codes of India. For serious crimes they mostly prescribe capital punishment, mutilation and banishment; for lighter offences fines and whipping. In Piyadasi's times the prisons, therefore, did probably not contain many prisoners condemned to long terms for serious crimes. I may add that the liberation of all prisoners, as an act of royal clemency, seems quite natural to Hindus. Only a few years ago I remember reading a rather sarcastic paragraph in the Bombay Gazette Summary on a princeling in Bengal, I think, who on the birth of a son decreed a general jail delivery in his fortunately not very extensive dominions; compare also Jdtakas, vol. V, p. 285, l. 25.

**Dehli-Sivalik.**


**Radhia.**


**Mathia.**


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**Edict VI.**

**Dehli-Mirat.**

Missing.

**Allahabad.**

[27] ... ... Piyadasi lā-

[28] ... ... i pä-

[29] ... ... sahāmi[. ] Hevaṁmeva sava-

[30] ... ... pījita vividhā-

[31] ... ... pūjāya[. ] Echīnīyamaṇaḥ pachūpamane se me mukhyamute[. ]

[32] ... ... pījita-ti
TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—After I had been anointed twelve years, I ordered religious edicts to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that the people), giving up that (unrighteousness which they practised), might obtain a growth of the sacred law (in) this or that (respect).5 (Saying unto my self) "the welfare and happiness of the people (is concerned)," I thus direct my attention not only to my relatives, but also to those who are near and far;—why so? "In order that I may lead some of them to happiness." In like manner I direct my attention to all bodies corporate. I have also honoured men of all creeds with various honours.6 But I consider that to be most essential, what (I call) 'the approach through one's own free will.' After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written.

REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) Dhammalipi, being a generic term, may refer to more than one edict. The edicts referred to are the third and fourth Rock Edicts. The former says, "when I had been anointed twelve years, I issued the following order," and the latter states with equal clearness at the end, "king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ordered this to be written, when he had been anointed twelve years." The earlier part of Piyadasi’s spiritual course is fixed by his own statements, as follows:—

(1) After the conquest of Kalinga in his ninth year he repented of his cruelty, and resolved to make no further conquests by the sword (Rock Edict XIII).

(2) In his eleventh year he began to hold an annual progress through his dominions in search of religious truth (Rock Edict VIII).

(3) In his thirteenth year he solemnly adopted the Dhamma or Sacred Law, i.e. those principles of morality which he enumerates so frequently (Rock Edict IV), and ordered it to be spread by his officials and his vassals on their annual tours through their districts (Rock Edict III).

(4) In his fourteenth year he appointed the Dhammamahāmatas or Superintendents of the Sacred Law. All this long precedes his conversion to Buddhism, which happened in or immediately after the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

(b) Apahata (D. S.) or apahaṭa is undoubtedly, as M. Senart suggests, equivalent to apahiritva or apahṛitvā. In my opinion it corresponds to the second form, just as paṭiladdha61 (Jātaka, iv, 46, 23) stands for pratilabdha. With respect to the meaning I differ from M. Senart, as I take apahṛi in the sense of 'to avoid, to give up,' which it has not rarely in Sanskrit. Tam, the object of apahaṭa, stands for tad, and denotes 'that which the people used to do, before they were taught better.' The whole sentence down to pāpocā gives briefly the contents of Rock Edict IV, and it would have been clearer if it had been added at the end. I transliterate and explain the passage in Sans-

5 Compare with this sentence the statements in the twelfth Rock Edict.
6 The verse runs as follows:—Sukkoppam etam paṭiladdha pāpam acohādātāh kamma karoti luddah.

c) The explanation of the statement that the king directs his attention to his relatives is given by the remarks in the fourth Rock Edict and the seventh Pillar Edict, according to which the gifts of his children, brothers and sisters were supervised by the Dhammamahāmātās. By “those who are near,” Piyadasi probably means his La-jukas and other officials, who are supervised and taught their duties by him, see the fourth Pillar Edict and the Separate Edicts. “Those who are far,” apakaṭha, may be the wardens of the marches or perhaps the free borderers and the subjects of his friend the Yavana king Antiyoka, on whom Piyadasi conferred benefits according to the second Rock Edict, and whom he tried to convert to the Dhamma by ambassadors, as the thirteenth Rock Edict (Part ii) alleges.

d) M. Senart has recognised that kimāṁ is equivalent to the very common phrase kimīti. As R. M. read plainly kimmaṁ, I would suggest that kimāṁ too stands for kimmaṁ, and is a contraction of kimva, i.e. kimiva, with the not uncommon nasalisation of the last vowel.

e) Nikāya, ‘body corporate,’ refers probably not only, as M. Senart suggests, to the classes of officials which are called nikāyā in the twelfth Rock Edict, but also to the castes and sects called nikāyā in the thirteenth Rock Edict.

(f) Pachchāpagamana, in Sanscrit pratyupagamana, might mean ‘the return to,’ but may also be taken as ‘the approach towards.’ The latter sense suits here best, and what is meant is the voluntary approach which one sect is to make towards the other in accordance with Piyadasi’s recommendation in the twelfth Rock Edict:—“They shall hear each other’s law and love to hear it. For it is the desire of the Beloved of the gods—what?—‘that men of all creeds shall have heard much and possess holy doctrines.’”

Dehti-Sivalik Pillar.

EDICT VII, 1.

Devāṇaṁ-piye Piyadasi lājā hevam āhā[;]yae-atikamtam [11]
aṁtalam lājāne husu[,]hevam ichhisu[,]kathām-jane[12]
dhammavaḍhiya vaḍheya[,]? No-chu-jane anulupāya dhammavaḍhiya[13]
vaḍhiṭa[,] Etam devānaṁ-piye Piyadasi lājā hevam-āhā[,] esa-me[14]
hutha[,] atikamtam-cha aṁtalam hevam ichhisu lājāne kathām-jane[15]
anulupāya dhammavaḍhiya vaḍheya-ṭi[,] no-chu-jane anulupāya[16]
dhammavaḍhiya vaḍhiṭa[,] se-kina-su jane anupatipajeyat[17]
kina-su jane anulupāya dhammavaḍhiya vaḍheya-ṭi[,]kina-su-kāni [18]
abhyumāmayeham dhammavaḍhiya-ṭi[,]? Etam-devānaṁ-piye Piyadasi lājā hevam[19]
āhā[,] esa-me hutha[,] dhammāsāvanāni savāpayāmi dhammānusathinī[20]
anus[ā]sāmi[,] etam-jane sutu anupaṭipajītsati abhyumānīsam[21]

43 The second pa of anupatipajeyd stands above the line.
44 This might be read anuṣiddāmi, but I believe the blotched line above the d-stroke to be accidental. Anuṣiddāmi is also used by Asoka elsewhere, e.g. Sep. Ed., II, 6, (8), etc.]
EDICT VII, 2.

dhammavādhiyā-cha bādham vaḍhisati[.] Etāye-me ṣāṭhāye dhammasāvanāni sāvāpitāni dhammanusathini vividhāni ānāpitāni yathā me pulisā-phaṅ bahunē janāsi ṣāṭhā ete paliyovadisamīti-pi pavithralisamīti-pi[.] Lajā-kā-phaṅ bahunēs pānasatasahasesu āyatā tepi-me ānāpitā[.] hevam-cha hevam-cha paliyovadatha[1]


khāṇāpāpitāni[.] nimbāśiṣhā-cha kālāpitā[.] aprāṇāni-me bahukāni tata-tata kālāpitāni paṭibhaga ye pasumunisānaṃ[.] La[luke chu] esa paṭibhoga nāma[.] Vvividhāya- hi sukhaṇāṇāyā pulimchi-pi lājithi mamaya-cha sukhaṇīte loke[.] Imaṃ-cha dhammānuṇapāṭipati anuṇaṭpaṇjāmu-ṣṭa[.] etadatā-me[3]

esa-kaṭe[.] Devanāṃ-piye Piyadasi hevam āhā[.] dhammanahāmatā-pi-me t[e]-bahuvidhesu[78] aṭhesu anugahikasu viyāpāṣa-se pavajitanāṃ-cheva gihithanāṃ-cha[.] sava[.] pāsann[esu]-pi-cha viyāpaṭaṣa[.] saṃghaṭhasi-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭa hohamiṭi[.] hemeva bābhun[a] ājivikēsu-pi-me kaṭe[4]

ime viyāpaṭa hohamiṭi[.] Nigamṭhesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭa hohamiṭi[.] nāna-pāsamāḥsu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭa hohamiṭi[.] Paṭivisṭhāṇa paṭivisṭhāṇa tesu-tesu te-[te] ma[.] Dhammanahāmatā-cha me etesu-cheva viyā[pa] tā savesu-cha ānnesu pāsāndus[.] Devanāṃ-piye Piyadasi lājā-hevam āhā[.] 5

dhammāpadanāṭaṭhāye dhammānuṇapāṭipatiye[.] Esa-hi dhammāpadāṇāe dhammānuṇapāṭipati-ṣṭa yā-iyaṃ dayā dāne sache socchave madave sādha[ve]-cha lokasa hevam vaḍhisati-

67 Faintly visible are, both on Dr. Fletch's facsimile and on Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, the following letters—ya tha . . . i and the left-hand curve of sa, while the right half of sa is quite plain. The restoration is not doubtful, because there is exactly room for three lost consonants and because the phrase pulisā-pi-me my servants occurs above Pillar Edict, I, l. 7 (D. S.), l. 3 (A), and elsewhere. From Professor Kern's analysis of this edict, Der Buddhismus, vol. II, p. 385, I infer that he would restore the passage in the same manner.

68 Bakumē possibly a clerical mistake for bahukē. But it may be defended by the locative punēāte above,— v. 16, 18 (D. S.).

69 The quantity of the second vowel of lajākā is not certain.

70 The last syllable of dhammayutanā has been placed more than an inch from the rest, because there is a flaw in the stone.

71 The restoration has been made correctly by M. Senart. The rubbing shows the d-stroke distinctly, and the facsimile has the final e.

72 The continuation of the same flaw in the stone, which caused the separation of the syllables dhammayu and tan in l. 2, has here made necessary the division nīnasī ḍhiyā (not ḍhayā). Of course, nothing has been lost.

73 The initial ta (not sa) is perfectly plain, both on the facsimile and on the rubbing. Between ta and esa, three, or possibly four, syllables have been lost. The phrase was, therefore, either lahuke chu esa or lahuke chu kho esa, compare Rock Edict, XI, 2, l. 14 (Kālī), lahuke ve kho sa piti, and below, l. 9, tata chu tahu-se dhammaniyame.

74 The sa of nāma stands above the line, and has been added afterwards as a correction.

75 Though the ta is damaged at the top, it seems probable, both according to the rubbing and the facsimiles, that the reading was te. The so after viyāpaṭā is, of course, not required. Compare also the first clause in l. 5, where another redundant te occurs.

76 The restoration has been given correctly by M. Senart.


**Translation.**

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"Those kings who lived during the past ages conceived this wish, ‘Might mankind in some way grow the growth of the sacred law,’! But mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law."

Concerning this (matter) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"This (thought) came to me, ‘On the one hand kings conceived during the past ages this wish, Might mankind in some way grow a befitting growth of the sacred law!’ On the other hand mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law. By what means then would mankind (be moved) to obey? By what means would mankind grow a befitting growth of the sacred law? By what means may I raise up some among them to (grow) the growth of the sacred law?"

Concerning this (matter) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"This (thought) came to me: ‘Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached; instruction in the sacred law I will order to be given. When men hear it, they will obey, they will raise themselves, and mightily they will grow the growth of the sacred law.’"

For this purpose I have ordered sermons on the sacred law to be preached, and have directed various instructions on the sacred law to be given, so that [even my servants] who dwell (as rulers) among many men, shall give instruction and expand it. Even the kajākas who dwell (as rulers) among many hundred thousands of souls, even they have been ordered by me; “Instruct (my) loyal people in this way and in that.”

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"Having regard to this same matter, I have erected pillars of the sacred law, I have appointed superintendents of the sacred law, I have ordered to be preached (sermons on) the sacred law."

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77 Read imāni cha, as the sense requires.
78 Etam-evam anuvakhamānas (i.e., anuvakshyamānas) may be explained as a nominative absolute, analogous to avijitaḥ hi vijnānam, Rock Edict XIII (l. 36, k.). But it is not impossible that anuvakhamāna (i.e. anuvakshamāna) was what Ashoka really wrote.
King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:

"I have also planted banian-trees on the high-roads, (intending that) they shall give shade to men and beasts. I have planted mango-gardens." I have also ordered wells to be dug at every half kos² and I have ordered rest-houses to be built; and I have ordered many watering stations to be made here and there for the enjoyment of men and beasts. [But something small indeed is] this so-called enjoyment. Both former kings and myself have blessed the world with various blessings. But I have done (all) this (in order) that men may render their obedience to the sacred law."

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:

"My superintendents of the sacred law are also occupied with the various matters of grace, affecting both ascetics and householders; and they are likewise occupied with men of all creeds. I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the affairs of the Samgha; likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Ājivikas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Nigamthas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with (all) the manifold creeds. Various officials (have been appointed) for various (classes of men and purposes) in accordance with the several requirements. But my superintendents of the sacred law are occupied both with those (mentioned) and with the men of all creeds."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:

Both these and many other chief officials are occupied with the distribution of gifts, both my own and those of the queens; and in my whole harem they [point out] various ways the manifold sources of contentment both here (in Pātaliputra) and in the distance. And I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the distribution of the gifts both of my sons and of the other princes in order (to promote) noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and obedience to the sacred law. For, these are noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and this is action in accordance with the sacred law, whereby compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and holiness will thus grow among men."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:

"Whatever works of holiness I have worked, these men have followed, and these they will imitate in future; and thereby they have grown and will grow in future in obedience towards parents, in obedience towards venerable men, in reverence towards the aged, in proper conduct towards Brahmans and ascetics, towards the poor and the wretched, even towards slaves and servants."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:

"But men have grown this growth of the sacred law in two ways, (viz.) through restrictive religious rules and through deep meditation. But, among these two the restrictive religious rules are something small, more (is worked) by deep meditation.

78 Regarding the short a of əvađiyd see note 17 on the Queen's Edict, Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, p. 123, where it has been pointed out that the corresponding ambdevađid may stand for ambdevađikā. Regarding the long ā of amb, see below, note 20.

Mukkā has either been used in the sense of mukka, m, a leader (see the smaller Pet. Dict., sub voce), or it stands for mukkā and corresponds to mukkād 'chiefs,' i.e. 'officials of high rank.'

Thus, i.e. in the manner desired by the king.

Taba, i.e. tatra, has here, as often in Sanskrit, a distributive sense, and tato-chu is equivalent to shakytu.
PILLAR EDICTS OF ASOKA.

But the restrictive religious rules, indeed, are these, that I have ordered various kinds of creatures to be exempt from slaughter; but there are also numerous other restrictive religious rules which I have imposed. But by deep meditation the growth of the sacred law has been increased more among men, so that they do not injure created beings, so that they do not slaughter living creatures."

For the following purpose these (orders) have been issued, (viz.) that they may last as long as my sons and great-grandsons reign", as long as moon and sun endure, and that men may act accordingly. If man obeys them in this manner, happiness has been gained both in this world and the next. I have caused this religious edict to be written after I had been anointed twenty-seven years.

Concerning this the Beloved of the gods speaks (thus):—

"This religious edict must be incised there, where either stone pillars or stone tablets are found, in order that it may endure for a long time."

REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION,

(a) As the preceding clause states that the kings "conceived a wish," it is not possible to take katham as an interrogative adverb. It must have the sense of an indefinite pronoun, just as káni has more frequently.

(b) Though it is perhaps not absolutely impossible to take etam with M. Senart as equivalent to itra or atra, I prefer to explain it by etad, and to assume that we have here the "accusative of relation," which, as Professor Delbrück has shown (Altindische Syntax, p. 165f.), appears not rarely with verbs of speaking, wishing, considering and the like.

(c) Abhyunnámayetham is the future with the meaning of the subjunctive (see Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, p. 266f., and especially the quotation from the Rámâyana under b). E for i appears similarly in paridahessati, etc. (see E. Müller: Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language, p. 118).

(d) Abhyunnamissati may be either the future of the active abhyunamati, or, equivalent to abhyunnammissati, the future of the passive of the causative abhyunnayati. The use of the active unnamati, abhyunnamati, pronnamati, and so forth, in the sense of 'to rise up,' is the usual one both in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits.

(e) Lajúka means literally 'a writer, clerk,' and denotes here probably a high official, taken from the writer caste (see note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III). Regarding the meaning of áyatá note 2 to my German translation of the Sep. Ed. I, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XLI.

(f) Paliyovadátha is one of the few instances of the Vedic subjunctive, preserved in the old Prakrits of India (see Professor Pischel in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. XXIII, p. 424, and Professor E. Müller, Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language, p. 108).

(g) Aḍhakosikíyáni corresponds to a Sanskrit árdhakrośikíyáni. The kroṣa or kos meant here, must be that equal to 8,000 Hastas, or half a gaváti, which thus corresponds to the so-called Súláná kos of 3 English miles. The ordinary kos, equal to one and a half or one and three-quarter miles, cannot be meant, as the wells would come to close to each other.  

See above, Pillar Edict V.
(h) Nimsidhiyā no doubt stands for nisidhiyā, just like the Pali mahimsa for mahis, and is an equivalent of nisidhiyā, 'dwelling,' which occurs in the Nāgarjuni Hill Cave inscriptions, Indian Antiquary, vol. XX, p. 364f., in the compound vāshunisidhiyāye. Both nimsidhiyā and nisidhiyā are Pali representatives of the Sanskrit nishadyā, "a couch, a market-hall." They have, however, been derived not from the root nishad, but from the stem of the present tense nishit. The lingual dh of nimsidhiyā is due to the influence of the original sha of nishtidyā. The Jainas use closely allied words nisidhi, nishtidy and nishty for the last resting-place, the ornamental tombs, of their saints, see Indian Antiquary, vol. XII, p. 99. Nimsidhiyā denotes here, of course, the public rest-houses or serais, which are found at certain distances on most Indian high-roads and which are frequently built dhamūrtham by benevolent and rich men. Ushavatā, the pious son-in-law of the Satrap and king Nahapāna boasts in the Nasik inscriptions, Rep. Arch. Surv. West Ind. vol. IV, p. 99, that he erected many such buildings.

(i) Āpāna cannot have here its usual meaning "tavern, liquor-shop." As Professor Kern, Der Buddhismus, vol. II, p. 385, assumes, it must denote a watering station. Probably the huts on the roads are meant, where water is distributed to travellers and their beasts gratis or against payment. The usual Sanskrit name is prapā.

(j) Saṁgha, of course, denotes the order of Buddhist monks. The Ājivikas are probably, as Professor Kern assumes, orthodox Vaishānava ascetics, see my discussion of the question in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XX, p. 362. The Nigamthaśas are the Jaina ascetics or Nirgranthas. I take pratibisītham, pratibisītham, "according to the sever requirements" in the sense of pratīvisēham, (see the smaller Petersburg Diet, sub voce). Tesu-tesu, literally "for these and those," probably refers not only to various classes of men, but also to various purposes, for which the unnamed officials were appointed. Compare the end of Rock Edict XII, where the Superintendents of women, the Vachabhumikas and other bodies of officials are mentioned.

(k) I here follow Professor Kern, Der Buddhismus, vol. II, p. 366, who takes tuṣṭhayatanāṇi, i.e. tuṣṭhayatanāṇi, "sources of contentment," in the sense of "opportunities for charity." Such opportunities are to be pointed out to all the inmates of the king's harem. With this interpretation the necessity of the restoration pātī[pādayantī] is self-evident.

(l) Devikumāla 'prince' means literally 'son of a queen,' i.e. of such a lady who has the title devī. As the sons of the king have been mentioned separately, it follows that 'the princes' are the sons of the wives of Piyadasi's predecessors, i.e. his brothers and possibly his paternal uncles. In the parallel passage, Rock Edict V, Piyadasi names 'his brothers, sisters and other relatives.'

(m) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained nijhati as a derivative from the causative nishhyādi and appropriately translated it by "reflexion." It is equivalent to Sanskrit nididhyāsanā "reflection, deep meditation," which is derived by other affixes from the same verb.

(n) In putāpapotike the nominative of the plural putā takes the place of the stem just as in anābā-vaṭikyā, above l. 2. Similarly the nominative singular frequently takes the place of the stem in the inscriptions from Mathurā, ante, vol. I, p. 371 ff. Rare instances occur also in Pali. Thus we have, Jūl. iv, 184, 18, sakhābhariyam, 'the wife of a friend.'
XXI.—THE MAHĀBAN PRAŚASTĪ OF SAMVAT 1207.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is identical with that which I have published, ante, vol. I, p. 287, under the title Mathurā Praśasti of the Reign of Vijayapāla, according to an impression, furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer and described as an 'Inscription on black basalt recovered from Kesava mound at Mathurā, 10th February 1889.'

Shortly after the publication of my article Dr. Führer wrote to me that he did not agree with my restoration of the king’s name as Vijayapāla, because he had obtained lately from Mahāban another small inscription of the same period, which showed a different reading. His remarks induced me to look over Sir A. Cunningham’s notices of Mahāban in the Archaeological Survey Reports, where I found the facsimile1 of a much more complete version of this supposed Mathurā Praśasti, and the statement that the document had been obtained at Mahāban in 1882-83; my friend, Professor Kielhorn, likewise pointed it out to me. For some time I thought that Dr. Führer’s inscription, in which the central portion has been rubbed out by the stone being used for grinding spices or dāl and a large piece at the right-hand corner has been broken off, might be a duplicate of Sir A. Cunningham’s. But this theory became doubtful, when in answer to my enquiries Dr. Führer stated that Sir A. Cunningham’s stone was not traceable at Mahāban. And it became absolutely untenable, when some time ago Dr. J. Burgess found Sir A. Cunningham’s impression from which his lithograph was prepared. A comparison with Dr. Führer’s impression shows that the latter has, in the portions preserved, all the minor abrasions which are found on Sir A. Cunningham’s slab, whereby the identity of the two originals is established. It would now seem that, after Sir A. Cunningham’s impression was taken in 1882-83, the stone was taken away from Mahāban, used as a grinding stone by somebody, and finally brought as a find from the Kesava mound to Dr. Führer, who in 1889 received quite a number of fragments2 from the railway-workmen at Mathurā.

I now re-edit the inscription according to Sir A. Cunningham’s impression, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate and permits me to give a much better version.

As regards the contents of the inscription, it is now plain that it refers to the erection of a temple at Mahāban. The paramount king, mentioned in the colophon, is probably, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated, op. cit., vol. XX, p. 42, Ajayapāla, not Vijayapāla. And he may belong to the Yaduvamśī dynasty of Bayānā-Sripathā (see the pedigree op. cit., p. 7). This view, which Sir A. Cunningham has put forward, is confirmed by the fact that Dr. Führer’s above mentioned new inscription from

1 Cunningham’s Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. XX, pl. x.
2 The use of the slab for grinding condiments upon is perfectly evident from the impression, where a round piece in the centre is blank, and at the sides the deeper strokes of the letters are visible, while the shallower ones have disappeared. Dr. Führer has also sent me squeezes of several other fragments, which bear in pencil the dates when they came into his hands. One which is unfortunately very small shows the name of Paramesvara-bri-Siddhātyadeva and may belong to the seventh century.
Mahāban shows the name of Ajayapāla's successor Haripāla and the date Samvat 1227. The pedigree of the Rājput who built the temple now stands as follows:

- Simharāja.
- Tejarāja.
- Āsika, married to daughter of Harikaṇṭha.
- Jajja, married to Dharmā, daughter of Rissika.
- Pajja, married to daughter of king of Avanta.
- Four sons.
- One or several sons (verse 17).

**Transcript.**

L. 1. री मी [री] चर्चन्द्रेऽष्टि नमः।
   दिम्याव व: कीर्मवु — — —
   — यांसि तंतं शिरदानमस्व [१]
   विजिल्व विधानिव — ये — रन्ति (७)
   सुखे समाधातुमुपानितौ यः [११]

L. 2. [री] व: काशवान्तरिक्षसिद्धता भूले री — — —:[१] करावायि्र्दिव समुत्तता सरस्वते या खकिनीस्रीण्या।
   यदा[श] ज्ञानमानोयी कमला डिखीरिरिखो

L. 3. पर्म:
   कामुविस्वितसम्बर क[श]मिनी[व]विजल्पुराणयाते || [२]
   स कोष्ठु ज — — —: काशवायनदपाणिन:
   महानर[ब]स्त[बं]: प्रहरीरसंततति

L. 4. यस: [१]
   समस्तुमुनाकार: कमलकाशकुमारारः
   भ्वतामरस्तवर: तु[ष]वलुक्तसाणार: || [४]
   दसि प्रहरीसय ||
   शाला[श]वितीस्विश्वस

L. 5. कालिग्रामदिस्मंखलः
   स्वाथ: या[श]समास्याय हिङ्कुलः: संभवमानोपिकरः।

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1 Read चर्चन्द्रेऽष्टि. On Dr. Führer's impression the e-stroke above the ta has almost disappeared.
2 Restore शर्वान्तरिक्षसिद्धता: ज्ञानमानोयी.
3 Restore यांसि तंतं.
4 Read विजल्पुराणयाते: ज्ञानमानोयी.
5 Read री: री.
6 Read विदानिव: रन्ति (७).
7 Read यांसि तंतं: ज्ञानमानोयी: "दसि प्रहरीसय": — Restore ज्ञानमानोयी.
कर्मणीमञ्जलमण्डलं वथुतमहस्तवःपर्यर्थमः
वोमानस्तन्त्र ससु-।

L. 6. वत: चन्द्रिति राजन्यांयो महान्।। [८]
सूत्रवाच्याक्षरार्थितिवृद्धिसर्वानाथाभासाविकीः
वोमानस्तन्त्रनिर्णयाकर्मण्यपुष्पवाच्यार्थामः।। [९]

L. 7. तताब्लूक्तकलाकर्मसम्पादनेरणमः
माध्यस्तम्भियसतिष्ठितिजन: वोमानिर्बाधियः।। [१०]
द्रागेन सख्मीर्यन्यनिविदा
भावेन भ-।

L. 8. लितं: चम्यां च यक्तिः।। [११]
सकेन चुरितं — — तेन सूमितं
राज्यातां चताता च वेन।। [११]॥
तत्तवाधूत्तनवो न्योंतिमति: वोमानिर्बाधियः
सत्यतोक्वग्नः।।

L. 9. स्मिस्युद्गुष्यांशी विवेकाकरः।
यिन्तव पुश्चिलोमौं विदेषरो चसे न वैकुण्ठता
मेखलायुक्ताज्ञानहस्तिन: ततो यो नामज्ञातिः रुपू।। [१२]

L. 10. तत्ताव्युज्यायचन्ति वस्तन्त्रयात्मायांशीयः
वोमानिर्बिभस्तमहस्तमधियाभिरत:।। [१२]
विवेकाबिभ्दान्यम्भुधिकायामदेवीः ज्यवेक्तिनः।।
परं।।

L. 11. दो-म्यियस्तम्भियायायांशीयः: सत्यं सम्बतं।। [१२]
पुष्पमेक्षतस्मार्थितिवृद्धि: वोमानिर्बाधियः: प्रसुः
पीलामोहिष्ठ पीलामुचित्रित सत्वितिन: जाक्ष्यीं।
वोमानिर्बिभा: जिवल

L. 12. रोशनीमित्र सुनितममियस्तम्भियायांशीयः
स्न वोमानिर्बिभस्तमहस्तमधियाभिरत — — तां।। [१२]॥
तत्वं तेन सूतिः जस्य नाम: सज्जनमूर्यः।।
रामो दय-।

L. 13. शनेन्द्र क्रो[४]श्यामसुद्धांशीयः।। [१२]॥
कुमेरं: वस्तन्त्रायुक्तस्तम्भियायायांशीयः: कथा यक्तिः
को वा गन्धपुलिनिष्टकास्तम्: परिशेषस्मियम्।। [१२]
नाशः।।

*According to Cunningham's rubbing one might read वोमानिर्बिभस्तमहस्तमधियाभिरत, but Führer's gives plainly “अर्थः”

* Restore चुरितं: सूमितं शुरुः।।

* The second नथे and the second ज्ञानस्तम्भियायांशीयः: stand below the line.

* The last पद्ध stands in the margin, and there is a mark after परं in order to indicate the lacuna. Restore चुरितमम्भुधिकायामदेवीः।।

* Restore शर्क्षणम方针्यियः:—Restore शर्क्षणम方针्यियः।।
L. 14. को दिविग गणान्तुं कोऽकृतीभि: समयः
तस्य स्वतः सर्वम[स]य वा क: प्रभवः: युधिष्ठिर [११] ॥
चंद्र: कश्चित्कसम्बन्ध यद्विं
पद्म किल्ले किमः

L. 15. कं करोति [१]

अभ: पुनर्भेदलयः ॥ ॥
हावेव वषी विमली विधे ॥ [१२] ॥
सुः: साधुभिर्जब कौम्भजने श्राक्ष धर्मम् महत: ॥
दानेन्द्रासविवः: पु.

L. 16. रोपण्यं कार्यं गृहणं न[लि: १]
— — चिपुस्मीतमंगिनीगृही समं संधिती: ॥
जनस्याससिकसंभवस्य सुभते: किं चिरं न कीर्तितरं ॥ [१३] ॥
का.

L. 17. य: परोपकारितिः: सुखतो ॥ — ॥
— विद्यारंभरकरणानवें वें: [१]
लक्ष्यरिपु प्रणविनांचितपूर्वेन ॥
सलेन वायुपी च येन जन्म जन्मा जन्मा ॥

L. 18. सह [१४] ॥
शोभानिर्विकारनामविदितो राजनयवंहतः
तस्यासुपद्विविवाहद्वितरं धर्मसिद्धानां चतोः ॥
शोभाचार्यविभूषणं शुभगृहं भूतुः ॥

L. 19. तां सम्बन्धां
तस्या [पुदं] चतुर्वं वमवभयमपरं तत: ॥ [१४] ॥
तस्यासुकी शुभविवृद्धिः िन वरिषः
ख्यात: सुभिजगृहविविवाहमः: [१]
गृहीयोः

L. 20. सत्यनयदान[विशेष]कहुदि: ॥
श्रीवासिकाचाप्रमुनिरन्त्रप्रवहनामा ॥ [१६] ॥
अवस्त्राराजतनं भायसुदवर्धतः ॥
तस्यं स जनयामानं × × × × — — yat × × [१७] ॥
संसारं दिर्मवारसमेरकिं विद्याय गीतोयमः
सारं धर्मवर्ता विश्रातः ॥

L. 21. य वहं जनक नमोपि तित ॥
विश्वासिर्मभावधारणावैविषयायं वदः

\* The reading of the stone seems to have been पार्श्वः.
\* Restore अव: श्रीवासिकी.
\* Restore सुभिजगृहविविवाहमः.
\* Verse 17 stands in the margin, and is preceded by the figure 20, which refers to the line where it is to be inserted.
कृपयाग्रीवलीतङ्कपेद्युभासमभविलं|| [१५]  
सौःसौः—  

L. 22.  
क्षमायास्मकःकेदाहारविनाशकः  
क्षोद्धारालीतङ्कपेद्युभासस्य मात्रं पयः || [१]  
सप्तं च सुचिनं सप्तीत्वः फल्ग्राहेणारांकुराणं जिन्ते—  

L. 23.  
— — वयविदायु मन्दिरसिद्धं साधनीपति: शाखतं || [१८]  
पद गोठोकोताजामारि:  
सुनिताकाञ्चजग्नमेश्वरसत्तरस्वयं नंदनः ।  
वेदार्थमः—  

L. 24.  
— — ○ × × शी विश्वाकाभिः: || [२०]  
मंगलोऽन्नरदश्व ज्ञात्वचो माधवाण्ज: ।  
ठीलसत्तुत्संतकः कलापालकमज्ञतुः || [२१]  
सोमराया महोपाय: ।  

L. 25.  
× × × × ○ — ○ न: ।  
पुस्ती चलसमुष्टृ: देवरो माधवाण्जः || [२२]  
सोढली रामपालस्व सेल्ह्यो राजिजीन्द्रः ।  
एते गोष्टीं समागम्य पुष्पीवरादि—  

L. 26.  
— [किस्मत] कः: || [२३]  
[प्र्]तवाण: विज्ञवेणः विचरः ।  
संग्रंदस्ता नरिष्ण: पुर्वावसिजनः [न च] || [२४]  
च संवेद: विचयः छोट्टा बागिका देवस्तवः ।  
गोष्टी—  

L. 27.  
[प्र्]शुतिरस्व मानोऽसारसास्वदिक || [२५]  
यंत्रे यंत्रे पको [पात्रा] चा[तुष्ण] पुष्पामालिकात् ।  
मायाकाल चतुर्थियो य: काल्पिकांभवत: [२६]  
य: काल्पि: ॥  

L. 28.  
रते हरस्तं न ददाति च मानव: ।  
स मन्त्रेश्वर: [क] चोरं यवदाभ्यातसंप्रवः || [२७]१९  
फस्त: [प] शस्त्रवाहः कत्पीरी वर्धी पालकुल्करी ।  
[च]त्त्वं सर्वविदुधेयुणान्यं विचारः ।
XXII.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

BY PAUL HORN, PH. D., STRASSBURG.

As in my previous paper on Muhammadan inscriptions from the Sâba of Dihâlî, I have reproduced the texts of the inscriptions as they are found on the stone, adding no wanting dots, tashâlîs, etc., except in the first six inscriptions.

1.—Bhâagalpur.

The history of Bhâagalpur during the first four centuries of Muhammadan rule offers nothing very remarkable. The first inscription below of the time of Maîmûd Shâh ibn İbrahim Shâh of Jaunpûr, is of value, because it shows that Bhâagalpur in the ninth Hijrat century belonged to the Sharqî kingdom, as did also Bihâr (vide below). In A. H. 982 it came into the possession of Akbar (Akbarnâmâ, III, 108). Further information regarding the place has been collected by C. J. O'Donnell in W. W. Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, vol. XIV, p. 82.

The inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are of little historical value; they bear the dates of the years 1032 (reign of Jahângîr), 1130 (reign of Fârrukh Sîyar) and 1793 A.D. The last falls in the period of English rule.

The first inscription¹ is engraved on a black basalt slab, fixed on a tomb in a garden belonging to Rântî Bibî in Mânda Roga Mahalla, Bhâagalpur; it is no longer in situ; the stone measures 36 inches by 18 inches; the size of the inscribed part is 30 by 13 inches.

قال النّبي عليه السلام مِن بني مَصِيدٍ في الدّنّى بني الله له قصرا في أَجَنِّة. في زمن ملك العادل محّمّد، شاه السّلطان بنا كرّه ابن مسّدق خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خان سر نُبّيي خ

Translation.

'The Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—says 'He who builds a mosque in this world, God will build for him a castle in Paradise'. During the time of the just king Maîmûd Shâh the honoured Khân Khurshêd Khân, head of the guardians outside the palace, has built this mosque on the tenth of Jumâdi'l awwal, year 850 H. (3rd August 1446).'

The arrangement of the words on the stone is not quite regular, and the deciphering is therefore more difficult than it seems at first sight. I have found no information relative to Khurshêd Khân, whose title saîrî naubatî ghair-mahaîltân I have translated according to Blochmann (Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, vol. XLI, p. 106, vol. XLII., p. 273, note).

2. The second inscription has already been published by Blochmann in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, December 1873, p. 200. It is on a Dargâh called the Maskânî Barârî or Makhdu mâ Shâh's Dargâh in Champanâgar near Bhâgal-

¹ See facsimile No. 1.
² The same form occurs, e.g., in the inscriptions, Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, vol. XLI, p. 109, Proceedings for March 1874, p. 72.
pūr; the name of the saint buried there is not known. The basalt slab measures 27 by 16 inches, the inscribed part 20 by 13 inches; it contains four lines.

ترجمة.

'There is no god but God and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God. Abū Bakr, the veracious—may God be pleased with him! 'Omar, the distinguisher between right and wrong—may God be pleased with him! 'Osmān—may God be pleased with him! 'Alī—may God dignify his face!'

When the humblest of the slaves of God, Khwāja Aḥmad of Samarkand, according to the order of the Nawāb, bearing holy titles, the prince of the people of the world, Shāh Parwēz, son of Jahāngīr, had entered the service as Faujdār of Sarkār Mungir, he found grace to build this splendid tomb in the year 1032 H. [began the 5th November 1622].'

Shāh Parwēz was the second son of the emperor Shāh Jahāngīr. He died of delirium tremens on the 6th Safar 1035 (7th November 1625). In the year 1032 H. he gave Bengal in jāgīr to Muhābat Khan, after having defeated in battle Shāh Jahan (Iqbalnāma-ī Jahāngīrī, p. 239), whereas Bihār, to which sarkār Mungir belonged (Aīn-i-Akbarī, vol. I, p. 419), remained his own tiyūl.

In the Statistical Account of Bengal, vol. XV, p. 63, is a long account of the town of Mungir, compiled by Blochmann.

3. This inscription was found near Cleveland's public garden; the rectangular black basalt stone on which it is engraved measures about 36 by 13 inches, the inscription covers 16 by 10 inches.

Metre,—诱惑':

With much sorrow he tied up the dress of journey from the perishable house towards the country of eternity. From the head of (the word) grief say the year of the death, "The soul clothed with a body went from the world, alas!"

The last line gives, according to objad reckoning, 1129. As the poet seems to mean that the head of andāh, i.e. the letter alif, is to be added to the tarikh, we get 1129+1=1130 H. [which began the 5th December 1717].

* The four caliphs.
* In Elliot-Dowson's History, vol. VI, p. 417, l. 4, for Bihār read Bengal.
The person referred to is not named.

4. The following inscription is from the same place as No. 3; the engraved area on the pillar is 12 by 5 inches.

| Ar-Rasāms | تَوَّرَّدَ بَرَقَسُ سَكْفَ رَأِيِّ مُصْرِعٍ هِشْمُ فَرْدِیُّ وَدوُدُهُ كَمْ اَندَرَجَ وَآتَهُ وَإِنَّ نَبُوْعِبٍ | خَرَاسِمٌ تَارِیْقٌ الْمَکْرَ (۳) مَعْسِرِی (۳۸۹۸) سَارَمُ بَیْانُ، | از ضیاء ملک ابن تالاب خوش تحقیر یائست | But the Great Speaker has caused the famous words of Ziyā-i-Mulk to be engraved (bād) on the stone—i.e.—1208-9H. |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|

**TRANSLATION.**

Metre,—*Ramal*:

By (order of) Ziyā-i-Mulk this fair tank has been dug, on the bank of it this place of worship has also been erected by his exertion. I wanted to render manifest the date of the Christian era, so that there may exist a sign of the year of its erection on the face of the stone. Suddenly an invisible speaker by way of pleasure increased the word 'Bād' after the word 'Dīdah' in the eighth hemistich; then in the ear of the mind he uttered a mysterious sound, indeed, strange: "Man has scarcely seen in the world such a rare place."

The letters of the *tārīkh* which runs therefore 'Dīdah bād kam' etc., give 1793 A.D.—the last hemistich=1781 + 12 (bād)—*i.e.*—1208-9H.

Ziyā-i-Mulk must have been the title of some English officer whose European name I am not able to make out here.

On a hill to the west of Bhāgalpūr Station is a Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shāhjangī (Shāhbāz), to which belongs a tank. That tank which had gone out of use was cleaned and fitted with stone steps by order of Mr. Edward Latore, Magistrate, Zila' Bhāgalpūr, in 1843 A.D., corresponding with 1250 Fašt. As a memorial of that fact a Hindūstānī inscription has been engraved in a circle on the side wall of the ghāt, and the names of the personages who furthered the work with money have been inscribed in the margin. The total sum amounts to Rs.2,677, if I have added rightly.\(^4\)

II.—HAZRAT Pāṇḍuah.

The following inscriptions from Pāṇḍuah belong to the Adīnā (*i.e.* Friday) Mosque of which large ruins still remain. These have been described at length by the late J. H. Ravenshaw in his *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, pp. 60 ff., where also a ground plan of the masjīd is given.

The mosque was built by Abū'l Mujāhid Sikandar Shāh, son of Shams-addīn Abū'l Muẓaffar Ilyās Shāh, king of Bengal, who adorned his capital Pāṇḍuah with that magnificent edifice. Except one, the inscriptions inside and outside the mosque are of no historical value, containing only verses from the Qurān. The rubbings transmitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley are very fine and worthy of the beautiful penmanship which can hardly be surpassed in other Indian Muhammadan inscriptions.

\(^4\) There is another rubbing of a Hindūstānī inscription of the month of August of 1845 which has been engraved on a large basalt pillar near the public garden on the bank of a tank opposite Cleveland's house, but the inscription seems to be much defaced, so that it is not possible to decipher it from the rubbing. It relates also to a tālīđa and a sārdī faqīrā.
5. On the outer wall of the central nave near the doorway, which is very small in proportion to the size of the edifice, the inscription has been cut, which mentions the builder of the mosque and the year of its erection. The size of the stone is 58 by 11 inches, that of the inscribed part is 57 by 9 inches; it runs—

The edifice of this Jâmi’ Masjid was ordered to be built during the days of the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal, the most perfect of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abû’l Mujâhid Sîkandar Shâh, the king, son of Ilyâs Shâh, the king—May his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise! He wrote it during Rajab of the year 776 (began the 6th December 1374).’

There are some mistakes in Blochmann’s readings of this inscription (Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. XLII, p. 257, and repeated in Ravenshaw’s Gaur, p. 62). Regarding the accuracy of my conjecture that the eighth word is to be read ayyâm, there can hardly be any doubt. The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if, with Blochmann, we read rajab sîlt; besides, the succession of the words should be sîlt rajab. Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengal inscriptions, but the construction rajab sîlt instead of sâdis would be too faulty even for them. I therefore prefer to supply a va (and) before sab’in or to read the va standing before sab’miat twice, a case that occurs not at all unfrequently.

We do not know the year in which the Âdina mosque was finished; the Riyâs mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 H. It is very probable that the building required a space of ten years, e.g. the Jâmi’ Masjid at Kotila in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years, and ten are therefore not too much to allow for the erection of that ‘gigantic barn,’ as General Cunningham calls the Âdina mosque (Archæological Survey of India, vol. XV, p. 90). 6

6. Over the doorway of the king’s platform (Ravenshaw calls it Bâdshâh ka takht) we find the words of the Kalima. The size of the inscription is 8 by 7 inches.

Over the central prayer niche (mihrâb) are inscribed on two stones the verses of Qorân, Sûr. xxxiii, 56, and Sûr. xxii, 76, the latter being quoted with the omission of some words in Major W. Francklin’s Journal of a Route from Râjmahâl to Gaur, A. D. 1810, see Ravenshaw, p. 64.

Round the three other prayer niches are also engraved passages from the Qorân, on the northern, the combined verses’ Sûr. ii, 63, iii, 31, ii, 121 and Sûr. ix, 20, 21.

6 I see, however, that nothing can be too faulty for the Indian Muhammadan inscriptions, for I have found once again at least the above construction, with the number sîlt (inisc. of the ra’uza of Muhammad Sharif of Balkh in Dihl.—Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng., for 1875, p. 212.

7 The exordial phrase is—(Qal Allâh ‘ummaa wa al-Hajj ‘ummaa) (‘God has said, who is raised above another speaker and more glorious than another orator’).
Round the middle prayer niche runs Sūr. xlviii, 27 28, 29 (size: 153 inches by 12 inches, the measure of the whole stone is 160 by 15 inches); round the southern (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate xlv) Sūr. ii, 256, 257 has been inscribed. The intervals between the single letters and words are always copiously ornamented with flower arabesques.

The inscription over the prayer niche in the transept (Ravenshaw, photograph plate xlii) has been mentioned by Blochmann in the Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, vol. XLII, p. 256. A facsimile is given in Ravenshaw's work, plate xlv; it contains Qorân, Sūr. ix 18, 19. The top line is in Kufk, a character of writing the artist was evidently not very conversant with, and contains the Fāṭiḥa.

A stone (20 by 14 inches) once fixed in the wall of the nave, now lost, bore round a square which contains arabesques and the name of Muḥammad twice, besides the Kalima, the text of Sūra cxii.

III.—GAUR.

For the city of Gaur, the reader may be referred to Ravenshaw's work already cited, the photographs of which give a picture of the former grandeur and magnificence of the town. It also gives a historical sketch of Gaur from the Muhammadan conquest to the end of its independence (pp. 95ff). Some of the following inscriptions have been already published either in this work or by Blochmann.

7. Over the entrance to the court of the Qadam-Rasūl mosque (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate 13, and facsimile, plate 48, No. 6) is an inscription, 2' 1" by 1' 2" in two lines—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجدنا لله بنى الله تعالى له سبعين قصراً في الجنة بنى هذا المسجد
في عهد السلطان ابن السلطان بن السلطان شمس الدين راولدين المعطر
يشرف شاه السلطان ابن باربک شاه السلطان بن محمد شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد خان أعظم رخائل معظم
مرجاد خان اتابک ذات اسم بخور "هدیهم ماء مبارک رمضان" سنه خمس رتیمائین و تمامية

TRANSLATION.

'The Prophet (on whom be peace!) has said: 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the king, the son of a king, who was the son of a king; Shamsaddunyā waddin Abu'l Muzaffar Yūsuf Shāh, the king, son of Bārbak Shāh, the king, son of Mahmūd Shāh, the king. This mosque was built by the great Kāhan, the exalted Khāqān Marjād Kāhan, the atābeg of the high person. On the 13th day of the blessed month Ramazān 885 (27th November 1480).'

In Ravenshaw's book the mistakes of Mr. Blochmann are reproduced. Blochmann has also published three other inscriptions of Yūsuf Shāh, of the years 882 (Journal As. Soc. Beng. vol. XLII, p. 275), 884 (ib. p. 276), and 885 (ib. vol. XLIV, p. 293); they are from Panduah or the neighbourhood of Dhāka. The information about Yūsuf Shāh which the histories furnish is very meagre.
8. Over the central door of the small golden mosque in Gaur (Ravenshaw, plate xxii) is an inscription. One corner of the stone which contained the date has been broken away in three lines (dimensions 9 feet by 1' 8 ½'')—

"بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى: إنا يعمر مساجد الله من أصلى بالله رحمة الآخر عاقب الصّلة راية الزّكوة ولم خشى الله نعساً ركبت الكعبة إن يكونوا من المهدفاء ركبت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسيحي بني الله له بيد في أجرة مثلى في عماره هذا المسجد الإمام في عهد السلطان السلاطين سيد السادات من جميع السعات ارتح لمسلمين والمسلمات معاً كلمات أحق رحمة بنا على sendData ورد الإمام خليفة الله باوصيه وبالبرهان غير الإسلام والمسلمين علاء الدنيا والدین

ابولاضفر حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خليمة الله ملكه وسلطانه بني هذا المسجد الإمام خالصًا مختصًا من كلا على الله الوحي مهد بن علي الامام طلاب جماعة الإمام مجلس منصراً نصر الله تعالى

في الدنيا والآخرة تاربخ الفيمر في الرابع عشر من شهر رجب رجب قدره سد [4] ....

**Translation.**

'In the name, etc. God Almighty has said: "He only shall repair," etc. (Qurán, Sūr. ix, 18). And the Prophet (may God's blessing rest upon him!) has said "He who builds," etc.

The erection of this Jâmi' masjid took place in the time of the king of kings, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, the fountain of auspiciousness, the most merciful of the faithful men and women, who exalts the words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, who strives on the road of the merciful, the viceregent of God, with proof and testimony, the defender of Islâm and the Muslims, 'Alâ addunyâ waddin Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh, the king, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! This Jâmi' masjid was built, from pure and sincere motives, and from trust in God, by the Wali Muḥammad, son of 'Alî, who has the title of majlis al majālis majlis-i mansûr—may God render him victorious in this world and the next! Its auspicious date is the 14th of God's blessed month of Rajab—may its value increase! of the year . . . . . .'

Husain Shâh reigned from 899 till 929 A. H., we possess many inscriptions of his reign. I have noted 29. This one has been published in Ravenshaw's work, p. 38.

9. From Shâh N'imat Allâh's ásita near the Jâmi' masjid in the Pîrîzâpur suburb of Gaur. Two lines (dimensions 3 feet by 1' 4 ½'')—

"بني هذا الباب الحصن في عهد السلطان المعظم المكر علاء الدنيا والدین ابولاضفر حسين شاه

السلطان بن سيد اشتر أسحئني خلود الله ملكه وسلطانه في سنة ثمان عشر تسععاوية

**Translation.**

'& This gate of the fort was built in the time of the exalted and liberal king, 'Alâ addunyâ waddin Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf,
the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918 (began the 19th March 1512). ¹⁰

10. At the same place two other inscriptions have been found containing only passages from the Qurán. Both are richly ornamented with varied patterns of flowers and arabesques. The first measures 6' 5" by 9 in.; on four lines, Qurán, Sur. vi, 59; viii, 19; xxxv, 2; xlvi, 1, 2, 3, etc., and in three circles the words Yá raḥmán, yá Alláh, yá raḥmún are inscribed; the second measures 2' 4" by 8 in., and contains Qurán, Sur. lxii, 9, 10, 11.

11. Over the centre arch of the Qadam-Rasúl masjid outside, in three lines (dimensions 2' 3" by 1' 6").—

قال الله تعالى من جاء بأحقتنا فله عشر امتثالاً بنى هذه الصفه المطهرة التي فيها خير دينه أثر قدم رسول
على الله عليه وسلم السلطان
المعظم الكريم السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدين وابن الموظفر نصرت شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان
بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلدون الله ملكه وسلطانه راعيه أمره وشانه في سنه سبع وثلاثين رتسبماة

TRANSLATION.

"God Almighty has said: "He who brings a good work shall have ten like it" (Qurán, Sur. vi, 161). This pure dais on which is a stone with the foot-print of the Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—was erected by the great, generous king, the king, the son of a king, Naṣiraddunyá waddín Abú'l Mumaffar Nuṣrat Sháh, the king, son of Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his dignity! In the year 937 (began the 25th August 1530).'

Mr. Blochmann has remarked that these inscriptions rectify the Ríyáz and Stewart, who give as the date of the completion of the Qadam-Rasúl mosque A.H. 939.

12. From Sháh Ni'mat Alláh's ásitána, not in situ, in one line (dimensions 2' 1" by 7 in.)—

قال الله تعالى أن المساجد لله باني هذا الباب خانجايل في التاريخ غرة من ذوا ربعه سنه سبعين رتسبماة

TRANSLATION.

"God Almighty has said "surely the mosques belong to God" (Qurán, Sur. Ixxii, 18). The builder of this gateway is Khánjahán. In the beginning of Zu'l Hijja, 970 (22nd July 1563).¹¹

The inscription falls in the reign of Ghiyás addín Abú'l Mumaffar Jalál Sháh of Bengal, 14 years before the conquest of Bengal by Akbar. Khánjahán was in 882 governor of Orísá (Akbarnáma, vol. I, p. 161 var.); he was therefore the successor of Lódi Khán, amír al umará of Sulaimán, king of Bengal, who was put to death by his sovereign the year before (Badáuní, vol. II, p. 174). In the Moghul empire the title of Khánja-

hán was the next to that of Khánkhánan (Ma'ásir, I, 649). ¹²

¹⁰ This was published in Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vol. XLII, p. 295, and repeated in Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 88, No. 19.
¹¹ There is no reason for Blochmann's sic, who has read faultily.
¹² Published in Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 36. The number tie' is not legible on my rubbing.
13. From the Jāmiʿ masjid in the Fīrožpūr suburb, evidently a fragmentary inscription (size 1' 4" by 2 in.), which contains Qurān, Sūr. lxii, 5 (it begins in the middle of the verse with the words [kamis]liʾ himāri).

IV.—MAHDĪPŪR (VILLAGE).13

14. The following inscription is now fixed in the modern mosque at Mahdīpūr, it is arranged in four squares and measures 4' 4" by 10 in.—

 قال الله تعالى إنا يعمر مساجد الله من أمه بالله ر أين الخلافات الصلوة وآتي الزكوة وم يخشى إلا الله

пись ارثك إن يكونا من المهتدين

قال الله تعالى أين المساجد الله فلا تدعوا مع الله إحدا ر قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم مين بني

سجدنا لله تعالى بني الله تعالى له بيتًا في الجنة

بني هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدين ر الحسيني ابن المرتضى فتحشاه السلطان ابن

محمود شاه السلطان

وقد بنى السيد العظم سيد دستور بن سيد راحب بالحسنة ثم جعله سر كتيب مولانا بخوردار ابنا خطامم

 Dwør حسن في شهر المبارك رمضان سنة إحداثى ر بعدين ر دامامه

TRANSLATION.

‘God Almighty has said “He only shall repair,” etc. (Qurān Sūr. ix, 18).

God Almighty has also said “verily, the mosques,” etc. (Qurān, Sūr. lxxii, 18).

The Prophet—on whom may rest God’s blessing! has said “He who builds a mosque,” etc.

This mosque was built in the time of the king, son of a king, Jalāl ad-Dīn Abū’l Muẓaffar Paṭh Shāh, the king, son of Mahmūd Shāh, the king. Its builder was the exalted Sayyid, Sayyid Dāstūr, son of Sayyid Rāḥat—through good deeds he has collected fruits for himself—at the head of the vault of Maulānā Barkhūr-dār, son of the exalted Khān Tāj Khān. In the blessed month of Ramāzān of the year 891’ (began the 31st August 1486).

The letters being very closely written it is not easy to decipher the names. This is the sixth inscription of Paṭh Shāh, who reigned from 886 till 893; the others fall in the years 886 from Bandar near Dhākā, (Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vol. XLII, p. 282), 887 from Dhāmrāi, north of Dhākā, (ib., vol. XLI, p. 109); 888 from Bikrampūr, Dhākā District (ib., vol. XLII, p. 284), 889 from Sunārgāon, (ib., vol. XLII, p. 285), and 892 from Sātganw, (ib., vol. XXXIX, p. 293).

15. The following inscription of the same king has lost the date; it is from the Challa masjid (size 5' 7" by 4 in.), one line—

قال الدين والدين ابرالماظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خلف الله يحكم ر سلطانته راعي امر

رونه بسعي خال العظم و خلقان المعظم الراقي بالسلك المنان خانعظم ديرشانلي وزير لشكر تقبل الله منه

في سنة اربع ...
Translation.

Jalāl addunyā waddin Abu’l Muḥaffar Fatḥ Shāh, the king, son of Māh-mūd Shāh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his rule! Through the exertion of the exalted Khān and the high Khāqān, who trusts upon the beneficent Lord, the exalted Khān Daulat Khān, the wazir of the army—may God accept from him (his prayers)! In the year . . . . . .

16. From the modern mosque, as No. 14. One line (size 1’ 5” by 7 in.), a fragment—

الدnya رالئذين إبرالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد ملك يزيد معظم طفر حل بن ملك ...

سردون ... در سهر ربع الآخر [?] مي الداريم سه ... ...

Translation.

’Alā addunyā addin Abu’l Muḥaffar Husain Shāh. This mosque was built by Malik Yazīd Mu’tazzam Zafar Khān, son of Malik . . . . . head of the guardians . . . . . in the month of Rabī’ al-akhir, in the year . . . . . . .

As the upper part of the left side is broken away, it is not possible to read correctly the name of the builder. Nothing is known about the original place of the stone which bears the inscription.

V.—Khandkartola (Shērpūr).

17. In the jungal in the midst of the deserted village of Khandkartola, about two miles south of the Shērpūr municipality, are the ruins of the Khema masjid. Two slabs of equal size (4’ 7” by 2’ 4” by 3”) bear the inscriptions, the middle portions of the stone being carved in a vase pattern in one and in a square in the other. The right slab is cracked in two or three places; the cracks seem to be very old. As Mr. H. Lee has remarked on the inscription form, these slabs were Hindu gods originally, but the gods have been turned round and the inscriptions cut on their backs. The holes were probably made to destroy the sanctity of the gods. About 500 yards distant are the remains of the Bādishāhī masjid; both are in bad repair and will soon go to ruins.

The inscription on the left side runs—

نا مظهر العجب
مانه زرز درسدن 74 ماه دراجع سه 989
نا سعارت مرتا مراد حلم مسجد أعار كردن درم زرز
سه سنن 74 بكر حال مراز مسجد مانم محمد عصر عدد الصدص در كدور
سدرا را أرها درون مانم و سلام كردن در عدد اسمازدي عرس
كرين ك اعمر مانم دام رس رفله دانم در ناري ما اسماه ما درسن
مسجد اسمه هكم حراني دمرون مافر كرحم حزا ده اما مسجد
دريد ماناما ا مررم رماه حفر هما درسن كورد هرخه ديدن

36 In the Qurān, qabadā occurs in the same manner without the addition of an object.
MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

TRANSLATION.

'O (Thou) who manifestest spiritual wonders! On Monday, the 24th of month Zu'l Hijja A. 989, (19th January 1682), the Nawâb Mîrzâ Murâd Khân with sacred observances made the beginning of this mosque. The second day,— on Tuesday the 26th (sic.), the faqîr' Abd' Assamad comes for the sake of the mosque. Two milk-white pigeons came down from the air and saluted him, and after the benediction they said: 'we are from the blessed Makkâ; will you command for us and our friends a place of rest in this mosque?' The faqîr said: 'Why not? But the mosque . . . . . lest oppression . . . should come from the men of the world.' They said: 'every one who purposely—brings it on him it will come. More than that will be known from the bestower of bounties.' They saluted and disappeared in the air . . . . . After the completion of the mosque the petition which the pigeons . . . .

This mosque has been built by the noble exalted Murâd Khân, son of Jauhar 'Ali Khân Qâqshâl.'

Murâd Qâqshâl in 988 became commander of 1,000 and received the title of Khân (Akbarnâma, vol. III, pp. 304, 305). In 991 he fought against Ma'sûm Khân Kâbuli (p. 417).

It is well known that the mosque at Makka abounds in flocks of wild pigeons which are considered as inviolable and are called kabûtar (hamâm)-i haram, 'pigeons of the sacred boundary.' Such were those Makka pigeons which begged an asylum in Murâd Khân's mosque. Besides the impossibility of uniting the numbers 24 and 26 to each other without altering, a chronological difficulty seems to occur in this inscription. The 24th Zu'l Hijja A.H. 989 namely was not Monday but a Friday, and the 26th of the same month was not Tuesday, but a Sunday. I cannot make out these contradictions. In A.H. 988 the 24th Zu'l Hijja fell on a Monday, but the number 989 is quite clear on the rubbing.

This form is not so rare as Rücker indicates, Grammatik, Poetik and Rhetorik der Perser, 2nd edition, by Pertsch, p. 249, note 1. Confer also 'bimubârabbâd ishtiguñâlisht,'—Ma'dâ'ir al 'Umard, vol. I, p. 121.
The inscription on the right side seems to be of no historical value, and as I could not decipher the whole from the rubbing, I have omitted it.

18. From the Bādishāhī masjid, 18 lines (size 2 3\(^{1/2}\) by 1\(^{1/2}\)"

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و .... بالغير
قل صدرٌ جهان بين ميلان جنرٌ بن جاميد بن دارب
بني مسجد في بلاد شيرزور بمثاب الالوكل على الله الغفور
لعن الله تعالى رمى يترك على الله جنر بن جاميد في نور ضار
فبر حسبه أن الله بالغ امره رسوه (sic) بتكاله معظم خال
قد جعل الله كل شئ قدرا
قل القذاري سل الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجد في الدنيا بني له الله تعالى سبعين
قد فتح الله الفن راثنٌ والفرعون
الله كافى في كل مسلمين

TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! . . .

Sadr Jahān, son of Miyān Jayā, son of Yāzīd, son of Dāūd, says—

The mosque in the town of Shērpūr has been built through the benefit of confidence in the forgiving God in the time of Shāhjahān, the famous conqueror of the world, in the year 1042 (began the 19th July 1632). God Almighty has said "And whosoever relies on God," etc. (Qorān, Sūr. lxv, 8, 4). The Prophet (on whom may rest God's blessing!) has said "He who builds a mosque in the world," etc. A. 1042.

This mosque has been built in the age of Shāhjahān in the Sāba of Bengal by Mu'azzam Khān in the year 1042. Allāh is a sufficiency for all the faithful.'

Sadr Jahān's poetry is not of the best. He was not Ghīf Sadr (Sadr-i Jahān) as Sadr Jahān was who filled that office under Akbar and under Jahāngīr and whose name coincided with the title of his dignity. If we may be allowed to judge of his poetical abilities from the verses of the above inscription—which to be sure are not worse than thousands of others—it is to be hoped that he imitated the example of his name-sake above mentioned who also composed poems at first, but later gave up petry (ma'āṣir al Umarā', vol. III, pp. 350, 351).

Mu'azzam Khān or, as his name properly was, 'Azam Khān Mīr Muḥammad Bāqīr Irādat Khān became Governor of Bengal after Qāsim Khān in 1041. In the Riyās (pp. 207, 208) it is related that he could not keep the province in order as it ought to be. The inhabitants of Assam (Asāhām), neighbours of Bengal, plundered the frontiers unpunished (cf. also Mun. allūbāb, vol. II, p. 182); they defeated 'Abd al Islām with a great army of infantry and thousands of horse and made him prisoner with a large booty. After that, A.H. 1044, 'Azam Khān was dismissed and his post bestowed upon Islām Khān, who undertook successful campaigns against the Rāja of Assam. 'Azam Khān was appointed Governor of Allāhābād. Shērpūr which is mentioned in the last inscription
is the so-called Shérpūr Mūrcha (in Elliot-Dowson: Shérpūr Miraja). The *Afn-i Akbar*, vol. I, p. 405, identifies it with Mihmnāshāhī, stating its revenues at 2,207,715 dāms. Its fort Salīmnagār was built by Rāja Mān Singh, Governor of Bengal, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 697; it was so named in honour of Prince Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr. Shérpūr was always an important place and a base of operations for the imperial troops.

VI.—Bihār.

The following six Bihār inscriptions belong to four different portions of the history of that province. If we follow Blochmann's division (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 245), the two first inscriptions fall into the 'Initial period,' or the reigns of the Governors of Lak'hnāutī appointed by the Dihlī sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muḥammad Bakhtyār Khiḷjī, viz., from A. II. 600 to 739, when Fakhr ad-Dīn Abu'l Muzaffar Mubārak Shāh, armour-bearer to Bahrām Khān, the Dihlī Governor of Sunārgānpūr, on his master's death, proclaimed himself ruler and established an independent dynasty in Bengal. But Bihār was detached from Bengal and remained to the Dihlī empire till the foundation of the Jaunpūr kingdom, A. II. 796. This is the second period of the history of Bihār. The third under the Sharqī rulers lasted till 881, when Jaunpūr again became subject to Dihlī. To this fourth period belongs one inscription (No. 22) while Nos. 21 and 24 are of the second, and No. 23 of the third period. Inscription Nos. 19, 20, 21, and 23 have been published by Blochmann.

19. On a fine slab of basalt leaning against the wall of the Choṭā Dargāh, measuring 3 feet by 8 in.; it contains two lines—

بني هذ الحسین في درو السلطان العظم سمس الدنیا والدنیت امی المظفر مدرور شاه السلطان وادم امارة
خانل الرخان نشاء اسلام
ادوم الله طالبها العبد الوافع بالله ولکمه الرحیم امیر خاقان ابزار من حاجی دات الله علیه رغم
ولادته می انجره می رحم سلطه حسین ر عصره سدعت

**TRANSLATION.**

'This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sultān Shams addunya waddin Abu'l Muzaffar Firōz Shāh, the king, and during the governorship of the Khāqān of the age, known as Ḥātim Khān—may God cause their shadows to last!—by the slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of creatures, Bahrām, son of Ḥājī—may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents!—In the beginning of the month of Rajab of the year 715' (*1st October 1315*).

Ḥātim Khān was a son of Firōz Shāh, as we see from the inscription published by Blochmann (*ut sup*). He must have been governor of Bihār during the years 709—715.

20. Over the gateway of the Sukunād or residency of the Imperial governor in Bihār, was a beautiful inscription16 (now in the Bayley Sarai) of three lines, measuring 4 feet by 1' 10"—

فین بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
شد لغطین عموم ودوران عالی عالمیارا وایین طائف رفع ملکمسای
دوران خلقامت حلفے مکاننا اسلام بارکه خداانگل سلطانین

16 See facsimile No. 3.
In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico were renewed in the reign of the Khâlifa, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind, who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Salomon, Abû'l Mu'âsjid Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shâh, the king—May his kingdom and rule be perpetuated! In the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazân, 732' (27th May, 1332).

Muḥammad Shâh's inscriptions, which have been published up till now, are of the years 726 (Proc. of the As. Soc. Beng. for 1873, p. 199), 732 (Proceedings for 1874, p. 72), and 737 (Journal of the As. Soc. Beng., vol. XLII, p. 299)—the last also being from Bihâr.

21. On the Dargâh of Ibrâhîm Abû Bakr Malik Bayyû's shrine, which lies on a hill to the north-west of the town, dimensions 5' 1" by 1' 2" two lines—

Metre: Ḥazaj—

In the time of the reign of the world-conquering Shâh (may the power of the new-year's day be in Bihâr!), the king of the world, Fīrûz, the king who was victorious over the kings of the universe. The king of virtue Malik Bayyû Ibrâhîm, who in the faith was as zealous as Abraham, in the month of Zi'l Hijja, on a Sunday, of the time when thirteen sun-burnt (days were passed) (?), in the year 753 A. H. (20th January 1353), travelled on that day to Paradise. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him!

Respecting Malik Bayyû, who is, par excellence, the saint of Bihâr, see Journal As. Soc. Beng., vol. XLII, p. 800.

22. From the Bayley Sarât at Bihâr. Two lines (size 1' 5" by 8 in.)—

This archaic spelling, instead of kîâ, occurs several times in the inscriptions.
Translation.

'T on the date of the 11th of month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 960 (the 23rd January 1553) Nârân Shahâd, son of Hâji Išâq...

On this place . . . . . . . . . . . .

28. From a mosque which stood opposite to the Choṭâ Takya on the other bank of the Adyânâdî, in Bihâr. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found. The inscription is in two parts, each measuring 3' 5" by 1' 2" and bearing two lines—

By the name, etc. He upon whom be peace (the Prophet) says "He who builds etc."

By divine grace and for the sake of Muṣṭafâ (Muḥammad), the Jum’a mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king Shâh Maḥmûd, son of Ibrâhîm, the just king who takes realms from kings, (and) gives beggars crowns. The builder of this mosque is the throne of law, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtazâ ('All), the chief and the lord of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and empire, take refuge. The muqti', the David 19 in this district, Naṣîr, son of Bahâ, ordered this building (to be erected), the best in the Eastern kingdom (Jaunpûr). This building in Bihâr is stronger than the portico of Kîsâr; it is a Ka’ba in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity. It was in the beginning of Rajab, of the year 847 20 (25th October 1443), when, with the assistance of God, the (first) iqâma took place in this mosque.'

The metrical Bihâr inscriptions are all remarkable for their very bad poetry. This is the fourth known inscription of Maḥmûd Shâh of Jaunpûr, the others being dated in the years A. H. 847 (from Bihâr), 850 (above No. 1), and 859 (also from Bihâr, published by Blochmann). 21

18 I have not succeeded in making out the meaning of the second line.
19 In this inscription the letters re and dâl often cannot be separated. Blochmann has read dâmar.
20 The form kîsâd, instead of hashîsad, is not at all, seldom in Indian inscriptions.
21 The Maḥmûd Shâh inscription on a stone in the Hindu temple at Bediban is very dubious, see General Sir A. Cunningham’s Archæological Survey Reports, vol. XVI, p. 20, Plate iv.
24. Also from the Bayley Sarât. Two lines (size 3 feet by 1' 3'') ; the right side
is partly broken—

ركب خاردانه سالم
مداد
انشأ اهل سيف ركاريها اعدار [؟]
كدکار
باز از مه مريم في شعر
شمار

TRANSLATION.

Metre: Ramal—

' . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . In the time of the Khânzâda . . . . . . . . . .

Who is the glory of the men of the world and an esteemed satirist (?) . . . . . .
The account of the Hijra-date is 767 (began the 18th September 1365) ; backwards
from the month of Muḥarram reckon . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

VII.—MUNÈR.

Munér, Máner or Munair, is a very old place on the right bank of the Son at its
confluence with the Ganges. Elliot-Dowson erroneously confounds it sometimes with
Mungir. Firishta ascribes its foundation to the mythical times of Fróz Râj, son of Keshâ
General Cunningham, in his Archeological Survey Reports, vol. VIII, pp. 22, 23, offers
a theory of his own about the establishment of Munér immediately after the Muham-
madan conquest. He supposes that the Son through some unknown cause at that time
had abandoned its original bed and taken its present course, thus forming new waste
lands which had no name before, not having been in existence. The town was almost
half a króh distant from the river. Bâbar in his Memoirs (p. 478) describes its situation
in the following words: ' Down the stream in the place where I was I saw a large
number of trees; they said to me that it was Munér.'

In the Ain (vol. I, p. 419) Munér is registered with 89,039 bighas, 16 biswas,
7,049,179 dâms, (say) 325,360 dâms. Bâbar and Sikandar Shâh Lodi are related to have
made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahyah, father of Shaikh Sharaf addin
(Târikh-i Dâdî in Elliot-Dowson's History, vol. IV, p. 462, Bâbar's Memoirs, p. 478),
from whom the pargana occasionally is named Munér-i Shaikh Yahyah. Shaikh Sharaf
addin was also a renowned saint; in his honour his disciple Ibrahim Qiwâm Farûqi
has called his dictionary Sharafuddâma (Journal of Ass. Soc. Beng., vol. XXXVII, p. 7).
Munér now belongs to the district of Patna, subdivision Danâpûr.23

25. Two lines (dimensions 1' 9" by 8 in.)—

بسم الله در عهد ش ه آچب
ش ه محمد سلطان مدنی
پری مسیب که بد بانی ازل
جلال الخلق زاتراب مقررب
عمارت کرد بار از سر مرتب
جمه مه مختار... ...
بسمت دار بندیاد نور ای ربل

22 The first and the third hemistich have been almost ruined; besides the letters of the inscription are very rude, so
that I could decipher it only fragmentarily.
23 No information is given about the places where the following three Munér inscriptions have been found.
TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Hazaj*—

'By God's grace (it was) in the time of the most noble king Maḥmūd, the sincere monarch, when this fine mosque, whose first builder was Jallī al Ḥaqq, one of the confidential chiefs, was rebuilt and newly adorned by Hammād Khāṭīr .........

It was in 798 A. H. (began the 16th October 1395). Preserve its foundation in security, O God.'

This and the Maḥmūd Shāh inscription of A. H. 799 (Journ. of As. Soc. Beng. vol. XLII, p. 304), are valuable, because they show that Nuṣrat Khān, the opposing king, who was advanced as a claimant to the throne by Saʿūdāt Khān A. H. 797, was not acknowledged in Bihār. It is not easy to form a correct picture of the complicated conditions then existing in the empire. Khwāja-i Jahan (Malik asḥabarq Khwāja-i Sarāt), the founder of the Jaulpūr kingdom, had got into his possession the provinces of Qanauj, Karah, Audh, Sandēlā, Dalamau, Bahrāch, Bihār, and Jaulpūr; the emperor Maḥmūd was confined for some years only to old Dīhil, the fortress of Sīrī, and the Jāhānpānāh, while the districts of the Doāb, of Sambhal, Pāṇīpat, Jhajhar and Rōhtak were occupied by Nuṣrat Khān, viz., Sultān Naṣhāraddin, who had his residence at Fīroẓ-āhād. Other provinces perpetually changed their masters, ambitious amirs and maliks, who combatted each other angrily. The harvest was fully ripe for the bloody reaper Timūr.

26. Three lines (size 5' 9" by 1' 4")—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

وَرَضِيعَ الَّذِينَ اتَّقَوا رَبَّهُمْ إِلَى اسْجُدِّهَا زَمَرًا حَتَّى إِذَا جَابَاهَا وَفَتَحَتِّ زُهُورُهَا وَقَالَ لَهُمْ خُصُصُهَا سَلَامُ عَلَيْكُمْ طَابَتْ

كُنْتُ فِي نُرْ صَنَّدِي هذَا الْبَابِ كَانَ قَلْبِي بِحَرِهِ سَاكِنًا

قَالَ مَنْ سَعِدُهُ كَانَ أَمَامًا

جِنَّ دِرَ رَفْعَت نَهَا [ بر اتِمَامُ ]

سَالْ اَنْجَامَش أَيْنَ خُسُصُهُ مَقَام

بِدُعَا لَبْ كَشْدَةُ كَفَتَا [ در دِرْتُ كَشَا هَبْ دِرْمُ ]

TRANSLATION.

'There is no God, etc. But those who fear their Lord, etc. (Qorān, Sūr. xxxix, 73).

Metre: *Ramal*—

I was thinking to make out the chronogram of this gate, my heart was quiet by His (God's) power. My mind said by way of command "say, who entered it was safe."

Metre: *Khafṣīf*—

When the gate of the holy sepulchre of the king raised its face towards completion, I asked the mind the year of its finishing. For this auspicious place the mind opened the lip of blessing, and said, "may the door of power remain open for ever."
Both târikhs give the year 1022 (began the 21st February 1613).

Translation.

"In the name, etc. There is no God, etc. O God, have mercy on Muḥammad and on the descendants of Muḥammad. I testify that there is no God, but God who is alone and has no partner. I testify also that Muḥammad is His slave and His Apostle. God Almighty has said, "Verily, the first house, etc." (Qorán, Súr. iii, 90-91).

(Metre: Hazaj)

When this high, Kaʻba-like, world-adorning edifice, through the benevolence of the powerful Creator, was completely erected, the heart of 'Āsî was consulting the mind for the year of its erection. The mind said, "just as Abraham has built the house of God."

According to the abjad reckoning the târikh gives 1028 A.H. (began the 19th, December 1618).

The târikh betrays the name of the builder, viz. Ibrâhîm Khân Fath Jang, son of Ghiyâs Beg of Tahrân. This combination relies upon the very similar târikh in the ' Haft Qulzum' (Rückert-Pertsch, p. 223) : banâ-yît kaʻba-ya sâni nihdd Ibrâhîm, 'the erection of the second Kaʻba has been made by Ibrâhîm,' where Ibrâhîm Khân Fath Jang is expressly named as builder. He became governor of Bihâr A.H. 1024, and afterwards of Bengal A.H. 1028, and stayed there till 1032, when he was killed in the battle with Prince Shâhjâhân. The târikh of the Haft Qulzum gives the date 1040, but as Ibrâhîm Khân had already died in 1032, this date cannot be correct. Perhaps the izâfat after banâ should not be reckoned, so that the year would be 1030.
XXIII.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KARNADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 793.

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

This inscription was first brought to public notice, about eighty-five years ago, by Captain Wilford, who, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, page 108, gave the following account of it:

"A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found, at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraved upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly, and in the same shape, with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad: on it, in *bas-relieuvo*, is Pārvatī with four arms, sitting, with her legs crossed: two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pārvatī, and the bull, is written Śrī-Karunā-deva. The grant is dated the second year of his new Era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192. The ancestors of Śrī-Karunā-deva, mentioned in the grant, were, first, his father Gāṅgeya-deva, with the title of Vijaya-kauṭaka: he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kokalla-deva, whose father was Laksmana-rāja-deva."

The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford, were lost for a long time; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression of the inscription, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College. Both were made over to Dr. F. E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal, and has thus enabled me to publish the text of this inscription the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise.

The inscription is on two plates which appear to measure about 1' 4" broad by 11' 4" high each, and each of which is inscribed on one side only. Each plate contains a round hole, about ½" in diameter, for a ring to which was affixed the seal, described by Wilford. The plates probably are thick and substantial, for, to judge from the impression, the letters must have been deeply engraved. The first plate contains twenty-eight lines of very close writing, the second only twenty lines. The writing is well preserved almost throughout, so that, with the exception of about half a dozen akṣarās, the actual reading of the text is hardly at all doubtful. The size of the letters is between ½" and 3". The characters are Nāgari of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, excepting a verse in line 13, which is in

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1 I give the names which occur in this extract as we should spell them now.
2 See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 82. In justice to myself I must say here that the transcript, mentioned above, has not been of any use to me.
3 I have to thank my friend Professor Laumen for having personally communicated to Dr. Hall my request, which has been granted most readily.
Māhārāṣṭrī Prākrit. Excepting the introductory om om namah Śivāya and the words kim-dāparyaṇa in line 13, lines 1-32, which mainly contain the genealogy of the grantor, are in verse; the rest of the inscription, being the formal part of the grant, is in prose, but includes six of the usual benedictory and impercatory verses, in lines 44-48.—As regards orthography, 6 is throughout denoted by the sign for ə; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal everywhere, except in the word śrī which ordinarily is spelt correctly; kṣh is employed instead of khy in sauksha, line 7, and kṣhātṛam, line 27, and ky instead of kṣh in kaukheya, line 26; ɟ and ɣ are confounded, e.g., in parjanyaishit (for paryayaishit), line 10, dur jjasak (for duryajasak), line 27, and anuya (for anuja), in lines 16 and 22; and the dental nasal is employed instead of the lingual in āurīna, line 8, and kārṇya, line 20, and instead of anusvāra in vansa, in lines 6 and 45. In addition to these, the inscription contains many other errors, due to the carelessness of the writer or engraver. Thus, the signs of anusvāra and visarga and whole akṣaras (or even groups of akṣaras) are often omitted, short vowels are used instead of long ones, and medial e and o are employed instead of ai and au. Such and other mistakes, too numerous to enumerate here, occur especially frequently in the bottom lines of the first plate; and they have sometimes rendered it impossible for me to restore the correct wording of the original text. Nevertheless, there is no doubt whatever as to what historical facts are intended to be recorded in the poetical part of the inscription; and I am particularly glad to be able to state that the date of this document is so clearly written and engraved as to remove any doubts which may have been entertained in this regard.

The inscription is one of the Paramabhutaśrāka Mahārājādhīrājā and Parameśvara, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the lord over Trikaliṅga, the illustrious Karnaḍevas, who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhutaśrāka Mahārājādhīrājā and Parameśvara, the illustrious Vāmadeva (lines 33-34). The epithets which are here officially applied to Karnaḍeva are the same which are used with reference to Narasimhadēva in the Lāl-Pahād rock inscription 4 of the Chedi year 909, to his younger brother Jayasimhadēva in the Rewah copper-plate grant 6 of the Mahārājaka Kirtivarman of the Chedi year 926, and to Jayasimhadēva's son Vajayasimhadēva in the Kumbhi copper-plate grant 8 of the Chedi year 932, and which apparently were applied also to Karnaḍeva's immediate successor Yaśāṅkarnaḍeva in the Jabalpur copper-plate grant 7 [of the Chedi year 874]. As regards the meaning of these epithets, I have already had occasion to state 4 that I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trikaliṅga to denote, or to be an older name of, the province of Telīṅga; but that I am unable to explain the exact significance of the phrase 'who meditated on the feet of the Parama-bhutaśrāka Mahārājādhīrājā and Parameśvara, the illustrious Vāmadeva,' which we thus find employed with reference to five different kings. In accordance with ordinary usage, that phrase ought to mean that Vāmadeva was one of the ancestors of the princes who are said to have meditated on his feet; but none of the inscriptions of the Chedi

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7 See above, page 5; ib., page 7, line 16, the translation should have been: 'And this ... who [meditates on] the feet of the Paramabhutaśrāka, Mahārājādhīrājā, and Parameśvara, the illustrious Vāmadeva ... .'
rulers of Tripuri or Ratnapur mention a prince Vāmadeva in the genealogical lists which they contain.

To proceed first with the prose part of the inscription, the king Kārnādeva from his camp of victory, located at a place the name of which looks like Svāsāga in the rubbing, (in lines 34-41) informs his queen, his son (or sons), his chief officials (among whom may be specially pointed out the mahāpramātāra) and others, that, having bathed in the river Venī, worshipped the god Trilochana (Śiva), and performed the proper rites at the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gāṅgeyadeva, on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phālguna, he has granted the village of Susi (or Susī) to the learned Viśvarūpa,—a son of Nārāyaṇa, grandson of Vāmana, and great-grandson of Mahā, a student of the Viśvasenaya śākhā, who belonged to the Kauśika gotra, and whose three pravaraṇas were Audala, Devarāta and Viśvāmitra, and who or whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesāla. Kārnādeva further (in lines 41-43) directs the inhabitants of Susi to make over to the donee all taxes and whatever else may be due to him by this donation; and he also, in six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (in lines 44-48), appeals to future rulers to keep the grant intact, and warns them not to resume it. The date of the deed with which the inscription ends is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 793.

As regards the localities mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the only thing certain is, that the river Venī, near which Kārnādeva was encamped when making the grant, and on the banks of which Svāsāga (?) should be looked for, is the Wen-Gangā of the Central Provinces, which rises about 40 miles south of Jabalpur and flows in a southern direction, about 30 miles east of Nāgpur. The villages of Susi and Vesāla I am unable to identify.

The date,—Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 793—must of course be referred to the Chedi or Kalachuri era, and I feel confident that its European equivalent is Monday, the 18th January 1042, as I have given it in Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, p. 216, and ante, vol. I, p. 33. Since I wrote my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era four years ago, I have ascertained from the best materials the exact reading of eleven out of the twelve Chedi dates which contain sufficient data for verification; and there can be no doubt that all these dates, without exception, work out satisfactorily, as dates in current years with the 26th August (Âśvina-śudi 11) A.D. 249, or as dates in expired years with the 5th September (also Âśvina-śudi 1) A.D. 248 as the initial day of the era, and with the pārśimānta

9 The Saṁskṛiṭit for 'camp of victory' is viṣaya-katāka, for which Captain Wilford put viṣaya-kanṭāka, and which he took to be a title of the king Gāṅgeyadeva. Wilford's viṣaya-kanṭāka has found its way even into the St. Petersburg Dictionary.
10 Compare the Kumbhl copper-plate, where, instead of mahādevin mahārājputrāḥ, we have mahārājñīriḥ(-)-mahā-kumāratiḥ-Ajayasimhadeva.
12 The original also gives the name of the district in which this village was situated, but I am not able to make out its proper reading.
13 See Plate i in Sir A. Cunningham's Archæol. Survey of India, vol. XVIII.
14 I hardly think that Vāsinī could be the ancient Vāsālī, the position of which is shown by Sir A. Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India, vol. I, page 443, and Plate xi.
15 On this day, the 9th titki of the dark half of the pārṣimānta Phālguna ended 17 9m. after mean sunrise.
16 Writing at Nāgpur (which once must have belonged to the Chedi kings), on the 30th October 1799, Colebrooke, whose words may certainly be relied upon, says: 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Âśvina; but, opening in the midst of Durga's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' See Life of H. T. Colebrooke, page 163.
scheme of the lunar months. The complete agreement of all the twelve dates proves that the date given in the last line of this inscription,—śuarat 793 Phālyunna-vadī 9 Some,—is correct; but it also shows that the statement in line 40, according to which Karnađeva performed the funeral rites in honour of his father on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phālyunna, is incorrect. For the second titi of the same lunar fortnight in which the inscription is dated commenced on Sunday, the 10th January A.D. 1042, 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 5 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, and cannot therefore in any way be connected with a Saturday. I suspect that the day on which the funeral ceremonies were really performed was Saturday, the 12th December A.D. 1041, when the second titi of the dark half of the pūrṇimānta Māgha ended about 11 hours after mean sunrise, and that the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in line 40 the month in which he was writing the grant. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Monday, the 18th January A.D. 1042, is really the date of this inscription, and that this is as trustworthy a date for the reign of the king Karnađeva as we could wish to have.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, I have still to give an account of the thirty-one verses with which the inscription opens. As is the case with most copper-plate inscriptions, these introductory verses contain little more than the genealogy of the grantor, but they furnish some names which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty.

After the words 'aṁo aṁo, adoration to Śiva,' the inscription opens with a verse in honour of the god Śiva, who is identified here with the supreme Brahma. It then records, in verses 2-4, the origin of the powerful prince Kārtaṇīrāya, the vanquisher of the demon Rāvana; and further relates, in verses 5 and 6, that, sprung from Kārtaṇīrāya's family, there were the famous Haihaya princes, the clan of whom was rendered illustrious by the valorous and pious prince Kokkalla.

According to verse 7, the hand of this prince Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharaja, the illustrious Harsha who is described as the sovereign of Chitrakūta, and to the king Śāmkaragaṇa. It does not seem difficult to identify these four contemporaries of Kokkalla. From verse 17 of the Bihari inscription we know that Kokkalla, having conquered the whole earth, 'set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,'—in the south the well-known Krīṣṇarāja, and in the north Bhojadeva; and, in commenting on that passage, I have already adopted Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Rāṣṭrakūta Krīṣṇa II., who married a daughter of Kokkalla, the king of Chedi, and who reigned from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 911, and the latter Bhojadeva of Kanauj, for whom we have the dates A.D. 862, 876, and 882. Now Krīṣṇa II. also bore the name Krīṣṇa-vallabha, and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and

17 On Saturday, the 9th January 1142, the full moon titi ended Śa. 7m. after mean sunrise.
18 The same verse occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the Mohārāmaka Salakhapavarman-deva; Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, page 228. Compare also the first verse of the Tuar inscription of Jayasimhadeva, above, page 19.
19 See verse 9 of the Bihari inscription, ante, vol. I, page 263.
20 This name is spelt both Kokkalla and Kokkala.
22 See Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanara Districts, page 36. Since the above was written, Prof. Bhāndarkar has published an inscription in which Krīṣṇarāja's father Amogha-vavasa is named Śri-vallabha; and it is just possible that he may be the Vallabharaja of this copper-plate inscription.
Vallabharâja of the present inscription are the Bhojadeva and Krishnârâja of the Bilhari inscription. The proper identification of the illustrious Harsha is suggested both by the circumstance that he is called the sovereign of Chitrakûta, and by the fact, to be mentioned below, that Kokkalla's wife was a Chandella princess; for, as Chitrakûta is a well-known locality of Bandelkhand which was ruled over by the Chandellas, Harsha must be the Chandella Haršadeva, the successor of Râhila and predecessor of Yaśovarman. It is true, we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshadeva, but, since he apparently had dealings with Kshitipâladeva of Kanauj for whom we have the date A.D. 917, and as his grandson Dhângadeva was on the throne in A.D. 954, he undoubtedly must have ruled about A.D. 900, and must certainly have been a contemporary of Krishna-vallabha. Lastly, the Śāṅkarâgâna of our inscription I believe to be Kokkalla's own son (also called Raṅavigraha), whose daughter Lakshmi was married by Krishna-vallabha's son Jagatûnta. One of the Ratnapur inscriptions tells us that the Chedi ruler Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was ruler of Tripuri, while the others became lords of mandalas; and it does not seem at all improbable that Kokkalla already during his life-time may have assigned part of his dominions to Śāṅkarâgâna, one of his younger sons, to be governed by him independently.—With all these coincidences, I can only endorse the conclusion, arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham, that the reign of Kokkalla, who, as we shall see below, was Kokkalla I., 'may be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D.'

Our inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady, named Naṭṭâ or Naṭṭadevi, who was born in the Chandella family (verse 8), and who bore to him a son, named Prasiddhadhavala (verse 10); and that this prince had two sons, who reigned one after another, Bâlaharsha (verse 13), and his younger brother Yuvârâjadeva (verse 15).

According to the Bilhari inscription, Kokkalla was succeeded by his son Mugdhântûnga, and his son again was Keyûravarsha-Yuvârâjadeva, who married Nohalâ, a daughter of the Chaulûkya Avanîvarman.

Comparing these two accounts with each other, it is clear that Prasiddhadhavala and Mugdhântûnga are names of one and the same prince, and that the Yuvârâjadeva of the copper-plate is the Keyûravarsha-Yuvârâjadeva of the Bilhari inscription, which omits to mention his elder brother Bâlaharsha. In the copper-plate grant all these princes are eulogized in general terms which mean very little. In the Bilhari inscription the only thing definite recorded of them is, that Mugdhântûnga (Prasiddhadhavala) conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and took Pâli from the lord of Kosala. Of Keyûravarsha-Yuvârâjadeva it is intimated in the same inscription that he was engaged in many successful wars with different nations; but, on the other hand, an inscription of the Chandella Yaśovarman, who probably was a contemporary of Yuvârâjadeva, informs us that that Chandella king defeated the Chedi king, and 'brought distress on the shameful Chedis.'
The next three princes mentioned in the copper-plate, again without any remark of the slightest value, are Yuvarājadeva's son Lakshmanarājadeva (verse 17), and his two sons Śaṁkaraśānavadeva (verse 19) and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva II. (verse 21), who are all described as ruling sovereigns. The Kārtitālā inscription 31 has preserved the name of Lakshmanarājā's wife, Rāhadvā; and the Bilhari inscription records 32 that Lakshmanarājā defeated the lord of Kosala, and undertook, difficult to be obstructed in his progress, an expedition to 'the very pleasant western region,' in the course of which he bathed in the sea and worshipped the god Someśvara in Gujarat. Almost the same story is told of Yuvarājadeva II. in the Kāranbelt inscription of Jayasimhadeva.33 As regards the times of these kings, it may be mentioned that Lakshmanarājā's daughter Bonthādevī was the mother of Tailapa 34 who restored the Western Chālukya dynasty and ascended the throne in A.D. 973–74, and that, according to the Udaypur prākṣasti,35 Yuvarāja was defeated and his capital Tripuri conquered by Vākpati-Muṇja of Mālava, for whom we have the dates A.D. 974, 979, and 993.36

According to the copper-plate grant, Yuvarājadeva II. was succeeded by his son Kokkalladeva II. (verse 23), he by his son Gāṅgeyadeva (verse 25), and he again by his son Karna (verse 28) who issued the grant; and this agrees with the information furnished by other Chedi inscriptions. Of Kokkalladeva II. we know nothing beyond his name. Gāṅgeyadeva, according to the Jabalpur copper-plate of Yasāḥkarnādeva,37 also bore the name Vikramāditya; and the same inscription records that, 'fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig-tree of Prayāga, he found salvation there together with his hundred wives.'38 Other Chedi inscriptions also eulogize both his valour and piety, and even in a Chandella inscription 39 he is styled the conqueror of the universe. Gāṅgeya is mentioned as the ruler of Dāhala (or Chedi) by Alberūni,40 in A.D. 1030. We also possess a short inscription of his reign which, according to Sir A. Cunningham,41 is dated in the (Chedi) year 780 = A.D. 1037–38; and we know him to have been a contemporary of the Chandella Vijayapāla,39 who had ceased to rule 42 before A.D. 1051. In all probability Gāṅgeyadeva's reign ended about A.D. 1040, not more than a year or two before the date of Karna's copper-plate.

Of Karna deva, 'the lord of the Kalachuris,' the Jabalpur copper-plate,43 besides eulogizing his valour, records that he founded the town of Karnaśāvatī, and that at Kāśi or Benares he built a splendid temple, called Karna's Meru. The Bhera-Ghāṭ inscription of Alhaṇadevi 44 represents him as having subdued or held in check the Pāṇḍyas, Muraḷas, Kuṅgas, Vangas, Kaliṅgas, Kīras and Hāṇas; and similarly the Kāranbelt inscription of Jayasimhadeva 45 makes him be waited upon by the Chola, Kuṅga, Hāṇa, Gauḍa, Gūrjara and Kīra princes. As we possess an inscription of his son which is dated

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31 See above, p. 175.
34 See Fleet's Dynasties, page 41.
36 See IndianAntiquary, vol. XX, page 403.
37 See above, page 6.
38 I believe, Captain Wilford got the 'loathsome dungeon,' in which he lets Gāṅgeyadeva die, out of the words [Seadd]-
39 ga-samāduti (cf. l. 23 of the copper-plate).
43 The copper-plate of Vijayapāla's successor Devavarmadeva is dated in Vikrama 1107; see Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, page 364, No. 178.
44 See above, page 6.
45 See above, page 15.
eighty-one years later than his own copper-plate, it is clear that Karna's reign was a long one; and it is certain that he was engaged in many wars and that his power, for a time, was severely felt by his neighbours. According to the Nāgpur prakāsti Udayāditya of Mālava, whom we know to have ruled in A.D. 1080, freed the land from the dominion of Karna, who, joined by the Karnaṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean; and the great achievement which the Chandella inscriptions report of Kirtivarman, and which has even been recorded in a well-known Saṃskṛt play, is, that that prince defeated Karna, the favourite of Fortune, and by doing so restored the independence of the Chandella kingdom. The grammerian Hemachandra eulogizes Bhimadeva I. of Anhilvād (A.D. 1021-63) for having conquered Karna in battle; and, similarly, the poet Billāna, who elsewhere describes Karna as the god of death to the lord of the Kālanjara mountain, meaning to the Chandella king, records his defeat by the Western Chālukya Someśvara I. (about A.D. 1042-69).

Here I might well close my account of Karna-deva's copper-plate grant; but, having given the genealogy of the rulers of Chedi so far, I may perhaps be permitted to give also the names of the remaining known members of the same dynasty, together with the few facts recorded of them in their inscriptions.

Karna married the Hūṇa princess Avalladevi and was succeeded by the son whom she bore to him, Yasāhkarṇa-deva, whose Jabalpur copper-plate grant must have been issued in A.D. 1122, shortly before the close of his reign. Yasāhkarṇadeva's name also occurs in a copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva of Kanauj of the Vikrama year 1177 = A.D. 1120, by which the latter sanctions the transfer of some land which had been originally granted by the former, and which apparently proves that during the reign of Yasāhkarṇa part of the Chedi dominions had passed into the possession of the kings of Kanauj. A successful expedition against Tripuri by Lakshmadeva of Mālava, the son and successor of Udayāditya, which probably took place during Yasāhkarṇa's reign, is mentioned in the Nāgpur prakāsti. The only exploit which Yasāhkarṇa's own inscription has to record of him, is, that he 'extirpated with ease' the ruler of Andhra near the river Godāvari; and the same feat is probably alluded to in the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevi, where that inscription speaks of the devastation by Yasāhkarṇa of Champāranya. Yasāhkarṇadeva was succeeded by his son Gayākarna-deva, of whose reign we possess an inscription dated in the Chedi year 902 = A.D. 1151, when his son Narasimha had already been appointed Yuvārāja. Gayākarna (or Gayakarna) married Alhaṇadevi,

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\[46\] See above, page 2.
\[47\] See above, page 102.
\[51\] See Vikramāṇkadevarharita, I, 102-103, and XVI, 93.
\[52\] See above, page 2.
\[54\] See above, page 103, verse 39.
\[55\] See above, page 7, verse 23.
\[56\] See above, page 15, verse 14. If the above is correct, Champāranya ought to denote a tract of country near the Godāvari river.
a daughter of the king Vijayasinha,—a son of Vairisimha, who was a son of Hamsapāla of the Gubila family of Mewād,—and his wife Šyāmaladevi, a daughter of Udayāditya of Mālava. And Alhanadevi bore to him two sons, Narasimhadeva and Jayasimhadeva, who succeeded their father one after the other. Of Narasimhadeva's reign we possess three inscriptions, dated in the Chedi years 907 and 909 = A.D. 1155 and 1158, and in the Vikrama year 1216 = A.D. 1159; and of Jayasimhadeva's reign three inscriptions have been edited, two of which are dated in the Chedi years 926 and 928 = A.D. 1175 and 1177. Jayasimhadeva married Gosaladevi, and was succeeded by their son Vijayasinhadeva, of whose reign we have two copper-plate inscriptions, of the Chedi year 932 = A.D. 1180, and the Vikrama year 1253 = A.D. 1196, the first of which gives us the name of Vijayasinha's son, the prince Ajayasimhadeva. Of all these princes the inscriptions mention not a single fact which would be worth noticing here.

According to the preceding account the list of succession of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi or Pāhāla, beginning with Kokkalladeva I., would be as follows:—

1. Kokkalladeva I.; contemporary of Bhojadeva of Kanauj (A.D. 862, 876, 882), of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. (Kṛṣṇa-vallabha, about A.D. 875-911) who married a daughter of his; of the Chandella Harshadeva; and of (his own son) Śamkaragana. He married the Chandella princess Naṭṭā.
2. His son Mugdhautunga-Prasiddhadhavala.
3. His son Bālalahrsha.
4. His younger brother Keyūravarsha-Yuvarājadeva I.; married Nohālā, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.
5. His son Lakshmanarājadeva; married Rāhadrā. His daughter Bonthādevī was the mother of the Western Chālukya Tailapa (A.D. 973-74).
6. His son Śamkaraganādeva.
7. His younger brother Yuvarājadeva II.; contemporary of Vākpati-Muṇja of Mālava (A.D. 974, 979, 993).
8. His son Kokkalladeva II.
9. His son Gāṅgeyadeva-Vikramāditya. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1037-38 (?). Contemporary of Alberūni (A.D. 1030), and of the Chandella Vijayapāla.
11. His son Yasahkarṇadeva. A copper-plate grant of his is dated in A.D. 1122.
12. His son Gayakarṇadeva. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1151. He married Alhanadevi, a daughter of Vijayasinha of Mewād and granddaughter of Udayāditya of Mālava.
13. His son Narasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1155, 1158 and 1159.

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See above, page 10, and Indian Antiquary, vol. XVIII, pages 212 and 214.
14. His younger brother Jayasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1175 and 1177. His wife's name was Gosaladevi.

15. His son Vijayasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1180 and 1196; one of them mentions his son, the prince Ajayasimhadeva.

These fifteen princes, who may be taken to have ruled from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 1200, represent twelve successive generations, which gives to each generation an average of about twenty-seven years.

**TEXT.**

**First Plate.**

L. 1. चौ[९३] [१००] चौ नम्: सिः(सिं)वाय।

निमुः शापं नित्यं सिः(सिं)यं परम्यांश(श)।

भावावश्यं परं श्यातिस्वस्वयं सत्तु(सत)श्रुः नम्: नौ[११]—[१]।

यतःस्वतंत्रमूडः[ष्ठ]—[१२]—[२]

2. रमपि जी(श्या)सत्तंस(सिं)दमु(श)प्रमत।५०

चृत्युस्य कद (भ)वर्णपति(य)यथा सुरस्यांयां: [१३]

सद्वं(सद्व)यो व(व)भूतं भगवान्तस्याभावतानातो

यथाकृत्तंद्वरमूडः[ष्ठ] [१३]—[३]

3. शाब्दी श्रीश्रीमित्ता ततं: १२८—[२]।

देव: श्रीकारस्वीयेः: चित्यविकर्षयुक्तं (श) सत्वादरा

इति देवसतित्तित्रिवि(ब्र)अनुवादिरिखि (श)प्रवमस्यीति (ब्र) म[१३]—

दृष्टां—

4. काणकेतुप्रतिगतिमितस्यपहुँचीयानवावाह—

वानतेस्यपुजापुजानेतितस्य राजां यो वामा५० १२८—[३]।

यथा भूम्ब[१३]भोषात्म कुटिलतं नृपतम: दश[१३]—

5. भवयः प्रतियः।७१

शा श्या(श्या)लास(सा)चिक्षेण दर्पणमसुत्तुस्वतंस(श)कापसितं: ।

6. भवयः।७२ प्राच: सतुत्त्राबुँवर्दितलक्ष्यमसुकालकीः—

दानभोधित्त्वमुखश[ष्ठ]—[१३]—

6. रातुलमः: सूतसीमसभाज: १२८—[४]।

ताहितस्यचतुर सर्वद्वायं स्यात्याः[१३] चित्तो देवधात्या—

श्रीवामुः(व)यथृपुण्य(श)रुपमीनविवद्धतापान्तः।

**बहुभाषन—**

62 From an impression, received in 1862 by Sir A. Cunningham from Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, and now given to me by Dr. F. E. Hall.

63 Expressed by a symbol.

64 Metre: Ślokā (Anuśṭubh). The verse also occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the Māhārāṇa Gālakāpāvarmanadeva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 298.

65 This is what is offered by the rubbing, but, as I do not quite understand the first two lines of the verse, I am not sure that the reading is correct. Perhaps the right reading may be बहुभाषन तत्तां?

66 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

67 The aksara in brackets looks in the impression like कै.

68 Metre: Śārdulavikrājīta.


70 Metre of verses 3 and 4: स्रागुराध.

71 Read दश्तयं च। ।

72 Read भावः।
L. 7. नान(त) संविधितसुः सत्यम[ल] ॥७० सीष(ख) ॥ चे यास(व) युग्याशिष्क्षितप्रताध्ययिता धीमाग्निभूकाशः ॥७२ ॥(ii) ॥७६ ॥
सम्मुखम(आ) विवाचारणा प्रतिष्ठि[न] धम्माये योगाया च
प्रह्मा-
8. पूर्तिपरीपारकः यथायथासः(क) मनः ॥(i)
पालुक्तम(क) विगमाय दानसनिरस्तः समस(व) पूर्वेस्वरया
दानाभिसंक्षणमुखानन्दमथः ॥ या: प्राचार्यम् ॥(ii) ॥० ॥
भोजे कः-
9. [मह] रा [ज] ॥० सीष(ख) चिवकुर्म(ख) पति ॥
स(व) जागरणेर च रा [ज] नि यथास्रीद्विधः प्रापः ॥(ii) ॥७० ॥
सचिविवेदः ॥०० कसमसुपुरको नगरकालाधिक चन्द्रमूलः ॥
वदेशवस्त्रांम् ॥११
10. शुभिला श्रोत्सदीवी स तु प्रज्ञनेविनः ॥८२ ॥
उदामदुर्धिखती जयकम्भ[अ] दर्शसाधिय(प) नवगुणसुन्निनाः ॥
चजोजनन्ति खिगते जनश्य तवः महास(भ) लिङ्गरुपाः ॥११
11. महामूः ॥(ii) ॥९
नाश्र प्रतिस्थि शुच(व) मन्त्रस्य प्रतिप्रवृक्षं(अ) ध्यानः स राजा ॥
वोकुः ॥ धर्म्म यी युक्त्वर्त्त योः श्रावःप्रदक्ष्ययत्सा[प]र चक्षार ॥—[10].
क्षिप(अ) ददता महामूः-
12. सं(ज) ख(ख) जीवित(स) र्जमात
भछायमेव संज्ञाय नागपतिना वश्या उमीहितः ॥
चारिताय दत्त(द) जरं सुपरस्तिर्धिन्ववम्ब[ज] वाराती
क्षायम(प) सुवनबन्धमयस्मू[दृ]—
13. चिन्तामणिः पदं ॥६५ ॥—[11].
चिन्तामणिः ॥
वैविध्यि एवं व(स) खे पुरुषा एकलागर्भभवस्या [१०]
रच चाविज्ञेः जनं पाषाणि परिगः (अ) हो गः चिन्तः ॥७७ ॥—[12].
तस्तु(व) हु: ख्यात:-

74 Read चैवसः.
75 Read शोभामायेः. — The word शोभाया: offends against the metre; but the first line of verse 23 shows that the spelling with double ्त् is correct.
76 Metre of verses 5 and 6. -क्षर्द्विलाक्रवित्त. The hiatus between lines 1 and 2 of verse 6 offends against the metre.
77 Read अज्ञातसुपुरम्.
78 Originally राजिः was engraved at the commencement of line 9; but afterwards a letter seems to have been inserted between the अक्षराः शृ and रा.
79 Metre: वराया.
80 Read वायीमवेदः.
81 Read वायुवर्गवर्ग.
82 Read ओषधीवर्ग स तु प्रज्ञनेविनः.
83 Metre of verses 8-10: Upajāti.
84 I give this line exactly as it is in the impression. पीतं probably should be पीतं, and the fourth पदा may be यीस्वायुपात्सर्वर्यवचः; but the proper reading of the whole line I am unable to restore.
85 Metre: शक्तिधिविक्रमीति.
86 Read विच वाप्पं.
87 Metre: आयं. ‘In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their great dignity; thus considering, he took possession of the regions.” Professor Pischel informs me that यीतं is given as a synonym of विच in Hemachandra’s विचित्राभमादि, VI, 87.
L. 14. कवरी दिनिभकारिनिभाजातुता(ब)कुमारकामा भूमि(भ)ता व(ब)भूष नातिपुण्यतिन्द्रि(आ)लयवेयुः सृजे(ज)ब्राह्मणां य सहसुतांतुगातत्तजनव(स)गारारमाक(च)नि जात-खयः

15. शाश्वोषीमपृष्ठि विनिरसमितिर्पवासारिवविवि(ख)वावः। (II)५९ —[13].
धन्वीदा दास(ग)रविविष रिपुरुष्य(य)त्रो यस्याभविलंपर समरेक्षाय।
भूमि(भ)जस्यकालिति

16. विगामानानामसाधववरसादिति युः सुसोची६० —[14].
सामजतैकानिनरस्तु युधिष्ठिरस्तु तस्मातुता(अ)प्रधितवा(ब)हुवं(च)सो व(ाब)भूष।
दुष्पीचारिव(ब)सचि(सी)रविवेकाधा भयं वायु

17. वै पावेवपर: कवियुः युवराजदेव:। (II) —[15].
सुः(भ)भारवमट्टक(क)द्विम(च)यिनीमालम(स)मानस(द)
कुर्मां: समरेपि नाग(क)पयगमनाध्यसो विवि(प)॥ (I) विकावा।

18. तानुभूवि भूरिमागमनामसुक्षेपध्वारिणी
यः सामात्यमेयसा(र)सु॥(च) समज्यम्यक्ष(क)वाराहानाम् ॥२१ —[16].
तवादशृङ्खलाराजदेव:। प्रवत्ती(केस)जनानाना(ना)

19. जनतित्यवस:।
श्री(स)वायु यं वधर्मिष्ठ चित्तिस्म(स) चित्ताय लेभे जनता भूखानि ॥२२ —[17].
यः सवय निविद: सिर(च्च)यां च सर्पिण्यः साचा च धारा [च] यो
यो ताता च दयादुः

20. रेव च यह कीर्तसु(ब)नीसेसु(च) यः।
तवासीवपैविष दृष्यकारणः। कान्त(क)पुस्तकानः
पातायपाविविजचये न यद्भूतस्वल्लदानन्विपि ॥२३—[18].
श्रीस्त(थ)गरगारदेव:—

21. क्षतीवत्सवल्लभवनसासिनः।
सा(साद)ससि वसां यस्यन्त्यायितं(स) कार्यि काविनापि ॥२४ —[19].
प्रवत्ती निस्वुंसताःःध्य यक्षस्य पवित्रामिवे [१३]
रायख्रें चारिवः।

22. लव वायु(यो)साक्ष्यवात्तिलिता ॥२५ —[20].
तवादशुरी(जी)सु(स)युवराजदेव:। पति: चित्ति: च[च]कुलमु(स)ति:।
यस्यसदिखाराजवचीता(सु)संविश(च्च)र्बिराजसी(सी)व(च)पविपि लक्षिण् ॥२६॥२६ —[21].

५९ Read सन्तिश्री.
६० Metro of verses 14 and 16 : VasantasatiSplash.
६१ Metro: Sārdīlaavikrūṭī.
६२ Metro: Upajāti.
६३ Metro: Sārdīlaavikrūṭī.
६४ Metro: Āryā.
23. यस (य) नाम (स) यस (स) नाम (य) यस (स) नाम (स)

24. यथा अनायासः पुरुषोत्तम साधृणां यथा अनायासः पुरुषोत्तम साधृणां

25. क्षत्रियः परिवर्ते संयमां स्वाभाविकां संयमां स्वाभाविकां

26. स्वाभाविकां स्वाभाविकां स्वाभाविकां स्वाभाविकां

27. यथा अनायासः पुरुषोत्तम साधृणां यथा अनायासः पुरुषोत्तम साधृणां

28. यथा अनायासः पुरुषोत्तम साधृणां यथा अनायासः पुरुषोत्तम साधृणां
Second Plate.

I. 29.

वित्तं दृशे वैचित्र्य मनः: ॥१६—[२७].

तथाबाज: कन्यों चिवातीति:। कन्यों: दुःखिया(वा) प्रथम(व्रत)तद्यु(स)भावः। यथासिद्धे(ह)कन्या(म)रत्ना[हृ]व-.

30.   

नृणें प्रवशे विजयमिव: ॥१७—[२८].

योगिसतत्त्वं दूरं प्रसरल्ला दिने दिने ॥१८—[२९].

खंग ससु.

31.   

कृष्णयज्ञानविलुप्तविचित्तनां ।

कौशिकिर्योऽवः भुव्यया(वा) भूसीजेवः: कन्या(क)पादः। ॥ —[३०].

स(व्र)जितमै(ह)वन(न)वन्येव युक्तारक्ष वच्चारणः.

32.   

हरिसिद्धं विनिशास्तिः विन(क्ष)विन।

प्रासा(वा)सन्ते वर्णिस्य कहितमः: सदे(ह)व राजवरी वस्मती भवते(तै)व भुव्यतु ॥१९—[३१].

तबेन(ह)व दुग्धणालंकृतः.

33.   

स(व्र)रेद: [लक्ष]मैसमावितिसहितीमहितकाल्यं त्यरममहाराजसहरासहिराजपरिवेश- (ह)रथवाम[ह]व व्यापारात्मात(त)परमवा.

34.   

रथमठानासहिराजपरिवेश(ह)परममहासेव- (ह)रमु(व्र)कलिङ्ग(वा)विपत्तियोलक्षण- देवः।]कस(व)कृ महादेवी महाराजपुः[व्र]२२ महामं.

35.   

स(व्र) महामाता॥ महाअविश्वविश्विका महाअविश्वविश्विका महाअपराधिका महाकार- 

शिका स(व्र)सामान्तीशारो महासामीती.

36.   

महासामातारो महास(व्र)साहनिकौ महाभा॥। महावर्जनमहात्यागः(व्र) 

शीतलाकोणि स्वतंत्रयाः ग्राह्याः मानयति नेव(व्र)चति समालापयति विदितः.

37.   

म(सु) सत्यस(ग) यदा [क्षयाय]॥ कार्तिकीपणः। सु(च)सु(स)स्थिपास: सात्र(स)सुमूकः 

सामालापयते: सावर्जनकर्शनन्: सावर्जनकर्शनन्: प्रक्षिपसमुत्त- 

38.   

विस्मितसमु(व्र)तथातिस(व्र)तसिंपराः। विशालसचिविनिमतं विश्विकर्षयाः॥२८ होह- 

देक्तेकारविश्वििमति॥

39.   

प्रवर्य वाजवनयसि(वा)लाभ ।॥ महानन्दा वा[स]नन्दा नारायणप्रायः प्रक्षिपविविश- 

(ह)स्पाय ॥२५ कृत्व पुत्र: यो-
44. गोविन्दिन द भमन्ये न ॥
संयुतामुहसून विनो राजपुरासू (भृ) यो भूयी याची रामकर्म ।
सारामियाय (से) चक्रधितुन (ण) पाणा (ण) काले का।

45. छो (केह) जायते (केह) तुषा भुजा राजकीम समरादिभ।
यथा यथा यथा भूमिसच तथा तथा पलम ॥(28)॥
परमयो गीता।

46. पि युज्या (शा) को नृपतिभेदे ॥
तथातपि हरकर्मोऽहु यथा (शा) कर्म न आतिखस्म ॥ (34)।
यानी दसा तान पुरा न महाराजां धम्माध्ययनस श्रद्धारा ॥

47. नृमाध्यणाससंमति तानि को न (शा) म सापुरा युमरादेश ॥ (35)।
चक्र (शा) मेव (शा) महबेश राजसु (श) यमहसन व (1)।
गवा को (को) दिग्ददाणि भूमिभिष।

48. क्व न शु (शा) भयति व (38)॥
समुद्र (क) गामिण (क) भुमयोवयमुख (से)।
परं रक्षा मात्रोति यायादहु तसस्व॥ (37)।
संवर्तः 36.1 फाल्गुनवतः 8 संवितः [28]
AN AVAGAPATA (b) AND CENTRAL FIGURE OF ANOTHER (i).
XXIV.—SPECIMENS OF JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHIURA.

By G. BüHLEr, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the several articles on Dr. Führer's discoveries in the Kankâli Tilâ at Mathurâ (ante, vol. I, pp. 371ff., 393ff.; vol. II, pp. 193ff.) it has been stated repeatedly that large numbers of statues, reliefs, and other sculptures have been found. As the inscriptions incontestably prove the great age of the temples which are buried under the mound, and as hitherto very little has become known regarding the earlier Indian art except what the Buddhist Stûpas furnish, it seemed to me desirable that some specimens of the sculptures found should be published at once without waiting for the comprehensive work which Dr. Führer eventually intends to give us. On my application Dr. Führer in 1890 kindly forwarded to me ten photographs, taken from the most remarkable and best preserved pieces, a selection from which is given in the four accompanying plates.

The first plate gives under figure B a specimen of the most common form of an Ayâgapaṭa, and under figure A the central portion of another sculpture of the same class. The addition of A was made advisable by the mutilation of the central figure of B. The slab, from which A has been taken, is apparently in a state of perfect preservation, and it, moreover, bears an easily legible inscription (No. xxx of the second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions, published, ante, vol. II, pp. 195ff.), in which it is clearly stated that the object dedicated is an Ayâgapaṭa. But the photograph is pitted all over with small white spots,¹ which in parts make it difficult to recognise the details.

The slab, represented under B, is oblong and measures 3 feet by 2' 8". At the lower end a space (some inches in breadth) has been cut off, the middle of which was intended for a dedicatory inscription, faint traces of which are still visible. On both sides there are sacred symbols, among which a Saestika and one or two Trisâlas are recognisable. The remaining nearly square portion of the slab is divided by four concentric circles into (1) a central disc, (2) three bands of unequal breadth, and (3) four triangles at the corners, each with a circular basis. The central disc is occupied by a cross-legged seated Jina, with the hands in his lap. The posture is the usual one, in which all seated Jinas are represented even in the present day. Above his head there is a canopy, from which on either side very thick garlands hang down. Their shape is very peculiar and differs somewhat from that used on Buddhist sculptures (see, e.g., Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, plates xxiv, 2; xxvi, 1—2). It is found on all the Jaina sculptures from Mathurâ (see, e.g., Dr. Bhagavânâlîś's ancient slab,² where these sausage-like garlands are visible at the top of the Stûpa), and it may possibly be a characteristic mark of the early Jaina customs. On the side of the Jina appear three or four marks which at first sight look like representations of leaves. On examining the photograph with a magnifying glass, it seems to me that they are intended for snakeheads with expanded hoods. If my interpretation is correct, the Jina is Pârśva, whose mark is Śesha. In an article in the Vienna Or. Jour., vol. IV, p. 327, I have

¹ This is due to the nature of the slab, which is of speckled sandstone.—A. F.
² Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orientalistes, tome III, 2, p. 142.
pointed out that on another slab Śesha’s hoods appear behind the head of a Jina. Here the addition of the canopy prevented their being placed in the proper position.

The first circular band is rather narrow and bears representations of four highly ornamental Triśūlas, which, no doubt, with the ancient Jaines, just as with the Baudhhas, were considered as emblems of “the three Jewels” which with the Jainas are right faith, right cognition, and right conduct.

They differ somewhat from those found on the Buddhist buildings (see, e.g., Cunningham’s Bharhat Stūpa, plates vi and vii), as the lotus, which the Baudhhas usually place below them, is missing and the central point is longer and feathery at the top, being formed by the ends of two semicircles, held together by a band. The latter peculiarity re-appears in a Triśūla on a pillar in the Indraśabhā at Elura, (Burgess, Arch. Reports West. Ind., vol. V, plate xxxviii, 3). The Triśūla was, no doubt, in ancient India a symbol, used by all sects for various purposes and with various interpretations. It was also commonly used for personal ornaments and appears in earrings (Cunningham’s Bharhat, plate xlix), in necklaces (op. cit., plate I), and in women’s girdles (Cunningham’s Arch. Surv. Rep., vol. III, plate xi, A). In such ornaments it has frequently the very same shape as our slab.

The second much broader band of the slab is occupied by four curvilinear ornaments, ending each on the left side in two horns and enclosing in the centre a sacred symbol. Just below the spot where the two horns separate are four bands or garlands, to which rosettes or small lotuses are tied, and from the interstices between the horns issue the stalks of half-opened larger lotuses, which rest with their open faces on the second circle. A comparison of the four large ornaments with the Triśūlas in the first circular band leaves no doubt that they represent halves of these sacred symbols. The smaller emblems enclosed by the larger ones are,—(1) at the top, a Śvastika, which is commonly used as a lucky or sacred mark by all Indian sects, (2) below, two fish, which are likewise considered very generally as marks of good omen, and are found as such over the doors of the great Jaina caves at Junagadh, called Bāwā Pyārā’s Maṭh (Burgess, Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind., vol. II, plate xviii, 3), and on Brahmanical temples, e.g., on those of the ruined city of Ghumli (Burgess, op. cit., plate xliii), (3) on the left, another variety of the Triśūla, common on Buddhist monuments, and (4) on the right, a mark which looks like a monogram, formed of the syllables na and vo, and is not uncommon on Buddhist sculptures, and is also used for ornaments (Fergusson, op. cit., plate iii, fig. 4).

The third circular band, which is again very narrow, shows,—(1) below a seated Jina; (2) above a Stūpa, resting with its base on the fourth or outermost circle, and hence looking as if it were turned topsy-turvy; (3) on the right and on the left two sacred trees, rising out of a square enclosure. The interstices between these four emblems are filled up by pairs of half recumbent male and female figures, probably worshipping deities (Vidyādharas). Each compartment contains two pairs, one facing one way, and the other turning in the opposite direction.

* An exception is found in Cunningham’s Bhūta Topes, plate xxxii, Fig. 4.
* Compare also Dr. Bhagvānī, Actes du sixième Congrès Int. des Or., tome III, part 2, p. 137. The Viśnus Smriti xliii, 38 (Jolly’s edition) enumerates the fish among the Mahāpālas, to which Brahmins must pay reverence. In his notes to the passage Nandapaṇḍita most absurdly adds that the rule refers to “boiled or fried” (pakka) fish. On Buddhist sculptures the two fish appear as parts of personal ornaments; (see Fergusson Tree and Serpent Worship, plate iii, fig. 4).
With respect to the Stūpa, which we shall meet again more than once on the other plates, I repeat that it is a form of the funeral monuments, once used and worshipped by all Indian sects that followed the Jñāna and Bhakti Mārgas, and I refer for some of the reasons for this theory to my article Vienna Or. Jour., vol. IV, pp. 328f. I may add, however, that Brahmanical Chaityas are occasionally mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Thus we read Mah. I, 109, 13—14.

भोजय धर्मांति राजन्यस्वरूपः परिरचिते[न:] ।
ब्राह्म राजस्वोभ चैत्यागम्यतः ॥
स देश: . . . . . . . . . .

"That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhishma in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of Chaityas and sacrificial posts."

The juxtaposition of the Chaityas and Yūpas shows that Brahmanical sacred buildings, probably Stūpas, are meant.

The worship of sacred trees by the Jainas has been discussed by Dr. Bhāgvānlāl (op. cit., p. 142), and he has given the names of the Bodhi-trees of three Tīrthāṅkaras. The worship of trees in India is older than Jainism and Buddhism. Quite irrespective of its traces, found in the Vedic ritual, all the Brahmanical Sūtras bear witness to its existence, as they mention Chaitya trees, which Brahmans and all Aryan must treat with reverence, and it is common to all the sects following the Bhakti Mārga, which assign a sacred tree to each deity. Like a great many other practices, it has been taken over by the Jainas and Baudhāyas from the Brahmans, when their prophets became deities, a new meaning being given to the ancient rite.

The four triangles in the corners are each occupied by a female figure holding up her arms and supporting the part of the outer fourth circle just above it. On both sides of the heads of these figures there are small projections, which look like rudimentary horns, but appear to be the ears with ornaments hanging down from them. The lower extremities of the four figures have been turned into spirally rolled snake-tails with split or fin-like ends, which fill the right and left corners of the triangles. Figures, supporting sculptures or statues, are so common in ancient Indian art, that it is unnecessary to cite particular examples.

Among the other Ayāgapataś, of which Dr. Führer has forwarded photographs, there are two more with Jinas in the central medallion or disc, viz., that a portion of which has been given in fig. A of plate i, and another bearing the inscription No. xxxi of my second Series. A third, which bears the archaic inscription No. viii of the same Series, has in the centre a wheel with sixteen spokes, apparently a Dharmačakra, regarding the worship of which more will be said in connection with plate iv, and a fourth, which was dedicated by the wife of a dancer (see Inscr. No. v of the second Series) offers the representation of a Stūpa, in front of which two naked women dance on the lower

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1 The fact that each Tīrthaṅkara has his Chaityagriśhka is also stated by Hemachandra, Abhidhānachintāmāni, verse 62 (Böhtlingk and Rieu). The commentary to the passage is, however, mutilated or corrupt. A complete list of the sacred trees is given in the Ratnakāra, vol. II, p. 708f.

2 Ante, pp. 195f.
rail, exactly in the same indecent posture as those on Dr. Bhagvanlal’s Mathurā slab. The latter seems therefore to belong likewise to the class of the *Ayāgapaṭaṃ*. From all these specimens it appears that an *Ayāgapaṭaṃ* is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or of some other object of worship, and the term may be appropriately rendered by “tablet of homage or of worship,” since such slabs were put up in temples, as the numerous inscriptions on them say, “for the worship of the Arhats.” The *Ayāgapaṭaṃs* seem to be a distinctive feature of the ancient Jaina art, as neither the Buddhists nor the orthodox sects mention them. The Buddhhas have, however, the term *udhapaṭa, i.e., āridhāvapaṭa,* (see, e.g., Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South. Ind.,* vol. I, pp. 90f.). Even among the Jains they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to me dated. In the more modern Jaina temples we find instead of them slabs, called *pañcchaparameshṭhipaṭa* (Satruṇījaya inscriptions, Nos. 58, 66, *ante,* pp. 84f.), *chaturvīṃsatīttrahāṃkarapaṭa* (*ibidem,* Nos. 57, 67), and so forth.

The sculptures of the second plate are the most interesting of the whole collection. Figure A bears an inscription, legible even on the photo-lithograph, which I read originally as *bhagavā Nemiṣo,* the “divine lord Nemi,” as I believed that the sculpture represented some scene from the life of Neminātha. But a careful investigation of various lives of Neminātha, in which Professors Jacobi and Leumann have kindly assisted me, failed to bring to light any legend that could be turned to use. Finally, Professor Jacobi suggested to me that it might be possible to read *bhagavā Nemese,* “divine Nemaṣe,” to refer these words to the figure with a goat’s head just above them, and to identify the goat-headed Nemaṣe with Indra’s divine commander of the foot troops Hariṇegaṃesṭ, who is represented in mediæval pictures as a man with the head of an antelope. The reading *Nemese* is no doubt as good as *Nemiso.* The vowel-stroke of the second consonant lies in the proper position of an *e,* though the *i* frequently looks exactly alike on these inscriptions. More difficult was the identification of the two names; but, on looking through the *Nemināthacharita* I found a passage, where *Naigameshvin* appears instead of the longer word.

It stands in the beginning of the seventh Sarga, where it is narrated how Krishna tried to obtain for Satyabhāmā a son equal to Pradyumna in luck and good qualities. The text runs as follows:

```plaintext
प्रभुक्ष महाराज्यम् तामाखी प्रजावापि च
भाम सौपद्रेण गला शियख करसस्मद्रे च
तत्त्यातात दसाराक्षोव्रासर वस्तमस्मम्
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7 Possibly the word *dyaga,* which occurs in l. 4 of the inscription, may be meant for *dyaga.* Regarding the performances of dancing girls at Jaina festivals, see below the remarks on plate iii.

8 A Buddhist *dyagapata* was excavated by me in January 1862 at the ancient site of Adhichhattrā (Rāmaṅgar in Rohilkhand) from the ruins of a Buddhist Vihaṭa. The slab shows a full-blown lotus in the middle surrounded by four highly ornamented Trifūlas. An inscription in archaic characters records its dedication and object.—A.V.

9 See *Sacred Books of the East,* vol. XXII, page 227, note. Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished me with a sketch of Hariṇegaṃest, which is inserted in his ancient illustrated copy of the *Kalpaśstra.*

10 The MS., from which the subjoined verses have been taken, is No. 250 of the Vienna University Library collection, which was purchased in 1882 from Mr. Bhagvanlal Kevaldas’ store of MSS., rejected as useless by the Bombay officials in charge of the Search for Sanskrit MSS. (see my paper: *Über eine kürzlich für die Wiener Universität erworbenen Samm- lung von Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften, Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften,* vol. XCII, p. 563f.).
MATHURA SCULPTURES.

b) Obverse of doorstep.

c) Reverse of doorstep.
(8) "Annoyed at the great luck of Pradyumna and his fame, Bhāmā went into her boudoir and lay down on a broken cot.

(9) The foe of Kānsa visited her there and spoke agitation: 'Who has shown disrespect to thee, whereby, O fair-browed one, thou art thus afflicted?'

(10) Bhāmā answered: 'No disrespect has been shown to me; but, if I do not obtain a son equal to Pradyumna, I shall certainly die.'

(11) Knowing her tenacity of purpose, Krīṣṇa undertook a fast in honour of the god Naigameshin, partaking only of every eighth meal.

(12) Naigameshin appeared and spoke to him: 'What can I do for thee?' Krīṣṇa answered: 'Give to Bhāmā a son who resembles Pradyumna.'

(13) Naigameshin replied: 'Make her, whom thou desirest to have a son, put on this necklace, and then have intercourse with her; thereby she will obtain the desired son.'

(14) Handing over the necklace, which he wore, Naigameshin disappeared. But Vāsudeva joyfully gave the precious ornament to Satyā."
ending in in. And the correctness of this view is proved by the occurrence of the Sanskrit words Naigamesha and Nejamesha,\(^{11}\) which in the Grihya Sutras and the medical Samhitās are the names of a deity with a ram’s head,\(^{12}\) particularly dangerous to children. Our word Nemeso corresponds exactly with Naigamesha according to the analogy of the Pali emeva for evameva, ajjhena for adhyayana, lena for layana, and so forth (see E. Müller’s Simplified Grammar, pp. 41, 43), the intermediate form being Neyameso.

There can be no doubt that the Naigamesha or Nejamesha of the Brahmans, who seizes children and sorely afflicts them with disease \(^{13}\) and the son-granting and embryo-exchanging Naigamesha-Naigameshin of the Jainas are in reality identical. They represent two different aspects of the same deity, which was conceived both as beneficent and as hurtful or destructive. Their identity comes out still more fully, if one takes into account another Brahmanical deity, Naigameya, whose name, as the larger Petersburg Dictionary points out sub voce, is certainly only a variant of Naigamesha. This Naigameya is declared to be another form, or a son and companion, of the war-god Skanda, which latter likewise is represented as dangerous to children. A passage of the Mahābhādrata, quoted in the Dictionary, sub voce naigamesha, asserts that he is chhāgavakra or ‘goat-faced,’ just like the Nemeso of our sculpture. The goat’s head excellently suits a deity, who has to do with the procreation of children, as the strong sexual instincts of the goat did not escape the notice of the ancient Hindus.\(^{14}\) Hence, it may be inferred that the goat’s head was the original attribute of Naigamesha-Naigameshin, the Brahmans substituting later a ram’s head on account of the seeming connection of the name with mesha, ‘a ram,’ \(^{15}\) and the Jainas a deer’s head on account of the compound Harihūgamesi, seemingly connected with hariṇa, ‘a gazelle.’ I may add that Naigameshin’s position as Indra’s general offers another point of contact with Naigameya, who is either considered as identical or as closely connected with Skanda, the field marshal of the gods.

If we now return to our sculpture, Nemesa-Naigameshin’s divine rank is indicated—(1) by his ornaments, bracelets on the upper arm and a very broad necklace (see above the story of Krishna), (2) by the elaborately carved throne on which he sits, (3) by the female attendant to his proper left, who apparently fans him with a Chaurī, and (4) by the fragment of a canopy or chhattra, which, I think, is visible above his head. Nemesa’s face is turned to the right, and he lifts his hand apparently addressing somebody who was represented on the lost right half of the slab. At his left knee stands a small naked male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic,\(^{16}\) and with uplifted right hand. Below this figure is a fragment of an inscription, showing on Dr. Führer’s rubbings very plainly the syllables bhaga. The first word was therefore bhaga-

\(^{11}\) See the two Petersburg Dictionaries under these words. The identity of Harinagamesi with Naigamesha has already been hinted by Bödltogok, sub voce Harinaijameshin. The latter word is a faulty form, given by Mr. Colebrooke in his Essay on the Jainas, probably in accordance with a bad MS. of one of the commentaries of the Kalpasūtra.

\(^{12}\) For a representation of Naigamesha, as represented in the Elura sculptures, see Trans. R. As. Soc., vol. II, p. 326, 1st plate.—J. B.

\(^{13}\) See, in addition to the passages quoted in the Dictionaries from the Sūtrāla Sāthā, and the Asūrārāgabīdaya, Uttarāsthāna, ii, 63, and iii, 12-14.

\(^{14}\) Āpastamba, Dh. Sū. II, 14, 13, quotes a Vedic passage to this effect: ‘Therefore, a he-goat and a learned Brāhmaṇa evince the strongest sexual desires.’

\(^{15}\) I am not able to offer any etymology for naigamesha and naigameya.

\(^{16}\) Compare the figures of monks on Dr. Bhagavānī’s slab from Mahāvā.
á “divine,” and a proper name no doubt followed. This epithet makes it probable that the ascetic is meant for a Tirthamkara, because, as far as my observation goes, bhagavá is not applied in the inscriptions to ordinary monks. Next, on the left comes the female fan-bearer already mentioned. To the left of her stands another female, who raises her right arm in astonishment and looks apparently at the ascetic. She wears ear-rings, a necklace, armlets, anklets and the usual dress of married ladies, while a scarf, or sári, hangs over her shoulders. At some little distance further to the left, apparently in a separate section of the slab, which is indicated by remnants of architectural ornaments, is found the upper half of a mutilated female figure, who wears the usual ornaments. She likewise raises her right arm and supports with her left on a dish or cushion the body of a motionless infant with the hands folded on its breast.

A Jaina sculpture representing Naigamesha, a small Tirthamkara and a female with a small infant can only be taken to refer to the most famous legend, in which the deity plays a part, viz., the exchange of the embryos of Devanandá and Tríslá. And it seems to me that the various figures on our slab may be explained on this supposition. The story, as related in the Kalpaśátra, is briefly this,—“When Indra became aware that Mahávira had taken the form of an embryo in the Bráhmaṇi Devanandá’s body, he paid his reverence to the Arhat that was to be born. It then occurred to him that an Arhat ought not to be born in a low Brahmanical family, but only in a noble royal race, and that it was and always had been the duty of the reigning Indra to transfer the embryo, in case through the influence of his Karman an Arhat had descended into the body of a female of the Brahman caste. In order to fulfil this duty, Indra directed Hariṇegamesi, the divine commander of infantry, to transfer Mahávira from the body of Devanandá to Tríslá, a lady of the Júátri family of Kshatriyas who was also with child. Hariṇegamesi then repaired first to the Brahmanical quarter of Kúndagráma, took Mahávira from Devanandá, cleansing him from all impurity, and carried him carefully in his folded hands to the Kshatriya quarter of the same town. There he took Tríslá’s embryo from her, likewise duly cleansing it, and put Mahávira in its place. Next, he returned to Devanandá and placed Tríslá’s child in her body. During these operations the two ladies and their attendants lay in a deep magic sleep. Finally, the deity returned to Indra’s abode and reported to him that his orders had been carried out.”

As our slab represents Naigameshi-Nemeso, seated in state on his throne, the scene must be laid in Indra’s heaven, and it can only refer either to the moment when Indra gave his orders, or to the period when Nemeso had returned from his journey and made his report. The position of the deity, who is apparently speaking to somebody,—probably Indra,—who was represented on the lost right half of the slab, speaks in favour of the second alternative. The small ascetic at Nemesa’s left knee, called in the inscription “divine” . . . , is no doubt meant for Mahávira, who is introduced by the artist with the attributes of a monk, in order to show the subject to which the conversation refers, and he is represented so small, because in reality he is not yet born and has not yet reached the position of an Arhat. The female, with the small motionless infant in the separate section, is probably Tríslá, represented in an apartment of her palace, having just received her new precious burden.

In confirmation of this interpretation, I may point to four mutilated statues now in the Museum at Mathurā, lithographed by Sir A. Cunningham in the Arch. Surv. Reports, vol. XX, plate iv, 2-5. Two of them represent seated females. "Each of them has," as Sir A. Cunningham says, op. cit., p. 36, "a small child lying in a dish on her lap. The left hand supports the dish, but the right is raised up to the shoulder. Both females appear to be naked." The other two figures are males with the heads of animals. "Both," to use Sir A. Cunningham's words, "are represented in the same action. The larger figure carries a pair of children, male and female, in his left hand, each being grasped by one arm at full stretch. The right hand of the figure is raised to the shoulder in the same position as the right hands of the females. On each shoulder a small child is seated facing the head of the figure. The smaller figure is exactly the same as the larger one, excepting that it carries only one child by its outstretched arm."

Sir A. Cunningham then goes on to say that he has been unable to find a clue to these curious 'ox-headed' figures, and that he abandoned his first idea that they might be Yakshas and Yakshinis of gigantic size preparing to eat the children, because the small figures, seated on the shoulders of the two males, seemed to point to a more friendly connection between the two parties.

With respect to Sir A. Cunningham's description I must state that I differ from him in one important particular. In my opinion the two males are not 'ox-headed,' but 'goat-headed;' for, between the much mutilated bodies of the children and the likewise somewhat disfigured heads, pendent goats' ears are recognisable, especially in the smaller figure. This granted, it is evident that both males are representations of Naigamesha. With this identification the other details admit of explanation. The motionless infants, represented in connection with the males, are the two embryos, which Naigamesha had to exchange. If the artist represented the larger Naigamesha with two children on his shoulders and two in his hands, and the smaller one with two on his shoulders and one in his hand, he probably meant to indicate two different steps in the transaction, viz., that the deity first took the children out of their mother's bodies and 'cleansed them of all impurity,' as the Kalpasūtra says, and later conveyed them to their new destination on his shoulders. The two female figures are, of course, No. 2 Triśalā and No. 3 Devanandā, who are represented, the former with a male child on her lap and the other with a female one, in order to show what each received. And it must be noted that the higher rank of Triśalā seems to be indicated by the more costly necklace which she wears. The story, which the sculptures tell according to this explanation, may have differed in one detail from that of the Kalpasūtra, where Negamesi is said to have taken Mahāvīra in his joined palms, not on his shoulder. But it is also possible that the change is an invention of the sculptor, who wished to represent the deity as carrying the two infants, for both of which there would not have been any room in his hands.

If one compares these figures with our slab, the very close resemblance of the position of the infant, and of the attitude of the female holding it, is at once apparent. And this point, taken together with the unmistakable figure of Naigamesha-Nemese, irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the legend referred to must be the same in both sculptures.

The other two relieves on plate II, B and C, are found on a fragment of the doorstep
from one of the two temples, buried under the Kañkâli mound. Though they bear no inscription, they cannot be later than the first century B.C.; for one of the two temples existed on the evidence of the very ancient No. 1 of my second Series of Mathurā inscriptions already in the middle of the second century B.C., while the likewise archaic inscription No. IV of the same Series which records the erection of the second temple, cannot be later than about the middle of the first century. The obverse, A, represents the worship of a Stûpa by two Suparnās, half birds and half men, and by five centaurs or Kimnâras. One of the former offers a garland and the other, as well as three of the centaurs, two on the right and one on the left, bring jars or boxes filled with flower-bunches (?). The last two centaurs on the left seem to carry brooms or fans, made of branches. On both sides of the Stûpa stand trees, and the two Suparnās seem to be seated on, or hovering above, the bending branches of those nearest to the Stûpa. All the five figures wear turbans, such as many of the males of rank represented on Buddhist sculptures wear.

A somewhat similar scene, where Suparnās worship a Stûpa, occurs on a relief at Sanchi (Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, plate xxviii, fig. 1). But it must be noted that the Sanchi figures are much more like Greek harpies, while those on our slab are done in a more conventional manner like the winged figures on the Assyrian and Persian sculptures. Among Brahmanical representations, those of Garuda, the king of the Suparnās, on the Gupta seals are worthy of comparison. Centaurs have been discovered on the Buddhist monuments in Gayā and elsewhere, and, in all probability, they go back to Greek models. What is particularly remarkable in those on our slab is the branch which hides the place where the human body is united with the rump of the horse. As far as I have been able to ascertain from my colleagues, versed in classical archaeology, there are no Greek sculptures showing this particular.

The reverse of our doorstep contains a fragment of a procession, apparently about to visit some sacred place. On the extreme right we have two horsemen, each preceded by a 'syce,' or groom. Next follows a covered cart, drawn by two enormous bullocks, as big as those of the Pâlanpur breed, and filled with males and females. The cart closely resembles a modern shighram, and the driver, who lifts his goad, is seated, as is still the custom, on the pole. The tails of the animals are tied to strings connected with the yoke, just as is the case with those of the horses on the Sanchi reliefs. Behind the cart comes again a horseman and finally an elephant with two riders. The elephant is very badly done. The trappings of the several animals are exactly like those represented on the Sanchi sculptures. But similar carts are not traceable on the latter, where very Greek-looking chariots drawn by horses appear instead.

The two sculptures on plate III are found on the two sides of a fragment of a Torana, and the scenes represented on them correspond to each other very closely. On both we have triangular pieces in the upper corners and three rows with figures, separated by semi-circular rails, or Vedikās, with flowers, each row of figures ending with an

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18 Compare also ibidem, plates xxiv, 2; xxv, 1; xxvi, 1; xxvii, 1, where Suparnās are represented as worshipping the Bodhi tree.
20 Fergusson, op. cit., Plate xxiv, Fig. 1, etc.
open-mouthed Makara, which—in five cases—a man teases by taking hold of its tongue and upper jaw. The Makara, filling the corner of a row of figures, is common also on all Buddhist monuments.\footnote{On \textit{the Amaravati Stūpa}, Burgess, \textit{Arch. Rep. South India}, vol. I, plate xxviii, 6, there is a similar scene in which a female takes hold of a Makara’s tongue.} In the corner-piece on the obverse (A) the chief group is placed on the left side and consists of a male with a peaked ornament on his head (a crest-jewel?), holding a garland and four females in the attitude of worship; just below them appears a portion of an empty covered carriage. Further to the right stand five other smaller males (?), four in the attitude of worship, and carrying a large tray with offerings, the nature of which is not distinguishable. The extreme left is filled by five vessels of various shapes and sizes, from one of which rise the leaves of a plant. In the corresponding portion of the reverse (B) there is again in the back-ground a group consisting of one male with the peaked head-ornament and three or four females, one of whom holds a garland, further in front also a servant with offerings and a small male figure in the attitude of worship. Below the group appears likewise a portion of a carriage. The place, which on the other side is occupied by jars, is here filled up by a Stūpa and by two platforms of stone (pāṭhikā), which in the centre seem to have borne representations of sacred marks (Pāḍukās?), and at the upper ends are decorated, each with two lotuses. Two of the semi-circular rows of figures on the obverse, the first and the third, contain each two covered carts (shighram) very similar to that on plate II, C., which are apparently each occupied by several passengers and attended by servants. In front of the cart in the first row walk three dancing girls, who may be easily recognised by the manner in which they expose their persons. It is possible, but not certain, that two of them support with their left hands trays or dishes with offerings. In the third row we have in the place of the dancing girls portions of a clothed male figure seated on a throne and attended by a female fan-bearer. The second row of the obverse shows running male figures with flying upper garments, holding bunches of flowers (lotuses ?) in their hands.

On the reverse only the second, or central, row contains the representation of an uncovered bullock or horse-cart, preceded by dancing girls. Behind this cart comes a male figure riding on a marine monster, and in front there is a mutilated male figure on a throne. The riders on sea-lions and Makaras reappear in the two other rows. In the first there is also a mutilated male figure on a throne, attended by a female fan-bearer, at whose dress a Hamsa nibbles. The back-ground behind the Hamsa is occupied by a monument, possibly a temple, enclosed by a wall. In the third row two male figures with upturned faces and uplifted hands are visible in front of the riders, as well as a piece of the garment of a third.

The general character of the scenes represented is, of course, not doubtful. They refer to the worship of one or several Jaina sanctuaries and to processions or pilgrimages undertaken for this purpose. Many of the details must be likewise familiar to every student of Indian archaeology, and they agree in part at least with the descriptions of such scenes occurring in Jaina works. The jars of various shapes, even those with plants, appear frequently on the Buddhist Stūpas, and the Jaina descriptions of the pilgrimage of the deity Suriyābha to the Ambasālavāna Chaitya mention them.
distinctly as requisites of worship.  
Again, the stone platforms, with lotuses and other sacred marks, occur on the Bharhut sculptures. Nor are the riders on monsters and the running figures with flying garments unknown on the Buddhist Stūpas, where the latter are easily recognisable as Vidyādhāras, moving through the air. Similarly, the dancing girls, who, even in modern times, are engaged to perform in honour of the Tirthamkāras, are frequently represented on the Buddhist monuments as exhibiting their art at festivals. But other points, like the introduction of the half visible clothed males, seated on thrones, and the representations of carts along with the riders on marine monsters and Vidyādhāras, are puzzling, and it is difficult to decide whether the artist intended to lay his scene in heaven or on earth, and whether all the figures on each of the two sides of the Toraṇa must be taken as a whole or if each row represents a scene complete in itself. The most probable view is perhaps that the artist did not intend to give two compositions only, based on particular texts or illustrating particular legends, but merely wished to show how gods and men are eager to pay homage to the Tirthamkāras, to their Stūpas and temples.

Plate iv reproduces the mutilated slab, which bears No. xxi of my second Series of Mathurā inscriptions:

"The year 70, fourth month of the rainy season, day 20,—on that (date, specified as above, Aya-Vṛdhahasti, a preacher in the Kṛṣṭīya gana and the Vaiṛā śākhā gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandiāvarta (Ara) ... ... the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dīnā (Dattā), wife of ... ... was set up at the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods."

The central piece on the slab is a Dharmachakra supported by a Triśūla, which itself rests on a lotus.

It belongs to the class of the Chakras, made conventionally and with a great number of spokes, which are not uncommon on the Amarāvati Stūpa (see Burgess, op. cit., plates xxvi, 6, xxxiii, 2), and may be a later development of the carefully done wheels.

It differs from those on the Buddhist and other Jaina sculptures by the two ear-like projections at the top, as well as by the addition of two Śāṅkhas, which lean against the basis. On the right of the Dharmachakra there is the mutilated figure of a naked ascetic, who, as usual, has a piece of cloth hanging over his right arm. This is probably the Arhat mentioned in the inscription. To the left of the Chakra stand four clothed females, wearing the usual ornaments of married women and holding garlands in their hands with which they evidently intend to worship the sacred symbol. The faces of these females look like portraits. Three of them seem to be matrons of mature years; the fourth is smaller and apparently much younger. The last two are half hidden by the figure of a large crouching lion, facing the left.

The most noticeable point is the Dharmachakra, which, as the Mathurā sculptures prove, was used and worshipped as much by the Jainas as by the Bauddhas. The fact is not very astonishing, as the wheel is the emblem of rule and government with all

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30 See Cunningham, Bharhut, plates xxxi, 3, 3, 3, 3, etc.

31 Arch. Reports South India, vol. I, plates xxxii, 2, xxxi, 1, xxxi, 2, and Caves Temples, plate 1, Fig. 1-2.


33 The Śāṅkhas have probably been added maṅgaldṛtham.
Hindus, and the Sanskrit Koshas give rāṣṭra as one of the meanings of chakra. The epithet apratiṣṭhatacaktra, 'he whose wheel, i.e., rule, is unopposed,' is commonly given to kings in the inscriptions, and there are hundreds of passages in epic and classical poetry in which the chakra of kings is mentioned. Nor are the compound dharmačakra, 'the rule of the sacred law,' and the familiar phrase dharmačakram pravartayati, 'he sets in motion the wheel of the law,' i.e., 'he causes the rule of the law to spread,' wanting in Brahmanical literature. The larger St. Petersburg Dictionary quotes several passages from the Mahābhārata where they occur. It is said of Bhishma, Mah. I., 109, 14:

भीष्मेण विधिर्म राज्य धर्मचक्राः प्रवर्तते।

"The rule of the law continued, which Bhishma had established in the kingdom;"

and Mah. XII, 356, 2:

यथा दूराधिनिला रथ धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितम्।

नैसिये गोमनीलीते तच्च नागाध्य पुरस्॥

"A town, called Nāga, lies on the bank of the Gomati in the Naimisha forest, where in a former creation the rule of the law was caused to spread."

Considering that the metaphorical meaning of chakra is very common with the Brahmanical poets and easily intelligible as an outgrowth of the idea that the unopposed progress of a king’s chariot shows the wide extent of his power, it may be safely assumed that the application of the expression to the triumphant progress of the sacred law is likewise of Brahmanical origin, as the passages from the Mahābhārata indicate. And it naturally follows that the Jainas and Buddhists, who both worship the Dharmačakra as the emblem of the rule of their respective creeds, borrowed it from the Brahmans, and that the commonly prevalent idea is erroneous, according to which the Dharmačakra is a distinctive mark of the Buddhists and their particular invention.

These new sculptures from the Kaṅkālī Tila teach the same lesson as Dr. Bhagvānlal’s Mathurā slab published in the Transactions of the Leyden Congress, and prove that the ancient art of the Jainas did not differ materially from that of the Buddhists. Both sects used the same ornaments, the same artistic motives and the same sacred symbols, differences occurring chiefly in minor points only. The cause of this agreement is in all probability, not that the adherents of one sect imitated those of the other, but that both drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists. Full proof of this assumption, which modifies the statements in some standard works on Indian archaeology regarding the development of ancient Indian art, can only be obtained by the excavation of really old Brahmanical temples. And it is to this task that the Archaeological Survey in India ought to direct its attention, as a thorough exploration even of a few Śaiva and Vaishnava temples, which date from the second or first century before our era, will do more for our knowledge of the history of the Indian religions than the excavation of a hundred Stūpas or Vihāras.

But even at present various pieces of collateral evidence are available which support the view that all the several Indian sectarians took their sacred symbols and the ornaments of their temples from one common storehouse. Chief among these is the now generally acknowledged fact that the Brahmans, the Jainas and the Buddhists, all and at the same time, contributed to the development of the cave temple architecture
which formerly was considered to be a speciality of the Buddhists. It is now conceded that the oldest known caves at Barabar and Nāgarjunī belonged to the Vaishnava Ājīvīkās, and those near Katak to the Jaina worshippers of the Arhats. The undoubtedly Buddhist Lenaśas date from somewhat later times. It is, therefore, not in the least doubtful that all the old Indian sects used rock-excavations for sheltering their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and sometimes also their idols, and it is highly probable that this usage goes back to times antecedent to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. In the face of such facts one can only say that it would be surprising if the worship of Sūpas, of sacred trees, of the Wheel of the Law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representation in sculptures, were due to one sect alone instead of being heirlooms handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India.

XXV.—THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined ten inscriptions, which were discovered by Mr. A. Rea in the Bhattiprolu Sūpa, are published here in full according to impressions, and in the case of No. X, also according to a photograph furnished to the editor by Mr. Rea.¹

Nos. I—IX are incised on three relic caskets, partly on the circular tops and partly on the rims of the lower stones. Their preservation is good except in parts of No. III and in No. IV, which latter is effaced. No. X is scratched on a small hexagonal piece of crystal and difficult to read on account of the shallowness of the strokes. The great interest and value of the first nine documents lie in their characters, which mostly resemble those of Aśoka’s inscriptions, but show also peculiarities met with nowhere else. The details are as follows:—

(1) Twenty-three letters, viz., the initial vowels ā, ē, u, o and the consonants k, kh, chh, n, t, th, v, t, th, dh, n, p, ph, b, y, r, s and h agree exactly with those of the Southern Maurya alphabet.

(2) The letter g has both the usual angular Maurya form and that with the rounded top, which occurs occasionally in Aśoka’s Edicts, e.g., in magesu Pillar Edicts, VII. 2, 2, and is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The first palatal, ch, has a tail caused by a prolongation of the vertical. The third lingual, ñ, shows slanting strokes instead of straight ones, which peculiarity is also repeatedly observable in the word pāsamā (Kālsī version of the Rock Edict XII., 1, ll. 33—34) and in ambāvadikā, Allahabad, Queen’s Edict, 1. 3. The dental media, d, exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round like the Andhra da and that of the modern Devanāgarī. The same remarks apply to the fourth labial, bh.

(3) Five letters are entirely abnormal, viz.:—

(a) gh, which is expressed by the sign for g with a curve to the right denoting the aspiration (compare the Maurya chha, ḍha and pha, which have been formed in a

¹ See the plates. Preliminary notices, treating chiefly of the palaeographic peculiarities of the first nine, have been printed in the Academy, 1893, p. 631, and in the Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. VI. p. 148.
similar manner out of the signs for oha, ḍa and pa). It occurs in the names Vaghadá, i.e., Vyághrapádá (II. 2), Satughá, i.e., Satruñghá (II. 8), Chagháñá, i.e., Jaghhaña (VII), Chaghó, i.e., Chaṅga (? VIII. 2), Akhagho, i.e., Akshaghna or Rikshaghna (VIII. 5).

(b) j has the angular form, which is rare in Aśoka’s inscriptions, (but see, e.g., rájá, Girnár Rock Edict, IX. 1) and the usual one in later documents, minus the central horizontal bar. It occurs repeatedly (e.g., I, A, B) in the word majusa or majúsa, i.e., maṅjúśá.

(c) m is turned topsy-turvy. It is found in the last-mentioned word and frequently in well-known names like Samúña (III. 5), i.e., Śramúña, Máho (VIII. 5), i.e., Mágha, etc.

(d) l shows instead of the short horizontal bar on the left a long slanting line attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It occurs only in names, e.g., Pígalako (III. 9), i.e., Píngalaka, Odálo (III. 11), i.e., Odála or Audára, Gílán (VII. 13), i.e., Gílana, Gosálakánám (III. 16), i.e., Gosálakánám, and so forth.

(e) The lingual sibilant looks almost exactly like the kra of the later inscriptions, and seems to be developed from the sha of the Kālásí version of the Rock Edicts by turning the latter sign completely round and converting its upper curve into a crossbar. It occurs regularly for sa in the termination of the genitive of vowel-stems, e.g., Kurasha (I, A, B), in the genitive plural teshán (VI), i.e., teshám, in the word shamuga (I, A), i.e., samudga and in many proper names.

(4) There is further the lingual ¯, which does not occur in Aśoka’s Edicts. It looks like a pa with a short horizontal bar, attached to the right of the vertical stroke; it is more archaic than the corresponding Andhrá letter and very similar to the la of a Sanchí inscription. It occurs in the word pháliga (I, A), i.e., sphálíka and in various proper names.

(5) The notation of the medial and final vowels shows two very remarkable peculiarities:

(a) The short a is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant, which denotes long á in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvāra follows. The latter limitation is probably due to the circumstance that the Anusvāra was considered equivalent to am, in which form it is invariably given in the native lists of mátrikás, or the alphabets.

(b) The long á is usually marked by a horizontal stroke and a vertical hanging down from its end. In negamá, VIII, 1, a cursive form, consisting of a long notched horizontal stroke, appears instead.

(6) In other respects the notation of the medial vowels mainly agrees with that used in Aśoka’s inscriptions. The diphthong o is however more commonly expressed by a bar projecting to the right and to the left of the consonant than by two separate strokes. The former o, though rare in the Edicts, does occur occasionally, see, e.g., nigháñi, Pillar Edict, VII, 2, 2. Finally, in the syllables ni and ni the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke of n, according to the analogy of na and ná.

(7) The initial vowels i, i, a, e and the consonants jh and qh do not occur, and there are at least no certain traces of the palatal sibilant ʃ, though there is a sign somewhat like it in a difficult name towards the end of III, 10.
THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

The inscription, No. X, which is incised on the piece of crystal, shares only two of the peculiarities, just described. Its \textit{cha} (l. 2) has a tail and its \textit{da} in \textit{deśānaḥ} (l. 3) and in \textit{dānāḥ} (l. 6) opens towards the left. In other respects its letters, as well as its vowel notation, fully agree with those of Aśoka's Edicts. It may be noted that it twice offers in \textit{Samudrāḳālaḥ} (l. 2) with the palatal sibilant exactly in the places where it would stand in Sanskrit. This agreement of its characters with those of the Maurya inscriptions leads to the supposition that it belongs to the same time as the latter.

But the first nine inscriptions are also probably only a few decades later than Aśoka's Edicts. They unfortunately contain no historical statements which might be used to absolutely prove the correctness of this estimate. They mention, it is true, the names of a king \textit{Kubirako} or \textit{Khubirako}, i.e., \textit{Kuberaka}, of various families, of \textit{gothīs} or committees and Buddhist saints. But none of them is traceable in any other historical source. Under these circumstances, all that remains is to fall back on arguments deduced from a comparison of other datable inscriptions, which, of course, may be deceptive. If one does this and places on the one side the alphabet of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nānāghāṭ, Hathigumpha and Bharahut-Torana inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, may mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be somewhat earlier.

If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Aśoka's Edicts) that during the 3rd century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed; for they contain a system which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a longer history. The importance of this result lies therein, that it removes one of the arguments of those scholars who believe the introduction of writing to have happened during the rule of the Maurya dynasty. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts proving the Aśoka Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions, incised at places which lie at distances from each other of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation, and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that Aśoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pātaliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces and to induce them to imitate as much as possible the shape of the letters used at head-quarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing, which in some respects is radically different and which may be reasonably supposed to have arisen in Aśoka's times or even earlier, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for many centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pātaliputra.

This is, as far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the history of the Southern Maurya characters and regarding the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among them which, I think, may be considered for
good reasons as more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the m, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Northern m that I should not wonder if the two little strokes below the circle had really stood originally below the circle or semicircle and the letter had been turned topsy-turvy only later. Further, it is possible that the gh of the Bhāṭṭiprolu alphabet, which, as stated already, has been formed by the extension of a principle underlying the formation of cẖha, ḍha and ṃha, proves the Semitic prototype of the Southern Maurya characters to have been destitute of a sign for the guttural media aspirata. Though the common Southern ghā looks like an independent character, it may have been formed out of a ga with a round top by the addition of a curve to the upper right corner and by then turning the whole letter round. If this view is correct, the Bhāṭṭiprolu gh probably dates from very ancient times and is quite as old as the sign of Aśoka’s Edicts. On the other hand, two other letters, the j with two bars and the lingual sibilant šā are in all probability younger than the corresponding Maurya characters. With respect to šā this is self-evident. As regards the j, the central bar probably has to be regarded as an essential part of the letter on account of the shape of jha, which has been fashioned out of a ja, consisting of a vertical and a short horizontal stroke by the addition of a small upward stroke on the right. Nor is it possible to assume that the more elaborate system of vowel-notation in the Bhāṭṭiprolu inscriptions is more ancient than the simpler one, found in all other Indian alphabets; for the Semitic original of the Southern alphabet in all probability had no vowel-marks. Hence, a system of notation, requiring eight instead of seven signs for the purpose must be regarded a priori as the later one. With respect to the remaining anomalies, I am not able to say anything definite. But I would point out that, with the exception of the position of the letter da, not one of the peculiarities of the Bhāṭṭiprolu alphabet has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets.

The language of the Bhāṭṭiprolu inscriptions is of the type of the Pali, from which it differs only by the occurrence of the lingual sibilant in Nos. I—IX, and of the palatal one in No. X. Though the two signs differ, I believe that the sound for which they served was the same. There is, as far as I am aware, neither any modern nor ancient Prakrit dialect, which has or had more than two sibilants, the dental one and that which comes near to, but is a little thicker than, the Sanskrit palatal ša.

With regard to the contents of the inscriptions, I may confine myself to the remark that two of the caskets are said (see Nos. I and V) to be intended for relics of Buddha. This point, I think, speaks too in favour of the antiquity of the inscriptions.

**Transcripts and Translations.**

I.


(B.) Banavaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [II].

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2 Nos. I and II are incised on the rim of the lower stone of the first casket.

3 Looks like Sivaka as the lower curve of the ša has not been formed properly.

4 Possibly phāligam snamugam.
THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

TRANSLATION.

"By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (himself) and Siva (Siva), (has been ordered) the preparation of a casket and (has been given) a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Buddha (Buddha)."

"By Kura, the son of Banava, associated with his father (has been given), the casket.

II.

Utaro Pigahaputo kāṇṭhīho\[a]\]"TRANSLATION.

"Utarā (Uttara), the youngest son of Pigaha (Pigaha)."

III.

L. 1 Goṭhi
2 Hiraṇavaghavā
3 V[u]gālako K[ā]lako
4 Visako Thorasisi
5 Sameko Odalo
6 Apakā. Shamudo
7 Anugah[a]rī Kuro
8 Satugho Potako [P]oto Ālīnakā
9 V[a]runo Pīga[lak]o Koshako
10 Suto Pāpo Kabbherakh[o] Gāloko
11 Same[n]a[ductus] Bharrado
12 Odalo Thoratiso Tiso
13 Gilaño Jahmho
14 Pudara (?) B[a]do
15 Gālavata . . (?). Janako
16 Gosalakānam Kūro
17 Uposhathaputo Utaro
18 Kārahaputo [\[a]]

TRANSLATION.

"The Committee (consists of):—
Hiraṇavaghavā (Hiranyavayagrāpāḍ) Vugālaka (Udgāraka), Kālaha, Visaka (Viśvaka), Thorasisi (Sthulāśīrshi), Sameha (Śramaṇa), Odalo, Apaka, Shamuda (Samudra), Anugaha (Amgraha), Kura, Satugha (Śrāvakha), Potaka, Potaka, Ālīnaka (Ālīnaka?), Varunā, Pīgalaka (Pīgalaka), Koshaka (Kaṇḍika?), Suta, Pāpa, (Kabbherakha?) (Kuberaka?), Gāleka (?), Sameha[ductus] Bharrado (Bharata) (L. 12), Odalo (Audāra?) Thoratisa (Sthulātishya), Tisa (Tishya), Gilāna (Glāna), Jamhha, . . . Büba . . . Janaka, of the Gosālakas (Gosālaka), Kura, the son of Uposatha, (Uposatha), Utara (Uttara), the son of Kārahā.

* The genitive sarīrdham has to be taken as genitivus partitivus.
* This seems to be meant for kāṇṭhīho.
* For the change of va to pa, compare words like Pali pujāpati, Sanskrit prajñāpati and the inscripotional bhagapato for bhagavato, pījīte for vijāte, and the like. Probably Utara was the stone-cutter who made the casket.
* Nos. III-V are incised on the top stone of the second casket, and No. III in a central disc, lines 1-11 running lengthwise, lines 12-13 breadthwise on the left, and lines 14-18 breadthwise on the right.
IV.

Remark.
Nothing can be said regarding the contents of this inscription, except that it mentions relics of Buddha.

V.10
L. 1 Goṭhisamaṇo Kubo [1]
  2 Hiraṇakāragāmaniputo Būbo [II]

Translation.
"Kuba (Kumbha), the ascetic of the Committee (?)."
"Būba, the son of the village-headman Hiraṇakāra (Hiranyakāra)."

VI.11

Translation.
"By the sons of the Shāgaṭhi nigama (guild or town), chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka (Kuberaka), the son of Sha-.i, is the chief of the Shīha (Śīha) Committee—by these (has been given) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone."

VII.12
Samaṇo Chaghaṇa]puto Utaro Ārāmutara . . [III]

Translation.
"Samaṇa (Śramaṇa), the son of Chaghaṇa (? Jaghanya ?). Utara (Uttara)

VIII.13
L. 1 Negamā
  2 Vachho Chagho
  3 Jeto Jambo Tiso
  4 Reto Achino Shabhiko
  5 Akhagho Kelo Keso Māho
  6 Seto Chhadiko Okhabulo
  7 Soṇutaro Samaṇo
  8 Samaṇadāso Sāmako
  9 Kāmuko Chitako [I]

9 Incised on the rim to the left and below the inscription on the central disc.
10 Incised on the outer rim, to the right of the inscription on the central disc. Possibly Kābo is to be read.
11 Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket.
12 Read *pdmukhānaḥ.
13 Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket, outside the No. VI, the letters being turned the other way.
14 Incised on the upper stone of the third casket.
ON THE CRYSTAL.

[Handwritten text and images of characters, likely ancient inscriptions.]

Full size.

A. Roux, Fcul.

DA'TIIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE LOWER STONE OF THE FIRST CASKET.

Scale: 3-1/4ths.
BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE LID OF THE THIRD CASKET.

ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX
OF THE LOWER OR THIRD CASKET.

A. Ren. feit. Scale: 3:100s.
THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

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TRANSLATION.

"The members of the guild (ore): --
Vachha (Vatsa), Chaghha (Changa?), Jeta (Jayanta), Jambha, Tisa (Tishya),
Reta (Raiyata) Achina (Achrina?), Shabhika (Sabhika), Akthagha
(Akshaghna), Kela, Kesa (Keša), Māha (Māgha), Seṭa (Śvaitra?), Chhadika
(Chhandika?), Okhabūla, Sonutara (Suvarṇottara), Samāna (Śramaṇa),
Samanadāsha (Śramaṇadāsa), Sāmaka (Śyāmaka), Kāmuka, Chitaka
(Chitraka).

IX.\(^{18}\)

Arahadinānam gothiyā majūsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [i] tena kama yena
Kubirako rājā am[k]i [ii]

TRANSLATION.

"By the Committee of the venerable Arahadina (Arhaddatta, was given) a casket
and a box. The work (is) by him, by whom King Kubiraka (Kuberaka) caused the
carving to be done."

X.\(^{16}\)

L. 1 Mātuğamasa [Naṁ]dapurāhi\(^{17}\)
  2 Suvaṇamāha
  3 Śamaṇudeśanam cha\(^{18}\)
  4 Gilānakersa\(^{19}\) ayasaka
  5 [Sa]ṭhiya\(^{20}\)
  6 gohiyā a-ga dānam\(^{21}\) [ii]

TRANSLATION.

"An A-ga,—gift by the women from Nandapura (?) and by the Śramaṇeras from
Suvaṇamāha, in the Ayasakasāthi goki of Gilānakera (?) ."

The arrangement of the lines of this inscription seems to be fixed, first by the cha
after Śamaṇudeśanam and secondly by dānam. The latter word in all probability con-
cludes the inscription and the former shows, that line 3 is preceded by something
else. Nevertheless the exact meaning remains obscure, as the word immediately preced-
ing dānam is mutilated and those from gilānakersa down to gohiyā, though plain
enough, are for me at least, inexplicable with any certainty.

\(^{15}\) Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the third casket.
\(^{16}\) Incised on the sides of a hexagonal piece of crystal, found inside one of the boxes.
\(^{17}\) The first syllable is abnormal and the reading uncertain. The last syllable is visible only on the tracings, not on
the photograph.
\(^{18}\) The cha has a tail, like in the other nine inscriptions.
\(^{19}\) There is also a short stroke to the left of the top of ra, and it is possible to read *keresa, which however would be
perfectly inexplicable.
\(^{20}\) The left limb of sa is abnormal.
\(^{21}\) There is on the photograph a letter between a and ga, which I am not able to make out. Possibly the word may have
been dyga. The da of dānam opens to the right, just as in the other nine inscriptions.
XXVI.—GOVINDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE POET GANGADHARA.

THE ŚĀKA YEAR 1069.

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

About five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me a rubbing, received by him from Sir A. Cunningham in October 1888, of an inscription, described as being on a slab of stone in Narsingh Mālī's house at Govindpur, in the Nawāḍā sub-division of the Gayā district of the Province of Bengal. And some time afterwards I received another rubbing of the same inscription from Dr. Burgess, to whom it had been made over by Mr. Beglar. Both rubbings are very faint, and I know that, with a good impression, the wording of the text of this inscription which I now publish may be improved upon; but I feel confident that everything of importance has been made out correctly, and that a renewed examination of the original inscription will not add materially to what I now have to report regarding the contents of it.

The inscription contains thirty-five lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 8½" broad by 1' 3½" high. At the upper proper left corner a small piece of the inscribed surface is broken away, causing the complete loss of altogether a dozen aksharas at the end of lines 1-6. Of the rest of the inscription nothing is actually lost, but, to judge from the rubbings, the proper right half of the writing, from about line 11 to 24, has suffered either from exposure to the weather or from careless treatment; and a few aksharas are more or less illegible on the left side. The size of the letters is between ½" and 7/₁₆". The characters are the peculiar kind of Nāgari which was used in parts of Eastern India during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., and the most characteristic feature of which is, that r, preceding another consonant, is written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the akshara of which r forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign. Essentially the same alphabet is used, e.g., in the Dinājpur plate of Mahipāla and in the Ámghāchhi plate of Vigrāhapāla III., and the closest possible resemblance to the writing of the present inscription is shown by the writing of the Cambridge palm-leaf MS. Add., 1693, which was written in A.D. 1165, and by that of the Hodgson palm-leaf MS. I of the Royal Asiatic Society, written in the fourth year of the reign of Govindapāla. In the inscription here edited the sign for r, described above, is so small and so shallow that often it can hardly be recognized in the rubbings; and this, as well as the fact that the sign of anusvāra and the superscript strokes which turn e and o into ai and au are equally faint, and the close resemblance of the signs for p and y, t and bh, m and e,
and dh, and of the subscript u and r, have caused me no slight difficulty. The inscription never employs the signs of the jihvāmālīya and upādhmānīya, and the sign of the avagraha is used only once, in Gaṅgādhara bhūt in line 24.

The language of the inscription is Sāṃskṛt, and, with the exception of the introductory om om namāḥ Sarasvatīya and the date Śāka 1059 at the end, the whole is in verse. The writer and engraver have done their work with great care, so that, in respect of orthography, my remarks may be brief. As was to be expected, the letter b is throughout written by the sign for v. The dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in Kasyapādd, line 6, and prasrayath, line 7; and the palatal instead of the dental in kūribhir, line 29. Instead of anusvāra we find the guttural nasal in the word vanā, in lines 2 and 5 (but not in line 4), and the dental nasal in avatansa, line 4. Before r, t has been doubled in mittra, lines 7 and 24, amittra, line 21, maitrī, line 27, and álapatra, line 31; and bh is similarly doubled in abhhrīyam (for abhhrīyam), line 30. As regards the rules of euphony, t is left unchanged before ṇ in śrīmatānkara, line 17; and m before y and v in samyattau, line 18, samvāsāya, line 9, and sarvasvam-vilatāra, line 11; and the dental sibilant is wrongly employed instead of the lingual in niśprabhārdham (assuming this to be the right reading) in line 13, and duskare (for duskaro) in line 30. Of words which according to von Böhtlingk’s Dictionary have been hitherto found only in lexicographical works our inscription offers girā ‘speech, song,’ in line 5, mahallaka ‘eunuch,’ in line 10, and átman in the sense of ‘the sun,’ in line 13. Besides we find kivīrī for the neuter kivīra, in line 9, and the word rama (‘husband and wife’) apparently employed in the sense of ‘parents,’ in line 19. To a few other points, having reference to the grammar and to the construction of some of the verses, attention will be drawn below.

The inscription is dated, in lines 34-35, both in words and in figures, in the Śāka year 1059, corresponding to A.D. 1137-38. It was engraved by the artisan Śālapāni, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa (verse 39). And its immediate object is, to record that a man named Gaṅgādhara, who has himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank near which the inscription must have been put up (verses 34-38). But what is of more importance is, that the author has furnished a prākṣasti, or eulogistic account, of himself and his family which enables us to fix the time of no less than six men who were known to us as poets from other sources, and some of whose verses have been preserved; and that he has given us the names of the rulers of Magadha, hitherto unknown, under whom he and some of his relatives lived and whose patronage they enjoyed. It may also be a matter of some interest to learn that the author’s family belonged to the clan of the Maga or Śākadvīpya Brāhmans.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Viśvambhara (Vishnu), the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies both Aruna (i.e. the dawn personified as the charioteer of the sun) ‘whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvipa where the Brāhmans are named Magas,’ and the Magas themselves who here, as elsewhere, are said to have sprung from the sun’s own body and to have been brought to India by

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1 According to verse 37 of the text Gaṅgādhara composed two prākṣastis which both must have been engraved and put up close to each other.
2 See Professor Weber's most interesting essay on the Magavakṣi of Krishpadāsa.
Śāmbha (the son of Kṛśna and Jāmbavati). According to our author the first of these Maga Brāhmans was Bhāradvāja (verse 3), whose family had a hundred branches (verse 4). In one of these was born, as a son of a certain Dāmodara, Chakrapāṇi, who, compared as he is to Vālmiki, must have been considered a poet of some eminence (verse 5). He had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (verse 7), who were induced to come to the court of the ruler of Magadha (verse 15), the prince Varnaṁāna of the Māna family (verse 10), where one of them was appointed to the office of pratihāra, while the other was made superintendent of the eunuchs (verse 11). Daśaratha again had two sons, Haribara and Purushottama (verse 22). Of Manoratha, to the praise of whose liberality, piety, shrewdness, learning, etc., our author has devoted no less than six verses (12-17) and who is spoken of as a modern Kālidāsa (verse 15), we learn that he married a daughter of Doṣārman, a counsellor of the prince of the [Ghaudī\]

country (verse 18); and that she bore to him also two sons, Gaṅgādhara, the author of the inscription, and Mahīdhāra (verses 21-22). All these six men, Manoratha and Daśaratha and their four sons, are especially eulogized for their learning and proficiency in vedic studies (verse 23). The rest of the inscription treats of Gaṅgādhara himself. Here it will be sufficient to say that he represents himself to have been a counsellor and friend of the Māna prince, the king Rudramāna (verse 24); that he married Pāśaladēvi, a daughter of Jayapāṇi, an official of the king of Gauḍa, and his wife Subhagā (verse 29), and finally, that, according to his own account, he was the author of a poem entitled Advaitosata and had shown his skill as a poet also in the composition of other poems (verse 33).

The princes of the Māna family, mentioned in the above, have not, so far as I am aware, become known yet from other inscriptions, and it may therefore suffice here to state that Varṇamāna and Rudramāna must have ruled over Magadha (or part of it) towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

As regards Gaṅgādhara and his relatives, the inscription tells us distinctly that, like Gaṅgādhara himself, Chakrapāṇi and Manoratha were poets, and it may reasonably be assumed that some of the other members of the family, learned men as they were, also were in the habit of writing poetry. Now it happens that the Saduktikārṇāmṛita, an anthology compiled by Śrīdhārādāsa in A.D. 1205, contains verses of six poets bearing the same names as six of the Maga Brāhmans mentioned in this inscription, and, considering that these Brāhmans lived in Eastern India and that the Saduktikārṇāmṛita also was compiled there, I have little doubt indeed as to the identity of the six poets mentioned by Śrīdhārādāsa with Gaṅgādhara, the author of this inscription, and five of his relatives, viz. his great-grandfather Dāmodara, his grandfather Chakrapāṇi, his father’s brother Daśaratha, his own brother Mahīdhāra, and his cousin Purushottama.

Of Gaṅgādhara himself the Saduktikārṇāmṛita has two verses which were first published by Professor Aufrecht in Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgen. Ges., vol. xxxvi, p. 511,

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1 See verse 12, according to which Manoratha on the occasion of a lunar eclipse went to the sacred place Purushottama,

which was situated near the sea.

2 The reading of this name is doubtful; see below.


4 Professor Aufrecht states the Saduktikārṇāmṛita to be an anthology, compiled chiefly from Bengal poets. The compiler’s father, Bātudāsa, lived under Lalāhanapāṇi.
and have afterwards been reprinted by Professor Peterson in his edition of Vallabhadeva’s Subhāśitāvali, Introduction, p. 32. Of Dāmodara the Saduktikarṇāmrīta contains two verses,11 of Chakrapāṇi four, of Daśaratha also four, and of Mahidhara one verse. As regards Gaṅgādhara’s cousin, the author of the anthology assigns six verses to Śrimat-Purushottamadeva, one verse to Purushottampadāh, and one to Purushottama and it seems probable that only the last—the Purushottama of our inscription. All these verses have been kindly copied out for me by Professor Aufrecht and will be published elsewhere. The inscription being dated in Śaka 1059, the six poets may be assumed to have composed their verses—

Dāmodara between about A.D. 1050 and 1075;
Chakrapāṇi between about A.D. 1075 and 1100;
Daśaratha between about A.D. 1100 and 1125;
Gaṅgādhara, Mahidhara and Purushottama between about A.D. 1125 and 1150.

TEXT.12

L. 1. वहि॥ चों नमः सरस्वती ||
एकीकृतंग्रीवर्मरत्र प्राप्ति तथा नमः
मन्यन्ति नियुक्तिज्यतिष्ठे तुजः सुधान्तेरे |
वचः समूखसम्युक्तस्तन्त्रसोभिष्ट्यायिष्ठुष
निर्दा[शी] ॥ १४

2. द[यों] द्वात्र दिति तामः श्रीक विख्याते. द्व[यों]—[१].
देवि वैणुविकीमणिरणस्यो विवशेषेन पुष्कः
शाकोपसा दुधाशु(म्ह)नितिधवलयिते यथा चिंते मनाश्या |
व्यक्तादिवा भजनान्त भमलिखिततत्वायुष्म्(अम्म)लतः खाश — —

3. भावोऽयानानिनाय स्त्रयिष्म महत्तास्य जनवां ज्ञवि ||२—[२].
तथापात स्मयम् समस्तनिम्नभानाचार्यायपर
त्व(स)द्रा चाचापत एव नित्यवजनमन्यापरार्ययम् |
भायति सुनिन्त्र(श्रृ)भूत भवो व्यवासारामपाताय

— — — — —

4. यथा भुवे महाजप्रायांशेषावत्स्मीपि || २२—[३].
गोविञ्च तथा स्त्राश्मभूतस्तुपूर्वस्पूमित्व स्मरसर्वाश्मि। |
यवापर पर(र)सत्तविप्रदविप्रवायवायदात्तमत्व. पत्ताह दिजानां ||३—[४].
काल्यणा ॥ २५ ॥

11 The first words of these verses and of those mentioned below are: Kailāta ves puṣyati; Sīlām sāyati; Tisāyā nāma mayā; Yut kāṇḍaṁ gaganandrasya; Ārūḍhāntarayuṇavanasya; Agra vilātya charaṇau; Ācakāhāya Lākṣmī; Iyōd sā Kālītide; Naikāṃ jauma tavaīva; Vānḍyosā vedhir eva; Līlottāṇaḥyopī; and Kāntāreṣu kardāvalambi.
12 From Sir A. Cunningham’s pencil-rubbings.
13 Expressed by a symbol.
14 The akṣara, here broken away, was probably श्र. (scribe read sat)
15 Metre: Śārṅdulavikṛtīta.
16 Read नमः.
17 The akṣaras, here broken away, were probably मुरकः.
18 Read श्रीमो for श्रीमो.
19 Metre: Śravīdhāra.
20 This is what was originally engraved; but the vowel of the akṣara म is clearly struck out, and I believe the intended reading to be श्राणवारी.
21 Read सङ्वीपम्.
22 Metre: Śārṅdulavikṛtīta.
23 Metre: Vāsanatilakā.
L. 5. 

विशुद्धिसाधितानि घनिनां

कौरवाणि धृति चक्षुशासितानां दर्शानां।

यो वाक्योर्तिकृतंवाचनातिरितिवाचारं यो विम्बादि

$^{20}$वग्गीयाः ॐ ॐ — चतुर्मुख इति यातो शुभाभासबिः।$^{25}$—[5].

परिशिष्ट शुश्रूः ...$^{26}$

8. 

होस्याणिर्मरी[माष्य]र।

दिब्जनू दृष्टि नारहु तदहित्सन्धि कथं$^{27}$—[6].

जाती वासवकषाधिव नृत्ति तथापद्मायानी

सारंशाधिव कस्म(क्ष)पपुरुषाचारानि घर्षं कुलि सिद्धानि।

क्षायांसत्र ब्राह्मणी द्रम्मयसक्षाृतुष्णा [योके]—

7. 

विश्व[चा]रघुबिष्कीविविलक्षोऽथं पवित्र जगेऽ$^{28}$—[7].

सुम्भौमन सतान यात्रिभिविलक्षोऽथं। शक्तिणऽनुष्ठानं

सारस्वतेऽपेत्रविन्यासमृत्योप[श्रीं]।

तत्रतरं योनिर्मणिनिर्मिति: स्पष्ट्यमि: प्रस्थ[श्रीं]ये—

8. 

क्षायानि विद्वद्भननानि विद्वेदः श्रुत्योधि कुष्ठानि।$^{2}$—[8].

तो भारतायतिरं सवनोदित्वम् प्रेम्या परसरमोक्ष्यायाबिरामी।

सीरादेश्यविरियु ययोऽधिर: कालोपि न शलितसमाप वालि कदाचित्य$^{29}$—[9].

9. 

भानोति निजस्वाक्षरमुखायिन्यं यवतृत्य प्रतीतालमा

सम्भानय$^{20}$नरेशृण ग्रंविरेऽयोणांमनि ती।

त्याशासंवल्लभां(रक)तत्कलमिन्त तात्त्यांगिण भार्यतं

कारित्व कौटितुसारारुपुर्णभव: कौटित्यप्रमुयर्ययः $^{27}$—[10].

10. 

स्त्रीः[श्रीम्]शास्त्रीय्यासरस्वतेऽन्नेमैव[श्री]श्यायोऽ

सर्वभास्मानपतिहृदीयसि श्रेष्ठं प्राप्तिप्रतीतारा।

प्रेमोन्यायु पुनर्प्राण$^{28}$कहुःयस्तति”विश्वारिष्या-

जेति सर्वाद्यं(अ)सूर्यदिर्य प्रकृतिवाच्यान्यकी।$^{2}$—[11].

गला श्री—

11. 

पुरुषोत्तमं [अनं]योद्धस्य प्रतिहारं पारावर्तनं परंत्यथाय सक्षायामप्राप्तो 

सर्वविश्वंतरं”यथार्थपूर्वकृतम: विद्याशासीते-

कौटियोऽधि प्रतिगृहिणात्वेऽसाधृक्षामपार्शायणं$^{2}$—[12].

सात[ष्ट्रा]—

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$^{24}$ Read अक्षार. The next three अक्षार are quite blurred in the rubbings, and it is impossible to say confidently what they were.

$^{25}$ Metre: Sārdulāvīkṛṣṭi.

$^{26}$ The अक्षार, here broken away, were probably तरा या.

$^{27}$ Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭābha).

$^{28}$ Metre of verses 7 and 8: Sārdulāvīkṛṣṭi.

$^{29}$ Metre: Vasantālikā.

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$^{30}$ Read अश्वान्.

$^{31}$ One would have expected the neater विनंतिः.

$^{32}$ Metre of verses 10—12: Sārdulāvīkṛṣṭi.

$^{33}$ The अक्षार in brackets is doubtful, and looks rather like त्र.

$^{34}$ This is clearly engraved, but I believe the intended reading to be सुरदासिणि.

$^{35}$ Read सर्वायं विद्याताब.
GOVINDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE POET GANGADHARA.

L. 12. बिज़काला[ः]तिमिरपच्ची चद्दमैलिखिकायां

मायारिग्यां वैवाकसमग्निभाषामत्स्त्रांपूर्वान्तरः।

एकः केनोज्जागर विज्ञाति विद्विगतादायि[ः]

विद्व शृङ्खलाकेलिङ्कविरास्तिकृतेन द्विः।

13. संविधः। II°—[13].

श्रेयसः तं ज्वालि [पितृभो]वाजसनो [निषु(च)भारः]।

धनेषुनामप्रिमक्षरं गतिः शिशुभुतानरः।

श्रावः श्रावः प्रश्नाति ज्वालि केनोज्जागरः।

श्रीसिंह तीक्ष्याति भजने भुवयूःन्यायकृतिः। II°—[14].

यथा श्रीमान्।

14. भेष्ट्रो [नयवया]तोतिमःग्रोगाः [ख]थः

प्रमघा[ः]तुभवशुचिववधितां स्त्रांविज्ञातिवाविश्वासाभिधानं व्यापारं।

राजाविष्णुसरः सरोहस्मिति श्रीरं पुरं खञ्चःतां

गौतीन नामसारविचार संस्कार संस्कारः। कालिः वेतालिः। II°—[15].

यथा संस्कारः चा।

15. तुरीपरिर[ः]यथार्थाति: प्रस्तुतः

प्रशासममितिभविष्यतः। निर्विज्ञाति: सौर्यग्राह्यमात्रः।

स्त्रावक्षरवी गोमतिमर्गी स[ख]वयोताःविलो।

भायाप्रतिभाप्रतिभावयतः काव्यकलाग्राह्यमंन्द्रः। II—[16].

श्रीराजार्खरेश्वरक।

16. रघुरामः प्रेमोपार्शुरारः

वाकार्ज्जुनसदुरः [ः]सनातनसिद्धमाहुः।

चौरियः सुविचारः सुभाषिन्तिकालमिले। सदाराभनः

ध्यानं जनं निजं निनाय सुजनं: खलसेन शालेन यः। II—[17].

पाण्डु तथा मनोरथः कः।

17. तिनशाहिरहम[ः]पदः

[श्री]द्रिदिगमनरमुढविद्विषवाक्षरमेद्यान्तरः।

मुःसुः स[ः]सम्भोवजयतां [ः]स्वयम सहीनं धृतः।

ग्राममुखारः[ः]सारः [ः]विरः कुरः[ः]युत सतरूपविज्ञान[ः]भूतः। II—[18].

[श्री]पाप्क विमानांसुतुद्वितं तत्त्वेष तस्माद्।

59 Metre: Sragahara.
60 This whole line and part of the following line are extremely indistinct in the rubbing.
61 Metre: Mandakranta.
63 The akshara in brackets, in the original, is अ rather than ओ.
64 Read अस्मार्कम्।
65 The reading is clear here, but I would alter it to अस्मार्कम्।
66 Read स्वामित।
67 The first akshara of this line, according to the rubbing, can only be either श्री or श्री. Originally स्रव was engraved, but it has been altered to स्रव.
68 I am not satisfied with the text of this line and of the next, which are quite blurred in the rubbings; but, with the exception of the bracketed letters the above seems to me to be the reading offered by the rubbings. In the place of the akshara श्री another letter was originally engraved, but it has been altered subsequently.
69 Read श्रीमान्।
L. 18.  
सम्यतायपि "नममनष्यताः सन्तमसतातः।
मासारपध्यात्मिकद्वितीयो चुरुक्षण वा
गदैति ख्यामानीदेश गिरिः ख्ये समीपं यथी। II.—[19].
युग्मीतोप्रथि(भवं)गवः सम नामपेयमाणिधिमस्कयुन–
19. रिखुग्राहने।
खाराधित्यार्णार्ध्यमातुकस्य पुत्रामेव सुनयक्षणायोजित। II.—[20].
गर्हणप्रत्य: स ततो जितात्का य: शैश्वादिश्यजनोगृहः।।
विवाहमायं: परलोकभीं गया नामानीते नयमार्थतातः–
20. न। II.—[21].
भभवदवजाजः महापर दति पुत्री धीमोराध्यादुर्दीती।
धार्मिकप्रौढः स्वरमणीपितामहो दशरथासु। II.—[22].
सखयम्ब्रवण: ज्ञित्यमत्यमस्वयं विश्वाक्षण:सत्यतः:
सम्योत्कर्षितोय निश्चलविष्यमाणिन्द्रीचः।
21. धी साधवः।
[ख्या]ता वाकरणक्रमेण विदुताम[खुष्ठ]धीरीहस्त[ना]।[60]
चेदायप्रकोणमायमायपदवं तेन विं(वि)वति भारत्त। II.—[23].
तद्वते मानसणिब्रम्यद्वमाय: स द्रवमाणोजनि वेन भुपुजा।
स्मदिमीनेश्वरमाईविशिष्यतेऽलक्ष्यवेण(ब)लादविष्ठा।
22. स्मु(खु)निचे: ससुरुद्वां। II.—[24].
पाणि|व्रजचिह: मभीव|कह्री| वक्ष। यस ख्यः
नर्यान्दक्षित्माक्ष एव जगतां जीवावादेवताः।।
ततः विश्वप्रत्याध्ययनके नो विचारभववहः
पश्चात्|निर्देशोष्क्ष्यसामिति विपघ्निकुरु प्रज्ञः।
23. यागीवरः II.—[25].
चुङान्ततः विद्वित्तमोक्षितमादितु का|नी? गिरी|गां ल[खु]
क्षयात्ता लोम शून्यमाणिधिनी दित्य प्रोतं वर्तं भुजानुव।
जीवबी|कल्लु|सुजातिदु।"पार्वर्ति प्र(व)विशेषमाल्य(भवं)ह[वि]–
निर्यावाल्लिन्य यथेष्ट[भ्यो]श्वरुपैरित्वं।यथायाम।
24. : II.—[26].
सु|व(व)सीकर्षणविहुमन|किस्साः: सदा यी
व(व)भु: त्यस्य विपिन विसराह्योर्यंनांसीमा।
वेतायान: सयं: सदिवं वियस्य विषयविषाचितां
पार्वत मित: श्वदिमितयस्य गार्थरो भूतां। II.—[27].
बाचचाराम–

44 Read संभाजविपि
47 Metre: Vaivasatikā
48 Metre: Upajāti
49 Metre: Gīti
50 Originally विश्व was engraved, instead of भी
51 Metre: Śārdūlavikr̥tiya
52 Metre: Vamāṣātha
53 Read पवेणी
54 Metre of verses 25 and 26: Śārdūlavikr̥tiya
55 Read चीराभी
56 Read बच्चे(?)
57 Metre: Mandākṣarātā
L. 25. रसं: सुभाषितचरणं समीतिर्व्रापणं:
प्रागाभीरमणं: प्रमाणकरणं: काह्मपारापणं: ।
ष: सौभाविनिविर्खतालखुपिष: सक्ष्यम सुखयो विवि-
वीरलेखस्मितबिन्दाणितविषयाविषयिन्यं श्रेयविं: ॥२४—[२८]।

26. गौं-
बराणसीपुरी जयपाशिर्विकारिकप्पूरपद्वन्द्व ।
प्राकाशसुदीक्षुलकमाया: पेषकां स किल पासलवैवीम् ॥२५—[२९]।
प्राकाशस्य न कुः: कदापि गतधे यविष्नि होनाग्ना
रौद्रेण नाधियते खिततः गणितास्तः।

27. स्वविस्मृत्याया: ।
वन्योध् वशविवासविविषदौद्योरि कम्बर्मिघिर्भुतो- 
स्त्रयाय: विविषर्योद्वेदमन्योक्षयं वायुवस्तम् ॥२६—[३०]।
वन्योधा वशविन्यासवमातुको म्यानिषवमसा-
मैत्रोहासमधभिक्षमारसमामः।

28. तो नारायणाकर: ।
दशमोहिनोमोहिनतामाथ्यमायामद्व-
मेवेयादिनितदुन्य चरितं यशान नाथी जनं: ॥ —[३१]।
तेभिषासु: नयोग्नानम वज्रकाल: कल्य समर्पिनोत्तरात्मात्मासामाय।।

29. भावः [वा] [श] |००| प्रतीतितिविविषदौद्योरिकम् बुधोकार चेतिसा वात्तीतिराधिनेव ॥२७—[३२]
[वा] [००] |००| श्व प्राप्तितितिविविषदौद्योरिकम्: बुधी विबोधस्यवात।
भावः: शून्यांशिरिन्दिबिविषदौद्योरिकम् चिन्तनाविकम्।

30. ततायाम सुनो दुधारे ॥२८
भावः: कुड़गिरारभिकृष्णमालावनां: केन स: ॥२९—[३३]।
भावः: [वा] [००] |००| श्व प्राप्तितितिविविषदौद्योरिकम्: बुधोकार चेतिसा अर्थतः 
वात्तीतिराधिनेव [वा] स्मृतिर्मोक्षयं वायुवस्तम् (विविषयं) ॥
निषिद्धा तस्याणाय विपन्नमवृक्षाभाँ (भाँत्र) वातः।

31. यवेदं तथा
मलेव विजगत्व धनु जनताः: सक्ष्यद्धर्माद्व: ॥ —[३४]।
पुष्पोक्ष्यविनिषिद्वत्तम निजवयोऽपि: पिताः: पवित्राक्षणा
कौश्यां देव तवोत्तरं रचयता श्रुतापण: जगत् ।
कारारोहकारि पारदर्शः।

* Metre: Sārūdrāvakrīḍita.
* Metre: Svāgata.
* Metre of verses 30 and 31: Sārūdrāvakrīḍita. At the beginning of verse 30 I would suggest reading 'चाणक्येन हि' as 'चाणक्येन मैत्रेयी' by Vasantaṭilakā.
* Originally रसाः was engraved, but the initial र may have been altered to व.

* Originally शून्य was engraved, but the sign for 's' has been added afterwards.
* Read दुधारे.
* Metre of verses 33-35: Sārūdrāvakrīḍita.
* The second akṣara of this line originally was clearly स्त्र, but it seems to have been altered to श्र.
TRANSLATION.

Oṃ !

Oṃ ! Adoration to Sarasvatī !

(Verse 1.) May the supporter\(^{72}\) of the universe bestow [on us] his compassion !— who, embracing his beloved and thrilled with delight by the close contact of his breast with her bosom, is sleeping on the lord of serpents, on one side bent low by the weight of the god’s lofty body, while on the other he remains upright under the very light burden of the goddess of fortune!

(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa,\(^{77}\) whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śaṅkāvīpa where the Brāhmans are named Magas! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the sun’s own body, grazed by the lathe,\(^{76}\) whom Śaṁba himself brought hither. Glorious are they, honoured in the world!

(3.) The first of them was an abode of all vedic lore and of the knowledge of the supreme soul, and wholly occupied in thoughts\(^{73}\) familiar with every sacrificial rite, that

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\(^{67}\) Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

\(^{68}\) Read "sāṁbarvāya." 

\(^{69}\) Metre: Sārdhāvikṛṣṭāja.

\(^{70}\) Metre: Śikhariṇī.

\(^{71}\) Metre: Upajāti.

\(^{72}\) i.e., the dawn, personified as the charioteer of the sun.

\(^{73}\) The story told in the Purāṇas is, that, to diminish the sun’s intensity, Viśvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (Viśnu-purāṇa III, 2); and the above verse appears to intimate that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the sun’s body, which were taken away by this process of grinding it.

\(^{74}\) In connection with syādṛśita one would have expected the Loka, not the Instr. case.
sage Bārādvāja whose penance could both deliver and destroy the world, and in whose face there was . . . like a garland of the great race of the Māga twice-born.

(5.) His family had a hundred branches, distinguished for unprecedented penances and endowed with far-spreading fame; and in it there were other lords of the twice-born, conversant with the highest truth, whose minds were purified by faultless knowledge.

(5.) In the course of time the heroes who lift their bows to conquer the brilliant treasure of knowledge, robbed by . . . . were headed by Chakrapāṇi, the son of Dāmodara. Like Vālmiki in having made the streams of song to descend, he, a leader of the virtuous, became famous . . . of his family, as Brahman is of the continuance of the universe.

(6.) If his everlasting, widely spread and weighty renown had not mounted the wheel of the quarters,26 how would that wheel turn round now?

(7.) As Indra and Viśṇu have sprung from Kāśyapa, the descendant of Marichi so to Chakrapāṇi were born, to sustain the homage heaped upon their family, two sons favoured by the immortals, an elder son named Manoratha and his younger brother Daśaratha, the bright renown of whose learning, purity of conduct and good disposition has purified the world.

(8.) Because these two brothers were the foremost of the good and had their fame sung by all people within their hearing, and by the facts that they made excellent friends and that plentiful enjoyment came to them unsought, and because princes treated them with loving kindness, their abundant bright excellence (which caused all this) rendered their enemies' faces dark (with envy).

(9.) These brothers gave extreme delight by captivating one another's hearts with their innate love; and even this capricious Kali age never saw anything to blame in their dealings (with one another) that were pleasing on account of their affection.

(10.) In order that they might render his reign illustrious, the wise prince Varṇamāna besought them both to come to his royal residence, to dwell with him; and they, abiding by his commands, raised this family of his to the highest pitch of excellence and renown and prosperity.

(11.) In that magnificent home of the Māna lord, which they then served, one of them, whose respectability was an object of esteem as far as the sea, received the office of prathāra,27 while the other was appointed superintendent of the eunuchs; and in these positions these learned and intelligent men became widely known for both their goodness and good management.

(12.) Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Manoratha28 went to the sacred Purushottama, and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon; (and) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon,29 eclipsed at full-moon time.

(13.) The sacrificial fire of this man whose mind was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine, in consequence of the oblations duly thrown into it three

26 The meaning of the verse is simply, that Chakrapāṇi's fame filled all the quarters of the compass.
27 Literally 'door-keeper.'
28 The verses 12-17 refer to Manoratha; see verse 18.
29 The exact meaning of this is not clear to me. Altogether the construction is objectionable, because the two verbs ceta tādra and dya are in no way connected with each other.
times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god, perpetually threw up of its own accord, under the guise of smoke, the sin kindled from the blindness of the organs which is the bane of the three worlds; but quickly hid it again with its bright lustre.

(14.) In the bright fortnight the lustreless half of the sun resorts to him from fear of the manes. He, without doubt, possessed of infinite true knowledge, has unmeasured power. The fame of his piety, wonderfully glorious because it proclaims the might of the omnipresent creator, spreads far and wide in the abodes of men. 80

(15.) To him the illustrious ruler of Magada gave the name of Vyâsa, because in consequence of his prudent management his own mind had not to attend to any matters whatever relating to the proper conduct of affairs. He also, even in the presence of princes, was at the appointed seasons freely sung of by the bards as the lotus in the lake of the king's audience hall, and as a modern Kâlidâsa.

(16.) He was a Vâchaspâti among good ministers on account of his familiarity with shrewd schemes, a very Brahman in creating due knowledge for whatever was propounded, in consequence of his noble conduct a gem fulfilling all desires in regard to propriety, a source of goodness, and a home of depth. He possessed the true knowledge of the jewel-triad," was quick in languages, and a master by birth of all the arts of poetry.

(17.) With a smiling face intent on doing endless good to others, most proficient in winning the affection of mankind by loving and civil speeches, and a leader of the wise, this excellent man with a mind free from passion always spent his life in worshipping and meditating on the god whose crest is the digit of the moon.

(18.) This fortunate Manoratha married the daughter of Deva Sarman, the stainless counsellor of the prince of the [Ghauḍî] country, a lady on whom propriety of conduct had set its seal. Considering that she verily was Arundhatî in mortal frame, to be revered by the worlds as the foremost of good wives, the holy Śaṅkara manifested himself to cause the seeds of piety to sprout.

(19.) As for a long time they did not obtain the desired-for offspring, both husband and wife, though not to blame, were naturally distressed in mind. Then Śiva himself came to them in a dream, and told them that their anxiety was groundless; they should worship him, and then they would have a son.

(20.) To them, well pleased by this and by the god's further command that they should give his own name to their son, a son was born who was like his parents81 who had well worshipped the destroyer82 of Smara, and whose good conduct was proportionate to his beauty.

(21.) Him then they called Gaṅgâdhara; and he, self-subdued, from childhood pleased every one by his behaviour, and growing up he always, from fear of the world to come, gave ample proof of his wisdom.

80 Here again, assuming my reading of the text to be correct, the construction is unsatisfactory. In the first line of the verse we should have expected yathâ instead of tam, and in the second line we miss the relative gat. The meaning of the first line of the verse, the reading of which is more or less conjectural, appears to me to be this that, when the moon is waxing, the sun at night resorts to Manoratha to share in his lustre, because it is afraid of being invaded by the manes whom it supposes to be anxious to get away from the bright moon.

81 I am not certain what ratnabrata the author is referring to. With Buddhists the term would denote buddha, dharma and sangha, with Jainas samyagdârta, samyagjñâna and samyagkârâтра.

82 The original has ramâ, which should mean 'husband and wife,' not 'parents.'

83 i.e., Śiva, the destroyer of the god of love.
(P. 22.) After him came another son, named Mahādhara. These were the two sons of Manoratha. To Daśaratha, on the other hand, were born Harihara and Purushottama, blessing and fulfilment of desire.

(28.) Fond of the Vedas, devoted to the proper ceremonial, illustrious for their knowledge of the Sīkṣhās, well acquainted with the Jyotisha, accurately understanding the Nīruktas, proficient in the rules of metrics, famous for their progress in grammar, these six brothers, deeply engaged in the lofty course of study of the learned, well represent the Vedāṅgas in the world.

(24.) Meanwhile there was born that moon of the Māna princes, the king Rudramāna, who, like the primeval boar, powerfully recovered his realm from the sea of adversaries.

* (25.) As his hand is famed for its liberality and his face a wave of the flood of light, and since he keeps himself within the bounds of propriety, and provides means of subsistence for the people, of what account are the creeping-plant of paradise, the great serpent and the tortoise, those two bright luminaries yonder, and the lord of elephants and the sea? Fie on such cumbersome insignia of high rank of the Creator!

(26.) Marvellous indeed is his fame, because it shares the properties of the supreme lord. So subtle as to pervade the edges of the teeth of the elephants of the quarters, so light as to reach the heavens in its ascent of the mountains, it extends everywhere here in the broad regions and roams freely about at will; it predominates in the sea of milk as well as in the white splendour of the moon, and it goes out of the mundane egg, and stays in it as it pleases.

(27.) Of this (king) Gaṅgādhara was (as it were) a second heart to protect friends, (Gaṅgādhara), who always was in battle a magician (in scattering) the lines of exulting hostile warriors, in misfortune an honest friend, a check when affairs were getting beyond control, an excellent associate in a spotless assembly, and worthy to be trusted in everything.

(28.) (Gaṅgādhara), who was embellished by good behaviour, famed for his cleverness of speech, a market of the gems of prudent counsel, a lover of resoluteness, tranquil-minded, full of compassion, a store-house of benevolence, fraudless in obligations, a primo promoter of friendship, boundless in steadfastness, free from the failing of untruth, and a treasure of intelligence.

(29.) He married the charming Pāsaladevi, a daughter of Jayapāni who bore the title of ādhiyāra, a friend of the king of Gauda, and of (his wife) Subhagā.

(30.) And their matrimonial union was universally esteemed even as that of Śiva and his consort, who are prevented from seeing the charm of each other's faces, because they have only one body; a union where the wife is never left behind when (the husband) mounts the bull to go abroad, and where (the wife) never notices the (husband's) fearful form, nor minds being addressed with the name of a rival.

(31.) The people here have witnessed the conduct of (Gaṅgādhara) whose mind is brimful of contentment, honesty, firmness, forbearance, self-restraint, tenderness, calmness, patience, friendship, truth and contemplation, whose only thought is Nārāyaṇa,

** Here, again, the two first lines of the original verse do not admit of a proper construction.

** i.e., 'a superintendent of affairs.'
and who destroys deceit, malice, folly, covetousness, selfishness, envy, fraud, infatuation, hatred, jealousy and other evil qualities.

(V. 32.) Having accomplished here a thousand times, ever since he was a boy and a youth, and even to the endangerment of his life, most difficult deeds without end for the due advancement of his master, he has indeed filled the minds of his kinsmen with wonder.

(33.) A man who in his Advaita has striven to prove that he has some poetic gift, whose knowledge, be it faultless or perhaps otherwise, of the treatises on the supreme soul is well known, and whose attempts in the way of artificial poetry, hard even for the goddess of eloquence and to be ventured on by scholars only, have met with applause, need he say more in praise of his merits?

(34.) The revolution of elementary matter gives rise to the diffused mass of trees, palaces, houses, and the rest of visible objects; the rain-cloud forms in the sky of its own accord; all this stays for a moment only and vanishes again, never to return. Considering such too to be the case with the three worlds, (Gaṅgādhara) has devoted himself to virtuous and pious deeds.

(35.) To secure for his parents religious merit, that pure-minded man has founded here,—covering the world for ever with their fame as with a radiant umbrella,—this tank of water shining like quick-silver, in which their spotless renown in the guise of the waves dances about in visible form.

(36.) And at the festive inauguration of this lake he has made his own fame here envelop the world like a radiant garment.

(37.) As long as the supreme spirit in the shape of the three worlds, as ether, air, fire, water and earth, passing through a succession of existences, pursues its varied course, so long may these two eulogies of fame, pleasing the eyes and ears and the mind, vigorously cause lively joy in the hearts of the good!

(38.) How can the ways of poets be easily found in the absence of innate ability as well as of culture? And, accordingly, is it likely that the author of this should have discovered them? Yet, as this treats of himself, the favour shown to him by good men will find in this eulogy also something to applaud in Gaṅgādhara's words.

(39.) In the Śaka year equal to the Nandas (9), the organs of sense (5), the sky (0) and the moon (1), the excellent stone-mason Śūlapāṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa, himself engraved this eulogy.

The Śaka year 1059.

** Instead of the Abl. case apsaraḥkṛddvi I should have expected the Dat. case.

* Literally 'will bestow on this eulogy also the excellence of Gaṅgādhara's words.'
The preceding inscription induces me to publish here, also from a rubbing of Sir A. Cunningham's, the text of another inscription which on the back of the rubbing is described as 'Rock inscription from Dudhpansi Ghat near Dumduma,' with the note that 'Dudhpansi' is 'in the Hazâribâgh district' (of Chutiâ Nâgpur in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, south of the districts of Gayâ and Monghyr).

This inscription contains thirteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6' broad by 1' 2½" high. With the exception of about half a dozen aksharas which are broken away, but can be easily supplied, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is about ⅛. The characters are essentially the same as, but somewhat more modern than, those of the Aphsaç inscription of Adityasena, and may be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. In describing the writing of the Aphsaç inscription, Dr. Fleet has stated that in that inscription r, in combination with a following consonant, is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it, and that 'in the ry of kaurya, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before' (the seventh century). In the present inscription the conjunct ry occurs three times (in parâkkramaï=yañ, line 1, aparyantam, line 3, and kauryaena, line 4), and is each time written exactly as in the Aphsaç inscription. In combination with other (following) consonants r occurs thirty-five times and is 21 times written on, and 14 times above the line. The sign of the upadhâniya (which however is really like the sign for sh) is employed seven times, but is not used in four cases where it might also have been employed; and the sign of the jihvâmâliya seems to be used once, before the word khanḍita in line 11. At the end of the writing there is a good engraving of a flower; and altogether the letters throughout have been drawn and engraved very well indeed, and it is much to be regretted that the rubbing is not suitable for photographing.

The language of the inscription is Samskrit, and the whole is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter b is written by the sign for v; instead of anusvāra the guttural nasal is used in śīṅha, lines 1, 6 and 8, anūkua, line 5, and niśtriṅka, line 6, and the dental nasal in kasminēchit, line 2, bhāṃsi and yaśāṃsi, line 5, and even in pritin=surendrā, line 10; and the consonants k and t are everywhere doubled before r (e.g., in parâkkramakramapadâkkrañataltriolōki, in line 5). Besides, attention may be drawn to the hiatus in kriādīśīṅka, in lines 1 and 8, and to the fact that a final m before a word beginning with a consonant is generally changed, not to anusvāra, but to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs.—Wrong grammatical forms which the inscription contains are dadañ for datta, in line 7, and chakhamukh for chakmukh, in line 12; and the causal is improperly employed instead of the primitive verb in achikarat, in line 11. Wrong constructions we find in verses 15, 16 and 24; and the rules of metrics are violated in verses 1, 14, 21 and 23. Words not found in the dictionaries, or employed in unusual significations, are praṛabdhi, in line 6, avalagaka and avalagana, in

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1 See Fleet’s Guptâ Inscriptions, plate XXVIII.
line 7, vyuthánika (derived from vyuthána as vijjána is from vijjána), in line 12, and rechaka (unless this is an error for mechaka) in the same line.

The inscription is not dated, but, as intimated above, it may, on paleographical grounds, be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of the goddess of fortune, it tells us (in verses 2 and 3) that in former days there was a king of Magadha, named Ádisimha, to whose dominions belonged the three villages (pallī) of which the inscription treats and near one of which it must have been engraved,—Bhramaraśálmalī, Chhiṅgalā, and Nabhútishanda.³ Now, once upon a time three brothers—Udayamāna, Śridhautamāna, and Ajítamāna—merchants, went on business from Ayodhyā to Tāmalipīti; and having made plenty of money and being on their way home, they for some reason or other tarried at one of the three villages, apparently Bhramaraśálmalī (verses 4—5). While they were there, the king Ádisimha came to the forest near the villages on a hunting expedition,⁴ and ordered the inhabitants to give him an avalagaka (or avalagana). The villagers, on receipt of the king’s orders, went to the eldest brother, Udayamāna, and entreated him to do the king’s behest. He thereupon did send an avalagana and quickly became a favourite of the king, who not only bestowed a diadem (śripatta) on him, but also, at Udayamāna’s solicitation, assured the people of Bhramaraśálmalī of his royal favour (verses 12—16). When Udayamāna returned to the village, the inhabitants in their delight, and with the king’s approval, requested him to become their rāja, and he complied with the request and long ruled the village happily and vigorously (verses 17—19). He also, at the request of the inhabitants of the two other villages, sent his brothers Śridhautamāna and Ajítamāna to rule, subordinately to himself, over Nabhútishanda and Chhiṅgalā (verses 20—23). Verse 24 (if I understand it rightly) adds that people of former days had this eulogy engraved⁵ to record that the family (ruling at Bhramaraśálmalī) had been founded and owed its greatness to Udayamāna, and to warn (the chiefs of) the two other villages not to act in opposition to, or to separate themselves from, the (main branch of the) family; and the inscription ends with a prayer for the uninterrupted continuance of the family of the prince Udayamānadeva.

I am not at present able to state whether any or what historical importance should be attached to this inscription;⁶ nor can I identify the three villages of which the inscription treats. The place Tāmalipīti (Tāmalipīti), to which the three brothers are said to have gone from Ayodhyā, is the modern Tamlāk, the head-quarters of the sub-division

³ So the name is given in verse 3. In verses 21 and 23 originally Bhútishanda was engraved, but both times this appears to have been altered to Nabhútishanda.
⁴ These names are given below.
⁵ The verses 6-11 only glorify the wealth, liberalty, valour, etc., of the three brothers in the customary manner.
⁶ This is generally the sense of the original text, but I am unable to give the exact meaning of the word prārabdhi-kheḷana, and of the following words avalagaka and avalagana. According to the dictionaries prārabdhi is the post to which an elefant-ant is fastened, which would suggest that the king was out elephant-hunting. For avalagana (as a neuter noun) von Böhtlingk’s Dictionary only gives the meaning ‘the winning of somebody;’ and avalagaka I find in Professor Jacob’s edition of Bhadrakāle’s Kalpaśatra, p. 107, note 61, employed in the explanation of the word haujumbaka where also its meaning seems to be uncertain.
⁷ See Varkhamihira’s Bṛhatsasthi, Chapter XLIX. In the note on the Kalpaśatra, quoted above, the word treṣṭhrin is explained by Śridhautāyata-saunākvaspata-śhokhitotamāgaḥ; what the king gave to Udayamāna was apparently such a śripatta.
⁸ Accordingly, the present inscription is recording events which had happened generations before this inscription was engraved.
⁹ The names of Udayamāna and his brothers will of course remind the reader of the occurrence of the names Varmāma and Rudramāna in the preceding inscription.
of the same name of the Midnapur district of Bengal, on the Rāpnārayan river, a town which is well known from Buddhist records, and is even now one of the principal seats of commerce in the district.\textsuperscript{10}

\textbf{TEXT.}\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{L. 1.}

\textsuperscript{12} [\textit{śrī}]\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Text.}{\textsuperscript{11}}

\textbf{2.}

\textbf{3.}

\textbf{4.}

\textbf{5.}

\textsuperscript{10} See the Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XIII, p. 171.

\textsuperscript{11} From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing.

\textsuperscript{12} Expressed by a symbol.

\textsuperscript{13} The two \textit{aṇkharas} in brackets are almost entirely broken away.

\textsuperscript{14} Metre: Indravajra; but the third \textit{pāda} of the verse is as if the metre were Vasantatilaka.—Compare Vallabhaddeva's \textit{Subhāśīkīdāsa}, verse 41.

\textsuperscript{15} Observe the hiatus in \textit{śīṣād}; and read \textit{aṁśi} and \textit{aṁśa}.

\textsuperscript{16} Metre: Upajāti.

\textsuperscript{17} Metre of verses 3-7: Ślokā (Anuṣṭubh).

\textsuperscript{18} Read \textit{āṅgikā}.

\textsuperscript{19} Read \textit{āṅgikā} and \textit{āṅgikā}.

\textsuperscript{20} Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śāḍālāvīkṣāṭa.

\textsuperscript{21} Read \textit{āṅgikā}.

\textsuperscript{22} Read \textit{āṅgikā} and \textit{āṅgikā}.

\textsuperscript{23} Metre of verses 10 and 11: Vasantatilaka.
7.

समाहः स प्रभृति सत्यायामे

७८ यूमभाष्यलगभगाभद्भैः द्वितीयति ॥ —[13].

पदर्शितसमाकषीवः [तुष्य]मेघ(व्य)तत्तपिचः. ॥(i)

वर्णां भारतेऽवेदसुदयमानसुपासम् ॥ —[14].

राश्रयक्षणार्याय तयार्याय प्र्वक्तः ।

प्रेतयामान तस्मीय[व] वक्ष्योभ्योभ्यापि: ॥ —[15].

8.

हरिष्कृषिमिनितुसूतृ नुप्रसारं हृदवेद(क)थमचित्वम् ततः हृदवेद ।

हरिष्कृषिमिनितुसूतृथितयिर्वेद(न)ये[न]स [स]णातीं "शमर्यामास्वमिथिहो". ॥[16].

तुत्स्क्तसी भारतास्वमास्वयमिविन्दखे भूलक्षमागतसुपेक्ष जनाः प्राप्तय।

राजा भव वनिष्ठ पालय पञ्चमेतिमार्णाः.

9.

दि तत्परवियोजितः सुसूचै: ॥ —[17].

एवमान भवलित प्रतिवचनस्यामाकारधिये मे

tथो राजसुपन्धयु: बिसिद्धतायादापि[ता]स्वतः ।

स्विमिनित्रेवसनित्तार्यसुमित्वेदं त्वियमस्तात्तुष्यं

राज्विशिष्टस्य स्वस्थनिमास्वरेवाबिष्टायायाको नुपु: ॥[18].

यस्य ागाण्मायमितिनिग्रामास्वीपिताज्ञायता

10.

हरिष्कृषिमिनिराधारावधानमायायायी स विषिन्तताः ।

राजस्तिमिनिरहङ्काननक्रितस्वमिथिन्द्रायलय—

प्रस्तरुसनिमास्वस्तपद्यते गायनिं विनिष्टश्च: ॥ —[19].

भागवोद्यमानसु तैतिकायायांतसदा ।

पहौद्ययो राजतायें भारती विस्तरणं स: ॥[19]—[20].

हरिष्कृषिमिनिराधारावधानमायायायी. ॥१०॥ प्रायः ॥

38 Read म्सिताः.
39 Read नेविताः.
40 Read म्सितवत्सिता.
41 Read तुष्याकरयायः.
42 Metre of verses 12-15: Śloka (Anuśṭubh).
43 Originally "वसी" was engraved, but it has been altered to "श्रवं".
44 Read "कस्कं".
45 Of the aksharas in brackets the upper portion is broken away.
46 Read म्सितवत्सितां or म्सितवत्सिता।
47 Observes again the hiatus in म्सितवत्सिताः; and read म्सितवत्सिताः.
48 Read म्सिताः.
49 Metre of verses 16 and 17: Vasantaśilakā.
50 Metre of verses 18 and 19: Śraddhāvākṣyātīya.
51 Read म्सितस्तुते ।
52 Metre of verses 20-23: Śloka (Anuśṭubh).
53 Read म्सितकां नायः.
54 The akshara in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.
XXVIII.—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAITAYADEVA, KING OF KĀMARŪPA.

BY ARTHUR VENIT, M.A., PRINCIPAL, SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES.

Twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions were found in October 1892 in the village of Kamauti, near the confluence of the Barna and the Ganges at Benares. The story at the time was that a villager while ploughing a field had turned up one of the plates with his plough and so discovered the others; but I do not know whether this simple and (in India) not unusual story has been subsequently confirmed by official inquiry into the locality and circumstances of the find. Mr. R. H. Berret, Magistrate of Benares, sent me the plates, which are the subject of this and the next paper, viz. the grant of Vaidyadeva and two grants of Govindachandra of Kanauj, for immediate examination and report. On receiving from me a few rough notes as to their general contents and approximate dates, he kindly permitted a more careful and leisurely revision of these grants.1

The Vaidyadeva grant is engraved on three plates. A spoon-like arrangement loosely holds the plates together, its narrower, hooked end being passed through a hole in the middle of their right-hand margins. The broader, hollow end of the spoon contains a figure of Ganesa. The plates measure 9½" broad by 7" high, and weigh together

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1 All the plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow in July 1893.
lbs. 13 oz.; their margins are slightly thickened outwards. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only. Each side contains sixteen lines, except the outer side of the third plate, on which there are nine lines only. The height of the letters is about a quarter inch. On the whole, the writing is well preserved, being nowhere completely obliterated. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (ante, vol. I, p. 305), but approach more closely to the modern Bengali character. They may also be compared, in some respects, with the character of the Krishnadvarikā Temple inscription at Gayā (Arch. Survey Reports, vol. III, plate xxxvii), which Dr. Kielhorn describes as "a kind of Devanāgari which appears to have been current in the 12th century A.D." (Ind. Antiq., vol. XVI, p. 63.)

Peculiarities, epigraphical and orthographical, are always better seen than described; but the purpose of this notice will have been sufficiently served, it is hoped, by the corrigenda in the foot-notes to the printed text. Lines 6-13 of plate iii, A, have not been corrected, because they are mostly filled with names of villages, tanks, their exact boundaries, etc., in Prakrit forms. It may be remarked in passing that the engraver of the plates (or his prompter) has fallen an easy victim to the shibboleth of य, ध, र.

The inscription records the grant of two villages named Śāntipātaka and Mandarā situated in the vishaya of Bādā, in the bhukti of Prāgijotisha, in the manḍala of Kāmarāpa. The donor is a Brahman named Śridhara, the son of Yudhishṭhīra and Pāl his wife, and the grandson of Bharata, who was born of the gotra of Viśvāmitra, in the village of Bhāva in Varendri. Vaidyadeva, the donor, is the son of Bodhideva and Pratāpadēvi his wife, and the grandson of Yogadeva. His caste is not mentioned; but there can be little doubt that he was a Brahman. He was a devotee of both Śiva and Vishnu. His father and grandfather, in their time, had been the ministers of Rāmapāla and Vigrahapāla, who were the father and grandfather respectively of Kumārapāla. The royal and the ministerial lines stand thus:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mantrins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yogadeva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bodhideva (son of 1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vaidyadeva (son of 2).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sāryavān Śi Pālas.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Vigrahapāla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Rāmapāla (son of I).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Kumārapāla (son of II).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the inscription we directly learn but little more about the Pālas than is given in the above table. Vigrahapāla is dismissed in a single verse as "perfect in every accomplishment”—a brief but appropriate intimation, perhaps, that his reign was brief. Rāmapāla, a warrior, is compared to his great namesake. If the dark conceit of verse 4 has not escaped me, it means in bald prose that Rāmapāla conquered (or regained?) Mithilā, and killed a certain raja Bhīma, whom I am unable to identify. Kumārapāla is styled Lord of Gauḍa. He loved Vaidyadeva "dearer even than life," to whose generalship he entrusted the fortunes of the empire. Vaidyadeva was a stern minister and a victorious general. If verse 11 and verses 13—17 do not refer to the same event, he won two glorious victories for his master; the one in the southern part of Vaṅga (but see note 81); the other "in the East," when he killed a rebellious vassal whose name I read hesitatingly as Timgyadeva.
In the kingdom "in the East" was included Kāmarūpa; for it was here that the two villages conveyed by Vaidyadeva as Mahārājādhirāja, etc., were situated. He dates the charter from his victorious camp at Hamsākōḍhā, which again I cannot identify. His younger brother (? nephew), Budhadeva, is introduced without any apparent reason, unless indeed it be to mark him as the heir. The prasasti was written by Manoratha, the son of the rājaguru Murāri and Pādā his wife. The kāsana was delivered by Gonandana, Vaidyadeva's dharmādhikārīn. It was engraved by Karṇa-bhadra.

The date of the Vaidyadeva grant remains to be discussed. I have failed to work it out directly from the text. The statement in plate iii, A, I. 5, appears to be only a prose repetition of the statement in verse 28, with the addition of the word Soma and the numerical sign 4. The syllable mi, with which it concludes, I take as a contraction of nibaddham (to qualify kāsana). Verse 28 will be considered below. The other statement in ll. 3, 4 of plate iii, A, baffles me. The last word Gugguli is very doubtful. Read thus, it may be explained as an upananman of Śridhara, the donee, in reference to the story of the Guggulu in verse 26. But the forms of conjunct ggu are entirely different in the two words. I am still inclined to think that the letters read Gugguli are somehow connected with the date indication.

Failing to fix Vaidyadeva's date from the inscription itself, I have been forced to enter on the much debated chronology of the Pāla and Sena dynasties. Now, in regard to the Pāla dynasty, the reign of Mahipāla from 1006 to 1060 A.D., and the accession of Govindapāla in 1161 A.D., are practically the only dates unanimously accepted by the latest modern authorities. The intervening names, the order of their succession, and their dates are still disputed. Dr. Kielhorn's list of Pāla kings from Gopāla I. to Vigrahapāla III., based on the Āṃgāchhī plate (Ind. Ant. vol. XXI, p. 99), is, in part at least, confirmed and extended by the statements of the Vaidyadeva plates: for, assuming the historical accuracy of the Āṃgāchhī and Vaidyadeva grants (which indeed there seems to be no reason for doubting), we see from the latter grant that the kings Vigrahapāla, Rāmapāla and Kumārapāla must be placed together in this unbroken order; and from the former grant that no place in the Pāla line can be found for this trio previous to Mahipāla. Further, the dates discussed in the next paragraph make it almost certain that Vigrahapāla of the Vaidyadeva grant is identical with Vigrahapāla III. of Dr. Kielhorn's list. Nayapāla's position is not so easy to decide. Dr. Hoernle identifies him with Devapāla, 956—991 A.D., (Ind. Ant. vol. XIV, p. 164). Of course there may have been two or more of his name in the Pāla dynasty. But I may observe that the exact position of Nayapāla is not material to the present inquiry.

I return to verse 28, and premising the succession given by Dr. Kielhorn, I would thus state the problem widely:—Between the years 1060 and 1161 A.D., to find the year in which the Meshasamkrānti fell (1) on ekādaśī and (2) on dvādaśī in Vaisākhha (krishṇapaksha)? The following years result:—(1) on ekādaśī 1077, 1096, 1123, 1142, 1161 A.D.; (2) on dvādaśī 1115, 1134 A.D. Now, the years 1077, 1096, 1115 and 1123 may at once be rejected as altogether too early for Kumārapāla, by whom Vaidyadeva was made a king. The year 1134 may also be rejected; for, since we do not know

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2 Dr. Kielhorn confines himself to proving that the Āṃgāchhī plate of Vigrahapāla III. was issued after 1053 A.D.
whether Kumārapāla was the immediate predecessor of Govindapāla or not, we are not a liberty to count the years of Kumārapāla backwards directly from 1161 A.D. Then, turning to the other end of the line, even if Nayapāla’s name be omitted from that part of the royal succession which is now under review, it is safer to place Kumārapāla nearer the end than the beginning of the period 1060—1161 A.D. Thus 1142 and 1161 remain. And of the two 1142 A.D. seems the more probable date for the grant of Vaidyadeva. The 4th year mentioned in Plate III, A., ll. 3, 4, 5 may be the regnal year of Vaidyadeva, whose rule in Assam would then date from 1138 A.D.

Next, as to the history of the Sena dynasty, it is generally acknowledged that some time during the second half of the 11th century A.D. the Pālas lost Eastern and Northern Bengal (including Assam) to the Senas under Vijayasena. “Vijayasena’s reign (Dr. Kiellhorn writes, ante, vol. I, 307) may therefore be reasonably supposed to have begun about the beginning of the last quarter of the 11th century.” I have no wish to indulge in further speculation. Briefly, this is what I suppose the drift of events to have been. At first, i.e. roughly from 1060—1130 A.D. the Pālas were driven westwards by the Senas. Then the Senas began to lose ground rapidly and were driven back by the Pālas into a small corner of Bengal, where they were finally demolished by the Muhamadans at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Thus, the conquest of Janakabhūmi (Mithilā) by Rāmapāla, recounted in verse 4 of the Vaidyadeva grant, may have been an historical fact, marking the return of power to the Pāla line. And thus, too, the Pāla culmination under Kumārapāla about 1142 A.D. would synchronise with the Sena decadence under Keśavasena or his successor.

To recapitulate: Vaidyadeva’s grant furnishes some new historical material, viz. a trio of the royal line of Pālas arranged in order of descent; it throws some more light on the relations existing between the rival Pāla and Sena dynasties in Bengal during the 12th century A.D.; and its data, as confirmed by the history of the period, seem to point to 1142 A.D. as its probable date.

TEXT.

Plate I. (Inner side only.)

Line [ 1.] ॐ नमः भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ लक्ष्मी ॥ चल्लर्मानाशाय: । क्रष्ण: । संसारभीजपाया: । ॥

[ 2.] ॥ भिन्निर्ल्पि । त्रिपायोत्स निर्यायः ॥ ॥ (Verse 1) एतस्य देविषयम् च । ॥ तिर्भुवः ॥

[ 3.] ॥ (Verse 2) यथ वस्त्रकीर्तिर्महुः । शाख्यविलः ॥ योग- ।

[ 4.] ॥ (Verse 3) चूराधिकर्णिक्षः ॥

[ 5.] तस्मात् सामाज्यविष्कार्यम्। तेन येन जगद्यो जनकभूमिभाष्याओऽयाम: । ये पिन्ना- ।

* Read ॐ नमः; and निर्यायः
* Read metre 1 and 2: Pathyār̥yā.
* Read चल्लर्मानाशाय: पूर्वम्.
* Read शाख्यविलः
* Read ॥ तिर्भुवः
* Read योग- ॥
* Read चूराधिकर्णिक्षः
* Read मेवाराकारः
* Read तिर्भुवः
* Read शाख्यविलः
THE SEAL.

Scale: 3/4ths of original.
L. [6.] राजस्वांशसुधार्ष्यंश्चचाँचनात् ॥° (4) वच्छ रहस्यविच शरत तत्बोधम्। विखंपरं वि-

[7.] दिस्राजुक्षे प्रेमिताकालाचारुः चित्तवच्च ॥° (5). चरा प्रतापावरी प्रणो चर्मिविहृतानुबंधाम्-

[8.] बिकारहस्तः ॥° नारसिषा रक्षाकार्य: सन्नयाऽविष्ठति पत्मः ॥° (6). भम्मुद्रासुधार्ष्यंश्च विच्ञुः श्रीवे-

[9.] श्रीरामेव ॥° परा चित्रयुतः । यदुवध्वारिसर्वंशवरीरोरम् ॥° पदार्थावरम् चित्रमुगरो-

[10.] अल्पम् ॥° (7). देवश्रे च तत्त्रकेशु च जनहिः परस्त्रीउस्मा दिपशुकु तर्कराजमनीवरीसु-

[11.] या संसूचितं । विकृष्टोत्सववृद्धन्मण्डलोदिरतंश्चैवभिः: पाराक्षवर्तुपायतत्ततंस्वाधु-

[12.] ओऽपशी ॥° (8). श्रीराम रामदेवद्वस्य सचिव: सामायक्ष्यंश्चैव प्रभातस्य कुमारपाल-

[13.] चित्तालुक्कोभवम् । यथार्थसर्वोत्सवाण्डलक्षणाद्विहीरस्यार्थोद्विकाठापकणा 

[14.] विकृष्टोत्सवारूपी ॥° खुग: ॥° (9). संचिभसमज्ञरोजानितसमासूःुः परामर्शभोजनिविधेय वेद-

[15.] श्रावद्वसात्वेव च मन्ये: सुजात:ः श्रीरामः ॥° (10). यथासुद्रवस्यकुरवर्गीये 

[16.] श्रीरामदेवद्वस्यारूपिणम् ॥° यथ चलितं चेष्यांसति तस्माथः । चिक्षोवनुकोनिपातपत-

नप्रकृतिः: 

Plate II, A.

[17.] श्रीकृष्णदेवाय स्वर्तत सा यद्य भवेश्वरास्वामिः वनी ॥° (11). गृहेश्वर कुमारपाल-

[18.] श्रीश्रीतेजसः ॥° यथोऽवृद्धसुपरिमुहिर्गमसः प्रभातवथिते: । समाध्यभूतसतपिपन्त-

मानपि: 

[19.] संविन्यस्युद्वते: प्राणेऽपायतिसंसुरसस्य सचिव: सोममृतप्रियामणि: ॥ (12). एतादृशः ॥° चरी-

हृदया से 

[20.] त्रात्स्य श्रीतिम्यदेवनभुतेच्यविविधमान निशां। गृहेश्वरेण भुवि तत्त्व गर्गरवले श्रीवेदायेव 

उद्वेदी: 

[21.] रत्न निर्मलः ॥° (13). राजभव्य विश्राधादायां श्रीभोजरुपले: । कति: चनिनेहला ॥° बिष्ञु वरायससी 

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9 Read "भाषा".  
10 Metre: सहृदालविक्रिर्धीता।  
11 Read तत्त्वं विषयेन राजस्वम् 
12 Metre: रत्नाभिधाता।  
13 Read वर्षावरस्यविविधानोऽपि।  
14 Metre: Pathyārya।  
15 Read श्रीवेदायेव।  
16 Read "थिरवेदायेव". The रे is supplied from a truti, which is found at the bottom of the plate and is prefixed by the numeral sign for रे.  
17 Metre: Uṣajati of Vanaśatha and Indravaspa।  
18 Read वार्षिक, i.e. "of the birth time (of Vaidyadeva)."  
19 Metre of verses 8 and 9: सहृदालविक्रिर्धीता।  
20 Read विषेयविविधम्।  
21 Read "सोमभि"।  
22 Read गृहेश्वर।  
23 Metre: परामर्शभोजनिविधेय।  
24 Read चरीहृदया से।  
25 Read त्रात्स्य श्रीतिम्यदेवनभुतेच्यविविधमान निशां।  
26 Read "कति: चनिनेहला।"  
27 Read एतादृशः।  
28 This might be read "सावधान।"  
29 Metre: Vasanantilakā।  
30 Read "दिनिर्मिता औ तुमम्। One would expect वरायससी।  
31 विष्ञु वरायससी।
Plate II, B.


[34.] Saimarbhadhurantyachakasaivatavimputvamugishvambaranirvahini:13 Dari: Gomgajanavindravigraha.

[35.] Kalamakiranadase reduced. Pravartika: kalamukhyatitvandhavanabhadra.14 (20) Charya-

[36.] Balkarasaundersvishamukhyakarasvagavasa.15 VishajinaPravartika: papayatrikavam.

[37.] Yaddasaya jatishu shreemrita kirti kirtanam 15 ||(21) Pratidinmathi bhupa: samudarstasashakti-

[38.] Pravartika: Saimarcoh prabandha jyotisambhuvarnamahajalabharanastra-bodhisattva.

[39.] Pipu Pratidinshwahishvapakshakampraprapraji: ||(22) Charya: papayacittastriputvadhyati: pah-

[40.] Sambudhikar:16 Pravartikataratvapravartikaranishmimahishvapakshakamprapraprapraji: ||(23) Parok-

[41.] Upamahartti Sahyaprasadamekavinwaduna:17 Upamaharttisahyaprasadamekavinwaduna:

11 Read सामाञ्चित्तिविरितम्.
12 Read सामाञ्चित्तिविरितम्.
13 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
14 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
15 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
16 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
17 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
18 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
19 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
20 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
21 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
22 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
23 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
24 Read मेवेशमेवानि.
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAIKYADEVA, KING OF KAMARUPA. 353

Plate III, A.

[49.] पयाग्रहोऽह। वादाविदेशे सा चवावश । शालिनिवधानरापामीय । यथाधाननामां सर्वां । चवावहिवर ।
[50.] विज्ञानिंजनपदान कर्तव्यं यथार्थमानयति । कोरयति समाहितति क: भत्यसिन महर्षान । एतत् हयं
[51.] चतु:ष्ठीमार्गिकं त: परिवर्धनसे परस्परस्य संसारदान । भूमिक्रिय चित्तिष्ठत कर-प्राप्त । चतु:ष्ठीय
[52.] चं वैशाखप्रवचनमिदं गुयलौ श्रीमधुररधिष्णैः चतु:ष्ठीति साधनीकं प्रदस्मुखिः तदेवतमम्
[53.] विशेष भृगुनन्ति । स ४ चूर्णं स्ववाचवदिने १ नि । १०२ । सलिनिवधानरापामर्यन्ते।।
[54.] जनयकात् । भूमिद्विस्तारं दिनांधिरधरमादाय वानं परिमष्कुलघीम । ऐरि-निर्देश । चित्त्राश्च
[55.] रघुमलित्रावलीसौंह धम्पतम १ । उत्तरदिशः कोष्टविहेडान्जोलिनधरारामीय ।
[56.] गौरवोदगमिर्गौली संतानं भर्तरथितिह । उषोऽर्थरितिवरामादाय वाय-
[57.] ब्रम्हस विपुला भक्षयिकाम चक्रावर्तीम । बङ्गालविहरुपूर्वं धरुयापिव ध-
[58.] द्वारपारणमधिराम अभिमानात परिमितिद्विषयमिह विचित्रबिनिलवा नैक्षेत्रिदयो ध-

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16 Metre: Pathyāvaktā. 17 Read ॥ पूर्णपूर्णसंस्करणपदारमधुखविशेष ॥ धिलोयपूर्णः। 18 Metre: Pathyāvaktā. 19 Read ॥ सर्वांसा भगवदविशेष ॥. 20 Read ॥ नैक्षेत्रिदयो ध-
21 Read द्वारपारणमधि अभिमानात परिमितिविषयमिह- 22 With the परिमितिविषयमिह of the text (I.3) compare the Pāli form परिमिति = hindrance.
23 Read नैक्षेत्रिदयो.
L. [59.] चालिमादाय नैपुष्ण्या कविदामाय लक्षुर्गाकच्यावितासोत्तथतां।
चन्द्र: शीता वे।

[60.] सर्वचन्दनाकोटपत्रमुखे। देविनिऴिदं: कुण्यार्कामोइकानाथः। शीता कोष्टदासद्विक्षोपतावत
देशवाणवन्तु।

[61.] दाय दिवदाराधिकारमुक्तम्। चम्पिनिऴिदं। शीता। एवं चन्द्रीकान्। इतिदयपतकम्। पथोप:
पञ्चाभु। विनिवार।

[62.] कस्ममतः संदरापात्मसन्तु। विकलस्वस्ववर्षः। कुर्यार्कान्यथेष्ठैति निवयात्।। [29]. संख्याविधाय-संहस्तः। करोप:-

[63.] द्वारिकस्त:। यावलाकाकामिं यावलिख्वाबिन्यासाम्। जस्वालिख्तकार्यातः।

[64.] श करायति विन्यास:। कारयिन्यवलस्ती। पुष्यादिरेष्यमाधुरीध्वणि। निरीक्षे वाक्यार्थम्। साच्चति। परपा:-

Plate III, B.

[65.] छिंति ज्ञापित:। व बोधिन्ते वहसीं श्रेयसस्ति:। बिराहिस्वदेशं प्रक्षं।। [31].

[66.] तारासुपरविवाहाहः।। तावसिषुरमुक्त:। कीर्ति:।। चन्द्रेश्वयमण्ये।। [32].

[67.] जयस्व:। चालिमादायकार्यमेव। चालिमादाये।। [33].

[68.] वापयादिरेष्यमाधुरीध्वणि।। निरीक्षे वाक्यार्थम्। साच्चति।। एवं तत्साधिति। विनिवारितज़याय विनिवारितज़याय प्रक्षं।

[69.] कश्चन्द्रमधुरुस्तिः।। प्रक्षिणामण्ये।। [34].

[70.] साचा:।। [35].

[71.] वाप्योऽनुविधुपक्षः।। [36].

[72.] साचा:।। [37].

[73.]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to the holy Vaṣudeva! Hail!

Verse. (1.) Glorious is Hari; the pillar for measuring the sky; the receptacle in which are preserved the germs of the transmigratory world; the boar whose form, assumed by him in sport, terminates with space, (i.e. is all-pervading).

(2.) In the race of the Sun, who is the right eye of Hari, was born of yore the king Vigr庄apāla, perfect in every accomplishment.

Read Sound समस्तम् “विषयः” निरवधाः.
Read समांसिंहसमस्तम्। नायकामाधुरीप्रार्थि:।।समस्तम्।।विनिवारा
Read कीर्ति:।। वारदापिति।। विराहिस्वदेशं विनिवारितज़याय सुलोके।। अहिमान्ते पारस्येव।। मेत्र:।।
Read “नमः” “नमः” कीर्ति:।।

76 Metre: Pathyākṣaṇa.
75 Metre: Pathyākṣaṇa.
74 Metre: Pathyākṣaṇa.
73 Metre: Pathyākṣaṇa.
72 Metre: Pathyākṣaṇa.
71 Metre: Pathyākṣaṇa.
70 Metre: Pathyākṣaṇa.
(3.) His minister was Yoga deva, who was versed in the Śāstras and the prowess of whose arm was manifest.

(4.) Of this king of mighty power the son was Rāmapāla, who was the moon (produced) from the ocean-like Pāla family and who wielded the glory of empire. As befitting one of his name (yathāvat), Rāmapāla (yena) spread glory through the three worlds, by gaining the country of Janaka,79 (as Rāma gained Janakabhū, the child of Janaka, i.e. Stā); and by killing king Bhima,80 as Rāma killed Rāvana; and by crossing the ocean of war, as Rāma crossed the ocean.

(5.) Bodhideva was Rāmapāla's faultless minister, the abode of truth. By his wondrous qualities he was known throughout the world as one without an equal.

(6.) His wife was Pratāpadevi, the resting-place of virtue, good fortune and good report, whose beauty was boundless, and who was the embodiment of her husband's joy.

(7.) To him was born of her the renowned Vaidyadeva, who was endowed with the highest happiness, and in whose lake of leaping glory the mountain of Śiva (i.e. Kailāsa) appeared as it were but a lotus-sprout.

(8.) Hearing from astrologers and mendicants of the auspicious junction of Vaidyadeva's birth-time, his enemies' soldiers forthwith gave up food and sleep and courage, and were stupefied. And, further, by the waters of joy that sprang from the eyes of his gathered friends was extinguished the fire-like splendour of the hostile multitude.

(9.) This Vaidyadeva was the minister after his own heart of the famous king Kumārapāla, who was the son of the king Rāma, and who delighted in the glory of empire. The deer which is formed in the orb of the moon will run away through fear of being swallowed by the lions represented on the palace, which is made of gold from diadems of the enemies of this (Vaidyadeva).

(10.) This Vaidyadeva was the sun in the lotus-like assembly of ministers; the ocean of spreading fame; by reason of his natural generosity he was the Lord of Champakā (i.e. Karnā); he was the moon among the lily-like minds of good men.

(11.) And on the occasion of Vaidyadeva's (yasya) victory at the battle in Southern Vaṅga,81 if the elephants of the eight quarters did not run away terrified by the shouts from the enclosure of boats, it was because they had no place to run to (i.e. the shouts of the rowers pervaded all space!) Moreover, if the spray, thrown up by the downward strokes of the upraised rudder-oars, had remained fixed in the sky, then the moon would have become spotless (being washed clean by the spray).

(12.) He (Vaidyadeva) chief among the virtuous, sternly keeping in mind the kingdom in all its parts, was minister, dearer even than life, to king Kumārapāla the Lord of Gauḍa, who was like the sun in the might of his arm, with his great glory filling the three worlds, and like Vṛibhaspati in his wisdom.

(13.) The aforesaid renowned Vaidyadeva was appointed ruler by the Lord of Gauḍa in the room of Timgyadeva, who had been treated with honour in the East, and of whose disaffection the Lord of Gauḍa had heard.

79 i.e. Mithilā. To take janaka = "father" would spoil the play upon the word.
80 I cannot identify the name.
81 Anuttara = "complete" may qualify "victory." For Nauḍa see Dr. Hultzsch—Ind. Antig. vol. XV, p 309.
(14.) This victorious Vaidyadeva having placed upon his head, garland-wise, the command of his glorious master, marched speedily in a few days, and having defeated that king (viz. Timyadeva) by the energy of his own arm, became king and appeared like the valiant Indra himself.

(15.) When during the glorious march of this Vaidyadeva the sky became like the surface of the earth on account of the heaps of dust, the horses of the sun found it difficult to move their feet. Further, Indra, while closing both his eyes (against the dust), is unable to use his hands for any other action, (and therefore) reviles his fate, to which is due the never-closing condition of his eyes.

(16.) This Vaidyadeva performed the Homa in the fire of his own splendour, which, produced from his arm as fire from the arani, was fed like fire by the fuel of his enemies’ hosts, and was worshipped at the fight, as fire at the sacrifice, (and he used as material for his sacrifice) many heads of his enemies in the place of bright vilca fruits; next, he offered the pāryāhātri oblation with the (body of the) hostile king, and having acquired vast glory as the result (of his sacrifice) he shone resplendent.

(17.) The sun, beholding the sky covered with the enemies’ heads, as at the stroke of the sword they fly upwards from the great fight of Vaidyadeva (gad), suddenly became alarmed at the thought of these heads being so many Rāhus and protected himself by smearing out his own lustre with dust.

(18.) This Vaidyadeva might be exactly compared with the ocean, if he were (but he is not) a jalādharā, i.e. protector of fools (jala = jada), as the ocean is a jālādhārā, i.e. receptacle of water; or if he were conquerable (laṅghita) as the ocean was crossed (by Rāma)—(for in other points the comparison holds, thus—) the ocean is the birth-place of the moon, and he is the source of delight (chandra); the ocean is the refuge of mountains (e.g. Maināka) and he is the refuge of kings (mahādhrā); the ocean is the home of living things, and he is the home of a disposition in which the sattva element of goodness predominates; the ocean is adorned by the beauty of its bed, and he is adorned by the beauty of his ministers (pātra); the ocean is filled with sparkling water, and he is filled with rasa (love, etc.); the ocean is very deep, he is profound; the ocean is the abode of gems, and he the abode of what is most precious; the ocean is the chief home of Lakshmi, and he of wealth (śrī); Vishnu dwells within the ocean and within his heart.

(19.) He was Vṛihaspatri as regards his knowledge, and the Sun as regards his energies, and Vishnu as regards his good actions, and Varuna as regards his stability, and Kuvera as regards his wealth, and the king of Champā (Kaṛṇa) as regards his liberality. Further, even these names (viz. Vṛihaspati etc.) are here employed because of their notoriety as the common objects of comparison in poetry (gīrā); but we for our part declare that in respect to all his numerous qualities Vaidyadeva was like himself alone.

(20.) His younger brother was Budhadeva, who, resembling the younger brother of Rāma (viz. Lakshmana) in possessing his well-known (lottol) boundless and spotless qualities, (and himself) the abode of perfect dharmma and perfect character, with glory leaping in the might of his arm, was famed to be like the Kalpataru in his gifts and also in his donations to Brahmans, which are the good fruits and fresh sprouts.

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11 It is his karmam = (prārabdha) that makes him Indra with never-closing eyes.
12 Anujabhūḥ is ambiguous. I explain thus:—anujā bhūḥ (utsattātya) yasya so anujabhūḥ.
(21.) Now (turning to the receiver of this grant), there was that chief of munis, named Kauśika, the first of his gotra, in whose mouth Saravati rested after her fatigue in wandering through the (four) mouths of Brahmā.

(22.) In his great vāmsa, in the strictly-disciplined village of Bhāva,⁴⁴ in Varendri appeared Bharata, a Brāhmaṇa, glorious, by the bare mention of whose name,—to say nothing of his many other good qualities—are destroyed all sins.

(23.) His son was Yudhishṭhir, chief of Brāhmaṇas and intelligent men, the repository of knowledge purified by (study of) the Vedas and Śāstras, the abode of glory showing itself through his mastery of the sacred learning.

(24.) The wife of this learned man was Pāi of boundless beauty, the repose of her husband's heart, and the dwelling-place of virtue, nobleness and prosperity.

(25.) As the result of his merit, acquired in many previous states of existence, there was born to him that great son Śrīdharā, honoured among Brāhmaṇas.

(26.) By reason of his pilgrimages to tīrthas, and study of Veda, and generosity, as well as by his teaching and by his performance of sacrifices and strict observance of vows, Śrīdharā was chief among learned Brāhmaṇas. Through Śrīdharā's penances of eating once only either by day or by night, and living on alms without begging, and fastings, the Lord Śiva was propitiated here, in the Kaliyuga, by being drawn out of a Guggulu tree.

(27.) Foremost among those who know karmam and brahman (i.e. the Karma-kāyda and the Jāna-kānda of the Veda), Śrīdharā, the store-house of every kind of religious observances, was famed to be like Viśhṇapati in (his mastery of) the hidden things of Śruti and Smṛti.

(28.) To this Śrīdharā, at the Vishuvatt (samkrānti) in Vaiśākha on Ekādaśī, the king Vaidyadeva gave this charter, to gain heaven.

[To follow line 14 of the second Plate].⁴⁵

(29.) As determined by the bhāmichchhidra rule, the village Santipātaka⁴⁶ is joined to the village Mandarā and belongs to the Badā-viśhaya.

(30.) The villages conveyed are provided with all sources of revenue, and are exempt from royal charges and payments in kind. They are to be enjoyed as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and the profits (phala) of cultivation (kriyā) shall be arranged for as (the owner may) wish. They are provided with water and dry land, forest tracts, gardens and enclosures for cows.

(31.) Whoever may himself appropriate this or cause it to be appropriated, shall see his sons and property perish before him and shall remain in Naraka for the period of a Kalpa. But the honourable man who respects it shall be blessed with sons and wealth; and having long enjoyed Viśrnga he shall go to the supreme abode of Viśnu.

(32.) May the glory of king Vaidyadeva continue to shine as long as sun, moon, stars, mountains, sea and earth endure!

⁴⁴ Stīmogva I take equal to Upavatamna, the commoner bahuvrīhi.

⁴⁵ The sign of omission is found in the second plate (side B) after kavinātare, the last word of l. 14. The translation is therefore made to follow the order intended by the words dvitiyopadārakaṇa yatra dvitiyadipadāpānāt is, to which I supply "agree" to complete the construction.

⁴⁶ Translation doubtful. Dr. Kielhorn explains pātaka by "outlying hamlet" (Ind. Antiq. vol. XVIII, p. 138), which I follow above. Santi would thus be the name of the pātaka adjoining the village Mandarā and falling within the viśhaya Badā; and the correcter form of the name would appear to be Śanti; [cf. III, A, line 1, where, however, the final syllable of Śanti is read only doubtfully owing to the bad state of the plate.] The grammar of verse 29 seems to make santipātakam an adjective to Śhannam in verse 28; (observe also śdāsa in verse 31).
(33.) Manoratha, son of the brāhmaṇa rajaguru Murāri, and Padmā, his wife, composed this prāśasti.

(34.) This is that king whose active arm destroyed the famed prowess of his many foes. And this is Śrīdhara, whose glory ever spreading through the world extends anew. [The king] being pleased delivered this sāsana to that brāhmaṇa through the words of his dharmādhrsīrin, the very learned Gonandana.

[Plate II, B, l. 15.] Hail! From the victorious camp at Hamsākońch, his Majesty Vaiḍyadeva, a most devout worshipper of Śiva and of Vishnu, the Mahārājādhīrāja, the Paramēṣvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, being in good health [Plate III, A, l. 1.] greets, informs and commands the people of the villages of Śānti-Baḍā and Mandarā possessed by Gaṅgādhara Bhaṭṭa, in the vishaya of Baḍā, in the mandala of Kāmarūpa in the bhukti of Prāgjyotisha, beginning with the principal residents . . . . (?) and peasants. Be it known unto you that these two villages, having their boundaries fixed and subject to no reduction, with their water and dry land, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, and their uncultivated land free of taxes, with a revenue of 400, we have given by charter to Śrīdhara Āśrama (surnamed) Gugguti in ? . . . . Therefore be obedient to this charter. Written in the fourth year on the first day of Vaiśākha by the movement of the sun.77

[Plate III, B, l. 5.] (35) This copper was engraved by the artist Karṇabhadra, an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman.

To such a plate are added the words of the Munis88:

XXIX.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

BY ARTHUR VENIS, M.A., PRINCIPAL, SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES.

No. I.—Dated Samvat 1162.

This grant is on a single plate, and closely resembles the Basāhī grant of Samvat 1161, both in its outward form and text.2 The plate is 1′ 6″ long by 11″ broad, and weighs Slbs. 12oz. Like the Basāhī plate (see Dr. Fleet's description in loco), it has a samkha engraved on its left margin with a barbed arrow below it. At its top end is rivetted a turned over copper band, through which the ring of a seal was evidently intended to run; but the seal is missing.

The inscription is in Nāgarī characters and is well preserved, but the technical execution is on the whole imperfect. As regards orthography, b and v are denoted by the same sign, except once in line 1, where b (babhūva) is represented by the sign used in seven inscriptions of Jayachchandra (Ind. Antiq., vol. XVIII, pp. 129 et seq.) The sibilants are used promiscuously. The letters r and ō have two forms. In line 22 1

77 See above, p. 349.
78 Here follow the boundaries of the villages.
88 The usual imperfections which follow are left untranslated.
have failed to read the two letters immediately preceding the word purandara. In line 23, initial e appears in the old form of a triangle, with the apex downwards.

The opening verses, 1—3, correspond with those of the Basâhi plate. Line 2 reads Mahiyalasutah:—conf. Mahiol-a-sutah or Mahiâla-sutah of the Bas. pl. according to Drs. Fleet and Mitra. Verse 4 of the Bas. pl. is not found in our text: verse 6 of our text is not found in the Basâhi plate: but these omissions are unimportant. Line 6 records the date in words and figures, viz. Tuesday, full moon (bright half) of Kârttika, 1162 Samvat, date corresponding to 24th October, 1105 A.D.

Line 7. Govindachandra, the donor, was then encamped in Vishnupura and made the grant after having bathed in the Ganges, etc. This, and the succeeding names of places, I cannot identify.

Line 8. He gives the village of Usithâ (?), in the Jîâvat-pattâlâ in the Paîchâla country, with the usual appurtenances.

Ll. 18—13. The donee, Vilhâkâya Dikshiita, who came originally from Sâvithadeåa (?), was the son of Puravâsa and grandson of Nâgananda (?). These belonged to the Vandhula gotra with the three pravaras of Vandhula, Aghamarshaâna and Visvâmitra, and were followers of the Yajurveda.

Ll. 15—16 contain the well-known crux सत्य यशोयमान ... दशः (व) धविमतिकवशायेः तुष्यामणकृष्टि सत्यामणकृष्टि.

Ll. 23—24. The composer of the inscription was Vijayadâsa, who also composed the Basâhi document. The following consented to the grant:—the pratthara Gautama, the purâhita Jâgûka, the mahattaka Vâlhana (all three of whom are mentioned in the Basâhi plate) and the Queen-mother Râlhdevi.

TEXT.

Front.

Line [1.] न मनो मनसे वाचुदेवय || तमायं सर्वं दुर्यानां दामोदरमुपायकाः || वैलीन्द्रं यस्तं वहीनं क्रोणाटः वं विजयिः || (1)." मनसे गाहेडळवालायं वमुद विजयी नृपं: ||

[2.] सर्वोज्यः तेनामुनामधागाः || (2)." यथे जीवोज्यः विदुधरसुखृतेऽववमानीमातः- निश्चिते भौवामें कौमिन्धेऽश्चितो च नृपं ज्ञातवेऽज्ञाताः ||

[3.] महाराष्ट्रं यं घरिनी चिदिवविखुलिम धौलियोगादुपेता चराया विश्वय पूर्वक सम्मविद्य स विततवर्तनः: || (3)." तद्गृहसुधृशिरस्वदातापविदितसिङ्गम: भौरिपिलती- [4.] संदेहपाल चरित्र प्रसिद्द: || विदावकलिय वमुद: सम्मविद्य: सम्मविद्यत्वमविद्यवामदा: ||

[5.] शुभोप्रभुस्माचारलोलिताय धौलियोगाय विदुधरस्वः धौतित्वदिनामधायसि: || (5)."" तिहती वस्त्र दी-राहिकृतसत्योमविदितसिंह: || धुतुरुषितिविश्वेन स-
L.  [6.] दराजीव लक्ष्ये ॥ (6.)¹⁴ संवादकृत्ते विद्वानुभाषामध्ये कार्यकारिकेंसाये भौमि
दिने १२५४ संव. १९१२ शुद्धि ॥ भूमि¹⁵ चाणोपण भ्रमणीपुराणानार्थत्री।
[7.] विजयकृत्ते सबाकलसम्वस्यकारिकां गंगाया शालका ॥ विद्वानमभाय संदर्भात्तमस्वामी
भूतस्य षड्योगिन्या ॥ चूते महाराष्ट्र संपूर्ण ॥ भागवत सङ्कोच ॥
[8.] ॥ समाध्ये । विद्वानार्थ बाहुदीय समारथ । संदर्भे सत्त्वा हुसूल । पंचाविदधे जीवान्
योगितपत्रलयो द्विवागाने समस्तविद्वानमाध्यसाधिकसंबंध ॥
[9.] सहस्त्रनामनयपद्यांसंबंधयति समावाययति ॥० यथा शासिका यथा सबीमात्‌ललगसंग्रह
पुरुष: सजलस्कर: सामाजपाल: लोकसामुच्छतापारात्विविवाह: परमेश्वरायसोमित: । निर्माणीविद्वान ॥
[10.] नदीविधोतलयानां सदापराधीधः सामाजपालः कार्यकारिकेनुसारात्विविवाहः
जयसन्तिकारं योगेन परिधाय । कदाचित् ॥
[11.] संस्कारसंबंधते प्राचीना शीर्षितः विद्वानः । कार्यकारिकेनुसारात्विविवाहित्यपालः
कदाचित् ॥
[12.] तु संसारसंबंधः समालय ॥ सामाजपालन वाज्ञानिनीसाधारण वंबुविवाहाय वंबुविवाहाय
उन्न जयसन्तिकारं योगेन परिधाय ॥
[13.] दोषितप्राचीननासाधैया दोषितपुपुषाय वंबुविवाहाय वंबुविवाहाय वंबुविवाहायवंबुविवाहाय
हृदितप्राचीननासाधैया ॥ विद्वानप्रसन्नता ॥
[14.] सहस्त्रनामनयपद्यांसंबंधयति समावाययति ॥० यथा शासिका यथा सबीमात्‌ललगसंग्रह
पुरुष: सजलस्कर: सामाजपाल: लोकसामुच्छतापारात्विविवाह: परमेश्वरायसोमित: । निर्माणीविद्वान ॥
[15.] वुधो चंद्रान्निविनिविनिवाहाराणि यातृ शासीकृत्य प्रदत: ॥ मला योगामान
भागवतपुराणाद्वियाशिवमेत्ताधिकाराये तुषः
[16.] यज्ञेत्तत्तत्त्वंट्टं ततु संवमोषी निवेदनीयः ॥ यथा यात्रात् महर्षिः तोम कुले
का तथा परमसुपुरुसोमितेय सामाजिकविवाहसनाते नाये
[17.] यज्ञेत्तत्त्वंट्टं ततु संवमोषी निवेदनीयः दस सदा पाॆक्षा वायुविवाहं तथ्यति प्रदत
हुले सुनौत्ता वयः ॥ (7.)¹² चरणां भौरायसादः
[18.] झौका: ॥ भूषण सर्दृष्टिः ॥ प्रतियर्थित्याचार्य यथा भूमिः प्रत्येकः । भूमि तु पुराणानांते निर्यां
स्थायांगमयी ॥ (8.)¹³ योद्हतं प्रतियोगिता महारथिः
[19.] तमिष वा ॥ तातुप्रीति साधारिते लघु नर्तः तु विपत्ति: ॥ (9.) वहृदीर्घोद्धा भूषण रणामिः साध
राधितः: ॥ यथ जस्त सदा भूषणसमाधात तथम वदा
[20.] परं ॥ (10.) यात्रोत्त पुजारि पुजारिप्रसादार्थमाध्यसाधिकाराणि ॥ विद्वानातीतानि
मानि: तानि काम सापु: पुजारिप्रसौध इति (11.)¹⁹ चरणस्तित्र प्रर

¹⁴ Metre: Siolak (Anushṭubh).
¹⁵ Read 'वैविष्णवत' और 'कुल' बदली में विश्वासी रूप से पढ़ना।
¹⁶ Read 'संबन्धाया' सर्दृष्टिः यथा भूमिः प्रत्येकः । भूमि तु पुराणानांते निर्यां।
¹⁷ Strike out the unnecessary punctuation after अ; and read मार्गाये शीर्षितः।
¹⁸ Read 'हृदितप्राचीननासाधैया' और 'संसारसंबंधते' बदले में विश्वासी रूप से पढ़ना।
¹⁹ Read 'राजासाधा' ॥ मार्गाये: 'शीर्षितः।
²⁰ Metre: Śārdhālavīkṛti.
No. II.—Dated Samvat 1196.

This inscription is engraved on a single plate, which measures 1' 3½" in length by 1' ½" in breadth, and weighs 6½bs. 15oz. The plate is perforated at the top margin to take the ring of a seal; and it is likely that one of the loose seals now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, belongs to this plate. The orthography calls for no special remark. Verses 1-7 correspond with the opening verses of the Chandradeva and Madanapāla grant (see Ind. Antiq., vol. XVIII, p. 11): verses 8 and 9 are found again in a grant of Jayachchandra (ibid., p. 130).

L. 13.—Govindachandra while at Benares conveys the village of Janakadevi-pura in the Rāna pattalā (the latter name I read doubtfully owing to the plate being injured).

LL. 16, 17.—Contain the date, and mention a lunar eclipse on that date, viz. Monday, the 15th day in the bright half of Āsvina, 1196 Samvat, corresponding to 9th October 1389 A.D.35

19, 20. The donee was the purohitā Jagū Sarman, the son of the donee in the preceding grant.

Text.

L. [1.] सच्चति । चाकुम्भकोः चक्षुकु माथ्यमितीविश्वासः । संरक्षा" सुरतार्त्सः स निग्र; भैयसेलु एः । (1.)36 भासीर्देसीयतुलितवंजान्तासालाम।

[2.] क्षयैशरी । सामुदिकस्थानिनो धुरिधर्मा नामा यथोपविषय दन्तुरदः । (2.)37
tubhūc mūktiśāyuvrāndrakāmanāmbhūkṣa । वेनापारसं.

[3.] कृतपाराः । आपारते यमः । (3.)38 सत्तात्मततो नौरात्मतः काशाबिसकोऽविज्ञातासाधितायोपतिगतिः वीच्चददेवो गुप्तः । धनी-

30 Read "सारार्थ्स्मैनिः राजानिसमवाच्चनीय", " भासार्व-विक्षबिभुषपरिवर्तयाः । "वपरिवर्तयाः ।
31 सारस्थानतालीकाः.
32 Read "आश्रयमयाः यन्त्रयाः । "वपरिवर्तयाः ।
33 Metro: Śloka (Anuṣṭabha), and in the three following verses.
34 Read "हरिया युद्धमयाः । "विवाहाय जुलिष्कमा.
35 Dr. Kielhorn again kindly notes,— "The year is the

northern expired year; the lunar eclipse occurred 13 b. 21 m. after mean sunrise."
36 Read "हरिया युद्धमयाः । "वपरिवर्तयाः ।
37 Metro: Śloka (Anuṣṭabha).
38 Read "वपरिवर्तयाः । "वपरिवर्तयाः ।
39 Metro: Indrabhraya.
40 Read "पीरी नौरात्मतः काशाबिसकोऽविज्ञातासाधितायोपतिगतिः वीच्चददेवो गुप्तः । धनी-"
[4.]  "pratargaṇamī" गाथारुपाध्ययां श्रीमधुचिराधिरायाः सम्बन्धिकमिश्रिताः **(4.4)**

tīrīyakārī ग्रामीणकृताङ्कोशीरसोदरागमीः

[5.]  यज्ञार्थ परिपक्वप्रभुताभिमयं तेजसमुद्रविसमम्बद्वद्वैतहिस्तो देवाभिता श्रीसमाजीः

सम्रास्वाभिमुखः **(5.47)** तत्कालन्त मनंपाल दत्त मित्रश्रीमती

[6.]  जाजारिद्वारये निन्दार्थस्यः। राजाभिमेविशेषसाहित्यः पयोणिमः प्राचार्यं कालियः

पदम् परिक्रमा: **(6) यज्ञावस्तुहिमयः**

[7.]  मद्ये तुपप्राच्छेदल्लाभातुपप्रभुताश्माहासमवविशेषविश्वकृतमः

ष्ट्रारस्वाभिमुखः **(7.50)** तत्वात्त्वाण्यत निन्दार्थबाबुविश्वप्रभाववः राजायो नरेणः। सामा प्रहातसुधा प्रभुताभिमो जः

[8.]  शीर्षके गोविन्दपदः दत्त चद प्रवामुखः **(8.51)** न वधमपमल्लन राज्यमाधिकिर्मः

दिशु गाजानं विविधः। ज्ञाति व्यतिश्रावविश्वकृतमः

[10.]  भाट **(10.54)** दर दश चरणायः। **(9.96)** सूत्तमक्रशाराजसंबंधितचरणः स च परम्भारकमः

भाराजाराजपरमेश्वरपरमेश्वरपरमेश्वरनिमाणूः

[11.]  पाण्ड्यीक्षाकुशलाविश्वकृताचंद्रकृष्णदयातुमाता परम्भारकमाराजाराजपरमेश्वरपरमेश्वर

परमेश्वर श्रीमदवारकृष्णदयातुमाता

[12.]  परम्भारकमाराजाराजपरमेश्वरपरमेश्वरपरमेश्वरामाराजाराजपरमेश्वर

परमेश्वर श्रीमदवारकृष्णदयातुमाता

[13.]  विधसबादेवो विविधः। राजपत्रलायः **(13.56)** जनकद्रेष्टुप्राप्तिविविधानिनि निन्दिकानाटकं

दुनात्तानं च राजाराजीवानप्रभुविश्वकृतमः

[14.]  तथ्रीतामिनसनामभाषामध्यां चतुर्विविधानिनि निन्दिकानाटकं यज्ञावस्तुहिमयः

विधसबादेवो विविधानिनि निन्दिकानाटकं यज्ञावस्तुहिमयः

[15.]  श्रायण्याः श्रायण्याः च दसा निन्दिकानां भवन्त मायोपरिविविधानां। सजालखः

स्वामरवाहकः। सम्भाजः समर्थः

[16.]  वरः सम्भूकालवारीनिविदानिनि निन्दिकानान्तः जातिविधानिनि निन्दिकानान्तः

सांसारिकः। संवतः १९४५। चाहियांजुड़ि १५। सीता

[17.]  मदौ **(17.50)** राजाराजसंबंधितमः ग्राह्याः ब्राह्म विश्वसन्तरस्वमितिग्राह्याः। सीताचार्याऽपावाचार्यः

वर्षांसारिकः। संवतः १९४५। चाहियांजुड़ि १५। सीता

[18.]  सुधरोविविधानिनि निन्दिकानान्तः सम्भूकालवारीनिविदानिनि निन्दिकानान्तः

श्रीमदवारकृष्णदयातुमाता विधसबादेवो विविधानिनि निन्दिकानान्तः

[19.]  प्रसादानान्तः पुष्यायोगिन्याविद्वारामामविश्वकृतागतां सम्भारान्तः प्रभुज्ञानिनि निन्दिकानान्तः

श्रीमदवारकृष्णदयातुमाता विधसबादेवो विविधानिनि निन्दिकानान्तः

**Read Note: 1. prатьगालम्बित्वं** गाथारुपाध्यायः सम्बन्धिकमिश्रिताः **(4.4)**

**Metre:** Śrādulāvīkṛśītā...

**Read Note: 2. वनस्पतिकत्वं** गाथारुपाध्यायः सम्बन्धिकमिश्रिताः **(4.4)**

**Metre:** Vasantatīlakā... **Read Note: 3. वनस्पतिकत्वं** गाथारुपाध्यायः सम्बन्धिकमिश्रिताः **(4.4)**

**Metre:** Dronatīlakā... **Read Note: 4. वनस्पतिकत्वं** गाथारुपाध्यायः सम्बन्धिकमिश्रिताः **(4.4)**

**Metre:** Šādulāvīkṛśītā...

**Read Note: 5. The verse is found in Ben. Coll. grant of Jayachoklan-

**dra:** see Kielhorn, *Ind. Antig.*, vol. XVIII, p. 129; and read **"दुर्गा"** गाथारुपाध्यायः सम्बन्धिकमिश्रिताः **(4.4)**

**Read Note: 6. The verse is found in Ben. Coll. grant of Jayachoklan-

**dra:** see Kielhorn, *Ind. Antig.*, vol. XVIII, p. 129; and read **"दुर्गा""** गाथारुपाध्यायः सम्बन्धिकमिश्रिताः **(4.4)**

**Read Note: 7. The verse is found in Ben. Coll. grant of Jayachoklan-

**dra:** see Kielhorn, *Ind. Antig.*, vol. XVIII, p. 129; and read **"दुर्गा""** गाथारुपाध्यायः सम्बन्धिकमिश्रिताः **(4.4)**

**Read Note: 8. The verse is found in Ben. Coll. grant of Jayachoklan-

**dra:** see Kielhorn, *Ind. Antig.*, vol. XVIII, p. 129; and read **"दुर्गा""** गाथारुपाध्यायः सम्बन्धिकमिश्रिताः **(4.4)**
XXX.—Pali Copper-Plate Grant of Maharaja Lakshmana.

Dated Samvat 158.

By A. Führer, Ph.D.

The original plate containing the inscription now published was found, in May 1891, buried underground in the house of a goldsmith at the village of Pált, close to Kosām, the ancient Kauśāmbī, the chief town of the Karāṭi pargana in the Mānjanpur tahsil of the Allahābād district. It was obtained by me from the Magistrate of Allahābād, and is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

The plate, which is inscribed on both sides, measures about 7½ by 6½. It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims to protect the writing. The average size of the letters is about ½; they are cut neatly and deeply, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the peculiar "nail-headed" type current in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The language is Sāṃskṛt, and with the exception of the benediction and imprecatory verses in lines 9...
to 14, the inscription itself is in prose throughout. In respect of orthography we have to notice: (1) the doubling of dh in conjunction with a following y in māddhyandināya, line 5; (2) the doubling of t in conjunction with a following r in pittor, line 4, and in gottrāya, line 5; (3) the doubling of u, g, th, bh, v, and sh in conjunction with a preceding r in paurumādyām, line 15; in svargye, line 13; in arīthe, line 8; in vidheyair bhāhavitavyām, line 7; and krimir bhāhuvā, line 10; in parvavatikā, line 2, and bahuhi vvasudhā, line 11; in svarshā, line 12; (4) the doubling of v after the anusāra in samrovatsara, line 15; (5) the use of v for b in tñumavah, line 3.

Towards the proper right side of the plate, about the centre, a circular copper ring is fastened through a hole to an oval brass seal, about 2½ by 2". In the upper part it bears a rather good figure of a lion, squatting on its haunches and brandishing its tail, facing to the right; below it, separated by two lines, is in relief the legend krt-mahārāja-lakshmanasya, "of the illustrious Mahārāja Lakshmana." The seal itself rests on two low leg-fashioned supports. The weight of the plate is 37½ tolas, and of the ring and seal 27½ tolas; total 65 tolas.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Lakshmana, and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city Jayapura. The date of the writing of the charter is given in words as the year one hundred and fifty-eight, and the full-moon day of the month Jyaiṣṭha. There is no indication as to the era; but in all probability it refers to the Gupta era. The corresponding European date can, however, not be calculated as the week-day, nakṣatras, or other astronomical details are not given, which could be utilized in checking the calculation. The object of the charter is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Lakshmana, of an agrahāra in the village Phelā-parvavatikā,—undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern village Pāli,—to the Brāhmaṇa Revasvāmin of the Kautsagotra. The dūtaka is the Mahārāja Nara-vahana-datta. Neither the capital Jayapura nor the names of the two feudatory princes are known to us from earlier or contemporaneous inscriptions.

TEXT.¹

Obverse.

L. [1.] चीं खाकी जयपुरायत्वरमाधिःकरः चीमहाराजः
[2.] लष्य: कुर्यस्ति फेरकापरभितिर्नामकम् चीमहाराजः
[3.] ग्रामविस्वकुटुम्न: समाभापयति विदितं योक्ति यः
[4.] वैय पासी सया मातापितिरासनम् पुजामिद्भवे
[5.] जैसवटे सः राजसतिविभागश्रवः सापवटिनाय
[6.] जैसवटरविभागासिपारोतिभवस्यक्षयुष्माभिः
[7.] साम्यवर्षविभविभेभितवं समुत्तम: प्रवाहः
[8.] सेविरस्यावधो देवः: [2]पः पृवाहिवर्गः वासस्यसः
[10.] सु विहारायं जस्मभुवः पितृभि: श्रव पश्चाति [2]

¹ From the original plate.
² Read 'ḥḥvāśāyām.
³ Metre: Anuṣṭubb, and the following two verses.
⁴ Read 'rōḥhauči.'
Reverse.

L. [11.] 'महृद्विभेद्भुषा दत्ता राजभिलगरादिभि: [!] यस्य यथा
[12.] यदा भूमिग्रह तस्य तदा फल न्यर्थं चर्चेः
[13.] स्नाणं स्वामेम सौदाति भूमिर्द्वि: [!]
पञ्चकेशा चालुक्या च तान्येव
[14.] नर्से वेषेस[!] दृतक्षाय शीघ्रराजनवाजानदसः
[15.] संचालकरते पश्चायदुसरे भोजसांगे पीपुष्ये
[16.] मास्यं लिखितं बलदेवेनेरि १५८ [!] ।

TRANSLATION.

Oṁ! Hail from Jayapura! A most devout worshipper of the god Māheśvara, the illustrious Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa, being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brāhmaṇas, and to the cultivators, at the village of Phelā-parvvatikā:—“Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of my parents and of myself, this village is granted by me as an agrāhāra to the Brāhmaṇa Revatiśvāmin, of the Kautṣagotra, a student of the Vājasaneyya-Mādhyandina (sākha). You shall be obedient to his commands, and you shall render to him the customary taxes, that which is to be measured out, gold, etc.” And on the same subject there are also the following verses by Vyāsa:—“He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks into hell together with his ancestors. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagarā; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it) ! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant) and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell !” The dūtaka (is) the illustrious Mahārāja Naravāhanadatta. This charter has been written by Baladeva in a century of years, increased by fifty-eight, on the full-moon day of the month Jyaishṭha, 158.
XXXI.—FURTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM SĀNCHI.¹

By G. BüHler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the course of a tour through Eastern Rajputana and the Central India Agency in March 1893, Dr. A. Führer again visited the famous Stûpas of Sānchî, rectè in Sanskrit Kâkânaîa or in Prakrit Kâkânâva (see I, No. 378) and took impressions of those inscriptions which had not been found on his former visit. He also used the opportunity to clear away the rubbish round the two Stûpas and to make a few excavations. As in all former cases, his operations have yielded highly satisfactory results. The fragment of the Aśoka inscription has been recovered;² the number of the small donative inscriptions has risen, if all the fragments and almost effaced pieces are counted, to nearly 500, against Sir A. Cunningham’s 240. Finally, a valuable Indo-Skythian inscription has turned up on the base of a statue of Buddha, and in a similar position have been found two inscriptions in later characters,³ the latest of which shows the Nāgârî of the 9th or 10th century A.D. These new finds prove that the Stûpas were visited by Buddhist pilgrims both during the interval between the times of the early Andhras and of the Guptas, and long after the latter had passed away. Moreover, the late Nāgârî inscription may also be considered to furnish additional evidence for the fact that Buddhism survived in India until very late times, long after the period when the stupid legends allege it to have been drowned in a deluge of blood. The recovery of the fragment of the Aśoka edict does not quite fulfil the expectations which I thought might be reasonably entertained. I am not able to decipher the whole or even to suggest a complete plausible restoration of the portion with which I declined to meddle in my former article. But I am able to settle two points. First, the two signs indistinctly visible in the beginning cannot have formed part of the word devānam, nor can the word piya have followed. The first sign of the line, which, counting from below, I number as line 7, has been lost, the second is illegible, and the third is either yam or yám. The ya is plain and certain, and so is the Anusvāra, but the vowel is doubtful. The next consonant is certainly bha, and the syllable probably was bhe. This is sufficient to prove that line 7 does not contain the beginning of the edict, but that a probably not inconsiderable piece has been lost at the top.

Secondly, at the end of line 7 stand not only, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated (Bhilasa Topes, p. 260), the letters mag, but muge, and after it quite distinctly kafe. This new reading removes the possibility that the Sâmgha of Magadhâ can be mentioned or addressed. The words mean, without a doubt, “a road has been made.” The next line 6 tells us for whom this road was intended. The first sign has again been lost. Next follows a fairly distinct khû, and after two indistinct signs the syllable bhi. The two following consonants have been lost in a large abrasion, to the right of which the vowel ʼi appears and immediately after it nam. Then comes an indistinct sign and next ti. Thus, we obtain—khû . . bhi . . ʼinam . . ti. It is almost certain that the reading was bhikkhunîm vâ bhikkhunînam vâ ti, and that the road was prepared for the monks and the nuns of the Buddhist order. A comparison of the phrase at the end

¹ Continued from ante, p. 87.
² In his letter Dr. Führer states that it is now lying in the jungle. It is on a frustum of a stambha or pillar which probably stood near the Southern gate, and might be placed in some museum in order to keep it safe. See place of facsimiles.
³ About thirty very small fragments and illegible inscriptions have not been transcribed.
of the edict (ll. 2-3) "for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the Saṁgha may last a long time" removes even the possibility of a doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted, with which the shape of the remnants of the third, fourth and ninth signs of the line agrees. Though at the end of line 6 the letters ta pa are quite plain and again in line 5 towards the end the letters ka or ke, ye, as well as the word saṁghaṁ, I do not dare to propose a restoration. I must content myself with putting down the few signs I believe to recognise. The better preserved remainder of the inscription, as I have stated formerly, indeed corresponds in part with the middle of the Kosambi edict on the Allahābād Pillar, and there is very little to alter in the readings which I have given in my former article.

**TRANSCRIPT.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allahābād.</th>
<th>Śrāvasti.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhokhiṁ</td>
<td>bhokhaṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhikhuva</td>
<td>bhikhuva</td>
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<tr>
<td>bhikhumī</td>
<td>bhikhumī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pi chā]o—(2) dātā—ni [d]-uṣāni</td>
<td>[pi chā]o—(2) dātā—ni [d]-uṣāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yitu</td>
<td>anāpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>v y y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRANSLATION.**

... "A road was made both for the monks and the nuns... the community will dine, both monk and nun, (and), causing white cloth to be put down (for them), you will order it to be spread; for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the community (of the Buddhist monks) may endure for a long time."

It is now evident that the road (mage) is something material. Possibly the expression refers to the procession path or "terrace for circumambulation" which surrounds the Stūpa (see Bhīṣa Topes, p. 184). But the road may also be one which made the Stūpas more conveniently accessible.

The characters of the small donative inscriptions offer various points of interest. Among those the alphabet of which in general agrees with that of Aśoka's Edicts we find—

(1) Some like I, Nos. 172, 174, 185, 203, the letters of which are very small, with short vertical strokes, giving one the impression of an attempt at reproducing the Maurya characters, used for literary purposes;

(2) Two,—II, No. 61 and another,—illegible with the exception of the word dānam, in which throughout thin double lines are employed instead of single ones;

(3) Many, which present cursive forms for one or two consonants, or even only for some medial vowel marks. Thus, da has frequently (see, e.g., I, Nos. 129, 177, 186 and 188) a very shallow curve open to the left and otherwise abnormally bent strokes. Here and there ja, too, is irregular. In Ujuṇiyā (No. 159) it has the angular shape, which is the usual one in the Andhra inscriptions, but occurs once in the Girnār version of Aśoka's Rock-Edicts. In Rājūka (I, No. 177), and sometimes in the word pājāvatī, ja looks

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* The word ti indicates that the sentence is at an end.
* I am inclined to take saṁghaṁ as a neuter nominative with the liṅga-vyatya-ya, so common in the Aśoka inscriptions, and as the subject of the sentence. As long as the text has not been restored completely, this is, of course, merely tentative.
* Usually called Pradakṣhinī by the Brahmins and Bhuṃtī (Bhrumanti) by the Jainas.
almost like tá. In Yakadášiyá (I, No. 194) the letter sa has been made with a single stroke, the left-hand limb being formed by drawing from the right hand upstroke a continuous line across the letter. Among the vowels á and e often slant upwards, as in the Kâlṣi version of the Rock-Edicts and in the later inscriptions. The vowel i very commonly consists, as in the Gînâr version, of a small semi-circle and occasionally (see, e.g., I, Nos. 141, 285) of a long stroke, rising straight upwards. I may add that the vowel á is attached against the usual practice to the inner side of the left prong of ma in the word Mâhisatiya, I, Nos. 313-14, and that the vowel i occupies a similar position in Sirimitáiyá (I, No. 355).

The unusual cha, with a little tail, known from Mr. Rea's Bhaṭṭiprolu Stûpa inscriptions, appears in I, Nos. 269 and 284. A la, intermediate between the form of the Bhaṭṭiprolu Stûpa and that of the Andhra cave inscriptions, is used in the name Vâlîvahana, a vicarious form for Vâdîvahana in I, No. 199. This is one of the few certain instances of the occurrence of la north of the Narmadâ before the times of the Guptas.

There are also, just as in Sir A. Cunningham's collection, a certain number of inscriptions, showing later characters than those of the Asoka Edicts. To these belong—
(1) the long imprecatory document, I, No. 377, which shows the dagger-like ka, the angular ghâ and a peculiar short da, with a shallow curve, but has no serifs or nail-heads;
(2) a few inscriptions with short vertical strokes and nail-heads, but otherwise with archaic forms, like I, Nos. 288, 334, 377;
(3) likewise a small number of inscriptions with still more advanced forms, like I, No. 237; II, Nos. 25, 59, 66, among which the first shows curves to the left attached to ka and ra, while the third offers an almost circular ba and the looped ta, common in the southern inscriptions of the second century A.D. and of later times. It seems to me that these facts confirm the remarks made in my former article regarding the age of the Stûpas, and show that the bulk of the work belongs to the 3rd century B.C. and to the beginning of the 2nd, as well as that some additions and repairs were made in later times.

With respect to the language I have not to add anything to the notes given in my former article. The type is that of the Pâli of the Asoka inscriptions and of the Buddhist scriptures. Anomalous forms of the kinds noticed before are also numerous. If my reading of the second word of I, No. 263, is right, there is one instance of the use of a double consonant.

As regards the contents I may state that the new inscriptions mention also a number of the collective donations.

Thus, I, No. 214 registers a gift of the village of Asvavâtî; No. 124 one by the nuns of Vâdîvahana; Nos. 147 and 231 those of the female lay worshippers of Nâvâgâma and of Ejâvâtî; No. 276 one by the family of Dhamu [tara] and No. 366 one by the family of Ajitiguta. The number of single monks making donations now amounts to more than eighty. Among them there is (II, No. 59) another sutâtikâ or teacher of the Sûtras, a thera (I, No. 266), and, it would seem, a tópasa or ascetic (I, No. 260). This designation is usually not adopted by Buddhists, who despise the performance of austerities. Possibly this person may have belonged to some other sect. One of the most prominent personages among the monks apparently was Gotipuṭa Bham[W]uka, who occurs twice (I, Nos. 16, 256) and had four pupils . . . ka, Budharakhita, Aya-Kâna and Dhamadata. The names of nuns making donations
now rise from thirty-seven to nearly seventy. One or two among them mention their children, and must have been married before they entered the Saṅgha, see, e.g., I, No. 234 and II, No. 29.

Among the lay donors the Sheths and their relatives now take a still more prominent position than in the smaller collection formerly accessible, and it may be pointed out that in several instances the Sheth of a village is mentioned without the addition of his proper name. Thus, I, No. 140, records the gift of “Nāgā, wife of the Sheth of Kanadigāma,” and No. 167 that “of the mother of the Sheth.” Among the other professions of the donors there are some new ones. Thus, we have a satika, i.e., sautrika, “weaver,” in I, No. 195; vaḍaki, i.e., probably vardhaka, “carpenter” in No. 311, and a rajuka in No. 229. The term rajuka or rājuka is known from the Aśoka edicts and from the Kalpasūtra of the Jainas, where, as Professor Jacobi has shown, it occurs in the form rajjuya, and is explained to mean ‘a clerk or accountant,’ what is now called in India a karkun. The word is an abbreviation of rajjuyāhaka, literally, a ropeholder and is an ancient name for a Revenue Settlement officer. Rājalipikara “a royal scribe” (I, Nos. 48, 49), apparently differs in meaning from lekhaka (I, No. 143), which latter means “a writer who copies manuscripts or copyist.” Among the proper names there are various new ones, pointing to the worship of the Nakshatras, and a few like Ajārāṇī, i.e., Ajirā or Durgā, indicating the existence of Paurāṇik worship.

There are fifteen new names of towns or villages mentioned as the homes of donors, but none of them occurs more than a few times. It would seem that the inhabitants of Arāpāna, Bhogavadhana, Kuraghara, Kurara, Madhuvana, Nandinagara, Navaśāma, Pokhara, Tumbavana, Ujjain and Vedisa defrayed nearly the whole expense of the ornaments of the two Stūpas, the lion’s share falling to Ujjain, which is mentioned thirty-five times.

If we now turn to the last three inscriptions incised on the bases of statues which Dr. Führer has discovered, the first records the dedication of a statue of Buddha by Madhurikā, daughter of Khara or Vera in the Vihāra of Dharmanavēra during the reign of the [mahārāja] rājātirāja [deva]putra Shāhi Vāsushka. The name Vāsushka is new. But it looks as if it were formed of the first part of Vāsudeva and the last syllable of the names Kanishka and Urvishka, and one feels tempted to consider it as another name of the third Kushana king. If the first sign of the date is read, as Sir A. Cunningham, I think, correctly proposes, as 70, the identification of Vāsushka with Vāsudeva becomes quite unobjectionable; for the year 75 certainly falls within Vāsudeva’s reign and the characters of the document fully agree with those of the inscriptions which bear his name. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated in the beginning of each line and the third line has almost entirely disappeared. What remains may be read as follows:

L. I. . . . . . sya rājātirājasya . putrasya Shāh[1] Vāsushkasya
sam [70] 8 he 1 [di 5] [e]tasy[âm] [p]u[rv]v[âyâm] bhagava—


8 Restore, as Sir A. Cunningham suggests, Mahārāja, or perhaps Siddhān mahārāja.

9 Restore decaputrasya.

10 I read this sign first as 20; Sir A. Cunningham, whom I consulted, suggested that it is a looped sign for 70. I agree to this, as the Mathurā Inscr. No. XX (Epigr. Ind., vol. II, p. 214), which belongs to the same period, has a very similar sign. (See facsimile on the plate.)
L. 2. ... sya<sub>13</sub> jambuchhāyāśailāgra. sya Dharmadevavihāre<br>pratīṣṭāpitā<sup>8</sup> Kharasya<sup>13</sup> dihitare<sup>14</sup> Madhurikā.<br>L. 3. ... [ṇa]m deyadharma ... i. ... . ... . . . .

The second novelty, which shows letters of the 8th or 9th century need not be transcribed, as it contains nothing but the Buddhist creed. The third inscription, which, as already stated, is in Nāgarī characters of the 9th or 10th century, originally consisted of a Srāgdrāverse, of which only two Pādas are at present completely legible:——

L. 1. Om Prā.—āyushy — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [Ta]ṣyākhyāyāḥ kilānte Sugataṃavṛīṭaḥ samsthito bhadra. . . . . . . . . . . . .
L. 2. śavdah<sup>[1]</sup><br>ō rā o — — — — — — — — — — sam<br>sam— dedharmoym<sup>15</sup> kṛtasya pravaraśukharajñānasaṁ—
L. 3. prāptaye saḥ<sup>[I]</sup>

DONATIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM SANCHI.

TOPE I.

No. 124 = C. 2.

[वातिक]वहना सिन्धिनिं दान [ह<sup>७</sup>]<sup>16</sup>
The gift of the nuns from [Vāti]vahana.

No. 125 = C. 6.

वनिपत्ति दान [ह<sup>७</sup>]<sup>17</sup>
The gift of Vajiguta (Vajiriguta).

No. 126 = C. 7.

देवभाग [स]सुखलिक[र] विनवलिय दान [ह<sup>७</sup>]
The gift of the nun Devabhāga, inhabitant of Madhuvana.

No. 127 = C. 8.

वाकलादी बदिवी शासितम[ह<sup>७</sup> ह<sup>७</sup>]<sup>18</sup>
(The gift) of the Vākalā queen, the mother of Ahimita (Ahimitra).

<sup>11</sup> Probably to ṅdyamunīyā to be restored.
<sup>12</sup> Read pratīṣṭāpītā.
<sup>13</sup> Or Vēraṇa.
<sup>14</sup> Read dihitā.
<sup>15</sup> This seems to be a contraction of deyadharma, made for the sake of the metre.
<sup>16</sup> Sir A. Cunningham has only ṅnd bhīchāhuniya. Dr. Führer’s impression shows a-faint ṛ before hand. The restoration is not doubtful, as Vātīvahana is mentioned in Nos. 101, 116, and so forth.
<sup>17</sup> The letters are beautifully carved and about half a foot high.  Vajirin may be—Indra, a Buddha, or one of the Viśvesev Devas.
<sup>18</sup> Possibly बाकलादी.
No. 128 = C. 10.

नगदिनास भिक्षुनी दानं [II*]
The gift of Nagadina (Nagadatta or Nagadatta), the monk.

No. 129 = C. 27.

सोनादेवा [प]्रियव चण्डेश्वर दानं [II*]
The gift of Soṇadevā (Suvarṇadevā),19 Parijā (?) and Agidevā (Agnidevā).

No. 130 = C. 18.

सुभागाय समगिनिकाय दानं [II*]
The gift of Subhagā and her sister.

No. 131 = C. 21 (?).

पुष्यगिनी नाभ[ग] तपस्य दानं [II*]
The gift of Pusagiri (Pushyagiri), inhabitant of Navagāma (Navagrāma).

No. 132 = C. 26.

चित्तीरत्नाय भिक्षुनि बैंदिकिवया [II*] दानं
The gift of Odātikā (Avadātikā), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 133 = C. 27.

यसोपाल्ला भद्र[ल]कार्य दा्र [II*]
(The gift) of Yasopālā (Yaśahpālā), pupil of the venerable Kaḍa (?)

No. 134 = C. 28.

माहमरय सिंहगिनी दानं [II*]
The gift of Sihagiri (Simhagiri) from Máhamoragā.21

No. 135 = C. 29.

पुसा चहातियस भिक्षुनी दानं [II*]
The gift of Pusa (Pushya) the Chahaṭiya22 monk.

No. 136 = C. 32.

[च]परतिभा वृंदिला दानं [II*]
The gift of the gahapati Budhila (Buddhila).

No. 137 = C. 37.

चह[र]विश्व सार्वनिकाक्ष सातु दानं [II*]
The gift of the mother of the venerable Rahila (?), the Sāphineyaka.

19 Suvarna, i.e. the Gandharva of that name.
20 Compare the note to II, No. 33.
21 See ante, No. 77.
22 Possibly "inhabitant of Chahaṭa."
23 This might be rea चहातियस, but below (in No. 161), the च is distinct.
No. 138 = C. 42.

L. 1. नवगामका दिसारखि
L. 2. तस्स द्राम [II*]
The gift of Disārakhita (Disārakshita) from Navagāmaka (Navagrāma).

No. 139 = C. 44.

पोषदेवाय द्राम [III*]
The gift of Pothadevā (Proshṭhadevā).

No. 140 = C. 45 (?) III*.

L. 1. कंदियामिस्थ शेडिनो
L. 2. पचावत्या नागाय द्राम [III*]
The gift of Nāgā, the wife of the Sheth of Kamādaṇigāma (grāma).

No. 141 = C. 46.

L. 1. कंदियामिस्थ शेडिनो
L. 2. पचावत्या चुसाय द्राम [II]
The gift of Pusā (Pushyā), wife of the Sheth of Kamādaṇigāma.

No. 142 = C. 47.

कंदियामास चउस द्राम [II*]
The gift of Vaḍha (Vṛiddha) from Kamādaṇigrāma.

No. 143 = C. 48.

सुखगिरिनो द्राम बेखवस [III*]
The gift of Mulagiri (Mūlagiri), the copyist.

No. 144 = C. 49.

उन्निय बी.
From Ujjain . . .

No. 145 = C. 50.

यखदिना भिजुनो द्राम [III*]
The gift of Yakhadina (Yakshadatta), the monk.

No. 146 = C. 51.

उन्निया उपासिकाय द्राम [III*]
The gift of a female lay worshipper from Ujjain.

No. 147 = C. 53.

नावगामकानाउपासिकाना द्राम [III*]
The gift of the female lay worshippers of Navagāma (grāma).

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1. The deities meant here are the citās, the nymphs of the quarters of the horizon.
2. Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is in one line. Hence this may be a different one.
No. 148 = C. 55.

देवार्‍या रोहि[ण]विव दान **[26]**
The gift of Rohani (Rohini) from Ujjain.

No. 149 = C. 56.

देवार्‍या धर्मगीरी दान **[26]**
The gift of Dhamagiri (Dharma) from Ujjain.

No. 150 = C. 57.

देवार्‍या सोना दान **[26]**
The gift of Sona (Suvarga) from Ujjain.

No. 151 = C. 58.

देवार्‍या तापसियां [ठ] दान **[27]**
The gift of Naja, the daughter-in-law of the Tāpasiyas, from Ujjain.

No. 152 = C. 59.

देवार्‍या तापसिया रिषिमित्र दान **[26]**
The gift of Isimita (Rishimitra) of the Tāpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 153 = C. 60.

देवार्‍या सुलभे दान **[26]**
The gift of Muladatta (Muladatta) from Ujjain.

No. 154 = C. 61.

देवार्‍या बलकर्‍य दान **[26]**
The gift of Balakara from Ujjain.

No. 155 = C. 62.

[ढ]देवार्‍या यायुददत्त पजावित्य बुद्धत्य दान **[26]**
The gift of Vayudatta (Vayuddatta), wife of Upedadata (Upendradatta), from Ujjain.

No. 156 = C. 63.

देवार्‍या उपेददत्त सुमिरित्य द्रिमद्वारे दान **[26]**
The gift of Himadatta (Himadatta), sister of Upedadata (Upendradatta), from Ujjain.

No. 157 = C. 64.

[ढ]देवार्‍या उपेददत्त सुमिरित्य बुधारे दान **[26]**
The gift of Budha (Buddha), sister of Upedadata (Upendradatta), from Ujjain.

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26 The reverse shows clearly that the apparent u-stroke under य is due to an accidental scratch.
27 The little horizontal stroke, denoting the य is placed rather high up and detached from the vertical line.
28 देवार्‍या.
29 Possibly देवार्‍या to be read.
No. 158 = C. 65.

उजेनिया काड़िये मिहुनिये दानं [II*]
The gift of the nun Kāḍī (Kāṇḍī), from Ujjain.

No. 159 = C. 66.

उजेनिया केतामातु दानं [II*]
The gift of the mother of Chheta (Kṣetra), from Ujjain.

No. 160 = C. 67.

उजेनिया तापसियमा विश्वदत्ते दानं [II*]
The gift of Simhadatā20 (dattā) of the Tāpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 161 = 68.

उजेनिया सफिन्यकाना शस्कस दानं [II*]
The gift of Isika (Rishika) of the Saphineyakas from Ujjain.

No. 162 = C. 69.

कुरघर शस्कि पिय दानं [II*]
The gift of Isimita (Rishimitrā) from Kuraghara.

No. 163 = C. 70.

उजेनिया वा[ख]लाया दानं [II*]31
The gift of Vāsulā (?), from Ujjain.

No. 164 = C. 71.

कुरघर नरघ दानं [II*]
The gift of Narā33 from Kuraghara.

No. 165 = C. 72.

कुरघर नगमितया दानं [II*]
The gift of Nagamitā (Naga3 or Nāgamitrā), from Kuraghara.

No. 166 = C. 83.

चस्थे दयाय शस्कस मातु दानं [II*]
The gift of Aśvadevā33 (Asvadevā), mother of Samika (Svāmika).

No. 167 = C. 85.

सेविनो मतु करिय[सि]34—
(The gift of) Kaniyasi (Kaniyast), the mother of the Sheth.

30 In this and similar compounds Sinha may possibly stand for सिक्ष, shortened bhamavat.
31 Possibly विपुलाये to be read.
32 i.e. probably Naradattā.
33 In this and similar compounds चस्थ probably stands bhamavat for सच्चस्थ-
34 The vowel of वि is indistinct.
SANCHI STUPA INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 168 = C. 88.

वसुला दानः [II*]
The gift of Vasulā.

No. 169 = C. 89.

इददाता पावित्रम् दानः [II*]
The gift of Īdadaṭa (Indradatta), inhabitant of Paṇḍaṭa.

No. 170 = C. 94.

कुजारा सेविभावतु दानः [II*]
The gift of Kuṭara (Kuṇjara), the brother of the Sheth.

No. 171 = C. 96.

L. 1. —[कित]दत्तक सञ्जयन पत्नाय—
L. 2. —य दानं [II*] ²⁵
The gift of Isidatā (Rishidattā), wife of Sakadina (Sakradatta).

No. 172 = C. 97.

भद्रगुत्स सात्तकामीवर्म दानः [II*]
The gift of Bhadagutta (Bhadragupta), inhabitant of Sānukagamā (grāma).

No. 173 = C. 98.

घर्जिना सा तिन्य दानः [II*] ³⁸
The gift of Sātīla (Śantila or Svātīla) ³⁷ from Dharakinnā (Erankina or Erān).

No. 174 = C. 106.

सगाहार्य दानः [II*]
The gift of Saghā (Samghā).

No. 175 = C. 118. ³⁹

वासुमत्वा जार्जा—
(The gift of) Kāchā . . . . from Vāghumatu.

No. 176 = C. 119—21.

L. 1. सत्तेन्द्र वन्दनसः
L. 2. पुत्रस वस स्विरीपालसः
L. 3. दानं ¹ [II*]
Three (railes) ³⁶, the gift of Samika (Sodmika), the trader, and of his son Siripāla (Śripāla).

²⁵ Restore पितामह and पञ्चायत्य.
²⁶ Probably गर्भाना to be read.
³⁷ Diminutive from Śāntīdeva, Śāntivarman, or Śoditātta.
³⁸ As the inscription is mutilated, its identity with C. 118 is not absolutely certain.
³⁹ As Sir A. Cunningham (The Bhīṣa Topes, p. 252) states, the three lines are carved on three different railes, which probably were given by the two persons named.
No. 177 = C. 122.

The gift of Bhādata-Rājuka (the venerable Rājuka)

No. 178 = C. 123.

The gift of the monk Visākha (Visākha).

No. 179 = C. 130.

(The gift) of Namda from Kurara.

No. 180 = C. 132.

The gift of the nun Isidatā (Rishidattā) from Madhuvana.

No. 181 = C. 133.

The gift of the nun Isidatā (Rishidattā), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 182 = C. 134.

The gift of Dhamapāla (Dharmaśāla), inhabitant of Kuthukapada.

No. 183 = C. 147.

(The gift) of the nun Isidinā (Rishidattā), inhabitant of Namdinagara.

No. 184 = C. 151.

The gift of the monk, the venerable Dhanaka.

No. 185 = C. 157.

The gift of Dhanagiri.

No. 186 = C. 159.

L. 1. बलिकाये भिषुणिया मदलाणानिमां
L. 2. रिकाये दाने

The gift of the nun Balikā, inhabitant of Madalachhikāta.

Or Kothukapada, i.e. either Kuthuka or Kroshukapada or padra.

Read शिष्याराधकिः
L. 1. भड्जेन्यश 
संविचल दान [II*] 
The gift of Samghila, a pupil of Bhaṭṭika.42

No. 188 = C. 164. 
रहतपालितस भि— — — [II*] 
(The gift) of the monk Arhatapālita (Arhatpālita).

No. 189 = C. 165.43

L. 1. रहकास परि-
L. 2. पनकस दान [II*] 
The gift of Arahaka (Arhaka), the Paripanaka.44

No. 190 = C. 166. 
धम्मसिनिरकातु दान [II*] 
The gift of the mother of Dhamagiri (Dharmagiri).

No. 191 = C. 168. 
सिद्धशसव — — — 
... of Siddhatha (Siddhārtha) ... ...

No. 192 = C. 169. 
रसिदासिये नादिनामिकाये भिद्वनिये दान [II*] 
The gift of the nun Isidāsi (Rishidāst), inhabitant of Naṃdinagara.

No. 193 = C. 170. 
नादिनगरा दुप्सिसभिद्वनिये दान [II*] 
The gift of the nun Dupasahā (Dushprasahā?) from Naṃdinagara.

No. 194 = C. 171. 
यखदासिये दान [भिद्वनिय] [II*] 
The gift of Yakhadāsi (Yakshadāsi), the nun.

No. 195 = C. 172. 
दत्तकालिवस दान [II*]45 
The gift of Datakalivata (?)

42 Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription has only one line and may be different.
43 Compare No. 306.
44 Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.
45 This possibly means an inhabitant of Paripana, i.e., Pariparn or Paripāna?
46 The inscription may be mutilated in the beginning.
No. 196 = C. 174.\textsuperscript{47}

L. 1. दमकस सोति-
L. 2. कस कुसुकपिटु
L. 3. दान [॥*]

The gift of the weaver Damaka, father of Kusuka.

No. 197 = C. 179.\textsuperscript{48}

L. 1. इसिपालितस च
L. 2. समणस च दान [॥*] 

The gift of Isipālita (Rishipālita) and of Samana (Śramaṇa).

No. 198 = C. 186.

॥ विरस सिरुभ्रा दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Vīra.

No. 199 = C. 187=88.

L. 1. यक्षी निश्चिन्निया धारीव =
L. 2. ॥ श्रीनिवा दान ॥

The gift of the nun Yakṣī (Yaksht), inhabitant of Vālīvahana.

No. 200 = C. 189.

वेदिसवैत्र दंतारिच्छ्रुपकांम कतं [॥*]

The workers in ivory of Vēdisa have done the carving.

No. 201 = C. 192.

कुराराद नागपायस प्रथावेव वेविस नुसस च संबंध [दान] [॥*]\textsuperscript{49}

The gift of Nāgapiya (鸞) in Kurara, Sheth in Achhāvaḍa, and of (his) son Samgha.

No. 202.\textsuperscript{50}

भक्तादा विरासामतु दान [॥*]

The gift of Chirātī (Kirātī) from Achhāvāṭa (? Ma').

No. 203.

भज[रा]निय दान [॥*]

The gift of Ajarānī (Ajird).

No. 204.

[च]उक्रि गमरस गम[द]तस सिरुभ्रा दान [॥*]

The gift of Gagam'data (Gaṅgadatta), the monk, inhabitant of Aṭhakanagara.

\textsuperscript{47} There are four impressions bearing these letters. Though perfectly identical, they may yet belong to two different inscriptions.

\textsuperscript{48} Sir A. Cunningham’s identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.

\textsuperscript{49} Read कुराराद नागपायस.

\textsuperscript{50} As there are four impressions with these letters, it is possible that they refer to two separate inscriptions.
No. 205. śay — yasa dana [II*]
The gift of Apa-yaha (?)

No. 206. śayā[ka]niya dana [II*]
The gift of Apākāṇi.

No. 207. śayākasi mahānu dana śayamukhyas [II*]
The gift of the venerable Kana, pupil of the venerable Bhamḍuka.12

No. 208. śayā[na]ḥ mahānu dana [II*]
The gift of the monk, the venerable Jeta (Jayanta).

No. 209.

L. 1. śayākasi saṁghivisahārinio
L. 2. śayākasi mahānu dana [II*]
The gift of the monk Khemaka (Kshemaka), the fellow-wanderer of the venerable Phaguna (Phalguna).

No. 210. śarpana cetasas dana[ṇ][a]ḥ —
The gift of Asāṭa (Ashāṭha) ... from Arapana.

No. 211. śarpana padra — —
From Arapana ....

No. 212. [ṭ]prayāniya śiṣṭya dana [II*]
The gift of Sihā (Simhā), inhabitant of Arapāṇa.

No. 213. śrāgata dana [II]
The gift of Asaguta (Āvagupta).

No. 214. śrāgata uvajīnīyāḥ mahānu dana [II*]
The gift of Asabhā, a nun of Ujjain.

No. 215. [ṭ]ukṣaṇaīd gamaṇa — —
(The gift) of the village of Asvavati (Āśvavati).

11 Incised on the procession path.
12 See ante, p. 98, No. 16, and below No. 256.
No. 216.

L. 1. इसिनदनस दानं [II*]
L. 2. [चूः]वर्णनयन [II*]

The gift of Isinadas (Rishinandas), a nun of Nandinagara.

No. 217.

L. 1. इसिनदनस दानं [II*]
L. 2. [चूः]वर्णनयन [II*]

The gift of Isinadana (Rishinandana), inhabitant of Puñavadhana (Punyavardhana).

No. 218.

इसिरक्षितस दानं [II*]

The gift of Isirakhta (Rishirakshita).

No. 219.

उज्जेनिये वस्तरक्षितस दानं [II*]

The gift of Asvarakhtâ (Asvarakshita) in Ujjain.

No. 220.

उज्जेनिये वस्तरक्षितस दानं [II*]

The gift of the lay worshipper Sirikâ (Srîkâ) from Ujjain.

No. 221.

उज्जेनिये वस्तरक्षितस पापादित्य वा[य]वताय दानं [II*]

The gift of Vâyudatâ, wife of Oppedatâ (Upendradatta) from Ujjain.

No. 222.

L. 1. [*उ]जीनिया बुधुरप्-
L. 2. तसु सुमुस दानं [II*]

The gift of Bumu, son of Kalura, from Ujjain.

No. 223.

L. 1. उज्जेनिया तापसिया-
L. 2. न — — — पम
L. 3. [दता]य दानं [II*]

The gift of Dhamadetâ (Dharmadattâ) ... of the Tâpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 224.

[उ*]जीनिया धम्मयास्या मन् भस्मज्ञिया दां[म् II*]

The gift of the mother of the nun Dhamayasya (Dharmayâsa) from Ujjain.

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32 This is identical in words with No. 192 (C. 169), which however is in one line.
34 Read उज्जेनिया.
36 This is identical in words, but not in spelling, with No. 165 (C. 62).
SANCHI STUPA INSCRIPTIONS.

L. 1. उजेनिया बलिकाया

The gift of the mother of Balikā from Ujjain.

L. 2. मातु दानन [II]

No. 225.

उजेनिये मिते भिन्ह — — — —
(The gift) of the nun Mitā (Mitrā) in Ujjain.

No. 226.

उजेनिया वसुलख दानन [II]

The gift of Vasulā from Ujjain.

No. 227.

उजेनिया संघदत्त दानन [II]

The gift of Samghadatta (datta) from Ujjain.

No. 228.

उजेनिया सुलखास दानन [II]

The gift of Sulāsa from Ujjain.

No. 229.

उतरस रजुकस दानन [II]

The gift of Utara (Uttara), the Rajuka.

No. 230.

एजावतिय ड[पा]सिलाया — —
(The gift) of the female lay worshippers from Ejāvati.

No. 231.

एजावतिया वाहिला दानन [II]

The gift of Vāhila from Ejāvati.

No. 232.

कटकसु[य]कस [II]ददेवस दानन [II]

The gift of Idadeva (Indradeva), inhabitant of Kaṭakaṅu.

No. 233.

कटकसुया भरसहदानन [II]

The gift of Araha (Arhat) from Kaṭakaṅu.

No. 234.

कटकसुया ध — — — —

From Kaṭakaṅu . . . . . .

46 See facsimile on the plate.
No. 236.

कंदडिगामा शेष —
From Kamdaḍīgama (‘grāma), of the Sheth . . .

No. 237.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस शेषिस
L. 2. पजाविनिया देवभानाय दान [II*]
The gift of Devabhûga, wife of the Sheth of Kamdaḍīgama (‘grāma).

No. 238.

L. 1. काणस भंमुनो
L. 2. दान [II*]
The gift of the monk Kāna.

No. 239.67

कृर्त्तरा चोसकम दान [II*]
The gift of Ghosaka (Ghoshaka) from Kuraghara.

No. 240.

कृर्त्तरा नग्मतयाय दान [II*]
The gift of Nagamitá (Naga or Nágamitrá) from Kuraghara.

No. 241.

L. 1. [कृ]र चरिय स[र मत]सिरिय
L. 2. —चित — — — — — — —
(The gift) of the nun Sâtisiri (Śântisiri or Sodîtisiri), inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 242.

L. 1. कृररतो बरस्गुतस
L. 2. दान [II*]
The gift of Arahaguta (Arhadgupta) from Kurara.

No. 243.68

L. 1. कृररतो बरस्[यु]तस
L. 2. दान [II*]

No. 244.

L. 1. कृररतय भस्वातिय
L. 2. भिन्तुयिया दान [II*]69

The gift of the nun Achhâvatî (Râkhâvatî) in Kurara.

67 There are two illegible lines above that given here.
68 Restore भिन्तुयिय दान.
69 The inscription is identical in words with the preceding, but the last three letters of line 1 are almost destroyed and the spelling differs.
69 It is not impossible that the कृररतय in this inscription and in Nos. 241 and 244 is meant for कृररत. 
No. 245.

कुराराय गामादिनाय दानं [II*]  
The gift of नागदिना (Nāgadattā) in Kurara.

No. 246.

कुराराय धर्माक दानं [II*]  
The gift of Dhamaka (Dharmaka) in Kurara.

कुराराय वल — — — 

No. 247.

No. 248.

L. 1. कुराराय सचारखिताया  
L. 2. भिक्षुनिय दानं [II*]  
The gift of the nun Saghārakhitā (Samgharakhitā) in Kurara.

No. 249.

कुरारिय धराक्षुता [व दा]—  
The gift of Arahagutā (Arhadguptā), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 250.

कुर[चिय] य [चर] दिनाय दानं [II*]  
The gift of Arahadinā (Arhadattā), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 251.

[कु]रिविस सला — — — — 

No. 252.

L. 1. ग्यार भिक्षुन—  
L. 2. य दानं [II*]  
The gift of the nun Gaḍā (Gandā?).

No. 253.

गड[च] य भिक्षुनिया वेदितिकाया दानं [नं II*]  
The gift of the nun Gaḍā (Gandā?), inhabitant of Vedisa.

No. 254.

.. गरिकस पञ्चविनय—तिय दानं [II*]  
The gift of .. ti, wife of Girika.

No. 255.

( The gift) of Isinitakā (Rishikā), the Gotamī (Gautamī).

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61 Read वाग.  
62 Read वर.  
63 There are four impressions, which seem to refer to the same inscription.
No. 256.

गीतपुत्रस भुजुक्स भिषजी दानं [II]44
The gift of the monk Bhaduka, son of the Goti (Gaupti mother).

No. 257.45

जितमित्र दानं [II]
The gift of Jitamitra (Jitamitra).

No. 258.46

जोश्चक भिषजी दानं [II]
The gift of the monk Jonhaka (Jyotsnaka).

No. 259.

ताकारापदा संघर्षितस दानं [II]
The gift of Samgharakhita (Rakhita) from Takarapada.

No. 260.

तापसस गोनदक्स दानं [II]
The gift of the ascetic Gonamdaka.

No. 261.

तिरिडपदा नागाया उपासिकाय [II] न [II]
The gift of the female lay worshipper Nagâ from Tiridapada.

No. 262.

तिस्क दानं [II]
The gift of Tisa (Tishya).

No. 263.

तुडस फुजाक्स[च्च]यस दानं [II]47
The gift of Tuḍa (Tuṇḍa), inhabitant of Phujakapalli (?).

No. 264.48

तु[च]वना शक्तिनी परिवेणस दानं [II]
The gift of Gahapati Patithiya (Pratishtita) from Tumbavana.1

No. 265.

तुङ्कवना शक्तिनी परिवेणस भातु [चा]या ध[चा]य दानं [II]
The gift of Dhanya (Dhanyak), wife of the brother of the gahapati Patithiya (Pratishtita) from Tumbavana.49

44 This is identical in words with the inscription No. 16 (ante, p. 98), which however has three lines, see facsimile.
45 See facsimile.
46 Identical in words (but not in the size of the letters) with No. 75, ante, p. 105.
47 The consonant of the bracketed syllable is very doubtful.
48 Identical in words with No. 23, ante, p. 99.
49 Tumbavana occurs in Hemachandra’s Parasha Paravan. (see Professor Jacobi’s Introduction, p. 71).
No. 266.

र्तरस र्त्त्तानास र्त्तिनो र्त्तानितक दान [॥९]
The gift of the Therā, the venerable Nāga, a monk of Ujjain.

No. 267.

L. 1. दत्ताय भिक्षुग्य म — — र्त्तकार्तकाये ॥
L. 2. दान [॥२]
The gift of the nun Dattā (Dattā), inhabitant of [Maṇḍalakṣh]ikaṭa.

No. 268.

देवरक्षितस मोरजशक्तियस भिक्षुनो दान [॥२]
The gift of the monk Devarakhita (rakṣita), inhabitant of Morajahakaṭa.

No. 269.

भरगरिरनो [ठड्ड]पीयस च भिखुन दान [॥२]
The gift of the monks Dhanagiri and Chaḍipiya (Chaḍipiyā?).

No. 270.

L. 1. धमकस वेषजक—
L. 2. स दन [॥२]
The gift of Dhamaka (Dharmaka), inhabitant of Vejaja.

No. 271.

भरगरिरनो च धमसेनस च दान [॥२]
The gift both of Dhamagiri (Dharma) and of Dhamasena (Dharma).

No. 272.

भरदिनय दान [॥२]
The gift of Dhamadinā (Dharmadatta).

No. 273.

L. 1. धममपलस
g L. 2. म[ङ्गक]पालस [॥२]
The gift of Dhammapāla (Dharma and) of Mahipāla.

No. 274.

L. 1. धमरक्षितस
g L. 2. — रकरकस दान [॥२]
The Dharmarakhitā (Dharmarakshita), inhabitant of —rakara(?)

No. 275.

धमरक्षितय मधुवनितकाय दान [॥२]
The gift of Dharmarakhitā (Dharmarakshita), inhabitant of Madhuvana.

70 Restore मरकषितकाये ।
71 This may also be intended for परिपितक or पर्तक ।
72 The second vowel has been obliterated.
No. 276.

L. 1. चसु — — —
L. 2. ज्ञसस्य द[न ॥]*

The gift of the family of Dhamu[tara] (Dharmottara).

No. 277.

L. 1. मन्दिरगर चवस—
L. 2. भिक्षुनिय द[त]ं ॥*

The gift of the nun Achalā from Nadinagara (Nandē).

No. 278.

L. 1. मन्दिरगरा धम[ग य]
L. 2. दानं ॥*

The gift of Amagā (Amatē, i.e., Amrītē?) from Namdinagara.

No. 279.

L. 1. मन्दिरगर[०] उतरदत्त
L. 2. दानं [॥]*

The gift of Utaradatā (Uttaradattā) from Namdinagara.

No. 280.

मन्दिरगर [उतर]सितय दानं [॥]

The gift of Utaramitā (Uttaramitrā) from Namdinagara.

No. 281.

L. 1. [न]मन्दिरगर उपास-
L. 2. [कस] बमदस दन [॥]*

The gift of the lay worshipper Yamadā[ta] ('datta) from Namdinagara.

No. 282.

L. 1. मन्दिरगर रोहणदेव-
L. 2. य [दा]नं [॥]*

The gift of Rohanadevā (Rohinidevā) from Nadinagara (Nandinagara).

No. 283.

न[दु]तरय दन व[दि]सिजय भिक्षुनिया

The gift of Namidutarā (? Nandottarā), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 284.

L. 1. नागदतास सचर्कितस च कोर्णारां
L. 2. दानं [॥]*

The gift of Nāgadata ('datta) and Sagharakhita (Sangharakhita), inhabitants of Kuraghara.

* Probably चसुतर to be restored.
* Above the first syllable stands another न.
* Read बमदस
* This inscription has to be read from below, see ante, p. 107, No. 93.
SANCHI STUPA INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 285.77

ना[गिअ]स सैठिनी दान [॥*]
The gift of Sheth Nāgila.

No. 286.

नाटिय भिक्षुनिय [की]चरिय द[न]॥*
The gift of the nun Nātī, inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 287

नाटिनगर काबीज -
सभिकुनी दान [॥*]
The gift of the monk Kāboja (Kāmboja) from Nādīnagara (Nandī).

No. 288.78

L. 1. पंथकस भिकुनी उ[मे]य्या — —
L. 2. व्यधपालिीतस भिक्षुनी दान [॥*]
The gift of the monk Panthaka (Pānthaka) . . . . (and) of the monk Būdhapālita (Buddhapālita).

No. 289.

[पर]तिभानस दान [॥*]
The gift of Pātiṭhāna.

No. 290.

पुरुषिहद दिसागिरिगिप्तान्त दान[न]॥*
The gift of the sons of Disāgiri79 (Disāgiri) from Puruvīḍā.

No. 291.

पुशकस दन [॥*]
The gift of Pusaka (Pushyaka).

No. 292.

पुशदतस नवगमकि्यस दन [॥*]
The gift of Pusadatta (Pushyadatta), inhabitant of Navagāma (grāma).

No. 293.

पदुतिकाय सुपठायथे भिकुनिये दान [॥*]
The gift of the nun Supathāmā (Suprasthāmā ?), inhabitant of Pemuta.

No. 294.

[पर]ास्राती दिसिदताय लेवस पञ्चायतिया दान [॥*]
The gift of Isidatta (Rishidattā), the wife of Leva from Pokhara (Pushkara).

77 See facsimile. 78 Given among the facsimiles. 79 See above, note 24 to No. 138.
No. 295.

The gift of Isidatâ from Pokhara.

No. 296.

The gift of Tuđâ and Tuđa (Tuđa) from Pokhara.

No. 297.


No. 298.

The gift of Isidina (Rishidatta), inhabitant of Pođavijha.\(^{31}\)

No. 299.

(\textit{The gift}) of the monk Budhaka (Baddhaka),\(^{32}\) inhabitant of Kođijila.

No. 300.

L. 1. \textit{Buddtāyā judd[h]}

L. 2. \textit{Landariya dānā [ll]\(^{2}\)}

The gift of Baladatâ (\textit{dattā}), inhabitant of Chuđaphalagiri (Kshudra\(^{3}\)).

No. 301.

[\textit{Ko}]\textit{r} sularpuru\(^{33}\) dānā [ll]\(^{2}\}

The gift of Bohu (\textit{Bhoddhri}?), the father of Mula (Mūla).

No. 302.

\textit{Budharākhita [dānā]} [ll]\(^{2}\}

The gift of Budharakhita (Buddharakshita).

No. 303.

\textit{Budharākhita [mukhâna c]y mukhâkṣyā dānā [ll]\(^{2}\}}

The gift of the monk Budharakhita (\textit{pupil}) of the venerable Bhamḍuka.

No. 304.

L. 1. \textit{Budharākhita mukhā}

L. 2. \textit{dānā [ll]}\(^{2}\}

The gift of the nun Budharakhatâ (Buddharakshita).

\(^{30}\) Read संवर्धिन्य.

\(^{31}\) Professor Jacobi suggests that this may be derived from a Sanskrit compound श्रवविन्य.

\(^{32}\) This may be a misspelling for श्रवव or श्रव.

\(^{33}\) Perhaps meant for बमभुपरिन. See the facsimile.
No. 305.

बालिया दान [II*]
The gift of Bodhi.

No. 306.

L. 1. भडिकस भिक्षुनि
L. 2. कुरघरा–
L. 3. स दानं ||*][**]
The gift of the monk Bhaḍika, inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 307.

भड — — — खुनी कुरघरस दन [II*][**]
The gift of [the monk] Bhaḍ[ika], inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 308.

भडुनी पजावतिय दानं [II*]
The gift of the wife of Bhaḍu (Bhaṇḍu).

No. 309.

[भो]गवठना पवित्रय — —
(The gift) of Dhanikā (Dhanyakā) from Bhogavaḍhana (Vardhana).

No. 310.

महस्यता नादिनिया दानं [II*]
The gift of Nādini (Nandini) from Machhavata (Matsyavarta).

No. 311.

मनोरसस वदकिनी भी — — —
(The gift) of the carpenter\(^{64}\) Manorama . . . . .

No. 312.

सहानामस
Of Mahānāman.

No. 313.

माॅस्यतिय बरिष्दलाथ्य दानं [II*][**]
The gift of Arihadatā (Arhaddattā) from Māhasati (Mādishmatt).

No. 314.

माॅस्यतिय जि — — स दानं [II*]
The gift of Jī . . . from Mādishmati (Mādishmoti).

\(^{64}\) Probably कुरघरस to be read.
\(^{65}\) Restore भडिकस भिक्षुनि.
\(^{*}\) I take \textit{vaddakino} to stand for \textit{vaddhakino}, just as we have in No. 210 \textit{Asadh}a for \textit{Asadh}a.
\(^{67}\) Meant for माष्यतिय; the blurred letters of the inscription might be taken to represent माॅष्यतिय.
No. 315.
भिनसिरिया दानं भिखुनिया श्रीरिया [॥*]
The gift of Mitasiri (Mitraśri), a nun of Kurara.

No. 316.
यथिय भिखुनिये वेदिसा दानं [॥*]
The gift of the nun Yakhī (Yakedī) from Vedisa.

No. 317.
रतिनयमाहिषसयि दानं [॥*]
The gift of Ratina from Māhīṣati (Māhīṣmati).

No. 318.
L. 1. रेविलस नंदिनगारकस॥
L. 2. दानं [॥*]
The gift of Rebila, inhabitants of Namdinagara.

No. 319.
L. 1. रेवतिसमितय बलकः
L. 2. स पञ्चावतिः[या दा]ः [॥*]
The gift of Revatimitā (Revatīmitā), wife of Balaka.

No. 320.
L. 1. वजिनियभिखुनिया
L. 2. दानं [॥*]
The gift of the nun Vajini (Vajirīni).

Nos. 321-22.
L. 1. वरदलस दानं
L. 2. भगिनिया वरसेनाय
L. 3. दानं
The gift of Varadatha (Cṭatta); the gift of (his) sister Varasena.

No. 323.
L. 1. वरदलस पञ्चावतिय
L. 2. इसलय दानं [॥*]
The gift of Isalā (Rishilā), wife of Varadatha (Varadatta).

॥88 Meant for रतिनय, diminutive from रति or रत.
॥89 Probably meant for नंदिनगारकस.
॥90 This probably stands for Rebhīla, like Āśā (No. 210) for Āśāha.
॥91 Meant for रसलय.
No. 324.
L. 1. वरदतस प्रजवतया
L. 2. रोहा दाने [॥*]
The gift of Rohâ, wife of Varadatā (*datta*).

No. 325.
बद्धास दान [॥*]
The gift of Varuṇa.

No. 326.
L. 1. [व]सुमिताय भिन-
L. 2. वृनिय [दान]
L. 3. उजेलिकय
The gift of Vasumitā (*mitā*), a nun of Ujjain.

No. 327.
बसुहाय दान [॥*]
The gift of Vasulâ.

No. 328.
बादोवलाती ब्रोदकस दान [॥*]
The gift of Odaka (*Ardraka*) from Vādīvahana.

No. 329.
बासवय नादनगर भ्रूनिय दान [॥*]
The gift of Vāsavâ, a nun from Namdinagara.

No. 330.
L. 1. [वः]तिरिक्षय भुत-
L. 2. रक्तस दान [॥*]
The gift of Bhutarakhita (*Bhūtārakhita*) from Vitirinahä (?).

No. 331.
L. 1. वितिरिनिहिय म्यि-
L. 2. रक्तस दान [॥*]
The gift of Mahirakhita (*Mahirakshita*) from Vitirinahû (?).

No. 332.
L. 1. बसुहाय कापासिगा—
L. 2. मदू मिहूनिय दान [॥*]
The gift of Vipulâ, a nun from Kāpāsīgāma (*grāma*).
No. 383.

बिरोहकट घरिनी [सिमायी दान [॥*]
The gift of Sijhâ (Saikshâ), a house-wife from Virohakaṭa.

No. 384.

विसाखरक्षितस् दानं [॥*]
The gift of Visâkharakhita (Visâkharakshita).

No. 385.

विसाखरक्षिती भिक्षुणी दानं [॥*]
The gift of the monk Visakharakhita (Visâkharakshita).

No. 386.

वीरसनाये दानं [॥*]
The gift of Vīresonā.

No. 387.

वी[राधे] भिक्षुणिया तीववनिमाय दानं
The gift of Vīrâ(?), a nun of Tumbavana.

No. 388.

वेदिसा भर्ध्वरक्षित — दानं [॥*]
The gift of Arahatarakhita (Arhadrakshita) from Vedisa.

No. 389.

वेदिसा दत्तस कलवद्धस दानं [॥*]

No. 390.

वेदिसा दत्तस कलवद्धस दानं [॥*]
The gift of Datta (Datta) Kalavâda from Vedisa.

No. 391.

वेदिसा मोहिनिये भिक्षुनिये दानं [॥*]
The gift of the nun Mohikâ from Vedisa.

No. 392.

सकरक्षितस् दानं [॥*]
The gift of Sakarakhita (Sakrarakshita).

No. 393.

संघरक्षिताय वैरमिकाय भिक्षुनिया [दनि] [॥*]
The gift of Samgharakhitâ (Crakshitâ), a nun of Kurama.

॥* Meant for वेदिसा.
No. 344.

Of Saṃghā.

No. 345.

Saṃghādrasakamata dāna \[II\*\]
The gift of Saṃghā, mother of Dāsaka.

No. 346.

Satiguta dāna \[II\*\]
The gift of Satiguta (Śaktigupta or Svātigupta).

No. 347.

L. 1. Samantam bhikṣunī padutaras bhāvikṣunī
L. 2. dāna \[II\*\]
The gift of the monk Samāna (Śramaṇa), pupil of the venerable Utara (Uttara).

No. 348.

Samikas bhyanugas bhāvikṣunī dāna \[II\*\]
The gift of Samika (Śvāmika), pupil of the venerable Nāga (Nāga).

No. 349.

L. 1. Samikas bhā[κ]ya
tt. 2. pūnar ch śi[ḥt̥e]va-
L. 3. s [d̤a]n \[II\*\]
The gift of the trader Samika (Śvāmika) and of (his) son Śihaḍeva (Śiṃha').

No. 350.

Samikṣaya bhikṣunī-

L. 2. y dāna \[II\*\]
The gift of the nun Samikā (Śvāmikā).

No. 351.

Sāmikāya bhikṣunīya dāna
The gift of the nun Sāmikā (Śvāmikā).

No. 352.

[śa\*]maitasat bhikṣunī dāna \[II\*\]
The gift of the monk [Sā]midata (Śvāmidatta).

No. 353.

Sīridināya bhikṣunīya nāḍinagariya dāna \[II\*\]
The gift of the nun Sīridinā (Śrīdattā) of Nandinagara.
No. 354.
Of Siribhāga (Śrībhāga).

No. 355.
The gift of the nun Sirimitā (Śrīmitrā) of Nandinagara.

No. 356.
The gift of the nun Śrī (Śrī).

No. 357.

Of Śivatī.

No. 358.

Of Sihā (Simhā).

No. 359.
L. 1. Sīkṣāya deibandaya
L. 2. ch dān [ku]rvarā śīkṣa-
L. 3. niṃ [ku]
The gift of Sīhā (Simhā) and Devadatā (dattā), nuns from Kuraghara.

No. 360.
The gift of Sīhā (Simhā), Samāltikā (Samāptikā?) (and?) Vajjiniḥka (Vajrinikā).

No. 361.
Of the wife of Subāhita.

No. 362:
L. 1. Śūrīya bhradvajya paṃtik-
L. 2. y dān [ku]
The gift of Sūrīya (Śūryā and), Budhadevā (Buddha?) of Pēmatā.

Incised on the procession path and surrounded by four sacred symbols, among which that on the right looks like a large m. See facsimile on the plate.
Possibly samātikāya may stand for samātrikāya and be intended to indicate that Vajjiniḥka was the mother of Sīhā.
If so, the construction is of course ungrammatical.
Compare No. 48, ante, p. 102.
No. 363.

L. 1. ठरियाय भिषु-
L. 2. निया दानं [II*]

The gift of the nun Suriya (Sūryā).

No. 364.

L. 1. षेतपथियस
L. 2. योनस दानं [II*]

The gift of Yona (Yavana), inhabitant of Setapatha (Śvetā).

No. 365.

L. 1. छलाय द्विखलिणि-
L. 2. य दानं [II*]

The gift of Hālā, the Southern (?).²⁶

No. 366.

— — — कस भजितिगुतुकलस — —²⁷

No. 367.

[स]वजश चसवे[वाय*] — —

No. 368.

लेवस [भि ?] — — —

No. 369.

— — — [सतिसी] [?] कुरस दानं [II*]

No. 370.

— — — नागिलस दानं [II*]

No. 371.

L. 1. — — — तय एवावत्[व]
L. 2. पू — न

No. 372.

— — दस दान सपजावतिकास [II*]

No. 373.

— — — य कुशुपदवस [दानं] [II*]

No. 374.

L. 1. — — — रा संचपालि[ताय*]
L. 2. भिषुनिय दा[म] [II*]

²⁶ The explanation of छलाय by हलिया is, of course, merely tentative.
²⁷ On the analogy of Gujarāṭī Vikamāji for Vikramaśī, Ajitigula may stand for Adityagupta.
No. 375.

L. 2. — — — य सुभागव पुसाय नागदत्त संधररकितस सीरिङ रबा[बा] [नैं?]
L. 1. दानं [[[०]]]

The gift of . . . Subhagā, Pusā (Pushyā) Nāgadata (datta) Saghārakhita (Samghārakhita), inhabitants of Kuraghara.

No. 376.

—— — — उत[राय] द — — —

No. 377. ०

L. 1. [यो] दसो काकणा — ती तोरण वा बेदिक वा
L. 2. उपाध्याय उपाध्या — या दा चाप वा (वा) बाचरिखु —
L. 3. बंकाम्य सौ स — — — तिन तितिचा — न
L. 4. चक्रितपातिग — — — — — — — [स मो]
L. 5. [कम] उपाध्याय काकण — — — — [स पापा]
L. 6. [कर] न सेव — — — — — — — — —

He who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kākaṇā[va] an ornamental arch or rail, or causes it to be transferred to another temple of the teacher [shall incur the guilt] of murderers of mothers, of murderers of fathers, of murderers of Arhats . . . . . . . . . . . .

No. 378. ०

यभी न दं[चा] गन्निकारकान्त [ग] त गक्षेय यो दसो काकणवातो सी[ल]कमे उपाध्य[वा]
[उपा] दापिय वा

चन्दा वा चाचरिखुकं संकामिया तस ते पालका भवेद [नैं]

A pillar (the gift) of the workmen, inhabitants of Pāmchānagara (?) . . . on him, who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kākaṇāva the stonework or causes it to be transferred to another temple of the teacher, shall fall (the guilt) of those mortal sins.

TOPE II.

No. 22 = C. 1.

पानिलस दानं चायस चंतिवासिनी [नैं]

The gift of Nāgila, the pupil of Aya (Arya).

No. 23 = C. 2.

संधररकितस संभस्कु — —

. . . of Dhamarakhita (Dharmarakhita), the pupil.

---

98 The inscriptions must be read from below.
99 Identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 183. There is a large abrasion in the centre, and the right sides of lines 1-4 have been somewhat defaced by a large diagram which has been carved over them. Restore l. 1 खाकणावानी; l. 2 डचापाया बाचरिखु, l. 3 बंकाम्य सौ तितिचा. All the bracketed signs are indistinct and their vowels doubtful. See facsimile on the plate.
1 This explanation, which requires संधररित्ववा to be taken in the sense of खरवाक्षवा, has been suggested to me by Professor Jacob. With बाचरिखु, in the sense of 'temple of the teacher,' compare दलिनिया.
2 This inscription, which may be identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 195, is incised on a long band. See facsimile.
SANCHI STUPA INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 24 = C. 7.

सचायमित्र सभिषुनो दान [II*]
The gift of the monk Saghāmitra (Saghāmitra).

No. 25 = C. 8.

बुधपालिता शेरिजो पुस्तक्कलिम्य दान [II*]
The gift of Sheth Budhapālita (Buddha), inhabitant of Pādakulikā (Pādakulikā).

No. 26 = C. 15.

L. 1. वलयाकोराये भिषु.
L. 2. निमित्त दान [II*]
The gift of the nun Valā, inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 27 = C. 19.

L. 1. वलयाकथम परायकथम शासा-
दक्षा चत्तदसिग्ध दान [II*]
The gift of Balaka, the pupil of the venerable Arhaguta (Arhaguta), inhabitant of Sāsāda.

No. 28 = C. 21.

सुखाया दान यभो गङ्गाय चत्तदसिग्ध [II*]
A pillar, the gift of Mulā (Mūlā), the pupil of Gaḍā.

No. 29 = C. 22.

L. 1. सचरक्षिताया मातु — — कहिङ्गाय.
L. 2. चविणिया मिलणिया दान [II*]
The gift of the nun Isidāṣt (Isidāṣt), inhabitant of — — kaḍa, mother of Sagharakhitā (Sagharakhitā).

No. 30 = C. 23.

चविणिया विचरणिया दान [II*]
The gift of the venerable Budharkhita (Budharkhita), inhabitant of Pokhāra (Pushkara).

No. 31 = C. 26.

सिद्दाव्या टिकिस्य दान [II*]
The gift of Tikisa (?) from Sidakaḍa.

No. 32 = C. 27.

— य सिद्दाव्या दान [II*]
The gift of . . . i, inhabitant of Sidakāḍa.

* See ante, p. 110, No. 1.
* The syllable γd stands in l. 2 after दान.
* The letters गa and कa look rather modern, the गa is of the Andhra type.
No. 38 = C. 38.
बुधपालिता सिद्धाण्य दानं [i’]
The gift of Budhapálitá (Buddha), inhabitant of Sidakaśa.

No. 34 = C. 29.
सिद्धाण्य गीताय दानं [i’]
The gift of Golā (Godāvari), inhabitant of Sadakaśa (Sidakaśa).

No. 35 = C. 31.
बधगुताय सिद्धाण्य दानं [i’]
The gift of Budhagutá (Buddhaguptā), inhabitant of Sidakaśa.

No. 36 = C. 34.
चरवकस भिषुनो भाष्यकस दानं [i’]
The gift of the monk Arahaka (Arhat), a preacher.

No. 37 = C. 35.
बहुलस दानं [i’]
The gift of Bahula.

No. 38 = C. 39.
नागरक्षितस्म भिषुनो पीवरेकस दानं [i’]
The gift of the monk Nāgarakhyita (rakshitā), inhabitant of Pokhara (Pushkara).

No. 39 = C. 40.
L. 1. चरवक्षि भिषुनो दानं कोरं-
L. 2. स [i’]
The gift of the monk Sagharakhyita (Samgharakhita), an inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 40 = C. 43.
चविन्धिय भिषुनिय वभो दानं [i’]
A pillar, the gift of the nun Odi.

No. 41.
चयस पीवरेकस दानं [i’]
The gift of Aya (Āya), inhabitant of Pokhara (Pushkara).

No. 42.
चन्द्रेवाय भिषुनिय द[र]िन [i’]
The gift of the nun Asadevā (Ādevā).
SANCHI STUFA INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 43.

L. 1. चा०जा०वा चा०वा०सी-
L. 2. कस दानं [II*]
The gift of Avāsika from Ājanāva.

No. 44.

रक्षितत्वम भिखुनियम दनं [II*]
The gift of the nun Isidatta (Rishidatta).

No. 45.

इद्दददस उपसकस दनं [II*]
The gift of the layman Īdadata (Indradatta).

No. 46.

गंधारस भिखुनो दानं [II*]
The gift of the monk Gamdhāra.

No. 47.

गोतमिया भिखुनिया दनं [II*]
The gift of the nun Gotamī (Gautamī).

No. 48.

विचरतियम भिखुनियम दयं [II*]
The gift of the nun Chiratī (Kirāttī).

No. 49.

षु[व]मोरयाटियो गामस द[र]न [II*]
The gift of the village of Chumvamoragiri (?)

No. 50:

दानं मोरयाटियो नस [II*]
The gift of the inhabitant of Morayahikata.

No. 51:

L. 1. वमरसरियम उपसिक-
L. 2. य दनं [II*]
The gift of Dhamarasiri (Dharmaśri ?), a lay worshipper.

7 The letters are somewhat blurred.
8 The letters are blurred and only just recognisable.
9 The w-stroke of ā is very faint, and there is also an d-stroke at the top, which seems to have been afterwards obliterated.
10 Read दानं.
11 The second sign is abnormal. I suspect that शुरमार्गियो is intended.
12 This is probably intended for शमरसरिय; compare शन्यापश्च in the Mathurā inscriptions,—ante, p. 210. No. 37.
No. 52.

[घ]मरुवन भिक्षुनी दन [ठ]१३
The gift of the monk Dhamasena (*Dharma*).

No. 53.

L. 1. नदिनगरा
L. 2. चस्तवय भिक्षुय दन [ठ]१४
The gift of the nun Asadava (*Aśvadevā*), from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 54.

L. 1. नदिनगरा
L. 2. — निमित्य भिक्षुय दन [ठ]१५
The gift of the nun ... imitā from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 55.

नं[ङ]जास भिक्षुनी दन [ठ]१६
The gift of the monk Nāmduka.

No. 56.

पलस भिक्षुनी दन [ठ]१७
The gift of the monk Pala (*Pāla*).

No. 57.

L. 1. ब[ङ]कस कुरस भिकु
L. 2. दन [ठ]१८
The gift of the Badhaka (?) (*Baddhaka*), a monk of Kurara.

No. 58.

बु[ङ]श[ङ]स उदुबारग्रिहस [र]न [ठ]
The gift of Budhagupta (*Buddhagupta*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*).

No. 59.

बुधरक्षितक गुत्ताकाः च चर[ङ]्याल्ठक दन [ठ]
The gift of Budharakshitaka (*Buddharakshitaka*), the Sutātika (*Sautrāntika*),
inhabitant of Arapāna.

---

\*13 All the letters are much blurred, and the first is not certain.
\*14 Meant for *भस्तवय* भिक्षुयः.
\*15 Restore जिमित्य.
\*16 Possibly जास, but compare above, No. 16.
\*17 All the letters are much blurred, and the first may have been ञ.
\*18 The second letter is not closed at the top and not certain. The name may be intended for Balaka,—see above.

No. 26.
No. 60.

बुधराखित — "

No. 61.

L. 1. बुधराखितय भिखुनि[य]
L. 2. दन [॥८]
The gift of the nun Budharakhita (Buddharakhita).

No. 62.

बुधराखितस् भिखुनो दन [॥८]
The gift of the monk Budharakhita (Buddharakhita).

No. 63.

बोधिया भ —
(The gift) of Bodhi . . . .

No. 64.

भ[र]ष्मुत्तिनो भिखुनो दान [॥८]
The gift of the monk Bharanabhutī (?) (Bharanibhuti).

No. 65.

भिखुनिकाय दान [॥८]
The gift of Bhichhunikā (the little nun ?)

No. 66.

रोहणिकस् उदुबराग्रिस्य दन [॥८]
The gift of Rohanīka, inhabitant of Udubaraghara (Udumbaragriha).

No. 67.

विपुलस् भिखुनो [दा]न [॥८]
The gift of the monk Vipula.

No. 68.

L. 1. विसकस् रोहणिपदिवस
cR. 2. दन [॥८]
The gift of Visaka (Pibvaka), inhabitant of Rohanipada.

No. 69.

सदय मातू साफिनिकियाय [॥८]
(The gift) of the Sāphineyikā, mother of Saghā (Samghā).

19 The व is made circular, the त has the looped form of some Andhra and Mathurā inscriptions. The last letter is uncertain.

20 All the lines of the letters are double.
No. 70.

कीषिरिय भिषुनिय दानं [II*]
The gift of the nun Śoṇasiri (Suvarṇabṛti).

No. 71.

— — — तया ग्रिहेश्वराय धम — — [सह]धय दानं [II*]

No. 72.

L. 1. — — — रस भिषुनी मातु वीषुय 
L. 2. — — — वा दानं [II*]*
The gift of Koḍu, mother of the monk . . . . ra, . . . .

No. 73.

L. 1. — [म]द[ख]ताय [II*]
L. 2. दान बौरसिका [य] [चतु]वासिनय [II]
The gift of Dhamarakhitā (?), pupil of Koramikā.

No. 74.

— — — शस भिषुनो दानं [II*] 
The gift of the monk . . . . na.

No. 75.

— — — तुनय स — — —

No. 76.

L. 1. — — — य भिषुनिय 
L. 2. — — [को]र रिय [II*]
(The gift) of the nun . . . inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 77.

— — — भिषुनी दानं [II*]

No. 78.

— — — तया धवदेवय दन [II*]
The gift of . . . . tā, Dhavadevā (Dharmadevā).

*Restauro धसरविदाव.
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*This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer's new impression.*
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* This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, compare asa (Note).  
* This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, instead of Hadasa (P).  
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° This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer’s new impression, instead of Poḍavihika. It is confirmed by the form Poḍavihaka in No. 298.
XXXII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1485.

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

Dr. Burgess has furnished me with good impressions, by Dr. A. Führer, of three inscriptions of the Guhila princes of Mewād, which are at Chitorgadh in the Udaypur state of Rājputāna. Of the earliest\(^1\) of them—it is dated in the Vikrama year 1331—I have already given an account\(^2\) in Indian Antiquary, vol. XXII, p. 80, from a rubbing of Mr. Garrick’s that had been sent to me by the late Sir A. Cunningham. I here publish the text of the second inscription, the only one of the three that is complete, of the Vikrama year 1485.

This inscription is on a slab of black marble, inside a large carved stone temple which according to local information was built by Mokalji.\(^3\) It contains fifty-three lines of writing, which cover a space of about 4’ 2” broad by 2’ 8” high. In the midst of the writing, causing a break in the lines 21-29, is an ornamental device, \(5\frac{3}{4}\) square, enclosing a circle which is about 3” in diameter; and inside this circle again is an open flower with eight leaves. Near the periphery of the circle is a verse in the Anushtubh metre, which apparently invokes the blessing of the God Hara (Śiva), but the letters of which are too faint in the impression to be read with confidence. And in the centre, and on the leaves of the flower and around them, seventeen other aksharas are engraved, three of which clearly give the name Mokala. The writing of the inscription is generally

\(^1\) A photo-lithograph of it is given in Sir A. Cunningham’s Archæol. Survey of India, vol. XXIII, plate xxv.

\(^2\) In Dr. Führer’s impressions the name of the 14th prince, Amrūpaśraddha, is quite distinct. Otherwise, I have nothing to add to my previous account of the inscription, and I do not think that it would be worth while republishing the text of it.

\(^3\) See Archæol. Survey of India, vol. XXIII, p. 106, and plate xxxiii.
well preserved, so that, with the exception of about a dozen aksharas, the actual wording of the text may be made out with certainty. The average size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{8}$" and $\frac{7}{16}$". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Sāṃskṛt, and, excepting the introductory words Oṁ Oṁ namah Śivāya and a date at the end, the whole is in verse. Considering the great length of the inscription, the historical information conveyed by it is very meagre indeed; and the author has tried to make up for the want of substance bylengthy and exaggerated descriptions of the valour, fame, piety and munificence of the princes of whom he is treating. His language is sometimes obscure, and not free from actual mistakes. The orthography does not differ from that of an ordinary Sāṃskṛt manuscript.

The object of the inscription is, to record the erection, at Chitrakūṭa (the modern Chitorgaḍh), of a temple of the god Śiva (Sāmīdhaśa or Sāmādhīśa) by the prince Mokala of Medapāṭa (or Mewāḍ). After the words “Oṁ, Oṁ, adoration to Śiva,” the inscription has four verses invoking the blessings of Gajāya (Ganeśa), Ekaliṅga (Śiva), the daughter of the mountain (i.e. Śiva’s consort Pārvatī) who dwells on the Vindhya, and Ačyuta (Viśṇu). The poet then (in verses 5-6) glorifies the pious and famous family of the prince Guhīla. In that family was born the lord of Medapāṭa Arisimha (vv. 7-12). His son was the prince Hammira (Hammira-vīra, Hammira-deva; vv. 13-23). From him sprang the prince Kṣetra (Kṣetra-mahīpati, Kṣetra-kṣhītīśa; vv. 24-33). His son was the prince Lakṣhasimha (Lakṣa hasimha-vrīpati, Laksha-kṣhītīśa; vv. 34-43), who according to verses 38 and 41 freed the holy place Gaṇḍī from the distress brought upon it by the ruler of the Śakas (i.e. the Muḥammadans). And Lakṣhasimha’s son was Mokala (Mokala-kshmōpati, Mokalentra; vv. 44-60), whom his father appointed his successor, and of whom in verse 51 it is intimated that he defeated Peroja, the king of the Yavanas (meaning, again, the Muḥammadans). Mokala, according to vv. 61-64, had already before built a splendid temple of the lord of Dwārakā (i.e. the god Viśṇu-Kṛṣṇa), near which he also had a tank excavated. And it is now recorded by this inscription (vv. 65-73) that on the Mount Chitrakūṭa, situated in the prince’s dominion, Mokala also built a temple of the god Śiva (Sāmīdhaśa or Sāmādhīśa) and provided for its proper maintenance. Verse 74 gives the date on which this temple was inaugurated; and the Praṣasti closes (in verse 75) with a prayer for the continuance of Mokala’s rule. Five additional verses record that the preceding Praṣasti was written (i.e. composed) by Ekanātha, a son of Bhāṭṭa Viśṇu, of the Daśapura clan; that the temple was constructed by Mana, the son of Vijala; and that the inscription was written on the stone by Viṣala, a son of Mana, and engraved by Viṣa, who also is described as a son of Mana, and is perhaps identical with Viṣala. And the inscription ends with a date which differs from the date given in verse 74.

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4 The text, in verse 72, actually has Samīdhaśa, which must be altered to either Samīdhaśa or Samādhīśa. Samādhīśa occurs, as a name of Śiva, in line 63 of this inscription and in other inscriptions at Chitorgaḍh and Mount Abā; and Samīdhaśa see leaf in another Chitorgaḍh inscription of the Vikrama year 1207. See below, p. 422.
4 Verse 46 states in a general way that Mokala subdued the Angas, Kāmarūpas, Vahgas, Nishādas, Chmas, and Turuśkas; but there can be no doubt that that verse has been put in solely for the sake of poetical ornamentation.
7 The original has alīkhat, which must here mean ‘composed,’ because the writer’s name is given afterwards, and because the name of the composer would hardly have been omitted.
Neither the date in verse 74 nor the one at the end of the inscription works out satisfactorily. According to verse 74 the temple built by Mokala was inaugurated on the day of the preceptor of the gods, i.e. on a Thursday, the third lunar day of the dark half of the month Tapasya, i.e. Phālguna, of the Vikrama year made up of the arrows (5), eight (8), the Vedas (4) and the earth (1), i.e. 1485, under the nakshatra of Aryaman, i.e. Pūrvā-phalguni, while the sun was in the sign Makara and Jupiter in the sign Ghaṭa, i.e. Kumbha. Here the statements that the sun (on Phālguna-vadi 3) was in the sign Makara, and that Jupiter was in the sign Kumbha, show that the scheme of the lunar month was the pūrṇimānta scheme, and that the date must fall between the 25th February A.D. 1428 and the 20th February A.D. 1429 (i.e. in the Jovian year Rākshasa, as determined by the northern mean-sign system); and accordingly the true equivalent for Phālguna-vadi 3 of Vikrama 1485 can only be the 23rd January A.D. 1429. On that day the third tithi of the dark half ended 18h. 29m. after mean sunrise, the nakshatra at sunrise was Pūrvā-phalguni, and the sun was in Makara and Jupiter in Kumbha, all as required; but the day was a Sunday, not a Thursday, as stated erroneously by the inscription.— The date at the end of the inscription is Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Māgha of the year 1485. In the impression the figures for the day is not as clear as one could wish it to be. But, under any circumstances, this date, on which the inscription is said to have been engraved, would precede the date recorded in the body of the inscription; and assuming my reading to be right, the possible equivalents of the date would be Monday, the 19th January A.D. 1428, and Saturday, the 8th January A.D. 1429, which shows that this date too cannot be correct.

Notwithstanding these errors, there appears to be no reason to doubt that the temple which was built by Mokala, was finished by him in A.D. 1428-1429, and that this inscription furnishes a true date for the reign of that prince. Mokala, therefore, could not have been succeeded by his son Kumbhakarna (Koombho) as early as Vikrama 1475 = A.D. 1419, as was stated by Tod in his Annals and Antiquities of Bājasthān vol. I, p. 286. And if there be any truth in the statement of our inscription that Mokala defeated the Yavana King Pēroja, who could only have been the Sultān Frūz Shāh (A.D. 1351—1388), the commencement of his reign, too, must be placed at least ten years before the time assigned to it by Tod. As regards Mokala’s predecessors, I can only say that the list furnished of them by this inscription agrees with the one given in the Annals and Antiquities of Bājasthān and in Frinsep’s Useful Tables, p. 257.

TEXT.\textsuperscript{11}

L. 1.

सिद्धायमस्तुसरीक्रकलविद्वंद्वराराध्यायंस्य क्षणं

सहस्रसिद्धाक्रमं शतोन्नुमकान्तिक्षिप्त: \textsuperscript{11}

संयोजनमहितकायस्तिमनस्तिमानस्यसमस्यायमीय:।

समर्पित्वीक्षितम् प्रविच्छेद्य देनो गतस्बिंवम् ॥ \textsuperscript{13}

বেদা বাস্তব মিথ্যাপ্রস্তাবন্তো যঃ কৃত্বাথাবিষ্য।

\textsuperscript{9} The earliest certain date of Kumbhakarna’s reign known to me is of the Vikrama year 1462; see Peterson’s Third Report, Appendix, p. 203.

\textsuperscript{10} The names given by Tod are Ursi, Hamir, Khaita, Lakhna Rana, and Moluk. Annals, vol I, pp. 267-277.

\textsuperscript{11} From an impression, prepared by Dr. Führer.

\textsuperscript{12} Expressed by a symbol.

\textsuperscript{13} Metre of verses 1—4: Śārdulavikrīti.
CHITORGADH INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

L. 2.

ता

छाँवी तत्त्वमिवः पुनर्भवति समिज्ञानांध्वंशिन्।

आयैवे14 विमाहेरु सकलं द्राता दिविन: द्रवं

देवं सन्निकारः पर: स सत्तं स्त्रादेवशिनिगाभिः।।२।।

भूरीव्रोहवंशे16 [विचरित्तितियिः गुणी गना बंधवो]

विश्वामित्तारिवितो न विकितः प्रक्षापणविक्षाव्यात्15।।

जन्या मान्यतमा सभोक्ष्यविधा।

3.

विलेखांक्षिप्तिः

वास्तोग्नदेवनाय भिरिझा विधायवा सावतातु।।२।।

वाक्ष्यीतत्वुपुरुषविवरितः सेयं मिया राधिका

आर्जित्वं नन्द विज्ञापी न भवती।।२।। चार्यायास्यस्यसि।

युर्लो ना17[विच] कलामरी दुविदितं लं सत्वाह्मायवा

नीसासीति विनिततीलीसुदितिरिक्षबुधः। पातुः ॥।४।।

स्कार्यायायोनायो युजिलनरतरे।

4.

पितु आप्रवर्मणसिः

वेस्तीवृतांतांताय वस्तिरिजः युजः धन्यवाक्षारद्वयः।

भाश्चापास्तारागे(ग) विशयविनिर्मितिः भूरिभोगोनभागः।।

भूरीविनि विचरितः सपद्ध यत्तम्भी।।७।। यद संसूय यशः।।५।।१९।।

वार्तस्तीत्वविज्ञानात्तिनियमित्रिः दितिः प्रक्षापणानायायवातिन्य

विश्वासानायावानपरिश्यो मान्यालोकाकारः।

प्रक्षापणविविध्यि सुनिकायागीतादिनोऽखितः

विचरितः व।।

5.

धुरंधुतां विनननु यस्योपपदिनायः।।७।।३।।

वंगः तत्त्वारिसः विचरितपरिसः वर्णनेत्वकः

दीवादोऽम्बुक्षारबुधः विश्वासानायायवातेशमुपज्ञानाश्च।।

विश्वासायायर्देश्युरदश्यदिनोऽन्यायात्तितः।।

स्कार्यायायितिपारसतिवविश्वासान्नायायवातेशः।।७।।१०।।

नरपरितिरिफः। यदत्वाक्षारोपेत्ता वितर्थराः।

6.

याक्षण्याः विश्वविश्वात्ववधे।।१।।

रुदमलसुधीवः पुनःगोमोबनामा नयविन्यायवेदोऽवाप्रुक्षिकः। स्नः।।३।।२

विभाविश्वंददुसुधा सकारी नून मधोनो यतो

वारी सम(स) दिवसत्वात्तपः।।१२।। नौष्ठोत्यय ग्रह्यति।।

पाण्डः कविलेः।।२३।। वाजनघाते देवायथोऽवर्ष्या।

14 Read क्षणिकः।
15 I should have expected प्रक्षापणः।
16 The reading of this line is perfectly clear in the impression, but the end of it yields no suitable sense.
17 Read वाजनः।
18 Metre: गलगढ़।
19 Metre: शारदुलविक्रमचित्ता।
20 पाण्डोऽ‘cloud’ is apparently used here in the sense of पांडोऽ‘ocean.’ Originally पुष्पवः was engraved.
21 Metre: गलगढ़।
22 Metre: मालिन।
23 Originally ऋजीवर ऋजीवर was engraved.
24 Read वाजनः।
ल. 7.

रघुरेख(क्ष)का

खेतांती निश्चारिताभमस्मयादालिंगिता दिनामेयः।

श्रीरामानन्दिकार्तन तु विधिना लब्धारादृष्टिका

वश्वासविनयकुसुमसम्राजय प्रभुभा दिनेयः १०॥

विजयसन्तानसंगी व्यतरेतत्तायः १८॥ वर्षातीतीविचारं वयोलक्षतं भोजभूमिपति।

चत्व चघमदः समः कविभूपिते वादद्राहिनिविविधावाचः २७॥ विद्विधाहिनीानि परं २५॥

नित्यको न संस्कृतः

8.

रोम कविनिओ नान्तनिविषितं

दुरााँतवाकवीपी: परशुटी ने भारती हुंकार।

महानां विवचारांसंगतितो नाभीः। यथा ता यथो

नाराय: कविभूपिता: कथमदः। पुराः स भुया दिनः। २१॥

स्वर: षट्ष्टापि गणविवि[क]ा वेष्टावनसं:। छत्र-स्त्रय व्यक्तवर्ज्जसानाचरिता चषष्टीर्घारीरो जयो।

विजयात: सरस्यजतरवपिरीनिवासानानो वास्यीचुतारणानी रितु।

9.

कृष्णोपममपूर्वी महान्। १२॥

श्रीपी: कित्र देवयोनितिविविहिंद्रे रु: संहर्षं गवा-

मियतक्षं संहर्षं गवान्वितानायी भयं जयमुः।

श्रुतस्रोतसं प्रखतसन्धिरीयो: नवा संहर्षं पुनः

चन्द्रमुः समुतपातायितसुता तथामेविशिंतन्। १४॥

कष्टाद्वितिमतय दिब्रमिथ्यवादादय दिब्रमंकारी-

रचि हरामपाय वालमसाहाता खण द्रिश्योः।

इत्यावशे

10.

जयमती: परिष्वं खं वथनानान्तकान्

ह्युं न चमते प्रणा मनुष्यं यज्ञिलोकः त्वावति। १४॥

प्रासादमसाहादित्याभकुवंशं चस्मोव्यामवकरः।

पचीखसवारकर्मसंयंतरसर्ववेदनाभिधिं १६॥

वंचाक्रामाचावस सहिंदुस्वल्पं संस्ता वंचाखि

स्त्रियाय ह्यामलांगी बधवजलस्वल्पुर्दिरिवघारा।

चित्रं सुते निकोव अयुषः

11.

मतिमःविलसिनीयं विघ्नि

धा[कल]चारता निकंतं दुःखं नियतं वाराणस्य पतंगश। १६॥

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54 Metre of verses 9 and 10: Sārdhālavikṛtī.  
55 This may have been altered to "कुर्ष्यके".  
57 Perhaps altered to "शादर्दिको" read "श्रीदर्दिको" (P).  
59 The meaning of this is not clear to me.  
60 Perhaps the original has इत्. Read पुरीं इत् (P).  
61 Metre of verses 12—15: Sārdhālavikṛtī.  
62 Metre: Upajñi.  
63 Read छाया (P) and पतंगी.  
64 Metre: Brağhārā.
CHITORGADH INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

ब्रह्मी वर्तमान रणरथगिरी वाज्ञाबुरीति वर्तमानविद्रोहः।।
चारापवलंबकिरणक的理想वस्तुतिंद्रियविद्रोहः।।18॥
एसंतप्यी ज्ञानसद्विवेकसंभावाती द्वाराता
वाकाव्यविकर्षणं सत्यसम्भवं वीर्यतः भीतिहिंसः।।1॥

ना-।

L. 12. ध्य: कार्य चिन्हमयति वशमता ने विभीति विघ- न्यानं वांस चताः नां वितरति रमते न विकविन्न चिन्तं ॥१८॥
पायं पायं सुपूरणः परम्परविधं तब्धिशीवंजननाता
खः: कालः कुटोतं कार्यमियपरः कौनिरविज्ञं (क्ष)चाखः ॥1॥
एकेनाभायं नुम बदरियनितानेवतायंखानाते
तासासुधितिसंयं भुदुरज्य(व)वज्जस्वस्च चालः ॥।

13. ॥२०॥
उत्कृष्णद्रासापाणलस्वतंत्रसर्विकीर्तियें विवक्ता- न्यायसहायककीर्तिएकिरः धिरातरविन्यासः।।1॥
शकी इपातम सं वच्यमति त स वर्णविशेषो त्यंक्रा- प्रोरे वर्णविशेष धृति परस्पर संबंधवं संक्षेपत् ॥ २१॥
कुंभग्रंथे जनो सं विचित्रिति विचित्रवादुदृष्टशास्त्रिषो
नि पंके जन दोष व्यज्ञवटतरते तथा रक्तेनन्द ॥।1॥

भूवला ॥

14. चार्देतकेतिप्रतियोगः खस्चवर्षोऽपेक्षः
गंगा यथोपपथम दिनं दिनं सुचिरं सरलविना सुचिकः ॥ २२॥
गोरी गोरीश्वरविदादीपी विचित्रशिबंदनवाचारी या
कालाः कार्त्तिकापञ्चमित्यानेन ॥ २२॥
शर्यायेशवज्जस्वद्वृत्तचत्तवाचारियंदेहिँं ॥
कौनिरविज्ञंतुसनं: जिन चरिति दशायांतविश्वायात्तात् ॥ २१॥

तत्तवार्थः।

15. दम्महीपति: समस्मरणाती गुण्यांभोगियः
शीर्षामाधीपशल(च)वल(च)महत्तो॥८॥
श्राविन्नमाणी वैण अनन्थे रज्ज्वराक्रांतिः
भुभुशुला जनत्युक्तस्वागतिगम्यभाणायायिना ॥ २४॥
झार्दितिविज्ञितामाय योजिनिमित्यारामो मदनसाद्यमूलितिविज्ञिताविकारिकोः।।
समरंडस्त्रिवियो लोकविद्वामर्जी नयनालिनं।

16. सश्रीरज: प्रजायांसाधनमेवः ॥ २५॥
संयथः द्वितिदशक्ष्यन्नायनसूची मग्नसहीययोगः
क्षारक्षुराक्षामागहिनिनियिविदविवलिताग्रेवाहानाते।।1॥

** Metro: Upajāti. **
** Metre of verses 19-23: Sragdhāra. **
** Read स्रगधारा. **

** Read श्रार्दिति. **
** Metro: Sārdulavikṛṣṭa. **
** Metro: Mālinī. **
जिला दुर्ग समय नरपतिश्रीं सारवादस्य सम्बन्धः प्रक्षणं नीलकृष्णामारिकसम्बन्धस्य विषं सम्बन्धम्। ॥ १४ ॥

चामरंतता हवपुंगवें विलकल्पेऽसः चतुर्थः: पदः सम्भविषपालिता

L. 17. 

नवनवानवाप्रवर्धीदया ॥(१)
प्रासोत्साहस्यमृत्तिकी बड़ुः रक्षार्धवर्धिणी श्रीः
शुरुः कौरंतयो धरारतस्य वज्रबाला वासुरतिः ॥ २७ ॥
कौरंतयो धरारतस्य वज्रविविषदमोहस्वीचिमली
क्षणः गृहस्थ खः: सुकुमरसमरे शैवमालाय घटिः।
दृष्टविषे राजसंहः दिविणि दिविणि न ततो सानं सीवस्या-

18. 

ना:
सीतस्या किर्ति: सुरित स वसोविषपितामोहितेऽवा ॥ २८ ॥

प्रक्षणां: काव्यातः सुरिति बिल भवान्ध्वे वैरे— ॥४५
— [श्री]श्रीविलेश भववद्विन्भं भूताराजेऽताय ॥(१)
प्रक्षणलोको न धैर्यं भविति विन्धवेऽचक्षुः[श्री] निवोगानी-
कृतिः सतिः पतिः सीधरश्वेताः मीति: पतिः निवर्पयो

19. 

नीविभत: पञ्चापत: ॥ २८ ॥

चामत: कलतरी दिक्षाम भववेधमालं जूताः
कारुः चेतमश्रीपतिः: प्रवती दानारु युक्तायः।
वर्ष[हुः खः]करे ग्यानानभविः लं वसंसे निवायः
कौरंतयो यति [वा] ददाति च तदा वर्षीं क देहे जन: ॥ २० ॥

दृष्टं राजसंहः धैर्य्य मीयो विज्ञाने सीतश्रवश्चेतीनी-
सुण्टः

20. 

नामिप नामाक्षेपितस्याभ्यासोषीमनः: ॥
उमाेश्वरददश(दु) जामददश्वास्यायताशिक्षुः
श्रीशायुक्तमात्रविद्यिणरथपितामहः: ॥ २१ ॥
मात्रविद्यिणरस्यसतीमीति विगुल्लोकोऽधर्मीवैवै
स्वर्गलोके ददश्वास्यायामानी।

जास्ते प्राचीपक्षे गण्यति न गव्यं विद्वियां युः

21. 

खरामि:-
धर्मः: चेता चिनिष्टः प्रतिभास्यभाषाराजैकिटुः। ॥ २२ ॥
मूःस्त्रोतु तु जडोभ्युवस्तिपयं समुद्र्यात्त्यक्षरं
स्योतं च सुहुश्चुः ग्यश्चितं यांति न[वा] ददाति ॥(१)

44 Here four aksaras are broken away.
43 Metre of verses 30 and 31: Sārdūlavikṛtīta.
42 Perhaps altered to करारश.
41 Metre: Srāddhāra.
CHITORGADH INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD. 415

दारिद्रोपहर्त विश्विः यहुन्दासिद्देहः ॥ यथा जायं कार्यार्थान्तरं सुविचारं यथासंबंधः ॥

L. 22.

ततैः: किल व्यासोऽपि धर्मसंत्वरतत्विः। क्राचातो गुणसामायी ॥

सबसद्वंसङ्करसाकारणयोभिसमनातः ॥

यस्ते जीविष्णुदेवः [चह] पवनमलाब्धिता सुविचारकः ॥

कार्धानारः भक्तिर्मुद्रिणां नामसाकाराराध्यां ॥

रामः चं जितजूकः समरे रामारः

23.

रागाश्रे "

श्रुतुः कित्वा जयेन्द्रबरः सुचेत वञ्चनागः ॥

तारार्यम्भ उगमेन वयुपाकंशार्यम् [वते] दतोः

यो रामार्यनां वैस्मालुकति डूँ विचारति क्रतः ॥

दारादुबलासना मरणममनकोषाप्राप्तिसीमा

भीमाविशेष्यमा वशत्सुकुरोतो विचित्रय गी-

24.

तनामः

चतुरमारादासमा महसुसाविनिद्वसस्तीसामा ॥

स्वतःमर्यमेवरोऽवर्जणस्वरतस्वासदिच्छति: स योभिः ॥

वेदीर्वा सुदारमसारहदमदेनाद् ॥ संयत: शुद्धा:

दारादुबलाकोस्तिंसर्परसहिष्णुषविष्णुतः ॥

दाने माने वापणे यथारः

25.

सरसमि [वते] साधुवाकः क्षापस्वः

वीरर्मणमेरिगम न वि परः खातममः स[स] टिः ॥

नीतिमोक्तसुमार्कीस्वायतना [वच्] मो व्रतानि यज्ञार्थः

दार्याद दार्मिकात्माया अत्तुतः अस्तान्तरायां गयाः।

तीर्थनां कार्माकृतिः विचित्रान्यायापि युक्तः

26.

न

प्रागदायनविवधातोपशस्वायमादिनारोपितः ॥

संग्रामभुत गतात्मानी विदः [वच्] श्रवः परिक्षितो

दलः लागः वचमपि स्वयं न न ततुते सत्तैवमाचरणः।

कुर्ष्णि: किल कानकवीयः तुषां तत्नबंधितंवचला-

[वच्] श्रवः ततत्सार्वनन्दिति बुधो लच्चापि ॥

27.

जायमः ॥ ॥

दाने चेतासुतात्मां समकृत्य बल्क्ष्य सुभिषुमापदितः[ततः] नाम भास्वायायात्मानां कुतत्काजनमेवहितकिता रामायनः

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44 The word बच before हुदा ो appears rather superfluous.
45 Metre of verses 33—36: Sādālavikṛṣṭa.
46 Originally बच म ि was engraved.
47 One would expect श्रवः.
48 Originally बच म ि was engraved.
49 Read "सुभासम ".
50 Metre of verses 36 and 37: Sragdhāra.
51 Read "हुदा ".
52 The sign of as Mudra of ग is very faint.
53 Metre of verses 36 and 39: Sādālavikṛṣṭa.
54 Read "शासन ".
संयासः [न] बृहत्तां ग्रामसर्वश्च राजस्थाने जिते
विका वंशु वसेन्तु जिसु समुतपत्। शारु प्रेमादित्याणः। ||40||

L. 28. पशुपदां श्माविपक्कवीर्यभवग्नाः
धीरोध्वमुच्युग्रीसैव गयां साब्यसुविषुक्तः।
धन्यवान्य चम्पालोकमक्षितः [का] राय परागयानी
भि.[सा सा] गतस्थापत्राजयसः पञ्चायायास्मनः। ||41||

30. चरितपूर्वः घटतो गर्मस्थिषोः पुरः।
तथासः सुदानां विद्धता घोरं दसापरा-सौ मानारीधिवर्णीकृतथिविधिः यियावतः। ||42||
संयासः कात्मी श्रेष्ठः कौन्याना दरातन मानारिधा-
क्षेत्रातथासदरात्त्वाभिवाचिस्यात्तिचित्रिषोऽसां।

31. महा[न] नीडः नियोक्तामन्त्रालाब्धः [चा] न यत्तीत्-त्वात् माय दुर्गमुखित्वतुतः। ||43||
तथा ज्ञावाय नीडः न तयः। चत्तीकायम् [क्षण्]
[सं]भृत: कार्यन्द्री गुजनः। दुः: सुपीमाः।
पशुम भूतिः दाश्रु विषुः [न] यत्तकुमार:। पुरः
सत्यार्य यत्तात्ताचस्यसू पारा नायः।

32. गंगीसंगम गतविवद्धदमा जातिसदा निष्ठादः।
पाना: संग्रामदीनाः। खलकदिमुन्नो मोदिश्यकसत्का
रूपस्युः गर्हिते सुमयिः महिमाः ज्ञापमेक्विष्वतः। ||45||
वुः। ||55||
सिद्धरंिण्यकसमस्थानः राजसमाना गभिः।
कूर्वत: यथसुः राजसीविषाः। विगत्तकम कालाः।
संग्रामश्रमवानाः रि-
L. 38.

पुजारिश्वादाः प्रासाकालिपयोगा

त्वेष्युव्रातविभजा: खलु दधिरज्ञ गूढः वर्षति सचा: ॥ ४७ ॥

खश्च भौतक्यालवश्चरणस[वि]कृत्यमकालाकामः ॥

वर्ज्ञवर्ज्ञेष[सी]कममभर्मवलिभाराधारायर्षां ।

ना[ह] नए?ता विविधानिते तु विरममु अच्छनन्दकामः

पञ्चालवर्षायच्याचारपिनिते तत्स्थ भाय्य मश्रीयः

34. ॥ ४८ ॥

बारो नामाशु महातकरंचिरुचन्नभासितालक्षे वैरातु

पारापारानन्तरायादयः न यह गमन हुरस्मारदवादायः

सेवनिवासकिनिरल्लतः वद्वतं दस्त वितं नितांतः

[से] वोमारितवारि प्रतिविरमसदो भृपंमेर्लक्षणः ॥ ४८ ॥

पञ्चालाछपीवणीमितपुरुष[से]लतमभयमचारे-

प्रहु व्र(व)श्र(श)।

35. ॥ ४८ ॥

क्षमाियमवर्मिपुल्लवी पीछे दशेषु सङ्कः।

कौशलीः सुभोखः कलरवति वलयादिसृधिकिरिष्ठारिः-

शतारायदुवृंहुकरणकुलुकु दीवरवेद्यारिः ॥ ५० ॥

नेता पानपारा मानवनरपर्यं दुघितितविनयस्वेनः

परीयाम कौशिकविक्कससमस्मत्वर्थरीविकर्मगच्छः।

पञ्चालवकांतिवातः

36. ॥ ५० ॥

कल्यानं कलया कौसिता यथा खेतां

पञ्चालाभ्येष्व मात्रात्यकस्येविषाण्यां रंकुंभं: ॥ ५० ॥

पारस्तं सिंहा तुलां कलरवति ट्रांडुहीच्यां कलया

दूरं मुक्करपरिश्रील बहुचस चित्रोमसाधया ।

घोरीयां दस्तुस्तं तु विधिना प्रामार्तं माहीते

क्षमाियविनितमां चित्रितुमा श्रीमोकलस्तावः ॥(१) ५२ ॥

37. ॥ ५२ ॥

मानवमुण्डन मनोगार्थनीतिति

मो जानाती निजमित्रामामतुसं किचा यथा विजाम ।

मयो भारतकिर्मिरिष्ठारिविषाण्यां घाता तुल्याधमग्राम-

देशदायां सोममभुज(xy) मार्यादापि ज[ना]तित विषः ॥ ५२ ॥

दृष्टा शाक्तकोटिकृष्टमधुसं दानाय मानवानिकं

बहा: शौचित[सूच] निजस्थं: संगेरीते शाविका:।

मार्मालिन्ति

38. ॥ ५२ ॥

工程机械 धरती रंश्विं विचं विचायमानी

श्रीमात्रि श्रवणीति किस्मु तुलमावस्तु संबोधितः ॥ ५४ ॥

46 Read श्रवणाः.
48 Read धरती.
49 Read 'श्रवणाः'.
50 Read धरती.
51 Read धरती.
52 Here, again, the reading is quite certain, but the sense is not clear. Perhaps the intended reading may be 'चारवाहिः'.
53 This is not quite clear in the original.
54 Perhaps altered to श्रवणा.
55 Metre of verses 52-53: शादालविक्रिया. 
The word संस्कृत is apparently used here in the sense of लगतः.

77 Read गायंमी.
78 Metre of verses 55 and 56: Sragdharā.
79 द्वीरानिवितायविषधे मौकलेष्टे रशि:। ॥ ॥ ॥
80 Read निवितायारपति:॥
81 द्वीरानिवितायविषधे मौकलेष्टे रशि:। ॥ ॥ ॥
82 द्वीरानिवितायविषधे मौकलेष्टे रशि:। ॥ ॥ ॥
83 द्वीरानिवितायविषधे मौकलेष्टे रशि:। ॥ ॥ ॥
43. विसमसय नियनन 66 सुषमाचार्यवंशयानां ॥ ६१ ॥
यशस प्रसुससमूलवसिविलसाधारातृसभारधर ॥ ५८ ॥
पार्त चारात्यायलचदालिलवलसक्षोललाला ॥ ५९ ॥
आचार्यभद्राचर श्रुतिसुमसंहुना साधकसाधक यिवं।
व चारणेन: चारणायनयिव ॥ ६२ ॥
विवाहतिमा मनसदेशु माननमिव ॥ ६३ ॥
सौदु नेष: पविद्या: चणमपि वि- ॥

44. रच्छ हरकानाय (व) कथा
प्रेम्या पादीयलूलं धर्मसुपर्नवार्तामध्यक्षेणम्।
न्योद्वा सुभयोनेरतिपतातिततरामंतरभाषणः।
शापः ॥६१॥ ने विद्वानेयमिति विनासिष्यः ॥ ६२ ॥
शिवंक्रृतं पूर्णिमवितितमराघ्नान्तेतिसंपन्नः।
विशेषविषेधसक्षारं प्रशङ्कलितावतासोदतः।
सत्त्वयद्यात्विविधननमः ॥ ६३ ॥

45. द्रोभागसंरीराधनां ॥ ६४ ॥
सम्योवन्तुरसः कुर्नति वनस्मतीसिद्धितुः ॥ ६५ ॥
शुभाचर्ये भूतीन विवशयास्ववर्षौं मन्मद्रोहवृत्तया [वि] वृत्तवृंगमौर्येन।
म[शो]दर देहार: परमसन्नाव्यांतः ॥ ६६ ॥
पवित्रतरकोंसी नार्ति चिन्दुटाचरः ॥ ६७ ॥
जातां नाम कामं कुलसर्मिनुतः ससु शूरोधुंगा।
कैशिका विचक्षु तुलनाथ। ॥

46. तुमानलं तीर्थभूमिप्रदेशः।
मा भूमियहिमलो ॥ ६८ ॥
मदुदितजतुल्या नीचागामाविश्वः।
हो या: रावणारिष्यसाधितरसयुअगाधिवासः ॥ ६९ ॥
हामारिविज्ञानिकृतमर्कविशिष्टाजातसेवारिकृ।
खिलाचार्या वाचवन्यमवदवनरभोगवासमधुतात्।
मानसाराधाराराजपुरूः[श]नवनुं द्रावक्षिनिदिचे।
विवर्धनीतिः वन्याल अनभवभिनवमनानवी।

47. ॥ धेयो विद्यात् ॥ ७० ॥
एतिहिनायिनितिनिमंत्रवा यथा निवापाणला-वुष्टोतस्त्यवानंतरवा-विशुद्धराष्ट्राकः। तस्ययंल:।
वेदांशंभवस्मृतार्थानुसूची मन्मद्रोहामी।
नेत्राचार्य विलोपजीवाङ्कारेयौि स्वरुपति रुद्रं ॥ ७१ ॥ ॥

66 Read सुभाषिता्।
67 Metre: शास्त्रवाक्यलिखिता्।
68 Originally read शास्त्रवाक्यलिखिता्।
69 Read "सुभाषिता्" in both cases.
70 Read पूर्वपुसंवर्ष:।
71 Metre: धारावत्तया।
72 Read पूर्वपुसंवर्ष:।
73 Metre: धारावत्तया।
74 Read "सुभाषिता्".
75 Read शास्त्रवाक्यलिखिता्।
76 Read वाणिज्य।
77 Read वाणिज्य।
78 Metre: प्रिथ्वी।
79 Read शुभाषिता्।
80 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
1 Metre of verses 66 and 67: Sragdhārā.
2 Read वाणिज्य।
3 Read शास्त्रवाक्यलिखिता्।
क्षंका फिं नाम दुष्य ज्ञानिविद्वारतः यद दु स्वाटः[काश्यप]
[प्रा]दुर्वत्मिष्ठ बिन्दनान्त गानितल्लों ग्रहितार्थः शा—

L. 48. नै।
यो भसि चर्मवानिविनिविसचरतर परेऽराजर्षेनादायस्यः
द्वारुः विकल्पात्वा ज्ञाति यथस्तिमंखिन्यं भूरिपृमीः। ॥ ६८ ॥
सौभानिवेशस्याश्चित्विभयोंत्रिय्यिवभास्वातः यहाँग्रास्तिः प्रयविविधानवसातः। सायत्नानां गुइः। ॥(१)
देव: सीमिव समस्ताक्रमप्रसतताकाण्टम्याः
प्रयोगाचारावर्तनुदुफ्प्रभास्तार्नुक्षणः। ॥ ७० ॥
सेवा—

49. निवादक्षेत्रम्मुर्तिर्चरित्रम्मस्तार्ञम्।
क्ष्या: तिथिवानिवित्तोपत्तवस्यास्यास्यास्यात्नां।
द्वारधिर्प्रतिभायं वहान्ति यथस्तूः मक्रातोमाजस्य
प्रतिभावं समतलादिर्महत्रभुमबुधुलिपि यवत्। ॥ ७१ ॥
तिगिरि: कौसारसो द्विपुसुस्त्रुणामानविनात्मकम्बयामा। प्रभृति न नायनं विन्दुः। ॥(१)

50. प्रदेशाभास्यः[क्] तिरमणोऽय मद्युः समस्युः।
शौमानिष्ठत्वस्तिसहितस्वायंधार्यकरमिस्यमानम्।
वाल्प्रासादपातादामसामानस्यात्मकम्बयामाम्।
यथायोद्धारावस्यात्मकसूद्धतारात्र।
वीर: शीक्षकोऽद्रोधयुपुर्युर्युरिवत्वं धामायामात्मकं॥ ७२ ॥
प्रदे: वानान्त्वेदचित्तपरिलक्षितः

51. विभागरोजवंशीः:
पुष्पे मासे तपस्य सवितिरि मकरे यति जीवे घटक। ॥(१)
प्रदे: शूङ्गरवर्मुशुर्युपुर्युद्रसे भार्यस्यं कृतस्य तृतीया
स्थिताः देशविषयाभमाजकस्तततां मीक्रवी भूसिंहाः। ॥ ७४ ॥
उपरियात्मकं ताल्लुकं वकारावर्तणीगीतप्रास्मधामां
स्वामा यावदृष्टे विनाशपरंपरापलतस्यानीति।
पर्यायेरपण्यं स्मृति द्रामाती शेषमूर्त्ति च यवान्।

52. सात्तान्त्वप्रमाणोऽर्थतुः वदुपश्वितमी शीक्षादेव्यायेः। ॥ ७५ ॥
शीक्षामुरुःश्राक्रितिसाराविशेषोऽनुस्वरूपः।
नामसीकात्मानामायमिलितमन्त्रविभागम्। ॥ १ ॥

* Read नरिस्वतः.
* The aksharas in these brackets are damaged.
* Read मृत्युशुद्धः।
* Metre: Saradvākhyā.
* Metre: Śādālvātikṛṣṭā.
* Read ईशाने प्राणः; originally ईशानुः was engraved.
* Read "कलकुवर्दमानः".
* Metre: Saradvākhyā.
* Read बलिक्रियः; or बलायीक्रियः, which are both names of Siva.
* Metre: Sīkharīpt.
* Six aksharas of this line are omitted; the last word of the line must have been ज्ञानी.
* Metre of verses 73-75: Saradvākhyā.
* Read पालुः.
* Metre: Ślokā (Anushīṇā).
XXXIII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAULUKYA KUMARAPALA.

THE [Vikrama] YEAR 1207.

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

This inscription is on a slab of black marble which is preserved in the temple of Mokalji¹ at Chitorgadh, in the Udaypur state of Bājputāna. I edit it from Dr. Führer's impressions.

The inscription contains twenty-eight lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 5" broad by 1' 3" high. Lines 1-14 are generally well preserved; but in the subsequent lines part of the writing is entirely gone, in consequence of the peeling off of the surface of the stone, on the proper right side; and from the same cause a number of aksharas has also disappeared on the left side, in lines 24-28. In the midst of the writing causing a break in lines 17-23, is an ornamental drawing, about 3½" square, which encloses a circle about 3½" in diameter. Near the periphery of this circle and across the square, both vertically and horizontally, there is some writing (apparently a verse) the greater part of which is too faint to be made out. The size of the letters is between ½" and ¾". The characters are Nāgari. The language is Sanskrit; and nearly the whole inscription is in verse. It is carefully written and engraved, and in respect of orthography it is only necessary to state that ṣ is denoted by the sign for v, and that the dental sibilant is

¹ See above, p. 408. [I took impressions of the inscriptions at Chitorgadh in January 1878; Mr. H. B. W. Garriock copied several of them in 1884 (Arch. Surv. Reports, vol. XXIII, pls. xx, xxi); and again Dr. Führer on a tour in Bājputāna took fresh impressions, one of which is used for this paper.—J. B.]
several times used instead of the palatal and the palatal once instead of the dental sibilant.

The inscription is dated (in line 28) in the year 1207, corresponding, as a year of the Vikrama era, to A.D. 1149-50 or 1150-51; and its object is, to record a visit of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla to Mount Chitrakūṭa, the modern Chitorghāth, and some donations which on that occasion were made by the king in favour of a temple of the god Śamiddheśvara (Śiva) on the hill.—After the words "Om! Adoration to the Omniscient," the inscription has five verses, three of which glorify the god Śiva under the names of Śarva, Mṛiḍa, and Śamiddheśvara, while the others invoke the assistance of the goddess of eloquence, Sarasvatī, and celebrate the compositions of poets. The author then (in line 5) eulogizes the family of the Chaulukyas. In that family the king Mālarāja was born (line 6), and when he and many other kings of the same lineage had gone to heaven, there came the king Siddharāja (line 7), who again was succeeded by Kumārapāladeva (line 9). When this king had defeated the ruler of Śākambhari (line 10) and devastated the Sapādalaksha country (line 11), he went to a place named Śālipura (line 12), and having pitched his great camp there, he came to view the glorious beauty of the Chitrakūṭa mountain; the temples, palaces, lakes or tanks, slopes and woods are extolled in lines 13-19. Kumārapāla was delighted with what he saw there, and having come to a temple of the god Śamiddheśvara (line 22) which was on the northern slope of the mountain, he worshipped the god and his consort, and gave to the temple a village the name of which has not been preserved (line 26). Other donations (a ghānakā or 'oil-mill' for lights, etc.) are spoken of in line 27; and line 28 tells us that this Praśasti was composed by the chief of the Digambaras Rāmakṛtti, a pupil of Jayakṛtti, and records the date, already given above.

It will be seen from this abstract of the contents that this inscription is not of a very great importance; but it shows at any rate that Kumārapāla's well-known victory over (Arnorāja), the ruler of the Sapādalaksha country, whose capital was Śākambhari (Sāmbhar) in Rājputāna, must have taken place in the Vikrama year 1207, or very shortly before it.—The place Śālipura at which Kumārapāla is said to have been encamped, and which must have been near Chitrakūṭa, I am unable to identify.

Text.3

1.  "नमः सर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःसर्वःs

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4 From impressions prepared by Dr. A. Führer.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
6 Read "वय.
7 Metre: Śloka (Anuvāchā). and of the next verse
L 5. कीसी(ती)गां वाणिज्यासा सहीदा: || न बैरसवलितः 11 गीताम जलानी 12 समाभयः।
रक्षारियपुरीवर्तिः चोरुक्कालामिश्रतः || नाती:-
6. दयाधत गीतामबाहुविशेषां निधिः || सुलराजय(त)हक्किनाथय शुमारणविवेकः(वकः)·
खः || वित्यावर चतुः यज्ञ चेतनः सर्वभ सर्वभ्यं || प्रजा राजसती डून(न) जयः
7. श्रीसी चिरकालतः || तत्कालिनः 17 मधुकरिः भूपतिष्यु क्रीष्ण यात्रिकु भुरियु सुच्चिमणविवेकः।
प्राप्तूः 18 योग्यबिः कर्मां सुखामिः तोषितवरः-
8. जनृपति: प्राप्तीत व(ब)सुत || जयसिद्धः 12 समाभिः यं विलोक्य समंतः। ब्राह्मण अगतिः
यामीविवेकः(अ)गा[(अ)]मरमिद्रमः || तत्कालिनरसाभः-
9. आ(त्र) संप्रासे नियतवसः 18। कुमारपालनविधुत्युतात्पालिंततः। || समुदाप्रसासः
न परं वेन ज्यावः। पदं भूमिविशेषांच: कारिः
10. तो व(ब)पुरालमः || भाषा यथा महानवेशवन्दुसः(व)पितमहः। पियिः शूरसिरमचः(चे)·
देवयोगे वैसाम् || सहोनेत्रिकु(कु)आयुः 18 शाकारं-
11. ग: प्रियापुरुसकः न शाकारिः। चाप प्रासंतमवायुक्तायमुः: हर्षी थथा समेभवार्जः
प्रभृतः 17। सपादलमाजाचः 18 नवनवः
12. तमयालकः: [ख]य[म]यावनालयो गामे शालिपुरालिधे || सांविशेषः 19 विल(विव)परं चरु
तत्त्वाचितसत्वनायुपः(क्क) || विवृकः
13. टाँगिरिपु[ख]लयोभी दूतमान नृपति: कुलेन्द्रः 20 यथेष्ठसरस्प्रायोपायायात्मतः 20
रथं नयोलं मंदः संदं भंगमवादवः। य-
14. क्षुद्रभिषरकास्तायिनीसुखसारिः। वर्तमानी निशानाय लक्ष्ये लक्षितीयः। प्रस्तुतारः
राजासंस्कारानान्सः 21 विगृहस्पातिनविवेचीविवः
15. — 22 — स[ख]चार्यनिरीमराज्यो रखंगवेरीछुमादिविवः। || परिभाषासस्यतिवन
क्षनः: साविश्वा श्राविश्वालया(वा)हुः। तु(क)छिरपतंतं(वा)सवारिः
16. — 23 सूरे सतां यज्ञ चतुः सरोणः: || स(क)रंभुवसमवायुक्तोहसःताळसारिविविहं
सहुरासः 23 यज्ञ चालीखायाः। शहीदसतरादभाः। शह-
17. — — — — — समावयति शालिकामिनः: कामिनीभिः। यवेसः 25 यवेस शालिकामां
राजि मित्या:। राजिया विष्यान्नि निजामाः। गः[त्]-
18. — — — — — — — [ख] तनंगवंगस्तालय: रूव(च)संहित || प्रापः 26 कादपिन न या
हर्षे यथा साजनं यमया दुर्धर्यं || यद्यमेव शु(स)्-
सिद्धं:। राजा विषु: पराहेला संताभविज्ञानाः

11 Divide, also, दैर्घ्य विकारः।
12 i.e., also, जानायाः।
13 Metro: Vasantatilakā.
14 Metro: Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the next three verses.
15 Read साध्यायाः।
16 Metro: Bhujāṅgoṣayāta.
17 Originally मद्यव एव was engraved.
18 Metro: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
19 Metro: Svāgata।
20 Metro: Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.
21 Metro: Vārāṇasītha; and of the next verse.
22 The aṣṭakaras, here broken away, are probably मा: || प्रमः
23 The aṣṭakaras, here broken away, are probably राजाः।
24 Metro: Mālint.
25 Metro: Bhujāṅgoṣayāta.
26 Metro: Dadhaka.
27 Metro: Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of all the following verses.
XXXIV—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SÜBA OF DIHLÍ.

BY PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

The following inscriptions are in continuation of, and in addition to, those contained in a previous paper, *Oriectalis*, pp. 130 seq. I begin with Fathâbâd, which was there represented by the inscription from Firôz Shâh's famous pillar.  

**Fathâbâd.**

1. To the left of the mîhrâb of what is now an 'Idgâh in the fort of Fathâbâd, is a light-coloured rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of ten lines, measuring 2' 8" by

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28 In the prose passage, from here up to the end of line 27, it is impossible to say exactly how many aksharas are broken away in each place.

29 Metre: Ślokâ (Anuśṭubh).

30 Below this line some more aksharas have been roughly engraved; but they are quite illegible in the impression.

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1 Mr. H. B. W. Garriek, in General Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. XXIII, p. 11, remarks that Maulâwî Ziyâ uddîn Khân has been successful in deciphering the long inscription on the above-mentioned monolith (see plate II there); but, so far as I know, the translation has not yet been published.
"In the name," etc. (Qorân, Sûra lxxii, 18, 19). "The prophet,—upon whom be peace,—says, 'He who builds, etc.' This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, Bádischáh-i-Gházi,—May God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom [and guide] his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amirs, Amir Rustam Beg, son of his highness the pardoned and purified chosen Amir Muhammad 'Ali,—God Almighty. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . on the 2nd of the month Ramazân A. 945 (the 22nd January, 1539). The superintendent of the work (was) the poor 'Abdul-Karîm."

The verse at the end of the inscription cannot be fully deciphered. The whole has a striking resemblance to the inscription of Amir Muhammad’s mosque at Hîsâr (ante, p. 155).

2. Into the outer wall of the mosque enclosure in the fort of Fathâbâd a rectangular sandstone is let containing a well-known invocation of 'Ali in Arabic, in four lines, size 1' 2½" by 6½"—

"In the name, etc. Invoke 'Ali, the manifestor of miracles; thou wilt find him
for thy help in adversities. Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish through thy prophethood, O Muhammad, through thy saintliness, O 'Ali, O 'Ali, O 'Ali, O 'Ali!"

HİŞAR.

3. Near the Nâgor-Gate, outside the town, is a sandstone (measuring 5' by 4''), on four sides covered with inscriptions. It belonged to the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî, but it is now on a wrong grave, where it was placed a short time ago, on being dug up. The inscription, in one line, on the west upper side, runs—

نتقل اين سلطان المشاهير والروايا شيخ محمد بن شيخ محمد قندی في الناسمة من شهاب سد اثنى

"The departure of this king of the Shaikhs and the Saints, Shaikh Muhammad, son of Mahmūd, the Chishti, (took place) on the 9th Sha'bân, 892 (31st July, 1487)."

Since the tomb of so highly revered a man as Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî was may claim some interest, I give also the Arabic inscriptions of the lower west side and of the east face—

يا مي بذكاري استنال قد غرة طول الامل المراد بفغيه والقبر صدره العمل

Metre: Rajaz.

"Ah! He that is occupied with his earthly life and the length of his hope (i.e., his hoped life-time) deceives himself! Death comes unexpectedly, and the tomb is the coffin of his work."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه

"In the name, etc., there is no God but, etc. Is not the world verily like the station of a camel-rider? Will he sleep in the evening when he is to depart in the morning?"

4. Outside the Nâgor-Gate is also the enclosure known as Shaikh Junaid's tomb. The stone on the west contains the name of the builder twice, who, in spite of the omission of any title, may nevertheless be identical with the Shaikh named, from his also being

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3 This formula is very popular for amulets all over the East. It is engraved on bracelets just as on swords (see Proceedings As. S. Beng. for November 1872, p. 169). Mr. Blochmann gives it in his Âfarâ' Akbârî Translation, p. 507, with an unmetrical alteration in the second line. But see also Proceedings As. S. Beng. (loc. cit.)

4 Some of the following inscriptions were published by Blochmann, in Proceedings As. S. Beng. for April 1877, pp. 94 seq.

4 The most extensive essay on the whole branch of the Chishti Saints (see ante, p. 145) is in the Sanadî' ul-anwâr, a copy of which work is in India Office Library in London. The contents of this large volume (481 pages of 17 lines each) have been copiously described by Prof. C. H. Ethé in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the India Office Collection (No. 854), for access to the proof sheets of which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. R. Rost. It is known that biographies of single Chishtis are likewise given in other works and that there are writings treating of single members as the Majlîs ut-tâlibîn, which is restricted to the life and deeds of Nâisâm uddîn Aulîyâ. Compared with such books those of the princess Jahânârî about Shaikh Mu'în uddin and of her brother Dârâ Shukî (Saifam ual-âliyâ) are very dilletante. I have perused the whole of the first and looked over the latter in the manuscripts at the British Museum. This is not the place to speak at large of the value of the literary products of the two princely authors, but I may mention that I was disappointed with them, and the most by Dârâ Shukî's, which pretends to be more serious than Jahânârî's unassuming book. They do not furnish us with original information of importance concerning the Chishtis, as one would be disposed to expect, considering the close relation of both with Shaikh Mu'în uddin.
MUHAMMADAN INScriptions FROM THE SUBA OF DIHLI. 427

born at Ajodhan,—the name for Dhpalpur,—too striking an accord.

But then the date of the latter's death, as given in the Khażnat ut-aṣṣiyā', which Blochmann has extracted, must be too early. The size of the two inscriptions is 7" by 7", and 6" by 4½", respectively.

“Bismillah al-Rahman al-Rahim. This year of the reign of the first kabi'il awwal, 927 (9th February, 1521). The builder of it (was) Junaid, son of Chandan.”

The inscription is of the name of the first, and is not to be found in the inscription of the second. There is another inscription in the same Mausoleum, but of no value—It contains 2½" by 6", and a square, with each measuring 1" square, bear Qorān, Sūra cxii, adorned with flowers.

5. Over the western arch inside a tomb, west of the road leading from Hisar to Dāna Shēr, outside the town half a mile from the Dihllī-Gate, is an inscription in stucco; it measures 1½" by 1¼", and contains eight lines, but very much damaged—

“In the auspicious time and reign of Humayun (the king, etc.)—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and elevate his condition and dignity!—this building of Wālī Khān . . . . son of Mīr . . . . . son of Sultan Malik Bāg, was finished on the third [?] of month Ramzaan, A. 943 (13th February, 1537).”

Along the right-hand side, almost in the same line with the above, are the following words:

“In the name, etc. On the first kabi'il awwal, 931 (20th August, 1525). Its builder (was) Junaid, son of Chandan.” *

There are some other inscriptions from the same Mausoleum, but of no value. One, measuring 2½" by 6", contains, in two lines, the Bismillāh and the Kālima; two others from the north and west sides of the N.-W. pillar of the tomb, each measuring 1'1" square, bear Qorān, Sūra cxii, adorned with flowers.

5. Over the western arch inside a tomb, west of the road leading from Hisar to Dāna Shēr, outside the town half a mile from the Dihllī-Gate, is an inscription in stucco; it measures 1½" by 1¼", and contains eight lines, but very much damaged—

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The inscription is of the name of the first, and is not to be found in the inscription of the second. There is another inscription in the same Mausoleum, but of no value—It contains 2½" by 6", and a square, bear Qorān, Sūra cxii, adorned with flowers.

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“In the auspicious time and reign of Humayun (the king, etc.)—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and elevate his condition and dignity!—this building of Wālī Khān . . . . son of Mīr . . . . . son of Sultan Malik Bāg, was finished on the third [?] of month Ramzaan, A. 943 (13th February, 1537).”

Along the right-hand side, almost in the same line with the above, are the following words:

“In the name, etc. On the first kabi'il awwal, 931 (20th August, 1525). Its builder (was) Junaid, son of Chandan.” *

* Shaikh Farid ud-Dīn Mas'ud was also born at Ajodhan,—see W. Petersch, Vorzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, No. 560, p. 556.

Mr. Ghulam Husain, who prepared the impressions of all these inscriptions with the same care as those of the former Panjāb series, remarks that both have been published by Anwār Chand in his Settlement Report, a work which is not to hand.

In the neighbourhood of this Mausoleum also the pre-Muhammadan pillar stands which, according to Captain W. Brown,—Journal of A. & B. Eng. vol. VII, (1888), p. 426,—“has the appearance of having been partially worked by Feroz's orders, and probably some inscription was cut upon it by his workmen, but of which there is now no trace owing to the peeling off of the exterior surface.” Of. Gen. Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. V, p. 140 et seq.
“... 20,000 copper-tankas (1,000 rupees) was completed under the superintendence of Shaikh Munawwar, son of Qasim.”

Owing to the bad condition of the stone all the words are not certain.

6. The following two inscriptions come from the same place as No. 5. Their sizes are 3' 1½" by 1' 9" and 3' by 1' 6", respectively, each containing seven lines. The tomb itself is in poor condition and greatly neglected, but the inscriptions have been well preserved—

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الله والرسول رفعت رايات الجهادات والمغازي محمد همامين

باذاعة غازية خلقه خلافته ابي عمارة بتاريخ ماه رجب رقم قدره سنة

اربع راوينين تسمية تمام شد راين كنت

بر ترد كيجنك بن مير زنجنق مغل شده است

راين جوان در نشكر جهارت شهادت زانت

ور مبلغ بانزده هزار تنكه سياه خرج شده است
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“In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorasan, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humayun, Badishahi Ghazt,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed in the month Rajab—May its dignity be magnified!—of the year 944 (began the 4th December, 1537). And this cupola (was made) for the sake of Tardi Kuchuk, son of Mir Baranjaghe, the Moghul; and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarát. The cost was 15,000 copper-tankas (750 rupees).”

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الله والرسول رفعت رايات الجهادات والمغازي

طيرازين محمد همامين باذاعة غازية خلقه خلافته بتاريخ ماه

رامشان راين اربع راوينين تسمية ابي عمارة از براي [م]

مير عاشق محمد بن مير شاه على شد راين

جوان در نشكر جهارت شهادت زانت

ور مبلغ بانزده هزار تنكه سياه خرج شده
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“In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorasan, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, Taher udin Muhammad Humayun, Badishahi Ghazt,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed during the month Ramazan of the year 944 (began the 1st February, 1538). It was made for the sake of Mir 'Ashiq Muhammad, son of Mir Shah 'Ali," and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarát. The cost was 12,000 copper-tankas (600 rupees).”

* Mr. Blochmann has wrongly read Humayun's common kunya Nasir udin; but here Tahir udin has been engraved.

Zahir udin was Babar's kunya.

* Here 'Ali has been engraved, but this is no name.
Both youths probably served in the Gujarát war that ended with Bahádur Sháh’s victory, A.H. 942. Then, or perhaps in Muhammad Záman Mirzá’s attempt to overpower the country, their death may have occurred, and they afterwards found a tomb at home, Gujarát being lost to Humáyún.

7. Over the mihráb of an ‘Itdād at Dána Sher, one mile south of Hisár on the old Hánsí road, is an inscription of four lines in stucco, measuring 1’ 9” by 44”. It is in very bad condition, being exposed to wind and weather. I try to read it thus—

ابن حسین [؟] بن
ابن بلال سرائی
مسند علی درتخارده در عهد شیرشاه
سلطان سنه تسعم [؟] اربعین سبع
نمای شد
خرج شد مبلغ برادره [؟] هزار

“This mosque of . . . Bég, son of Pálâd Sarvánt . . . son of Idrí’s Sarvánt . . . the high Masnad of the Daulatkhána, was finished in the reign of Shér Sháh, the king, in the year 947 (began the 8th May, 1540) . . . The cost was 12,000 . . .”

With Messrs. Ghulám Husain and the late E. Rohatsek (who made rough versions of many of these epigraphs) I have supposed that we have here a barbarous construction, contrary to the Arabic usage, the date beginning with the hundreds instead of the units. Would then be for ‘hundred’, scarcely for مم; so I read the monarch’s name as Shér Sháh, which is possible. And surely, if مم were only a blunder, perhaps of the stone-cutter, a reiterated الت, only with a shortening of the long stroke of the د, and the date in this case were 749, one could not read the king’s name as Muhammad, as would then be necessary, or the word after سب as میَّات. Besides, there are some words, especially ‘in maqjud’, that I cannot warrant as certain.10

Hánsí.

Mr. H. B. W. Garrick (ut sup., pp. 15, 16) gives a list of the principal inscriptions found at Hánsí. Some of them have already been published by Blochmann, that of the Díní mosque, also ante, p. 159. There are several others perhaps also deserving notice that are not mentioned in Mr. Garrick’s list, but I miss also some inscriptions of his in Mr. Rodgers’s collection.11

Because Hánsí was an important place in the times of the early Pathán Sultáns, it is not surprising that numerous old inscriptions of that dynasty are found there. If we do

10 In the Ma’dthir ul-Umarí, vol. I, p. 583, it is mentioned by the way that the darughgah of the daulatkhána was bestowed only upon trustworthy men. The author of the Tárikh-i Shersháh, ‘Abdál Khán, son of Sháikh ‘Ali, was also a Sarvánt, an Afghan tribe tracing its lineage to the hereditary Bahán (see ‘Alí al-Akbárí, I, 591), likewise ‘Asam Humáyún (who lived in Sultán Ibráhím Lódi’s time, cf. Bbbar’s Memoirs, pp. 347, 392; Akbarname, vol. I, p. 103) and therefore also his son Fath Khán Khánjavát (Bbbar’s Memoirs, pp. 390, 392, Akbarname, vol. I, p. 103, 104), and grandson Mahmúd Khán (Bbbar’s Memoirs, p. 398, Akbarname, vol. I, p. 104), or Bahádur Khán, whose tomb Bbbar visited at Sogandzpür (Memoirs, p. 491), and others. For another Shér Sháh inscription of the same year (at Sakti) see Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng. for May 1874, p. 105.
11 e.g. Nos. 1, 3, 4. I leave it to the reader to correct Mr. Garrick’s little mistakes concerning the single inscriptions and their readings.
not take into account the Dihlt inscriptions from the years 587 (E. Thomas, The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli, p. 22 or Journal Asiatique, Vth série, vol. XVI (1860), p. 274) and of 592 (E. Thomas, Chronicles, p. 24, and Jour. Asiat., p. 240), we have here the oldest dated Muhammadan one in India, viz. of 593 (of the same year is also a Dihlt inscription,—see Jour. Asiat. u.s. p. 240). Shaikh Ni’mat Ullâh’s tomb has no original inscription relating to this pious man, and is a remnant of even an older period for the saint in 559 A.H. became a martyr in Sultan Shihâb uddin Ghûrî’s attack upon the fort of Hânsî (see Mr. Garrick’s Report, p. 13). Not a few inscriptions evidently are also very old, but they bear no dates.

8. The rectangular sandstone, with the following inscription of one line, measuring 4’11” by 6”, serves now as a lintel to the doorway of the third enclosure of Shaikh Ni’mat Ullâh’s tomb. Formerly it belonged to a mosque built by ’Alî, son of Isfandiyâr; it is of the 5th year of Muhammad ibn Sâm’s reign:

"This mosque was ordered to be built by the slave (of God) A’ll, son of Isfandiyâr on the 10th Zil Hijja, 593 (24th October, 1197)."

9. The masjid walls of the second enclosure of Shaikh Ni’mat Ullâh’s tomb contain also other inscriptions that originally had nothing to do with it. Into the outer western wall a rectangular light-coloured sandstone has been built horizontally, bearing one line (size 3’ by 1’), and mentioning the monarch’s name under whose rule the inscription falls. Originally it was the jamb of a door. It is frightfully decayed, but the following is quite legible:

[Alî] al-muzaffur ʿAlî sâm, the helper of the Khalif of the faithful.

The other jamb contains also one line (measuring 3’ 7½” by 11½’’); the lintel has not been found:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من بنا لله مسجدًا في الدنيا ونها [الله له] نصرًا في الجنة.

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! Who builds a mosque in this world for God, God will build for him a castle in paradise......"

Other inscriptions from Muhammad ibn Sâm’s reign, besides the above-mentioned Dihlt ones, have been published by E. Thomas in his Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, pp. 24 (A.H. 594) and 25 (A.H. 596).

Of no historical value are the inscriptions over the doorway inside (1’ by 11”), only a fragment, in large characters, containing two words, being a part of a king’s title لزک رالヘルم; over the northern window in the outer wall (3’ 5” by 8½”), the first half of Qurân, Sûra ii, verse 215—, and in the northern inside wall (1’ 7” by 6”), a fragment, المسجد الحرام كرم اس بالله رالليم (Qurân, Sûra ix, verse 9). But there is no reference to the age of all.

10. South-east of the town, about 150 yards from the walls, is the tomb of the four Quêbs or Saints (of, Mr. Garrick’s Report, p. 14, and plate vii). In the wall of the
enclosure is the following inscription, which originally belonged to the grave of some unnamed noble lady. It consists of two lines and measures 4' 3" by 11"

"Finished was the tomb of the veiled noble lady,—May Allāh illuminate her tomb and may Allāh pardon her in the garden of the asylum (Paradise)! O most merciful of the merciful! This took place on the 1st Zil Qa'da, 622 (4th November, 1225)."

It is curious that the word qabr is used as feminine, of its being occupied by a woman. The year 622 falls in the reign of Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh, as does that of the following inscription, No. 11.

Entering the courtyard of the tomb one meets an undated fragmentary inscription, which has found a place in the wall, facing south, its original position not being known. It is much decayed, and consists of two lines (1' 10½" by 1' 1½"). A complement of it must be Mr. Garrick’s sixth one—

[Qa]ti [Qaiti] Ṯafī dīs Sultānī

بنده مصعوب محمد صفحي بن

"[Gī]lānī and to Firdaus Sultānī. He was a slave of Mas'ūd Muḥammad of Isfahān."

In the wall of the mosque of the four Qutbā is a fragmentary inscription of two lines, measuring 1' 4½" by 1'—

بترفيع حضرت

كامل [جمال] ابن [or]

"By the grace of his highness Kāmāl, son of........"

11. At the mosque of Bū Ālī Bahkhsh in the Moghulpāra-Quarter of Hānsī is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 2' 6" by 6", with two lines—

هذا عمارة المسجد عبد الله ضعيف أحمد بن محمد اسماعيل

في المنتصف ربع الآخر سنة ثلاث والعشرين سنة

"This building (is) the mosque of the feeble slave (of God) Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, of Aṣmān. In the middle of Rabi` II, 623 (began the 1st April, 1226)." Mr. Blochmann remarks that Aṣmān is a small place near Samarqand.

There also are two other inscriptions over the north and south arches of the same mosque, the first (1' 6½" by 7½") containing the Bismillāh, with the Kalima, the second (1' by 7½") being a fragment.

12. Half a mile to the west of the town, in the fields, is an 'Idgāh and on the left of its central arch (miḥrāb) is an old fragmentary inscription of two lines (measuring 2' 10½" by 1'), very much damaged. It runs—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عيسى ابن مريم اللهم رضنا نزل علينا مالده

"In the name, etc. Jesus, the son of Mary, has said, “O God, our Lord, send down to us a table from heaven [to be to us as a festival, etc.].—Qurān, Sūra v, verse 114."
Because the inscription is so worn there may be doubts about the king's name. I think it was Nāṣir uddin Mahmūd, second son of Altamsh of that name, who reigned A.H. 644-664, of whose time only one inscription has yet been published, viz. by Blochmann in the *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, vol. XLII, p. 248, note [ A.H. 652, at Aligarh]. In spite of the want of any date we are scarcely allowed to think of his elder brother, owing to Mr. Thomas' remarks in his *Pathān Kings*, p. 84.

In the central arch of the same *'Idgah* another old inscription of two lines of Altamsh's reign is said to be, size 2’ 9½" by 1’.

13. On a loose stone in the courtyard of Bā’Ali Bakhrāh's mosque is a fragment, (the right half not being found) of three lines, size 1’ 4½" by 1’ 2½":

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شاه کیہان معززالدین
سلطان خالص ملکہ در نویست

"The king of the world Mu’izz uddunyâ,........the Sultân,—May (God)
perpetuate his reign!—in the time of........Bahlūl, son of Mihrâ (?)... Bég, Alânt...
Muharram, 687 (began the 6th February, 1288)."
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The name of the grandee is not certain. For other inscriptions of Kāiqobâd see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 158, and note 42.

14. About a quarter of a mile north of the fort of Hânsî is the tomb of Wâlâyat Shâh Sultân Shâhid. Here are two inscriptions of no value; one mentioning the date 713, measuring 1’ 10½" by 1’ 2½", in three lines, the other measuring 1’ 10½" by 5¼", in one line, being a portion of Qordâ, Sûra ii, verse 256.

15. At the mosque of the Qurds (see No. 10) a rectangular sandstone bears eight lines in coarse and indistinct characters; size 3’ 8½" by 11’:

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الملك لله
بترفیق الله تعالى بنه داره ساجانی ابی بکر نام جوائی کی وکی
از مریدان پیشرست بریست سلطان المباشی شیخ ابو تناقش قنس الله سو الزیر است
در یابان قطب اقطاب عام شیخ جمال الدین سعد هرمز ولیدن طاب ثراچ رجل
الجذب المیثرز روزوزالله مرافقہ در وقت جاغوس سجیدا بنگدی سلطان المباشی
شیخ سید مدخ سید راس کالید قریب در سن مصدع ناز پکارد بیانی

ایران [?] ياد کند کانب خریغ په طلب نابذ قاثی ایتالکی

الخامش فیضشهر من مه رجب قدر سند ست رسمین زمانیما سینکرتش امین [?] بریال [?]
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"The Kingdom belongs to God!"

13 By Almighty God's grace, the slave of the glorious court, Abâ Bakr by name, Jalwânt, one of the disciples of the guiding spiritual chief, the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh

13 In Bâbar's *Memoirs* occur also Jalâdâd, by name Ima'âl (pp. 388, 486, 487) and Mubârak Khâs (p. 461), or Râi Husain, a partisan of Shâr Khân (vide Akbarnama, vol. I, p. 164), and others. I have read *Jâda* (first word of the 7th line) instead of *Jâda*, as has been engraved on the stone.
Abu'l Fath,—May God sanctify his dear secret!—has laid the foundation of this mosque at the feet of the pole of the poles of the world, Shaikh Jamál ul-Haq waššar' wađdin (i.e. Shaikh Jamál uddin),—May his grave be fragrant! May (God) make Paradise his mansion, and may God illuminate his resting-place!—at the time when the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Farid,—May God lengthen his life!—ascended to the throne of the spiritual rule. Every one who prays in this mosque should remember these men in his prayer.

“The writer of the words (was) Razā Quṭb, the representative of the judge of Hānsī . . . On the 25th Rajab,—May its power increase!—896 (3rd January, 1491). The stone-cutter (was) Amin (?) Bir Lāl of Nāgōr.”

In the first line, to the left of the words “The kingdom belongs to God,” in smaller characters, the name of the reigning king is given—

In the time of the king of the age, Sikandār Shāh, son of Buḥlūl Shāh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!”

16. In the north inner wall of the Bārsī gate in Hānsī is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 1", on which are five lines—

The building of this edifice of this solid, high gate, together with the repairs of the strong upper fort, dated 702 A.H. (began 26th August, 1302), (took place) in the time of the king of kings, Abu'l Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—and during the governorship of the high Mānād Hamīd Khān, son of Amānat Khān Kamāl and during the shiqdārī of Khwāja Shāikh Muḥammad, and by order of Muwakkal, son of Kamāl,..., on the 5th Zil' Qa'dā, 928 (26th September, 1522). The writer (was) Khān-zA-Da Naṣr, the Mufti of Hānsī.”

Hamīd Khān is known to have been governor of Hisār Firōza; he was defeated in battle by Prince Humāyūn A.H. 932 (Akbarnāma, vol. I, p. 94, and Bābar’s

13 As we learn from an inscription on the same gate, to the left of the entrance, published by Blochmann in the Proceedings of As. Soc. B., for May 1877, p. 123, and mentioned by Mr. Garrick (No. 6), the correct year of the first fortification of Hānsī was 703, not 702. The repairing of the fort which most probably Muḥammad Shāh had intended be an outpost against the Mughuls, was useless against their final invasion under Akbar.
Memoirs, p. 339, where he is styled Hamida Khan Khappa Khaitl, shiqdar of Hisar Frroz.

The following inscription refers also to Muhammad Shah's fortification of the place. Originally it consisted of three parts that are now scattered. The larger portion, given here, is at present doing duty as the headstone of a grave near the Husain Gate; a smaller one has been let into the brick wall of a well, near the same gate, and is fast being destroyed. The inscription, in heavy characters, is a very fine one, and ought to be preserved. Two lines, size 3' 3" by 1' 6"


بناء عمارت اين حصى حصين رمزارة متين در عهد [سلطان السلاطين]

جم نشان سليمان ثم كعيين سندزا مان ابلامظفر محمد شاه [سلطان]

"The building of the edifice of this strong fort and solid gate (was) in the time of (the king of kings) celebrated like Jamshid, of high dignity like Solomon, the Alexander of the period, Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah, the king......"

17. Inside of the mihrab of the mosque of the Makhdum Shahib Asbraf in the Weavers' Quarter of Hansi, is a very old inscription in square Kufic characters that must be of the first Pathan period. It measures 1' 1" by 9" and consists of the Kalima only. Over the outer gateway of the enclosure of the same mosque is found a poor inscription of three lines (9/4" by 6"), giving the date, "Month Safar 989," (began 7th March, 1581). The old mosque therefore was repaired in Akbar's time.

18. Outside the stables of Haidar Beg, high up in a wall is a rectangular sandstone, bearing an inscription of nine lines (size 1' 9/4" by 1' 7"), is it frightfully worn and can be deciphered only with the greatest difficulty. But the following is certain:

بعدايت

في عهد، بندرل سلطان السلاطين

ابن الأمظفر شهاب الدين محمد صلحب

14 Perhaps also to the Barni Gate (Blochmann No. 3, Garrick No. 6).
15 Other inscriptions of 'Ala uddin Muhammad Shah's reign (A.H. 695-715) have been published in General Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. XX, p. 76 (A.H. 705, at Bayma), by E. Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, p. 178 (A.H. 710, at Dhiil), and by Blochmann, Proceedings of As. Soc. B., for August 1873, p. 158 (A.H. 711, at Riapr), (also No. 22 below). I would here call attention to a work that may be very important for the history of another monarch of the Khilji tribe, viz. of Mahmud Shah I. of Malwa. The Royal Library at Berlin possesses a MS. that seems to be unique; at least I have found no second copy in the accessible catalogues of manuscripts, and the late Mr. E. Rehatshek did not know of one elsewhere. Its title is Ma'addha-i Mahmoudshahi wa sijar-i khilajf-pandahi, written in the lifetime of Mahmud Shah I. of Malwa, as the author 'Ali Izn Mahmud ul-Kirmanti states, by Mahmud's own order. The writer shows himself well acquainted with many private adventures of his sovereign, especially with his dreams before the occupation of the throne, and he describes fully these inviting divine messages as justifying the rebellion of the subject against his former master. Although partly composed in a very bombastic style, it would still be worth publishing, all the more so as it is a proof of the taste then reigning at the court of Malwa. Mahmud is related to have been always a favourer of learned men. It is stated in this work that for the engraving of the inscriptions on the splendid Madrasa Bami-bi hisht, built by Shah Mahmud A.H. 845 in his capital, he employed Persian artists because of their higher dexterity, and these applied the thulth and muhaqqaq kinds of writing (Pol. 89). This may be a hint of cases where nothing is related concerning the nationality of the stone-cutters. It is remarkable how many of the modern Indian calligraphists mentioned in the 34th chapter of the first book of the A'in-i Akbari (cf. also Mr. Blochmann's translation, p. 100, et seq. and notes) were strangers by birth and only afterwards settled in India. The Kufic style which has flourished in Arabia, Egypt and Spain has produced only some scanty flowers in India, but this is easily explained by the later date of Islam in India, the Kufic period then already having passed. Some remarks about the calligraphy of the inscriptions are to be found in the Jour. of As. S. B., vol XL, p. 267-8, and in Rennshaw's Gaur.
MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUBA OF DIHLI.

قرآن ثاني شاه جهان باشان غازی
خدا الله ملكه ر سلطانه

لبن جاه ننال شد

بتاريخ هفتم ماه شعبان المعظم
سنة سبع سمحسين رالف

"By the favour of . . . in the time and reign of the king of kings, Abul Mu-
zaaffar Shihab uddin Muhammad, second lord of the conjunction, Shahjahâhân,
Badishahi Ghâzi—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! . . . of this well
for women . . . on the 7th of the honoured month Sha'bân in the year 1057 (7th
September, 1647)."

The words châh-i zanân—"well for women," seem to be certain, so that there can be no
uncertainty about the establishment the inscription refers to. In the fourth chapter of the
third book of the Ain-i Akbari, vol. I, p. 284, it is stated amongst the duties of the
Kotaddi, to reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women.

19. On the east wall of the enclosure of a tomb in the court-yard of Makhdum
Sâhib Ashraf's mosque is an inscription, measuring 1' 2" by 8½", in a very bad con-
dition; only the date 'A.H. 1087' (began the 16th March, 1676) and the name of the architect
بسام معمار شريف, by the effort of the architect Sharif' are
legible. The reigning monarch was Aurangzèb Alamgîr.

20. There are also some fragments of inscriptions, found at Hânsi, that for want of
any characteristic indications, cannot be ascribed to a certain epoch, e.g. a portion of the
so-called throne-verse (Qur'dn, Sura ii, 256) engraved on a sandstone that has found a
place above the outer doorway of the courtyard of the mosque, a little west of the fort, or
a part of the well-known hadith about the building of mosques, on the well in the
Dák Bangla compound (size 8" by 20", one line).

BHAṬINDA.

21. Bhaṭinda, the Bhatti's city, according to the very probable etymology of Mr.
Garrick, p. 5, has always had a strong fort.18 There is preserved a large cannon of
Aurangzèb's time bearing two inscriptions:

هو الغالب

در عهد ابرازلفر یحیی النمن یحید
اورزگنیب بهادر عالم گیر
بادشاہ عازی ترب اورزگ شامی
مرتپ شد سنہ پیکزاز رہفتاد رش هجری
باهتمام مرید ندربی باخلس
معتمد خان فی سنہ 5 جلاوس
مبارک رلا

18 Bhaṭinda is mentioned in the Ain-i Akbari amongst others as a place where Akbar often hunted leopards vol. I, 207, and near which camels were numerous, vol. I, p. 146.
"He (God) is the conqueror! In the time of Abūl Zafar Muḥyiʿiddīn Muḥammad Aurangzēb Bāḥādūr ʿĀlamgīr, Bādīshāḥ-i Ghāzī, the Aurangshāh-cannon was set up in A.H. 1073 (began the 16th August, 1662). By the efforts of the devoted and sincere subject Muʿtamīd Khān, in the 5th year of the blessed reign."

During the office of Mathurādās Dilārāmji........... the cannon has been placed in the fort of Gwāliār."

The cannon, consequently, was placed at first at Gwāliār, where Muʿtamīd Khān was commandant from the 24th Jumādī I, 1071. Afterwards it was brought to Bhaṭīṇḍā.

Inscriptions from other cannons have been published by Major St. G. D. Showers,—Shāhjahān's gun Jahānkushā by name, see Jour. As. Soc. B., vol. XVI, (1847), p. 589,—and by Blochmann—a trophy gun formerly belonging to the Bengal Artillery, A.H. 1186 (began 4th April, 1772),—see Proc. As. Soc. B., for November 1872, p. 169.  

ROHTAK.  

22. Over the mihrāb of the Ādīna mosque in the town of Rohtak are two lines, size 4' 6" by 1' 2"; the letters partly are very much damaged:—

"Through the grace of the sublime God..................................................
Alā uddunyā waddin,......of the kings of the world,......Abu'l Muẓaffar Muḥammad Sharḥ, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom!—has deigned to build this mosque of the true believers and......place of the people of the faith. It was on the 1st Ramazān A.H. 708 (12th February, 1309)."

23. Over the outer archway of a small mosque in the fort of Rohtak, near the Dihli Gate of the town is a rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of two lines, size 3' 0½" by 8½", the right end of which is missing:—

"(In the time of) the Bādīshāḥ-i Ghāzī, the king of kings, Ghiyāth uddunyā waddin, the Alexander of the period, Abu'l Muẓaffar Tughluq Sharḥ (this mosque has been

17 See the particulars concerning this officer given by Blochmann from the Maʿāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī in the Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng., for August 1874, p. 179.
18 I have collected considerable materials respecting the artillery of the Moghuls, for an essay on their army and warfare, now in the press (E. J. Brill, Leiden).
19 See E. I., vol. II, pp. 143 et seq.
built, through the grace of the Lord, by) Muhammad 'Ali Sultanī. On the first of the blessed month Ramazân,—May its blessings be general!—A. 724 (22nd August, 1324)."

This inscription is the second as yet published of Tughluq Shāh's reign (see Blochmann, Proc. As. Soc. B., for August 1873, p. 157; A.H. 722, at Mahóbâ).

Perhaps the mosque was repaired in Bâbar's time; there is at least an inscription over the central archway (measuring 1' 10" by 1' 1") outside, that seems to mention such a fact, but it is too much injured to allow a decisive judgment. The first line is nearly altogether gone, also the beginning of the second and the whole third of the line are illegible; almost all dots are missing.

"This mosque............in the time of...........His Majesty Zahîr uddîn Muham-
mad Bâbar, Bâdîshâh-i Ghâzî............Ramazân......93."

The date, of course, must be between 932 and 937.

XXXV.—SRIDHARA'S DEVAPATTANA PRAŚASTI.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER AND VAJESHANKAR G. OZHÀ.

The subjoined inscription is the same as that noticed by Colonel Tod in his Travels in Western India, p. 513 f. and by Mr. Postans in the Journal Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc., vol. II, p. 16 f. According to both these authors it was found at Devapattana or Somâthpaṭan near Verâval on a pillar near the Qâzî's house. At present the slab on which it is incised is built into the wall of the fort, to the right of the great gate of the town. Both Colonel Tod and Mr. Postans give what is said to be a translation of the document, prepared, "with the assistance of a learned Jain priest," by Mr. Wathen, according to an eye-copy made by Râmâdatt Krishnadatt Purâñi. Mr. Wathen's translation teems with the most extraordinary statements regarding the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvâd, which, however, fortunately have received little attention. The present edition has been prepared according to a rubbing by the late Pandit Girjâshankar Sâmalji, which Mr. V. G. Ozhà forwarded for publication to the first-named editor, together with a transcript, a Gujarâti translation and some explanatory notes in the same language.

The slab measures according to the rubbing 30 inches in breadth and 27 in length, a space of 5 inches having been left blank at the lower end. At the upper left-hand corner a piece has been broken off. To the right considerable portions of a good many

1 This transcript seems to have been done according to the original on the stone, as it contains much that is not readable in the rubbing. All this, as well as a number of misreadings, has been given in the footnotes to the edition with the signature F. G. O.—[G. B.]

[Transcribed... ]
lines have been half or entirely effaced, the injured spots becoming larger and larger towards the end of the inscription.

The workmanship is good. In the first line some of the anusvāras have been made highly ornamental, being surrounded by three semi-circles, to the uppermost of which a stroke resembling a mātrā is attached. At the end there are two signs of good omen, the second of which is a Svastika. The name of the first is not known to me. It consists of an oblong with two small circles at the top and one in the centre and a triangle attached below. The characters are ordinary Devanāgarī of the 13th century. It must be noted that ca does duty for ba and ca, and that the groups like jiy, tta, ddyas are invariably spelt jy, tva, and dyas. In verse 45 we have the curious word Gūrjaratráh corresponding to the modern Gūjarāt. In my opinion it has been coined out of the latter just like Suratrāna out of Sultan and Gārjanaka out of Ghāznav. Gūjarāt itself is probably a hybrid formation, the Arabic collective affix ātī, being added to the name of the Gurjara or Gujar clan.

The contents of the inscription, which, with the exception of the first and last words, is throughout metrical, are as follows:—

(1) A maṅgala, verses 1-3, the first two being addressed to Śiva, identified with the supreme Brahma.

(2) A eulogy of the temple and town of Somanātha, which the Moon founded in order to escape from the intolerable disease of consumption, verses 4-5.

(3) A eulogy of certain members of the Vastrākula race and of the Chaulukya kings of Aṇhīlavāḍ, verses 6-25.

(4) A eulogy of Śrīdārā, the representative of the Vastrākula family in Vikrama Saṅvat 1273, who built several temples at Devapattana, verses 26-51.

(5) A eulogy of an ascetic, Vimalaśiva (?), who seems to have been the spiritual head of the Śaivas or priest of the temple, verses 52-57.

(6) A notice of the author of the poem, whose name is lost, a prayer for the duration of the new temples and a notice of their architect (name lost) verses 58-60 and the date.

The eulogy of the Chaulukya kings teaches us nothing new. They are all there from Mūlarāja I. to Bhīmadeva II. with the exception of Bhīmadeva I., whose name has been lost by a break in the first Pāda of verse 16. Their description is almost entirely conventional. The only historical fact mentioned (verse 23) is that Bhīmadeva II. built a Somēsaramandapa, or a hall connected with the temple of Śiva, which bore the name Meghadhvani. The description of the Vastrākula family possesses greater interest. Verse 7 informs us that its Vedic gōtra was that of Śāndilya, and that its home was Nagara, i.e. Vaḍnagar in northern Gujarāt. To this race belonged Úyābhatta (verses 7-8) a pious astrologer, through whose benedictions king Mūla, i.e. Mūlarāja, I., enjoyed, untroubled by foes, for a long time his kingdom, which might raise envy in Indra's breast. Possibly this may mean that Úyābhatta was Mūlarāja's Joshi or court-astrologer. This man had three sons, Mādhava, Lūla and Bhābha, whom the king charged with the supervision of his charities and commissioned to look after the digging of square and round wells and tanks as well as after the erection of houses of

* Those letters, which are very faint or doubtful, have been enclosed between brackets.—[G. B.]
Sridhara's Devapattana Prasasti.

L. 1. — — —: भिवाय ∥

मर्गितव्यार्दितयतःततसावासवसंन ∥

हपारहे पर्यं तं करकःकलवारथ " 1 [18]

विद्वान्युक्तेःसर्वस्मिनरिहनिदिवकर-

विद्वार्थेति विभवनिशत्यवशेषमृत् ∥

स व: नेपो देवय-

Possibly, "he whose pride was the fort."
1. —— राजाः चर्चार्दी
सूर्यां विभारः गिरिसिः गिरिजाकेरिविषयः।
पुष्यातु कुकुररघनभक्तः कृष्णस वचनजाने
मुक्तकूलसुभक्तांतिभः कविता वर्द्धीकाटाशिसः।
या संबंधभावसा तदनुः

2. —— जन्मविवधाभूतः
दृषिकुटुम्बदावपायकामिसारानिमं वः सिवि
वीसनायात्तमसं रेखा भूमिज्ञातारूकिर्म भाविः।
वन्यसाधारणोपेता तपस पुरान्तिति चूच्छयांतः।
संपीयतवंशम् सुभवन्

3. —— भूपाविधिः
निधिः सकभासंपदां विपुरजीविः समतः।
तदेतदंततदुः सच्चरयवितायासी युरा
स्थानाचरितं पुरं जयति मार्गिः साधिः।
भिन्ने ज्योत्स्नां ज्योतिः भरत्तारितो वक्ष्यभि
पूर्वाशामिता

4. —— तांतरतं धार्म तारीकेलिभुः।
वस्त्रां विज्ञापनाकयायसमवेदुधाराचि।
प्रादात्तकलाप्याप्रचतुः; पक्षयोहुः च यत्तः।
हािधिक्षायोद्धयोवया पक्षयोहुः ख्यातं नाम वर्षाक्षेत्रं यत्तः।
जया

5. —— हा देवसुभवः जगे देशवलं यथा सान्यामाशीतः।
बद्रीयालोकस्तेरनवयंतिकार्याधिकारः।
हुस्तां वर्षात किरियं राज्यं विचितरः।
विवक्षा आगामणिष्ठ भूतानुपपति।
प्रभुतं तंत्रीक्रितं सुक्ताच्यायविलितं कीम्याल्पानम्।
गंगावाहः

6. —— प्रतिमा भूपुक्ताकाण्डा साधवदशामा।
ते सूर्यार्जनं पुरातात्त्व भगोर्मितजयोद्वसः।
वापीकृष्टजगोद्विहितभूमि कालसाधवाशः।
दीर्घाधनर्तोरस्यकपक्षायमामप्राप्यस्यान।
वीर्यमिति भुजतमदशारप।

6 Metro, Sikharin.— Restore श्रीमालविभ्रमणे, —[V. G. O.]
7 Metro, Prithyl.— Restore सुक्तायाः,—[V. G. O.]
8 Metro, Upajati.— Restore खिरमिति, —[V. G. O.]
9 Metro, शार्दुलाविक्रमजीता,— Restore शायाबिजादना, —
Dole stop after दुढाश्चषिताः
10 Metro, Şekin.— Restore बनोजासी; —वज्जाः (च) ते समर्थोपनीय
-V. G. O.
11 Metro, Sikharinıl
12 Metro, Upajati.— Dole Avagraha in सबीलाया:
Sridhara’s Devapattana Prasasti.

9. गंगोपालः
रिमात्रेन: परमेवाय: विद्याग्रुप्तकोष वाभाम ॥ १६ [१८] ॥
तस्यस्मिनमुद्धिज नावानायकसाधारणात: भूपाति: प्रक्षेपणाः विभक्त: विभक्तास्त्रो ॥ फात
प्रीत्या प्रामाण्यद्वितीयम् तदां निजप्रियम् ॥

10. य कहेनाः
य: श्रीमर्माभायकाराति तस्मि महामंत्रिण ॥ १३ [१८] ॥
याभो चदृचुरङ्गान्त: वाण्यूक: वैनिकः
क्षणिमात्र: महामर्माभायकारात्मकत: ॥
शक्तिसूर्यस्य क्रियामनर: स्त्रापतिुष्ट: ॥ १४ [१८] ॥
तदत् तदत्

11. एकम्
निमंकं निद्रे शुचिकृतां चेतसीय: पुरूष ॥ १२ [१८] ॥
तस्यस्वास्तद्विते दुर्भद्रवरोऽः
याभाराजमकाराकः राजाः ॥
परमी वास्तू परमाय: — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
पियम्बरपति: ॥ १३ [१८] ॥
तदत् तदत्

12. जोभूवस्ये भूमिक्षेतरात्मकोऽस्वामय: ।
श्रवणपति: विनिर्माणपटिकाः
यदिनमेयारं शलाकारां
चंद्रपति: पद्याऋषिकाः
चंद्रपति: पद्याऋषिकाः
चंद्रपति: पद्याऋषिकाः
बौद्धाः ॥ १५ [१८] ॥
बौद्धाः ॥ १६ [१८] ॥
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

13. बिलासिनिकाराजस्यस्मै: ।
तस्यमु: देवानामानाविविधतारूपर्वमार्गिण: चितराः
क्षणी: वैशिष्ट्यास्त्रोऽपूर्वत: भूमे: भूमिक्षेतर: ॥ १६ [१८] ॥
स्वरूप — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
स्वरूप — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

युक्त युक्ताः

18 Metro, Sādulavikṛṣṭa. — Read "साधुविक्रमाः "— [V. G. O.]
17 Metro, Vasantalakṣa. — पारम्परितरिवाच विरोधस्तुतिः शास्त्रीयोः [V. G. O.], which is against the metre.
16 Metro, Mālinī. — Read "म्बुक्नामस्याकारः " — [V. G. O.]
15 Metro, Sragdhārā. — V. G. O. reads after "सूतः "— [V. G. O.]
14 Metro, Sādulavikṛṣṭa. — पूर्वाढ्यप्राकृतः — [V. G. O.]
13 Metro, Sādulavikṛṣṭa. — पूर्वाढ्यप्राकृतः — [V. G. O.]
12 Metro, Sādulavikṛṣṭa. — चौद्वैर् चौद्वैर् चौद्वैर् — [V. G. O.]
11 Metro, Sādulavikṛṣṭa. — चौद्वैर् चौद्वैर् चौद्वैर् — [V. G. O.]
10 Metro, Sādulavikṛṣṭa. — चौद्वैर् चौद्वैर् चौद्वैर् — [V. G. O.]
9 Metro, Sādulavikṛṣṭa. — चौद्वैर् चौद्वैर् चौद्वैर् — [V. G. O.]
8 तस्य नारायणिकः — [V. G. O.]
7 तस्य चित्राकः — [V. G. O.]
6 तस्य नारायणिकः — [V. G. O.]
5 तस्य नारायणिकः — [V. G. O.]
4 तस्य नारायणिकः — [V. G. O.]
3 तस्य नारायणिकः — [V. G. O.]
2 तस्य नारायणिकः — [V. G. O.]
1 तस्य नारायणिकः — [V. G. O.]

The same corrects erroneously कर्मोदित्वम्.
L. 14. 

15. 

16. 

17. 

18. 

19. 

20. Metre, Vasantatilakā. — V. G. O. reads after सिस्मितमाणिं | ज्ञातराधार्यां अभिगमनेण ॥ १७ [॥४] ॥
21. तथत्रगृहसूचनेन नवरूपोऽवधि ॥ १५ [॥५] ॥
22. वैदिक प्रम्पराग्रहोऽवधि ॥ १५ [॥६] ॥
23. सूक्तानन्दसमर्पणेन कुमारसः प्रवीणवं भूमिः ॥ १५ [॥७] ॥
24. यदर्थसमाप्ति ॥ १५ [॥८] ॥
25. औत्तरमथानम् ॥ १५ [॥९] ॥
26. तथत्रवृत्ताः इत्यत : विन्यां तावदनम् नानां ॥ १५ [॥१°] ॥
27. सर्वत्रस्मात्सर्वश्राद्धाणि सर्वविद्यामिनिस्वभाने ॥ १५ [॥१°] ॥
28. विषयां फलावताः प्रतिस्वादनार्थः ॥ १५ [॥१°] ॥
29. प्रायोऽवधि ॥ १५ [॥१°] ॥
30. प्रथमविहीनसमाधिनिः ॥ १५ [॥१°] ॥
31. विज्ञानमप्रदेशम् ॥ १५ [॥१°] ॥
32. विद्यामेव: प्रथितमप्रताप: ॥
33. वायुप्रवेशप्राप्तिः ॥ १५ [॥२°] ॥
34. कार्योऽवधि ॥ १५ [॥२°] ॥
35. समाधिनिः विचाराः मात्रेण ॥ १५ [॥२°] ॥
36. विद्यामेव: प्रथितमप्रताप: ॥
37. प्रथमविहीनसमाधिनिः ॥ १५ [॥२°] ॥
38. विद्यामेव: प्रथितमप्रताप: ॥
39. विद्यामेव: प्रथितमप्रताप: ॥
40. विद्यामेव: प्रथितमप्रताप: ॥

25. Metre, Upajāti.
26. Metre, Upajāti. — The first Pāda is very indistinct.
27. Metre, Vasantatilakā. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥१°] ॥
28. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥२°] ॥
29. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥२°] ॥
30. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥३°] ॥
31. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥३°] ॥
32. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥४°] ॥
33. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥४°] ॥
34. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥५°] ॥
35. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥५°] ॥
36. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥६°] ॥
37. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥७°] ॥
38. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥८°] ॥
40. Metre, Upajāti. — वृद्धायुः ॥ १५ [॥१°] ॥

[V. G. O.]
L. 20. लाभिभवायुः।
...

21. पतितिनिनितायकामयः: २० [॥ *] ॥४०
...

22. तस्यपञ्च तनाधिवर्तित।
...

23. रहितविनिवकलसीमा
...

24. समस्रजनवान्तितदा भरवंतु।
...

25. यस्ते। धीरें धीरेते संजनमी: प्रागस्यिनिवालयते
...

30 मेत्र, वांसतालाका।—[व. ग. ओ.]
31 मेत्र, वांसतालाका।—[व. ग. ओ.]
32 मेत्र, अनुस्तूब्ब।—[व. ग. ओ.]
33 मेत्र, आत्मदालिकिता।—[व. ग. ओ.]
34 मेत्र, आत्मदालिकिता।—[व. ग. ओ.]
35 मेत्र, आत्मदालिकिता।—[व. ग. ओ.]
36 मेत्र, आत्मदालिकिता।—[व. ग. ओ.]
L. 26. तमचयपतिििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििििşi
SRIDHARA'S DEVA PATTANA PRASASTI.

34. चाचा वैराग्यमोरणां
वहुतुमागस्यकारणः कोशरो दुर्गेश्यः || ४१ [१०] ॥
मातृः कीर्तिशेषोऽनुरूपियमवनं रोपिणीत्रिभावमाणा
क्षि तस्मान || ४२ [१०] ॥

35. तस्मान तद्विशेषभवनमदि || ||

36. हेमेऽ हेमाय्यो हेमाय्यो रजसरपये होऽयत्वयः नाखः
प्रासादः कीर्तिरेवभवमविविषयः कारितः || ४४ [१०] ॥

37. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ४५ [१०] ॥

38. समान्यरूपः समुद्रः || ४६ [१०] ॥

39. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ४४ [१०] ॥

40. धर्मोद्भवता || ४५ [१०] ॥

41. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ४६ [१०] ॥

42. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ४७ [१०] ॥

43. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ४८ [१०] ॥

44. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ४९ [१०] ॥

45. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ५० [१०] ॥

46. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ५१ [१०] ॥

47. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ५२ [१०] ॥

48. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ५३ [१०] ॥

49. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ५४ [१०] ॥

50. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ५५ [१०] ॥

51. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ५६ [१०] ॥

52. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ५७ [१०] ॥

53. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ५८ [१०] ॥

54. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ५९ [१०] ॥

55. निष्प्रेष्यां कृपायां कामतिरिक्त || ६० [१०] ॥
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EPGRAPHIA INDICA.

L. 41. यमनिं दैवाद्रागत:-

---- ---- ---- ---- ---- [ I ]

---- ---- ---- ---- ---- [ II 4.2 II ]

---- ---- ---- ---- ---- [ II 4.1 II ]

---- ---- ---- ---- ---- [ I ]

---- ---- ---- ---- ---- [ I ]

---- ---- ---- ---- ---- [ I ]

42. जीसुतस्याजन:-

[ I ]

[ II 4.4 II ]

[ II 4.1 II ]

43. यस्योष्पुष्पाभिः

[ I ]

[ II 4.4 ]

[ I ]

44. संस्कारसंपुं:

[ I ]

[ I ]

45. चंगीजाता

[ II 4.4 II ]

[ वि: जैवपादिकिलनाभं्षणं]

[ भक्तिश्चत्र तृते: प्रतिप्रमादी: ]

[ प्रवर्तितामयमुष्ठारं: ]]

[ अते ]

[ च पाठप:-

[ I ]

46. पिछ्योत्रवि

---- ---- ---- ---- ---- [ I ]

[ यावदारो विष्करतिवि]

---- ---- ---- ---- ---- [ II 4.3 II ]

[ अते ]

47. छूलिताःयुक्तः

---- ---- ---- ---- ---- [ II 4.1 II ]

[ चक्रिकिमण्डुपरसंवत् १२०१ वर्ष वैभवाक मुदित हुं के [विष्णु]]

[ लिप्या] दितितितिविमयमुहुः ]

संगमं संस्कारसारं:

[ I ]

[ V. G. O. ]

[ V. G. O. ]

[ V. G. O. ]

[ V. G. O. ]

[ V. G. O. ]

[ V. G. O. ]

[ V. G. O. ]

[ V. G. O. ]

[ V. G. O. ]
XXXVI.—ASOKA’S ROCK EDICTS ACCORDING TO THE GIRNAR, SHÂHÂBÂZGARHÎ, KÂLSÎ AND MANSEHRA VERSIONS.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the four full versions of the Rock Edicts the following materials have been used:—

(1) Girnár, a new most excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess during the working season 1887–1888, from which the accompanying facsimiles have been prepared.

(2) Shâhâbâzgarhî, a very fine estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in 1886,¹ and a second estampage (B) of Edicts XIII—XIV, prepared by him in 1888. Both have been collated afresh with the text, published formerly.

(3) Manschra, an estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in March 1887,² as well as a second one (B) prepared by Ghulam Husain in 1889. The latter has been collated for all those passages where its state promised good results.

(4) Kâlsî, an excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in October 1887, according to which the accompanying facsimile has been prepared. With respect to the latter it must be noted that the readings of the transcript occasionally, though rarely, differ. And it must be borne in mind that in difficult passages the reverse of the estampage has been consulted, where the letters appear in high relievo and where sometimes those superficially damaged on the obverse are perfectly plain. In the most important cases the discrepancies between the facsimile and the transcript have been pointed out in the notes.

The gain which the new collations yield for the texts is most considerable in the case of the Kâlsî version. There a good many alterations had to be made, which mostly however refer to very minute points, such as á-strokes, anusvâras and the like. In some cases new word-forms have come out, but only very little that affects the sense. The new transcript gives for this version also the grouping of the words, indicating by short strokes between the words, those which have been written continuously by the scribe, and there are some cases where the grouping is important for the translation. Thus, in Edict V, l. 14, the position of the syllables desam-pi hâpesati, proves that we have to transliterate desam api hâpayishyati, not desam apihâpayishyati. Unfortunately the grouping becomes irregular in the more negligently written lower portions of the inscription where in some lines vertical strokes, sometimes placed wrongly, have been used to show which words belong together. Next, the new estampage B has furnished some valuable new readings for the thirteenth Edict of Shâhâbâzgarhî version. Quite a number of new letters, not recognisable in the earlier estampage or not included owing to the shortness of the sheets, are readable on Ghulam Husain’s squeeze B of the Manschra version. It is now perfectly certain that the Mansehra version is most closely related in its wording to that of Kâlsî.

¹ This was used for my German article in the Zeit, schrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. D. M. Gesellschaft, vol. XLII, p. 274, and XLIV, p. 708f.
² Also used for my German article in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XLIII, p. 1288f.
The new facsimiles of the Girnār and Kālsī versions, which give the letters in rather larger size than any others published before, are also very instructive for the paleography of the 3rd century B.C. Everybody who pays even slight attention to the alphabet, will now see that the Southern Maurya characters certainly do show a good many various forms, and among them cursive ones or such as are usually considered marks of later periods. Thus, an initial a, consisting of two verticals and a crossbar or of a curved line open to the left, and a vertical on the right connected by a crossbar, occurs occasionally in the Kālsī inscription (see, e.g., Ed. XIII. 2, l. 15 pāpotā me a). The second form is observable also in the Indo-Skythic documents, and perhaps is the parent of the modern Devanāgarī a of Western India. Andhra forms are found in ka, which has the dagger-like form, (see, e.g., Kālsī Ed. IV, l. 11, putā-cha kaṃ.) in chha, which sometimes consists of two circles with a vertical line standing on the point of the junction (e.g., Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14, kachhāti) in ja, which is angular (e.g., Girnār Edict IX, l. 1, rājā); in qa, which is round in atapādāme, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 31, and occasionally shows acute angles in other words of the same line; in ta, which very commonly has a rounded left-hand limb, both in the Girnār and in the Kālsī inscriptions; in va, which is triangular in the superscribed vijaye Kālsī Ed. XIII, 2, l. 13. As peculiarities of the vowel-notation commonly observed in the later inscriptions may be noted (1) ā-strokes running upwards or downwards (see, e.g., Kālsī Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 passim, (2) e-strokes, slanting downwards, much like the modern mātrās (see, e.g., Kālsī Ed. XIII 1, l. 39, batabhāge, and Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 passim); and (3) a looped o in no hutapulucā, (Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14). Finally, the Anusvāra is occasionally placed above the letter to which it belongs, (see, e.g., the first of dharmamā, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 33, dharmamahāmātā, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 34), and it seems not improbable that the short strokes which sometimes (e.g., in the third syllable of sālavadhi, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 34, and in the second syllable of batabhāge, Kālsī Ed. XIII, 1, l. 39) are attached to the tops of the consonants, in reality are serif's. These points, to which others might be added, in my opinion leave no doubt that in Aśoka's times much more developed forms of the Southern alphabet were used in everyday life, which conclusion has an important bearing on the question whether the art of writing had then been newly introduced into India or had been cultivated for a long period. With respect to the Northern or Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, it may also be safely asserted that its characters show numerous vacillations.

TRANSSCRIPTS.

EDICT I.

Girnār.


Shāhābāzgarhī.


[1] For the present I will only point to the introductions of my two articles in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XLIII, p. 12 ff, and 278 ff, where some remarks on the Kharoṣṭhī lips have been published.

[2] The Anusvāra is probable according to the reverse, but not certain.

[3] Read arābbhipā; the last vowel has been lost.

[4] The vowel of the second syllable has been placed too high but to read ya, is not correct.


**Mansehra.**


**Girnār.**

**Shāhbāzgarhiṭ.**


**Kalbi.**


**Kālē.**


**EDICT II.**

**Girnār.**


**Shāhbāzgarhiṭ.**


---

5. The top of the letter da has been destroyed and it is impossible to say whether the word was dekkati or dukkati.
6. The obverse seems to show akatī, while the very thin c-stroke is visible on the reverse.
7. The sa has a serif which makes it look like sa. At the end of the line a second sa has been scratched in.
8. The second ra-stroke is not certain.
10. Possibly ayakā.
11. The long i is probable, but owing to an abrasion not absolutely certain.
12. Owing to an abrasion the second d-stroke is somewhat abnormal.
13. Possibly dādā is to be read.
14. It is possible to read ṛabhisāmha, as there are two deep holes after sa. But both are probably accidental.
15. The last vowel is uncertain, as the upper portion of the apparent i-stroke is abnormal and less deep than the lower one. Hence the reading may have been yyo.
16. Only the right half of the sa of Priyadarṣiṇa is visible on the reverse.
17. Possibly na or no to be read.
18. Possibly bucka to be read.
19. Dosha samajasa is very indistinct.
20. Samajasa is more probable than samā-ṣi.
21. The last syllable of Priyadarṣiṇa is not certain, it may have been sa.
22. I.ni, i.e. idāni is uncertain; the reading may be a.n. i.e. adhuna.
23. The Anuvāra is at least probable.
24. The ra-stroke of mrīge is not quite certain.
25. The ma has besides the i-stroke two little horizontal lines to the right and to the left, which, strictly interpreted, would give the nonsensical form mrīgya. The left one has probably been added by mistake.
26. Etāni-pi-cha is distinct on the reverse of the impression.
27. Possibly Priyadvina is to be read.
28. Only the lower part of the first sign of akta has been preserved.
29. The reverse of the impression shows distinctly that the last syllable is putḥ.
Girnār.

rājānā sarvatra devānaṃ priyasa Priyadasino rāno dve chikihā kaṭā [4] manusachikinā cha pasuchikinā cha.[;] Oṣudhānā cha yāni manusopagāni cha[;]5 pasopagāni cha yata yata yasti sarvatra hārāpāni cha ropāpāni cha[;]6 mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yata yasti sarvatra hārāpāni cha ropāpāni cha[;]7 Pānthesā kūpā cha kānāpā viṛahā cha ropāpā ni paribbogyā pasu-manusānānā[;].

Manehera.


Kālaś.


EDICT III.

Girnār.


Possibly sarvajña to be read, as there is a hook above the ta, which, however, looks very abnormal.
At the end of each of the lines 5, 6 and 7 the word cha has been inserted as a correction.
The first and the third signs of oṣuḍhāni are uncertain; likewise the vowel of the second.
Haropita is the apparent reading, but the o-stroke may be accidental. The reading haropita has, in any case, to be restored.
Savada, not savata, is the reading of the new impression.
The reverse of the new impression makes the two la exceedingly probable. It confirms also the curious nominatives in a.
The Anuvāra is doubtful.
The first sign of nama has erroneously an upstroke to the right of the lower end.

Possibly pasumunata.
The first two signs of badaya are indistinct, but the reading baraya seems impossible. Possibly the correct form was bada[;][5]
The o-stroke of niramata is not certain.
The cha is somewhat abnormal, the upright line being slightly bent.
Read mitra[;]. An d-stroke was probably not intended but in its stead the short upward-turned o-stroke.

Shaḥbhāgārhi.


Possibly bhāmaṇa[;].
Shahbízgarhí.


Gírnár.


Shahbízgarhí.


The Anuvára is not certain.
41 Read pariáska pi.
42 Aákh, not aákhá, is the reading of the impression.
43 The third degree of dvúvájaka2 is not certain and may have been da or an abnormal ra. Perhaps abhisítena to be read.
44 Possibly anusáshyánam to be read.
45 Possibly imája to be read.
46 The Anuvára is very probable, but not absolutely certain.
47 The second sign is abnormal and might be read tru.
48 Read dhrammanuástitá.
49 The last syllable of mátipitsú is distinct on the reverse.
50 Shúsh alone is the possible reading to the reverse of the impression.
51 Cha ought to stand, not before, but after bhrámanasámanam.
52 Dáne, not dánah, is the reading of the impression.
53 The reverse of the impression decidedly speaks in favour of 9, not of 61.
54 The vowel of the third syllable is not certain.
55 Only the lower portions of the first two signs are distinct; the fourth looks like thi.
56 The first four signs are very indistinct. The same remark applies to the following bracketed words and syllables with exception of the vowel of so, of the word áj, and of the last vowel of rááto.
57 The syllable pa has been inserted afterwards.
58 The syllable da has been inserted afterwards.
59 The syllable a has been inserted afterwards.
60 To the right of the lower end of da appears a curve, and the letter is probably the fore-runner of the later da, which looks like tvá.
61 The reading dandaíta is impossible, but a combination of the ra-stroke with the upstroke on the left is more probable.
62 The Anuvára is not certain.
63 The form dhúrama, which occurs also below Ed. X 1. 21, seems to be owing to a mixture of the Northern dhúrama and the Megádhi dhúma.
ASOKA'S ROCK EDICTS.

Manscha.

imasa athasā vadhi ahini-chā sādhu[.]
Duvadāsasavahhisitenā devana priyona
Priyadraśina rajina iyaṁ[27] likhapite [18].

Kālṣī.

imasa athasā vadhi ahini-chā sādhu[.]
Etaye athāye i[ya]jīn lihike[;] 12 imasā a[t]hiṣā-
vadhi yujuanta hini-chā ma-alechayisu[.]
Duvadāsasavahhisitenā devāna-piyena
Priyadāsinā[28] lājina lekhitan[.]

EDICT V.

Shāhībāzgarhi.

Devānaṁ priyo Priyadasi rājā evam āha[.]
kalāṁaṁ dukarāṁ[.]
ye a . . . kalā̄sā[.]
do dukarāṁ karoti[.11] Ta mayā bahu kalāṁaṁ
kataṁ[.]
Ta mama putā cha phārā cha panaṁ cha
tena ya me apachhā āva sanvatakapā
anuvatisare tathā [2] so sukataṁ
kāṣati[.]
Yo u ta desam pi ṣaheṣati so dukataṁ kāṣati[.]
Sukataṁ hi pāpaṁ[.]

ḥāmāṁtā nāma[.]
Ta mayā traidasavālhiskat na
dharmamahāṁtā kutā[.]
Te savapāṁ
-śu vyāpata dharmahiṣṭānāya[4] [4].

. . . . . .

dharmayutasa
cha Yona-Kariibo,
Ganidharanaṁ Raiak-Petenikā-
nariye v paddārpaṁ[.]
Bhutaamyuṣu va [5].

. . . . . .
[ [.]]khyā
dharmayutšaṁ aparigrodhyā vyāpata te[.]

. . . . . .
[ [.]]kafatā-
bhikāresu va tharesu va vyāpata te [.]
Pataľipute
tevahas cha[7].

.e va vi[.]
me ahe nātiikā
sarvata vyāhātā te[.]
Yo ayan dharmamaniśrito
ti va [8].

.e
dharmamahāṁtā[.]
Etāya[9] athāya ayaṁ dharm-
malipī likhitā [9].

Girnār.

Devanaṁ priyo Priyadasi rājā evam āha[.]
ka[laahān] , ukarāṁ[.]
Yo a . . . [ro] ka[la]nasa
so dukarāṁ karoti[.]
So maya bahu kalāṁaṁ
kīraṁ[.]
Taṁ ma [ha] putra cha mārtha ca parāṁ
ta t a . a [ya] me apachhā a[la]chhantā
avakaryān
tathā ye na avatāṁtā te sukṛt rajam
cashanti[.]
Yo chu ato[.]
[kaṁ] pī āpaṣāt[.]
So [du]kataṁ kashati[.]
Papari hi sukaṁ[.]
So atikātāṁ antaraṁ na [bhu]tpaṛva dharmamahāmāṁ
nāma[.]
maya dhramamahāmāṁkira [r][a][2] [2].
Te savapā[.]
asāhāriṣheshu va prat[a][13]
dhramadhīhanaye[cha]
dhramavadbi[e] hhasukhyāe dhramayutasa
Yona-Kariibo-Ganidharanaṁ Kasti-kamān
ānaṁ ye va pi aparāṁntā[.]
Bhātama[ye] nhū
dhramanibheshu anatheshu v[u]dheshu[18]
hasukhyāe
dhrmamahāṁaida[.]
Taṁ ma [ha] putra ca parāṁ
ta t a . a [ya] me apachhā a[la]chhantā
avakaryān
tathā ye na avatāṁtā te sukṛt rajam
cashanti[.]
Yo chu ato[.]
[kaṁ] pī āpaṣāt[.]
So [du]kataṁ kashati[.]
Papari hi sukaṁ[.]
So atikātāṁ antaraṁ na [bhu]tpaṛva dharmamahāmāṁ
nāma[.]
maya dhramamahāmāṁkira [r][a][2] [2].
Te savapā[.]
asāhāriṣheshu va prat[a][13]
dhramadhīhanaye[cha]
dhramavadbi[e] hhasukhyāe dhramayutasa
Yona-Kariibo-Ganidharanaṁ Kasti-kamān
ānaṁ ye va pi aparāṁntā[.]
Bhātama[ye] nhū
dhramanibheshu anatheshu v[u]dheshu[18]
hasukhyāe
dhrmamahāṁaida[.]
Taṁ ma [ha] putra ca parāṁ
ta t a . a [ya] me apachhā a[la]chhantā
avakaryān
tathā ye na avatāṁtā te sukṛt rajam
cashanti[.]
Yo chu ato[.]
[kaṁ] pī āpaṣāt[.]
So [du]kataṁ kashati[.]
Papari hi sukaṁ[.]
So atikātāṁ antaraṁ na [bhu]tpaṛva dharmamahāmāṁ
nāma[.]
maya dhramamahāmāṁkira [r][a][2] [2].
Te savapā[.]
asāhāriṣheshu va prat[a][13]
dhramadhīhanaye[cha]

14 Read dhamśhīnāyā. The single ma is to be read as
double.
15 Ponsibly rcheshu.
16 The last sign has apparently also an Anuvāra.
17 The ma has been added later as a correction.
18 The second sign of mokkhyāe is not quite distinct.
19 The last syllable of anumbhākṣ has less or none than the
others.
20 Possibly māhālaka.
21 Possibly kṣita.
22 Regarding the first sign of spasaṁna, see the note to the
German edition.
23 Restore ye u pi. Before e there is only a vertical stroke,
not a ma.
24 The vowel is not certain.
25 The last vowel is not certain.
26 The third vowel is not certain.
27 The ya has been added later.
28 The lower end of the last syllable has been destroyed.
29 The ra-stroke is abnormal.
30 The voice is not certain.
31 The voice is not certain.
32 The voice is not certain.
33 The voice is not certain.
Mansehra.


Kālāt.


EDICT VI.

Gimnār.

Devānāṁ priye Priyadāṁi raja evanah ahā[.]

Atikratāṁ aṁtāran [1] na bhutapuruva savas. la[.48]
aṭhakāmine[. va] paṭivedanā va[.]

Tam maya evam kathā[.] save kāle bhūnjāmanasa

Shaḥbadzagrhi.

Devānāṁ priye Priyadāṁi raja evanah ahā
ti[.] atikā [ra]tani[.] aṁtāran na [bhuta]pruvām
savam kālam aṭhakāmaṁ va paṭivedanā va[.]

Tam maya evam kathā[.] savam kālam aṁsamana

[44] Chā is much defaced and looks like ṇā or jā; the
Anuvāsaṁ of īyam is not certain.
[45] The first letter is much disfigured by several scratches
and looks nearly like a deformed chā.
[46] The impression offers distinctly no (i.e. naṅ) instead na,
and according to the reverse chā is more probable than chā.
[47] Bhaginā is more probable than ṇāḥā.
[48] The lingual of aṭhayā is plain both in the rubbing and on
the impression.
[49] Only the lower portions of the first letters are dis-
tinct.
[50] Possibly Priyadāṁi, but see the notes to the German
edition.
[51] The ra-stroke is doubtful.
[52] The top of roa, va and la are gone. Restore "raṁ savam kālāṁ."
Girnût.

me orodhanamhi gahgâramhi vachamhi va [8] vini-
tambhi cha uññenu cha savatra paṭivedakā[9] sita athe
me janaṣa[4] paṭivedetha iti.[9] Sarvatra cha janaṣa
svayamā dāpakam va śravāpakam va va va puna
aṭhatā: vivālo nijhati va sanhitu pariṣayānu[7]

Shāhbâzgarhī.

sa me orodhanaṣi grâbhagarsapi vrahasisapi viniṣṭapi
uyanasi[4] savatra pāṭivedaka aṭhâra janaṣa
pat[r]ivedetu me savatra cha janaṣa aṭhâra karomi.[7]
Yañ hi [cha] kiehi mukhato añapayami
[āhār ā]dāpakam va śravākam va yanhi va pana[9]
mahâmatram v(ō) aṣṭhâyaikā a. pita[2]̄m bhi
bhotey aṭhatāye vivade va nī[ja]ha[15] ti va sanhitam pariṣha-
aṭhâra janaṣa karomi a[āhārī] [7]. Yan hi cha
va va va pana mahâmatram abhâyakā aropitām
bhotey aṭhatāye vivade sanhitam nijhati[9]
va pariṣhaye anantāriyena pāṭivedetavo me
savatra sav[r]aṇam kalami.[7]

Evani aṣṭhitā aṣṭhitā.[7] Nasti hi me
tos[8] uṣṭānombhi atinsatirināyā va.[7] Katâ-
yamahe me savralokahitānu.[9] Tasa cha puna
esa mūle uṣṭānān cha atinsatirinān cha.[7] Nasti hi
kaṁmatarān[10] savralokahitâ[7]. Yā cha
ānāśām gacchayān[11] ida cha nāni sukhāpayā-
mi parâtra cha svagāhin ārūḍhavârintu.[7]. Ta etiṣa
chīraṃ tīṣṭey āti tathā cha me putrā poīcha
Dukaranu tu idam aṣṭata agena pārākramena.[14]

Maneṣhra.

atiṣṭhitāni an蒂ārāni[20] so[9][o] hatapruvo savrâma kalâ
kinti[7]: savrâkariṃ anāsā me
orodhane gahgârasapi vrahapisapi
uyanâsaṃ savatra pa[5][i]veda[ka] aṭhāra janaṣa[27] paṭivedetu
me savatra cha janaṣa aṭhâra karomi abhim.[8]
Yañ hi kiehi mukhāti añapemi abhim dapakam
va śravākam va yanhi va pana mahâmatrehi

Kālaṃ.

Devānām-piya Piyudasi lājā hovimāhā[7] aṭhâra
atiṣṭhitāni an蒂ārāni lo-hutapulve savrāma kalâ
olodhanasi gahgârāla vachasi viṇi[tsi uyanâso
savatā paṭivedakā] aṭhāra janaṣa[27] paṭivedetavo me
80[9]. Savatā[23] janaṣa aṭhāra kaḥāma hokāri[7].
Yañ hi cha [kībhi mukha]te āna[pa]yāmi ha-

40 Below ū stands a u-stroke.
41 The final sign is probably intended for ṣpi; — see the
notes to the German edition of the Mansehra text.
42 Possibly puna to be read.
43 Possibly dekāpi kar or ke to be restored, as there are
two large abrasions on both sides of the ka.
44 The word of o is very indistinct.
45 Complete aropitām.
46 The jha is indistinct.
47 The passage from savatra down to purīṣṭha has been
repeated by mistake.
48 It looks, as if another sign had stood between ki and
chi.
49 A remnant of sa below the ga is visible.
50 The stroke indicating the aspiration of jha is indistinct.
51 The ra-stroke of savraˈ is not quite certain.
52 The initial sign of this word shows the same form as in
orodhanaspi, above l. 14, and seems to be intended for ṣpā.
53 Possibly aṣpi to be read; read dhramadipī.
54 Read anuvoterah.
55 Read agraṇa.
56 The Anuvāraṇa of devānām and evah are not quite
distinct.
57 The vowel is doubtful.
58 Possibly kāma to be read.
59 The lingual in aṭhā is more probable than the dental.
60 The new impression shows a tolerably distinct me at the
end of line 17, and only scratches at the beginning of line 18.
In the third syllable of adamanad a short a is more probable
than mā.
61 The last sign of this word and the next two show the
abnormal form, which probably stands for ṣpā.
62 No letters seem to have been lost between me and savatā.
63 At least one syllable, probably cha, has been lost after
savatā.
64 Hokaḥ, not sokaḥ, is the reading of the new im-
pression.
**MANSEHRA.**

sahayike aropita hoti[28] taye uthraye vivade niñhat va sarhita parshyave a[nah]°taliyey pàพรideditavìye me savatra savra kala[.] Eva[ra]° apatiya maya[.]

Nasti hi me tosbe u[thnaste]° at hrsaritirangiye cha[.]°° Kaññiyamate hi me savralokhite[.]° Tasa cha[ puna]° eshe mule uthrane at hrsaritanya cha[.]


Se etaye uthraye iyarn dhramadipil khilta[ ri]° chiraññtikarn hotu tatham cha me putra[ nata]°° para[rakramani° savra[°° loka]° lokhiteye[.]

Dukare cho kho aśiata agraña parañramona[.]

**KAÌST.**


Se-etayeññhaye iyarn dhmalipî lekhtà[ ri]°° Chîlññhitikà hotu tathá cha me putâlalo palakamûtâ savralokhità[ye][°° Dukaral-cho[a]°° iyarn anàga agenâ palakaménà[.]

**EDIT VII.**

**SHÀñBÁSâGARHÍ.**


Jano tu uññhàvûchàchhnûdo uññhàvûchharragò[.]°° Te savarnà va kàsàntî ekadesàr va kasàntî[.]°° Vîpûle[ ri]°° tu pi dànc yasa násti sayame bhàvàsudhîr va kàtãmnàta va dàññhàbhatîta cha nichà baédhàrn[ ri]°°

**MANSEHRA.**

Dev[na]°° priye Priyadarsîi ràja savatra îhîchati savra pàñhàda vasey[ri]°° Savre hi te sayamam bhàvàsudhî cha[ ri]°° ichhàntî[.]

Jano cha uññhàvûchhàchhnûdo uññhàvûchhàrargô[.]°° Te savaram va ekadesarn va[ ri]°° pi kàshàntî[.]

Vîpûle[ ri]°° pi chu dànc yasa násti sayame bhàvasùti kîññatà dàññhàbhatîta[ ri]°° cha[ ri]°° nichè baédhàrn[.]

**KAÌST.**

Devñânar°° piyo Priyadarsîi lâj[ ri]°° sa[vàta[ ri]°° ichhàntî[.]


Jano cha uññhàvûchàchhnûdo uññhàvûchhàrargô[.]°° Te savaram va ekadesarn va[ ri]°° pi kàshàntî[.]

Vîpûle[ ri]°° pi chu dànc yasa násti sayame bhàvasùti kîññatà dàññhàbhatîta nichè baédhàrn[.]

**EDIT VIII.**

**SHÀñBÁSâGARHÍ.**


So no stroke or abrasion to the right of the da.

16 Ched, not cha, is distinct.

17 The impression shows everywhere distinctly uññhàvûchhù, not uññhàvûcha.

18 Dùññatî is, according to the reverse of the impression, more probable than dànc.

19 According to the impression the reading is kîññatà, for which kîññatà must be read.

20 One of the ru-strokes in dridhàra°° is superfluous, and ought to be removed. The form was probably dvidhàra°°, i.e. dvidhàra.

21 This stands for atîkramân just like savra for savra.

22 Read etùrîsâni.

23 The second vowel is not quite distinct, and the reading abhirasù is perhaps possible.
**Girnar.**


**Mansehra.**


**Kālāc.**


**EDIT 1X.**

**Girnar.**

Etamhi cha aṁṇī cha jano uchāvaḥ samāgalam karote [2] Eta tu mahādyayah bahuṅkair cha bahuvihāram cha chhudaṁ cha niraṭhām cha samāgalam karote[.]

Etā tā kavayameva tu samāgalam.[.]


Ayam tu mahāphale samāgalai ya dharmamāṅgale[.]


Eta cha aṁṇī cha ātarsai dharmamāṅgalamānāmānāmānāmānā[.]

---

16 The dra looks very much like dom.
17 The impression makes the second Anuvāra very probable.
18 Etyām stands for Eta iyām. According to the analogy genane for gena ime, etc.;—see E. Müller: Simplified Pali Grammar, p. 60.
19 The Anuvāra is doubtful.
20 Possibly tenādra to be read.
21 Possibly jānasa to be read.
22 The dra looks very much like dom.
23 Possibly ehe to be read.
24 The upper part of the i-stroke is very faint.
25 Possibly kā to be read.
26 Chā, not ānā, is the reading of the impression.
27 The impression shows no Anuvāra.
28 This looks like rajam.

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**Shāhbāzgarhi.**


Tatopayā eṣā bhuyā rati hoti devānā Prīṣyā Prīṣyārasa rañño bhāgg[14] ane[13].

---

7 Possibly tenādra to be read.
8 The obverse of the impression seems to give sāte, but the reverse shows sātāṁ to be the right reading.
9 Possibly nikhāmikd to be read.
10 The impression shows no cha after janaśd, only superficial scratches.
11 Read kīramaptīvihānā.
12 There is no Anuvāra in dharmapāripuchhā.
13 Possibly the reading may have been bhāgi.
14 Read edīṣīga.
15 Read bahu; only the lower half of the first letter has been preserved; the second has been omitted.
16 Karotā stands for karote.
17 For ātiraiṃ.
18 Read dharmamāṅgalamānāmānāmānāmānām.
Gínnár.


Maneṣhra.

A[tra] tu balika jñāka bahu cha bhavuddha [a] [a] cha khud[a] [a] maṅgalaṁ karoti [4]. So ka vi cha kho [8]
apaṛcchiti [a] prānaṁ sa [ya]ṃ śramanaṁ bhavanā na [dane] [4]. Esho ane cha edī dharmamoṣa naṃ [a].
kattāvīye maṅgale āva tasa athasa nivuṭ [t]a[yā].

Shābhāṣgarthā.

So vatavo pituna pi putrena vā bhṛtuka vā [s]paṇā [5] mi [r] saṃsthutena ava prati-
Siya vā taim anāh

Kāḷeṭa.


So kattāvīye cheva-khā maṅgalaṁ [a].
Apāphale-vu-kho e[s] iyaṁ

Kūhā kou maṅphale ye-dharmamoṣa [a]. Ha[tā] [4] iyān dāmbhaṭakā samayapaṭipati-gulamā
apachiti pā. ānaṁ saṃyam saṅkumabhiṣe bhavanā na [dane] [4]. Ese annaḥ cha hoṣe tam-dharmamoṣa-nāma [4].
Se vatavyiye pitānā-pi putena-
kattāvīye [ma]jagala āva-tasa athasa nivuṭiṣṭa [4].

20 The first letter, which is badly damaged, seems to have been one of the abnormal signs, occurring in ओरोधानपेसि and so forth, and probably meant for स्पाॅ.
21 The last sign is the same as in ओरोधानपेसि and so forth, and probably used for ओरोधानपेसि.
22 The second vowel is not quite certain and one might possibly read नीवळीयतेति.
23 The last vowel is not quite certain.
24 The signs of this word stand the above the other.
25 Read उद्धितेना.
26 Read उबड्डेना.
27 Possibly pama to be read.
28 Possibly in to be read.
29 Read सङ्खु.
30 The Anuśāva of सङ्खु is at least very probable.
31 Possibly pama to be read.
32 Read धर्ममास्थिज्ञाना.
33 The Anuśāva is uncertain.
34 The Anuśāva is uncertain.
35 Thus distinct in B, instead of provasis.
**Mansehra.**

tam a]ra nivate ti hida tado ubhaya[ va

**Kälśi.**

Ima[n] ka[tha]m-it[?] E-h
hidalokse-chā-vā-e[.] Iyam-punā dharammagale
akālikye[.]. Hancehi-pi tām-athān no-nite-ti
ubhaye[6][26] [la]dhe hiti hida-chā[3] se-athe
palatā-chā anumān-punām pavanati
tena dharammagalena[.].

**EX. D**

**Girnār.**

Devanan priyo Priyadasi rājā[7] yaso va kiti va na
mahāthābhāvāhā manaṭate aṇāṭa tadātano dīghāya cha
vatam cha anuvidiyaṭam[.]. Etakāya devanaṭa priyo
Piyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va ichhati[2].
Yam tu kihche parakramate devanam Priya
dasi[7] rājā ta savain pariṃtrikaiya[:] kinti [:] saka
kke apparisiya sa[a]. Esa tu parisiya va
apatūni[7][3] Dukarai tu khe etai chuddakena
va janena usātena va aṇātra agena parakramena
savain parichaitpā[:] Eta tu khe uṣṭena
dukarai[4].

**Shāhbażgarhī.**

Devana priyo Priyadasi raya yaso va kiti va no
mahātāvahā maṇiṭate aṇāṭa yo pi
dhārmanasruṣa[7] susraṭāṭhen me ti dhārmanavat
maṇi cha anuvidiyaṭam[.]. Eta tu parisiya va
apatūni[7][3] Dukarai tu khe etai chuddakena
va janena usātena va aṇātra agena parakramena
savain paricitpā[:] Eta tu khe uṣṭena
dukarai[4].

**Mansehra.**

. . [8] priye Pri. drāsi raja yaso va kiti va
n[a] mahāthābhāvāhā maṇiṭate aṇāṭa yain pi ya[so]
dhārmanasruṣa-ṣu [cha]tum me ti

---

7 This may be read ṭakhe.
8 Possibly etakhe or etakhe according to B., which also shows the mo.
9 This is plain in B.
10 The existence of this word, which is not found in the closely corresponding Mansehra version, is very doubtful.
11 The lingual of athān is plain in the impression both here and in the next sentences.
12 This may also be read ṭakhe lok[ha] ch[ha] or ṭakhalok[ha]khe.
13 Read nivaṭe[?] and atha.
14 Thus according to B.
15 Read parasvati, as suggested by M. Senart.
16 Hida, not kid[hi], is the distinct reading of the impression.
17 Tato, not tato, is the reading of the impression, though the estroke is short (compare Mansehra and Shāhbażgarhī.)
18 ṭabhaye is distinct on the reverse, but the following omitted syllable is very doubtful. It looks most like an original ma or mā. I would conjecture ṭabhaye in accordance with the Mansehra and Shāhbażgarhī versions.
19 Hida, not kid[hi], is the reading of the impression.
20 The two Anuvāras are probable, but not certain.
21 Read dharammahalena.
22 The syllable de has been inserted between si and ra and the syllable ra between rd and ja.
23 The apparent Anuvāra after eru is too irregular in shape to be read. It is probably due to a flaw in the rock.
24 Regarding the sign see the remarks to the German edition. It is, of course, possible to read tatautaye or tadātaye.
25 Read dharammahalena.
26 Restore priye before Priyadasi.
27 The Anuvāra is faintly visible on the impression.
28 The ka has been added as a correction.
29 Possibly parakramena to be read, as the top of the ka is slightly bent towards the right.
30 The conclusion of the edict is missing and seems not to have been incised.
31 Read Piyadashi.
32 Possibly mahāthābhāva to be restored.
33 It is, of course, possible to read tatautaye or tadātaye.
34 Possibly ayati is to be read.
35 A Vedic imperative.
Mansehra.


Kalesh.


Girnar.


Mansehra.


Kalesh.

Devanāma-πιयादासी लाजा भवान हाँ[.] नाथि होसीह दाने [A] धर्माः धरमदाने धर्मशांस्टवे धर्मशामविभागो धर्मशांस्मकवि धर्मशांस्मकविद्धो[.] [.] Tatt[a] eshe[.] ḏa̱ba̱}tha sa sa[mya] samyaprātipati mitātīpitāḥ[.] . . .[12] samyātīpitāna śrāmasaṁbrāmanāna dana prānāna anārāmabhe[.] Eshe vaṭa-vīye putrāna pi prasavati[.] pi putrāna pi sa[m]iṇkena pi mitra-prātāntena ava prātāveṣyēna[.] [i] mar na sar dhāmar kāṭavō[.] So tathā karantaṁ iḷōka[.] bhātā[.] cha aradbe[.] parātra ca anantaṁ paṇunāh prasavati[.] [24] [te] na dhramadāna[.] [25]

Edict XI.

Śāhābāsgarhi.

KĀSI ASOKA INSCRIPTION, —(IV) ON EAST END OF THE STONE.
Ginār.


Mānsehra.


Kālsī.


14 Possibly pravrajita to be read.
15 Possibly gharastāni to be read.
16 Praavrajita, first read by M. Senart, stands according to a direct photograph above the line, just before graha[tha].
17 The apparent d-stroke after ra is probably an accidental scratch or a serif.
18 The first to and the second as of tasa tasa have been obliterated, as the sense requires.
19 The syllable saḥ has been added as a correction.
20 Read garaha.
21 Probably a mistake for pujetayagā.
22 Read tena tena.
23 Dr. Burgess' new facsimile shows more distinctly than the older materials this reading. My former reading prakaraṇa.
24 Reading pāsahāndāni.
25 Meant for vividhāya.
26 Possibly vividhāya to be read.
27 Chu, not cha, is the reading of the impression.
28 Possibly kinti to be restored.
29 Nash stands, as a correction, above the line.
Girnar.

sā mātāpitāru saṃsūtuṣā gurumāṣā vīyasaṃ prāpunati[.]. Tatra sūra bha[va]hānaṃ tathā[va]hānaṃ na mānumaṃ prāpunatī[.].

[4] [mb] yatara
nāṃ manaṃnaṃ ekataramhi pāsūtuṣāhi na nām prasa[da]!o[.]. Yāvatako jan. tādam[5].

[8] na ya sakaṃ
cchhamitave[.]. Yā cha pi atāviriyo devaṃnaṃ priyasa pijāte pāti[6].

[6] savabhūtanān
aṃbhutim cha saṃsārān cha samaccherān cha mādavān cha[7].


[9] rīdha-pi[ri]riṇdesu vastava
devaṃnaṃ priyaṃ dhāranāṃnaṃ anuvartata[.]
Yatra pi dūtis[9].

[7] vijayo savathā puna vijayo pītira so[.]. Ladha sa pīti hoti dhāranāvijayamahi [10].


Shāhārgarhi.

Teshmore tatra bhoti apagratho vah va vadhō va abhirataṇa va nikramanaṃ[.].

Tatra tām pi tesaḥ vo apagratho bhoti[.]. Pratībhahet eva etāni saṃvritaṃ ganumānaṃ[8] gurumataḥ cha devanāṃ priyasa[.].
Nastīcha ekatarasi[pi] 11 prasānādapi nanama 16 prasado[.].

Yo pi cha apakarṣa ti cchhamita-viṣayaṃta vo devanāṃ priyasa yaṃ saκo ekaṃna[mahye].
Ya pi cha atāviriyo devanāṃ priyasa [vi]jāte bhoti ta pi aanumetī anumeta ṣaṃphate ti[ti] anutaṃpe signca pra[nj]abhave devanāṃ priyasa[.].
Vuchati tesa[.][iti] 17 avataṃpe na cha bhunīyaṃ[.]
Ichhāti hi devanāṃ priyata saṃvhitamah saṃvhit atamanaṃ samaccherāyan rasbhāysye[.]

eyonarāja parai cha tena Aṃtiyokas caturā 17
dājñi Turamāya nama Aṃtiκinā nama Maka

[10] nāma Alikāvadu daro nama[.]. niha Choḍa Parātha

[8] ava Tanhaṇapārunya evameta Hidamarāja[.].


[12] Bhoja-Pitikeshu Aṇdhra-Pulī[de][de]h saha

[13] sahaṃ daṃ prāpunatā eva dharamuṣṭān anuvatata[.].
Yatra pi devanāṃ priyasa duta na vṛttaṃte pi śru[ta] devanāṃ priyasa dharamuṣṭān vṛttaṃ dharamuṣṭān anuvatata[.]

[17] ahaṃ anuvatata[.].

[18] Yo cha lāhā evaṃ vijaya vijatā pūna pāṇa[10]


[2] Parāraikama maṇabāla moṣita devanā piyoi[.].


[1] ka[.]. Yo[.].


paydpati for prāyavaṭi.
Girnār.

...[12]

tokikā cha pāralokikā cha.

Kālṣi.

Athavākā bhiṣita tā shā devānāṁ piyasa Piyasadashi ne tā jīna tā Kalirā vijita i[...]
Diyaṣham Śaṭe tā pānasatasaḥṁāḥ in yetapā ṣāppūdhā tā dharmakāmatā tā tad bate tā bahutavatāke tā vate [...]
Tata paḥcha tā adhunā bādaḥ eu Kaligyesu tīve dharmanavaye [35] dharmakāmatā tā dham-
manuṣthāḥi cā tā devānāṁ piyasa [...]
She athī anushayā ā devānāṁ piyasaḥ [ā] vijinītā tā Kal-
Gyāni i[...]
Avijjāni hi vijinīmānāh i etatā tā
dadhān vā cā mulana vā cā ṣāppūdha vā cā janaḥśa [...]
She bādhaḥ vijadhāyamute cā guñumute chā tā devānāṁ piyasa [...]
Iyam pi chu tato cā guñumatatalcā tā devānāṁ piyasa [...]
[36] [Šaṭvātā tā vahati barībhāna vā śama vā 26 ane vā pāśaṁdā ghiṁtha vā yēva vihitā esha g[ā]bhūta]shuṣhūsaḥ tā maṭātipaḥshuṣhā[26] guñuṣhūsa[27] mitasahāntuṣuṣhāhā-
yanātikṣesu dāsabh[a] kaśaḥ shamyāpaṭipati dīdhaṃbhātā[...].
Teshāṁ tāta hoti [u]pāgāte vā vadhā vā abhilaśā tā viniṃhāne [...]
Yes[a]naḥ vā pi [ṣa]nhavyānāṁ śinehe avi-
pahine etāṁ naḥ mitasahāntuṣuṣhaṇyāntikṣā[27]
viyashane pāpūnāt[...].
Tata se pi [tā]nameva upa-
gāte hoti [...]
Paṭītāḥgā cā esha śava manu.[naṁ]
Gulumate cā devānāṁ piyasa [...]
Nathā cā tā se janaṇaṇa yātā nathī ime nīkāyā ānāṁ śaṃe[38]
Bārmaṇi māṃ cā shamaṇe cā nathī cā kūvā pā
ejanaṇadābhi [yā] tā manuṣhānti it ekataleśi pi [pāḥadsahi] no nāma pāṣātā[...].
She āsvatake jano i tāda Kalinjeshu [la] shu bate cā maṭe cā apavācā tā tātā shatebhāgā[23] vā cā shaha-
bhāgā vā taja guñumatā vā devānāṁ piyasa [...]

neyu[...]. Iloha

shavābhū sača yama šamachaśiśi'yaḥ

madava ti[...]. Iyam vu mu [...][4]

Shābhāṣgarhi.

tam[26] cā roçhota tam e[va] vija maṇi.[26] [11]
[yo dhramavijay[a] cā hi yodalośkon paralośkon[...]
Svāma[cā] niraṭhi bhoto ya [a]rāmarati[...]
She hi yodalośkon paralośkon[12]

Mansehra.


ma[na] cā [...]

[a]pave he va jana[...]

veṇauṣ亚马

[38] cā agraḥbhū saṣrūṣa

cātāpiṣhu [saṣrūṣa] guṇ-

saṣrūṣa mo [a]śaṣtu[...]


Yes[a]va vā [pi] saṇvā Ṉaḥ śaṃe he avi-

prahi [ne e] ta mārtaśaṇ[...]

[6] [...]

savanā manuṣhānti gurumate cā [deva]nāṁ piyasa [...]
Nasti cā se janaṇaṇa ya[ma] nashi ime nīkāyā a [...]
Yenaṁ ha[ṇa]ma a [ma]
pi [jana] si [...][6]
no nāma prasade[...].
Se yavatake āve tāda Kalinjeshu [bate cā]
[a]pavūdha cā tata śaṭabhage va sahasrabhage
aja guroma e va piyāsa[...]

ka mitāti [...]

[Ya]pi cā atavi devanāṁ piyasa vijtāi [k]oti [ta] pi anuṣayatī anu[nj] [ja]pāye ti[...]
[36] anu[ta]pe pi cā prabhāve dev-

[naṁ] piyasa[...]
Vuchati [tesshām]

vanāṁ pi ye[38]

... muta viyāja

de]vanāṁ piyasa ye dhramavijaya[...]
[se cā puna] bade de]vanāṁ piyasa bida cā savvāshu cā

26 Read gulasuṣhūsaḥ.
27 The na of nāṭikṣā stands above the line, and is indistinct.
23 Read shatebhāgā.
28 Read pūdha.

TRANSLATION OF THE SHĀΗBAΖGARHĪ VERSION.¹

EDICT I.

This religious edict has been incised by order of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods:—No animal may be slaughtered and offered here as a burnt-sacrifice; nor shall any festive assembly be held; for King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in festive assemblies. There are, however, also some kinds of festive assemblies considered most excellent by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods.

Formerly many hundred thousand animals were slaughtered daily in the kitchen of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, in order to prepare curries. Now, when this religious edict is incised, only three animals are slain daily, two (2) peacocks and one (1) deer; the deer, however, not even regularly. But in future even these three animals will no longer be slaughtered.

EDICT II.

Everywhere in the empire of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, as well as among those nations and princes that are his neighbours, such as the Chodhas, the Pándiyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputa, Tāmraparṇī, the Yona king, called Aṁtiyoka as well as among those who are the vassal-kings of that Aṁtiyoka,—everywhere King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, has founded two (2) kinds of hospitals, both hospitals for men and hospitals for animals. Everywhere where herbs wholesome for men and wholesome for animals are not found, they have been imported and sown by the king's order. And wells have been dug by his order for the enjoyment of men and beasts.³

EDICT III.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—When I had been anointed twelve years [this following order was given by me]:—“Everywhere in my empire both my loyal Rajukas¹ and vassals shall go forth on a tour every five years,—the reason of this

¹ Śi stands above the line.
² The subjunctive translation of Edicts I—X, XIV differs only slightly, as the text requires, from that given, Arch. Survey, South Ind., vol. I, p. 121ff. The translation of Edict XII has been taken over almost unaltered from the first volume of this Journal, p. 19ff. The translation of Edict XIII is based on my German rendering in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XLIII, p. 172ff. The few notes given here mostly contain matter not given in my former articles on these inscriptions.
³ The Chodhas are the Cholas of Kāśī; the Pándiyas are the Pándiyas of the extreme south; the Satiyaputas is probably the king of the Satavas; the Keralaputas, the king of Kerala or Malabār. Tāmraparṇī, or Tāmraparṇī, is Ceylon, the Yonas are the Yavanas or Greeks, and Aṁtiyoka is Antiochus II (see below Edict XIII).
⁴ Two sentences had been left out, and the last has been mutilated (see the Dhauli version).
is the preaching the sacred law—as also for other business, (saying):—Meritorious is the obedience towards mother and father[meritorious is the liberality] towards friends, acquaintances, and relatives, towards Brahmans and ascetics; [meritorious is the abstention from killing living creatures], meritorious is the abstention from reviling heterodox men. Moreover, the teachers and ascetics of all schools will inculcate what is befitting at divine service, both according to the letter and according to the spirit."

**EDICT IV.**

A long period, many hundreds of years, have passed, during which the slaughter of animals, the cruel treatment of created beings, the unbecoming behaviour towards relatives and the unbecoming behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans have only increased. But now, in consequence of the fulfilment of the sacred law by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, the sound of drums, or rather the sound of the law, has been heard, while the sight of cars of the gods, elephants, and other heavenly spectacles were exhibited to the people. As has not happened formerly in many centuries, even so have grown now through the god-beloved King Priyadarśin’s preaching of the law the non-destruction of animals, the good treatment of living creatures, the decorous behaviour towards relatives, the decorous behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans, the obedience towards parents, the obedience towards the aged. Thus, and in many other ways, the fulfilment of the sacred law has grown, and King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow still more. Moreover, the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow until the end of time, and will preach the sacred law, abiding by the sacred law and by virtuous conduct; for that is the best work, viz. the preaching of the sacred law; but the fulfilment of the sacred law is not possible for a man destitute of virtuous conduct. The growth of this very matter and its non-diminution are meritorious. For this purpose, viz. that they may cause the growth of this matter and may not permit its diminution, this edict has been written. This edict has been written by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, when he had been anointed twelve years.

**EDICT V.**

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—Good works are difficult of performance. He who is the originator of good works does something difficult of performance. Now much good has been done by me. If then, my sons and my grandsons and those among my descendants who may come after them until the end of time, will thus follow my example, they will do what is meritorious. But he who will give up even a portion of these virtuous acts will commit sin, for sin is easily committed.

Now a long period has passed, and the officials called the Overseers of the Sacred Law have formerly not existed. Now, when I had been anointed thirteen years, I appointed Overseers of the Sacred Law. They are busy among all sects with watching over the sacred law, with the growth of the sacred law, and with the welfare and happiness of my

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4 Compare Jātaka, iv, 269.76: dharmahkaratik charakṣati.
6 Compare P. Hian’s account (Beal, p. 106) of religious processions at Patnā.
7 The word adikara—adikala has been completely preserved in the Mansura and Kāli versions alone.
loyal subjects, as also among the Yonas, Kamboyas, Gamdhāras, Rastikas, Pitini-
kas, and all other nations which are my neighbours. Among my hired servants, among
Brahmans and Vaisyas, among the unprotected and among the aged, they are busy with
the welfare and happiness, with the removal of obstacles among my loyal ones. With
the prevention of unjust imprisonment and of unjust corporal punishment, with the re-
moval of obstacles and with loosening bonds, for these purposes they are busy, considering
that there is a numerous progeny, or that the person concerned has been overwhelmed by
misfortune, or that he is aged. Here, and in all the outlying towns, they are everywhere
busy in all the harems of my brothers and sisters, and among my other relatives. These
Overseers of the Sacred Law are busy with what concerns the Sacred Law, with watching
over the Sacred Law, and with what is connected with pious gifts, in my whole loyal
empire. This religious edict has been written for the following purposes, viz. that it
may endure for a long time, and that my subjects may act accordingly.

EDICT VI.

King Priyadārśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—A long period has elapsed,
during which formerly the despatch of business and the hearing of the informers have
not regularly taken place. Now I have made the following arrangement, that the
informers may report to me the concerns of the people at any time, while I dine, in my
harem, in my private rooms, in the latrine, in my carriages, and in my pleasure-garden
and everywhere I despatch the business of the people. Moreover, if, with respect to
anything which I order by word of mouth to be given or to be obeyed as a command, or
which as a pressing matter is entrusted to my officials, a dispute or a fraud happens in
the committee of any caste or sect, I have given orders that it shall be brought forthwith
to my cognisance in any place and at any time; for I am never satisfied with my exer-
tions and with the despatch of business. For I consider the welfare of all people as
something for which I must work. But the root of that is exertion* and the despatch of
business. There is no more important work than to secure the welfare of all. And
what is the purpose of every effort which I make? It is that I may discharge the debt
which I owe to the creatures, that I may make some happy in this world, and that they
may gain heaven in the next. This religious edict has been written for the following
purpose, that it may endure for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may thus
exert themselves for the welfare of all men. But that is difficult to carry out without
the utmost exertion.

EDICT VII.

King Priyadārśin, beloved of the gods, desires that adherents of creeds of all kinds
may dwell everywhere; for they all seek after self-control and purity of mind. But
men possess various desires and various likings. They will put in practice either the whole
or a part only of what they profess. But self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm
attachment are laudable in a lowly man,† to whom even great liberality is impossible.

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* The Pitinkas I identify with the Riantikas, a southern nation. The Pitinkas, or Pitenkis, probably had their seats in the same district.

† Compare Mahābhārata, XII. 56,14 and 38, 14, where atidāsa "exertion" is prescribed for kings and declared to
be the root of all good government.

‡ The form nīchā in the Gīrakī version instead of nīkā, may be explained as a contraction of nīkṛṣya i.e. nīkṛṣya;
compare Pillar Edict iv, note on nījapayīd.
EDICT VIII.

A long period has elapsed, during which the beloved of the gods used to go forth on so-called pleasure-tours. On such occasions the chase and other similar amusements used to be pursued. Now, when King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, had been anointed ten years, he went forth in search after true knowledge. Owing to this event, religious tours have become a regular institution here in my empire. On that occasion the following happens, *viz.* the reception of, and almsgiving to, Brahmans and ascetics, the reception of the aged, the distribution of gold, the reception of the people of the provinces, the preaching of the Sacred Law and inquiries concerning the Sacred Law. *It is thus that,* in exchange for past pleasures, King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, since then enjoys the pleasures which these virtuous actions procure.

EDICT IX.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—The people performs various suspicious rites in misfortunes, at marriages of sons and daughters, on the birth of sons, at the time of starting on a journey. On these and similar occasions the people perform many suspicious rites. But at such times the women perform many and various despicable and useless rites. Now, suspicious rites ought indeed to be performed. But rites of this description produce no results. But the following, the suspicious rite, *which consists in the fulfilment of* the Sacred Law, *produces, indeed, great results.* That includes kindness towards slaves and servants, reverence towards venerable persons, self-control with respect to living creatures, liberality towards ascetics and Brahmans. These and other similar virtuous actions are called the suspicious rites of the Sacred Law. Now a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, ought to speak as follows:—"This is meritorious; this suspicious rite must be practised until the desired aim is attained." To the success of which suspicious rites does this refer? For every worldly suspicious rite is doubtful. It may be that it accomplishes the desired object; but it may be that it remains even in this world. But that suspicious rite of the Sacred Law acts without reference to time. If it does not secure here the desired object, it yet produces endless merit in the next world. But, if it secures the desired object both are gained; here that desired object, and endless merit is produced in the next world through that suspicious rite of the Sacred Law.

EDICT X.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, does not think that glory and fame bring much profit, except that he desires glory and fame with the view that at present and in the future the people may practise obedience to the Sacred Law, and that they observe the duties of the Sacred Law. For this purpose King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires glory and fame. But all the efforts of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, are made with reference to the results for a future life. How so? *It is his wish that all may be free from danger.* Now the danger is sin. But assuredly the thing is difficult

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11 The word *vīkhāyāyita* occurs in the sense of "pleasure-tour" in Avaghotha's Buddhakarita, III, 3, and *paśīmin.*
12 For the use of *dādo* and *viśīdo* compare the *Ambhatha Sutta* 2:1 (*Dīghānikādā*, vol. I, p. 99).
13 Compare the beginning of the Jaina Dāsavaikālikā Sūtra, *dhammo magalam ukkhattam,* etc.
14 Compare *Jātakas*, IV, 230, 9, *mahantam puññam parācānītī.*
to accomplish, whether for the low or for the great, except by the greatest exertion and by the renouncing everything. But it is [most difficult] for the great.

**EDICT XI.**

King Priyadārsin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—“There is no such gift as the almsgiving of the law, nor anything like the intimacy through the law, the charitable gift of the law and the connection through the law.” This law includes the good treatment of slaves and servants, obedience towards parents, liberality towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, ascetics and Brahmans, and the non-destruction of living creatures. Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, or a friend and acquaintance, or even a neighbour ought to give advice on this matter, saying:—“This is meritorious; this ought to be done.” He who acts thus both gains this world and produces for himself endless merit in the next through this almsgiving of the sacred law.

**EDICT XII.**

King Priyadārsin, beloved of the gods, honours men of all creeds, both ascetics and householders, by gifts and honours of various kinds. But the Beloved of the gods thinks not so much of gifts and honours as of what?—that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds. But the increase of essentials may happen in various ways. But this is its root, viz. guarding one’s speech—how so? “Honouring one’s own creed and blaming other creeds shall not be in unimportant points, or it shall be moderate with respect to this or that important point.” But other creeds must even be honoured for this or that reason. Acting thus, one exalts one’s creed and benefits also the other creeds. Acting differently, one hurts one’s own creed and injures the other creeds. How so? For he who honours his own creed and blames all other creeds out of reverence for his own creed thinking “I promote thereby the interests of my own creed,” however, acting thus, injures his own creed exceedingly. Hence self-restraint alone is commendable. How so? “They shall hear each other’s law and love to hear it.” For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods. What?—“that men of all creeds shall have heard much and shall possess holy doctrines. And to those who adhere to this or that faith it must be said: “The Beloved of the gods thinks not so much of gifts and honours as of what?—“that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds and a large one.” For this end are working the Overseers of the Sacred Law, the Superintendents of women, the Vachabhāmikus and other bodies of officials. And this is its result, viz. the exaltation of one’s own creed and the promotion of the interests of the law.

**EDICT XIII.**

King Priyadārsin, beloved of the gods, being anointed eight years, conquered the country of Kalinga. One hundred and fifty thousand souls were carried away thence, one

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11 Compare Itivuttaka, p. 98 (Windisch), where most of the terms used in this Edict occur, as well as the general views.

12 The reading of the other three versions samandya “concord, harmony” is better than sayamo “self-restraint,” i.e. with respect to opponents.

13 Or, possibly, [they shall obey (it as far as it is worthy to be obeyed).]

14 As the Manusha version offers Vrachabhāmika, the term may mean either “Overseers of the latrines,” or (vṛjajā, bhāmika) “Overseers of cows,” see Edasmira, p. 290, l. 1 (Durgāpṛastā).
hundred thousand were slain, and many times as many died. Afterwards, now that Kalinga has been conquered, are found with the Beloved of the gods a zealous protection of the Sacred Law, a zealous love for the Sacred Law, a zealous teaching of the Sacred Law. That is the repentance of the Beloved of the gods on account of his conquest of Kalinga; for when an unconquered country is being conquered there happens both a slaying and a dying, and a carrying-off of the people. That appears very painful and regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. But the following appears to the Beloved of the gods still more regrettable than that; for there dwell Brahmins, or ascetics, or men of other creeds, or householders, among whom the following is practised, viz. obedience towards the first-born (?), obedience towards parents, obedience towards venerable persons, becoming behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, slaves and servants, and firm attachment. Such men suffer there injury or destruction, or forcible separation from their beloved ones. Or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those who themselves are well protected, but whose affection is undiminished. Then even that misfortune becomes an injury just, for those unhurt ones. All this falls severally on men, and appears regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. And men have faith not merely in a single creed.

Even one hundredth or one thousandth part of those men who were slain, died, or were carried off during the conquest of Kalinga, now appears to the Beloved of the gods a matter of deepest regret. Even, if a man does him an injury, the Beloved of the gods holds that all that can be borne should be borne. Even on the inhabitants of the forests, found in the empire of the Beloved of the gods he takes compassion, if he is told that he should destroy them successively,—and the Beloved of the gods possesses power to torment them. Unto them it is said—what? "Let them shun doing evil, and they shall not be killed;" for the Beloved of the gods desires for all beings freedom from injury, self-restraint, impartiality and joyfulness.

But this conquest the Beloved of the gods holds the chiefest, viz. the conquest through the Sacred Law. And that conquest has been made by the Beloved of the gods both here in his empire and over all his neighbours, even as far as six hundred yojanas, where the King of the Yonas, called Amityyoka dwells, and beyond this Amityyoka, where the four (4) Kings dwell, viz., he called Turamaya, he called Amikini, he called Maka, and he called Alikasudara further in the south, where the Chodas and Pandras dwell as far as Tambapamini, likewise where the Hida-king dwells. Among the Viṣṇus, Vajris, Yonas, Kamboyas, in Nābhaka of the Nābhitis, among the Bhojas, the Pitinikas, the Amdhras, and Pulidas—everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the gods with respect to the Sacred Law. Even those to whom the messengers of the Beloved of the gods do not go, follow the Sacred Law, as soon as they have

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18 For the construction compare the reading of the MSS. A and B in the passage Jātaka. III, p. 275.—Senaka nam rajjaṁ ādito Bodhiṇatto Sakkātthā ādito.

20 The King means to say that on the occasion of conquests many creeds suffer, as there is no country where the people are contented with one only. The Kālid version, with which that of Gomār seems to have agreed, is more explicit, as it says: "And there is no country where there are not found these countless congregations into which these Brahmins and ascetics are divided. And there is nowhere a country where the people have faith in one creed alone."

21 According to Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, Bd. II, p. 254 f. the five Yona or Greek kings named are Antiochos, II., king of Syria (died 217 B.C.), Ptolemaios II., king of Egypt (died 221 B.C.), Antigonos Gonatēs, king of Macedon (died 339 B.C.), Magas, king of Cyrene (died 238 B.C.), Alexander, king of Kpira (died between 332 and 328 B.C.).

22 The Viṣṇas are probably the Bais Raiputs, the Vajris the Vrijas of Eastern India.
heard of the orders of the Beloved of the gods, issued in accordance with the Sacred Law, and his teaching of the Sacred Law, and they will follow it in future.

And the conquest which thereby has been made everywhere—a conquest made everywhere—yields a feeling of joy. But this joy is indeed only something small. The Beloved of the gods esteems as precious only that which refers to the next world.

And this religious edict has been written for the following purpose. Why? "In order that my sons and grandsons as many as they may be, may not think a new conquest desirable, in order that on the occasion of a conquest, only possible by the sword, they may find pleasure in mildness and gentleness, and in order that they may deem a conquest through the sacred law alone a real conquest. That yields bliss in this world and in the next. All their joy be the joy in exertion; for, that yields bliss in this world and in the next.

**EDICT XIV.**

These religious edicts have been written by order of King Priyadaśin, beloved of the gods, under a form; whether abridged, or expanded. For not everything is suitable in every place. For my empire is large, and much has been written, and I shall write still more. Certain sentences have been repeated over and over again because of the sweetness of their import. And for what purpose has that been done? It is with the intention that the people may act thus. But it may be that something has been written here incompletely, be it on account of the space, be it on account of some reason to be specially determined, or through a mistake of the writer.

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XXXVII.—A COLLECTION OF SANADS OF MOGHUL EMPERORS.

**By Paul Horn, Ph.D., Strasbourg.**

Mr. H. Blochmann remarks in his translation of the Ain-i-Akbari that the 19th chapter of the second book on the Sayūrgehās is one of the most interesting in Abul Fazl's whole work. The collection of seventy sanads discussed here may therefore claim some interest as almost all of them refer to the grant of such rent-free lands, and thus illustrate the formalities and usages of the institution in the most instructive manner, even if they fail to furnish much valuable historical information.

The general points concerning the granting of Sayūrgehās being well known, I shall restrict myself, after a few short remarks as to the age and origin of the sanads, to hint at some details that arise from their study, giving as specimens the text of three of them with translation. They belong chiefly to the pargana of Batālā (spelt Batālah or Batāla, and perhaps in the oldest of the documents Wātālah) in the Panjab, only a small number being from other cities or districts as Akbarābād, Jalālābād, Bāh, Chamāri, Dābhāwāla, and Putthaibatpūr. Occasionally we find mention of such villages as Bhagwānpūr, Faizuddinpūr, Harpūr, Kartārpūr, Rahimābād, Rasūlpūr.

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* The translation gives a free rendering of the Gīrān reading, sarāsake eva, literally "only possible by arrows."
* The word dhramadipī or dhakmadipī has here to be taken in a collective sense; compare the use of Smṛiti, Sruti and similar terms in Sanskrit.
* These sanads were obtained by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, of the Archaeological Survey in the Panjab, and by the Government of India were ordered to be distributed among the British, Calcutta, Lahore and Lakhnau Museums.
and Sháhjáhánpúr, belonging to the pargana of Bátála, or Pádisháhpúr alias Kalánkhurdpúr, belonging to Patihabatpúr, or with localities in Bátála as the masjíd-i-jámi’-i kalán ‘the large jami-mosque’ and the mahalla-i qází Ismá’íl Muhammád ‘the quarter of judge Ismá’íl Muhammád.’ The sanads were written under the rule of the Emperors Bábar, Jahángír, Sháhjáhán, Aurangzéb, Sháh ‘Álam, Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Sháh, Ahmad Sháh, and Timúr Sháh.

Among all the names of the persons on whom lands were conferred through these papers only a very few belong to important men. They are almost all small people, mostly women who scarcely would be found in the chronicles, not even the Shaikhs and Qázís that sometimes appear. No assignation of grounds to one person reaches a hundred big’has, an allowance that Badauni (vol. III, p. 205) states as too mean for a learned man, and in most cases the grants vary between 10 and 12 big’has or something more, except rare grants of 40, 60 or 70 to Shaikhs, or once to a wife of such a pious man. The big’ha is defined as a juri-b-i shastgyazi, i.e. 60 gaz long and by 60 broad; if fractions of big’has occur we find biswas, but no biswánas. It was not customary, as appears from these sanads generally to execute a separate document for every single little allotment, but to take together several persons in one party. Sometimes an order extends even to several parties, the amounts of the property of individuals not being specified in the text. But the statements in question are given on the back, written in siyáqat-characters. Also, the individual members of each party are not enumerated in the text, but only one as a representative followed by the words wághairuha, wághairúhá, or seldom wá jama’atuhu, with or without the added shuraká-i (for men and women), viz., shurikahá-i farmán.

A farmán, e.g., generally concerns musammád Mauláná Khatíb wághairuha, and afterwards we learn that these others were Mauláná Hámid, Mauláná Ahmad, and Mauláná Ya’qúb; or it is about musammád Daulat Khádtán wághairúhá, and on the back we find the other names Rahmat Khádtán, Bibi Aima, Bibi Fátima, and Maryam Khádtán, all written without diacritical points and in very cursive characters, the representative person pointed at only by a muskár iláhi. A farmán of a first grant of lands naturally always prescribes the measurement and boundaries (paimádan u chak bastan) of the new territory, a superfluous business if the grounds were already in the possession of somebody and if therefore the matter was only a re-investment. In this case in the beginning the date of the first grant is always mentioned. We seldom read that the donations took place at different times (batawárikh u sanín-i mukhtalífe).

For a rent-free fee the Chagatai word sayárhál is only once used, viz., in the oldest sanad of Bábar’s time, and the Arabic aíma seldom occurs; generally the Arabic-Persian madad-i-má’ásh is used. If an owner has died it can be transferred to his heir, and so we find grounds that have been for some centuries in the possession of the same family. Likewise the heir succeeds to the testator in case of the latter undertaking at an advanced age the pilgrimage to Makká and Madíná. Once the grant is renewed because one of two parties has died, the other being alive. In the new farmán therefore the dead person is replaced by his heirs and the lands are granted anew to those and the old surviving possessors, quite on the former conditions. A sanad of Sháhjáhán’s reign mentions

1 Cf. Col. H. S. Jarrett’s note in his translation of the Álb-i-Abbarí, vol. II, p. 61, and the 10th chapter, p. 62. We learn from Badauni (vol. II, p. 206) that the salary of a commander of twenty, lowest rank of an officer in the Moghul army, was equivalent to the revenues of a thousand big’has.
an order that restricted the right of the heirs in the Śūba of Lāhōr to part of the property of the testators in sayūrgāl-land, viz., to 58 big'has 8 biswas; in one case the number of 107 big'has 8 biswas is diminished therefore by 49 big'has that were again made domain lands (khālíka sharīfa), and the rest was handed to the heirs. This may be one of the many tricks invented by the saddrs and qāzīs—who, as Abul Fazl says, wear a turban (as a sign of respectability), but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves, but fall short in sense—in order to injure people if they did not prefer even open force.

If a person gets a fee for the first time, it is always stated that he was a worthy one and could not gain his livelihood by other means, the latter formula also occurring in the re-instatement of a former possessor or on the succession of his heir. The former owners of these sanads therefore must be reckoned amongst the third class of men that lands were bestowed upon (Āin-i Akbart, vol. I, p. 198)—I may mention here that sayūrgāls are conferred on certain persons even in the so-called 'Institutes of Amir Timūr,' (see Davy-White's edition pp. 235, 305). Besides, it was to be proved by credible witnesses that the people in question were alive, a function mostly performed by two Shaikhs, at Batālá often by the mudarres of the jāmī'-mosque and the muftī. Before the sanad could be written a memorandum or a yiaddāsht-i wāqi'a was to be presented, and such papers are sometimes specially mentioned.

It is often said that the owners of a rent-free fee are to be 'assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire.' This was also the common benedictive phrase for persons that were discharged from the service in the Moghul empire (conf. 'Alamgīr-nāma, p. 591).

In Akbar's time the rule followed in conferring land was, that all sayūrgāl-lands should consist of one-half of tilled land and one-half capable of cultivation; in these sanads only land of the latter kind is granted (zamin-i uflāda-i l'd'iq-i-zirā'at) and sometimes banjar-land, i.e., such as has been uncultivated for five years or more (Āin-i-Akbart, vol. I., p. 297).

Of course a certain order is observed in putting the seals on these sayūrgāl-i thabīl—such were issued for conferring sayūrgāls according to the Āin-i Akbart, vol. I, p. 194—as in all Muhammadan public documents; naturally with some differences under various kings. The sanad of Bābar's time renewing the grant of a village with a revenue of 5,000 copper tankas (i.e., 250 rupees) to Qāzī Jālāl, judge of Batālá, in A.H. 933, has been signed only with the emperor's own seal—round the middle field bearing the words Zahiruddin Muhammad Bābar and the date 928, in five panels the names of his ancestors to Amir Timūr have been inscribed. Likewise the documents bestowing a first sayūrgāl, besides the tughrā, bear only the seals of the emperors, viz., Jahāngīr—a square, round the centre the names of his forefathers inscribed in circles, and in the four extreme corners four names of Allāh; 'Alamgīr—a square exactly like that of Jahāngīr's, only larger; and one with the seal of prince Aurangzēb before his accession to the throne, dated the 6th Jumādil awwal 1069 (30th January 1659), the julus being on the 24th Ramazān (the 15th June) of the same year. The seal of the king's son is a round one and contains the words Muhammad Aurangzēb Bahādur Ghāzi thānt-i Sāhibgirān thāni. These sanads are all on paper about 33 inches by 17 (but the margins are

1 See Ep. Ind., vol. II., p. 147, note 23.—A drawing of Aurangzēb's imperial seal is to be found in Sir Thomas Roe's account of his residence at the court of the Great Moghul (cf. Histoire générale des voyages Paris 1740 seq. vol. xi, p. 57.)
now all more or less cut and torn off), and are handsomely written in fair ta'liq, except Bābar’s one (that measures 13 by 7½ inches, and is in very cursive characters). In Akbar’s and Jahāngir’s time we find the Ilāhī era exclusively used, while later it is seldom mentioned, but that of the Hijra is employed.

There are also some sanads granting sayārghāls sealed only by officials, and not by the emperor himself, whose name however is read on the seals of the latter. The size of these sanads is considerably smaller than that of the monarch’s; it varies between 16 to 20 inches by about 8½ inches; the writing generally is very irregular. Sometimes the Sadr ul-kudur commands the performance of an imperial farman and gives orders for the assigned lands to be surveyed; such sanads in ‘Ālamgir’s time bear only the seal of the functionary named, whereas under Jahāngir and Shāh ‘Ālam the seals also of the Dīwān or of the Khān Khānān were affixed. In Farrukh Siyar’s reign in these cases the Qâzī’s seal takes the first place accompanied by those of different lower officials and private people. If the matter is a re-investment, as in most cases, we always find two seals.

There occur as sealing Sadr ul-kudur’s:

Rizawī Bukhārī, 24th year of ‘Ālamgir (who died in the same year,—conf. Ma’āthir-i ‘Ālamgīrī, p. (207) and Ma’āthir ul-Umarā, vol. II, pp. 308, 309);

Sharīf Khān, 25th year of ‘Ālamgir (who was elevated to this dignity in the same year,—conf. Ma’āthir-i ‘Ālamgīrī, p. 219);

Asad Khān, 15th and 32nd years of ‘Ālamgir (with the dates 1081, 14 and 1088, 20 on his seals), i.e., Åsaf uddaula Jumlat ul-Mulk Asad Khān. He is styled Tarkhan in another farman (16th year); and

Amjad Khān Sadr Jahān, 49th year of Shāh ‘Ālam.

Not bearing the title of Sadr ul-kudur on their seals, as also Asad Khān does not, in that function, appear:

Siyādat Khān, 38th year of ‘Ālamgir (with the date 1096, 28 on his seal, in which year he, Sayyid Oghlan, received this title, cf. Ma’āthir ul-Umarā, vol. II, p. 495);

Amin Khān Bahādūr, 47th year of ‘Ālamgir (with the date 1113, 46 on his seal); and

Amīr ul-Umarā, 48th year of ‘Ālamgir (with the date 1113, 45 on his seal).

In the re-investment-documents we find two seals: that of the Dīwān (-i quql) and that of the Sadr, but generally without titles. That one of them must belong to the Dīwān is (besides Âm-i Akbarî, vol. I, p. 195, line 6 et seq.) shown in a sanad of the 50th year of ‘Ālamgir which bears Ilāfiz Khān’s seal, who in that year became Dīwān of Lâhūr,—till then having been in the service of Gauharārâ Bègum, younger sister of the emperor (Ma’āthir-i ‘Ālamgīrī, p. 513). The same document has also the seal of Mīr Khwāja Shāh, who is here exceptionally styled Sadr. The dates of the entries of the sanads in the registers of the sadārat and the dīwān (-i sa’ādat) are always noted, the latter falling one or more weeks later than the first. The Sadr’s seal is placed outside the text in the vertical fold on the right, that of the Dīwān is a little higher up, above the text itself and under a single line containing the name of the reigning

* The same was also the case during the Sassanian period (cf. Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Heft IV, Sassanidische Siegelsteine, herausgegeben von Paul Horn und Georg Steindorff, Berlin, 1891, p. 28.) The Sassanian high functionaries did not seal with the portrait of the king, but often with his name.
king (on the margin the monarch who had first granted the fee is shortly mentioned with his post-mortem-title). The following Dīwāns and Sādrc appear together:

Ṣābir 'All and Sayyid Ahmad, 11th and 13th years of Jahāngīr,

Diyānat Khān and Nizāmuddīn Ḥasan Qādirī, 23rd year of 'Ālamgīr (the first with the date 1084, 17 on his seal); 6

'Abd Ilāhī-yār-ul-Husainī and Aslam Khānazād, 33rd year of 'Ālamgīr (with the dates 1089, 21, viz., 1093, 27 on the seals);

Mīr Ahmad Khān and Aslam Khānazād, 37th year of 'Ālamgīr (the latter with the date 1094, 27 on his seal);

Abū (? ) Kāzīm and 'Abd ul-Bāqī, 44th year of 'Ālamgīr (with the dates 32, viz., 1110, 42 on the seals);

Saʿdatmand Khān and Sayyid Ashraf Khān, 3rd year of Shāh 'Alām (with the dates 1120, viz., 1119, 1 on the seals);

Saʿdatmand Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 2nd year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the engraved 'first-year' on his seal, as also in the following case);

Fāzī 'Ali Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 4th and 5th years of Farrukh Siyar;

Ziyā uddin Muhammad Khān and Futūh Khān, 7th year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the date 'third year' on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muhammad Šālih, 5th and 8th years of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1133, viz., 1134 and 1135 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid 'Azīz Khān, 10th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, viz., 1139, 9 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Mirakshāh Khān, 14th year of Muhammad Shāh (the latter with the date 1142, 12 on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Sultān Husayn Khān Mausawi, 15th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the date 1138, viz., 1145, 15 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muḥyīddīn Mausawi, 18th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, viz., 1148 on the seals); and

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Khwāja Iṣlāh Khān, 19th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, viz., 1149, 10 on the seals).

With one seal only (on the right) the same documents have been sealed in the 25th year of Muhammad Shāh (Sayyid Mirak Khān, 1153, 22), in the 2nd year of Ahmad Shāh (Shamsīrbēg Khān Khānazād, 1161, 1), and in the first year of Timūr Shāh (Dāwar Khān Ṣadr ul-sudār). Except the farmāns sealed with the personal seals of the emperors a tughrā has but seldom been added the drawing of which is then always very poor and artless.

Even the higher functionaries did not employ a new seal every year, that is to say, they did not alter the date. We often find seals therefore with years that considerably differ from those of the sanads themselves.

On some signets the possessors are styled murīd or murīd-i pādishāh, a title introduced by Akbar.

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6 Nizāmuddīn Ḥasan Qādirī occurs as Sādr ul-suḍār also in the text of some sanads from 'Ālamgīr's 22nd year. The Qādirīs were a darwāsh order. Nineteen principles of theirs are enumerated in the Berlin Persian manuscript, Petermann, No. 721, (cf. Persisch, Verschiedenes der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, No. 233, 2, p. 276).—KhānazĀds were a sort of pages educated at the imperial court (cf. Maʿṣūrī, vol. 1, p. 797).
There are also some private documents in this collection of sanads, the most interesting of which concern the sale and purchase of lands. We learn from them the value of arable lands in the pargana of Batala, viz., 251 rupees for 100 big'has, 20 rupees for 5 big’has, 42 rupees for 15 big’has 17 biswas, 122 rupees 8 annas for 35 big’has banjar-land, and 60 rupees for 20 big’has zamin-i barani, the price of the big’ha varying therefore between 2½ and 4 rupees. The sales took place under the rule of Muhammad and Ahmad Shah, the rupees and the annas being specified as 'ulamgiri. In Shah 'Alam's time once Bahlalis or Dām-i 'alāmgiri's are mentioned. One-half of the fixed amount is always paid on account. As is customary in Christian countries by illiterates to draw a cross instead of the signature, we find a circle once adopted for this purpose by a woman obliged to sign the document about the sale of her grounds. These papers bear the seal of the Qāzi as of the competent official and the signatures and seals of a number of witnesses. Judges of Batala were according to our sanads:—

Qāzi Arjuman in the year 1115 (2), the seal with the date 1112; Qāzi 'Atâ Ullāh, son of 'Azim Ullāh, 1130, on the seal 1120; Qāzi Ahliyat Ullāh, 1141, on the seal 1138; Qāzi Mir Muhammad, 1141, 1147, and 1161, and

Wali Muhammad, son of the dismissed Qāzi Hībat Ullāh, 'who, as his father extended the hand of oppression and tyranny over the inhabitants,' and for this reason, in the second year of Shah 'Alam's reign, the citizens presented a petition that he should be deposed and be replaced by their former judge Qāzi Ghulām Muhammad, whose seal with the date 48 appears on documents from 'Alamgir's 40th year. I am not sure if this request was entirely successful, at all events in A.H. 1120, 1125, and 1126 the desired Ghulām Muhammad was not judge, but Muhammad Wali Ullāh, who is perhaps identical with the unjust Wali Muhammad.

In the 16th year of Muhammad Shah Mir Muhammad Qāim, was appointed judge of Batala, as successor of Apanat Ullāh, and he was confirmed in this office after Ahmad Shah's accession to the throne. The documents bear the seals of Mir Muly'uddin Khānazād, 1118, and Shamsīrбег Khan Khānazād, 1161. That Jalāl was Qāzi of Batala in A.H. 933 has already been mentioned.

Finally there are a few other sanads, e.g., one concerning the grant of a daily allowance of 12 annas to Shaikh Nār Muhammad and his companions in Patihābatpūr, to be paid by the faunādār of that town, or regarding the lease of the village of Pādishāhpūr alias Kālākhurdpūr in the pargana of Patihābatpūr, amounting to 550 rupees a year and being to be delivered to the faunākhāna, which need not to be further described.

I now give as a specimen the text of three sayyūghāl-sananads, together with their English translations:

در نزینت میشین مدال فرمان راشان راجب اعظم صادق شد کہ چہل بینگھہ زمانی افتدان لاقز زراعت خار جامع از زرگن大多数人 مضمون بصره یہ لئے رحم مدع معاش تسمیہ راج بینی رختیا حسب الکالم مقرر باشد کہ حامل آنا صرف مالاخیجان ملدے بدعیدا بقیا دیوا درخت ابطراع مرافقت نمایند باید که حکام رعمل ر جاگیرداران ر کوربانی حائل ر استقبال اراضی مزبوری را پیدمود ر چک بسته بنشر آبیا بارگذارند ر اقتصاد ر مطلقاً

I have spelt the Persian words more correctly than they appear sometimes in the originals.
In this happy time the high order which is necessary to be heard came forth that 40 big'has of fallow land, capable of cultivation, alodial to the pargana of Chamārī that belongs to the sāba of the Panjāb, according to the endorsement were bestowed as a rent-free see upon P. P. Rāj Bībī and companions. They may spend the revenues of it for their needs, being assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire. The present and future magistrates, tax-gatherers, jāgir-holders and kōris having surveyed the stated lands and marked their boundaries7 should give them into their possession, and by no means allow any alteration or change. After the settlement of the boundaries and the new cultivation one should not trouble them for any demands of the Government and the levies of the court in the shape of quit-rent, taxes, and tributes, as qulīgha, presents, the rates of jarihāna,3 zābitāna, muḥābbatāna, mahrāna, dārōghagāna, for war and chase, the muqaddimī and qāndīghī, and the annual sequestrations. Regarding this no new order should be yearly expected and other eventual existing appointments not considered.8 Written on the 29th Shawwāl of the 40th year since the sublime accession to the throne (viz., of 'Alamgīr').

On the back the text of the yādhāšt-i Ṭaği'a, dated Monday, the 13th Rabi I, of the 39th year (21st November, 1695) is given, and besides the dates of entry in the registers the names of Rāj Bībī's companions, viz., Nūr Bībī, Sāhib Khātūn, and Sharīfa Bānū, each of them getting 10 big'has.

Another sanad concerning a re-investment runs:

Khudmīzar Chāki Darānī and Kōrīevān Ḥalā, and the sanad that deals with the establishment of the pargana of Chamārī give the following deTail:

7 In other sanads the Chaudharsi (I cannot understand for what reason Blochmann has banished this spelling into the notes of his Āin-i Akbari-edition.—f.e. vol. i. p. 198, line 15, instead of putting it into the text), Qāndīghī, Muqaddimī, and Mālikīs are said to have taken part and consented to this act.
8 These technical terms are all fully explained in the dictionaries.
9 I know that this last phrase also could be translated if they should have possessed something in another place (besides the above sayūrghāl) it should not be taken notice of; but I have preferred the above translation as more harmonising with the contents.
10 Corrected from maryāna-rā according to other sanads.
A COLLECTION OF SANADS OF MOGHUL EMPERORS.

Shāh 'Ālam."—His Majesty Muhammad Shāh-i Ghāzi, may God perpetuate his reign for ever!

"The present and future representatives of the Jāgīr-holders and Kr̥ōrīs of the pargana of Bāṭālā, belonging to the kābā of the Panjāb, may know: According to the high order of His Majesty, dated the 2nd Sha'bān of the third year (i.e., of Shāh 'Ālam), 59 bighās of the land of the pargana stated have been bestowed as a rent-free fee, by former Šādīs upon P. P. Nūr Khātūn and companions, partners of the farmān, and upon P. P. 'Abd ul-Ghānī and companions, heir of Muhammad 'Āqīl and companions. It now being evidenced through trustworthy testimony that the above-named are alive, really own and possess the stated lands, and do not get their livelihood otherwise, on that account as an arms of the blessed head of the slave (of God), His Majesty the sovereign of the world, the master of the time, the author of safety and security, the covering shadow of the sublime God, the excellent viceregent of the peerless distributor of justice, the most perfect manifestation of the all-nourisher, the universal pity of the creator, the founder of the institutions of the world-possessing, who lays the foundation of the carpet of graciousness, the asylum of the khalifate,—the possession of the stated lands, in the former place and on the former conditions, according to the endorsement has been graciously ratified and intrusted. One ought to restore the described grounds into their possession, hindering them not at all, and absolutely not from spending the revenues from season to season and year to year for their own needs and to be assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the everlasting empire. If there should exist any appointment, otherwise it is not to be taken notice of. Written on the 2nd Jumādī'ī awwal of the 18th year since the submissive accession to the throne (i.e., of Muhammad Shāh), corresponding to the year 1148 of the holy flight (the 20th September, 1735)."

On the back the endorsement of Shāh 'Ālam is written, as always in these cases. The names of Nūr Khātūn's partners were 'Azīz Khātūn, daughter of Shaikh Muhammad, 'Āmila, Shams Khātūn, daughter of Iyās, Hayāt Bānū, those of 'Abdul Ghānī's Jān Bībī, Šālīha Bānū, etc.

Bābār's sanad runs—

فارسی ژنرال‌های مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به فارسی ژنرال‌های دوباره مجبور به

11 Khuld-manzil was Shāh 'Ālam's post-mortem name.
12 Cf. note 8.
13 This farmān is very difficult to decipher. The characters want almost all diacritical dots; they are indeed not more fluently written than those of the other sanads, but the tenor is different, so that it cannot be understood by the help of the others. I am indebted for a very few hints to Mr. Jāmī Khān Ghōrī at Berlin, who has seen the document, but notwithstanding there remain some doubtful words. My transcript of the name of the village is quite tentative.
"He (God) is the conqueror!"

"Farmán of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Bābar-i-Ghāzi.

"Now the order to be obeyed by all the world and necessary to be respected has the honour of setting forth that the village of Manchharākal, belonging to pargana Watāla, the total register of which amounts to 5,000 copper-tankas (250 Rupees) and which as a Sayārghāt has been bestowed upon Qāzi Jalāl, judge of the city named, is now granted to him on the same conditions for six years. No one should molest nor trouble the aforesaid for quit-rents, jihāt and sāir mutawajjihāt. On request it was further enjoined that the imperial seal has been affixed for evidence, and every year a new farmān or order shall not be thought necessary. Written at . . . . . in the castle 'Phoenix,' in the month Zi Qa' da, 933 (began the 30th July, 1527).'</nospace>

On the back the following words are written:—

"Order of the chief wazir of the cities of faithful mankind, Shaikh . . . . . . . ."

Unfortunately the name of the Shaikh is not legible and his seal is also very indistinct.

XXXVIII.—FURTHER PĀBHOSĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In addition to the three larger inscriptions, published by Dr. Führer (ante, p. 240ff), the Pābhosā cave contains a number of small and difficult ones, regarding which I offer some remarks at the request of the Editor, though I am unable to give in every case certain and complete readings or satisfactory explanations. All of them are somewhat carelessly incised on the hermit's bed and seem to belong to a period, when the cave was no longer occupied by the original donee or donees. The characters show the types of the seventh or eighth century A.D. The language is incorrect Sanskrit, occasionally, it would seem mixed with Prakrit.

No. I.

TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. Śrī-Prayāgam var[e?]uttam[?]p[?]odhaki[?]h
L. 2. Suttadhā[r[a?] akhāṃḍataḥ
L. 3. Suttadhā[r[a?] yayyo[?]ubha[?]daya [a ⋆]

Above l. 1 stands high up in the left hand corner a large sign, which may be intended for jānā, and lower above the middle of the line two letters, the second of which

14 Otherwise sāir jihāt.
PABHOISA INSCRIPTIONS: ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.

Dr. A. Foucher, impress.  
Scale: 1 cm = 1 inch.
PAEHOERA INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.

ON THE WEST WALL, INSIDE THE CAVE.

Scale: 1/4 of originals.

Dr. A. Führer, impress
is ka. Below l. 3 there is the representation of a conch-shell and to the right three rudely scratched illegible letters.

As regards the interpretation, the only certain facts are (1) the occurrence of the name of "glorious Pray[á*]ga" and (2) the mention of two suttadhāra or masons. Possibly the whole may be intended for: Śri-Prayāg[ād] Varaputtro Modhakī [or Podhakī], sāttradhāro' khaṇḍīnak sāttradhāro Yayya ubha[yoh*] deyam || or in English: "From glorious Prayāga, the unblamed mason Modhakin (or Podhakin) son of Varā, (and) the mason Yayya (Jajja),—the gift of both these." If this is correct, the inscription probably records repairs of the cave, done by the two persons mentioned.

No. II.

TRANSCRIPT.

Śri-Kalase[śe*]śvarādiśi(?)lā kutṭi ||

The reading of the seventh and eighth consonants is uncertain; kutṭi is probably a mistake for kutṭ, the two dots, which I have taken for stops, may, of course, denote the Visarga, which however would be wrong. The translation is: "The cella (or temple) of glorious Kalaścēvara and the rest." Kalaśa is the name of a Nāga, and the inscription probably refers to the legend, which makes the cave the home of an enormous Nāga, (see ante, p. 241).

No. III.

The only signs readable with any certainty are: rovadatta towards the end of the line.

No. IV.

[Nanda]dattaprāsādo loli . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

No. V.

Deva . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

No. VI.

TRANSCRIPT.

Om Ke[Ki*]raṇe[śv]arit(?),ila(?),kedali(?),va . . . sya ["]

The inscription seems to refer to a deity called Kiraṇeśvari, which seems to occur again in No. VII.

No. VII.

TRANSCRIPT.

Kiraṇe[śva]riṣr[r*]ka[r*]ttā ["]

If the restoration is correct, the translation will be, "The maker of (the statue of) glorious Kiraṇeśvari" and the inscription may refer to one of the masons, mentioned in No. I, see also No. VIII.
No. VIII.

TRANSCRIPT.

Sri-Krishnagopīrāpakarta [II]

The second ta of karī looks like va. The translation is, "The maker of the statues of glorious Krishna and of the milkmaids." The inscription probably refers to one of the masons in No. I.

NOS. IX AND X.

TRANSCRIPT.

Vijayasenasaya [ya*] 1
Kiranaabhajoaka [a?]

These two pieces may belong together and may possibly mean, "Of Vijayasena, the temple-priest of Kirana (i.e. Kiranakvari)." If this interpretation is correct, the two notes may indicate that Vijayasena visited the cave when the two masons, named in No. I, repaired it. The contents of the whole series may perhaps be connected as follows:—"Some time in the seventh or eighth century the Pābhosā cave was gratuitously restored by two masons of Prayāga and dedicated by Vijayasena, the Bhajaka of Kiranēvari, to the Nāga Kalaśa and other deities." This would account for the existence of the legend mentioned by Dr. Führer, according to which the cave is inhabited by an enormous Nāga.

XXXIX.—AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE BAIJNĀTHI PRAŚASTIS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

During the Christmas vacation of 1892 Dr. M. A. Stein, the energetic and learned Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, visited the Kāngrā district and spent some days at Kiragrama, where he studied the Baijnāthi Prāśastīs on the spot and made enquiries regarding various facts they mention. After a certain show of resistance the temple-priests became communicative, no doubt, as Dr. Stein thinks, because they wanted to learn what their inscribed tablets contained. And the results of his enquiries are so valuable for the interpretation of the inscriptions that I am sure I shall render a service to the readers of the Epigraphia Indica if I publish here a translation of the portion of his letter, which contains them. Writing from Lahore on February 6th, 1893, he says:—

"Navagrama, mentioned in the inscription [I, 33] is probably identical with the village of Nāur,1 where the temple still owns 2½ halas of land. Nāur lies about 3 miles west from Kiragrama and belongs to the ancient pargana of Palam, which latter word I would identify with the name of the village of Pralamba, of which the inscription speaks [II, 31]. About thirty years ago, when the introduction of tea-planting induced many Europeans to settle in Kāngrā, Palam2 was turned into Palampur.

1 The Sanskrit prototype of Nāur would be Navapura, which probably was another name of Navagrama.—[G. B.]
2 The Kāngrā Gazetteer still mentions Palam.
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"In the bazar of Kiragrāma I was shown the spot where, so late as two generations ago, stood a shop, belonging to the temple and where the two pious Banians, whom the local traditions too know as the founders of the temple, are said to have lived. This is clearly the panyāṣīdā mentioned in the Prakāshti II, 34. Regarding the oil-mill which Manyuka and Áluka dedicated I could not hear anything; and the god has long lost the income from the manyāpikā. But there was formerly a custom-house on the frontier of the territory of Mandi which passes close to the village. On the rocky hill which rises near the village and is now occupied by the Dāk bangalow, the Rāne family is said to have had a fort. I do not dare to decide if these Rānes, whose descendants are still Rajput zamindārs in the pargānā of Bajjnāth, are identical with the Rājānaka of Kiragrāma."

"But in illustration of what you have said on p. 102, vol. I, of the Epigraphia regarding the intermarriage of this Rajput family of Kiragrām with the Rājās of Traigarta, I may mention that the Rājā of Kapurthala quite lately married a girl from the house of a bitterly poor Rajput of the Gulherian Miān clan, who lives as zamindār not far from Bajjnāth. Though the man is so poor that his daughter, the present Rāni, used to work for wages in the tea plantations, his countrymen have not yet pardoned him that he contracted the alliance with the Rājā.

"Your proposed identification of Suśarmapura with Koṭ is fully confirmed by the local traditions.

"The temple [of Bajjnāth] is well preserved, and in my opinion it has not undergone such very great alterations as the earlier describers state. Thus, big statues of Gāṅgā and Yambunā, which clearly belong to the time of the inscription, are found on the gateway pillars of the Purī, exactly as Rāma describes them in the Prakāshti, I. 29, and his other detailed statements regarding the building fully agree with the actualities. Only the roof seems to me modern; according to the statements of the Purohitas it was renovated about one hundred years ago by Rājā Samsārchand."

XL.—A NOTE ON THE PRĀKRTI GRANT OF THE PALLAVA KING ŚIVASKANDAVARMAN (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10).

BY ERNST LEUMANN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

Prākrit inscriptions always present particular difficulties. Dr. Bühler, with his usual sagacity, has removed most of those connected with Śivaskandavarman's grant. Some others of the same inscription can only be mastered when further documents of a similar type turn up. A few, however, may perhaps be dealt with now. We have

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1 I consider the identity of the Rāne family with the Rājānaka to be very probable. Rājānaka is also the parent of the title Bänd.—[G. B.]


3 I take this opportunity to note that Professor Kiernon has published in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XX., pp. 114 ff, certain emendations of my readings of the two Prakāshti in accordance with rubbings made by Sir A. Cunningham. The following among Professor Kiernon's proposals appear to me acceptable:—I. 6, sreṣṭha ivaḥkām aparādu nāsaḥ amāṣāḥ kuruvarām; I. 29, bhaktiṣuṭalokākhamalena tena; I. 37, tēmaxaśtraḥ samuṣṭih; II. 2, sa pādu māhaṁ Bhṛāmādy bhaktim astikāḥ; and II. 9, Kṛitrākau. In addition, I would mention that I now translate astrījana in I. 13a by "archers" instead of by "heroes," as astrī is clearly the nominative of astrin; note 6a must be altered accordingly.
to correct the following passages in Dr. Bühler’s transcript (on pages 5—7 of volume I):

1. 1, Read aṣṭiṭhoma. The irregular combination t̡h (for t̡h) is a mistake of the engraver which has crept in on account of the similarity of the signs for t̡h and th.

1. 3, Separate viṣaye savattha, i.e. viṣaye savattra ‘everywhere in our (aman) country.’

1. 4, Read māḍabika and restore it to māḍambika. This word, which means ‘chief of a māḍamba district’ is often found in the older Jain literature; its base māḍamba occurs in the same texts and beside in some Niryuktis and Bhaṣhyas.

1. 5, Read ārakhāḍhikate, which stands for ārakhāḍhikate and is equivalent with ārakkhiya ‘guard’ of the Jain literature; literally it means ‘employed as a guard (ārakṣaḥāḍhikira).’ As to the sign khā, cf. lines 27 and 38.

1. 7, Read e instead of cha and cf. the sign for e in lines 27, 30, 34. The word etṭa (ātra ‘here’) opens of course a new phrase, and we need not follow Dr. Bühler in inserting a second verb; vijarāma is indeed the verb wanted and closes well the preceding phrase. The first verb (āvareti), however, is certainly well supplied by Dr. Bühler; only we think its place is not before amhi (in l. 3), but after ppayyte (in l. 6). At any rate we are not to combine in irregular co-ordination the accusatives of lines 3—6 with the genitive sancharan-taka-bhaḍa-maṇḍāna.

I would then translate the whole passage thus: 

1. 11, Read vasudhāḍhipateye (acc. pl. from 2pati).

1 e.g. in the Anupādika sūtra, Parṇasukhakalpa (‘Kulpatikas’), etc.
2 The corrected reading drākkhaḍhikate (in l. 5) makes it very probable that the word immediately following (gāmika) is also a nullary term.
3 In reply to Dr. Bühler’s appended notes, I may remark that the persons favoured by the grant are undoubtedly “the Brahmanas, who are the freeholders of the settlement (koṇṇaka) called Chīlāraka.” The gift is therefore a Brahmanas parikāra, i.e. an immunity granted to Brahmanas. Homoeo allowance, as Dr. Bühler proposes, does not change the sense, but is less appropriate, koṇṇaka is apparently a contracted form of koṇṇamaha (Sanś. koṇṇamakā): in the same way vajiyoga seems to me to stand for vajiyoga, which would be a synonym of the term abhiṣyogaka “servant”—of the Jain literature. The term kumāra parikāra similarly denotes an immunity presented to a prince; the Jātaka phrase added by Dr. Bühler means— “When, afterwards they noticed that he was a prince, they no longer gave him any work to do, but spared him, so to say, by a princely immunity.”

The inscription, of course, mentions, also, the persons who are to respect the grant, i.e. who are not allowed in any way to trouble the above-named Brahmanas (by levying taxes, etc.). So the two cognate Pallava plates clearly state: Sāvāvagakāra sarva-muṇiggukāḥ viśavallakkāḥ saṅcharanakāḥ cha tat-tāmin sarva-parivāraḥ pariḥkṣantu pariḥkṣyantā cha aṣṭa yona sarva-parivārāh pariḥkṣato (tā ca). “The persons of the king’s service and party must spare and cause to spare the territory (described before) by all the (eighteen) kinds of exemption. “In face of these parallel passages, the words—saṅcharanakāḥ-bhaḍa-manḍāna... pariḥkṣāḥ vijarāma, can only have the sense which I have given them, without pretending, however, that my translation reflects accurately the grammatical construction. This latter can only be made clear when the three syllables before pariḥkṣāḥ are deciphered.

That saṅcharanakas are a nuisance to people, we learn, e. g., from the description of a model town given in the Nemichara, l. 14 (on Hemachandra’s Bhāvaḥāvaṇa, v. 5): in that town no saṅcharanakas are allowed to stroll about (... saṅcharanakātāḥ trai na tatikā bhamāih, ...). Another Prakrit word of the Pallava Inscription (which however occurs also elsewhere) is ṭappa ‘father; this is found in Datavakālikasutra vii, 18.—See Zeitsch. d. Deut. Merog.-Gesellschaft. Vol. XLVI. pp. 298.
NOTES ON THE SIVASKANDAVARMAN GRANT.

1. 45, Read mejátye, i.e. mejjátye. In Jaina Prakrit maryátá becomes mejja, the last two syllables being contracted. The Sanskrit sounds arya in Prakrit generally are changed to era, sometimes to eja or ariya or ajja.

1. 46, Separate cha si. The word si refers to mejátye, and therefore represents a singular case like tasyáh; it is indeed a short form for the anaphoric pronoun se that is often met with in the Niryuktis and Bháshyas of the Jain literature. The function and origin of se has been well discussed by Professor Wackernagel in the Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung (vol. XXIV, p. 600). Though se and si refer to all genera and numbers we find occasionally in the Niryuktis and Bháshyas a special plural form sìh, which, by the addition of the Anusvāra, has been formed after the fashion of plural genitives like testi (teshām), etc.

What remains to be said is of less importance; we are probably to read vádaka for vátaka (in lines 12 and 30); misprints are apparently hiroga for hiroga (10), patibhága for patibhága (12), patibhága for patibhága (21), īṭiś for īṭiś (30), pitá for pitá (40), dattá for datá (48), kada for kada (51), bráhmaña for brahmana, and lekākha for lekākha (52).

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE GRANT OF ŚIVASKANDAVARMAN. (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10.)

The corrections of my reading and rendering of Śivaskandavarman’s grant, which Professor E. Leumann has proposed above, make, I think, a few further remarks from me desirable.

(Line 1.) Professor Leumann’s statement that the plates have aggithoma, not aggithoma, is correct. I should say that the nonsensical form has been caused by a confusion between the two possible forms with thha and thha. Both in literary and in epigraphic Pali, Sanskrit shṭha or shṭha is represented occasionally by the dental tenia and the tenia aspirata. Thus, we have in literary works for kroṣṭhi, ‘a jackal,’ both kotthuka and kotthuka, or even kutthu, as well as forms in thha for various past participles in shṭa. And the Sanchi votive inscriptions offer sethi and sethi for kṛṣṭhīn; Asoka’s New Edicts both visutha and evutha for evūṣṭha. In such words the Pali thha probably goes back to originals with stha, similar to those in the Shāhbazgarhi version of the Rock Edicts, where we find sreṣṭha for kṛṣṭhīn, dipista (3rd pers. sing. aor. Ātūm.) equivalent to a Sanskrit form adipīṣṭa.

(I. 3.) Professor Leumann is right in separating visaye savatthe, but the correction has already been given by me in the Addenda and Corrigenda to vol. I, p. 479.

(I. 4.) The plates have not māḍabika, as Professor Leumann asserts. The last sign is mutilated, the crossbar of the ka on the right having been omitted by mistake. The sign, which has thus come out, can only be read nu. Professor Leumann’s restoration māḍambika “governors of Māḍambas,” instead of māḍabika “custom-house officers,” is possible, though, owing to the rarity of the word māḍamba (except in Jaina works), somewhat doubtful. I add an explanation of the term māḍamba, which Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished to me from the Jaina commentaries: māḍambāni sarvato’rdha yojanāt parato’vasthitagranāyā.
(L. 5-7.) Professor Leumann's readings arakshadhikate and ettha for my aramadhikate and ettha are certainly correct. His translation of lines 6-7, "We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) Sanccharantaka (soldiers) and other persons" cannot stand, for "bhagyamamudra" is separated from parikara by a not now readable word ending in o, and in all probability the two expressions do not belong together. Even supposing that sanccharantaka bhagyamamudra parikara viśardma had to be taken together, the meaning could only be, "We grant an exemption to Sanccharantakas, etc;" it is against the custom observed in the grants to name first an exemption and afterwards the object granted. I must add that my translation of parikara by "an immunity" ought to be changed to 'a honorific grant.' Of late I have found in the Jñānakas several passages where parikara has a concrete meaning and is used for "oppoage, honorific allowance, special grant." In several stories it is narrated how queens receive or are deprived of their parikara, and there is the compound kumdra-parikara "an allowance suitable for a prince."

(L. 40.) The correct reading is pitā (not pilā, as Professor Leumann says), the short i being expressed, as is done very often, by a complete circle.

(L. 45.) Majātēyē is the reading of the plates, not, as Professor Leumann holds, majāṭēyē. The little stroke above the ma has been caused by a slip of the engraver's punch. A real me looks very different (see lines 1, 29, 41).

(L. 46.) As sm is permissible for teṣām, eteśām and evām, according to Hemachandra Prākrita Vyākaranar III, 61, and occurs, as Professor Leumann says, in Jaina works, I agree with him that its equivalent si in eka si should be written separate. Si refers, however, not, as Professor Leumann thinks, to majāṭēyē, but to the grantees. Compare the corresponding passages in the Sanskrit grants, e.g. Indian Antiquary, vol. V, p. 186, l. 6; p. 207, l. 9; p. 312, l. 23; vol. XI, p. 116, l. 43; p. 150, l. 50.
TABLES FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES IN TRUE LOCAL TIME.

BY HERMANN JACOBI, PH.D., SANSKRIT PROFESSOR, BONN.

In my paper on the computation of Hindu dates, etc. (vol. I, page 403 ff.), I have given rules for calculating, according to the curiously inaccurate Hindu method, the corrections which must be applied to a date, computed for mean sunrise, in order to obtain the same for true sunrise at any given place in India. As this calculation is rather tiresome, I have computed the following tables, which will make the process easy without detracting from the accuracy of the results. As the problem, to solve which these tables serve, is somewhat complicated, a few remarks on the theory of true and mean time may not be amiss.

1. Suppose the sun to move with an equal motion on the equator (instead of on the ecliptic); then this equatorial sun will exactly regulate mean time. His rising will occur at 6 o'clock for every place on the earth the whole year round, marking the mean beginning of day. The interval between his risings at two distant places will be the time-difference between these places (see vol. I, Table XXV).

2. Now assume a second sun to move with the same equable motion on the ecliptic. This supposed sun is meant when the "mean sun" is spoken of. It is obvious that this mean sun and the first will not rise at the same time, except when they coincide at the two points of intersection of the equinoctial and the ecliptic. At every other time the second will, in places in north latitude, rise earlier than the first, when he is in the northern half of the ecliptic; and later, when he is in the southern half. Table XXVII, A-F, gives the interval in ghatiskas and vinasdis between the risings of both supposed suns, for every degree of the ecliptic as entered in the vertical index to the left and right of each table, and for all degrees of north latitude from 10°—35° as entered in the horizontal index at the top of each table. At the intersection of the horizontal and vertical columns is given the interval of rising for the tropical longitude of the mean sun and for the terrestrial latitude in question; e.g., in Table XXVII-B, we find that for 44° trop. Long. ⊙ and 20° terr. Lat. the difference in rising is 1gh. 22m. If the trop. Long. ⊙ is entered in the index to the left, the ecliptical mean sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; if on the index to the right, it rises after the mean beginning of the day.

3. We thus find the time of rising of the mean sun (moving on the ecliptic), but what is really wanted is the time of rising of the true sun. The true sun only twice in the year coincides with the mean sun; at every other time he either precedes or lags behind the mean sun. Their difference in longitude is the equation of the sun's centre, the amount of which in degrees, minutes, and seconds is furnished by Table XXIV-B. If the equation has the sign —, the true longitude of the sun is greater than his mean one, and consequently the true sun rises later than the mean one; if the equation in Table XXIV has the sign +, the true sun rises before the mean one; always by the time corresponding to the sun's equation of the centre. In order to compute the equivalent in time for the sun's equation of the centre, we must know how much time is occupied in rising by one degree of the ecliptic at the place where the sun is at the moment in question in a given latitude. The amount in vinasdis is furnished by the entries immediately below the degrees of terrestrial latitude in Table XXVII. Though continually changing, it is considered by Hindu astronomers to be constant throughout each single

1 Or between the risings of a point on the equator and one on the ecliptic, which have the same distances from the equinox.
sign, and equal to the mean. As the different parts of Table XXVII represent the tropical signs, one entry serves for the whole part. Thus we find in Part B that on the 20th parallel one degree of the ecliptic (between 80' and 60' trop. Long.) takes up 8.79 vinādīs in rising. Knowing the time taken up in rising by one degree, we can easily calculate the time corresponding to any given value of the equation of the sun's centre.

4. Table XXVII refers to tropical longitude, while the other tables yield sidereal longitude. The former is found by adding to the latter the ayanāṃbas (or amount of the precession of the equinox) for the year in question.

The rule for calculating the ayanāṃbas is given in section 39 of the former paper (page 431); to find them without calculation is the object of Tables XXVIII and XXIX, e.g., we find by Table XXVIII that in K.Y. 4683 the ayanāṃbas were—

\[
16° 14' 42'', \text{viz.}\ K.Y. 4600 = 15° 0' 6''
\]

\[
\text{80 years} = 1° 12' 0''
\]

\[
3' = 0° 2' 42''
\]

Ayanāṃba = \[
16° 14' 42''
\]

Table XXIX serves for the Brahma Siddhānta and Siddhānta Siromani, Table XXVIII, for the other Siddhāntas.

5. I shall now illustrate by examples the working of these tables in connection with the Special Tables; for when such accuracy is wanted, that the difference between mean and true time comes into consideration, the calculation must be made by means of the Special Tables. 3

1st Example.—Let it be proposed to calculate the true Tithi for true sunrise on the 7th (solar) Jyaistha K.Y. 4128 at Aligarh, whose latitude is 27° 53' (or roundly 28°) and time difference + 14 vin. We use for this and the following examples the tables for the Śūrya Siddhānta:—

(a) We calculate the elements: Distance \(\text{a} - \text{c}\) etc., for the year and day in question, viz.—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4100 years</th>
<th>28</th>
<th>7th Jya.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60° 45' 0''</td>
<td>117° 47' 3''</td>
<td>60° 40' 33''</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dist. } \text{a} - \text{c} & = 28° 4' 37'' \\
\text{c}'s \text{An.} & = 217° 8' 32'' \\
\text{O}'s \text{An.} & = 282° 4' 18'' \\
\text{Corr.} & = + 20 \text{gh.} 54' \\
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Add the time difference, with the sign changed, for the place in question, to the Corr. \(+ 6\text{gh.} 11'\). \(- 14\text{v.} = + 5\text{gh.} 57v.)\) and find by Table XXII the corresponding increase of the elements, distance, etc.—

| \(\text{5gh.} = 1° 0' 57''\) | \(1° 5' 19''\) | \(4° 56''\) |
| \(57v. = 11° 35''\) | \(12° 25''\) | \(56°\) |
| \(5\text{gh.} \times 57v. = + 1° 12' 32''\) | \(+ 1° 17' 44''\) | \(+ 4° 52''\) |

(c) Add (or subtract, according to the sign) the increase from the first result.—

| \(23° 15' 37''\) | \(13° 3' 33''\) | \(317° 19' 52''\) |
| \(+ 1° 12' 32''\) | \(+ 1° 17' 44''\) | \(5° 52''\) |

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{distance} & = 25° 23' 9'' \\
\text{time} & = 14° 21' 17'' \\
\text{corr.} & = 317° 19' 44'' \\
\end{align*}
\]

(d) Find the equations for the anomalies of the moon and sun by Table XXIV—

| An. \(\text{a}\) | 14° 21' | Eq. \(\text{a}\) | \(- 1° 15' 32''\) |
| An. \(\text{c}\) | 317° 29' | Eq. \(\text{c}\) | \(- 1° 29' 18''\) |

\[
\text{Sum of eq.'s} = - 2° 44' 44''
\]

* The same inaccuracy pervades all Hindu calculations of true sunrise, and makes all figures in Table XXVI wrong when compared with the true values. However, we do not require the latter, but those which the Hindus assume in their calculations.

I shall indicate below §7, how these tables may be used in connection with the general tables for an estimate of the difference between mean and true local time.
(e) Add the sum of equations to the distance; the result is the true distance at mean sunrise for the place in question, viz. 255° 28' 9" — 2° 44' 44" = 252° 43' 25".

(f) Find the sidereal longitude of the sun by subtracting from the above the Ω's an., the same for beginning of the century. (Table XI11.)

\[
\begin{align*}
317° & \quad 19' \quad 44" \\
- \quad 252° & \quad 44' \quad 16" \\
\text{Sid. Long. Ω} & = 65° \quad 35' \quad 28" \\
\end{align*}
\]

(g) Find the ayanâmbas for the year in question, by Table XXVI11—

K.Y. 41011 = 7° 30' 0"
28 years = 25' 12"
K.Y. 4128 = 7° 55' 12"

(h) Add the ayanâmbas thus found to the sidereal longitude of the sun, the result is the tropical longitude of the sun.—

\[
\begin{align*}
34° & \quad 35' \quad 25" \\
7° & \quad 55' \quad 12" \\
\text{Trop. Long. Ω} & = 42° \quad 30' \quad 40"
\end{align*}
\]

(i) Look out in Table XXVII the "interval of rising" of the degree of trop. Long. Ω now found for the latitude of the given place.

If the left-hand index (0 — 180) is used, the amount is subtractive; if the index to the right (180° — 360°) the amount is additive.

In this case we get, for trop. Long. 42° on the 28th parallel, — 1gh. 46v.

(k) Take, from the same part of the Table just used, the time required by one degree in rising, as given there immediately below the degree of latitude in question, and calculate the equivalent in time for the sun's equation. If the equation has the sign +, the amount is subtractive; if —, it is additive.

In the present case: 1° takes up 8' 24" vinâdis, consequently 1° 29' will take up 12v. The equation being negative, the amount is additive. We put it down as + 12v.

(l) Add (or subtract according to the sign) the vinâdis in (k) to the result in (i); find the increase of Dist. Ω — Ω for the sum, in Table XXII; add the increase (or subtract according to the sign of the sum) to the true Dist. Ω — Ω (found in e). The result is the true Dist. Ω — Ω for true sunrise at the place in question. Here — 1gh. 46v. + 12v. = 1gh. 34v.

\[
\begin{align*}
1gh. & = 12' \quad 11'' \\
34v. & = 6' \quad 54'' \\
- \quad 1gh. 34v. & = -10' \quad 5'' \\
\end{align*}
\]

This, added to the result in (e), viz., 252° 452", makes 252° 24' 20", which is more than 4' above the end of the Tith. This result is not quite correct, because we have made use of the mean increase (or decrease) of Dist. Ω — Ω instead of the true, as the Hindus do. However, we may rest satisfied with this approximation when the true distance comes out larger or smaller, by 4 minutes or more, than an entire number of degrees marking the end of a Tithi. This is the case in the present example: 252° mark the end of the 21st titi or the 6th titi of the dark fortnight; but as we found the true distance to be 252° 24' 20", which is more than 4' above the end of the Tithi, viz. 252°, the final result is not affected by the slightly incorrect calculation.

In rare cases where the strictest accuracy is required, proceed as follows:—

Add the increase (or decrease) of the distance, etc., for the sum found in (l) to the
result in (e); again, find the equations of ℘ and ⊙, as in (d), and add their sum to the distance, as in (e). The result is the true distance. In this case — 1 gh. 34 v.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>℘'s An.</th>
<th>⊙'s An.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 gh.</td>
<td>6 54</td>
<td>7 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 v.</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus subtracted from

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 gh. 34 v.</td>
<td>19 5</td>
<td>28 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ 1 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

makes

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>255 28 9</td>
<td>14 21 17</td>
<td>317 19 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>285 9 4' 14 0' 49'</td>
<td>317 18 11'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An. ℘ 14° 1' eq. = — 1° 13' 49'

An. ⊙ 317° 18' eq. = — 1 30 8

Sum of eqs. = — 2 43 57

Dist. ℘ — ⊙ = 255 9 4

True dist. 252° 25' 7''

This then is the strictly accurate true distance ℘ — ⊙. The error in the preceding method was — 47''.

It may be borne in mind, however, that it is a waste of time to attempt this degree of accuracy, unless we know the Hindu value of the latitude and longitude of the place for which the date is to be calculated. This uncertainty is enhanced when we have to deal with dates in inscriptions; for we never know for what place the almanac was calculated, from which the date recorded in the inscription was taken, though in most cases we shall probably be right in assuming that the almanac referred to the capital of the kingdom.

The following examples will be understood without further comment. I use the same letters as in the first example to indicate the operations to be gone through:

**Ex. 2.** K. Y. 4128, 4th Bhādrapada; place: Ratnagiri, 17° Lat. and time difference — 34 vin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>℘'s An.</th>
<th>⊙'s An.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) 410 years</td>
<td>69° 48' 0''</td>
<td>217° 8' 0''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>228° 44' 10''</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>284 37 7</td>
<td>131 58 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Bhādra</td>
<td>96 2 4</td>
<td>124 11 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46 55 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) + 6 gh.</td>
<td>1 13 9</td>
<td>1 18 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 v.</td>
<td>9 9</td>
<td>5 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>133 28 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47 2 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>282 51 46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) 407° 2' 4''</td>
<td>(an. ⊙ + 360°)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 282 44 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

124 17 48 (sid. Long. ⊙)

4 + 7 55 12

132 13 (trop. Long. ⊙)

(b) Eq. ⊙ = + 1° 36' (1° = 10:97 vin.), time of rising = — 18 vin.

Sum = — 50 vin. = — 10° 0''

**Ex. 3.** K. Y. 4925, 4th Mārgaśīra. Srinagar, Lat. 34° 6', time difference — 8 vin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>℘'s An.</th>
<th>⊙'s An.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) 4300 years</td>
<td>348° 24' 0''</td>
<td>276° 1' 30''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>282° 43' 59''</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>79 27 0</td>
<td>142 21 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Mārg</td>
<td>137 35 2</td>
<td>338 9 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>214 51 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>202 26 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>296 32 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>137 35 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

— 52 18

(b) + 8

= 52 10
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\[(c) 52 \text{ gh. } = 10^\circ 33' 55'' \quad 11^\circ 19' 23'' \quad 0^\circ 51' 15'' \]
\[10 \text{ v. } = 2 \quad 2 \quad 2 \quad 2\]
\[52 \text{ gh. } 10 \text{ v. } = -10 \quad 35' 57'' \quad -11 \quad 21' 34'' \quad -51 \quad 25'' \]
\[202 \quad 26' 2 \quad 296 \quad 32' 56'' \quad 137 \quad 35' 34'' \]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Sum of eq.} \\
191 \quad 50' 5 \\
285 \quad 11' 22'' \\
158 \quad 44' 9''
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Sum} \\
198 \quad 18' 23''
\end{array}
\]

\[(f) 496^\circ 44' 9'' \quad (\text{an. } \odot + 360^\circ) \quad \]
\[282 \quad 43' 53'' \quad 4325 \text{ K. Y. ayantika} \quad \]
\[214 \quad 0' 16'' \quad \text{(sid. Long., } \odot) \quad \]
\[4325 \text{ K. Y. ayantika} \quad = 10^\circ 52' 30'' \quad 25 \text{ years} \quad = 22 \quad 30''
\]
\[252 \quad 52' 30'' \quad \text{(trop. Long., } \odot) \quad \]

\[(i) \quad \text{trop. Long. } \odot = 225^\circ \text{ on } 31^\circ \text{ Lat. Interval } = +1 \text{ gh. 32 v.} \quad \]
\[(4) \quad \text{Eq. } \odot = +1^\circ 31' (1^\circ = 12. 1') \text{, time of rising } = -18 \quad \text{Sum} = +1 \text{ gh. 14 v.} \quad \]

\[198 \quad 16' 28''
\]

\[(l) 1 \text{ gh. } = 12' 11'' \quad \]
\[14 \text{ v. } = 2 \quad 51 \quad \text{(added to } c) \quad \]
\[198 \quad 31' 30'' \quad \text{Result.} \]

6. In §62 of my former paper I have said: "In the Siddhânta Siromani Golad-hyâya" IV, 20, Bhâskara states that the ancient astronomers assumed that at Lanka (or on the Equator) the zodiacal signs rise in the same time with 30 degrees of the equinoctial, while in fact they do not. The tables give the interval according to Bhâskara’s theory. If the value without Bhâskara’s correction is wanted, it may be elicited from the tables. For that purpose the column 0° has been added; in it are given what Bhâskara calls the udâyântara. They must be added to, or subtracted from (according to the sign), the value in the table. Under this supposition, we shall get in (i) of the first example above 1gh. 24v. instead of 1gh. 46v., and in (k.) we find 8:27 vin. instead of 8:23 as the time taken up in rising 1 degree; the latter correction does not, in this case, sensibly affect the final result, while the former will.

In calculating dates anterior to Bhâskara (K. Y. 4251) the value of the "interval" given in the table should be corrected in the way just explained.

7. The present tables may be used roughly to estimate the difference between mean Indian and true local time, as in the following example.

In §24 of my first paper we found that in K. Y. 4682 the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha ended 46 ghatikas after mean sunrise in Lanka on the 18th Vaiśākha of the Tables. What is the corresponding local time at Purniya (26° N. Lat. and 
+ 1gh. 58 vin. time difference)?

First add the time difference to the given Lanka time: 46gh. + 1gh. 58v. = 47gh. 58 vin. Then look out in Table VIII the sidereal Long. ⊗ on the 18th Vaiśākha: 16° 40'; add the ayantika for K.Y. 4682, viz. 16° 15'; the sum is the trop. Long. ⊗, 16° 40' + 16° 15' = 32° 55' (or nearly 33°). Now look out in Table XXVII, Part B, the interval between the mean beginning of the day and sunrise on the 26th parallel and for trop. Long. ⊗ = 33°; viz. 1gh. 25v. The left hand index being used, the true sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; accordingly we must add the interval to mean time. 47gh. 58v. + 1gh. 25v. = 49 gh. 23 v. This is the required true local time for the end of the 11th tithi in Purniya.

* Our text of the Sûrya Siddhânta III, 43, 44, is in accordance with Bhâskara’s theory, and must therefore be later. From the error in the position of the Moon’s node relative to that of the Sun, I am persuaded that the present text of the Sûrya Siddhânta was fixed not before the 13th century A.D. The bija is a still later addition.
### Table XXVII.

(Par. A.—Trop. Long. $\Theta = 0^\circ$—$29^\circ$, $360^\circ$—$331^\circ$)

| Long. | 8°30 | 8°45 | 9°00 | 9°15 | 9°30 | 9°45 | 10°00 | 10°15 | 10°30 | 10°45 | 11°00 | 11°15 | 11°30 | 11°45 | 12°00 | 12°15 | 12°30 | 12°45 | 13°00 | 13°15 | 13°30 | 13°45 | 14°00 | 14°15 | 14°30 | 14°45 | 15°00 | 15°15 | 15°30 | 15°45 | 16°00 | 16°15 | 16°30 | 16°45 | 17°00 | 17°15 | 17°30 | 17°45 | 18°00 | 18°15 | 18°30 | 18°45 | 19°00 | 19°15 | 19°30 | 19°45 | 20°00 | 20°15 | 20°30 | 20°45 | 21°00 | 21°15 | 21°30 | 21°45 | 22°00 | 22°15 | 22°30 | 22°45 | 23°00 |
|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|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### TABLE XXVII. (Part B.—Trop. Long. = 30° — 60°, 330° — 310°.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lati.</th>
<th>10°</th>
<th>11°</th>
<th>12°</th>
<th>13°</th>
<th>14°</th>
<th>15°</th>
<th>16°</th>
<th>17°</th>
<th>18°</th>
<th>19°</th>
<th>20°</th>
<th>21°</th>
<th>22°</th>
<th>23°</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n 94</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Long.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30°</td>
<td>0 43</td>
<td>0 45</td>
<td>0 47</td>
<td>0 49</td>
<td>0 51</td>
<td>0 53</td>
<td>0 55</td>
<td>0 57</td>
<td>0 59</td>
<td>0 61</td>
<td>0 63</td>
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**EPHIGRAPHIA INDICA.**

**Table XXVII.** (Part E—Trop. Long. 0° = 10°S — 14°S; 24°S — 21°S)
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**TABLE XXXVII. (Part F.—Trop. Long. O = 150° — 180°, 210° — 160°.)**

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Part F.—continued.
Table XXVIII.—The Ayandha for centuries of the Kali Yuga and for odd years.*

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Table XXIX.—The Ayandha according to the Siddhanta Srimani.

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* Before 5.B.C. the Ayandha are negative; but they were probably not yet known at that time.
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2, line 16, and note 1.
7, l. 61—f°r Tōhwân read Tōlan.
10, l. 3—read inscription.
15, in note 2, read—.
17, l. 25—for Tōhwân read Tōlan.
18, l. 35—read Vrahëddi.
19, l. 5 fr. bot. for Aâditya read Aâditya.
25, ll. 1, 2—for Harâdâ-sjl read Harâda-sjl.
28, l. 2—from bottom, for Nâṭâ-kâraṇa read Devâ-kâraṇa.
35, foot-note, prefâ 3.
36, l. 27—for Nâyârâ read Nâyâra.
37, l. 6—for twenty, read nearly seventy (88).
19, l. 9—for hundred read hundred.
2nd foot-note, prefâ 4.
24, l. 5—for Dhamâ read Dha.-masîva.
126, l. 7, and p. 127, l. 1—as suggested by Prof. Aufrecht in his Când-tâlpîr, the word Śāra of the original should be taken to be a proper name, and the two passages should therefore be transcribed:—
‘The following is a verse of Śāra’s,’ and
‘This is (a verse of) Śāra’s.’
128, l. 41—before which add of.
131, l. 18—for the pardoned deceased son of, read son of the deceased pardoned.
133, foot-note, prefâ 5.
134, l. 1—for will read in and l. 8, read Iâm’s all, son of Râb.
134, ll. 24 and 25, delete ‘and.’
138, l. 18—for subject of read may have read Durgâsh Mall.
139, l. 11—from bottom, date of before the renowned.
148, l. 19, from bottom—read the fragment of the chapter in Hâfez (i.e., 6, from bottom—
“The poor, wretched Kâhu Yâsuf, the son of Shâshâh Yâsuf.
150, l. 20—for his Solomon-like beauty.
154, ll. 18, 26, 27, for Rohmâh read Rohmâh.
156, l. 6—for, read the sign of punctuation after Amâstio.
161—prefâ 2 to the first note.

Page 192, l. 18—read wâlî.
17, l. 27—
175, l. 29—
177, in note 1—read Aârâh.
178, l. 32—read Gîme.
180, l. 28—read Aârâh.
185, l. 23—
187, l. 25—

192, note 2, add—As pointed out to me by Mr. Bühler, this verse evidently contains a reference to the towns of Kâlyâna, Aâdîrâli and Ayôdhya; but I cannot give yet an entirely satisfactory translation.

212, last foot note, prefâ 1, and add—Dr. Fleet informs me that these copper plates now belong to the Pântâquin, or Prajâpati, of Patnâ, in the province of Índia. Hâfez also informs me that the Garuda of the seal is represented as a man, squatting, with his hands joined palm to palm, and with a high tiara on his head; and that his wings are depicted in much the same way as on the Patnâ and other Patnâkate seals.

217, note 1, add—Dr. Fleet, after cleaning the original plates, has kindly furnished the following notes on the printed text:—In line 18 the inserted letters (compare note 10) are affixed; the amendment is omitted.—In line 29 the reading is madâna-âryâna-ârâhâna.—In line 30 read the bracketed komâmannâ. In line 31 for [sânu] read other. In line 31 for [tâle] read bhârio. In line 33 the bracketed akherans is and are quite clear. In line 40 read yâmâ.

219, l. 51—read târâkâ.
232, l. 6—
236, l. 42—
236, l. 3—
236, l. 24—
236, l. 41—
236, l. 30—
236, l. 44—
238, l. 28—
240, l. 8—
243, l. 31—read (f).
249, l. 10—Pâmâhâ read Pâmâhâ.
258, l. 21—read Pâmâhâ.
258, in note 1 read Lâman.
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