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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA:
A COLLECTION OF INSCRIPTIONS
SUPPLEMENTARY TO
THE CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM
OF THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY,

TRANSLATED BY ORIENTAL SCHOLARS.

EDITED BY
JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E.
HON.-COR. MEM. BERLIN SOC. OF ANTHROPOLOGY, ETC.; AND OF BATAVIAN SOC. OF ARTS AND SCIENCES; FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY, ETC.,
LATE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA;

ASSISTED BY
A. FÜHRER, PH.D.,
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYOR, NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

VOLUME II.

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PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

"I learned," he says, in his very instructive report," that the casket had been found just above the summit of the remaining portion of the brick dome. I ascertained this point to be 15 feet above the level of the floor of the procession-path which surrounds the building. Although this casket had been found, I considered that, as the principal deposit is usually placed down in the centre near the foundation, or at the level of the procession-path, there was a great probability of there being another. After having found the centre of the circular brick-work, which, through the demolition, is not now in the middle of the mound but considerably towards the north, I saw that the bricks there had not been touched. In the centre was a narrow well, 9½ inches in diameter, filled with earth. This hole, it appears, was open when the top of the stūpa was removed, and was then sounded with a rope to a depth of about 15 feet from the present surface. Around it were courses of eight bricks radiating from the centre to a diameter of 3 feet. These bricks I removed to a depth of 14 feet 6 inches.

"At that depth I came on a large, irregular, triangular slab of black stone laid on the outside of the excavated shaft. The two inner sides of the stone radiated from the centre, its outer side was curved concentric with the brick-work, and extended a foot into the wall of the shaft. It would have lain clear, had another ring of brick-work been removed, making the shaft 5 feet in diameter, but I did not expect to find more than one casket, in the centre. On removing it, I found a rectangular cutting on the under surface of the stone measuring 11 inches by 8 inches and ½ inch deep: the length was placed east and west. Below it was another similar but thicker stone with a raised rectangular rim on its upper surface cut to fit into the hollow in the upper stone. The inner sides of this rectangle slope down into a circular cavity 5 inches deep. The

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

In the cavity, was a small globular black stone relic-casket. Around the casket, and mixed with some earth which filled the cavity, were the following objects:—2 small hemispherical hollow copper or bell-metal (?) cups, 1½ inches in diameter: they fit into each other, and one bears traces of some sort of resin having been inside; on the apex of one is a gold bead, ½ inch in diameter; the other has had a gold bead also, which was found in the earth alongside; 1 copper finger ring and several bits of copper; 1 small bead; 2 double pearls; and the following articles in gold, weighing collectively 1 tola and 13 grains (i.e., 148 grains) viz., 1 single and 1 double gold bead; 7 small triangular pieces; 4 lotus flowers in thin sheets with eight bent petals, each 1½ inches across; 2 triṣṭūlas in thin plates each 1½ inches by 1 inch; 1 hexagonal crystal with slightly convex sides, 2½ inches by ½ inch, pierced with a hole through its axis. On each of the sides of the prism is lightly traced an inscription in the same character as that on the stone (see No. x, p. 329).

"The two hemispherical vessels lay on the west side of the casket; the crystal prism; gold flowers and other articles on the east. The relic-casket is 4½ inches in diameter by 4½ inches in height. The lid fits by a groove into the lower portion. Inside was a cylindrical crystal phial 2½ inches in diameter by 1½ inches in height. It is moulded on the sides, flat on the top and bottom, and has its lid fitted in the same manner as the stone receptacle. Inside is a flat piece of bone, half an inch across, smooth on the one side and celled on the other; it seems to be a piece of a skull bone.

"In the stone casket, below the phial were,—9 small lotus flowers in gold-leaf; 6 gold beads over an eighth of an inch in diameter, and 8 smaller; 4 small lotus flowers in thin copper; 19 small pierced pearls; 1 slightly blue coloured amethyst bead; and 24 small coins or tokens of a light coloured metal, somewhat resembling bell-metal. They are plain on the reverse: and on the obverse have lotus flowers, triṣṭūlas, feet with a snake coiled round, and other emblems more or less legible: They were laid on the bottom of the casket—with the smooth sides down—in the form of a svastika, and had become fixed to the stone by oxidation. In the svastika, nine of the coins were in the central rectangle; three on each of the four arms, and the other three over the centre. The flowers and beads seem also to have been originally arranged symmetrically. An example of this symmetrical use of the svastika was found in the centre of the stûpa at Pedda Ganjām."
"At a depth of 17 feet, was another black stone, on the north side of the well, and, like the first, sunk a foot into the wall. It is roughly triangular in form, with rounded corners, and measures about 2 feet across, by 10 inches thick. On the top is a circle, 7½ inches in diameter, raised half an inch. The under-side is smooth with a circular hollow 12 inches in diameter and half an inch deep. The circle is filled in with an inscription in 18 lines (No. iii, p. 327), while around it, are two others in two lines (Nos. iv and v, p. 328). All had the letters filled in with white. Below it was a stone, roughly rectangular, with rounded corners. In it is a circular cavity 6½ inches deep, 7½ inches in diameter at the top and 4 at the bottom. Round the top is a raised rim 1½ inches broad; and on the upper surface, round the hole, are inscriptions in two lines (Nos. vi and vii, p. 328). The characters are the same as those of the inscription first described. The letters were filled with chunam, evidently that they might show distinctly in the black stone. The cavity was nearly filled with earth and had no inner stone casket. In it was a crystal phial 1½ inches in diameter by 2½ inches high. Its lid is moulded like a dāgaba. The top and bottom were lying separate and filled with earth. There was no sign of a relic inside. Mixed with the earth in the stone cavity were,—164 lotus leaves and buds, 2 circular flowers, a trisūla, and a three-armed figure like a svastika,—all in gold leaf; 2 gold stems for the lotus flowers—one of them attached; 6 gold beads; and 1 small coiled gold ring. The lotus leaves (or petals) are of different sizes, having been fitted inside each other as in the flower itself. The beads represent the opening buds. These articles weigh collectively close on 1½ tolas (315 grs.). Also, two pearls; 1 garnet; six coral beads and one bit of the same material; 1 slightly blue, flat, oval, crystal bead; one pointed, oval, white crystal bead; and two green tinged, flat, hexagonal beryl drops: one is ½ and the other ¾ inch in length; a number of bits of corroded copper leaf, including lotus flowers, stems, a miniature umbrella, and one or more thin sheets of silver folded flat into about eight thicknesses. The metal of the latter is much corroded and extremely brittle: it will be impossible to unfold the sheets. One side is broken but the fragments remain. The largest piece measures 2 inches by 1¾ inches, and shows some letters or symbols pricked on with a metal point.

"At a depth of 18 feet another black stone lay sunk a foot into the wall on the east side of the shaft. It is an irregular circular stone measuring about 2 feet 3 inches across, by 10 inches thick. On its under-surface is a circular space sunk half an inch with an inscription in eight lines (No. viii, p. 329). The letters were whitened. This stone lay on the top of another, roughly square in shape, and measuring 2 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 3 inches by 11 inches thick. On the upper side is a circular cavity 5½ inches deep
7½ inches broad at the top and 5 inches at the bottom. On the top is a rim 2½ inches broad which fits into the hollow in the upper stone. On the upper surface of the stone, round the rim, is an inscription in one line, with letters whitened (No. ix, p. 329).

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

"Close to the phial, was found the actual relic casket with the relics inside. It is made of a large beryl measuring ¼ inch in length, by ½ inch, by. ¼ inch. A cylindrical hole, ½ inch in diameter, is drilled in its axis, in which are the relics,—three small pieces of bone. The hole is closed by a small white crystal stopper with hexagonal bulbous top. The necking is covered with gold leaf, and another sheet of the same material is fixed outside on the bottom. This unique casket had been originally placed inside the crystal phial, but had been displaced probably by shaking of the stone when it was laid. There was also in the cavity:—1 amethyst bead ¼ inch long; another smaller; and 1 yellow coloured crystal bead; 1 small hexagonal crystal drop of a slightly yellowish colour, and another flat one of white crystal; 1 bone bead; 6 pearls, and 32 seed pearls, all pierced; 30 lotus flowers, a bent two-armed figure, and a quatre-foil in gold leaf; a piece of seemingly decomposed quartz having the appearance of salt but insoluble in water; a few bits of copper, and an iron (?) cinder.

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

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

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

JAS. BURGESS.

22, Seton Place, Edinburgh:

August, 1894.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

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

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

This inscription, of which I am unable to say where or by whom it was discovered, was engraved on two plates. Both plates were deposited in the Nagpur Museum, where a Devanāgarī transcript of the whole inscription was made which seems to exist still and which will be referred to below. Subsequently the second of the two plates was either lost or stolen. But the first plate is still in the Museum; and, since the inscription even in its fragmentary state is of some importance, being the only one of the Chedi king Yasaḥkarpadeva 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.

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 8" 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 9" and 10". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the introductory om om namo Vrahmaye 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 Kumbhā copper-plate inscription of Gosaladevi. 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 Ḍāvalipattana or Ḍāuli-patan was apparently mentioned in the lost portion of the inscription. See the references in note 2, below.

2 See Grant’s Gazetter 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 his inscription, on the basis of the Nagpur Museum transcript, are very incorrect. Thus, according to one account, the inscription is one of Karna, according to another it belongs to Gayakarna, and the transcript is said to read Śīr-mahēśa-Karna; but there can be no doubt that the inscription belongs to Yasaḥkarna and that, what the copyist had before him in the now lost plate, was Śīr-mahēśa-Karna. Karna is said to have built a fort named Karna Mena from which flowed the river Karpavati; in reality Karna built a temple at Banaras, which the poet describes as Karna’s Men; and he founded the town of Karpavati. The same Karna is said to have conquered Bhimesvara, king of Andhra, who is identified with Bhūma II, one of the eastern Chālukyas. What the inscription really says is, that Yasaḥkarna 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. VII, pp. 433—435; and re-edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, iv., 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 Kumbhā inscription.
is throughout denoted by the sign for ʊ, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal; besides, ɛ is used for s in the word śārdhām, in line 21, and j for y in trijāmā, in line 15.

The metrical portion of the inscription, after mentioning, like the Kumbhī and other Chedi inscriptions, a number of divine and semi-divine beings, gives the usual genealogy of the Kalachuri (or Chedi) kings of Tripuri, from Yuvarājadeva down to the reigning king Yaśāṅkarna (Yuvarājadeva; Kokalla; Gāṅgeyađevas, also called Vikramāditya; Karṇadeva, who married the Hūṅā, princess Āvalladevi; and Yaśāṅkarna). And, in addition to the well-known facts that Gāṅgeyađevas with his hundred wives obtained final salvation at Prayāga, and that Karṇadeva founded the town of Karṇavati, 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 Yaśāṅkarna 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... Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārajadźhirāja, and Parameśvara, 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., Yaśāṅkarna. 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 Yaśāṅkarna was succeeded by his son Gayakarna, and we possess an inscription of this Gayakarna 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. Yaśāṅkarna 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 fulfils these conditions is A.D. 1122. For in that year the 10th of the dark half of Māgha fell by the pārṇimānta scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th tīthi 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 Yaśāṅkarnađevas, whose reign probably ended shortly afterwards.

* 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. Dīkshiti’s calculations, in the century śāka-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 śāka-samvat 1044 expired (A. D. 1122–23).
JABALPUR COPPER-PLATE OF YASAHKARNADEVA.

TEXT.  

L. 1.  

चरिः [1] भी नभो भ(्) जयि ।  


2.  


3.  


4.  


5.  


6.  


7.  


8.  


9.  


10.  


11.  


12.  


13.  


14.  


15.  


16.  


17.  


From impressions supplied to me by the Editor and by Mr. Fleet.

9 Expressed by a symbol.

10 Read भिष्मवत:.

11 Metre, Māliṅka.

12 Read भन्त्रवत:.

13 Metre, Aupachchhandaśiika.

14 Metre of verses 3—5, Vasantatilakā.

15 Metre, Āryā.

16 Metre of verses 7 and 8, Vasantatilakā. As the noun nirmdāka does not seem to occur anywhere else, I suspect it to have been put wrongly for nirmdāka (nirmdāthin).

17 Metre, Upasāti.

18 This word is quite clear in the rubbings.

19 Metre, Māliṅka.
10. 

11. 

12. 

13. 

14. 

15. 

16. 

17. 

18. 

19. 

20. 

21. 

22. 

23. 

24. 

25.
L. 20. [भूष][८][७] (३२) {राजा} स्त्री-{द्वारा} द्विवर्तित

[राणीरिज्जर] {स्मानसुनकम} {राजरिज्जर} समभ- (२४) [२४].

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! [27]

(2.) Now the king [28] who is the swan in the lake of the expanse of heaven begat as his offspring Bodhana, the son of (that) primeval king (and) son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses.

(3.) This son of the god [29] who is the elixir produced from the seven seas obtained, as the son of his own body, Purûravas, who had both Urvasī 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 Kārtavīrya who, though he had no need of them, wielded with ease every weapon, (and) who allowed the title of king [30] only to the Moon, the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes.

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

(7.) In this family was a prince, foremost of the prudent, who purified the town of Tripūrī so that it was like Indra's city,—Yuvarājadeva, 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 Kokaḷa, a lion-like prince, the progress of whose armies, comprising elephants, chariots, horsemen and soldiers on foot, [31] was checked (only) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.

24 Metre, Sārānārikājñata.
25 Metre, Śloka (Anushubhā).
27 This first verse glories the god Vishnu, his navel, the god Brahman, Atri, and the Moon. Further on we are told that the Moon's son Bodhana (or Buda, i.e., Mercury) married (Iā or Iā) a daughter of the Sun (or Mitra-Vārūṇa), and that their son was Purûravas. 'The friend of the ocean' is the moon; 'the friend of lotuses,' the sun.
28 i.e., the moon.
29 i.e., again the moon, under the name of Soma confounded with the Soma plant.
30 For the same idea, compare ante, vol. I, p. 313, verse 10. Dr. F. E. Hall's reading chakrame in the Kumblī copper-plate (instead of chakahame) yields no sense.
31 The original has only the word chaturāṅga.
(V. 9.) That lord having gone far away, his fame shows like a forsaken woman; deriding white sandal, it reproves the lustre of the moon, and is a reproach to a string of pearls.

(10.) His son was 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 Kārnādeva honoured the quarters with the pearls from the frontal globes of the majestic elephants of his enemies, eflf 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), Kārṇa’s Meru,ISCO) 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 Kārnāvatī, 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 Ávalladeva, (another) goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the Hūna family, the illustrious Yaśākārnādeva, 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 (st.n) 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
BHERA-GHAT INSCRIPTION OF ALHANADEVI.

Brâhmans⁴⁴; and they with these already quench their thirst, and afterwards show their contempt even for the ocean.⁴⁵

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

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

(23.) Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (even though) the play of (that king's) arms disclosed no flaw, he reverenced the holy Bhimeśvara⁴⁶ with many ornaments. The Godavari, 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 Brâhmans, he engages in a course of rivalry with Paraśurâma.

And this . . . the Paramalhaṭṭāraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja, and Paramâeshvara, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vâmadeva . . . . . . . . .

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


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

The stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall, in 1857, at Bhera-Ghâṭ on the Narmadâ, 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 photozineograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' Memoranda, Archeol. Survey of Western India, No. 10, pp. 107-9; and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's Archeol. Survey of India, vol. IX, pp. 91-94. I now re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions and a rubbing kindly prepared for me, at Professor Lanman's request, by Mr. Herbert C. Tohwan, of Yale University, New Haven.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 akṣaras each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost entirely broken away, and about half a dozen other damaged akṣaras,

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⁴⁴ viz., at the time when he is making donations to them.
⁴⁵ The word translated by 'ocean' means originally 'a mine of precious stones.'
⁴⁶ i.e., the god Jîva. [I take this to refer to the Bhimeśvara temple at Drâkshârâma in the Godâvari district.—E. H.]
¹ See the Journal Am. Or. Soc., vol. VI, pp. 499 and 534; and C. Grant's Gazetteer 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 \( \frac{9}{16} \) and \( \frac{11}{16} \). The characters are Nāgari, carefully drawn and
engraved; and they include the sign of the jihāmālīya in mahīpālaḥ—Karnāh, in line 9,
and that of the upadhmāṇiya in Ṣwāṇah—paharshaḥ, in line 10. The language is San-
skrit, and excepting the introductory on on naṃ ha Śīrāya and the date at the end, the
inscription is in verse.\(^2\) The language is not quite free from mistakes.\(^4\) 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 vyadhātām, possibly an error of the writer or en-
graver, instead of vīdhātām which would suit the metre equally well. Besides we have,
in line 9, the wrong abstract noun chaṇḍimātā, and, in line 2, the adjective valgu, used
in the sense of the participle valgat. And the rules of saṃdhi have not been observed in
kim-vā, line 2, and in yuṃmān=karārāiḥ, 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 r.
Thus, in lines 7 and 10 we read bibhrat, but in line 6 vibhrat; in line 16 buddhār, but in
line 1 euddhīm, &c. The sibilants are generally employed each in its proper place; but
in line 14 we have eftāla, instead of eftālā as the word is correctly written in line 27.
Instead of the sign of anuṣṭāra the dental n has been wrongly employed in the word
sinha (in the proper names Pāiriesiṇka, Pāiyasimha, &c., in lines 16, 17, 21-23, and 29),
in ranša, line 20, and in euddhānēh, line 18 (properly written evahānā in line 4); and
even at the end of a word before an initial sibilant, in sansatsu, line 5, and etān=sūrīh,
line 28. And, generally, it may be noted that out of about 60 cases where the use of
the anuṣṭāra 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 anuṣṭāra 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 Dharanidhara\(^3\)
and grandson of Mahēśvara, of the Mauna gotra; written on the stone by his elder
brother Prithvīdhara; and engraved by Mālidhara, a son of the artizan Bālasimha
(verses 32-35 and 37). And its object is, to record that the queen Alahasadeva, the wife
(or rather, widow) of the king Gayakarṇādeva, and mother of the reigning king Narasimha
deva and his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, founded a Śiva temple, with a
matha 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 Nāmaundī, in the Jāuli pattalā, and of Makarpaṭāka, on the right
bank of the Narmadā in the land adjoining the hills; and that the management of the
whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a
Pāsupata ascetic, named Rudrarāsi, of Lāṭa lineage (vv. 27-31). The inscription also
records (in verse 36) that all the buildings, etc., aforesaid, at one of which the inscrip-
tion may be supposed to have been put up, were designed or executed by the architect
Pithe.

\(^2\) The second half of the 20th grossly offends against a well-known metrical rule.

\(^4\) Similar mistakes are found in other Chedi inscriptions of the same period.

\(^3\) Dharanidhara, Prithvīdhara and Mahēśhara are mentioned also in the Tewar stone inscription of Gayakarṇādeva, of
By way of introduction the inscription, after the words "om om, adoration to Śiva!", and six verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Sarasvatī, furnishes the following meagre account of the royal family into which Alhaṇadevi 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 Gaṅgeyadeva (vv. 9-10); and his son was king Karna who is represented as having held in check the Pāṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Kīras, and Hūnas (vv. 11-13). Karna’s son was Yaśāhkarna, said to have become famous by devastating Champāranya (v. 14); and his son again was Gayakarna (vv. 15-16). Gayakarna married Alhaṇadevi, a daughter of the king Vijayasinīha (a son of Vairisimha who was a son of the prince Haṃsapāla, a descendant of the son of Gohila or Gohilaputra,) and his wife Śyāmaladevi, a daughter of the king Udayāditya of Mālava (vv. 17-23). And Alhaṇadevi 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 Mārgaśīrṣha,—a date which must of course be referred to the Kalachuri or Chedi era. When writing on the epoch of that era, in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, p. 216, I felt inclined to accept Mr. Fleet’s suggestion, based on an examination of the photozincograph of this inscription in No. 10 of the 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 Mārgaśīrṣha 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 meaning sudi 11 to correspond, civilly, to the Monday. In the following year, A.D. 1156, on the other hand, the same 11th tithi of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣha ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 25th November, and consequently, in that year, sudi 11 was, civilly, really a Sunday. Now, that the day intended by the original date is either Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, or Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156, appears to me certain; but I am not at present prepared to say confidently which of these two Sundays is the true date. Supposing all the other Kalachuri dates to cite current years, the present date might be taken to quote, exception iva, 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 Nāmaunḍī and Makarapāṭaka, mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify. The Jāuli pattalā, which apparently was mentioned also in the lost portion of Yaśākarna’s copper-plate, must have been the country around Jabalpur.

TEXT.7

1. सैयाः[५] सैय नामं सिव्यां ||
कव्यालिताधवकालं भवतं तनोत्र भाद सपुणकिदशः शमियेखरस् ||(i)
एकशे वा प्रमसाधारणमेव हिविन्द्रेवविरर्धिम वार्तीम निवान् ||⁹—[1].

2. किं साताया: क्षुद्ग्दा किं शिबाला: किंमयानवकालाः:।
किमन्यादावाणीचकारा:।
इवासाक्यिताकुण्डः: इविष्म्यरा: सतारिनकापगाका—
रिक्षुत्वादं भूमित्य: पुष्पम्—||[2].

3. पता: पातु व: ||¹²—[3].
भूतं सहिष्मु यथिभाितं शूवं यथििमािद्वजाका—
प्रद्यानव्यकरं चाघास्यास्यवल्लितत्वं यत्।
यह्यंधराम यश यज्ञे श्रींतं यद्यानव्ययः:
सतायेय यत्रहरिवेशसाधवास्य(वर्ण)रैरे:। ||[3].

4. विषव: ||—[4].
शित्ति:लितप्रभीतिःतुष्क्षुद्कान्तचित्त:।
तारालकाद्व(व)र: तुर्यदिवलकः: प्रियाणि व: ||¹³—[4].
विष्म्यरात्वस्तमसस्मरभागाय पाता सुता कल्याकाला: शाकालं सुधांशी:।
कुड्नादतातरसस्वातिपावः—

5. न: सैयं: परस्यातु व: सर्व सिवाया: ||¹⁴—[5].
रुपेनिक्यवहवावहावावितानती यत्र अस्तती व:।
यवेशालिताधवकालेिधि वियस्यापालुः पुस्माशरसा गरीयाँत् [५]” ||¹⁵—[6].
भीति राजविकर्द्ध मुपपल:—

6. र्मुहि(दित)सक्षेत्रं करा—
प्रेमेक्षःकरन्यान्तविनयन्ति राजविन्द्रे भागी:।
तेनेद्भुताभित्वमस्तयपिभिव्य नायाजुमादं संकषे—
यशायाधायिधमङ्गलं वश गतावों च चाघास्यं ||—[7].
तस्या—

7. नवे समभवाविनित: पुष्यिता नाय: क्षाद्यानुतमाणी बृह्या न यस्य ।
कीकाभ्रां श्रवति विष्म्यरा(भर)हुष्मास्य तितिलकाःहुष्मास्यधरणेकधाम। ||¹⁹—[8].

निकीलेप्तिविनियमप्रवर्तत: प्रवविषिष्टी—

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9 From the impression.
10 Expressed by a symbol.
11 Metro, Vasantatilakā.
12 The sign of anusvadra in the last word is very faint, but it is there.
13 Indo-Aryan.
14 Metro, Šārdulavikrāḍī.
BHERA-GHAT INSCRIPTION OF ALHANADEVI.

L. 8. खुजः
प्रासान्तदेव वडुः खुजितगङ्गासिद्धीसिद्धार्थः
श्रीहि देव विधाय सेवसमतु वल्लभेंसु[न]थनां
श्रावणासुम्भवः;खितापि विधुधारये [स?]?मायादिता ॥१०—[९].
पुनर्वाहनं संसिद्धा शुभकर्मि ॥

9. [न] ॥
यलीसिद्धार्थितः: सर्व याथाव्र (स)श्रावणस्यख्यातिः ॥१०—[१०].
तेनान्ति सहीतापलक्ष्योऽः, खप्परेन खुजिता ।
श्रावणासाधितार्थिसारानिधिसिद्धिः ॥—[११].
शृणुरङ्गमतामृत्युमोऽर सर्वस्वायात्मः गद्यश्र[३]॥

10. [श]॥२७ सहितमाजगम प्रकर्मेऽवक्तः: काविन्द्रि: सच्च ।
कोर: कीर्तिकाय पञ्चरथिः ह्रणम्यहप्यं जह्वे
श्रावणासाधितार्थिसारानिधिसिद्धिः ॥२७—[१२].
श्रावणासाधितार्थिसारानिधिसिद्धिः सच्चः—

11. खुजः [सुधि] यामसी
तासेतान्तनवासि ततुतरारासिन्ती लियः ।
श्रावणासाधितार्थिसारानिधिसिद्धिः: पहोपीन्द्राशः
श्रावणासाधितार्थिसिद्धिः: पुनर्वाहि तं वर्णयादः।—२५

12. क्षिरे ॥—[१३].
चम्पारर्थिविदारणिकोद्रयमः; शुभांग्यम भास्यर
राजाचहारमवज्ञानवद्वाय: श्रावणासाधितार्थिः: ।
तासेतान्तनवासि ततुतरारासिन्तीं लियः—२५

13. चकर विधुधार्यः: प्रेक्ष सर्वीनिधिः ॥—[१४].
तासेतान्तनवासि ततुरारासिन्तीं लियः: समाधर्मकपादिव: ।
वयह प्रतापसर्वदिवारस्तुरीवां भद्रार्थिविदारणापद: प्रयेियं ॥२७—[१५].

14 खुजित नावित स्तावः: कीर्तिकावशाल: प्रयुतसुस्वामाल: शतुस्वयंकालः: ।
विद्विजयविशाल: श्रावणासाधितार्थिः: महातिका: ॥२७—[२६].

10 Metre, Saradaulvikriti. The akshara put in brackets in the last line of this verse is almost entirely broken away.
10 Metre of verses 10 and 11, Sloka (Anuśūla). Of the akshara in brackets only the consonant r is absolutely certain. What the author meant to say, was probably गर।
12 The akshara in brackets is so much damaged that only part of the letter k remains. Compare Indian Antiquary, vol. xxviii, p. 217, line 10.
27 This reading is absolutely certain. खच्छ्कि is grammatically incorrect, for खच्छ्कि.
28 Metro of verses 12-14, Saradaulvikriti.
29 The word त this line is quite certain. Of the aksharas in brackets only the first is partly visible. Of the aksharas in these brackets only the vowel i of the first remains; the rest had been already supplied by Dr. Hall.
32 Metro, Vasantatilakà.
33 Metro, Mālini.
L. 15. प्रसिद्धिमित्र गोमिलनीलंजननारायणम् दृष्टि विज्ञप्ति: किल इंपार्ण:।
श्रीयंवस्तिनिर्मित्त्रिषवेर्षिनि संरक्षणं हीलं लिन्यलिप्तुपपवाचः॥३५ —[१७]।
तत्सभावतृलय:।

16. बलसभावसंस्थायतेश्वरिमारिषुंतं।
श्रीरक्षित हरसुधाशिरियुक्तशंकुंदे विशिष्टित। दरकर्षितनस्य चोंध:॥ —[१८]।
स श्रीरक्षितोपकण्यं दृष्ट्वापि गर्भीरुपायः।

17. स्वरूपि।
वचन तंत्राधिकारय चकितरुप्राणित तूराधितालकाणि॥३७—[१९]।
तत्समाध्यात्तम समक्षनालाभार्यसौंदर्यमत्तमस्महविरितिः।।

18. प्रवङ्गसंन: सदा जग्न्ति यस्य यमःकुताः॥३१॥ —[२०]।
तत्सभाववालमःकालिनयायदिविल्युतता सुविदा।
श्रीरक्षितो श्रीमलयान्दृश्चारितविनामिनिः।॥३५—[२१]।

19. वेदादिकान्यम षडप्रथमायो चोपिस्ततात्तत्वा—
श्रीरक्षितो शुभमात्रानतित्वात्तम ठोराधितालकाणि॥
तत्समाध्यात्तम समाधिकारय जग्न्याधिराजमानवनस्।॥—

20. ३५४४५४५४५४५४५४५४५४५४५४५४५४५४५ विमानिनामापवाय मयाक्षणेन रूपः।।
चक्षु मीतिम्मायम्य स्वावडार्थम् षडकर:॥ —[२३]।
श्रीरक्षितो तक्षमी कलानां लावकमाला यु—

21. श्रवण्यामृति:।
भवत पुनःचरितम्यूपाधीशी नरेशवरस्विन्देवम्॥४१—[२४]।
भवभोपरिणविन्देवते॥ प्रीतिम्याक्षणम्
दिम्भितबिन्दापुत्रा व(व) सुधा पुस्वास्वाहारगञ्जम्य राण ।
सूर्यांगरस्।

22. वाप्प वेदान्तस्तत्तम प्रीतित्वत् त्रायणाय—
न्यायप्रकार ध्यया मनंगि महाचारीश्चति वायुमि।॥४५—[२५]।
भवानुवो विचित्रमात् ज्ञयस्विन्देव:॥ चिन्तितवयाम्यम्जैतुष्टप्पे शी:।
यो भेदानाद्व(व)हु—

23. सामविद्यापारस्यं विद्यापारिश्रवह[ह] प्रहस्त:॥४६—[२०]।
भक्तारिवान्नमरिन्दुरिविरिलमर्चनाट्तमुप्रमिन्ते।।
BHERA-GHAT INSCRIPTION OF ALHANADEVI.

24. 

सतासुमा श्रीनरसिद्धवनसुरसाराक्षसृंगदेवयुधारा||[27].

आश्रामाः

25. 

तासुरानमसारामविकलामंमुः(म)।

श्रावयानुः शन्तुप्राणसरादातीतिधिनः||[28].

देवायामेवदनायाभिमध्य प्रादात्त्वी जाजेपत्तालाम्।

श्रावणाः नामाक्षेति सर्वदाम्बः।[29]

26. 

है चारञचाप्रसिद्दे||[29].

नमदानचिण्येऽऽलि पलातीप्रकाराः।

तत्वापसरदादातामा भक्तपापाक्षः||[30].

साराणाः पाण्यसस्तापस्तु सीतारामस्विविविहरस्वाभासभ्यः।

खा राहचिव-।

27. 

अमलस्वरतास्वरोऽऽक्षितामांसतिलक्षिणः।

देवामनोदास्येऽऽवननदीपायाँ देवः||[33].

श्रावयानस्वरुपः श्रीमान्यमस्नीरसाराक्षसृंगदेवयुधारा।

प्रमाणितामांलक्षदेवीचित्रः।

28. 

हैसुद्दोऽऽन्यात्याविविहिनरिविविहिनये||[34].

एषावर्ज्ञस्तत्त्वाक्षरातस्तत्वाक्षरारम्भः।

प्रमाणितकरोदेक्षितामांसतिवासदीतामांसतिवासदीताः।

पीचित्तमः चःवः।

29. 

धारः श्रीमृगुसर्वः||[36].

चरवार्योगिणा(व) लिप्रसर्वस्वतीनुस्हिरभरः।

मिन्द्रामासारोऽऽयेऽऽक्षसारस्तरकंतंया||[37].

संस्कां ८०७ गार्गर्चुदः ११४०वर्षस्वाभासः।

46 Read श्रीमृगुराः।
47 Metre, Upapāja।
48 Metre, śloka (Anusūbāḥ)।
49 This sign of visarga is superfluous.
50 Metre, Śilānti।
51 Metre, śloka (Anusūbāḥ)।
52 The correct form would of course be श्रीमृगुराः।
53 Metre, Indravājā।
54 The correction may have been made already in the original.
55 Metre, Upapāja।
56 Metre, śloka।
57 Of the aksara त the superscript line which turns d into o is rather faint, but it undoubtedly is there.
58 Read चिन्हवतिर्यस्त।
59 Metro of verses 35-37, śloka (Anusūbāḥ)।
60 Originally चामु, altered to चामू।
61 Read "नासुरिनं।"
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) 1

(2.) May those founts of holiness, the lines of the creeping and leaping 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 Nīlakaṇṭha, who fills with delight men eager to wield spear and missile, when decorated with the young moon he exults in his dance, grant whatever is dear to you 2

(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 3 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

1 Fīz, because the first lunar digit, by itself, is altogether invisible. The noun kalīṇītā is not given by the dictionaries.

2 Vāg, ordinarily 'handsome, beautiful', is here used in the sense of the participle vāgat, opposed to riṅgat.

3 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 Saṅkuntalā.

5 The two compounds of the first half of the verse would be applicable also to the dancing peacock (mīlakaṇṭha, which causes great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (i.e., to the god Kārttikeya or Skanda, also called Saṅkīthāna 'the spear-bearer', to whom the peacock is sacred), and the tail of which is covered with spout similar to the moon. Compare the very similar verse No. 1787 of Vallabhaṇdača's Subhadhikāvya, which will show that the translation of the word chandrasekha by 'the young (or small) moon' is correct.

8 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 without equal.

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

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

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

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

(14.) From him took his spotless birth the illustrious Yaśahkarna, 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 devestation of Champāraṇya, (and) whose 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, Gayarakñadeva. In his case even the sun,—the sun of his prowess,—took upon itself the function 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, was a tree of paradise for the creeping-plant fortune, wore a broad garland of noble qualities, was the one god of death to the host of the enemies, adorned the van of battle, abounded in pleasing renown, (and) wielded indeed a sharp sword.—

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

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

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

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62 See note 42 of the preceding inscription.
63 The abstract noun chāyāmitāt of the original is incorrect; the correct form of the word is chāndimāt.
64 Properly 'his inclination to arrogance.'
65 This function belongs properly to the moon.
66 This is described as the seed or seminal energy of Vishnu, Haror-virya, (see M. Williams' Dictionary); and the poet, who immediately afterwards has the word Śrī, 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.
67 Literally 'Alaka' (the residence of Kuvera, the god of riches)
(20.) From him was born the lord of the earth Vijayāsimha, whose beauty was justly celebrated by all men, who by the vigour of his heroism made his adversaries’ fortunes totter, (and) the moon of whose fame (accordingly) was always waxing in the world.

(21.) His loving wife was the handsome daughter of Udayāditya, the ruler of the realm of Mālava,—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 Śaṅkara, (and) Virinī to Daksha, the creator of beings, the wife of the Moon, so she bore to that prince, able to protect the world, Alhaṇadevi, in appearance the unsullied fluttering pennon of her long pedigree.25

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

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

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

(26.) May victory attend his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, who in marvellous ways serves the first-born as Sumitra’s son26 (did Rāma); who, behold!, when he lifts his hand, overpowers the enemies’ most gigantic host, though it roars like thunderclouds27 and practises many wiles!—

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

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

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

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

(31.) May the Pāsupata ascetic, the holy Rudraśiva of Lāṭa lineage, arrange conformably to rule for the management of this place, so long as Śiva pervades28 the worlds!—

(32.) In the Mauna lineage, possessed of the triple pravara Bhārgava, Vaitāhavya, and Sāvetasa,29 there was born from one named Mabhēvara Dharaṇidhara, (a mountain)30 by name; by weight, by fame, and by fortune.

25 Or, ‘of a lofty flag-staff (vaṅkha).’
26 It, Laksmananu.
27 Meghadūda and Atikīrya are also the names of two sons of the demon Rāvana; and Prabhūta was one of Rāvana’s generals.
28 Or rather, ‘is coextensive with’.
29 Compare the Atuvāsana-sravasūtras, Calcutta ed., p. 872.
30 The word dharaṇidhara has this meaning.
(F. 33.) Who, shedding a pleasing lustre, filled to overflowing with kindness, long enjoying a gratifying position, acted the part of a lamp to the three worlds.

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

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

(36.) The architect named Pithe, who knows the rules of Visvakarman, planned all this, as Prithu did the earth.

(37.) Mahidhara, a son of the chief of artizans Bâlasimha, 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 Mârgasîrsha.

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. It is said to be of like character with that of Alhañadevi’s inscription. 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 photomechanograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess’ Memoranda, Archaeol. Survey of Western India, No. 10, p. 110, and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham’s Archaeol. Survey of India, vol. IX, pp. 95-96. I now re-edit 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 1/2 and 3/4”. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the symbol for oh 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 vrahma Brahmduti (the only words in which b would occur), in line 1; and the dental sibilant is

1 The adjectives of this verse would of course be also applicable to a lamp; sneha also means ‘oil’, and daff ‘the wick 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 naresvarah, line 3, Kesava, and aisvaram, line 6, and Kesavaya, line 8; and n instead of anuscura in Jayasinha-, line 4, (but not in Nara-
simha-, line 3). Besides, the text twice offends against the rules of smdhī.

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 Brāhman Ālādeva, named Astaka (?)), a member of the Kātyāyana gotra and resident of the village Śikhā in Māḷavaka; during the reign of the king Jayasimhadeva, a younger brother of the king Narasimhadēva whom he had succeeded, and son of the king Gayaśkarna. And it is dated in the year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvāṇa, while the moon was in the nakshatra Hasta. Referring this date, again, to the Kalachuri or Chedi era, the corresponding European date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1177. In that year, the month Śrāvāṇa was intercalary, for the solar Śrāvāṇa lasted from the 26th June, 12 h. 32 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 Śrāvāṇa corresponded to Sunday the 3rd July, when the 6th tithi ended 7 h. 35 m. and the moon was in the nakshatra Hasta up to 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and the 6th of the bright half of the second Śrāvāṇa corresponded to Monday the 1st August, when the 6th tithi ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise and the moon entered the nakshatra Svātī about sunrise. And, accordingly, there can be no doubt that the true equivalent of the date is Sunday the 3rd July, A.D. 1177, and that the bright half of Śrāvāṇa, put down in the date, belonged to the first (or intercalated) Śrāvāṇa.

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

Text.5

Text.

L. 1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

5. 

6. 

7. 

8. 

9. 

For two similar dates compare the Indian Antiquary, vol. XVIII, p. 212, and vol. XIX, p. 36, No. 62.

4 From the impressions.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
6 Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).
7 Metre, Upajāti.
8 Read श्रीमति.
9 Read श्रीकामति.
10 Read सुभाषु.
11 Read सुभाषु.
12 Read फिक्ति.
13 Read श्रीकामति.
14 The reading of the akṣaras 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 विभाषकानि। स्वामि। कान्ति। दास। सेवक। ज्ञापन। रस। ज्ञापन। रस। ज्ञापन। रस। ।
15 Read संवेदः.
16 The akṣara 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.
17 This line is on the proper left margin.
TRANSLATION.

Om!

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

The son of the illustrious king Gayâkarna, 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 Brâhman Âladeva, named Astaka (?), caused that temple of Íśvara to be built.

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

(8.) The náyaka Keśava’s gotra is that of Kâtyâyana, his place of residence the village of Sîkhâ in Mâ[ja]vaka.

IV.—THREE LAND-GRAANTS FROM SANKHEDA.

By H. H. Dhouette, B.A., LL.B.

The Subâ of the Baroda or Central Division of the Gaikavâd’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 Gurjarra grant of Sâmvat 346.

This document is written on a plate, measuring about 8 inches by 3\(\frac{3}{4}\), and is well preserved. It contains ten lines giving the usual injunctions and quotations from the Smrîli 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 sámhitâvrahika ditya-Bhogika. Bhogika, Dr. Bühler informs me, is “a small man not more than a Thâkur 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 Kâvî grant of Jayabhâta (Ind. Ant., vol. V, p. 110). In the Desikosha its Prâkrit equivalent bhoi is explained by gráma-pradhâna.\(^ {17}\)

\(^ {17}\) i.e., Nahâdeva or Śiva to whom all these epithets are applied.

\(^ {18}\) Or possibly: ‘The Brâhman, named Astaka, had (a son) Áladeva; his son Keśava.’ See note 13, above.

\(^ {1}\) Dr. Bühler’s Pâiyatâcchâdânamâñâ, v. 104 (gâmâni bhîo ya gâmarâ, p. 32). Dr. Bühler translates it in the glossary as “headman or lord of a village,” and quotes bhogika from inscriptions. The Gujârâti for bhogika or bhîi is bhîya, and grâmapati or gâmavai is gâmata. The word bhoga, from which bhogika is derived, means pâlana or “protection;”—see Amara, III, 23, and Mahâshâman’s commentary on it, also Viśvakarman, v. 208; Medinchkkasa, v. 15 of words ending in ga; and Trikândatâkakosa, III, 120 (महान ज्योतिभविन ज निकाले अक्षयराजीि भीम दुर्ग वर चायं मदरास्यसोबत्र ये). Thus bhogika according to these authorities would be an equivalent of pâlaka or “protector;” as an official term it may have subsequently acquired a technical meaning.
Of course such a man cannot be a great ruler." If there were nothing else to connect this grant with the Gurjaras, the title bhogika of the minister for war and peace Āditya 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. 595-36. This date exactly agrees with that of Dadda III. circa 580 A.D., as given by Dr. Bühler.2 Hitherto we had no copper-plate grant or any other document of that monarch, which renders this plate an interesting find.

**Transcript.**

L. 1. भाजन्त्राकारिण्यविविधिभिरितिसमकालिणीं पुज्योऽवाचनंयमोऽयसुःकृतिनिर्बन्धं
2. प्रतिपादितं सारापित्रित्राजननं पुज्यस्यायमिविविधीं अति सर्वभवेणिविविधारं सवाप्नं भ्रू-भिन-भ
3. वापरतो व न केशित्याचिथेशपर्वत विविधवाति समास्यमेत्रस्य भूमि-
4. दानविलेखितबयोभाषायतीमलयियम: पालयित्यविलीुं च भगवता ज्ञान-भ
5. सीता व कित्वायतुण्डा वृद्धा राजती: संगरारिदिष्य: यथा यथा यदा भूमि भ्रूस्करं तथा
6. तदा फलं व विद्वद्याधिकारत्र संग्रह मोरादि भूमिद: भ्रूस्कर चातुमला च तान्ती-भ
7. व नरभीते वहे ॥ विन्यादिकारित्ववित्तविमुद्धकितोत्वविभानिः सब्राजे कित्वायते-भ
8. ब्रह्मदैप्यग्रहीका: [ः] वानीहि दुःक्षाणिण पुरा नरेन्द्रहानि वस्त्रांविन्यायस्तराणि निम्नान-भ
9. ज्ञानान् प्रतिमाणाणि ताराण को नाम साधुं पुन्याददेहं विश्विज्ञानीताणि विश्वसंविब्रह्मिति-भ
10. दानम्मोकेन संब्दर्शनंतं यो दक्षरायकोधोत्तरसौ ॥ ३४६

No. II.—A grant of Rana-graha, dated Sam. 391.

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

The donee of the grant (l. 1) is the Brāhmaṇa Ādityaśarma (sic), the dātaka (l. 9) the bhogika Pālakaṭuṣṭāna, and the writer (l. 10) the samādhivigrāhādhiṣṭita Mātribhaṭa. According to l. 9-10 the donor appears to be a son of Vitarāṅga called Rana-graha, who is characterised as a worshipper of the sun (Dinakarakaśākhyara-\(\text{c}h\)anarata) and as "the close relative of the illustrious Dadda" (\(\text{ś}rī-\text{Dadda-pādāntar-}\(\text{jnātī}\)); for it is his sign-manual which was attached to the grant. The date is (l. 8) Sam. 391, Vaisākha bahula 15, i.e. the new moon of Vaisākha.

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2 Ind. Ant. vol. XVII, p. 191.
3 Read झांति.
4 Correctly विवेली.
5 Read दाषराजिति.
6 Read भ्रूस्ति.
7 Read त्वेति.
NO. 1. SANKHEDA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF DADDA III. Ch. Sam. 346. (2nd plate).
No. 2. SANKHEDA COPPERPLATE GRANT OF DADDA IV. Ch. Sam. 391 (2nd plate).
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.—Prasāntarāga II.11 and that the donor was the brother of the latter; for, as the two Kheḍa grants of Dadda IV. were issued in Sam. 380 and 385,12 it follows from the new date, Sam. 391, that the same person must be meant here by the expression “the illustrious Dadda.” Further, as Raṅgraha is called both a son of Vitarāga and a relative of Dadda, and as the latter was a son of Jayabhāta II.—Vitarāga II. Raṅgraha 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. ब्राह्मणादिल्लगमाणः13 उदकारस्तिरीमीणीचित्रेण14 यतोद्भावाधृतरीवेदविगमितयाबिःपचः15
2. ।संस्कृतादयोतस्तथः16 पारस्तिसत्बव वी वाजानातिसिंहपत्तला17मिहरायिन्ध्वादिशिब्ध्वमान18वा-
3. तुलसीदेव स पहलोभिहारातः19 संयुक्तः20 चंडकुल21 भगवति वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन परिषारिनः
4. सच्चार्थ12 संही नीतिद्वारा भूमिद्वारा22 बाणेश्वर चारुस्मिना च तान्येव नरले वसे23 विन्दुवाहिनी-
5. कोटरावसिनः24 द्विसाहयो धि नायके भूमिद्वारलाहरवः25 याशी पदार्थ4 पुरा
6. धरमाधिवेश्यकर्णि निम्नाधिवभिमतिमानि तानि को शाम12 साहः26 युगार्ध्यानि27 दद्रसा28
7. यमाद्राव दुरदिं�र29 मष्ठः30 महिस्मतः31 वेष दातात्वेतिपुष्पलगमिनः32
8. संवसरस्तिलये एकनवले33 वैशाखंदत्तदभवेषः सं ३८४ वैशाख च १२
9. द्वातिहो भोगिकाभवरोषानि34 द्विवरणमिकथंक्षेत्रतपसय बहसोऽयं चोविताराजगुहोऽ
10. रक्षानेव वीद्याराज्ञागति35 विमित्तिद्विः संविप्रवाहिनिः36 मातिमेति

NO. III.—A grant of Sāntilla, 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 Mahākūta 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.

13 राज राजार्थे,
14 राज “साहित्य”.
15 राज “धर्मसूत्र”.
16 राज “साहित्य”.
17 राज “दाशस्त्र”.
18 राज “दाशस्त्र”.
19 राज “साहित्य”.
20 राज “साहित्य”.
21 राज “साहित्य”.
22 राज “साहित्य”.
23 राज “साहित्य”.
24 राज “साहित्य”.
25 राज “साहित्य”.
26 राज “साहित्य”.
27 राज “साहित्य”.
28 राज “साहित्य”.
29 राज “साहित्य”.
30 राज “साहित्य”.
31 राज “साहित्य”.
32 राज “साहित्य”.
33 राज “साहित्य”.
34 राज “साहित्य”.
35 राज “साहित्य”.
36 राज “साहित्य”.
37 राज “साहित्य”.
38 राज “साहित्य”.
It's contents are as follows. Writing from the victorious camp (vijayakātaka), located at Nirgunḍipadra (l. 1), Sāntilla, the general (Īlaṁhikrīta, l. 5) of the bhogikapāla and mahāpalapati (mahāpalapati) Nīrihullaka (l. 4), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Śaṁkaraṇa (Śaṁkaraṇa, l. 3), son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja (whose feet were worshipped by the whole circle of the earth, ll. 1-2), grants to Bhajikānantasvāmi (Bhajikā Anantasvāmin, l. 7), an inhabitant of Pashānirāja (l. 6), a member of the Kautsa golra and a student of the Vājasāñeyya (Saṁhitā), a field requiring for seed-corn one pīṭaka of rice (l. 10), and situated in the western sim of Śrī-Parṇākā, which belonged to (the district of) Taṇḍulapadraka (l. 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 Puramabhaṭṭāraka’s feet, i.e., probably of Śaṁkara[ga]ṇa.

As regards the persons named in the document, Sāntilla’s position is sufficiently clear. His master Nīrihullaka must have been a Bhil chieftain; for the title mahā-palapati 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 Desi word. The phrase “who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Śaṁkara[ga]ṇa” means, therefore, here merely that he was a vassal or servant of the latter, not that he was his successor. Pādāvādhṛtyā is frequently used in the former sense. With respect to the question to which dynasty the two kings Kṛishṇarāja and Śaṁkara[ga]ṇa belonged, it is possible only to offer a conjecture. Dr. Bühler has suggested to me that, assuming the correction Śaṁkaraṇa for Śaṁkaraṇa to be certain, the two kings may be Haihayas or Kalachuris of Chedi. I am inclined to accept this, as the Chedi era was used by the Gurjars, which is a certain sign of their power having extended to the province. Moreover, the Chalukya inscriptions mention a Kalachuri king, Buddhārāja, the son of Śaṁkaraṇa, from whom Maṅgaliśa took his wealth. And it is not at all improbable that the Śaṁkaraṇa 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 Kheḍa plates. They may well belong to the period of Maṅgaliśa’s reign, which, as the latest researches of Mr. Fleet show, fell between Śaka Samvat 519 and 531, or A.D. 597-98 and 610-11. There is also another detail in our grant which, I think, may be adduced in favour of this view.

Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, in his Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency, 1583-84, 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 Śvāmin attached to them. No writer later than the thirteenth century seems to have it. We have Bhaṭṭas, Achāryas, Yajvans, Dīksitās and Yājñikas during the last six centuries, but no Śvāmin. The title appears to have been in use at a

\[2^5\] Bhajikā might be bhajaṇa, “a worshipper, votary, devotee;” V. S. Apte’s Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 807. Compare a similar use of the word bhaṭṭa in Bhaṭṭa Kumbārī, Bhaṭṭotpala, Bhaṭṭodhāta, etc.

\[36\] See Dr. Bühling’s Abridged Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. pālla. 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 Saṁkheṣṭā goes by the name of Palla (Saṁkheṣṭā Palla). Thus, mahāpalapati would mean “the lord of the great Palla or Palla.”

\[37\] See e.g. l. 53 of Mr. Fleet’s No. 1, Corp. Inscrip. Ind. vol. III, pp. 10 and 17, note 2.

\[38\] See Ind. Ant. vol. XIX, p. 16.
certain period and been given to Mīmāṃsakas or men conversant with the sacrificial lore." Then he cites the instances of Ṣabaravāmin, the author of the Bhāṣya on Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā Sūtra; of Agnivāmin, the commentator on Iśāyana's Śrauta Sūtra; of Bhavasvāmin, the author of a Bhāṣya on Baudhāyana; of Keśavasvāmin, the writer of an introduction to the Baudhāyana-prayoga-śāstra; Devasvāmin, quoted in the Trikūṇḍa-maṇḍana and author of a comprehensive Bhāṣya on Āśvalāyana; Dhūrtasvāmin, Kapardisvāmin and others. Kumārila is both a Svāmin and a Bhāṭṭa. The title Svāmin was used in some of the early Chalukya inscriptions and one of the Valabhi inscriptions, up to the seventh century. An undated grant of Vikramādiya I., who ceased to reign before A.D. 680, gives as donees Nandisvāmin, Lohasvāmin, and Bhallasvāmin (Ind. Ant., vol. VI, p. 771). Another grant, dated 700 A.D., gives Dāsasvāmin, son of Janasvāmin and grandson of Revāsvāmin Dīkṣitā, 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 Saṁvat 326 (A.D. 645), has got Maṁkasvāmin (Ind. Ant., vol. I, p. 16). Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar assigns the seventh century to Agnisvāmin, Devasvāmin and Bhavasvāmin, and places Ṣabaravāmin 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 Bhajikanantasvāmin, and with the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, it cannot be later than the seventh century.

With respect to the geographical names occurring in our grant, it may be noted that Nīrjunḍipadraka, the place from which it is dated, would be in modern Gujarāṭi Nāgaravāḍā or something like it. And the Dehesāḍa of Gaikavāḍī Villages (published at the Hitechchhu Press, Ahmadābād) does give a Nāgaravāḍā, 6 kos from Dabhoī. Further, the native place or home of the donee is Pāshāṇihrada, which would be Saṁjādāri, 14 kos from Dabhoī (given in the Dehesāḍa, p. 5). Hrada would be masculine dharo and feminine dhāri, changeable to dāri in Gujarāṭi, and Pāshāṇi would drop its initial Pā, as Bagumṛā has done with its Ba in having Gumnā, and give Saṁjā, and thus we get Saṁjādāri. From the same Pāshāṇihrada we would get Sāṅkhēdā if hrada were replaced by kheḍā for khetaka, meaning 'town,' and Pā were dropt as in the other case. Tāṇḍulapadraka is obviously Tāndalajā, also 14 kos from Dabhoī (as given in the Dehesāḍa); and Śrī-Parnākā is Pāniu, now desolate (as noted in the same authority), 5 kos from Dabhoī. The map of the Baroda territory does give Tāndaljā and Saṁjādāri quite close to each other.

**TRANSCRIPT.**

1. श्री स्वरूप-निर्गदेशः प्रकाशसारात्विविक्षायदेशायकाः स — — [चिति] — — —

2. चितवर्धकात्वा: श्रीक्रिश्चराजः⁴⁹ ततःतुलुनेनक्ष[म]रविजय — — —

3. चित्रनिक्षेपवर्धवदशज्ञानिक: श्रीयकराय: स्थानानुसारव्यवहारः⁴⁵

4. महामथविश्वविद्वाचकोक्तिश्रीमार्गियि: विनिमयायायापश्चविनिमित्तिः⁴⁵

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⁴⁹ Read "श्रीक्रिश्चराजः.
⁴⁵ Read "स्थानानुसारव्यवहारः.
⁴⁵ Restore "अनुमेकः"
⁴⁹ Read "स्वरूप-निर्गदेशः"
V.—Inscriptions from Northern Gujarat.

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

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

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

All are written in Devanāgarī characters, with the exception of No. viii, where the first six lines are in Arabic and the last in Gujarāti. They are mostly injured and defaced. The language is a crude mixture of Sanskrit and Gujarāti. 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 Gujarāt. No. viii furnishes a date from the reign of Sultān Ahmad and the names of his father Sultān Muhmmad, and of his grandfather Sultān Muzaffar Shāh. It also mentions a Malik Kāmachanda, who seems to have been the Muslim governor or minister in charge of Mamālī (the modern Mandal) in the Viramagām Taluka, and that of a local chief called Rānakā (?). No. xi records the death of a Rajput, possibly a local chief Vararāj, of the Gediā family, in Samvat 1282. Nos. xvii—xix speak of two local

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44 Read विविधतानिवेदन.
45 Read भेदकालीयाति.
46 Read भेदकालीयाति.
47 Read भेदकालीयाति.
48 Read भेदकालीयाति; भारतीय.
49 Read भेदकालीयाति.
50 Read भेदकालीयाति.
51 Can "मनंदर" be for "मनेशत्रो"?
52 Read सत्राशुर.
53 Restore सदीरत्र.
54 Restore सदीरत्र.
55 Read सत्राशुर.
56 Read सदीरत्र.
57 This line too is unintelligible. [Restore जीतस्मानीयप्राप्तानि: भवारिष्ठानि: भद्रगर्भानि: ?—E. H.]
chiefs of Sarotra—(1) Arajuna, who ruled in Samvat 1678, and (2) his son Haradaja, who ruled in Samvat 1685 and 1689. No. xxvii makes us acquainted with a Maharaṇa Khetala (?) who held the village of Sūnaka, the modern Sonak, in Samvat 1356.

2. We obtain the following information regarding the spiritual heads of the Tapaga-chchha:—No. xxix tells us that Hiravijaya was Bhaṭṭarakā in Samvat 1642. This inscription mentions also Vijayasena, who succeeded him (see Klatt, Ind. Ant., vol. XI, p. 256). Vijayasena, 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 Vijayasiṁha is mentioned once (inscription xx). Inscription No. ii makes us acquainted with a Guru of the Mahadesvarīya Maṭha called Jirāja, i.e. probably Jerāja or Jayarāja.

No. I.¹

2. म[ग]ठानीय [थ]— — [ण]तूत
3. समवकृत कृति वारापिन्त[त]² . . .

TRANSLATION.

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

No. II.³

1. [च] महिदेशव्रतमठा धिनष्ठ च- भ- भ- भ- ।
2. जिरालुसू[च] गचाचार- ।
3. थ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(The image) of the venerable Dhyānagaṇaḥchārya, the guru Jirāja, the lord of the Mahidesvarīya monastery.

No. III.⁴

1. थ्री ॥ बचवा सुदि १५ वष वोट वर्दि
   ॥ बचवा । फातुए[ण] ।
2. सुदि १२ दिक्षर । फातुए वर्दि १२ नार्य ।
   वोट वर्दि ८ सुखो स्मासि

TRANSLATION.

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

¹ At Bhilri: on the base of an image in the Jaina temple.
² Read सूति कृति वारापिन्त.
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 (jūāna) on the 13th (day) of the dark half of Phālguna; liberation (moksha) on the 9th (day) of the dark half of Jyeshṭha . . .

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

No. IV.

L. 1. संवत् 1[१] ५५ वर्ष चैवि विदि ८ युर्दी गामलायांशे डीलिविक- ।
   2. भगवानतर जीवार्थानायकिव रामपूर्णसूरिन्थ कारिता श्रे: ।
   3. सोईडमुदकुससम्मन्दन' ।

Translation.

In the year Sam. 1295 (?) on tl: 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 Sohaśa, in the village of Gābhahā, in the district (?) of Dilavika.

No. V.

L. 1. [श्च] चिकित्। । । सज — समु- ।
   2. द्रे। याव [च] । । [न] दि[लेव] भे[क]। ।
   3. वाचस । । । देव- ।
   4. धि । । । । । त- ।
   5. त्विल [संवत् १५२२] वर्ष घे। ।
   6. याप शुदिर १० डगोलिया ।
   7. । उत दग[ग] सुत वादाकिन धि ।
   8. जीवक: करायित:। तुत [भरग] ।
   9. सचिव । [शेः] लचे क्षे सति ड- ।
   10. सय कुजा सती [भवत] मुट्टप दू- ।
   11. यद वितस्वल सागा क्षत [ट]क् ४०० ।
   12. करघ[डाह] श्री वशव ।

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

No. VI.

L. 1. संवत् १५२२ वैसाख विदि ११ ।
   2. रावी । के वापासुतेव- ।
   3. केन क्षापिती नारायण:। ।

Translation.

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

5 At Dilmal: on the base of an image of Pārvanātha.
6 Read रिवंस।
7 May also be रत्रंस।
8 At Dilmal: on a pillar of the Ktitisambha to the west of the large temple of Limbu Māṭā.
9 At Dilmal: on the seat of an image in a small temple on the west of the large temple of Limbu Māṭā.
INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTHERN GUJARAT.

No. VII. 10

1. संस्कृत संयत १५३२ वर्ष वैसाप वदि ११
2. र्वी क्रं रा[ए] सुस माॅ सादामाटा
3. [एण]त्यी भार्या ठाॅ नरसिंग-
4. तनया वाद दुपात माॅ सादास[ए]
5. तथा ठाॅ गोपालतन्या वादे सार्वेऽ
6. माॅ भाटासह चरमः चोलचक्षी-
7. नारायणाभ्यां प्रणमत: II प्रति-
8. सा पिंड़ी [तत्त]: कारापिता विव-
9. सतू II कल्याणसतू युमें ज्वतू II

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the year Sam. 1532, on the 11th (day) of the dark half of Vaisākha, a Sunday, Bāt Rāpāi, daughter of Thā(kura) Narasing (Narasimha), wife of Mā (न्दा-लिका) Sadājhamtā, son of Ke. Rāghā(?)(and) mother of Sāsahā (ताल-मान्), daughter of Thā(kura) Gopāla and mother of Jhamtāsahā, bow day and night to Lakshmi and Nārāyana. An image (and) then a base (for it) was caused to be made.

No. VIII. 11

L. 1. بتاريخ وبانه يوم ماه دي الفعدد سنة عشريين ر في Monthly
2. درعه سلطان سلطاني ابن محمد بن محمد بن مظفر شاه
3. السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان . . . عمل كامنجد . . . كامنجد
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. [ए] संस्कृत संयत १५३४ वर्ष वैसाप वदि
8. — क्रं च चावं मंडलां मंगिक जी [का]-
9. मच्छांभाणती कवी शीरण[जा]—
10. विजयराजी समस्तमंडलिनिवर[वा]-
11. [क्वे]त्योक्तियान्त मंडोरी [हद] खप
12. [त] निवल कवी वे पूर्णम[द्यो] 11वा
13. ल[खद]निंदिरदिय[ए] नियाणिजिया
14. पवर्तक् निखलातिवाि [द्यूं तप]

10 At Dilmal: on the base of the image of Laksanm Nārāyana in a small shrine.
11 At Mandal: on a stone in the Chaubhi.
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 पुर्णम is to be read.
14 Corrected below the line to पुर्ण [म]—क्रं. The third letter may be ख 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 Sultans Ahmad, son of the Sultan Muhammad, son of the Sultan Muzaffar Shah . . . business(? of Kâmajand . . . . 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 Manḍali, during the administration of Malik, the illustrious Kâmachanda, in the victorious reign of Râna the illustrious Rânaka (?),—the business of the limits of the custom-house was settled in the presence of all the inhabitants of Manḍali . . .

No. IX.\textsuperscript{15}

1. संवत् १२११ वर्ष बैशाखी गुढ़ि ५ वर—
3. सान्ताल सा — — भव — येबिर[पुर] सदेब कारापित . . .

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

No. X.\textsuperscript{16}

1. संवत् १२१७ वर्ष कालिक गुढ़ि १०
2. सै\textsuperscript{17} क्रियाधारणांचे कीमतावरीर
3. ले\textsuperscript{18} योसा वेदिकायां [र]विका प
4. [३]४ श्रेणकारापित || [३]वि

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

No. XI.\textsuperscript{19}

1. संवत् १२५२ वर्ष गोपी गुढ़ि ४ शुक्र शेळीवादा
2. राजत [मे]वां [सुत] वणरां || [शा]रातीवं पतित: ||

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1282, on the fourth (day) of the bright half of Pausha, a Friday, fell the Geḍiā Râutta (Râjputra) Vânarâm (Panarâja), the son of Meghâm. The stone must be a so-called Pâliā.

No. XII.\textsuperscript{20}

1. संवत् १२५५
2. दे कालिका गुढ़ि १
3. शुक्री || [ल]श्रेणसूत

\textsuperscript{15} Read श्रेण.
\textsuperscript{16} At Palanpur: on a loose stone lying near the railway.
\textsuperscript{17} At Roha: on a pillar of the Châlautri of Pârvanâtha; much defaced.
\textsuperscript{18} Read श्रेण.
\textsuperscript{19} At Roha: on a pillar of the Châlautri of Pârvanâtha; much defaced.
\textsuperscript{20} Read श्रेणी.
INSRIPTIONS FROM NORTHERN GUJARAT.

L. 4. [ली]जी गा — — — छे
5. छे — पं — — — छूँ
6. — — कारापिता ∥

TRANSLATION.

... caused to be made by ... son of Jasadeva in Samvat 1259, Kārtti-ka sudi 1, a Friday.

No. XIII.21

L. 1. संवत् १२५९[९] — ती
2. — — — — वि १४
3. — — देव — अर्थि चि
4. रीढ़ा — — ब — ता
5. — — — प्रदत्ता ∥

No. XIV.22

L. 1. संवत् १२५८ वर्ष बैंशाख मुद्रि १३ समी क्रमबद्धवीचेले निवृत्तिगच्छे गीरस्वेदिस्ते[न वाला]
कन मलामितलं नैमिनायविचं जारा[पित] गुमं भवतु ∥

TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1290, on the 13th (day) of the bright half of Vaiśākha, a Monday, an image of Neminātha was caused to be made, for his mother's sake, by Vālāka (?), son of Gauradevi of the Nirvṛti-Gotra in the temple of Rishabhadevi (?).

No. XV.23

L. 1. ∥ शी ∥ चीमण्डगार नमः ∥ संवत् १२५९[१४]
2. छे — — पीसमास ∥ क्क्क्कचिये ∥ पंचम्यां ति—
3. शी ∥ गुज्ञानयें ∥ [डामी]वच्चे ∥ महेसरी [-]24
4. शापवां ∥ रान्त यीमांडणांती ∥ भागी वाद
5. शीर्षापा वायी कारापिता ∥ प्र[1]साद हौं सहि—
6. ता प्रतिट्ता कारापिता ∥ बाई पुत्री यीमातः
7. बाई सहितेना पीरेशी ५१००० एकावर
8. सहस्वयों हता ∥ चा चंद्रां नंदात्
9. सास् १९ चार्दी वी प्रासाद इ सहिता हता ∥
10. छेंगी विचरर्यावाहात वातु पुख्त मह — २३
11. वग ∥ तावुविभुजतां यातु ∥ वस्म्यावा वा—
12. पिका हता ∥ ∥ [चरनेना] ठाला हतं ∥
13. छे । — — — — — — — चीरस्तु ∥ कल्यायमस्तु ∥

21 At Roho: on a pillar in the third story of an old well,—much defaced.
22 At Roho: on the arch over the old well,—first story.
23 At Roho: on a pillar in the third story of the old well.
24 L 3: Probably [शी].
25 L 10. Read "सरस" ! "सहभ्या.
26 L 11. Read "पिका" ! "शेषा."
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 Rāmāṭa Māmḍanājī, (whose) wife (was) Chāmpā, and together with two temples it was consecrated. He, together with his daughter Sajja Bāi, 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(ītā) . . .

No. XVI. 27

L. 1. श्री संवत १६७४ वर्ष पीयुष युद्ध ८ दने [वाराह चा] २९
2. -- सामाजिक रात्रि श्रीमद्यजी भारत श्रीच्छ बाइ गूंगी सजाने -- गूं -- [च]ल
3. चुंट ना[चा] स --- --- श्रीगणेश न --- ---
4. म श्रीनारायण[न] --- --- ---
The same persons seem to be mentioned as in the preceding inscription.

No. XVII. 29

L. 1. संवत १६७५ वर्ष फागुनमासि श्रृ रो सन्यि तत्त्वी श्रीगणेशर री [चू] ३०
2. || श्रीनाहि / चंत्या अधीशवरुपया साप माताय धान्या
3. || चंत्या वाणी कवितिसुः रामनायस्य / अन्या देवी ऋषि
4. || पंचमानां || जल रामस्यवत्तारा चन्द्रो लोको नींवातमुन्या राम
5. || वाच श्रुण्णित || १ || रात्रि श्रीदुर्गार्जिणी। / वार्द्र चिन्द्रमां वार्द्र। / वार्द्र। ३१
6. || श्रीश्रीर्य || पुत्र श्रीहरसाजी वेंचरावर्य ३३। / चन्द्री कारापिता

Abstract.

In the year Sam. 1678, on the 9th lunar day of the bright half of Phalguna, a Saturday, under the Robini Nakshatra, during the reign of Arjunājī, whose wives were Padamārī and Amārī, and whose son was Haradāsājī, a Chhatrī was caused to be erected.

No. XVIII. 24

L. 1. सं १६७५ वर्ष ज्युष्ण चुंट ११ दने [हरदास सजना] ३५

27 At Rho: on the base of an image in a ruined shrine near the old well.
29 Perhaps चा.
30 At Sirotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
29 L. 1. Read श्रीच्छि। तिरेय। रोंपरिण्य।
31 Bhārān is meant for bhagavan.
32 The metre of the verse in ll. 2–5 seems to be Māndakrānta. It may be restored as follows:—

Dhanyopadhāsaraṁśprayaḥ saṁśpraya dhanyā,
Dhanyā vāpi kaivalamukhe rāmānantyapratītā,
Dhanyo deva rogakupatikāvan yatra rāmāvatiyā,
Dhanyo loka nīvītāmatvāḥ rāmāvatiyā śipati.
33 L. 6. Read विविधप्रयोगेऽ।
34 At Sirotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
35 L. 1. Read श्रीच्छि।
TRANSLATION.

In the year Samvatsara 1869, Sravana Sudi 11, Haradasa . . . .

No. XIX.35

1. संवत 1689 [१६८९] वर्ष धारावहरभरभर [सं] [व]जनवर [च]कालीसे ११ तथा [१]” रविवारे — — 2. || धारा चयीदारवर्तनां सा माताप धारा धारा वांगी कवितमुखे 3. || रामनामाप्रभुत: || धन्या श्रीमूर विनिवागवन्निव रीमाप्रवतांेर धन्या 4. || [लोका] का नीमतसमुख रामसावह श्रीमणी: || १ || राज नीहतरामी || वा 5. ई कीर्तिनी || वार्दे नाजू || सवक || वपन्य नाम सवकरे || पूजा वीतोगे [वी] व 6. || जयराजे || श्रीवे करापित:”मू || 2 ||

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Ashadha, a Sunday, during the reign of Haradasa, whose wives were Jivantī and Rājū and whose son was Togabi (?), a Chhattri was caused to be erected. (Regarding the verse see inscription No. xvii.)

No. XX.36

1. || चीा || महाराजीविनिवदेसुरीरीरुक्षभो नमः चाचायः नीतिनिविनिव- 2. सुरीरक्षभो नमः || सं १६८९ वर्ष चाचाय व जि ११ दिने देहरीलिपजितह दं [चप] 3. लाडन भागी नाथी सुत सं हरदास || सं चापा || सं लेजा || सं देवकरण सुपरीय [(==)]” चाचा कठ ||

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Sravana Sam . . . . Lādana, whose wife was Nāthī and his son Sam. Haradāsa, Sam. Sāmpā, Sam. Tejā, Sam. Devakaraṇaī, gave silver Thapas (?) on the completion of the temple, while Bhāttarakar Vijayadevasūrī and Vijayasīnī hasūrī were [living].

No. XXI.37


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. Devakaraṇaī, erected a chapel in connection with the temple of Mahāvira.

35 At Sarota: in an old changtari.
36 L. 1. Read एकाभिविनिवीं.
37 L. 6. Read दिखायिता.
38 At Sarota: in the Bharav Dhvaja temple.
39 Read चक्षुषी.
40 Looks like चप.
41 At Sarota: in the Bharav Dhvaja temple. Preservation bad and most letters indistinct.
42 Read चक्षुष.
No. XXII.  

L. 1. \[ ची \] \[ "मल्लकधवपीलिविषयकसूतिक्षरगुणभूमियः नमः " \]

2. \[ सं. १६८८ वर्ष फागुण सूर्यदिन १२ दिनें ए देशरोपनवर्षकर इत्यर्थ। \]

3. \[ दास सं. ११२ तेजातिकृति वेषाखः देशरोपनवर्षकर कारापिता \]

**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.

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No. XXIII. 

L. 1. \[ ची \] \[ "तपाग्रहारविजयमल्लकधवपीलिविषयकसूतिक्षरगुणभूमियः न \]

2. \[ सं. १६८८ वर्ष फागुण सूर्यदिन १२ दिनें ए देशरोपनवर्षकर इत्यर्थ। \]


**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 ?)

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No. XXIV.  

L. 1. \[ ची \] \[ सं. १६८८ वर्ष फागुण सूर्यदिन १० दिनें बृ[घ] — करणाः ए देशरी [नीपनवर्ष] \]


**Abstract.**

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

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No. XXV.  

L. 1. \[ ची \] \[ "वीरविजयदेशसूतिक्षरगुणभूमीनः नमः ि सं. १६८८ वर्ष फागुण शु \]

2. \[ दि १० दिनें दहारा[वस्ता]कोकर ए देशरोपनवर्षकररूपदेशाः — चै ] बायक [ — — — ]

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 . . . .

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44 At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
45 Read मरात"यूहूय।"
46 Possibly for भावया बाई।  
47 At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
48 Looks like पवय।  
49 At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
50 Looks like पय।  
51 At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.
No. XXVI.\textsuperscript{43}

L. 1. \textquoteleft धीं \textright% BHADRAKARNAVIBHAVADHY-visāgu-

2. \textit{व्यो} नमः सं 16 84 यहि पाठ द्विते ११ दिने या

3. ईशव्रीमण्यतन्व सा[ता] ताना राजस पालि द्रश [य वष]

4. \textit{भाष्य} धा \textright% \\

\textbf{Abstract.}

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

No. XXVII.\textsuperscript{43}

L. 1. \textquoteleft संवत् १६५५ यहि धात य ११

2. \textit{गत} यवेंद्र चूभाकाले स-\textright%

3. \textit{हारान्य श्री[व]े}सवहमतियसी

4. \textit{होच} तिष्ठपावेन देवी-\textright%

5. \textit{लिङ्गलिङ्गनारायण नाट [पूजाय]}

6. \textit{प्रदत्त पारह} सं दिन[ि] पूर्वी-

7. [व]जने ना माता [लिये]-\textright%

8. \textit{पीलका [प्रमुख]े सचित [सक]}

9. \textit{समग्न पहो[स] मूर}[ि] \textright% \textquoteleft दी:

\textbf{Abstract.}

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

No. XXVIII.\textsuperscript{44}

L. 1. \textquoteleft संवत् १५५५ यहि

2. \textit{व्यास} वदि ११ \textit{सोमे} — — —

\textbf{Translation.}

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

No. XXIX.\textsuperscript{45}

L. 1. \textquoteleft संवत् १६५२ यहि पासाठ शुदि १०

2. \textit{दे}ने पात्सा श्रीवाक्कवर मुखि

3. \textit{गढीचा} स्रेणिस गढी खवा

4. \textit{परी धी} गोविंद परी वीराम

\textsuperscript{43} At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dvaja Temple.
\textsuperscript{44} At Sonak: on a pillar in an old temple.
\textsuperscript{45} At Sonak: on the base of an image in the same temple.
\textsuperscript{46} At Taranga: on the side of the great temple.
VI.—THE JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM ŚATRUMJAYA.

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 Śatrumjaya near Pālistāna, have been prepared according to the impressions, taken by Mr. Cousens during the working season of 1888-89, and made over to me by the Editor. They consist of two great series, the first comprising Nos. i.-xxxii which range between Sāṃvat 1587 and 1710, and the second, Nos. xxxiii-cxxv, which run from Sāṃvat 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 Aṅkha la gachchi, 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 Meru tuṇṇa, Rājaśekhara and Jīnāmaṇḍana, into harmony with the rules of Sanskrit grammar. The transcript of this document as well as those of Nos. i.-xxxiii and No. cxxvii 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. cxxvi-cxxvii are not certain. No. cxxviii ought properly to stand after No. xliii.
(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 Sultan's of Gujarat: (1) Mahimuda, (2) Madaphara, and (3) Bahadara, and states that the latter was alive in Vikrama Samvat 1587, and (l. 2) that his minister was Shaha (Khan) Mejhadasha or Mejhadaka (l. 26). It further enumerates (ll. 8-10) four rulers of Chitrakuta—(1) Kumbharaja, (2) Rajamalla, (3) Samgramasimha, (4) Ratnasimha, which latter ruled in Samvat 1587, and adds (l. 23) that Karwasimha or Kararaja, who made (l. 27) the seventh restoration (saptam uddhara) and re-built the temple of Pratapika, was his prime minister. We are further told (l. 26) that he did so with the express permission of Sultan Bahadara, and obtained from him a sphrumana, i.e. a fermân, for this purpose. The negotiations were conducted by a munti Rava (ravdhya) Narasimhaka, probably also a Jaina, who was in the employ of Sultan Bahadara's prime minister.

With respect to the list of the sovereigns of Gujarat, it deserves to be noticed that Sultan Sikandar and Mahmud, the two brothers of Sultan Bahadur, who reigned each for a short period after Sultan Muzaffar II., have been left out. I am unable to identify Khan Majhad or Mejhadaka, who, according to our inscription, was Bahadur's vazir in Samvat 1587. According to the Mirat-i-Sikandari, this dignity was bestowed on Taj Khan in A.D. 1526; nor is Karwaraja or Karwasimha mentioned in Tod's account of the history of Mevadh. But there is no reason for doubting the veracity of the document. The list of the four Ranas agrees with Tod's. The statements of the Mirat-i-Sikandari (op. cit., p. 350) prove that Ratnasimha really ruled in Samvat 1587, and that his relations with the Sultan of Gujarat were of a friendly nature.

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

1. Jahangir is mentioned as Nuradina J. Savai in Nos. xv, xvii—xx, xxiii, xxiv, which are all dated in Samvat 1675, as well as in No. xxvii of Samvat 1683. Nos. xvii—xx mention also prince Khosru (Shahiyadda Suratana Shosad) and the governor (sobaq) of Ahmadabad (Rajanganara), Sultan Khurme (Sahiyana suratana Shurame).

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

Among the local chiefs of Kathiavard, the inscriptions mention—

1. Jami (Yama) Satruasalya and his son, Jasavanta, which latter, according to No. xxi (l. 4) ruled at Navinapura, i.e. Navanagar, in Halfara, i.e. the Halara Prant, in Vikrama Samvat 1675;

2. Some of the Gohel chieftains of Patan, viz.—

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

(b) Unādāji in No. li, of V. S. 1861;
(c) Khamāhāji; his son, Noghanājī, and his grandson, Pratāpāsinghājī, in Nos. lxviii and lxix, dated V. S. 1891 and 1892;
(d) Noghanāji and his son, Pratāpāsinghājī, in No. xcvi, of V. S. 1910; and
(e) Pratāpāsinghājī, V. S. 1910 (No. ciij).
(f) Sūrasinghājī, in No. cxi, of V. S. 1940.

The information of the inscriptions agrees perfectly with the notes on the history of Navānāgar and Pālītānā, given in the Bombay Gazetteer (vol. viii, p. 559). According to the latter work, Jām Jasōjī, the son of Jām Satājī, ruled from A. D. 1608 to 1624. It is not difficult to recognise Jāsvanta in Jasōjī. Satājī is a very considerable abbreviation of Sātrīsāl, the more usual form for the Sanskrit Śatrūṣalya, “an arrow for his enemies.” As regards the Goels, we read (op. cit. pp. 604 ff.) that Khándojī II. was succeeded by Shavañjī II. This is no doubt the pair of the inscription, as Shavañjī is placed five generations before A. D. 1766. The other chiefs mentioned in the inscriptions are called in the Gazetteer, Unādāji, A. D. 1766—1820, Khándojī IV., 1820—1840, Noghanāji IV., A. D. 1840—1860, Pratāpāsinghājī, 1860, Sūrasinghājī, since 1860. It is amusing to note that in No. xcvi, Noghanāji receives the proud titles vājamījēkara and mahārājadhirāja, though the Pālītānā State pays tribute to several masters and ranks among the second class states of Kāṭhiāvar. Besides, Thakur Noghanāji was, according to the Bombay Gazetteer, by no means as well off as his successors, who have a gross revenue of five lakhs of rupees; for his state was held under Government guarantee in farm by Vakhchand, the Nagarsheēṭ of Ahmādābād, from A. D. 1821—1831, when prince Pratāpāsinghājī managed to get it out of the hands of the banker. None of the numerous donors from Ahmādābād, Bombay, and other towns in the British territory, has thought it necessary to mention the British Government. But Harakhchand, i.e. Harakhchand of Damaṇa-bandira or Daman, gratefully mentions, in No. xlv of V. S. 1860, that he was honoured by the Pīrōnījījī Pūratakāṭī Pātāsāhī, i.e. by the king of Portugal. Compared with this, the forgetfulness of the family of the Nagarsheēṭ of Ahmādābād 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, Aṇīchala, 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 paṭṭāvalī from the Praṣasti of the temple of Vādipura Pārśvanātha has been given, ante, vol. I, p. 319. The other two paṭṭāvalīs have not, as far as I know, been made known before:—

I.—Paṭṭāvalī of the Kharatara gachchha.

The following list is given in No. xvii—

1. Ud(d)yotanasaūri,
2. Vardhamānasūri, vasatimārgaprajakāṣaka,
3. Jineśvarasūri I.,
4. Jinaḍandrasūri I.,
5. Abhayadevasūri, composer of the

Navāṅgī vṛitti, and discoverer of the Pārśva-nātha of Stambhana,
6. Jinaṇavālasūri,
7. Jinaḍattasūri, to whom a devatā gave the title yugapradhāna,3
8. Jinaḍandrasūri II.,

3 The first seven Sūris are mentioned also in No. xviii.
24. Jinačhandaśūrī VI, who awakened the Pātiśāhī of Delhi, Akabara, received from him the title yugaprādhāna, and obtained an edict not to kill during 8 days in all countries, who appeased the angry Jahāngīr and protected the Śādhus banished by him.

25. Jinaśimhasūrī, who caused the mantri Karamachandra to institute a rāpanātī festival at an expense of 12,500,000 (sepādakoṭī), wandered through Kaṭhina, Kaśmir and other countries, pleased Akabara-Sāhī, stopped for a year the slaying of aquatic animals, caused an edict of not killing to be proclaimed in Śripūra, Golakumāḍī (Golkonda), Gajjaṇā (Ghazni), and other countries, and received the title of yugaprādhāna from Jahāngīr-Nurādī-Mahammāda.

26. Jinarājī, whose parents were Sā Dharmās and Dhāralade, who belonged to the Bohittha race, received a boon from the goddess Ambikā, and in consequence deciphered the grakaṣṭi on an ancient image at Ghamghānīpūra. In No. xxvi there is a second date, Samvat 1682 for him.

The later inscriptions mention:

Jinačhandaśūrī, Samvat 1794, 10 (No. xxxix); Jinaśāhāsūrī, 11 Samvat 1887 (No. lx), Samvat 1888, Samvat 1891 (No. lxviii), Samvat 1892 (No. lxix); Jinaśamhandaśūrī, successor of the preceding, Samvat 1893 (No. lxxx), stated to belong to the Pippalīya branch (Nos. lxxii-v), 12 Samvat 1903 (No. lxxviii).

Jinaśauḥgāyaśūrī, successor of Jinaśāhāsūrī, Samvat 1910 (No. xvi).

Jinaśamuktisūrī, Samvat 1922 (No. cvi). The statements of the latest inscriptions show that there were several heads of the Kharataragachchha, which fact is known to everybody personally acquainted with the sect. I met Jinaśamuktisūrī at Jaisalmar in 1874, and at Bikanīr another head of the Kharataras called Hemaśūrī. The pupils of a third Yugaprādhāna of the same community visited me in 1876 at Surat, when he passed through the town.

II.—Paṭṭavati of the Tapā gachchha.

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

4 This form, which is found also in the Pātaṇa Prakasāti, ante, vol. I, p. 319, seems to be preferable to Dr. Klatt’s Jinaśati, Ind. Ant., vol. XI, pp. 245ff.
4 Mentioned also in No. xviii.
6 Mentioned also in Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii, xxxiv.
7 Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii—xxiv. add “before Akabaraśāhī.”
8 According to No. xviii Śrīkṣiptura, according to No. xix Śrīkārā-Śrīpara, according to No. xxiii Śrīpara.
9 Mentioned in the same way in Nos. xiv—xx, xxiii—xxiv, xvi.
10 Klatt has a Jinačhanda (No. 69) in S. 1834.
11 This is the last on Klatt’s list, Ind. Ant., vol. xi, pp. 245ff.
12 Nos. lxii—lxxv have a note speaking of a Jinačhandaśūrī, successor of Jinaśāhāsūrī, being alive. Regarding the Pippalīya Kharataragachchha, see Klatt, in sup., under No. 56.
of the Vajrā śākhā (verse 5), Vajrasena and his pupils Nāga, Indra, Chandra, Nirvṝti and Vidhyādhara, the third of whom founded the Chāndra kula (verses 6-7), Jagachchandra, who obtained in Śaṃvat 1225 the Tapaḥāruda (verse 9), and then begins the enumeration with—

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

(2) Vijayadāna (Klatt No. 57), verses 12-18.13

(3) Hiraviyaya (Klatt No. 58), verses 14—24, who was called by Sāhi Akabbara to Mevāta, and persuaded the emperor in Śaṃvat 1639 to issue an edict forbidding the slaughter of animals for six months, to abolish the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, the Suṭjīta-tax, and a śulka,14 to set free many captives, snared birds and animals, to present Śatrūṃjaya to the Jainas, to establish a Jaina library (paustakām bhāṇḍāgāram), and to become a saint-like king Śrenika, who converted the head of the Luṃpākas. Megha jī,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 Śatrūṃjaya. No. cxviii commemorates one of these pilgrimages, which was undertaken by Vimalaḥarsha and 200 others. The same inscription states that Hiraviyaya belonged to the Śāpha race. He died, according to No. xiii, by starvation, at Unnataadurjga, in Śaṃvat 1652; Bhādrapada śukla 10, and his pāṇḍukās were erected in the same year, on Mārga vadi 9, Monday, by Udayakarana of Stambhatīrtha (Cambay) and consecrated by Vijayasena.

(4) Vijayasena (Klatt No. 59), (verses 25—34), who was called by Akabbara to Lābhapura (Lahor), received from him great honours, and a 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 Chohi-begam (Chōli Vegama), adorned Gujarāt. Latest date Śaṃvat 1650.

(5) Vijayadeva (Klatt No. 60) is mentioned in No. xxv, Śaṃvat 1676, No. xxxi of Śaṃvat 1699, Nos. xxxii and xxxiii of Śaṃvat 1710. According to the same he received from Pāṭīsāhi Jihāṅgīra the title mahālāpa. His appointed successor, Vijayasimhasūri, who, according to Klatt (op. cit.) died before him (Śaṃvat 1709), occurs in No. xxxii, which is dated Śaṃvat 1710. It is stated there that the Sahasrakūṭa tīrtha had been dedicated at his request.

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

In the later inscriptions are named—
Vijayakshamāsūri, No. xxxviii.
Vijayadāyasūri, No. xxxvii, bhāṭṭāraka, in Śaṃvat 1788 (Sumatisāgara, ibid., also bhāṭṭāraka), and in No. xxxviii, Śaṃvat 1791.
Vijayajinendrasūri, No. xlv, Śaṃvat 1843, Nos. xlvi—xlx, Śaṃvat 1860.
Vijayadhaneśvarasūri, No. lxxviii, Śaṃvat 1893.

13 Mentioned as head of the gachchha in Nos. v, vi—v, all dated in Śaṃvat 1629.
14 Possibly a tax on Jaina pilgrims, visiting their holy places, may be meant,—see also Elphinston’s History of India, p. 289 (6th edition). The Suṭjīta tax is, of course, the jīva or capititation tax in inland.
15 Regarding the Luṃpākas see Bhāṇḍārkār, Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1923-24, p. 155.
Vijayadevendrasūri,\(^{16}\) No. lxxxvi, Samvat 1897, No. lxxxix, Samvat 1905, No. xlii, Samvat 1908, No. xvii, Samvat 1911, No. civ, Samvat 1916, No. cvii, Samvat 1924.

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

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

**III.—Paṭṭavali of the Aūchala or Vīdhipaksha gachchha.**\(^{17}\)

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

1. Āryarakshita,\(^{18}\)
2. Jayasimha,
3. Dharmaghosha,
4. Mahendraśimha,
5. Simhaprabha,
6. Devendra or Devendrasimha,
7. Dharmaprabha,
8. Simhatilaka,
9. Mahendra,
10. Merutunga,
11. Jayakirti,
12. Jayakesari,
13. Siddhāntasamudra or Siddhāntasāgara,
14. Bhāvasāgara,
15. Guṇanidhāna or Sugunasevadhi,
16. Dharmaśārīti,
17. Kalyānasāgara or Kalyānasa-mudra, Samvat 1675 and 1683,
18. Arappatana,
19. Vidyāsūri (Vidyābhoji)\(^{19}\),
20. Udayārṇava, or Udayasāgara,\(^{20}\)
21. Kirtisindhu or Kirtisāgara, No. li, Samvat 1661,
22. Puṇyodadhi or Puṇyasāgara, (No. li, of S. 1661),
23. Muktisāgara, Samvat 1905,\(^{21}\)
24. Ratnodadhi, Samvat 1921;

**IV.—Paṭṭavali of the Sāgara-gachchha.**

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

1. Rājasāgara,
2. Vṛddhisāgara,
3. Lakshmīsāgara,
4. Kalyānasāgara,
5. Puṇyasāgara,
6. Udayasāgara,
7. Ānandasāgara,
8. Śāntisāgara, Samvat 1886, No. lv, No. lx; Samvat 1889, No. lxii, No. lxv; Samvat 1893, No. lxx, No. lxxi, No. lxxii, No. lxxix.

Teachers of two other gachchhas are named:

1. Rājasamasthā or the Laghuposāla gachchha in No. xlii, dated Samvat 1815.
2. Paṇḍit Anandakusāla of the Pāyachanda gachchha in No. xcv, dated Samvat 1908. One is tempted to conjecture that Pāyachanda is a

\(^{16}\) Spelt also Vijayadevyadra and Vijayavedra.

\(^{17}\) The name Vīdhipaksha gachchha occurs in No. xxvii, verse 6, and in No. cv.

\(^{18}\) Regarding this Ārya-vakshita, see Bhaṇḍāraka, Report on Sanskrit MSS. of 1833-84, p. 152. The Paṭṭavali described by Dr. Bhaṇḍāraka (op. cit., pp. 14, and 3167.) is that of the Āścha-gachchha, and in that main agrees with the earlier part of the above text.

\(^{19}\) This form is required according to the metre.

\(^{20}\) No. li.

\(^{21}\) No. xc. Before him appears Rājendraśāgara, Samvat 1886 in No. lvi.
mistake for Pāsachanda or Pādachanda, regarding which sect see Bhān-
dārkar's "Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1888-89, p. 135".

V.—Digambara Paṭṭāvali.

No. xxx, dated Samvat 1686, gives (ll. 2 et seq.) the list of the spiritual heads in the
line of Kumārakundāda (read Kundakunda) Āchārya in the Balātkaragāṇa, the Saras-
vatī, gachhha and the Mālasamgha, i.e. the community of the Digambaras, as
follows:

(1) Sakalakirti,
(2) Bhuvanakirti,
(3) Jñānabhūshaṇa,
(4) Vijayakirti,
(5) Subhachandra,
(6) Sumatikirti,
(7) Guṇakirti,
(8) Vādibhūshaṇa,
(9) Rāmakirti,
(10) Padmanandi, the actual head of
the sect in Samvat 1686.

The list is, of course, a mere fragment of the Paṭṭāvali of the Kundakundā-
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; vanśa, No. xxvi; (2) Ukeśa or Ukeśa, Nos. xxxii and lx; (3) Ośa
vanśa, No. xxxix; (4) Ośa or Osa, mostly with the addition of the termination vāla in
a great many inscriptions; and (5) Uśa, Nos. i—iii, or 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 Ukeśa,
Ukeśa, Uśa and Uṣa were obtained, will be clear to everybody. With respect to Ośa,
Oṣa and Osa, it may be noted that, according to the rules of the Jaina and Mahārāṣṭrī
Prakrits, the preposition upa may be represented by o (see Hemachandra, Prākritā
yākaraṇa, i, 178).

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

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

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

The meaning seems to be that both the Uśa tribe and the Rājakosāḥgārā family,
which latter is evidently a subdivision of the former, owe their origin to the King Āma
and his consort of the Vaiṣṇa caste. According to the Paṭṭāvalīs and the Prabandhaśas,
Āma, whose existence is not proved by really historical documents, is said to have lived
about Vikrama Samvat 800. I may add that the genealogy of Karjorājā, which is

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\(^{23}\) See S. P. Peṣṭ, Gaṇḍavaḥ, pp. cxxviif.
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 Áma and that of the inscription, Vikrama Śaṅvat 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) Úḥāḍa, No. xxxiii; (2) Chājeḍā, No. cvi; (3) Nāḍālā, Nos. xxxviii, xxxix; (4) Nāhaṭā, No. lxxx; (5) Mūṁmiyā, No. xvi; (6) Rājakosṭhāgāra, Nos. i, ii, iii; (7) Yadugaḍa, No. lxviii; (8) Lālāṇa, No. xxi; (9) Lūṇiyā, No. ix; (10) Loḍhā, No. xvi.

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

III.—An Addaisākhā, to which belongs the Kūmikumalola gotra, Nos. xci, xcvi-xcix. The members of this sākhā and gotra, as represented by the family of the Nagarsheth of Ahmadabād, besides claim kinship with the Sisodiā Rajputs of Mevād, —see No. xci. Visā Oswálas are mentioned in No. cxv.

The tribe next in importance is that of the Śrimālis, called after the town of Śrimāla or Bhilamāla, the modern Bhīnmāl in the extreme south of Marvād. It includes—

I.—A Vṛiddhasākhā, Nos. xxxvii, cxxi, of which no subdivisions are given;

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

A Visā Śrimāli occurs in No. xcv.

About the same importance belongs to the Prāγvāṭa tribe, called also Prāgavaṁsa, Nos. iv, vi and viii, or by its modern name Poravāḍa or Poravāla, (pronounce Porvāḍ and Porvāḷ). It seems, too, to have an elder and a junior branch, as Nos. xv, xvii, xxv, and xli mention its Laghusākhā. Visā Poravāḍas or Poravālas are named in Nos. 1 and xvii; Dasā-Porvāḍas in xvii. A few other tribes occur each in single inscriptions, viz. Gūrjara jūḍī, No. x; Disāvāla jūḍī, No. vii; Dūgada gotra, No. liv; Nīmna jūḍī, No. ciii; Mohotā gotra, No. cv; Samghavāla gotra, and Kāchāra saṁtāna, No. xiv.

The native places of the donors are:—

(1) Ajamera, i.e. Ajmīr in Rājputanā,
(2) Anahillapura, also called Pattana,
(3) Antarapura in Vāgvaradesa or Duṅgarpur,
(4) Ahmadabād, called eleven times by its Sanskrit name, Rājanagara, ‘the capital,’
(5) Ugrasanapura,
(6) Kapāḍavaṇṇa in the Khedā Collectorate,
(7) Kāśi, or Benares,
(8) Koṭhārā in Kachh,
(9) Khambanayāra, i.e. probably Caubay,
(10) Ghaudhāra in the Bharuch Collectorate,
(11) Chitrakūṭa, or Chiṭor in Mevād
(12) Cheula, probably Chaul, near Bombay,
(13) Jesalamra, i.e. Jesalmir in Marvād,  
(14) Damaṇa bandira, i.e. Daman in Gujarāt,  
(15) Divābāmdira or Diu in Kāthiāvād,  
(16) Devagiri or Dauletābād in the Dekhan,  
(17) Dhanapura,  
(18) Nabāhīnpura, in Kachh,  
(19) Nalnapura, in Kachh,  
(20) Navānagara, in Kāthiāvād,  
(21) Pālana pura, in Northern Gujarāt,  
(22) Bāluchara,  
(23) Bhāvanagara, in Kāthiāvād,  
(24) Makasuddāvāda—Bāluchara or Makśudāvāda,  
(25) Mumbāi, or Bombay,  
(26) Mesāṇa, in Gujarāt,  
(27) Rādhanapura, in Northern Gujarāt,  
(28) Vīkānera, or Bikāner, in Northern Rājputānā,  
(29) Vīsala nagara, in Northern Gujarāt,  
(30) Sirohi, in Southern Rājputānā,  
(31) Sūrata bāmdira, in Gujarāt.

The name of Ahmadābād or Rājanagara occurs most frequently. 

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

No. I.  

1. श्रीमान् स्वते ध्येयेश्वरं ध्येयेश्वरं पातसाइविहीमिश्वपदमकारपाताय श्रीसमाकारः 
   पदोऽवित्तकारः ।  
2. पातसाइविहीमिश्वपाधिकारियां ध्येयेश्वरं स्वते ध्येयेश्वरं पातसाइविहीमिश्वपदमकारपाताय श्रीसमाकारः ।  
3. पारं ध्येयेश्वरं ध्येयेश्वरं पातसाइविहीमिश्वपाधिकारियां ध्येयेश्वरं स्वते ध्येयेश्वरं पातसाइविहीमिश्वपदमकारपाताय श्रीसमाकारः ।  
4. श्रीमान् स्वते ध्येयेश्वरं पातसाइविहीमिश्वपाधिकारियां ध्येयेश्वरं स्वते ध्येयेश्वरं पातसाइविहीमिश्वपदमकारपाताय श्रीसमाकारः ।  
5. श्रीमान् स्वते ध्येयेश्वरं पातसाइविहीमिश्वपाधिकारियां ध्येयेश्वरं स्वते ध्येयेश्वरं पातसाइविहीमिश्वपदमकारपाताय श्रीसमाकारः ।

21 In the porch of the east or main entrance of the great temple of Śālāvara Bhagavān;—see Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, &c. (Bombay, 1885) p. 188.—J. B.
22 Metre of verse 1 Anushathā. Read अनुसारः A good number of my corrections have been given between brackets in the text.—J. K.
23 Metre of verses 2—4, Upajāti. Read अप्रातः.
1. 6. ग: सुपर्णापि विद्वारसार:।
   जिनेदशत्त्राचतुष्यप्रभुमि: [1]
   चन्द्रचंद्र: सुरंजन्तुल: [2]
   विशालमालिति-।

7. लोचनाभो [1]
   दक्षी दक्षिण लोचनविचकारी [1]
   विचित्रकृता गिरिचित्रकृते [1]
   लोकस्तु दशारिखितकृतसुता: [3]
   तत् चैव।

8. भराजी भूमिः लुभोभवनिमी दुः:।
   वैशिर्ग: सन्द्रे: इह चेन पीत: चणाव चित्रो: [4]
   [5] लुची राजस्थोभुर्वङ्सः मः।

9. हिंदोलत्।
   सुत: संग्रामसम्य: वश्य संग्रामविजयी दुः: [3]
   तदद्भुधामयिः; सिंहक्रृतव्यराक्षी।
   रावसंहा [5]

10. पुनः राजा राजस्थोभ्वः विराज्यते [6]
    तत: गोपालागिरी गरिण्य: [1]
    चीवमभिध्रतिविधितवः।
    चीवमराजो द्वारानि तथा।

11. पली [1]
    काविकवेशः व्यवहारिपुरुषः [8]
    तत्वाविलातः: कितल राजकोटः [1]
    गाराजीवेचुर्वेकथिपरेभिः।
    चीवमविशेष विशदः।

12. विशालि [1]
    तत्वान्वये धनो पुरुषा प्रसिद्धः [8]
    चीवस्थेयनामानि तद्वुजी रामस्थेयनामसृतः।
    बबिस्मिः चुति: [9]

13. चै भुवनपालसाखः [8]
    चीवमोजराजपुरः [9]
    रसिंद्राय एव तत्पुः।
    वेदाताकस्तुलि नरसंहः: तत्पुः।

= Metre of verses 5—7, Amashțubh.
11 Read पली।
12 Metre: Upajati. Read गरिण्यः।
20 Metre. Indravajra. Read कीह। चै बृहस पूर्वः।
21 Metre of verses 10—19, Āryā.
22 Looks like चै
15. पुत्र ॥ कल्याणयाकरः ।

16. योजितकृत-नामः प्रवासः ॥ कार्यत ॥

17. मात्रोऽमात्रः ॥ १५

18. नीयभायः । गडगागर्तत्वेऽ पुत्रः देवाभिभोऽ जेवः ॥ १७

19. भक्तः ।

20. भावलप्रचर्याऽत्तेऽ पुत्रः गृहसंडर्योऽ जीयातः ॥ २८

21. भगिनीः च तेषा जीयातः ॥ २०४

22. क्षबिकीयाकरः ॥

23. विचारः ।

11. Read "तीर्थाः" जानिः.
12. Read कत्विनीन्. Above पर there is a mark.
13. Read विषदा घिरा।
24. व्यवहारिनां सब्रे || २२”
श्रीवंशमाचार्यनं छु[ला]सहुसमन्तिया।
तमधीरस्थल भावः कामराजस् — द्वारः || २४”
प्राण—

25. तथा गौरीं, देवीं विवेकेननं नारायणे।
वर्षति विशुध्दा रोका: पुष्पान्तरा विवाह इत्याद: || २५
सार्वविन्नति श्रीराजभीमेयस्वत् || ५ ५

26. वाहनयो गृहः।
तथा प्राथम स्फुर्तमां पुंडरिके समायेन || २६
राजन्यापार्थीरथेऽपि: पान: प्रीतानुमुखाणकः।
तथा श्रेणि म—

27. ज्ञातं ग्राम्यद्वा नर्मंसंहके || २७
तथा ममानुमुखः वहुविन्यासैन्य च।
उदार: सामस्तेन चक्रे गुंबजये गिरे।

28. || २८
श्रीपार्द्धिन्तनामसरप्रदः
महाधर्मप्रार्थनाकेताना[ई:]।
श्रीकर्मराजसुधिता जनया[व兵器]कायां
चक्रे सहोऽच—

29. दवर: सुगुप्तयर्मात् || २८”
चंतकंवारंगंवशीर्णानाचार्यंजोरीरवा—
श्रीवंश||वंसंजिवदर्वनालविभाषांवर्मन्त्[वाच्या]

30. का।
वधारकलिते[के]तुंगतुरसदीनां च स[ह]वाण—
भवं विकस्तथा भा तिरावरे विचारसत्तायनं || २०”
विक्रमप्रियाात्तिति ति—

31. तिमिरसंवरेद अभक्षणेः || १६”३३
शाके जगलिवाये || ३३ वैशाखीय अष्टापधन्य च || ३३”
सिंहिता: सूर्य: संघा सारण्यस्व—

32. तिमिरथवा:।
वधाने भवले प्रतिवा कारिता वरा: || २४”
चावकालस्वराज्येन प्रस्तुतिन महालक्ष्य।
स[स]भीतारकाना

33. च प्रकृति: प्रवृत्तीकाता || २३
श्रीमद्वंश[हवर्]चित्रेश्वरानागाधी महाने || १
प्रसादम् विद्वान्य द्वे ह — १—विचारा—

“Metre: Âryā.”
“Metre of verses 24—28, AUSABH.”
“Metre: Vasantaśāla.”
“Metre: Śrīlāvāviktika. Tad saṃsāraḥ, ājñā! The context is not clear.”
“Metre: Âryā. Read +"21.”
“Metre of verses 32, 33, AUSABH. Read +"21 +"21.”
31. रीवा च ।

35. कालेशराजेन कार्त्त सुजायेम्
मन्थन केनारिक हर्षित फलि तत्वो ।
यदुक्षटाच्यानि पुरा[तुपा]ज्ञाति-धा: क्र: सामस एष धेष् ॥ १५॥

36. स — — —"राणि बहुन संते
कुवल सभा: परिच्छ[च] काति ।
कामीभिमभावधारिणौधा-
धार: क्र: दीवि-

37. मलालंगिषेः ॥ १६॥
वीचिव्रूढ़ीयोऽवर्गं ।
कामायानोघायाविति ।
श्रुति बिनविवर्गवजस्व- [कामा-

38. व्याथी लोकसुतीत चिन्तित-चिं ॥ ३७॥
वीसिद्धार्तेन सिद्धविनासिनः:
श्रीकामेसराजक्ष्च व कीर्तिस[क्तला] ।
देवश्रवणकृपः [सचररल]-

39. जै
वीलेव चंद्रधूमि नभीवहारिणः: ॥ ९२॥
दस्तं धेषु पुरा धर्म व तुष्टकाव्यमेव तथााः
यात्रा येन [हृ]-

40. यां च संध्यातिना श्रुतिसंवर्गविसरीत ।
सम्भवन तु स्पंशव सा च बिलहित कार्तिक्ष्च प्रसीता उहात-समिटो वर्षन्युति किय-

41. देहि श्रीकामेसराजक्ष्च ॥ ९५॥
वेनोदर: सुभवित लगि कारित: पुंडरारे ।
श्रानलारः विमबदलिना दुः-

42. तस्मान चक्रि ।
वेनाकारिन द्वरविन्धयानी तीर्थात्मायाप्रतिपादाना
स्वभ विशुद्धवत स्वपन्ध्वप्रतिपादा ॥ ४०॥
तीव्रेषि-

44. Metre: सातालघिरहिता।
45. Metre: इंद्रवाज्र।
46. Metre: इंद्रवाज्रं।
47. Metre: इंद्रवाज्रं।
48. Metre: सातालघिरहिता। Read ५७।।
49. Metre: मान्धारात्त। Read ५७, ५८, ५९।
L. 43. न निग्रामणियंस्रितमंस्रितत्रपतानु च
बंगोहिनवकारणात्तु श्रुतमणिबिंतमणिदानात्।
भास्वास्य यागश्रोम-  

44. श्रुतमणिबिंतमणिदानात्।
विकासकमयो गुणेनवनवस्या: यीकमराजः सुचिः।
तीव्रास्त: सुतनेत्रा।

45. विन्योज्यज्वल
लीलसुरक्षितनितिमुचिरारंजनस्।
सुनामवंदविद्वये सुनामपावानाः
सहुवांवतुमुखोऽतः

46. — कामराजः।
कर्मो यीकमराजोवं कर्मं चतुर्विन्यासे निषेधी।
तवं शास्त्रो निरात्माणं वैतीवनी।

47. व्यस्योऽः पुंडरिकस्वत सामस्वार्थः कर्मवनारौ।
प्रवर्तकः यीकमराजः।
भवनामिः।

48. कामनः।
सन्निध्यार्थक सात गजात माता वाच् चांपू पुर्च नादा भार्तु रूपत।
वास्त्ववस्तव श्रुतचार कीला।

49. पुर्च सुन्दराः बिंशा सुं भीमा ठों वेला ठों वाचा।
वीचित्रस्तुरामांत सुं ठीला दूर पीमा सुं गांगा सुं गोरा सुं ठाला

50. पुर्च देवा।
क्षुद्र नाकर सुं नारेस्त मुं गोवरंड सुं विशायवग सुं ठीला सुं वार्त सुं
भार्ता सुं कां पुरुष सुं धराणा

51. देवदास सुं ठीला सुं ठाकर — पुरुष काला वारो।
विशायवग सुं काल सुं क्रिया सुं
दमोदर वारो।

52. — संगलं आदिदेवस्य संगलं विमलचर्यं।
संगलं सक्कीलसंख्यासंगलं लेखकवाच।
पुरुष विवेकारविविधीयता लिखित

53. तत्र प्रक्रिया।
"पूज्य मां समयवर्जनिष्ठ यथा वायुसर्वविश्वविश्वाय सीताधिवेश प्रमाणपति
भद्र। स्वतः

54. — "हरमृत। ठों हांसा ठों सूला ठों स्पष्टा ठा कि [चा] सुं हपा सुं सादव सुं बाद॥
सव बहुत च।

No. II. 61

L. 1. स्री॥ 62 संवतः[ः]१६६३ वर्ष इश्वरे १४५२ प्रकार्पाने [विकारः] च विदि ६। लक्षी॥
वीचित्र क्रेन॥
2. वास्त्वविद्वेशसायः। 63 विद्वानोऽरुसा रुसा दोऽरुसा [से] भार्त्र्वाच् वाच् लीला
पुरुष ६। दोऽरुसा।
L. 3. रजा भायी रजस्मलेशु युक्त योरंग दी° पीमा हा° पंताचर हिं° पदार्थ दृश्ये पुन मात्र्यक्षरे दृश्ये गाय।
   मा° ग्राम [हिं°] गारविने पु° देवा
L. 1. दी° दशरहे भा° देवलिने हि° देशमले पुरुष केवला दी° सीमा भा° मात्रालिने हि° [स] वम[दि पु]
   — — — भविष्यी [सुम] विचरे — वं — धि योगम्ब्रजसमागः शरदार्थर्येशुवंज्वसस्मीदारे।
L. 5. कार्ये दी° कर्मा सा° कपुरान्दे हि° कामलिने पुरुष भेयजी पुरुषे कार्ये सीमा वा° सीमा वा°
   माण्डो° प्रता प्रसुमस्मुल्लक्तेविदी० सबदेशायुतायाय [दा] रे योगादिनायस्मिन प्रतिद्वारपिन२०।
   मा° रक्षे मा° न्यायंतिनायिनायात्। प्रतिद्वारपिन२० श्रीशुरिम्। || श्री: ||

No. III.४२

L. 1. श्री || संवत [स] १५५७ वर्ष वैशाख दिन

2. श्रीवक्षे वसायायाय दी° तीला भा° वारे लीला देश दी° रजा दी° पीमा

3. दी° गण्ये दी° दशरहे दी° सीमा दी° कर्मा सा° कपुरान्दे। कामलिने पु° भेयजी मधिते
   लें श्रीवक्षे कार्ये || श्री: ||

No. IV.४२

L. 1. १५°ब्रो° || श्री: || संवत [१५] १२० वर्ष आपात गदर २ देवी।

2. संघारशक्ति। प्रायं [बंग] स्वत: || श्रीशुरिशक्ति सुत दी।

3. नेत्रपाल भायी बोडी || [भी०]की सुत दी। इंचारण।

4. भानु दी। भासी दी। नने दी। देबराजासुख।

5. [ल]कुंटवेन सुत। श्रीशाहरौदेहुनृकुलिका।

6. काराकोटा दश्रेण। न्यपालकेविविशास्थिः २२।श्री-

7. बिज्जदानपुरीशीरीशश्रीविविशास्त्रावृव तव।

8. गुरूं संवत || श्री: || श्री: || श्री: ||

No. V.२३

L. 1. || २३°ब्रो° || संवत १६२० वर्ष वारांग गदर २ देवी।

2. संघारशक्ति श्रीशुरिशक्तिसार || श्री [भी०] स्वते।

3. भायी वारे [पु°] तल देश सा || श्रीवक्षे म्बालौ वारे।

4. धर्मालं धर्मालं देश सा || श्रीवक्षे भायी सा° || श्री-

5. लहूली सा || नेत्र [बंग] सा || ननुले प्रसुमकुट- २४।

6. वरु देवी || श्रीश्वेत्योपयोरी श्रीविविशास्त्रावृव- २४।

7. मंद काराकोट || श्रीपालकेवाचुम्बर || [शी०]-

8. बिज्जदानपुरीशीरीशश्रीविविशास्त्रावृव गुरूं भेद- २४।

9. चूळ०[१०]

२० Read "ब्राह्मणे".
२१ Read "हिं".
२२ Read "हिं".
२३ On the base of the image of Pandurika in the temple facing Adiśvara Bhogavatī's temple: *Lists*, 1936, p. 195, No. 83.—J. B.
२४ In a temple on the south of the enclosure round the temple of Adiśvara: *Lists*, 1944, No. 38—43.—J. B.
२५ The middle bar of the स is wanting.

२६ At the beginning of each line stands a symbol like व.
२७ Read "हिं".
२८ Read "हिं".
२९ In the Chandhārā Chaumukh temple, in the north-east of the enclosure of the great Adiśvara temple: *Lists*, 1956, No. 73.—J. B.
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SATRUMJAYA.

No. VI.76

L. 1. || भ्री || इ प्रम: || संवत् १६२० वर्ष वैणुबप्रण्डिति 5
2. || गुरु: || योगेश्वरवासस्यामकमण्डलाशालय || संवतः
3. || वी श्रीजयवा प्र संत् संि चौ[चौपा] महाया वार्ष ॥
4. || गिर [सहनाम्य सुत। संि] निवर्त महाया ॥ संि कावः
5. || भो || संि चौ[चौ] चो || प्रयुक्त[चौ] कुटिलेन युनः ॥
6. || श्रीपायानयदेवकुलिका || कारापिता ॥
7. || भृत्यवर्धाणमुपि || श्रीविजयदासनेरिकः[ः] ॥ भी-
8. || श्रीरविश्वसच्चानार्तः [ि] || श्रम्भमं भवतु ॥

No. VII.77

L. 1. || भ्री || संवत् १६२० वर्ष वैणुबप्रण्डिति 5 खुम ॥
2. || श्रीष्कोलादवासस्याभिषेकावलया-
3. || तीय महः श्रीविजयदास सुत महः || श्रीगंगा
4. || भायेवार्ष ॥ संगमार्ग सुत ॥ महः || वीरदास
5. || खुटुतवर्षु ॥ श्रीसलज्यापरि भी-
6. || श्रीदिग्द्वेशकुलिका कारापिता || भी-
7. || तपाकच्छेदीविजयदासनेरिकाः प्रवर्षे ॥
8. || जयसुरिप्रसादाल्लु || श्रम्भमं भवतु ॥

No. VIII.78

L. 1. || भ्री || संवत् १६२० वर्ष वैणुबप्रण्डिति
2. || २ढिनं गंधरवस्थायास्राग्नम्म[वां]चो || भी
3. || प्रभवतं सुत योः फौका सुं योः || व[—]
4. || भा खुटुतवर्षु ॥ श्रीसलज्यापरि
5. || पार देवकुलिका कारापिता || भीते
6. || योगाच्छेदिविजयदासनेरिकाः वीरिवजये
7. || दासनेरिप्रसादाल्लु || भी: ॥

No. IX.79

L. 1. || भ्री || इ प्रम: || संवत् १६२० वर्ष वैणु खु-
2. || दिति ५ दिनः गंधरवस्थायास्राग्नम्माश्रातीय ||
3. || श्रीं समर्थवा महाया वार्ष || सत्यु एता वा-
4. || इ वैरवार्ष || वार्ष || श्रीवार खुटुतवर्षु ||
5. || न: || श्रीयोगाच्छेदेवकुलिका वारा-
6. || पिता || श्रीयोगाच्छेदिविजयदासनेरिसंभृति

76 In a cell against the wall of the Adisvara temple, at the north-east corner.
77 In a cell to the right of that containing the preceding.—J. B.
78 In a small shrine, or cell, to the left of the north entrance to, and against the wall of, the Adisvara temple.—J. B.
79 In the cell to the right, or west, of the north door of the Adisvara temple.—J. B.
80 Read श्रीविजयदासनेरिकाः वीरिवजये.
1. श्रीमान्यदानसूरी । श्रीहीराविजय ।
2. सुरिप्रसादात् । युम्भभवतु ॥ त्यो

No. X.⁸¹

1. श्री ॥ देनाम् ॥ संवत् १६२० । वर्षं कैला।
2. य गुरुः । गुरुदिने योगभारस्तवं।
3. श्रीरुपसादीचारणीय परी । देवा भा।
4. या वार्ता कमलां सुत परी । संधीं । तदा।
5. गृहरजानीय दैविके । श्रीकण माते वा।
6. अमरी सुत । दोसी । शंसराज उभयी।
7. मौलये श्रीरुपसादीचारणीयादिता।
8. यदेवकुलिका कारापिता श्रीतपामहे।
9. श्रीविजयदानसूरिप्रसादात् [तृ]॥

No. XI.⁸²

1. संवत् १६४० । वर्षं कैलाः। गुरुः । देने।
2. ठाकर करसी माजी बाई मली ठाकर।
3. दामा माजी बाई चौंडी ठाकर माछव ठाकर।
4. कर जसू ठाकर पीर माछव ठाकर जसू माजी।
5. जी बाई जीवाय ठाकर माछव सुत तत्।
6. अपात माजी बाई तेजवटे संवरी।
7. जसू सुत तेजपाल प्रमादः करा।
8. पिलं सुभभवकृ॥ देने नाकर बैठ नावाणी।
9. ६॥ । चैती सावालः।

No. XII.⁸⁷

1. श्री ॥ देनाम् ॥
2. देवस्य प्रथमः। प्रभुः प्रभुसंभागः। वीरस्वरुपवाचनः।
3. मसु शस्त्रमंकः। सुस्वास्थिकः। तोऽ—

2. देवः। वरः।
3. वरोदासः। कृतीपीय सिंहासनी क्रमविशेषः।
4. नवासेरधिकवर्ती ममवाजः श्रवणयोगः।

3. श्री ॥१॥⁸⁸

श्रीविजयदानसूरिप्रसादीनाराज्ञिणीविवधः ॥

⁸¹ In the left end of the verandah to some small chapels or cells on the west of the preceding, and against the north wall of the great temple.—J. B.
⁸² On the Srīhānasāna of the image in a temple to the south-east of the great Ādīśvara temple.—J. B.
⁸³ Read फालवुङ्ग।
⁸⁴ Read देवही।
⁸⁵ Read अयामः।
⁸⁶ Read श्रीविजय।
⁸⁷ In the porch of the east, or front, entrance of the Ādīśvara temple, on the south or left hand, facing No. I. A transcript is given in the Lātt, pp. 188. After this inscription No. cxvij should follow.—J. B.
⁸⁸ metre of verses 1—3: Bāndūnivikāda. Read श्रीविजयः।
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SATRUMJAYA.

पायाह: परग्राहवभवनं जीवितसान: प्रमु:।
व्यातिक्षित[सं.]

1. 4.  हन्तिमहातित्वायु यद्य गोर्जितावानो।
स्वार्पीय महाद्वासितस्यमूर्धपीछो रसीलासिनोऽ। ॥ २
चार्यांवशंसवद्वितिद्विदपदंदह- ॥

5.  पद सपदन।
तत्वांवर्धित्वचंद्रस्य गणपर: चीमानु सुधेशाविषः।
वयोदयोऽयुता प्रहस्ततःसना अवार्य विवाहती। ॥

6. संततिक्षुलितं भगववो जीरङ्गभोजारिव। ॥ ३०४
चीसुखितः वस्यमवुद एता।
सुरी चम्पाति तदस्त्रिकेश।
वायत्य गणितकं ॥ ३०५

7.  तिन्त क्रीटिकारां
वंद्रशाम्भवावसिव सुकामाः। ॥ ३०३
तत्वांवर्धित्वचं दशं:। चीव्यवर्धिणाधिप:।
मनं चीचवशाश्वाया। ॥

8.  गाय चिन्मवानिव। ॥ ३०१
तत्वांवर्धित्वचं दशं:। चीव्यवर्धिणाधिप:।
नामपत्राचिन्निर्वित। विवाहरम्बरवाया: तत्त्विषया। ॥

9.  ॥ ६४२
स्मनस्यस्माधानाति। वेश्वरवलारि जाजिरे।
कुलान्त कामसमेतु। कुलं चांदः तु दिदुद्वित। ॥ ७ ॥
भास्करा दि तिमिरं। हरंत: व्यातित- ॥

10.  भाजन।
भूरयः चूरयस्वत्। जाजिरं जगतां मता:। ॥८ ॥
बहुरु: क्रमतस्वत्। चीजयस्वत्त्वत्।
चीचवशाश्वाया। वायसिद्ध ॥

11.  ॥ १२५५ वर्षं ॥
चीर्यसमिव गणें हेम। बिबला: चूरयभवनु।
तत्व्र सुरयमूर्त। बानटवितसायिवा:। ॥ २० ॥
साध्याचारविषः। ॥

12.  दि: शिचिलत। समय चिर्या धाम यो।
वर्द्धिस्त नागमेविसायकसुधारोपितः ॥१५४२ नेत्रिस।
जोगौरिशिव चैवम्भुगुस्तिर्व तापं}

35 Read दि:। पदं वंत्र।
36 Metre: Indravajrā.—Read चार्यां। शायः।
37 Metre: Giti.
38 Metre of verses 7—10: Anuṣṭubbh.—Read जाजिरे.
L. 13. 

हर्विषय:

सचिव विद्वान् गाएः सचिवसि:। सौमेश्वरसिद्धम्। ॥ १४ ॥

प्रवास यथा सन्तवस्तवायः।

प्रेमवनां ॥

14. 

सिसज्ञानोऽपि कोऽसे दैने सिसिरे ॥ २१ ॥

सत्यः प्रवास निर्देशनीश्वरायः।

युद्धविहारिन्ययानसुनीमहेः। ॥ १२ ॥

सौमायाधिकारायणः॥

15. 

वाचरे ॥६८ ॥ चेष्टा च रघुपालि।-

वोजेण गयत्वमध्यस्मार्जयां च भगवत्तेन पुनः।

वेयं सिद्ध सनातनं महारुपांतः सामिःश्रीव द्वारे।

जाता: ॥

16. 

कामसम्पाया मधुरोऽगीपलमासाचयः। ॥ १३ ॥

ततवः: प्रकटः प्रकाशलीतोऽविस्तारस्य योयचवः।

सब्रेह्यार्यं तराल- ॥

17. 

हीरविजयविध्येचित्रमभेधः।

सिद्धायं महतो भरेषु महतासिद्धेषु महासिद्धाः।

विभा:। स याज्ञवल्क्षण सुभूत्यं काममः।

18. 

गोदाययः। ॥ १४ ॥

देवादु युज्ञस्तीय मृदुप्रभु भावाकारिता: सादाः।

चौरतुचारिष्कप्रकरणानु विवधः। ॥ २९ ॥

शा: ॥

19. 

— — — जयायोजितसं सर्वं हर्तानं गावः।

सौमेश्वरः युज्ञविद्यविद्वास्तवादिश्रीसम्भवः।

चवक: विशेषपरम- ॥

20. 

— — — [नः]भीम।

दुःख युज्ञवाक्यस्तिपुरूसस्तिपुरूसस्तिपुरूसस्तिपुरूस।

चार्दिकावत्कांप्रमिति १४ २८। गौतमिः।

सोऽहा- ॥

21. 

— — — — — — वुज्ञानमस्य वेयः। ॥ १६ ॥

देविविधानमृदुप्रभु निद्रामान्यं वान्धा घारयथः।

चौरतुचारिष्ककारो नवर्ती। ॥

22. 

श्रीपृष्ठ च।

यथा सम्भाष्यद्वादशमत्त्वयोगरथपशस्तिप्रस:।

जारं कार्यति च स हर्विषये यथा कार्यायामिति। ॥

४५ मेट्र: सार्दुलविक्रिष्टा। — रीतिमेत्र:।

५५ मेट्र: वासन्तनिलका। — रीतिमेत्र:।

५६ मेट्र: सार्दुलविक्रिष्टा।

५७ मेट्र: सार्दुलविक्रिष्टा।
23. II १७ [II]  
ययुपदेश्येन सुदेश्यादिकलस्यकायाविज्ञाने निजी |  
मूलभूत च कर्म च सुदेश्यालक्षिप्तसमयकृतिर्योजितु |  

24. II १८ [II]  
यहाँ चतास्मथा विसमलितसवात्सवूपेनुः कपाः ।  
पूर्णे: शाश्विषमिन्नीतितितिताक्षरो [डीर्मताला] लबनतः ।  
शिल्प व्य [हु]  

25. [३] यक्षमन्त्रप्रकाशीतारोण जनस्मृतिः ।  
तहाचीडयाौऽथुत्तथायासुचिरिण: II १८ II  
यहाँचे [हु] निचयंमुखात्सतमुखाः [हु] [हु]  

26. [ऊ] संदे: लज्जा ।  
श्रद्धा: चैवदक्ष: र: चितिपति: चंतुबुद्धाशयः: ।  
वक्ता तकलितमार्चनेशतुल्यार्य मन:स्मृति: ।  
देवन्यक-  

27. [प] प्रदीपी च तीर्थैवित्तत्ता शुचुनेरवीचरं II २०[II]  
यहांभिमुदिततमकार कहाणाकृतिनासान: योगाचार: ।  
मांडागामपरमार्धम-  

28. ययुः देशीव वालेवतः ।  
यवेगभरसेः भावितमाति: शाहः: पुनः प्रवाहः ।  
पूर्वाला बरु मन्त्र भगवान: समर्थने दर्शनस् II २१[II]  

29. यहां चतानीलिव वेदितांस सन्: पंकजः ।  
विभ्रमव्यक्तक्षेत्र व्यऽसतिपाठायोजनी चत्रमा: ।  
जसे चाडबनोपिताच दु सुरतः-  

30. तवेवुद्धेश्यपि ।  
याः तियतभिसमावितमाति: । श्रीयात्मनायन्वत् II २२  
लुंपुरानियम्येनलक्ष्मीतिपुरुषा चित्ता कमलाप्रय: ।  
सेवार्य-  

31. रविहीमनुरिं भूषण ग्रन्धायोजनी ।  
उद्यान गहि: यद्धीयवचनेवराम्यरस्यस्मृतु: ।  
बाहारातः लक्ष्मि मन्त्र वहाँ वातावरणासांका-  

32. II २१[II]  
वास्सित्विहारानासिद्धजलजयेष्ठेषु विसमयी ।  
भूमान् यद्धचन्द गूलकर्षरसुरक्षुष्यु देशेषु मन ।  
यांना गूलकर्षरमालाधिकारिणी-  

33. न्येन्द्रितिः: ।  
संधे: सारस्थापियनिवाचितिविश्व लद्वज्जे वे मिरते II २४[II]  

1 Read ययुपदेश्येन.  
2 Metre: Drutavilambita.  
3 Metre of vv. 19–24. सर्वलखरिहित.  
4 Read धाक्ष!  
5 Read देशेषु.
तद्विक्षिमविव रस्यतसंस्कृतं अर्थं।
हृदयमार्गे मनस्यां चकलसप्रसंस्कृतं हरेत्।[1]

[क-]

L. 34. प्रसोह्लकेशकाज्ञायणय जयंति [1]
स्यूर्क्षेण विजयमानमुणीसंप्रदेशः। २५[२]६
वाचतापस्मातावथो वर्णे तिः दीनः परं।
ष्ठप्राधिकरे वेन जीवं[ती-]

35. पय पि वादिनं। २६[२]७
सीमान्यं विवाहार्याखलमन्त्रीश्वरं तेजस्विना। १-?
सीश्यं गिरिजापतिः। कुमुदिनीकांतालालानाना।
साहित्यं ध-?

36. राजिवराजेश्वरं गण्यगतिमपंखोनि। १-?
राजायंवजं। प्रभुं प्रविपते वाचसप्रसंस्कृतत्वाय। २७[२]४
धे च योमदक्षमेण विनयादातारितः।

37. सादर।
सीमान्यं पुरंतरपरं तथं सुपर्विकरे।।
भूमिभिर्निग्रहावधुः। परिहर्षी। [१]वेगादलविकरे।
सामसंद सरसं सरोक्षितवनं लीलामाराला।

38. द्व। २५[२]
ष्ठं परमेश्वरत्वातं संविक्षे मिलोतं।
साहित्यं नेपतेन दर्शस्म तोर्मेगावासुवर्ती।
धे: संभूपलिसिनचनाः। विद्विदरे।

39. द्व। २५[२]
वाद्रोधाधुपी हिजारितपत्यास भाषा निमित्ता। द्व। २७[२]
विभौवालिहिनकलस्म सदसि प्राक्षिरिच्छुरिच्छम। [१]
वीरुपात्मिन-?

40. वरान्। विज्ञव समस्तकान्हीद्विद्रानव।
स्वस्थायुतिहीतिहुर्वलयो दिगुहर्वस्यं गुर्वत्।
धे: वीलास ब्रजोऽच्छो निजयवःक्षंभी।

41. मिच्छं। महान्। २५$[२]
लक्षाहस्यधिरीविज्ञविन्योशृंगिरान्तुर।
ष्ठिराः राजश्रोत्तरेण धर्मीश्वरे तथीत्येः।
तवाहि। निश्चितविहयावसम-?

42. तिना। राजश्रोत्राण्विवर्तिकृतत्वाः। [१]
तपच्छ। फुर्मायन्यः फुर्मायन्यः । २५[२]

6 Vasantatihakt.
7 Anusādhibh.
8 Metre of vv. 27—31, Śuddhāṣṭikāḥ.
9 Read "विस्तरी।
10 Per也许 meant for अस्ति।
11 Read छ, "मह। छ।"
किंच कैसे प्रभासकारकांता ।
कासर यस्मादं न च हि नैया ।।

मौचे-

L. 43. नेव गुननिक्षमशङ्कर[1]
बंदिनीपि हि न च प्रष्णीयम् ॥ ३२ ॥
यल्लालसलिलवाचवलसप्रीतिविचित्तस्माजननतुष्येऽ
खीकां खयमक्षयाखारीशामिं--

44. सा सकलमेधापीर ॥ ३३ ॥
चौलिविगमसनंदनेन वसुधारविषयं समानिता ।
गुज्जोऽगुजंरमनिविंदिनेन सर्वात्तत्त्वोऽविनिती ।

45. सहसा सम्भवं भरिवं सभभमं गाथं गुप्तीविशालं ।
वें धारा द्वन कांतुमुलुकाण्या कुर्वन्ति गुमासदर ॥ ३४ ॥

द्रात ॥
श्रामुरांचरः[३]

46. द्याल्पवंश्या उक्तेर्वकेमिभव ॥
चौधरी[५] आदिवरक इत्तमवया शीतचिंचिशः पुरुषः ।
तत्तुलिहीन सीधरच तनयस्यस्रामक्यवतः ।
[का]-

47. अवाहीज्ञेन तत्तुकेथ तत्तुलिहीनापि वाधाभिधः ॥ ३५॥
तस्माह्वदकायिभिभवं तन्तृस्य भावती रजार्भवं ॥
स्वस्यारूढः सुहासिनी [तित]

48. वाधिः प्रश्व विद्यापृतेः ।
इद्याषणिक्षराजहिरिल जयः पुनःस्यायामभवं ॥
लोकफल दः तत् प्रश्वदरुणमाः पिष्टविन:प्रितोकत् । ३६॥
[का]-

49. मयैव रजितार्थेऽरस गौरीव गौरीपते ।
रान्हीनेजलं दः प्रयत्नमा तथार्तकत: [ अ-अ-अ ] ।
भोगाभूभयो गुरी प्रणाविनो शङ्कसुपूर्विको ।
वीली-

50. गौरिगुरुकराक्षवर्जस ।
वैराम्याविनिक्षिप्तचिन्नीकाराणा ।
तेवाः च देवश्रवणान्तिसुरार्णाः ।
सीमाय [मा]-

51. वाधिश्चायिभिभवाः ॥
तेवाः पुनःविचारचिन्नीकाराणा ॥ ३८ ॥
वाधिस्वरुपान्तुस्याभिभवस्थितिवेचीता: ।
वायाः च शोभमनस्य भजः-

[१] Metre of vv. 22 and 33, Sūgāla.
[३] Read "स्वरुपमी".
[५] Metre of vv. 38, 39: Vasanatīlakā
L. 52. ति स्म भाँव |[1] |
शोम[वम]रिघनमदमनिरंदणि- [1]
वारादिमकसु भभ्य सन्तितिप्रयेयु ॥२९॥१८ |
विशेषयं ।
यह: प्रस्तोति सुभाषितभम्- |
53. [र]संतभतीत्व मूमा प्रतिहार ।
सी ॥ चौकार्त्तकसुभम् ॥६४६ ॥ वचे ।
शारणं सीविषाणवेशया: ॥ ४० [॥]१७ |
आदावार्थि तीर्थितिके शून्य[ज]- |
54. वेदं ॥ चावर ।
शैलं[वी] चौबकरं दशीमङ्गणस्याद्विभिमारा ।
अन्नायमि बुजारिण्यो फलवतीमुखे: वजंत: स्वयं ।
[प्रा]- |
55. सादतद्रुमि वशवाकारयनु भुमुज: ॥ ४५[॥]३५ |
तीर्थं तापुकरमान्यो भनो सिद्धिविविधितियं ॥ ५८॥४९ ॥
चेलम[वी] । |
56. करुङ्कराण्यदिवमसुनिराजं ॥ ५१.३० |
तं वीच ज्ञिः भवविहारं ।
स तेजपालः सहदीति दधोः ।
भावं कदा सी श्वस- |
57. री वरियानु ।
यज्ञ ॥ सौवं भविता नवों ॥ ४४ ॥३१ |
बनोयु: श्रादुपदेवस्वरदा कामं वचोक्त: ॥
शान्तभा: स विशम व[र] ॥
58. फर्ये वीसंहतीय वसन ।
तीर्थं त्योर्वति तुंगनीयियिली श्रषुंजयेद्वहि [1]-
दारं काल्लमा भजायततमां सावधमस्वयम् तिय: ॥ ४५[॥]३२ |
59. चतुर्व व्यात्व सुवत्तां छत्त तुमस्तां जैयं: जियं कारम् ।
मल्वं निजपूर्वं वर्जनं हरणद्रम्मसाधारे ।
तीर्थं वीविसारितक्तितिवेल [१] |
60. सीविषाणिं मंदिरे ।
शीविश्वस्यारंभव सुगती सुंनाते नामप्रवेशः ॥ ४६ ॥
शुरौस्त्र भविजगणांगम्यमेवदूषः ॥
शैलं चवाचिति श्री- |

16 Read "सिद्धिविविधिति". श्री. |
17 Metre: Upajāti. |
18 Read "सेशिति". |
19 शारद्विरक्रिया. The figure 89 is missing: Read "शानंदिति". |
20 Metre: आराजां.—Read "संदत". |
21 Metre: उपजाति. |
22 Metre of vv. 45, 46: शारदैविक्षिता.
L. 61. 

62. 

63. 

64. 

65. 

66. 

67. 

68. 

69. 

22 Metre of vs. 47—49: Vasantatilaka.
23 ` postpone visible on the reverse.
24 Metre of vs. 60: 51: Anushtubh.
25 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
26 Metre of vs. 53, 54: Anushtubh.
27 Metre of vs. 55, 56: Vasantatilaka.
L. 70.  

व च भिन्नाच्यि नमोहाराणि।

किं तोर्कुदलदशस्यविशक्षरिधीर्षणना।।

मंद्रोलनाच्यि करलालानि सुखासनानि।। ५६।।

गजासुतु।

71.  

विशिष्टिर ५ द्वितिय।

विभांति शस्त्र विन्धारिषि यत।

देवावशुर्विन्धतिरिभक्षति।

किमंगता: कुडळार्रेपरामः।। ५.७॥२९

72.  

भावतुसतिर ५ द्विराज।।

dुआ विभांतीिह जिनेन्द्रच्वः।

दिशाम त चौँ; सह सर्व इंद्र।।

× किमासरजळे ससुपेर्यवासः:।। ६।

73.  

॥ ५.८।।

र्वयं नंदविशिष्यस्यपूर्वत् १६४५ भिः वर्च संहयूलुपर्यत्।

साहायादा जसुकुशिस्य भुजतारान्यथमुपानवः।।

प्रासा (ि)।

74.  

द वाक्षात्सुविन सुधिया प्रवजेये कारिः।

दृष्टा । ज्यायंदिरीश्वत्तुप्लिति क्रेयः न चिते रति।। ५.६॥१।।

वैले चतुर्भाषानि धर्मः।।

75.  

बिदिनी।।

ब्रुजः गहें प्रोणितविशष्यविष्यमः।।

शंखयोगोष्ठीच्यि नमिद वदना।।

शंखः सदा यत्कद वाङ्खितानि व:।। ६.०॥१।।

[ — ]

76.  

व: प्रमार्नविनिमितनन्तश्वः।

वैले । च भूरिर । भवद्व: विरवववयोि वः।।

जातव वर्यति भरुवारा दति विखजालै।।

77.  

ववुमतियार्थमवैन भनवेन।। ६.१॥३२

शंखवि गमनवाणाकला।। १६४० भिः च वर्गः।।

वानां चकार सुखताय स तेजाया।।

78.  

बः।।

वैले तस्म सर्वदेहे युधिष्ठि: प्रतिष्ठा।।

विशे च ढिजरविवणा ।। ६.२॥

मार्गशिरमंद्विवाणवः।।

२५ मेट्रे of vs. 57, 68: Upājāti.

२६ मेट्रे: Sārdhālavikṛtā.

२७ मेट्रे: Upājāti of Indra-vamśa and Vamanastha.

२८ मेट्रे of vs. 61, 63: Vasanti-atilakā.
L. 79. 

समयः 

पौराणिक निरीक्षित: वर्णा: ।

कैठकः सिलकबाह्सिवाः सितुंगः ।

चैत्यं निरीक्ष जुगेति जन: 

80. 

समयः ॥ ६२ ॥ ६ 

चैत्यं चारं चतुर्वेण्टं कतसः त्रिग्रामजीवनिर्विष्ठिं ।

प्रीतिः जस्तुही्रः विश्विं चैत्यं विष्टिं गुहम ।

रम्यं कुम्भ- 

81. 

रज्जीणिमित्तम ॥ ४ ॥ भौतिक तत्त्वतयं पुनः ।

मृत्युविद्वान्तं मित्यामस्मुभः सौहं चतुर्वेण्टं तथा ॥ ६४ ॥ १३

एभिभित्तिकस्थापार्थिवन्तमेव- 

82. 

ख्यंसुख्यान्तित: ।

योगी दिभः सिवाः सिव्यमेत्त: सिव्यमिहायस्यः ।

योगवंयशमयमविवाहस्य सौहं सिवाः सिव्यमिहायस्यः।

83. 

तः ॥ ।

प्रासादीः ॥ गिममिहायस्य: नीद्रामहाचैत्यं चिरं नैररु ॥ ६५ ॥ ॥

सुस्त्रामनरण वर्षनार्थवर्त्यं गितय ॥

चैत्यं चिरादिदम्मोऽच्चा 

84. 

निरीक्षियः ।

श्रीपलितसितिः ॥ कलाकाराः विनं विहः ।

कामप्रसाद मित्यास्यस्य मविन्तु प्रसिद्ध: ॥ ६६ ॥ १९

सदाचार्याः बौद्धविवजन: 

85. 

यदानसूचियः ।

पद्मादंबोज्यामस्मस्तृयः हेमविजयः ।

सांताकारारां विवाहमव युम्बाः याः विवित्तवानः ।

प्रमाणाः: श[वाः-] 

86. 

या तथांतर विष्कार्यां विजयां व ६७ ॥

चति श्रीवर्ण्रेपतिरामायुक्तान्त: पालोहुतविष्कारांचत: [पत्न] ।

नयिग्राममपुर्द्धनामार्थमविष्कृतः: [न]द-३५ 

87. 

कुम्भमानसामारां । विलेण्यसागरसः ॥ लिखङ्गः ।

शिशिर्यवासनायः । मायावणाहाकाराभवः ॥ ६८ ॥२७ 

No. XIII.३५ 

L. 1. ॥ चौ ॥ वस्ति चौसंवत् १६५२ वर्षमां बद्रि ॥ सौम्यावते पुष्णो नवनेव नियुक्तसम्बं 

वेदवेता- 

2. सिमसुखादिगुरजीवितसदिवीयखचवर्णसूत्र प्रतिवर्ष यात्रासिद्धकालनामातातातपं 

२७ मेट्र: अर्था बाग्निक्षिपलु।

३५ वर्ण: तयार एक बोधक विक्रम ।

३५ वर्ण: तयार एक बोधक विक्रम ।

३५ वर्ण: तयार एक बोधक विक्रम ।
3. مهندان پاتبند، سکه‌بین و پیکرک حسن‌علی‌خان کالائی، خاندان‌های سردار میرزاخان‌خانکار، صاحب‌المناسک و خاندان‌های بزرگ‌المناسک.

4. میشان کمر، سکه‌بین و پیکرک حسن‌علی‌خان کالائی، خاندان‌های سردار میرزاخان‌خانکار، صاحب‌المناسک.

5. مهندان پاتبند، سکه‌بین و پیکرک حسن‌علی‌خان کالائی، خاندان‌های سردار میرزاخان‌خانکار، صاحب‌المناسک.

6. مهندان پاتبند، سکه‌بین و پیکرک حسن‌علی‌خان کالائی، خاندان‌های سردار میرزاخان‌خانکار، صاحب‌المناسک.

7. مهندان پاتبند، سکه‌بین و پیکرک حسن‌علی‌خان کالائی، خاندان‌های سردار میرزاخان‌خانکار، صاحب‌المناسک.

8. مهندان پاتبند، سکه‌بین و پیکرک حسن‌علی‌خان کالائی، خاندان‌های سردار میرزاخان‌خانکار، صاحب‌المناسک.

9. — مهندان پاتبند، سکه‌بین و پیکرک حسن‌علی‌خان کالائی، خاندان‌های سردار میرزاخان‌خانکار، صاحب‌المناسک.

10. [ — — —] راجمات.

11. [نرد] [ه] [[[ی]]

No. XIV.

L. 1. ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

2. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

3. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

4. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

5. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

6. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

7. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

8. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

9. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

10. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

11. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

12. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

13. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

14. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

15. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

16. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

17. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

No. XV.

L. 1. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

2. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

3. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.

4. [میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی، فروردین ۱۳۷۵ میلادی.
L. 4. जीते पुत्र चि° उदयांत वारे वोटक्षुरोरिन्द्रसुब्धारपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंकारितस्माकारायी-=
5. विमलाचलीपरि मृतोपारसारचतुमुखविहारसुइपारकोपारकीयादिवनितिहाय श्रीयादिनानुमयावे परमप्रमोदाय
6. कारिते प्रतिविष्ठि च श्रीकृष्णबत्तरणाभिचारकोजिनानजसुरिदिरिकिलके. || प्रथमति श्रुणकीर्तिगणि. ||

No. XVI.१५
L. 1. सवंते १६७५ वेशाख सुदी १२ शेषं || श्रीसवालाराजीलोहोगीबी सा° रायमण महाया
2. रंगादि पुत्र सा° जयम्भरे भार्या जयम्भरे पुत्र विविधपुरस्कारकोपारकीयादं सुभंवायाचा
3. विधानसंसंसाधिकल से° राजसीके° भार्या कसुरलेखे तुरंगदे पु° बायव्राय भार्या दों
4. कारिदे
5. पु° अजयराज सभारू से° श्रीमणाल भार्या शूरदे पु° वीरवध भारे° [ज] गादे सलमुभाय
6. ने° से° वीरपाल भार्या दीर्घादि प्रसुपिरपरिवारसहितेन श्रीयादिनानादिके कारिते प्रतिविष्ठि
7. युगधानानवीर[न]

L. 1. से° १६७५ स्मि सुरताधारोदीलाहंगिरसवारविजयिरायी शाङ्कादाससरसाथ्योि[ड] प्रवे° जी जी जी
2. नगरे श्रीदस्रायणसुरसराचृतपुरे वेशाख स्ति १२ शेषं श्रीदत्तदातानुङ्कुशाभास्थिन्द्रप्रावलराजाजीवी से° देवराज भार्या
3. [ड]डो पुत्र से° मणाल भार्या राजे पुत्र से° राजे पुत्र से° सारीभा भार्या नाहु पुत्र से° जोग
4. मजारे जसमारे पुरुरज्ञ श्रीवंजयविनायकाविधानसंसाधिकादिवनितिहाय विनिधाम- वनितिहाय विनिधाम-साधिकादिवनितिहाय
5. समसारि से° मणाल भार्या राजाने कुर्षर राजमणाणाने से° [ड] पाके° दिवनितिहाय विनिधाम- वनितिहाय विनिधाम-साधिकादिवनितिहाय

No. XVII.१५
L. 1. से° १६७५ स्मि सुरताधारोदीलाहंगिरसवारविजयिरायी शाङ्कादाससरसाथ्योि[ड] प्रवे° जी जी जी
2. नगरे श्रीदस्रायणसुरसराचृतपुरे वेशाख स्ति १२ शेषं श्रीदत्तदातानुङ्कुशाभास्थिन्द्रप्रावलराजाजीवी से° देवराज भार्या
3. [ड]डो पुत्र से° मणाल भार्या राजे पुत्र से° राजे पुत्र से° सारीभा भार्या नाहु पुत्र से° जोग
4. नवसमधारि से° मणाल भार्या राजाने कुर्षर राजमणाणाने से° [ड] पाके° दिवनितिहाय विनिधाम- वनितिहाय विनिधाम-साधिकादिवनितिहाय

15 Round a second pair of feet in the same temple; Line 1 on the south, 2 on the west, 3 and 4 on the south, and 5–7 on the east.
16 In the Gomukha shrine, at the entrance of the great temple in the Kharañavaras Tunk,—List, p. 203, No. 310.
—J. B.
L. 8. सारिप्रवचनकृति" ज्ञातरामरासपालि अनुमोदनि:कान्तार्थकारणमयान्यं मूर्तम्यं 

9. ज्ञानंतुजजाति-मद्दति" श्रीपृगलकुंडलभमायासमुखदेशामर्शश्चाक्षरकलिकविवाहाधिकं ज्ञानं 

10. तत्त्वविद्याश्री सं हं धर्मसीयार्थ्यदासाकृति: मात्यार्थप्रकऽवर्णमयायदासाकृति: 

11. [समाजितनिर्णाय: ॥]

No. XVIII. ॥

1. ॥ संवत् १६७५। प्रमिति सुरतानंदरकवीग्रामशालिकाधिविवाहाधिक ॥

2. साहित्यादुर्गतथाहो [कृ] प्रवरे राजसरे शीघ्रसहितियानसुरतानंदरकवी ॥ वैगान चित्ति ११३३२। शी 

3. प्रभुदामावशेषास्वामिरान्तानी से देवराज भाये [कृ] की पुन बे २ गोपाल भा राजा पुं से 

4. कन्याबन्धनविकल्पप्रतिष्ठाशृष्टिकालिकविवाहाधिकविशेष: थी संसारी भाये जानादे 

5. रजी संपुर उदयवंत प्रमुखप्रतिलिपि स्वयं सुवृत्तसाराकारथीविमलाचलोपरि 

6. सुरि कृष्णबन्धुर स्वाभिाकारथीसभनकाश्रयसंक्षिप्तकारथीर्षबसुरी 

7. दानदायकादायकनीन्द्रसुरिर मूर्तकारणकारसहितसचंद्रसपादश्चातिशक्तित्वमय 

8. श्रीपृगलकुंडलभमायासमुखदेशामर्शश्चाक्षरकलिकविवाहाधिकं चतुर्तातिशालिकामुखदेशामर्शश्चाक्षरकलिकविवाहाधिकं ज्ञानं 

9. विवर्तिनिवाकारथीसन्नातकनीन्द्रसुरिर राजस्वलिपि ॥ भारार 

[॥]

[Read "श्री कृ".
[Read "श्रीमान्"]
[Read "पुनः"
[Read "शिवसे"
[In the shrine of the great Chaumukha temple (No. 310)

on the south image.—J. B.
No. XIX.  

1. संवत् शौकित् शास्त्रीया सत्रमास्वर्जु ज्ञानीयो वर्तमानमाणि विद्वान्यो विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विनियममाणि विद्वान्यो विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

2. तत्र जानकर त्योहार विद्वान् विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्वान् विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां नां नार्य सत्रमा नां"

3. [दू]डी पुत्र सं गोपाल भार्या राजपुत्र सं राजा पुत्र सं सार्दिया भार्या नार्य पुत्र सं जोगी भार्या नामसार्दी पुं चित्रांतित्यां विनियममाणि विद्वान्यो विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

4. संस्कृति सं सोमजी भार्या तत्परते पुनरः मंजुष्ठि घटि [दू]पंडित [के] गौंध वालजी के वन्नामोऊ रजसी सं [सर्दिया] बालकबाली पीमजी सूत रबजी के पितामहानां सं नाथा पुत्र त्रृतीय उदयांत सम्पूर्णविपरीतसंहिते तिथिमुद्रारिति

5. चित्रांतित्यां विनियममाणि विद्वान्यो विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

6. नार्य निपुञ्जक चित्रांतित्यां विनियममाणि विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

7. कोइंद्रुकारविनियममाणि विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

8. चित्रांतित्यां विनियममाणि विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

9. नार्य निपुञ्जक चित्रांतित्यां विनियममाणि विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

No. XX.  

1. संवत्त शौकित् शास्त्रीया सत्रमास्वर्जु ज्ञानीयो विद्वान्यो विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विनियममाणि विद्वान्यो विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

2. तत्र जानकर त्योहार विद्वान्यो विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

3. [दू]डी पुत्र सं गोपाल भार्या राजपुत्र सं राजा पुत्र सं सार्दिया भार्या नार्य पुत्र सं जोगी भार्या नामसार्दी पुं चित्रांतित्यां विनियममाणि विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

4. पुत्र सं जोगी भार्या नामसार्दी पुं चित्रांतित्यां विनियममाणि विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

5. उदयांत पुत्र सं जोगी भार्या नामसार्दी पुं चित्रांतित्यां विनियममाणि विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

6. चित्रांतित्यां विनियममाणि विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

7. कोइंद्रुकारविनियममाणि विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

8. चित्रांतित्यां विनियममाणि विद्यामा भिन्नतयां विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

9. नार्य निपुञ्जक चित्रांतित्यां विनियममाणि विद्यामा भिन्नतयां मार्ग यथाधीश नां ""नार्य सत्रमा नां"

In the same on the north image.—J. B.  
Read शास्त्रि.  
In the same, on the north image.—J. B.
6. नायकवं कारिंग प्रतिहितं च चौवीरीयाेविक्षिप्तपरायत्तमहिलेहं तुक्रकरकारियाहित्रतिवं ग्रामाति तथा विद्याधरसिद्धां विद्याधरसिद्धिकारियां कारियां विद्याधरसिद्धिकारियां चित्रद्रासरी च भाषयं

7. सार्वज्ञानक्षेत्रायेव ज्ञानधार्मिकायां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां ज्ञानसिद्धां

8. चार्यो चौवीरीयानायग्नीच पं आनंदकृतेऽथलुक्षुसहोत च भाषिनेनान्तिलस्यांके।

No. XXI. २९

1. चौवी। संस्कृत चौवीण्यांत्ये न विष्णुभुवनः।

2. न चतुर्या यो ह्यनानां म च। स जीत। चिन्ये। च च । १ ।

3. च । २।

4. । [प्र] भप्पति चौवीयामिताभिही चुष्ण।

5. च । च ।

6. च ।

7. च ।

8. ।

Read चौही।

On the north wall of a temple near the Hātipola, in the Vimalavatī Tūkā: Līlā, p. 201. No. 254.—J.'B.

Metre: Anushṭubh.

Probably संहितीतये।
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SATRUMJAYA.

9. जबकेरसिसूरय: १०।

10. महुषनिधानाखरस्वरयज्ञभवन्।

11. निमा:।

12. रघुचक्र बांसबलांगोचक:। १४।

13. श्रीवास्तवः। १५।

14. नवविति तत्पत्रो तदनुसारयो वरा:।

15. साहिप्रसिंहोप्रसिंठनम्।

16. पमो। १५।

17. मानस। वचनदीवति विवृता।

18. सुजापदे।

भावावलम्बन-तात्त्विकतां:। २०।

प्रमोधावलम्बन-तात्त्विकतां:। २१।

सन्दर्भ:।
L. 19. पद्मलीलाम् प्रवाहितरात् । २२
प्रायुक्तवचरैं रम्ये । माधवाज्युनपथके ।
रोहिणीभूतोतीयायां वुधवासरसंविशी ।

20. । २१ ।
चीरांतिनादासुखानां । जिनानां चतुर्वत्तरा ।
हिष्णु प्रतिमासं धारा । भारिताच्या प्रतिविशा । २४ ।
युमसम् ।

21. पुनरिविषवद्वक्षः । सफलीकरणकति ।
चीन्यमवरे श्वारि । प्रासाद: शैलसनिम: । २५ ।
हासरयिनीं-

22. । जोमि-लिखितक चरनुङ्गी: ।
केळाचयणीतीचुँगी । हामि: श्रीभितो विभत: । २६ ।
युमसम् ॥
पानिं-

23. पद्ममिलिता ज्वारिश पुनर्ध्वयोपि ।
उरुंगतीरप: श्रीमान् । प्रासाद: मिरारवत: । २७ ।
यं दृश्य भविष: ।

24. । चित्रं विव्याहितं सवेत।
बचाभूत: किमुपेलिति । दृश्यवृत्तिक विभूति: । २८ ।
वेन चीतीयदानीयं राजति सात-

25. वर्तंशकः ।
प्रतिमां: स्थापितास्मि चीतीयांसमुखा विशिष्टाम् । २८ ॥
तथा ॥ संवय १६७६ मद्य मालगुम सित व्हि-

26. तीयायां तियो देवुक्त्वासरे रवितीयाच्ये श्रीमानी नवनमरात्साहिणीप्रसक्तिक श्रीभूमतत्वब-
27. वर्तिनिर्मित्तवस्तं भगवसहरे भुजांचक बलाचारबितवरहक्रसूदशुभधारण क्रमव- 
28. जो ५ श्रीकथानसागारसुरीया: सार्व श्रीविनीरागस्तितिवेय: रसेत सर्वन्यायावस्थेन्द्रगु- 

29. र:प्रासादे समहोतयु चीतीयांसप्रसुखजनिमवराणां बंति विंवानि स्थापितामि ॥
संहि: पूज्यमानानि

30. चिरं गंदुत ।
शार्दुलभाकारिणिशुभ्राणाथिरवाकपुरवंतः: किल जातीय ।
चीतीयांसजनिमविद्मभवत्वा ता-

31. वर्तंशकांभिभिभिकांनिष्ठे विकामानां [भ] । १ ॥
वाचकश्रीविनयसंग्रहीयों विष्णुदिव सागरण विनिस्तिता प्रमाणः: [भ] ॥

62 वाचक: वशंतलिलाकादः.
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SATRUMJAYA.

No. XXII. 63

1. संवत संवत १६७५ वर्ष वैशाख चतुर्दशि
2. १२ तिथि गुल्मगरी श्रीमानंजन
3. च्याविराजसुण्यकोषम्भरसिद्धरि
4. तत्त्वादंकारसुरिप्रभारे युग्मारि
5. धानपूजोक्वि भावम्यरसारस्यकरि
6. रिविजयनाथे श्रीमातीला श्रीमातीला
7. श्रीमातीला श्रीमातीला
8. भवन भायारु राजले पुष्य शाला
9. दीपकी सुधाकी हाथानेका धेरे धेरे
10. श्री मात्यालाले चतुरुस्मि श्री मात्यालाले

No. XXIII. 64

1. संवत संवत १६७५ वैशाख शिव रा षुरावणपुरे श्रीमातीला श्रीमातीला श्रीमातीला
2. तीय से देवराज भाया भुजे दी गोपाल भाया राजू चतुर्दशि ।
3. श्रीमातीला श्रीमातीला
4. च्याविराजसुण्यकोषम्भरसिद्धरि
5. तत्त्वादंकारसुरिप्रभारे युग्मारि
6. धानपूजोक्वि भावम्यरसारस्यकरि
7. रिविजयनाथे श्रीमातीला श्रीमातीला
8. श्रीमातीला श्रीमातीला
9. भवन भायारु राजले पुष्य शाला
10. दीपकी सुधाकी हाथानेका धेरे धेरे}

No. XXIV. 65

1. संवत संवत १६७५ वैशाख शिव रा षुरायनपुरे श्रीमातीला श्रीमातीला श्रीमातीला
2. गोपाल भाया राजू चतुर्दशि ।
3. दीपकी सुधाकी हाथानेका धेरे धेरे
4. तत्त्वादंकारसुरिप्रभारे युग्मारि
5. धानपूजोक्वि भावम्यरसारस्यकरि
6. रिविजयनाथे श्रीमातीला श्रीमातीला
7. श्रीमातीला श्रीमातीला
8. भवन भायारु राजले पुष्य शाला
9. दीपकी सुधाकी हाथानेका धेरे धेरे

63 In a cell or chapel attached to the north-east corner of the great Adisesvara temple, close to that in which are Nos. vi and viii. – J.B.
64 In the Khartaravati Tank, immediately to the north-east of the great Chaumukha temple, on the base of the image; Lists, p. 206, No. 332. – J. B.
65 Probably वाली.
66 In the Khartaravati Tank in a temple fronting that containing No. xxii, to the south-east of the great Chaumukha on the base of the image; Lists, p. 205, No. 316. – J. B.
No. XXV.  
L. 1. ॥ चौ ॥ संवत् १६७६ ॥ ज्ञान साधन साधन ॥
2. श्रीमालिनिधीकृतां संवत्वाच ॥ महात्मा बाराण ॥
3. [पुराणी कृत] संवत्वाच महात्मा बाराण प्राण वर्ष ॥
4. [भ] ॥ प्राणसायनसाहित्यकार ग्राम ॥ चौ ॥
5. ओम राधाकृष्णा विनायका भूमिः तारा संवतवर्ष ॥
6. चौ ॥ ओम राधाकृष्णा विनायका भूमिः तारा संवतवर्ष ॥
7. [झी] ओम राधाकृष्णा विनायका भूमिः तारा संवतवर्ष ॥
8. ॥ यामात् यामात् यामात् ॥
9. कारित ॥ व ॥ चौ ॥

No. XXVI.  
L. 1. ॥ चौ ॥ नम: श्रीमालिनि विनायकां तीर्थाकारां जीतें तेजसः
2. श्रीमालिनि तीर्थाकारा तीर्थाकारा तीर्थाकारा तीर्थाकारा
3. [पुराणी कृत] संवत्वाच महात्मा बाराण प्राण वर्ष ॥
4. [भ] ॥ प्राणसायनसाहित्यकार ग्राम ॥ चौ ॥
5. ओम राधाकृष्णा विनायका भूमिः तारा संवतवर्ष ॥
6. चौ ॥ ओम राधाकृष्णा विनायका भूमिः तारा संवतवर्ष ॥
7. [झी] ओम राधाकृष्णा विनायका भूमिः तारा संवतवर्ष ॥
8. ॥ यामात् यामात् यामात् ॥
9. कारित ॥ व ॥ चौ ॥

No. XXVII.  
L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६८२ ॥ ज्ञान साधन साधन साधन साधन
2. श्रीमालिनि तीर्थाकारा तीर्थाकारा तीर्थाकारा तीर्थाकारा
3. [पुराणी कृत] संवत्वाच महात्मा बाराण प्राण वर्ष ॥
4. [भ] ॥ प्राणसायनसाहित्यकार ग्राम ॥ चौ ॥
5. ओम राधाकृष्णा विनायका भूमिः तारा संवतवर्ष ॥
6. चौ ॥ ओम राधाकृष्णा विनायका भूमिः तारा संवतवर्ष ॥
7. [झी] ओम राधाकृष्णा विनायका भूमिः तारा संवतवर्ष ॥
8. ॥ यामात् यामात् यामात् ॥
9. कारित ॥ व ॥ चौ ॥

47 In a temple in the Vimalaśālī Tūkt, near Aḍīdwarā.—J. B.
48 Round the margin of pūndukas or foot-prints, No. 3, north side, in a temple in the west of the Kharadarvāsī Tūkt Līkṣa, p. 203, No. 317.—J. B.
49 In a niche in a temple in the Vimalaśālī Tūkt, on the left hand between the Vāghana-pola and Hāthi-pola; Līkṣa, p. 204, No. 138.—J. B.
L. 5. जिनयः बौधासम्भुवसम् मे ॥ १ ॥
       उपासकोऽवधः स्वामिन्द्रः स्वायत्तः ॥ [1]
       सीमयः प्रभासः ॥ [२] ॥

6. या श्रमितकलः चूर्यवर्णसङ्कोऽयः ।
       गौर्णिन्द्रसंघर्षदासादुपो जैवात्कु: प्राप्तिः ।
       चंद्रः [कृत्]

7. यथवचदी जिनपतिः चौर्यवर्णसङ्कोऽयः ॥ २ ॥
       व्याश्राजीमति यः व्याश्राजे ददानन्दकपलोः ॥ [३]

8. यां ।
       विविध्यं श्रूर्तिकाल्पिकं वहुः चूर्यवर्णसङ्कोऽयः ।
       लोके व्यासायापि खुर्ददिगतर्याः ॥ [४]

9. व्याश्राजारीधि नायकः [५]
       स चौर्यवर्णसङ्कोऽयः दियतु मिसुसु साततां योगिनायः ॥ [६]
       विष्णुपार चंद्रचा [६ २] [७]

10. दधियोविनिविन्याद्वः [८]
        पुण्यसन्तविन्यातो विवधरणापि प्रवेधे हुते ।
        देवलेषु संहताकल्पः [म्] ॥

11. तुल्य वशातः उन्निन्यं ।
       स चौर्यवर्णसङ्कोऽयः सत्तति विव्रृविक्षैः साततां ॥ [८]
       वश चौर्यशास्त[न] ॥

12. चित्तिल वातात्रिकदिविन्ति [१]
       यहांकं भवसिंहारथाविन्यं पीतायें देशिन्यं ।
       यद्याहं [भ्] ॥

13. विपायवंदववेदवं गंगाविवारायसि ॥
       चौर्यवर्णसङ्कोऽयः सीमस्तु निये सवः ॥ [६] [१२]

14. अत पदायां ॥
       चौर्यवर्णसङ्कोऽयः सीमारधिपञ्चनराजमिमयूः ।
       चौर्यवर्णसङ्कोऽयः सीमारधिपञ्चनराजमिमयूः ।
       चित- ॥

15. वायुगावल्लथी विविधयचः ॥
       संवायेकात्वव यत्वव श्रवव कः ं बस्युः ॥ [६]
       तद्विष्णुपारमः [अ्] ॥

16. करासरसः ॥
       चार्त्तमुन्नकमलाकारायंतसि: [१]
       गच्छावर्गमुन्नकमलाकारायंतसि: ॥ [१३]
       नाम[न] ॥

[२] Metro of verses 1-2: सार्दुविक्रियाः
[३] Metro: साहित्यवीर्याः
[४] Read शतश्रिंशद्रववहः
[५] Metro of verses 4-5: सार्दुविक्रियाः
[६] वायुगावल्लथी विविधयचः ॥
[७] Metro of verses 6-7: वासनातन्त्राः
[८] Read शतश्रिंशद्रववहः
17.  

L. 17. **[८]**ददमतोयशोऽवदाता। ॐ ||

योगेश्वरोऽरुपो जयकालिनिमाजः [ऍ]||

सूरित्राससदु पूज्यमेवः

18.  

द्रविष्णुः।

प्रांक्षणैः: सकतसुरिष्णौर्यवंशः [ऍ]||

सिंच्यमाभिप्रयोगसुधुरुभ्यामि: || ९ ||

तेऽऽः: अः

19.  

भेष गुरुवी विनित्संख्यरः ||

गोचा वमुक्तर घुर्यतमा गणेशः [ऍ]||

दैवेद्यद्रविष्णुरुभुवोऽरुपः

20.  

कमाल्या [ऍ]||

धर्मःप्रभा सुनवरा विधिप्रवनायः: || ८ ||

पूज्याय सिन्हंतलकासदु प्रभूत [ऍ]॥

भाग्या

21.  

महेन्द्रविभधो गुरुवीः ||

वंशेऽरुपवातिविनित्संख्यम् [ऍ]||

अोमेशुतंगुरुवी नरमेव[ऍ]

22.  

त: || १० ||

तेषोभववः गणवरा जयकालिनिमाजः [ऍ]॥

मुखास्ततथ जयकालिनिमाजः ||

सिंच्यतावमः

23.  

रघुपालिविख्योऽरुपः ||

वैभवसागरयुष्नगुणः ||

भावः || ११ ||

दैवेद्यद्रविष्णुरविभासानु १२भाः

24.  

दुर्यो: ||

प्रक्षेपवः: सुरुः[ऍ]वधयो वमुक्तः ||

शिवयो तत्वावेदविशव्यवाचीतामहः

25.  

शाखांवधे: पारन | [ऍ]

वायवृत्तचोरानसवालवानिध्रावनः [ऍ]||

वीमंति विधिप्रवनायः[ऍ]

26.  

सिन्हका वाद्यद्रविष्णुवः ||

धर्मःप्रभा सुनवरा विधिप्रवनायः: || १२ ||

त:-

74 **द** stands above the line.
75 **Metre of verses 8–11:** Vasumatinokā.
76 Read **गुरुः** "पंडितः".
77 Read **गुरुः**.
78 Read **सुरुः**.
79 Read **सुः**.
80 Read **तः**.
81 Read **तः**.
82 Read "श्रीरामः".
83 Read "तः".
84 Read "भाइः".
85 Read "पारः".
86 Read "पारः".
87 Read "दैवेद्यः".
88 Read "पारः".
89 Read "पारः".
90 Read "पारः".
91 Read "श्रीरामः".
92 Read "श्रीरामः".
L. 27. घट्टावः ज्यौति समस्वभीताकेषकर्वेष्णमः।
वीकः काव्यायः सुद्रः सुमुखः।

28. कांडाकुदः।
भयांकोविवविवेष्वैकिनिर्मितः। सुध्वः नापायोऽधिवः।
वीक भीततः ज्यौति सूर्यवः।

29. सुभिः। देवः। ग्रहाविधतः। १.०॥
वीकोभालि तत्त्वमीश्वरं गंगेश्वरं तत्त्व महाविश्वः।

30. सरसी सृष्टि महां श्रीकर्षण मद्वन सा
श्रीवा तत्त्व साह श्रीशंपा तत्त्व सा। श्रीवं तः

31. द्रार्या उमयकुलानंदाचर्या वार्या श्रीगोभिमये तत्त्विचिरार्जसः साह श्रीहुः

32. तद्गतिनी उमयकुलान्त्त्वाचर्या वार्या श्रीगोभिमये तत्त्विचिरार्जसः साह श्रीहुः।

33. प्रभुदिक्षिपणसः। संवृत्तः १६५३ वर्षः। साह शुद्धि चयोद्यो तिथिः समवासः [श्री]-

34. चंद्रमक्ष्मांजलिनम्बंदिरजीविनां। कारितः। श्रीवरलखः।
महां संवरः।

35. साह कालिवित हतु तेनखः। वृद्धः। रेठी। [३]। वार्या श्रीवरः। वार्या हुः। लेठी दः।
कालिवित॥

36. संवृत्त ९९ वर्ष

37. द्रार्या उमयकुलानंदाचर्या वार्या श्रीगोभिमये तत्त्विचिरार्जसः साह श्रीहुः।

38. द्रार्या उमयकुलानंदाचर्या वार्या श्रीगोभिमये तत्त्विचिरार्जसः साह श्रीहुः।

39. सोमचंद्दस्त्रे वीकांश्रम्यांजलिनविवर्गं कारितं प्रतिक्षं ॥ देशं श्रीवरलखभापतपनमभी-
भामात्तिकः।

40. साह कालिवित हतु तेनखः। वृद्धः। रेठी। [३]। वार्या श्रीवरः। वार्या हुः। लेठी दः।
कालिवित॥

41. साह कालिवित हतु तेनखः। वृद्धः। रेठी। [३]। वार्या श्रीवरः। वार्या हुः। लेठी दः।
कालिवित॥

42. साह कालिवित हतु तेनखः। वृद्धः। रेठी। [३]। वार्या श्रीवरः। वार्या हुः। लेठी दः।
कालिवित॥

43. साह कालिवित हतु तेनखः। वृद्धः। रेठी। [३]। वार्या श्रीवरः। वार्या हुः। लेठी दः।
कालिवित॥

44. नामस्या वलितमाण्यात्तायं भवति भ्रमः॥
No. XXVIII. 86

1. बीं || सं १ [६] ४४ मार्ग वर्द ५ युक्ति श्रीमलयनवासव्यया मालविजयदीय टे जस्पालयीचें पि-

2. तृ ३े राजा माणु ३° सी [तुथयो दृष्टे] ८° धाराधने श्रीवारिनीविचयमयङ्ग खत्तकहिं दरसिं कारिनं ||

No. XXIX. 87

1. बीं || संवत १६५६ वर्ष वेषे शुद्धि १५ दिने द्विचंदनी देवगीरीरामनार-

2. वासुदेवीमालवीरायतिवमियाघायती साहा तुक्ति बाघी बाघ तिलसें

3. तृत सां हरश्वरी भाती बाघ हरवके लघुभायात सां वकली सां देवी

4. भागी वाघ चकरी दरातृणी वाघ देवके पु [पु] तत्सां धर्माधास भमो [भम] नी चा

5. तुरस्रि प्रसुखसमस्तउत्कट्य श्रीविमालवाचनी यात्रा करोऽि

6. वीरप्रदुष ता || [ता] सादनी मंडलमो तीं सहीत के-


9. प्रशितोत्तम चीह — — — — सुपदेशातु सुमूंभवतु ||

No. XXX. 88

1. संवत १६५६ वर्ष वेषे शुद्धि ५ वुं गाँठे १५५१ प्रकरणामाण्ये श्रीमलसो सरलतोगि

2. दता[शा]रमणी श्रीमुंडिवारायिनीये महाराज श्रीमक्तविनिदिवासस्वते मं श्रीमुखनकीर्तिवानस्वते मं श्रीवारिनीविचयमयङ्ग

3. तृतीयके मं श्रीविमालवीविचयस्वते मं श्रीमतुक्रंदेवास्वते मं श्रीसमालकीर्तिवासस्वते मं श्रीमुखिनीविचयमयङ्ग

4. तृतीयके मं श्रीविमालवीविचयस्वते मं श्रीमतुक्रंदेवास्वते मं श्रीसमालकीर्तिवासस्वते मं श्रीमुखिनीविचयमयङ्ग

5. तृतीयके मं श्रीविमालवीविचयस्वते मं श्रीमतुक्रंदेवास्वते मं श्रीसमालकीर्तिवासस्वते मं श्रीमुखिनीविचयमयङ्ग

6. दता[शा]रमणीये श्रीमुंडिवारायिनीये महाराज श्रीमतुक्रंदेवास्वते मं श्रीसमालकीर्तिवासस्वते मं श्रीमुखिनीविचयमयङ्ग

7. दता[शा]रमणीये श्रीमुंडिवारायिनीये महाराज श्रीमतुक्रंदेवास्वते मं श्रीसमालकीर्तिवासस्वते मं श्रीमुखिनीविचयमयङ्ग

No. XXXI. 89

1. बीं || महाराजमुंडिवारायिनीये-

2. विजयविजारुसशुमधो तत्ः श्रीमतुक्रंदेवास्वते मं श्रीसमालकीर्तिवासस्वते मं श्रीमुखिनीविचयमयङ्ग

86 On the base of a Chamukhia image in a small temple, west of the great Adīśvara Bhagavān; Lists, p. 198.
87 In the shrine of "Bhimnāra,"—the great rock-cut image,—on the wall beside the doorway.—J. B.
89 Beside the doorway of the Šūkla-taṭa temple, facing the south door of the great Adīśvara temple.; Lists, p. 131.
L. 4. | सुरिगुपत्थे नमः संवन [भु] १६९६ वर्ष वै- ।
5. | शाय मुदि ५ चरी चोदिवासजीश्रावसंवज्ञ स- ।
6. | चाहो सचा भास्य वाय तेज वाय तयो॥१० तुपच- ।
7. | संवनी गोविन्दानी भास्य वाय वाय वाय वाय- ।
8. | प्रभुवकुंदकुपजे । नवेसह जीर्षयुजः। ॥
9. | ये उतंगः प्रसाद । कारापिंतः । श्रीपार्श्वानाथ- ।
10. | विषं खापितं प्रतिनिदितं च श्रीतपागंधनाय- ।
11. | कामदारक्षीबीजयंदेशसुरिरि । तत्तप- ।
12. | द्वालाकार्ययुरवराज्ञीबीजयंस्नायुरि चिरं जीयः ॥

No. XXXII—(610). ॥

L. 1. | चौं ॥ चौं नमः ।
2. | प्रभासितंहं खतु तीर्थः ।
4. | रामसिंह इह वर्षमासः । ॥
6. | शासनायाज-वदेयसुरी- स- ।
8. | द्वालकेन वि-नायाजिते-न ॥ १ ॥
15. | भजनिष्ठ ययु । पदेमातु । स- । द्वालकेन- धर्म तीर्थम ॥ २ ॥
19. | दिक्षाराज-लघुसिद्धेऽर्त १७० विन र । धर्म च्वेक्षासिंह । तीर्थेनिनः ।
24. | द्वालकेयसह-सः । खापितस- श्रीतेरः वर्ते ॥ २ ।
27. | याज्ञवल्क्यसुतसिंहः । स्वाय-चीयासिंह-चीभायः। ॥
| जी श्रीचुराभ्यमूर्त-नि । सदस्त-मूढः किरी-टीयम ॥ ८ ॥

No. XXXIII. ॥

L. 1. | चौं चौं
2. | चौं ॥ स्त्रिय चीर्षः-
3. | चौं १७० वर्ष चेष्टः ॥
4. | शुभ पदः ॥ श्रीसबधि- ।
5. | सवरे चीयासिंह- ।
6. | रामसिंहजोगज- ।
7. | तीर्थसाङ्गीक्षर- ।
8. | चारणीत च । विनमा- ।

9. | न भा । वालादन । च ।
10. | मानसिंहयानासिंह- ।
11. | रामसिंहनानासिंह- ।
12. | उपसेनार्थमयः ।
13. | सा । जगत्सिंहलोकः ।
14. | द्वालकेनस्नायुर- ।
15. | युधी: खापितचन्दनाल- ।
16. | तुषारं चीर्षस्नायुः- ।

7. Metre: Srāgatā. The penultima of the second pāda ought to be long.
9. Read नाजः ।
10. Read सरवधी ।
11. On a column in the Śeshakoṭa temple, in the Vinasalvari Tūrā. — J. B.
12. Read श्रीमा ।
13. Read तीर्थः ।
L. 17. ततवं कारित श्रमरिति-
18. छायां प्रतिस्थापितं ॥ त-
19. पागळें म ॥ छीविरविति-
20. जयसुरिप्रभाकर-
21. म ॥ छीविज्ञेयकृतसुरि-
22. पदवराराविगिताः-
23. स्वीरिज्ञानोपररस-
24. महात्माविश्वदरारि-
25. चिन्हकाराजानिकारणम-
26. तिबोधकारमहारक-
27. छी ॥ छीविज्ञेयकृतिः
28. रीवरथाचर्याविज़िति-
29. यदभासुरिनिधिद्रान्त
30. छीविरविज्ञेयसुरि-
31. चिन्हकाराजानिकारणम-
32. य छी ॥ छीविरविति-
33. य ग ॥ चिन्हकाराजानिकारणम-
34. यदभासुरिनिधिद्रान्त
35. यदभासुरिनिधिद्रान्त
36. ततवं छीरसु ॥ छीविज्ञ
37. य छी सुरिनिधिद्रान्त
38. रोपित छी ॥ छीविज्ञ
39. विजय ग ॥ देवविजय
40. ग ॥ चिन्हकाराजानिकारणम-
41. शायतः स्वीरिज्ञानोपररस
42. छुरचार मनजी: ॥

No. CV.15

L. 1.
2. ॥ छी ॥
   ॥ छी नम: ॥
   ब्रह्म: छीमहावीरः पदवराराविगिताः [1]
   छीविज्ञेयकृतिः: चायारिज्ञाने।16 [1] ॥ [1]
   ॥
3. ततवं कारित श्रमरिति: छीविज्ञेयकृतिः [1]
   छीविज्ञेयकृतिः: महात्माविश्वदरारि: [1] ॥ [1]
   ॥
4. छीविज्ञेयकृतिः: सुरिनिधिद्रान्त [1]
   छीविज्ञेयकृतिः: छीविज्ञेयकृतिः: [1] ॥ [1]
   ॥
5. छीविज्ञेयकृतिः: सुरिनिधिद्रान्त: [1]
   छीविज्ञेयकृतिः: सुरिनिधिद्रान्त: [1] ॥ [1]
   ॥
6. स्वीरिज्ञानोपररस: [1]
   छीविज्ञेयकृतिः: सुरिनिधिद्रान्त: [1] ॥ [1]
   ॥
7. छीविज्ञेयकृतिः: सुरिनिधिद्रान्त: [1] ॥ [1]
   छीविज्ञेयकृतिः: सुरिनिधिद्रान्त: [1]

14 Read महावीर।
15 In the Khartaravat Tūṅkh, on the south wall in the hall outside the shrine door of Nares Keśarvī’s temple.—List, p. 206, No. 342.—J. B.
16 Read "छीः। चायारिज्ञानि।"
75

L. 8.  धर्मसंसद् [I] ३ [I]
तत्तवदेवदेवीलामः प्रोपतत्ततिसिद्धां [I]
भवत्वद्रिराजशीयुजः कत्वाणासारः

9.  [I] ४ [I]
चीरमरोदिलिसस्या ततो विदासुर्यः [I]
उद्वर्तांवस्थृरिः कौसिंधसुनिमित्ति: [I] ५ [I]
ततो पु-

10.  व्योदिवस्त्रिरालैंग्रवस्त्रुर्य: [I]
सुकुमारस्तुरीड्रा बभु: गुप्सालिनः [I] १० [I]
तत् ॥ रूपः

11.  दंतिकिरणियंति विचर्भुवि [I]
शातातानन्त्वायुकेभयां १२ [I]
द्रति प-

12.  द्वारिण।
चय क्षणसुराध्रेः च कीठारान्गरे वरे [I]
बभुः लघुमार्यायामण्डिते-२६

13.  तत्त्वज्ञ नायककी ज्ञे हीराव्रेई च तत्त्वज्ञ [I]
पुर्णोऽसुरेन तस्य

14.  सुपावान्यामुखयुन्यात्य: [I] ११ [I]
मालिन समं सूर्यनवं ऐलकोपरं [I]
यायायम्यालिन

15.  वह ख समुपालित: [I] १४ [I]
देवमहिताः [I] धर्माधिव्यवधिविनयः [I]
द्राता मेलाया यमः

16.  कीर्ति सम्बर्म विहंसः वह [I] १५ [I]
पावित्र तथा पदी च नरसंहंदुतोत्सवः [I]
रघवारे त-

17.  ख्य भार्या पतिभस्मृष्णोलवान् [I] १६ [I]
केम्यानोक्ष भार्या विलितः [I] मांकवारे च: [I]

13.  नाशा त्रिकमली तथा पुनोभुवि १७ [I]
नकन्तिसः पुरोभुवि रघवान्

२६ Read L. 8.: "धर्मसंसद्: "धर्मसंसद्:.
२७ Read द्रातः: "द्रातः:.
२८ Read L. 10.: "धर्मसंसद्: "धर्मसंसद्:.
२९ Read L. 11.: "धर्मसंसद्: "धर्मसंसद्:.
३० Read द्रातः: "द्रातः:.
३१ Read रघवारे: "रघवारे:.

९ Read L. 14.: "सुपावान्यामुखयुन्यात्यः: "सुपावान्यामुखयुन्यात्.
३३ Read लघुमार्यायामण्डिते: "लघुमार्यायामण्डिते:.
३५ Read L. 16.: विलितः: "विलितः:.
३६ Read नकन्तिसः: "नकन्तिसः.
३७ Read रघवारे: "रघवारे:.

L 2
२०. गांधी नेहरू नाथ सा केसरवाणी निज़ूबली पार्जिक तियरने ३१ धर्मकार्यारो ॥

२१. तथाया निर्देशितरूपसे संसारिक विवाहाधिकारियों समेत वाच्यविकारकर्तारः । ।

२२. श्यामसंग्रहकुलवादियादादता वहुतसंबंधितों मिलिता: अंजनशाश्वाका- ।

२३. प्रतिगांधी दिस्मकीवातुयों विश्वाससंबंध कार्यता या तथापि नवीनजिनिवात- ।

२४. नां प्रयागावधारणां वहुसंहारसंध्यां सुधूरको सुतम् शीतोष्णरिषि संवाहः ॥

२५. या तथा विविधा अल्काबालपरात्यो ३८ जीर्थवागसुरदृष्टिविविधाधिकारिनः ।

२६. यात: सुंबिधितविविधार्गुणाय तथा फिया शुभकल्याणः सह शालीकारिया- ।

२७. सुभाषी या कुन्यन श्रीविनरिविकारक: सच्चतः १९२१ ना वच्छ तथा ३७ श्रीमा- ।

२८. श्रीवाणकुमाराकारों १७५६ परेशामाणे मातारामाणे श्रीमातामाणे गृह- ।

२९. परि तिथि समाय: गृहवासी नारायणङ्गवेश्यां शुभुको सुतम् शीतोष्णरिषि ॥

३०. लाक्षणा जिनुसंहारां श्रीमातानि साहुभिर्मनन्दिरियाकृति या: सच्चारिका- ।

३१. नू सुभाषाधारि वहुधृष्टा गौतमानवाजिनोप्रक असेले जिनुसंहारलोकः ॥

३२. नादिन्त्यावाचाकानादानादिसवाचाल्कादिभिक्षुतत्त्वे पुनः । कर्माणाः ।

३३. लाक्षणा भारासोपवाति तथा कालकृतवादिरियां चतुरुक्षे चायें पुनः। विदिरि- ।

३४. श्रीरामोपरि श्रीभिमणंदनजिनसन विश्वाससंबंधिर तथा प्रतिगांधी- ।

३५. योद्धाद्रा वथरासीराज्वीरियाणि बिया क्रमः ३७ जीर्थसागरसूरियासुम- ।

३६. देवगन्त: श्रीसंपत्ती निविदिकारिण सह श्रीभिमणंदनादिरियानिविंब। ।

३७. धिलिता तदः दुम्लकोर्मसंभिरियादतानुराझिराण जन्त: गौचित्विविधास्मृणः।

३८. ढाकोरीहीरसंघजीराचे पादविधासु: । सदनोकवासमृय श्रीसंघज्ञ मद्र ।

३९. भूयालुः। कल्याणामलय श्रम्य भवतुः। ॥

माणिकमुखविज्ञुभुनवरणः। ।

४०. तत्रमधुवाकारबि विविधाणि । ।

पथाय प्रशस्त गौतमास्मतुलापितः ।

संधः ।

४१. ख्यातिसमुवानातिलिङ्गः । ।

वाचायनिवाचार्येन प्रशस्तः।

Read L. 19: "श्रीमातः। ज्ञानः। पूजितः।

Read L. 9: "भूयालुः।"

Read L. 21: "श्रीरामः। पूजितः।

Read L. 26: "श्रीमातः। श्रीमातः। श्रीमातः।

Read L. 27: "श्रीमातः। श्रीमातः।

Read L. 28: "श्रीमातः। श्रीमातः।

Read L. 29: "श्रीमातः। "पूजितः। श्रीमातः।

Read L. 30: "पूजितः। श्री चंद्रितः।

Read L. 31: "क्ष्यातः। प्रविद्धः। श्रीभतः। बुद्धः।

Read L. 32: "श्रीमातः। ज्ञानः। श्रीमातः। श्रीमातः।

Read L. 33: "श्रीमातः। ज्ञानः। श्रीमातः।

Read L. 35: "श्रीमातः। ज्ञानः।

Read L. 36: "श्रीमातः। श्रीमातः।

Read L. 37: "श्रीमातः। "पूजितः। ज्ञानः।

Read श्रीमातः।

Read श्रीमातः।

Read श्रीमातः।

Read श्रीमातः।

Read श्रीमातः।
L. 42. सिंहिल्य: ॥
यावत् सैली चह्रय यावत् चह्रिवालयीः [1]
43. यवतीय जिन्द्राणीः[ः] तावत् नदन्त संधिरे. [2] ॥ ॥
वीरर्त [2]

ABSTRACTS.

No. xxxiv. Samvat 1783, Maha sudi 5; Siddhachakra, dedicated by Anandabai, wife of Shetà (Khetà) of the Shrimati laghusakhà, inhabitant of Dhanapura; consecrated by pandita Devachandra, pupil of upadhya Dipachandra, pupil of mahopadhyaya Jnanadharmaji, pupil of mahopadhyaya Rajaksraji in the Sakhà of Jnachandra Suri, gugrapadhana of the Brihat-Kharatara gachchha, who awakened Patisahi Akabbara.

No. xxxv. Samvat 1788, Magha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Bhimamuni dedicated by Dulichand, son of Sâ(hu) Kîkà of the Kharatara gachchha; consecrated by upadhya Dipachandragani.

No. xxxvi. (Date as above); an image of Sri-Yudhishthira [sthira] muni (remainder as above).

No. xxxvii. Vikrama Samvat 1788, Saka 1653, Magha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Premaji (surnamed Cheuli, from his residence in Cheula), of the Shrimali vridhasakhà, at the request of bhattaraka Vijaya-Dayasuri, and of the Tapà gachchha; consecrated by bhattaraka Sumatisagara of the same gachchha.

No. xxxviii. Samvat 1791, Vaishaka sudi 8, pushyårke; an image of Parsvanatha, dedicated by bhanghari Ratnaimha, a mahamantri, who caused an edict of amaví to be proclaimed in Gujurat, son of Udayakarana (and Udayavantadevi), son of Shetasihajj, son of bhanghari Dipaji, of the Osavala vridhasakhà and the Nâdula-gotra; consecrated in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Dayasuri, successor of Vijai-Kshambasuri, of the Tapà gachchha.

No. xxxix. Samvat 1794, Saka 1659, Asadha sudi 10, Sunday; an image of Parsvanatha, dedicated, and restoration of a temple made by bhanghari Harashachanda, son of bhanghari Sivachanda, son of bhanghari Rupachanda, son of bhanghari Târachanda, son of bhanghari Narayanaji, son of bhanghari Bhanaji, of the Osavarnamsa vridhasakhà, Nâdula-gotra, dedicated in the victorious reign of Jinaachandasuri of the Brihat-Kharatara gachchha, by pandita Devachandra, pupil of upadhya Dipachandrajaji, pupil of upadhya Jnanadharmaji, pupil of mahopadhyaya Rajaksraji.

41 Read L. 42: "विखिल त "विजिरभिर | च",
42 Read "विन्निल" नंदन्त संधिरे.
43 On a Siddhachakra slab in the south corridor of the Kharatara-vastra. — List, p. 206, No. 337.— J. B.
44 On the base of the image, on the right side of principal one in the Paûcha Pândava temple.— List, p. 207, No. 350.— J. B.
45 In Paûcha Pândava temple, on the base of the principal image.— List, ib.
46 Outside the door of a square temple opposite the south-west corner of the great Âdîvara.— List, p. 107, perhaps No. 100.
47 In the Vishnusara-vastra, on right hand when going towards the Hátipola, about half-way up.— List, p. 202, No. 247.
48 In the south wall outside the shrine door of a temple in the Chhipâvasi-vastra.— List, p. 207, No. 337.
No. xl. Saṁvat 1810, Māha sudi 13, Tuesday; an image of Sumatīnātha, dedicated by the whole Saṅgha, Saṅghavi Kachara Kīkā and the rest; dedicated by Sarvasūryā.

No. xli. Saṁvat 1814, Māha vadi 5, Monday; a temple with a sīkhara, dedicated by Vo. Kāśarīsaṅgha, son of Vo. Lādhā, (and Prāṇakumāra) son of Vo. Dipachand, son of Vo. Sakalachanda of the Prāgovāta-vānsa, laghuśākhā, inhabitant of Rājānagara; consecrated by Udayasūryā.

No. xlii. Saṁvat 1815, Vaisākhha sudi 6, Wednesday; an image of Pārvanātha dedicated by māsa Kuyarajī Lādhā of Bhāvanagara; consecrated by Rājasāmasūryā, of the Laghupōsāla gachchha.

No. xliii. Saṁvat 1822, Phāḷguna sudi 5, Thursday; two images in the Viśā, Deshavāla-Tapā gachchha's dera, dedicated by gāndhī Parasottama Śudarajī and by his nephew Amāīdāsa and his brothers Nāṭhā and Kunbera, all of Meśānā. The inscription was incised by Kuberā, in Saṁvat 1863, Chaitra sudi 2, Friday.

No. xlv. Saṁvat 1843, Śāka 1708, Māha sudi 11, Monday; an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by Premachanda, of Rājānagara, a Śrīmāli of the laghuśākhā of the Kāśyapa gotra and Paramāra race, consecrated by Vijaya-Jīnendrasūryā of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xlvii. Vikrama Saṁvat 1860, Śāka 1726, Vaisākhha sudi 5, Monday; an image of Śantinātha, dedicated by Harasṭhacāma, son of Hirachanda (and Kumaraśīlā), son of Sā Rāyakaraṇa, a Śrīmāli of the epiśhā śākhā, a native of Damaṇa-bandira (Daman), honoured by the Phirangijāti Puratakāla pātasāhi (the king of Portugal).

No. xlvii. (Date as in the preceding); a new image in the new temple of Vijjāhārā-Pārvanātha, dedicated by Sāvāichanda, son of Premachanda Jhaverachandra and Joyatt, a Jhaverī (jeweller) of the Usāvāla race in Surat, in the name of Premachanda and others, during the victorious reign of Vijaya-Daivachandrasūryā, of the gachchha Vijaya-Ānandasūryā, consecrated by Vijaya-Jīnendrasūryā of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xlviii. (Date as in No. xlv); a new image in the new temple of Asraḥūra (Vijjāhārā?) Pārvanāṭh, dedicated by Jhaverī Premachanda, . . . . an Usāvālo of Surat, belonging to the gachchha of Vijaya-Ānandasūryā, in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Devachandrasūryā, consecrated by Vijaya-Jīnendrasūryā, bhāṭṭāraka of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xlix. (Date as in No. xlv); an image of Sahasakutajī (Sahasrokaṭa), dedicated by Dāhābhājī, son of Sā Lālabhājī, grandson of Sā Bhāṣājī, a Śrīmāli, at the request of Puṇyasāgarasūryā of the Amchala gachchha, consecrated by Vijaya-Jīnendrasūryā of the Tapā gachchha.

No. l. Date and contents of the way preceding.

43 In a temple on the south of the way to the Hāṭhāpolā, in Vimalavās Tūṣk.—Listā, p. 204, No. 286.—J. B.
44 On south side corner of a temple in the outer compound of the Āḍīśvara temple.
45 On the base of an image in a temple on the south side of the way to the Hāṭhāpolā.—Listā, p. 204, No. 291.
46 In Modi Premachand's Tūṣk, No. 84.
47 In Vimalavās Tūṣk, in a small temple on the south of the Vāghana-pola.—Listā, p. 204, No. 304.—J. B.
48 In Modi Premachand's Tūṣk, on an image in the principal temple.—Listā, p. 207, No. 302.
49 On the base of an image in the temple on the right upon entering the Tūṣk of Modi Premachand.—Listā, p. 208, No. 307.—J. B.
50 In Modi Premachand's Tūṣk, on the base of an image in the temple facing the preceding.—Listā, p. 208, No. 304.
51 On a column in the Śesabokṭa in the Paṇḍāva's temple.—Listā, p. 207, No. 351.
52 In the same temple.—J. B.
No. l.²² Saṁvat 1860, Māhā sādya 13; a temple was begun and finished Saṁvat 1861, Pāhaga vadi 5, Wednesday, by Viŗachanda, son of Pitāmara, grandson of Harashchāmḍa, a Pārekh of Ahmadrābd, of the Visā-Paravāla gachchha, and of the gachchha of Viţaya-Anandasūri.

No. li.²³ Vikrama Saṁvat 1861 and Śālivāhana Śaṅka 1736, Dhātā saṁvatsara Mārgaśirsha sudi 3, Wednesday, Pūrvāśādha nakshatra, Viţḍhā Yoga, Gira Karana, in the victorious reign of Punyasāgrasūri, successor of Kirtisāgrasūri, successor of Udayśāgrasūri of the Āmchala gachchha, a kuṇḍa, called Icbhākumāda, was dedicated by Icchhābhāi, son of Nihalachandabbāi, a Śrīmāli of Surat; while the Gohil chief Unmadāi ruled over Pālitānā.

No. lii.²⁴ Saṁvat 1867, Chaitra sūda 15; an agreement in Gujarāti not to allow anybody to build temples in the Ḋāthī Pola.

No. liii.²⁵ Saṁvat 1875, Māgha vadi 4, Sunday; an image of Suvadhīnātha (?), dedicated by Sosaji, son of Mūlaji and Māmnakumāra, of Rādhana pura; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Sēdagraṣṭi, son of Mūlaji and (?); an image of Mallinātha, and a little temple (dehaṛi) dedicated by Kāṃtiyā Hemajjī, son of Ṭokarāt.

No. liv.²⁶ Saṁvat 1885, Vaiśākha śukla akshayatriiyā, Thursday; a temple of Chandraprabha, built, at the request of the Śravikā Gulaṇabent, by Bābu Harsha-

No. lvi.²⁷ Saṁvat 1886, Śaṅka 1751, Māgha, śuklapaksha 5, Friday; an image of Puṇḍarīka ganadharā, dedicated for the welfare of his father by Lallubhāi, son of Sēth Pānabhāi and his wife Mughivahu, daughter of Sēth Vakhatcāmḍa Khuśyālachām-

No. lvii.²⁸ (Date as above); a temple built and an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated for the welfare of Bāt Rāmākumārya, wife of Sāha Harakhachāmḍa, son of Sāha Mūlachāmḍa, of the Vṛiddhaśākhā of the Oṣa race, inhabitant of Rājanagarā; consecrated during the reign of Śantisāgrasūri of the Sāgara gachchha.

No. lviii.²⁹ (Date as above); a chaṭurvimśatīlīṭhakacārapaṭṭa with hrīṃkāra, dedicated by Motichāmḍa, son of Sāha Maḷukachāmḍa, and Kusabāl, of the Vṛiddhāsākhā of the Oṣa race, inhabitant of Rājanagarā; consecrated by the bhāṭṭāraka of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lix.³⁰ (Date as above); a parameshṭi[sthī]pada, with Omkāra, dedicated by the donor of No. lii; consecrated as above.

²² In Vimalavatī Tūṅk, to the south-east of the Channukh of a hundred pillars.—List, p 202, No. 245.—J. B.
²³ On a tank by the roadside part of the way down the hill.
²⁴ On the wall, beside the Hāthīpol, or the gateway separating the enclosure of the Ādīśvara Bhagavān and the eastern section of the Vimalavatī Tūṅk.—J. B.
²⁵ In Modī Premchandā's Tūṅk, in a cell or chapel in the north corridor.
²⁶ In a small temple to the south of Puṇḍarīka's.—List, p. 207, No. 345.
²⁷ In Hemabhai's Tūṅk, at the entrance.—List, p. 209, No. 408.
²⁸ On the west of an image south of Puṇḍarīka's in the entrance to Hemabhāi Vakhatcāmḍa's Tūṅk.
²⁹ In Hemabhai's Tūṅk, on the north wall of the Mapḍapa of the principal temple.—List, p. 209, No. 407.
³⁰ In the same temple, on the south wall.—J. B.
No. lxx. (Date as above); a temple and an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated for her husband's welfare by Ichhāvahu, wife of Nagindāsa, son of Śeṣṭh Himabhāi, son of Śeṣṭh Vakhatachanda Khuśyālachanda, of the Vṛddhasākhā, of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the reign of Sāntisāgasarsūri of the Sāgara gachchha.

No. lx. Saṃvat 1887, Vaisākha sudi 13, jñavāsara, in the reign of Gohel Kāmādhājī, kuṇvāra Noghaṇājī, of Pādaḷiptanagara, a temple (vihāra) built, and an image of Kumthanātha by Gajamalājī Parakh, son of Himatārāma, son of Śeṣṭh Tilokachandha of the Luniyā gotra, Ukeśa jñātiya Vṛddhasākhā, inhabitant of Ajmaneranagara; consecrated by Devachandha, in the reign of bhīṭ. Jinaharshasūri, of the Brihat-Kharatara gachchha.

No. lxi. Saṃvat 1888, Vaisākha vadi — sokvāsare (!), three images of Chandraprabha, etc., dedicated by Khemakuvārabāī, wife of Nihālachandha, son of Śeṣṭh Pāmniachandha, Ośavāla of Ahmadābād; consecrated by Devachandha, in the reign of Jīnharshasūri of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lix. Saṃvat 1889, Śaka 1755, Vaisākha śukla 13, Wednesday; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Ujamābāī, daughter of Vakhatachandha, an Ośavāla of the Vṛddhasākhā, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the reign of Sāntisāgasarsūri of the Sāgara gachchha. A small temple in the Moṭī ṭūṅk near Puṇchabhāi's temple by the same.

No. lixi. (Date as above); an image of Rishabhdeva, dedicated by Paradhāmnāvavāī, wife of Sūryamālā, son of Śreṣṭhī Vakhatachandha, of the Vṛddhasākhā of the Ukesa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated in the Sāgara gachchha (P).

No. lixiv. (Date as above); an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Kapurachanddājī, inhabitant of Sirohi, son of Pubachandha Jasarupājī, younger brother of Jasarupājī, son of Pāṭājī Parakh; consecrated in the Tapā gachchha.

No. lixv. (Date as above), chaturmukha bimba, dedicated for the welfare of Hemabhaī by his whole family, viz. Nagindāsa, his wife Ichhāvahu, his younger brother Premabhāi, his wife Sāmkalivahu and his sisters Rukhamāni, Prasana, Motikumāra—Hemabhāi’s wife Kamkvāvhu, parents Śeṣṭh Vakhatachandha and Jadāvabāī, grandfather Khusālachandha, Ośavālas of the V. S., inhabitants of Ahmadābād; consecrated by Sāntisāgasarsūri of the Sāgara-gachchha.

No. lixvi. (Date as above, but sukra 12, Wednesday (?); a paṇchahaparameshṭi-[śhṛṭī]-paṭṭa, containing an Īmākara, dedicated by Ujamābāī (see No. lixii); consecrated in the Tapā gachchha (P).

No. lixvii. Saṃvat 1889, Śaka 1754 Vaisākha, śuklapaksha 12, Wednesday, a chaturvimśatitirthankarapatta, containing a Ḡṛṅkāra, dedicated by Ujamābāī (see No. lixi), consecrated in the Tapā gachchha (P).

1 In a shrine in Hemabhāi’s Šuṅk.—Lista, p. 209, No. 413.—J. B.
2 Outside Kharatara-vara Šuṅk, in a temple at the north-west corner.—Lista, p. 207, No. 317.—J. B.
3 In one of the shrines round the court of Hemabhāi’s Šuṅk, on the north side.
4 In a small shrine on the south corridor of the same.
5 In Hemabhāi’s Šuṅk in a shrine in the south corridor room No. 4.
6 In Hemabhāi’s Šuṅk, north corridor room No. 2.
7 In the shrine of the temple in the north-east of the court.—Lista, p. 209, No. 412.
8 In the principal temple in Hemabhāi’s Šuṅk, on the south wall, see No. lixii.
9 In Hemabhāi’s temple, in the Manḍapa north wall, east corner, see No. lixii.—J. B.
No. lxviii. Saṃvat 1891, Māgha, śīta 5, Monday, during the reign of Gohel Khāmdhājī, his son being Noghaṇājī and his son Pratāpasinghajī, of Pālītānā, an image of Rishabha, dedicated by Imḍrājī, son of Nihālachāmā, of the Yadugāḍa-gotra, Osāvāla race, Bhīhat-Sākhā, inhabitant of Makṣudāvāḍ-Bāluchara; consecrated by Pām. Devachandra, pupil of Pām. Jayavāṃtajī, in the reign of Jina harsha of the Bhīhat-Kharatara gachchha.

No. lxix. Saṃvat 1892, Vaisākha, śīta 3, Friday, in the reign of Gohal Khaṃdajī (etc., see No. lxviii), images of Sambhavanātha, Pārśvanātha and Śītalanātha, dedicated by Mahetābakumāra, wife of Bābu Pratāpasinghajī, brother of Bābu Bahādarasinghajī, son of Bābu Rādhāsinghajī, of the Yadugāḍa-gotra, Ukesa race, Bhīhat-Sākhā, of Makṣudāvāḍ-Bāluchara; consecrated in the reign of Jina Harsha of the Bhīhat-Kharatara gachchha by P. Devachandra, pupil of P. Jayabhudra, pupil of P. Kanaka Sekharajī.

No. lxx. Saṃvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha vadi 2, Wednesday; a temple built and image of Ādinātha dedicated by Phulakumāra, daughter of Anopabahī and Manachhī, Anopabahī being son of Vakhatachāmā (see above, No. xlv); consecrated by Śāmītisāgara of the Sāgara gachchha.

No. lxxi. (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāmītīnātha dedicated by Ujalivahī, wife of Phatebhaī, son of Motichāmā, Vṛiddha-Sākhā, Osāvāla, inhabitant of Rājanagarā, consecrated by Śāmītisāgara of the Sāg. ga.

No. lxxii. (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāmītīnātha dedicated by Bhagubhai, son of Phatebhai (wife Acharatavahu), son of Motichanda (see No. lxxi); consecrated by Śāmītisāgara of the Sāgara-gotra.

No. lxxiii. (Date as above), a temple built in Hemabhāi's tuṅk and image of Ajītanātha dedicated by Sā Laṣhamīchaṃda (wife Pārvati), son of Sā Jesamgha, son of Sā Hirāchāmā, of the Vṛiddha-Sākhā, Usāvāla, inhabitant of Khaṃbha-nayara.

No. lxxiv. Saṃvat 1893, Jyesṭha śūdi 3, Wednesday; an image of Gomukha Yaksha, dedicated by Bāphaṇā Gomāṃnachāmājī Bahādaramallajī of Jeśalmeru, consecrated by Jina mahāmadrasūri of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lxxv. Saṃvat 1898, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by Premachandra, etc. (see next inscription), consecrated by Pādnavijaya, etc. (see next inscription).

No. lxxvi. Saṃvat 1898, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10, Wednesday; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by Ajāb and Mānakumāra, the first and second mothers of Sā Pitāmara, son of Sā Sākalanachāmā, son of Sā Premachāmā, son of Sā Dāmodarāçā of the Laghu Sākhā of the Śrīmāla race, inhabitants of Ahammadāvād, consecrated by

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90 In temple outside the gate of Paṇḍarika temple of the Kharataravaī Tuṅk and next to that containing inscription No. lx.—Listes, p. 206. No. 341.—J. B.
91 Outside the enclosure of the great Chaumukha on the east, next to preceding on the base of an image.—Listes, p. 206. No. 339.
92 In Hemabhāi Tuṅk, west corridor, room No. 1.
93 In the same Tuṅk in a shrine in the west corridor.
94 In Hemabhāi's Tuṅk, west corridor, room No. 5.
95 In the Hemabhāi Tuṅk, north corridor, first room.
96 In the shrine of Chaumukha, at the entrance to the Chaumukha temple.—Listes, p. 205 No. 311.
97 Sākalanachand Premachand's Tuṅk, on the seat below the image (Chintāmanī Pārśvanāthī), in a cell in the west corridor of the principal temple.—Listes, p. 215, No. 494.
98 In Sākalanachand Premachand's Tuṅk, on the seat of Paṇḍarika, facing the principal temple.—J. B.
Rāpavijayaganī, pupil of Padmavijayaganī, a Sāmvyānāmargī, of the line of Vijayasyasūrī, in the Sāmviṃjayamārgīya—Tapā gachchha.

No. lxxxii. (Date as above), an image of Padmanātha, dedicated by Sā Mālachanda, son of Sā Karmachanda, son of Sā Premachanda (etc., see above) consecrated by Rāpavijayaganī (etc., see No. lxxxvi).

No. lxxxii. (Date as above), an image of Dharmmanātha, dedicated by Amarakamanda (and family), son of Ratnakhinachamanda and Devakūra Bāt, son of Premachanda and Ichhābāl of the Osa race, Laghu Sākhā, inhabitant of Mumbāt, consecrated in the reign of Vijāya-Dhanesvarasūri of the gachchha of Vijāya-Ānandāsūri, called the Tapā gachchha.

No. lxxxiv. (Date as above), an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Sā Sāhavisingha, son of Sā Keśirisingha, son of Sā Khusālachamanda, son of Sā Nāhālachamanda, an Ośavāla of the Vṛiddhasākhā, inhabitant of Ahamadāvād, consecrated by Śāntisinghasūri of the Sāgara gachchha.

No. lxxxv. (Date as above), an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by Khemachamanda (and family), son of Sēṭh Motichamanda and Divālī Bāt, son of Sēṭh Amichamanda and Rūpa Bāt; an Ośavāla of the Vṛiddhasākhā and Nāhāṭa gotra, inhabitant of Mumbaibindara (Bombay), consecrated by Jīnāmah īmāṛasūri, successor of Jīnāhārhasūri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara gachchha (Kharatara Pippalīya), during the reign of Gohel Pratāpasinghājī.

No. lxxxvi. (Date as above), image of Śēṭh Motichamanda and his wife Ichhārālī set up by Śēṭh Khemachamanda, in the Kharatara-Ghtinalīya (Pippalīya?) gachchha.

No. lxxxvii. (Date as above), image of Śāntinātha, dedicated by Śēṭh Amichamanda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jīnāmah īmāṛasūri, (Kharatara-Pippalīya-gachche bha-ja-gu śrī-Jinadevasūri tatpaṭṭe bha-śrī-Jinachamandasūrye vidyāmāne sparīkarasam-yute).

No. lxxxviii. (Date as above), an image of Supārśvanātha, dedicated by Rūpa Bāt, wife of Śēṭh Amichamanda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jīnāmah īmāṛasūri, etc., (see the preceding No. lxxxvii).

No. lxxxix. (Date as above), an image in the temple of āśraya-Kesarīdevī (Ambā), dedicated by Mūṅgīvalū, wife of Khemachamanda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jīnāmah īmāṛasūri, etc., (see No. lxxxvii).

No. lxxxi. (Date as above), an image of Pūndarīka, dedicated by Khemachamanda (and family, etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jīnāmah īmāṛasūri, etc. (see No. lxxxvii).

No. lxxxi. (Date as above), Saṅvat 1697, Śāka 1763, Vaiśāka, śukla 13, Monday; an image

99 In the temple in the north-east corner of Sākachand Premachand's Tūk.—Lists, p. 213, No. 498.—J. B.
100 In Motiśāh's Tūk, in the temple on the south side of the principal one.—Lists, p. 210, No. 420.
1 In Motiśāh's Tūk, on the base of image in a temple on the north of the principal one.—Lists, p. 210, No. 433.
2 In Motiśāh's Tūk, on the base of the principal image in the temple next to the preceding.
3 Near the door below the image of the Śeṭh and his wife, in the principal temple in Motiśāh's Tūk.—Lists, 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 Motiśāh Amichand's Tūk.
7 On the base of Pūndarīka, in the temple at the entrance of Motiśāh's Tūk; the temple of Pūndarīka always faces the principal shrine of Ādinātha.—Lists, p. 209, No. 418.—J. B.
8 On the base of image in a temple behind the principal one in Motiśāh's Tūk.—Lists, p. 210, No. 421.
of Ádinátha, dedicated by Phulachámdá, son of Kapurachámda and Kasali, son of Párekh Jíbogá (?) and Lashami, Sríamáli of the Vriddha Śákha, inhabitant of Mumbábidar (Bombay), consecrated in the reign of Vijaya Devidasúri of the Tapá gachchha.

No. lxxxvii.® Samvat 1900, Sáka 1765, Mágha śākla 7, Friday; a temple built by Kshemachámda.

No. lxxxviii.® Samvat 1903, Sáka 1768, Mágha, krishna 5, Friday; an image of Rúpabáti (etc., see No. lxxxi), dedicated by Kshemachámda; in the reign of Jínamihándrasúri of the Brihat-Kharatara Pipaliya gachchha.

No. lxxxix. Samvat 1905, Vāsāsha, śukla 1, Monday; an image of Ádinátha, dedicated by mehetá Mótichámda, son of m. Khetasí, Ośaválá of the Vriddha-Śákha, inhabitant of Pálanápúra; two other images of Ádinátha, dedicated by his wives Rámakuyara and Ímdara, two more images of Ádinátha, dedicated by Manágáli, son of metá Íśvara and Jñánaválu, son of Rámakuyar and Mótichámda, as well as by Dílubáí, wife of Khetásí, son of Múláchámda, in the reign of Devimihándrasúri of the Tapá gachchha.

No. xc.® Samvat 1905, Sáka 1770, Mágha, śukla 5, Monday; a temple built, thirty-two images of Chándraprabhu and other Jinas dedicated, a dharmakyá 120 gaja long and 40 gaja broad, built in Pálitáná, south side, an upásar in Pálitáná for the Ámchala gachchha restored, (all) by Sá Hírají and Sá Virají with their wives Purabáí and Lílálí Bái, they being sons of Sá Narasí and Kuarabáí, son of Bháramalla, and Manáka Bái Ósaválas of the Laghu-sásá, and Nágadvá-gotra, members of the Ámchala gachchha, inhabitants of Nabhinpura in Kachha, the pious works being made by the advice (upadesá) of Muktiságaraśúri of the Ámchala gachchha.

No. xci. Pedigree and record of the benefactions of Sét Vákhatáchanda, his son Hemábáí and his grandson, the late Nagarsét Premábáí of Ahmadábád. He belonged to the Ośaválajñáti, the Addai Śákha, the Sáchiś-vahí, the Kunkumalalagotra, worshipped the gotra-deví Ásápúri, the Kshetrapálá Barađá. The pedigree includes (1) [K]úntapaitirajá Samamataśangha rāmo, (2) his son Kuarápála, converted to Jainism by Akháraja Dharmagosášúri; (3) his son Sá Harapati, (4) his son Sá Váchchhá, (5) his son Sá Sehasakaraí, (6) his son Sét [Sá]mítáśasa of Rájanagar, a courtier (rásasábharagára) in the time (pravartte) of Dalipatipátasá—Sähájámájí, his son Sét Lakhamiachánda; (8) his son Shushálachánda (Khushálchand), wife Jhamaku; (9) their son Sét Vashatáchánda (Vákhatáchand). Then follow the names of the latter's wives, children and grand-children, an enumeration of his, and his family's benefactions with dates, from V. S. 1864 to 1905 and a pátjávali of the Ságara-gachchha; (1) Rájaságaraśúri; (2) Vriddhiságaraśúri; (3) Lakshmiságaraśúri; (4) Kalyánáságaraśúri; (5) Punyaságaraśúri; (6) Udayáságaraśúri; (7) Ánandaśágaraśúri; (8) Sántiságaraśúri, V. S. 1905.

No. xcii.® Samvat 1908, Chaitra vada 10, Wednesday; a temple built in the Muhatá

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* In Sákaláchánd Premáchánd’s Šrúk, on the left side wall, near the shrine door of the temple on the south-east.—Liste, p. 213, No. 499.

® On the base of a female image near the door of the principal temple in Motiśáh’s Šrúk.

* In Motiśáh’s Šrúk, south corridor, first room.

® In the Kharatavádi Šrúk in a temple outside the Channukh enclosure and behind that of Narí Khéájí.

* In Hemabhá Vákhatáchánd’s Šrúk, on the front wall, at the south corner, outside the principal temple of Ajitaráth, built by Premabhá.—Liste, p. 209, No. 67.—I. B.

® In Motiśáh’s Šrúk, in a room in the south corridor.
Moti-vasi (Motiśāh’s Tuṇk), by Vṛiddhishamādajī, son of Muhāt Padachāna and Punyakuara, of the Ośa race, inhabitants of Vikānera; consecrated by Pām. Devendrakūśala, brother of Ānāmdakūśala of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xcii. Samvat 1908, Vaisāsha krishṇa 7, Monday; an image of Dharmanāthajī, dedicated by Khusālabhāṣī, son of Dipachāndra, a Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Rājānagara. No. xciv. (Date as above), an image of Šumatināthā, dedicated by Jeṭhābhaī, another son of Dipachāndra (see No. xcii).

No. xcv. (Date as above), an image of Rishabhā, dedicated in the reign of Harkhachandasāṇī by Jeṭhābhaī (&c., see No. xciv) of the Pāyačāndra (? ) gachchha, consecrated by Pām. Ānāmdakūśala.

No. xcvi. Samvat 1910, Chetra, śukla 15, Thursday; in the reign of Rājarājēsvara Mahārājādhirāja (!!) Gohil Śrī Noghāna, his son being Pratāprājāghajī, of Pālītanā, a new temple built and eight images of Adijina, Suivrata, Ādinātha, Nāmātā, Adinātha, Śrūvta, Sāntināthā and Pārvanāthā, dedicated by Śeṭh Vaghāmalajī, son of Agarakurvabbaṭī and Dhanārāpamalla, Osavāla of the Vṛiddha Śākhā and Śrī-Muṃmiyā gctra, inhabitants of Ajamera, consecrated in the reign of Jinasambhāgyāśūrī, successor of Jina hariśa of the Khar. ga. by Hemachāndra, younger pupil (laghusikhyā) of Māmmasunḍaraṇjī, of Harshakīrtti, pupil of Dayāvīlasajī, pupil of Jayabhadrjī, pupil of Pām. Kanakakشبhajī.

No. xcvii. Samvat 1911, Phalguna, krishṇa 2 Monday, an image of Abhinnanādasvāmīmālakāyaka, dedicated in the Motivasūtuṇka by Sā Kālidāsa, son of Bāl-Deva and Bhagavāna, son of Sā Harashachāndra, a Visā Poravāda, inhabitant of Rājānagara; consecrated by Pām. Ānāmdakūśala in the reign of Devimādharma in the Tapā gachchha.

No. xcviii. Samvat 1913, Māgasara, śudi 6; Nāvāsare, an image of Sāntināthā, dedicated by Śeṭh Phattobhāṭī, son of Sā Motibhāṭī and Rupakurvarabāṭī, of the Sisodiā-sābhā and Kumākamolagotra, inhabitant of Ammadāvāḍ.

No. xcix. (Date as above), an image of Dharmanāthā, dedicated by Śeṭh Chagana-bhāṭī, son of Siradārakurvarabāṭī and Sā. Mānaśushabhaṭī, of the Sisodiā sābhā and the Kumākamolagotra, inhabitant of Ahamadāvāḍ.

No. c. (Date as above), an image of Abhinnandana, dedicated by Samarathakurvarabāṭī, daughter of Pradhānakurvarabāṭī and Śeṭh Surajmalabhaṭī, Osavāla of the Sisodiā sābhā and the Kumākamolagotra, inhabitant of Ahamadāvāḍ.

No. ci. Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mārgāśirha, śudi 7, Monday; an image of Dattajina, dedicated by Bāḷ Aimbda, wife of Sāhā Velachāndra Mānyekachāndra of Rājanagara.

No. cii. Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mārgāśirha, vadi aikame, Wednesday (vārabuddhe); an image of Śrūvattajina, dedicated by Bāḷ Harakuṭīyya, wife of Māṇikachāndra Khimachāndra, an Usa of Rājanagara.

15 In Motīśāh’s Tuṇk, 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 Chasmukh enclosure, on the east wall of a marble temple behind the great one.—Lītra, p. 206, No. 325.
19 In Motīśāh’s Tuṇk, in a room in the south corridor.—J. B.
20 Date on the image 903.
21 In Hemabahā’s Tuṇk, south wing, room No. 33.—J. B.
22 Hemabahā’s Tuṇk, south wing, No. 32.
23 In the same corridor, No. 31.
24 In Motīśāh’s Tuṇk, south corridor, No. 26; see No. c.
25 In Motīśāh’s Tuṇk, south corridor, No. 22.—J. B.
26 Date on the image Samvat 1893.
No. ciii.²⁷ Samvat 1916, Vaisakha, krishna 6, Thursday, (utarakrāntihasakhatra samkrānti mesha, sūra udayaṭ ghaṭi 1, pala 45); a temple (Śrīcānupījyaprasāda) built, yātrā and various benefactions made by an inhabitant of Kapadavanaja, a Nāma by race, of the Vṛiddha-sāhā and Maṇiṣya-gotra, called Śa Hirajī, his son Guhaka-
chānda and wife Manakura, their son Pārekha Mithubhai and wife Benakura,
their son Karamachānda and wives (1) Bāl Jaḍava, (2) Bāl Śiven, consecrated in the
reign of Vidyānāmasūri, successor of Dhaneśarasūri of the Āgandasūri gaĉcha
by Gaṇi Ramgavijaya, pupil of Paṁ. Viravijaya, pupil of Paṁ. Dhravijaya, a samvega-
pakshi, pupil of Paṁ. Khemāvijaya of the Tapā gaĉcha, during the reign of rājā-
dhirēja Pratāpasīṅghajī.

No. civ.²⁸ Samvat 1916, Śaka 1781, Phalguna, krishna 2, Friday; an image of
Ajitanāthā, dedicated in the new temple in the Vakhatachāṃḍavāsi, by Śeth Aṇo-
pachānda, son of Vakhatachānda (etc., see No. xci), and by his wife Adbhī and
daughter Bāl Ddbīrya (Dhrajī), in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrasūri of the
Tapā gaĉcha.

No. cv.²⁹ Samvat 1922, Mārgasara, vadi 7, Thursday; an image of Aranātha,
dedicated by Śrivaprasāda, son of Moḍi Nāmadā, Ośavāla of the Vṛiddha Sākhā and
the Chhajḍū gotra, inhabitant of Kāśī, consecrated by Hirajajīndra, pupil of Paṁ.
Devachānda, by command of (?) Jīnaṃuktistūri of the Bṛihat-Khairatara gaĉcha.

No. cvii.³⁰ Samvat 1924, Māgha sukla 10, Monday³¹; an image of Sitalanāthājī,
dedicated by Śa Amolakakasalā, a Dasa-Poravāda of the Laghu-Sākhā, inhabitant of
Viśālanagara (Visalnagar?) in Gujara-desa; his sons were Mālachānda, Mayāchānda,
Ravichānda, their sons Gokula, Dīpachānda and Shimachānda; consecrated in the
reign of Vijaya-Devendrasūri of the Tapā gaĉcha by Paṁ. Ratnavijaya.

No. cviii.³² Samvat 1928, Māgha sukla 18, Thursday; an image of Pārvajīna,
in their own temple (deharī) in the Tūn of Śeṭh Motisā, dedicated by Prāgajī and
his father Gaḷālachānda, the latter being the son of Bāl Iratana, and Khinajī, son of
Jhaveri Velji of Nāvānagara.

No. cix.³³ Samvat 1930, Chaitra vada 2; an image of Dharmnamātha, dedicated by
Śa Māmakoṭaḥāṃḍa Motichāṃḍa, of Amadāvāḍ.

No. cx.³⁴ Vikrama-Samvat 1939, Mahāmāsa, krishna 12, Tuesday; an image of Sa-
tināthā, dedicated by Nānapujā Śa Pitaśharadāsā, a Poravāda of the Laghu Sākhā
inhabitant of Amadāvāḍ.

No. cxii.³⁵ Samvat 1940, Saka 1805, Vaisakha, sukla 3, Monday (īṣṭa ghaṭi 3 pala
10 svarodayaṭ); during the reign of Goyala Sūrasiṃghajī of Pālitānā, in the time of
Vivekāgarāsūri of the Amchāla gaĉcha, an image of Adināthā dedicated in
Śa Keśavā Nāyaka’s Tūn in the temple of Pundarika, by Sāhīa Trīkama, who lives
in Nalinapura, in Kheĉhā and in Mu[m] bābīndar (Bombay), an Ośavāla of the
Laghu sākhā and Shotā-gotra; consecrated by Muni Shetasi.

²⁷ In the Bāḷabhā Teluk, near the shrine door of the temple in the south-east.—Lists, p 212, No. 493—J. B.
²⁸ In Hemadpāṭ Teluk, in another room, No. 27 of the same Bhāmī, with No. c.
²⁹ In Motēshā’s Teluk, in a room in the south corridor, No. 23, in the same room as No. c.
³⁰ In Motēshā’s Teluk, in the south corridor room No. 22—J. B.
³¹ Date on the image—Samvat 1903.
³² In Motēshā’s Teluk, in the south corridor room No. 30—J. B.
³³ In Motēshā’s Teluk, south corridor No. 35.
³⁴ In Śeṭhacandra Premachānda’s Teluk, west side corridor, small shrine No. 18, under an image.
³⁵ In the shrine of Pundarika at Keśavā Nāvāk’s temple in Vimalavāsi Teluk.—J. B.
No. cxii. Samvats 1490, Māgha sukla 6, Saturday; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Parasatāmidhayā (?), son of Jayasimha Himachāmanda, a Śrīmālī of the Vṛiddha Śākha, inhabitant of Amatavāśma (?), consecrated by Paññyāsa Gulābavijayagaṇi, pupil of Paññyāsa Maṇivijaya.

No. cxiii. Samvats 1490, Phālguṇa sukla 3, Friday; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Rāmaḥaṃda Phulachāmanda, a Vṛiddha Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Anāhilapura; consecrated by Paññyāsa Gulābavijayagaṇi, pupil of Paññyāsa Maṇivijaya-gaṇi of the Saṃvijyā-pakṣha of the Tapā gachchha.

No. cxiv. Samvats 1491, Paśuṇa asāṃti, Monday; a Vāṃpaṭjyajina, dedicated by Sā Kevāḷa Lakhāmīchā(m)ā, a Dasā Saramālī (Śrīmālī) of Amādavād, his wife Kesarabāt, his son Chuniḍāla, with his wife Parasanabāt, and their daughter Bena Śāmkūna.

No. cxv. Samvats 1492, Māgadhā sukla 10, Thursday; an image of Sā(m)ūnātha, dedicated by Sā Lalū Vakhatacāmanda (a), a Visā-Osāvāla of Amādavād, his wife Bāt Adhir, his daughter Dhūraja, and his sons Vāḍilāla and Bholābāt.

No. cxvi. No date; an image of Śreyāṁsa, dedicated at the request (upadeśa) of Kalyāṇasāgarasūri of the Amohala gachchha, consecrated on Vaisākha sudi 3, Wednesday.

No. cxvii. Samvats 15 ... (? ?) ... sudi 5; buddhe, an Ashtāpada, dedicated by Jhaverachāmanda (?), mentions also the name of Udayasāgarasūri.

L. 1. # ची # सं # १५५० [प] बी पूर्वी-  
2. सालों सूचिशिलानिकी-  
3. सामग्रीमूलाखालीपादानं-  
4. निजवजनरतासागिरी-  
5. ब्रह्मवर्गज्ञानीविविधी-  
6. लालों म्हटवक्तीविक्वयते  
7. नुक्षिप्तस्मृताविक्वित-  
8. भृगुसर्वस्त्राक्षराधारा-  
9. रविदानी ची # सौत्तिरि-  
10. नवस्थापाधारानां मान्चाप्रमी-  
11. जित्वेलिनिमन्तिसवल-  

No. cxviii. 12. सत्वद्रव्ययुक्त[सु]मितिका-  
13. यां प्रवकिरीपूर्णाययां [त-]  
14. विच्छेदकलवीचकोटिः-  
15. कोटिभिन्नकोटिश्च  # भिन-  
16. मल्लस्यामिः # चे पं । तेसः  
17. द्वारे गं वीचामुखस्यन्तंकर-  
18. पं धान्यविजय गं पं । अयवि-  
19. जय गं नवस्यविहस्विं-  
20. जय गं सुखि [वे] समाहितसुनिन-  
21. मल्लइविरितिनिभिः-  
22. १०-रेखता यात्रा द्वित वदम् [ङ्]

Samvats 1650, Chaitra, full moon day; Vimalaharsha, pupil of bhaṭṭāraka Hira-vijaya, of the Sāpaha gotra, which latter was honoured by Sāhi Akabarba and received from him the Siddhasāla (Satrumājaya), made a pilgrimage, together with 200 other monks.

26 In a cell of Kṛśavī Nāyaṅ's temple in the Vimalavāla Thunk, east corridor.—J. B.
27 In some place as the proceeding.
28 In Sākhalacand Premachanda's Thunk, on the seat below the image in the temple to the right of the principal one.
29 In Sākhalacand Premachanda, under an image, west side, corridor 17.
30 On the base of an image in a temple outside the Hāthīpol, north side.—List, p. 201, No. 284.
31 This name shows that the inscription belongs to Samvats 1675 or 1882—1676 is the date of the temple.—J. B.
32 On a brass plate in Modi Premachand's temple, see No. xliv.—J. B.
33 On the south wall of the temple of Adśvara Bhagavān temple.—J. B.
34 Read भारतः
35 Read शाखिः
36 Read नागपठः
37 Read चिन्हः
38 Read सूतरः
39 Read विद्यालयः
40 Read विद्यालयः
VII.—VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SĀNCHI 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 Sānchī, 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 Sānchī 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—xiv 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 Inschr. Ind., vol. I, Plate xx 3, 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 Kośambī edict on the Allahābād Pillar. This much appears highly probable from a comparison of the middle portions of the two inscriptions:

\[
\text{Allahābād.} \quad \text{Sānchī.} \\
\begin{align*}
\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots & \text{sāmghāna} [\ldots] \\
\text{[Bhokh]ati bhikhu} & \text{[vā]} \text{bhikhuni-vā, \[pi\]} \\
\text{chā} [\ldots] & \text{[\ldots]} \text{dā[ā]ni [d]usni} \text{. nam} \\
\text{dāpayaṭu} & \text{ānapesa} \text{. v. s. y. y. [\ldots]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots & \text{sāmghāna} (3) \\
\text{Bhokhathī bhikhu} & \text{[vā]} \text{ā bhikhuni [vā]} \\
\text{[\ldots]} & \text{dātā} (4) \text{ ni du[ā]ni s[ā]nam} \text{.} \\
\text{[\ldots]} & \text{[dh]ā} [\text{p}[\text{a}^*] \text{yit [u]}^* \text{a]n}[\text{a}^*] [\text{p}^*] [\text{e} (5) \text{sasi} \\
\text{visapeta]vi [\ldots] Ichhā hi me sā (6) ti} \\
\text{saṁghas} & \text{4 mage chilathitkhe siyā ti (7).}
\end{align*}
\]

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

“Monks and nuns will dine, (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 Mālvā, just as the edict on the Allahābād Pillar gives directions to the governor of

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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. Inschr. Ind., vol. I Plate xx) have the following readings, which I have corrected:

L. 4, ta bhikhu ... i satṭātu (A) chā bhikhuni yi khuddā (B); 
L. 6, dupanā (A), du [sa] pir (B); sasānah (A, B), ekhaṣaṁ anātā (A); pāṭīta anā (B); 
L. 6, cādhpatavāya (A).
L. 7, tiṁ saṁghātena (A), tiṁ (B); milahūtkhe (A).
I do not dare to propose a restoration of the first three lines of the Sānchī 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 *dusse*), 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 Śānchi version, which probably was omitted on the Allahābād Pillar, may mean either that the king wishes the tenets (*mage*) of the Buddhist monks to exist for a long time, or that he desires the visits of the faithful to the sacred places to continue for a long time. The wording of this inscription shows the peculiar breadth which the Beloved of the Gods affects in his edicts, and we have the phrases, familiar to every reader of the latter, “for it is my wish” and “that . . . may endure for a long time.” Finally, it must be pointed out that *chitātikita*, instead of which the dialect of Malvā 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 Śānchi version show the type of Aśoka’s Rock and Pillar edicts. This inscription furnishes, therefore, the proof that the pillar at the South Gate, on which it has been found, dates from Aśoka’s times. It, further, permits us to infer that those inscriptions on the railings of the Stūpa, which show the same characters, belong to an equally early period. The latter inference agrees with Sir A. Cunningham’s views, who, besides, has assigned the inscriptions on the gateway to much later times. According to his opinion all the latter documents belong to the first century A.D., because their characters are of the same type as his No. 190, which records a donation of Vāsīthiputa Ānanāda, āvesani or foreman of the artisans of king Śīra-Sētakāṇi. Identifying this Sētakāṇi 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 Ānanāda’s inscription in the beginning of the first century of our era. Though I fully agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the Sētakāṇi of his No. 190 to be the third Andhra king of the Paurāṇik lists, I must differ from him regarding the date. The characters of his inscription No. 190, as well of the others on the Śānchi gateway, are in my opinion much earlier than the first century of our era. They are almost identical with those of the Nānīghat 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 Śēth Nāgapiya group, our Nos. 85 (≈ C. 182) and C. 192, are in the later characters, while one, our No. 7 (≈ C. 13) on Stūpa No. II, shows the same characters as Aśoka’s inscriptions. Such a vacillation is easily explicable, if Nāgapiya lived in the second century B.C. But it is difficult to understand on the supposition that his donations were made two centuries later. Further, there is another important argument, which makes it probable that the first Śīra-Sētakāṇi 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. Bhagvanlāl in identifying the first Andhra Sētakāṇi with the Sētakāṇi, whom Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga, protected in the second year of his reign.

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6 *Dhaka Toper*, 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 *Guptiputra*, means only that the royal wife *Sudhita* was the son of a lady of the *Gota* or *Gupta* race. It by no means follows that she was the same person as the *Gota* or *Gupta* who bore the famous Buddhist teacher of Aśoka’s times.

7 *Actes du troisième Congrès int. des Orient*, vol. III, 2, p. 148 Dr. Bhagvanlāl, who assumes that the Maurya era began with Aśoka’s conquest of Kaliṅga, fixes the beginning of Sētakāṇi’s reign in 86 B.C.
thirteenth year of Khāravela corresponds with the year 165 of the Maurya era (Bhagvānlāl, 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 Śīrī-Sātakaṇi was on the throne about that time. For these reasons I must assign our Nos. 83—88 and Sir A. Cunningham’s Nos. 178, 179, 183, 184, 186—192, 194—196 to the first half of the second century B.C. To the same, and partly even to a later, period belong also our Nos. 13 (C. 25), 21 (C. 39), 51 (C. 112), 96, 108, 111 and 123. Among these, Nos. 13, 51 and 95 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 annusvāra 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 vedākṣas.

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 Śēṭh Nāgapāyiya, whose case has already been noticed. It is further remarkable that Balaka, the pupil of Arāhaguta-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 (Bhīsaka 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 Moggaliputra, who, according to the Buddhist works, presided at the third Council of Pātaliputra, and of Majhima who was sent as missionary to the districts in the Himalaya and is called in the inscription on the relic box sāvahemavatāchāriya “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 ī and ā, which sometimes end in ya or yā, and sometimes in ye. Not traceable in Pali and Aśoka’s edicts is the ablative in álo, which occurs three times in I, 51, 59, and 64. It is found once in the Bharhut inscription No. 116. It is very common in the Jaina Mathurā inscriptions, and the

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

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

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

original from which the Śaunskṛti termination ādo and the Mahāśtri ādo have been derived. Peculiar is also the nominative, instead of the crude form, at the end of the first part of a compound. It occurs once in I. 3, where kekaṭeyakasa jamaṭā-vijitaṣa is a negligent spelling for kekaṭeyakasa jamaṭā-vijitaṣa, and takes the place of the grammatically correct jamaṭu or jamaṭi-vijitaṣa. The same anomaly is repeatedly observable in the Bharhut inscriptions, see e.g. No. 10, isimigo-jataka, and it is very common in the Jaina Mathurā inscriptions. Further, the use of the feminine affix ā at the end of female names in devā, e.g. Soṇado [de]vā, I, 8; Dhamadevā II, 3; which agrees with that of the Bharhut inscriptions e.g. in Chāpadevā, No. 22, differs from the Pali. But it would be correct even in Sanskrit, if the compounds are taken as Bahuvrīhis 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 Gårdr edicts. Even the ra, which is never changed to ia, is occasionally preserved in groups of consonants. And it is worthy of note that in the name Prāṭihānaśa, I. 12, even the spelling of the initial syllable agrees exactly with that used in the Gårdr inscriptions for words like prāṇa, priya and so forth. The ā stroke is attached to ra, and both are placed above the pa, which thus shows at the top the well-known wavy line. Some of the words, which differ from those used in Pali and Aśoka’s edicts, are at least-formed according to principles prevalent or traceable in the most ancient Prakrits. Bhāhku, which appears far more frequently than bhikku, shows the change of kṣa to chōkha or chha observable in Pali achchhi, a variant for akkhi, and Aśoka’s chhuda for khudaka 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 smuṣa “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 smuṣa are suṃśā, suṃsā and husā. Nusā, a further corruption of nhusā, appears in our inscription, I. 73. The proper name Pāṭihīya, I. 22, 23; no doubt represents the Sanskrit pratiśhtita, 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 Sānchī and Bharhut inscriptions exhibit are, I think, merely graphic and partly due to negligent spelling. Among these I would reckon—:

(1) The frequent omission of a medial long ā, e.g. in danaṁ for danaṁ, I. 6, 49, 82, jamaṭa for jamaṭā, I. 3, Acaḷaya for Acaḷāya, I. 6, Soṇado[de]vāya for Soṇadevāya, I. 8, upasikāye for upāsikāye, I. 20, Asvadevāye for Asvadevāye, I. 80, Yasilaya for Yasilāya, I. 33, pajaṭatiya for pajaṭatiyā, I. 48, bhātu for bhātu, I. 63, Samīdāṣa for Śamīdatāsa, I. 65, Avisināye for Avisināye,

13 Such compounds would fall under the general rule of Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4, which teaches that nouns in a take ā in the feminine.
15 Another abnormal chha occurs in sekkha, Sanskrit saṅkha and Pali sekkha, Bharhut inscriptions, No. 16.
16 The letter probably stood in I, C. 86, where Sir A. Cunningham gives a meaningless pusa; see below, note 27.

(2) The occasional omission of short i, e.g., in Dhamarakhatāye for Dhamarakhatīye, I. 76, and bhībhunayā for bhībhunīyā, I. 119

(3) The almost invariable omission of medial anusvāras, e. g. in Udubaranghara and its derivatives (see Appendix, List V), in Nādinagara and its derivatives (see ibidem), Tubavana (ibidem), Upiṣadata (see Appendix, List III), in the proper names beginning with Dhamā (see Appendix, Lists I-V), and in atevasi for amtevasi I. 12, 66, 88, 112.

It seems to me that the omission of the long ā is due everywhere to carelessness, and has for its ultimate cause the custom, common even in late times among clerks and tradesmen, of omitting the vowel-marks altogether; for, the real existence of forms like jamata, jataka and jitalita, in the spoken language, has little probability. As regards the omission of i-strokes and of the Anusvāras, it is possible to conceive also of other explanations. The syllables in which the i is omitted stand, one and all, in thesis, 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 bhībhunāyā and Dhamarakhatāye. A good many vowel-changes in the literary Prakrits are due to this principle, and a still greater number in the modern vernaculars of India. It must also be noted that in Aśoka's inscriptions aya appears occasionally instead of iya,18 and for the same reason.

With respect to the omission of the Anusvāra it must be borne in mind that the spelling dhama instead of dhāmā is perfectly admissible, because in these inscriptions a single consonant does duty for a double one, and hence dhama may be read dhāma, as the word is invariably spelt in Pali. Further, Upiṣadata and Tubavana may stand for Upadatta and Tābavana, because long ā and å are marked very rarely in these, as in other old inscriptions. But forms like Upadatta and Tābavana are again admissible in Pali and other ancient Prakrits, where å and ā may be put for ām and ām as in aṣṭa, viṣati and so forth. And it must be noted that the form Īda for Indra occurs repeatedly, e.g. in L. 1 of the large Nāṇāghāṭ inscription, Archeological Rep. West Ind., Vol. V, p. 60. A form like Nādinagara may be a negligent spelling for Nādinagara, which actually occurs in our inscription I. 7; for the Pali and the other Prakrits show in a number of cases ā for ām, e. g., in dāthā for damshtrā, saṇḍāea for saṁdānāea and so forth. It is no matter of surprise that the dialect of the inscriptions should show these changes more frequently than the literary language of the Buddhist canon. These explanations of the omission of the Anusvāra seem to me more probable than the assumption that it is simply in every case due to negligence.

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

17 Analogous cases are extremely common in the Bharhut inscriptions, and it will suffice to quote one sentence, No. 155, yāh brāhmāṇo avadāci jatakāṁ, which, as Dr. Hultsch has pointed out, is a quotation from Jātakas, vol. I, p. 293, verse 61 (Feussböl), where the text has yāh brāhmāṇo avadāci.

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. XIV, p. 164, to which instances chetaya for Sanskrit chātya, Pali cetiya, 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 Pâdukulikâ II, 1. Sir A. Cunningham (Dhilsa Topes, p. 240 and p. 280) takes in both cases gráma as a personal name or as a part of such. But gráma is not used in such a manner, and the translation of Vejajasa gámasa dánâna by “Gift of Vejajagrâma,” is grammatically inadmissible, as that could only be Vejajagámasa dánâna. On the other hand, the form of the two names agrees well with the suggestion that they denote villages, for, Pâdukulikâ corresponds to Pândukulikâ, ‘the little dwelling,’ or the little sanctuary of Pându, i.e. the Nâga Pându, and the word Vejaja closely agrees in its ending with the terminations of, ej, and ij, which occur in hundreds of Indian village names as corruptions of the affixes aya, eya and iya. Its first part corresponds to Sanskrit vaidya, which possibly may be an abbreviation of Vaidyanâtha. Pious donations, made by villages or towns, do not occur frequently in the inscriptions, and those recorded on the Sâhehi Stâpas possess a particular interest for, though, perhaps, they do not prove that all the inhabitants of Vejaja and Pâdukulikâ were Upâsakas of the Buddhist Saṅgha, they yet indicate that their most influential men, the members of the village Pancha, belonged to the Baudhaca sect, and that Buddhism had gained a footing among the agricultural population of Mâlva. Of equal interest is the mention of a Bodhagothî, in I, 25, 26. The compound corresponds to Baudhagothî. A goshtî is a committee of trustees in charge of a temple or of a charitable foundation. The inscriptions teach, therefore, that the village of Dharmavardhana possessed a Baudha shrine, or perhaps a Vihâra, which was managed by such a committee. The fact that Goshtâs existed in the third century B.C. is of some importance. The term gosht occurs also in I, 51, where it is preceded by the word Barulamisâ or Barulamisâna. I am unable to explain the latter term. The collective gift of the Vedisakâ dâmtakârâ, or workers in ivory of Vedisa, I, C. 189, probably indicates that these artisans formed a guild, or sreñ, such as the Nâsik inscriptions mention repeatedly.

Among the remaining inscriptions of this class, which mention the Vâkiliyas of Ujjain, I, 27, C. 21, all the relatives of the venerable Nâgila, I, 84, and the Upâsikâs

19 This is, of course, by no means certain, because in some cases persons bearing the same names are clearly distinct. Thus Asvadâvâ, the mother of Babhadra (I, 30), is certainly not the same person as Asvadâvâ, the mother of Samika (I, C. 83), nor the nun Iulâ of Madhuvana (I, C. 123), the same as the nun Isidâtâ of Kurâra.
20 The number of the Upâsikâs is uncertain, because possibly the Ojî, mentioned I, 82, may be identical with the nun Ojî, II, 11, and because the interpretation of I, 21 is uncertain.
21 The map of Gujarât furnishes e.g., Aødâj, Arnej, Kâmnaj, Kamrej, Pariyaj, Palej, Prântjaj, Sârkaj. Among these Kamrej (also Kamlej), east of Surat, was called in Sanskrit Karmaseyag or Kâmântiyag (Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, p. 199).
22 Vaidya occurs as the name of a village in the Nepal inscriptions; Ind. Ant. vol. IX, p. 175.
23 The Bharhat inscription No. 16 mentions a gift of the town of Karahaka (Karabhaṭa-nigâmasa).
or female lay worshippers of Navagâma, I, C. 58, the first two are the most interesting. If, as I believe to be the case, the Vâkalâ devi, the mother of Ahîmita, mentioned in I, C. 8, belonged to this family, it must have been a royal, or at least a noble race. With this supposition, Vâkiliya, further, must be considered to stand for Vâkalîya. It would then correspond to Sanskrit Vârkaliya and Vâkalâ to Vârkalâ. Both forms might be somewhat irregular patronymics from Vrikala, which name is found in the mythological lists of the Purânas (see the Petersburg Dictionary, sub voce).

Proceeding to the inscriptions which mention donations made by monks and nuns, the first point, which must strike every reader, is their great number, which is proportionally greater than that found on any other Stûpa except at Bharhut or in the caves. As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics, who, according to the Mathurâ and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions. Another interesting point in which these inscriptions again agree with those of the Bharhut Stûpa is the entire absence of all mention of the Buddhist sects, which are frequently named in the Nâsik, Kârlâ, Amarâvâti 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, Śutâtikini or Śâtâti- kini, I, 79, 80, “a female reciter of the Suttanta or the Sîtras” and dhamakathika, I, C. 191, “a reciter of the Dhamma,” have been recognised by the earlier decipherers. But, a third very interesting one, pachanekayika, I. 66, has escaped detection. Pachanekayika is a negligent spelling for pāchanekâyika or pañchanekâyika, which former occurs in the Bharhut inscription No. 144, in Sanskrit pâñchanakâyika, and means, as Dr. Hultsch has translated it, loc. cit., “one who knows the five Nikâyas.” The five Nikâyas are (see Childers, Pâli 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.²⁴ 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 Bairât 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. Bhamḍuka and Tisaka, agree with such as are found in Dr. Wenzel’s Index. Aya-Pasanaka, I, 5, must, however, have been a man of some importance, as two pupils of his are mentioned on a pillar of the Sonârî Tope No. 1. Monks and nuns, who

²⁴ See also Dr. Hultsch’s remarks on this and other clerical titles in the Bharhut inscriptions, op. cit., p. 58, and on the quotation from the Jîtaṅka, ibidem, p. 76.
had one pupil, there are several. Peculiar and noteworthy are the names of monks and nuns, which like Kāboja, Prātiṣṭhāna, Chirāti, and perhaps also Odi, 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 Kekeṭeyaka, I. 1. 3, the father of Dhama and father-in-law of Vījita, apparently stands for Sanskrit Kaikṣṭeyaka, and means 'he of the Kīcchā 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;²² I, 22, 23. Next we find numerous persons bearing the title sethi, sēṭhā, or alderman, II, 11, 35, 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 rájalipikara occurs I, 49, a professional writer, lekhaka, I, C. 48, a (royal) foreman of artisans, ávesani, I, C. 190, a trooper, aśva-vārika, 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 epigraphs given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title paśavatī, 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.',²³ and, that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own,²⁴ is worthy of note. Very peculiar is the phrase I. 73, Tāpasiyānam nusāya Mitāya 'of Mitā, the daughter-in-law of the Tāpasiyās'. The inscriptions I. C. 58, C. 59 and C. 67, of which unfortunately no impressions are accessible, indicate that the Tāpasiyās were a family or tribe residing in Ujjain.²⁵ If Mitā is called the daughter-in-law of this community, that looks very much like a confirmation or practical illustration of a view regarding the legal position of married women mentioned as existing, but combated as objectionable by Āpastamba, Dharmasūtra, II, 10, 27, 3. He says, "For, they declare that a bride is given to the family (of her husband, and not to the husband alone)." I must content myself for the present with pointing out the possibility of a connexion between the wording of our inscription and the passage of Āpastamba. In order to prove it, more inscriptions containing the same or similar statements, and further information regarding the Tāpasiyās, are required.

²³ See I, 2, 59, 72, 108; I. C. 37; C. 66; C. 108.
²⁴ See e. g. I, 30; C. 83. Similar cases occur frequently in other Buddhist, and also in the Jainas inscriptions.
²⁵ According to Sir A. Cunningham’s copies the three inscriptions run as follows:—No. 65, Ujeniya Tāpasiyāna Pusanaṇa dānam; No. 59, Ujenya, Tāpasiyāṇā Iśimītara dānam; No. 67, Ujeniyā Tāpasiyāṇā Śihaṇatāya dānam. None of the texts can be quite correct. I suspect that the real readings are: (1) Ujeniya Tāpasiyāṇā haud-Nadāya dānam, "The gift of Naḍā (Nandā), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasiyās, from Ujjain;" (2) Ujeniya Tāpasiyāṇā Iśinānaṇāna dānam. "The gift of Iśimīta (Rukmītara) of the Tāpasiyās, from Ujjain; (3) Ujeniya Tāpasiyāṇā Śihaṇatāya dānam. "The gift of Śihaṇada (Śihaṇatādā) of the Tāpasiyās from Ujjain." If we combine the information conveyed by these inscriptions with the statement of our No. 73, it is evident that the Tāpasiyās were a family or tribe, settled in Ujjain. I do not think it necessary to assume, with Sir A. Cunningham (Bihāra Topes, p. 365), that they were ascetics. We have also Pārīvarījīśa Rāja, Corp. Inscr. Ind., vol. III, pp. 97ff. I may add that Sir A. Cunningham identifies, loc. cit., the Tāpasiyās with the "Tabaśi Mrogam" and the "Tabaśe 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. Arahâ, Arahaka, Arahadata, Arahadina, Arahadâsa, Arahadâst, Arahatapâlita, Arahaguta, Dhamadata, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhamapâlita, Budhila, Budhapâlita, Bodhi, Sagha, Samghila, Saghadinâ, Saghadeva, Saghamita and Samgharakhita, is decidedly Buddhist. Another considerable group of proper names, e.g. Asâda, Mulâ (i.e. Mûlâ), Muladatâ, Phaguna, Poøhaka, Pusa, Pusaka, Pusinî, Pusagiri, Pusarakhita, Poøhaka, Poøhâdevâ, Rohini (Rohini), Satîla, Svatiguta, has been derived from the names of Nakshatras, and points to the conclusion that the rule of some Grihysâtras, 29 which recommends the use of nakshatra-nâmâni, 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 Agisimâ (Agniśarmâ), Agido-[de]vâ, Bahadata (Brahmadatta), Mahida, Mitâ, Vesamandatâ, Visvadeva, Yamarakhita, 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 names Vindhukâ, an abbreviation for Vishnudattâ or Vishnurakhitâ, Upidatâ or Opedatâ (Upendradatâ), 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 Nadiguta (Nandigupta), Nam digiri, 30 Sâmidata (Svâmiâ-, i.e. Kumâra-datta), Samika and Samikâ (Śvâmika, Śvâmikâ), Sivanâdi (Śivanândâ) do the same service to Saivism. It is also possible that Isadatâ and Himadatâ are likewise Śaiva names. If the former has been correctly read, 31 it corresponds to Sanskrit Isadatta. The other two may be connected with Hîmâ, a name of Durgâ. They may, however, be also derived from Hîma, “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

30 I would explain Nandigiri by “he whose mountain (i.e. protection) is or may be Nandin,” on the analogy of Dantidurga, for which name Dantivacaram appears. Devagiri, Himagiri, Dhimagiri, Silagiri may be explained similarly, though Devagiri and Himagiri may also be considered as personal names derived from mountain names. Vijha, i.e. Vindhyas furnishes a certain instance of the latter kind.
31 Possibly the correct form may be Isidata, i.e. Rishidatta, (compare Isiguta).
to extract from those occurring in the canonical works of the Buddhists, the proof that the Pārāśākṛti religions flourished at the time when those works were composed. If, e.g.,
we learn from the Bhikkhupāchittīya, II, 1, that the ox of a Brahman in Takshaśila was called Nandivisalo "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 Suttaviśānaka was composed and probably earlier.

The last point which calls for remark is the identification of the numerous geo-
graphical names which the inscriptions offer. A small proportion of the latter causes no
great difficulty. Erakina, as must be read instead Dharakina, is without doubt the
modern Eraṇ in the Sāgar district of the Central Provinces, which on the ancient copper
coins is called Erakana or Erakana, and in Sanskrit Airikīna. Mahisati is the ancient
town of Mahishmati, identified with the modern Mandal, Pokhara, the ancient Push-
kara and the modern Pokhar near Ajmir, Pratiṭhāna (the base of the male proper name
Pratiṭhāna) either Allahābabd or Paiṭhān on the Godāvari, Ujerī, the modern Ujjain,
and Vedisa the modern Besnagar.

Further Kuragharā, which appears five times, I would identify with the village of
Kuraraghara, which according to the Buddhist scriptures lay in Avanti or Eastern
Māvā, and was the residence of Mahākācheṭhāyana. Kuraraghara is, of course,
the etymologically correct form of the name, and Kuragharā, a corruption by a kind
of haplography, which occurs more frequently in geographical and other names. The
Indian Atlas, Quarter Sheet, No. 53 N.E., shows in 28° 38’ N. Lat., and 77° 5’ E. Long.,
an apparently not inconsiderable place, called ‘ Kurawar,’ which may be the modern
representative of Kuraghara.

With respect to the remaining towns and villages it is difficult to offer more than
more or less uncertain conjectures, because there is no indication to which part of
India they belonged, and because many of the names occur scores of times on the map of
India, and more than once even in the immediate neighbourhood of Sānchi-Kākanāda.
Thus it is possible to suggest that Tubavāna may be identical with the southern
district of Tumbavana mentioned in the Bṛihat-Saṃhitā, XIV, 15, or with its chief
town; that Sonara, the etymology of the adjective Sonarakā, is the modern Sonarā
close to Sānchi where some stūpas exist; that the name of Pāḍānā, the etymology of the
adjective Pāḍāniya, 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)dinagāra and Kāpāsīgāma
 correspond with the modern ‘ Nandner’, Lat. 23° 4’ N. and Long. 76° 6’ E. (Ind. Atl. Q.
Sh. No. 53 N.W.) and Kapasi Lat. 23° 28’ N. and Long. 77° 54’ E. But it must
not be forgotten that there were, and are, several ‘ Nandinagaras’ and Nandners, and that
another ‘Kapasi’ is found at no great distance in Lat. 23° 55’ N. and Long. 77° E.
The same remarks apply with still greater force to such places as Madhuvana,
Udubarahāra, the etymology of the adjective Udubarghariya, and Aka, i.e. Amba, the
etymology of Abyeaka; for the corresponding modern Madhuban, Maḥu, Umra
or Umrer and Ambagam are found over and over again in the neighbourhood of
Sānchi and in more distant districts. For the present it is not advisable to do more

33 Cunningham: Ancient Geography, p. 488.
34 Jhāl, opposite to Allahābabd,—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. Poli 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.

केकटेयकुलस धमसिच्छ दानम [1*] 35

"The gift of Dhamasiva (Dhamasiva), son of Kekaṭeyaka (Kekaṭeyaka)."

No. 2 = C. 4.

धमगिरिकास मातृ दानम [1*]

"The gift of Dhamagirika's (Dhamagirika's) mother."

No. 3 = C. 5.

केकटेयकास जमत विजितस दानम [1*] 39

"The gift of Vijita, son-in-law of Kekaṭeyaka (Kekaṭeyaka)."

No. 4 = C. 6.

कादस मित्रो दानम [1*]

"The gift of the monk Kāda (Kāda)."

No. 5 = C. 13.

अयपसनक सिंहुली दानम [1*] 39

"The gift of the monk Aya-Pasanaka (the venerable Prasannaka)."

No. 6 = C. 14.

नादिनगर अचाल बिनुलिया दानम [1*] 39

"The gift of the nun Achalā, from Nadinagara (Nandinagara)."

No. 7 = C. 15.

नादिनगराकाकोजस सिंहुली दानम [1*]

"The gift of the monk Kāboja (Kāboja) from Nādinagara (Nandinagara)."

No. 8 = C. 16.

सिंहराखित सत्तालिय सोपदेवी दानम [1*] 40

"The gift of Soṇadeva (Suvarṇadevā or Soṇadevā), wife of Siharakhita (Siharakhita)."

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35 Possibly तक्कटेयकुलस, but see No. 3. Below this is a modern Devanāgarī inscription: रा रा रा रा रा रा रा रा रा रा रा । रा रा रा रा रा रा रा रा रा रा रा रा । तक्कटेयकुलस - The king (कुलस) to the illustrious Sārādeva, adores constantly.
37 An apparent e-stroke above the last श is an accidental scratch.
39 जमत seems to stand for जमत, the nominative being used instead of the stem.
40 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.
40 चचालाय stands for चचालाय and दान for दाने.
40 सोपदेवी is meant for सोपदेवाय.
No. 9 = C. 19.
भमरकिष्टस्मिकुनोऽध्य [1*]
"The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (Dharmarakhita).

No. 10 = C. 20.
चठसःकभिस्यःध्यः [1*] 44
"The gift of Aţha (Artha), the labourer (?).

No. 11 = C. 23.
I. 1. सामनेरस
2. चभेयकस
3. चठिनोऽध्यः [1*]
"The gift of Sâmanera, 42 the Abeyaka Sheth (i.e. the Sheth of a town or village called Aba or Amba, in Saũskrit Ámra-grána).

No. 12 = C. 24.
प्रातिदानस्मिकुनोऽहातिस्यःस्तेतास्तिनोऽध्यः [1*]
"The gift of the Pratîthâna monk (i.e. the monk from Pratîsthâna), pupil of Hâtiya."

No. 13 = C. 25.
उदुबरागिरयस्मिनस्मिकुनोऽद्यः [1*]
The gift of Siharakhita (Sîmharakhita), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (Udumbaragriha)."

No. 15 = C. 30.
भमरकिष्टयंमधुवनिकाछि्ध्यः [1*]
"The gift of Dhamarakhita (Dharmarakhita), inhabitant of Madhuvana."

No. 16 = C. 33.
I. 1. [भो]सिपुतस
I. 2. संदुक्तस
I. 3. भिकुनोऽध्यः [1*]
"The gift of the monk Bhrânda, son of Goti (i.e. of a mother of the Gaupta race).

No. 17 = C. 34.
I. 1. वेजजस्यमस्यःध्यः
I. 2. न [1*] 43
"The gift of the Vejaja village." 44

41 The ś-stroke is expressed by a prolongation of the upper right limb of ।.
42 With the proper name Sâmânera (Sêmânera), literally "a novice," compare the name Samând; Bharhut Inscr., ed. Hultzsch, No. 29, and Samâna; l. C. 179.
43 The ną is faint and blurred, the Annuvâra distinct. Both stand above the line.
44 Regarding the correctness of Prinsep's interpretation, which the above translation follows, see the Introduction.
Inscriptions of Sanchi Stūpa, No. 1.

No. 18 = C. 35.

"The gift of Arāhaguta (Arhadgupta), inhabitant of Sāsadā."

No. 19 = C. 36.

L. 1. सुभस्स
L. 2. कोरवरस दत्त [1*]

"The gift of Subhaga, inhabitant of Kuraghara (Kuraragriha)." 45

No. 20 = C. 38.

बुधिनाथी यतिष्ठकाय दत्त [1*].

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

No. 21 = C. 39.

क्षा[क्षा]थि भगवती पमाश्चिँधि [1*]"

"The measuring-staff of the Divine one (Buddha, the gift) of Kākaṇā 45 (i.e. probably kākinī, "the little crow")."

No. 22 = C. 40.

तुथनय गाहपति व पतिषियस दत्त [1*]

"The gift of Vesamanadatā (Vaiśravanadattā), daughter-in-law of Patīṭhiya (Pratīṣṭhita), a gahapati from Tubavana (Tumbavana)." 50

No. 23 = C. 41.

तुथनय गाहपति पतिषियस दत्त [1*]

The gift of the gahapati Patīṭhiya (Pratīṣṭhita) from Tubavana (Tumbavana).

No. 24 = C. 43.

नदावनी च नादिविरोहिस च दत्त [1*]

"The gift both of Nādāvu (Nandāyu?) and of Nādivirohi (Nandivirohi)."

No. 25 = C. 73.

बोधगोथिय धमयदना दत्त [1*]

"The gift of the Baddha Committee of Trustees from Dhamavādhanana (Dharma-vardhanana)." 51

43 Regarding this name see the Introduction.
45 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.
46 Possibly काकानि is to be read.
47 Dr. Bhagvânshī Indrāji according to Mr. Fleet, Corp. Insr. Ind. vol. III, p. 31, took काकाणि to stand for काकाणि. 7
48 The fourth and fifth consonants of the last word but one are not certain. At first sight they look like चत्र.
50 Regarding the precise meaning of गाहपति, see the Introduction.
51 Regarding the explanation of Bodhagothi, see the Introduction. Though the term Dharmacādhanana occurs twice, it is probably a mistake for Dhamacādhan. Only the latter gives a sense, and its Sanskrit equivalent is mentioned as a village-name in the Rāmdāya, I, 74, 10, see the Peters’ Dict.; s. v.
No. 26.
बोधागीर्यिया धम्मवद्यन्त दानम् \[1^*\] 32

No. 27 = C. 76. 33
उज्जिनियां वाकिलियां दानम् \[1^*\]
"The gift of the Vâkiliyas, from Ujjain."

No. 28 = C. 78.
चिराती विनुमिया दानम् \[1^*\]
"The gift of the nun Chirâti (Kîrâti)"

No. 29 = C. 79.
सस्मन्द भिनुनो दानम् \[1^*\]
"The gift of the monk Sadhana (i.e. Sa-dhana or Sad-dhana)."

No. 30 = C. 80.
श्वद्वैये बहुदत्तमात दानम् \[1^*\]
"The gift of Asvadevâ (Àsvadevâ), mother of Bahadata (Brahmadattâ)."

No. 31 = C. 81.
उगिरिकास स्वतिगुटस दानम् \[1^*\] 34
"The gift of Svâtigupta (Svâtigupta), an inhabitant of Ugirâ.

No. 32 = C. 82.
अस्स्न्यात्वे दानम् \[1^*\]
"The gift of Arhagutâ (Arhadguptâ)."

No. 33 = C. 84.
समिल्य स्वतिवसीन संप्रदशिताय दानम् \[1^*\].
"The gift of Samgharatkhita (Samgharakhilâ), pupil of Yasila (Yaśilâ)."

No. 34 = C. 86.
सिलय दानम् \[1^*\] 35
"The gift of Yasila (Yaśilâ)."

No. 35 = C. 87.
सिलिनो पटकामकारिकाना दानम् \[1^*\]
"The gift of the Sheâlî, the great executor of repairs". 36

32 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 यः instead of in य.
33 See also I, C. 11.
34 The subscribed य of स्वतिगुटस is not quite distinct.
35 Possibly विनुमिया to be read.
36 I take पटिकामकारिकाना as pluralis majestatis, agreeing with the singular वेदिनो, see above, vol. I, p. 573.
No. 36 = C. 90.

The gift of Upidadata (Upendradatta)."

No. 37 = C. 92.

The gift of the nun Saghadinā (Samghudattā) from Vāghumata."  

No. 38 = C. 93.

The gift of the nun Yakhi (Yakshi) from Vedisa (Vidiśā)."

No. 39 = C. 95.

The gift of Kurari, the mother of Tāpasi."  

No. 40 = C. 99.

The gift of Araha (Arhat) from Kāpāṣigāma (Kārpaṣigrāma)."

No. 41 = C. 101.

The gift of Bhadaka (Bhadraka) from Kaṭakaṇu."

No. 42 = C. 102.

The gift of Apathaka (Apārthaka)."  

No. 43 = C. 103.

(The gift) of Ajitiguta (Ajitigupta?), inhabitant of Bhogavādhana (Bhoga-
vardhana)."

No. 44 = C. 104.

The gift of Arahadina (Arhadatta) in Moraisihikatu (Mayūrasimhikatā).

No. 45 = C. 105.

(The gift) of Dhamarakhitā (Dharmarakhitā), mother of Sivanadi (Sivanan-
din) from Bhogavadhana (Bhogavardhana)."

Perhaps Bāpupati.  

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

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

The letters are much blurred.

I take the name to be formed from apārtha, "who has renounced (the acquisition of) wealth." It may, of course, also correspond with Sanskrit apārthaka, "poor."  

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.

नवगमकमङ्क वजः दानम् [1*]

"The gift of Samikā (Śāmikā), inhabitant of Navagama (Navagrāma) from the district of Ujjain."*3

No. 47 = C. 108.

1. सिरिस्यात
2. वासिकाद दानम् [1*]

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

No. 48 = C. 109.

सुवाल्कस पत्यवतिया मंकिमाव दानम् [1*]44

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

No. 49 = C. 110.

1. सुवासिमस गोकिगुत-
2. स राजसिकोकरस
3. दानम् [1*]

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

No. 50 = C. 111.

तिरिकपदा नायाय तिरिकाठय — 45

"(The gift) of the female lay disciple Nāgā, from Tiriḍapada (Tiriḍapadra?)."

No. 51 = C. 112.

बरुलमिस गोकिगुत दानम् [3]दिसालो [1*]46

"The gift of the Barulamisa Committee from Vedana (Fidiśa).

No. 52 = C. 113.

1. चमरिकितायं भिजनिय काशुणि
2. दानम् [1*]47

"The gift of the nun Dharmarākhitā (Dharmarākhitā) in Kāchupatha.

No. 53 = C. 114.

चमरिकितस्काशुणिस्मितनो दानम् [1*]

"The gift of the monk Dharmarākhitā (Dharmarākhitā), inhabitant of Kāchupatha.

*3 Ujjeni-kāra is now Ujjain (see E. Müller: Pali Grammar, pp. 49-51). Āḷāra is the well-known ancient revenue term, corresponding to the modern Collectorate. It follows that Navagama was situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain.

*4 There is a second copy, which bears only दुनासिकिय पत्रव[ह] ... The letters show that it has been taken from another inscription.

*5 Possibly सिनितस्यन.

*6 Possibly सिनितस्य. According to Sir A. Cunningham's copy the letter ह has been lost after काशुणि. I am, however, unable to make any sense out of such a reading.
No. 54 = C. 115.

संधानास सिक्क दाण [1*] 83
"The gift of the monk Samdhana."

No. 55 = C. 116.

पुष्यगिरिनो नावगामस्त दाण [1*]
"The gift of Pushyagiri (Pushyagiri), inhabitant of Navagama (Navagrama)."

No. 56 = C. 117.

भिक्कुक्ष पादाणियस दाण [1*]
"The gift of Bhichhuka (Bhikshuka), inhabitant of Padana."

No. 57 = C. 124.

L. 1. सामनेरस चब्बे-  
L. 2. कन शेठो दाण [1*]
"The gift of Samanera, the Abeyaka Shetha."

No. 58 = C. 125.

नदिगुतस दाणा भिक्कुनी [1*] 89
"The gift of Nadiguta (Nandigupta), the monk."

No. 59 = C. 127.

चरणपावरावातो चर्रस्तिन — — — [1*] 71
"(The gift) of Arahadina's mother) from Arapanā."

No. 60 = C. 128.

तंबलामदा कुज — दाण [1*] 72
"The gift of Kuja— (?) from Tamalamaḍa." (?)

No. 61 = C. 129.

— भवना भम्यूतस भिक्कुनी दाण [1*] 73
"The gift of the monk Dhamaguta (Dharmagupta) from Madhuvana."

No. 62 = C. 131.

स्त्राणिरनी भिक्कुनी दाण [1*]
"The gift of the monk Mahagiri."

No. 63 = C. 135.

उपसिष्टस पावूसस भतु भिक्कुनी [1*]

83 Read भिक्कुनी.
84 See note No. 11.
85 The apparent द-stroke at the end of दाण may possibly be an anusvāra, run together with the द.
86 Sir A. Cunningham completes द सात दाण.
87 Last sign of कुज—is not decipherable. I suspect that कुज, i. e. कुज, is meant (see Bharhut Inscrip. No. 104).
88 Restore महाभिक्कु.
"The gift of the monk Upasijha (Upasidhyā), brother of Phaguna (Phālguna)."

No. 64 = C. 136.

भगवधनानातो प्रसिद्धिनितय [14]

"(The gift) of Isirakhita (Rishirakshitā) from Bhogavādhana (Bhogavardhana)."

No. 65 = C. 139.

समिदतत्स भिक्षुनो दान [14]

"The gift of the monk Samidata (Swāmidatta)."

No. 66 = C. 140—141.

L. 1. देवगिरिनो प्रसिद्धिकयकस
L. 2. भिक्षुनो स प्रतिविर्त — — पी [14] 21

"(The gift) of the monk Devagiri, who knows the five Nikāyas,25 and of his pupil."

No. 67 = C. 142.

पुसकस भिक्षुनो दान [14]

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

No. 68 = C. 143.

चुढः च घमरचितस च भिक्षुन दान [14]

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

No. 69 = C. 144.

उजेनिच्यो अगनिसिमय दान [14]

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

No. 70 = C. 145.

L. 1. प्रतिधातु न भिक्षुनो दान
L. 2. अ[परिगदक]कस परिदेवतिकीनो [14] 27

"The gift of the monk Pratīṭhāna28, pupil of Aya-Tisakā (the venerable Tishyaka)."

No. 71 = C. 146.

वृधरचितस भिक्षुनो दान उजयोतस [14]

"The gift of the monk Budharakhita (Buddharokshita), the Ejāvata."

24 Though the last sign looks like पी, I suspect that the writer meant to give शालेवासिनो dānam.
25 See the Introduction.
26 Possibly प्रतिधात is to be read.
27 Possibly परिगदक or परिवासिन—The other three bracketed syllables are very faint.
28 See above, No. 12.
29 The etymological meaning of एजावत would be "endowed with desire." This, of course, does not suit here. I take the word to be an adjective, derived from the name of a town.
No. 72 = C. 148.

"The gift of Asāda’s (Ashādha’s) mother, from Arāpāna.”

No. 73 = C. 149.

L. 1. उजीनिया ताप-  
L. 2. सियार तुरा-  
L. 3. धिताय  
L. 4. दान [?]

"The gift of Mitā (Mitrā), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasiyas, from Ujjain.”

No. 74 = C. 150.

[म]रवियस सुरिसस युगमजकस दान [1*]  
"The gift of the Bharaḍiya, the holy man, the path- (finder) of the age.”

No. 75 = C. 153.

जीवकस मिहीनो दान [1*]  
"The gift of the monk Jōnhaka (Jyotnaka).”

No. 76 = C. 154.

धमरक्षतय सधुवनाकाये दान [1*]  
"The gift of Dhamarakhatā (Dharmarakṣitā), inhabitant of Madhuvana.”

No. 77 = C. 155.

माइमरात्जा सिध्वगिरियो दान [1*]  
"The gift of Simhagiri (Simhagiri) from Māhamoragi.

No. 78 = C. 160.

L. 1. धम[सी]निया भिठ्वनिये मडलखिकाय  
L. 2. दान [1*]  
"The gift of the nun Dhamasiri (Dharmaśri), inhabitant of Maḍalakhikaṭa (Maḍalakṣikāṭa?)”

No. 79 = C. 161.

L. 1. धविसिनये सुतालिकितिय  
L. 2. मडलखिकाये दान [1*]  
"The gift of Avisinā (Avisānapa), who is versed in the Sutta-Piṭaka, an inhabitant of Maḍalakhikaṭa.”

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80 Possibly शानः is to be read. But the wavy line below the झ is probably accidental.
81 The left side of the initial छ has been almost cut away in the impression.
82 Or, perhaps, the gift of the holy man of Bharaḍa, etc.
83 Meant for पमपरिवादच मधुमिताय.
84 Possibly माहमरायिनं. Though there is a second inscription of this individual, I, C. 28, I suspect that we should read Mahāmorājirināḥ, from the great Mahāgiri. Compare Bharhut Inscri. Nos. 81, 94, 95, where Māhorājirināḥ occurs.
85 The third sign of धमरवियस has been originally म, which afterwards was altered to झ.
86 Compare Pali nissima for nishanpa, and the male name Avisana; Bhar. Inscri. Nos. 141, 142.
No. 80.

L. 1. चनिनाधि सुतारिनिधि—
L. 2. मदलिबिकेशो दानेः [1*]77

No. 81 = C. 162.

L. 1. सचदेव बरीचकक्षस
L. 2. वाणिज्य दाने [1*]

"The gift of Saghadeva (Sañghadeva), a trader, inhabitant of Virohakaṭa."

No. 82 = C. 167.

L. 1. शौडिय
L. 2. नदिनग
L. 3. रिकय दाने [1*]

"The gift of Oḍi, inhabitant of Nadinagara (Nandinagara)."

No. 83 = C. 180.

चर्चविद्वान् मितुशनी पोछिरक्षस दाने [1*]

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

No. 84 = C. 181.

L. 1. भद्रतनागिनस
L. 2. सवान जातीन-
L. 3. दान घोरे [1*]78

"A pillar, the gift of all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila."

No. 85 = C. 182.

वीरस्व नागपियस चक्काविक रेतस दाने घोरे [1*]

"A pillar, the gift of Nāgapiya (Nāgapriya), inhabitant of Kurara,79 a Sheṭha in Achhāvāda."

No. 86 = C. 184.

बुधपालिकायाम मितुशन [घर] दाने [1*]79

"The gift of the nun Budhapālītā."

No. 87 = C. 185.

पोठकस मितुशनी दाने [1*]79

"The gift of the monk Poṭhaka (Proṣṭhaka)."

No. 88 = C. 193.

भयुद्धस विनवासिनिकं बंडोस्मितस दान घोरे [1*].

"A pillar, the gift of Balamitra, the pupil of the venerable Chuṭa (Kshudra)."77

77 Restore सुतारिनिधि.
78 There are two impressions. One shows in l. 3 सवान and the other सवान, as Sir A. Cunningham reads. The latter reading gives, however, no sense.
79 The proper form of the name is Kurara; see No. 98.
80 This means probably that Nāgapiya had his shop in Achhāvāda.
81 Meant for बिनवासिनी.
82 The apparent ś-stroke after चीठ is in my opinion accidental.
No. 89.

“The gift of Devaka from Arapâna (Arâpâna).”

No. 90.

“The gift of Arahadina (Arâhadatta) in Ramorajakaḍî (?).”

No. 91.

“The gift of the merchant Isiguta (Rîshigupta) from Asvavati (Âsvavati).”

No. 92.

“The gift of the monk Isika (Rîshika).”

L. 3. Rîshika roccha —
L. 2. ripattisat dara —
L. 1. n [i²]

“The gift of Isika (Rîshika), inhabitant of Rohiṇipada.”

No. 93.

No. 94.

“The gift of Isirakhita (Rishirakhita).”

L. 1. jagatnîya visad—
L. 2. vas yajavatitva
L. 3. śukâra dara [i²]

“The gift of Mulâ (Mûlâ), wife of Visvadeva (Vîsvadeva), from Ujjain.”

No. 95.

No. 96.

[ə]umbadhâra [s]cambita dara[n i°]

“The gift of Sachamita (Satyamitra), inhabitant of Udobaraghara (Udumbaragriha).”

No. 97.

L. 1. c[ə]k[ə]v[ə]kasa abharpudazz
L. 2. bikunî dara[i°]

“The gift of the monk, the venerable Patuḍa (?), inhabitant of Kaṭakânu.”

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21 The impression seems to be incomplete. The last word probably ended in ३ and designated Arahâdina as inhabitant of Ramorajakaḍî (?).
22 The inscription has to be read from below. Read दीर्घिषि०.
23 This is a mere scrawl, and the bracketed letters are mostly uncertain.
24 Most of the letters of 1. 1 are very faint, and the first bracketed one is not certain.
No. 98.

कुरारा स्वरूपित स्त्राण[1]
“The gift of Samvalita from Kurāra.”

No. 99.

L. 1. कौरघरस स्त्राणो
L. 2. स्त्राण कर[1]
“The gift of the Sheṭh Siha (Śiḥa), inhabitant of Kuraghara.”

No. 100.

प्रिविलय सिद्रान[1]
“The gift of the nun Giriguṭa (Giriguṭa).”

No. 101.

जितमित्रये सिद्राने विद्वेद्विन्याये स्त्राण[1]
“The gift of the nun Jitamītṛa (Jitamītrā), inhabitant of Vaḍivahana.”

No. 102.

धमतस्य स्त्राण पुसवन्धनाय श[1]
“The gift of Dhamatā (Dharmadatā), inhabitant of Puṇavadhana (Punyavarādhana).”

No. 103.

धमदस्तस्य सिद्राने यय्यभुविश्निते श[1]
“The gift of the monk Dhamadata (Dharmadatta), pupil of Aya-Bhaḍuka (Arya-Bhaḍuka, No. 16).”

No. 104.

L. 1. [पिय]थमाय
L. 2. चिरिय च
L. 3. कौर्यरिय
L. 4. सिद्राने स्त्राण [1]
“The gift of Piyadhamā (Priyadharma) and Bodhi, the nuns of Kuraghara.”

No. 105.

पुसवे सिद्राने नदिनगरिनाये स्त्राण [1]
“The gift of the nun Pusā (Pushyā), inhabitant of Nadinagara (Nandinagara).”

No. 106.

L. 1. योखरा हिस्य
L. 2. गिरिनी द्वार [1]
“The gift of Himagiri from Pokhara (Pushkara).”

No. 107.

पोरोविलस स्त्राण [1]
“The gift of Dhammasīva (Dharmasīva), inhabitant of Puravikha (?).”

[1] Probably धमतस्य is to be read.
[2] धमसूक्तिन्य looks almost like धमसूक्तिन्य; but see No. 122, where the reading, given above, is plain.
No. 108.

बेदकरा नंदिगिर्म मातृ व[१]म [२]
"The gift of Nandigiri’s mother from Bedakara."

No. 109.

[चोगवङ्]नकस भिड्ड[३] - - - ३३
"(The gift) of Mahida (Mahendra), inhabitant of Bhogavādhana (Bhogavar-anānā)."

No. 110.

L. 1. महबलिकाये दुःसरक्षिती भिड्डनिवे
L. 2. द्राणं ।
"The gift of the nun Budharakhitā (Buddharakshita), inhabitant of Madhuvana."

No. 111.

सहिष्नुतिर देवभाग [द्रा]म [१]।
"The gift of Devabhaga (Devabhaga ?) from Mahisati (Mahishmati)."

No. 112.

L. 1. विकिवस भिड्डनो वयं विखरिनो पचवे-
L. 2. वाचिनो द्राण [१]
"The gift of the monk Yakshila (Yakshila), pupil of the venerable Devagiri."

No. 113.

L. 1. रोहिणिपदिव-
L. 2. स निगडिस द्राण-
L. 3. न [१]
"The gift of Nigadi, inhabitant of Rohanipada (Rohinipada)."

No. 114.

L. 1. रोहिणिपदिव-
L. 2. स बुलिकस
d. 3. द्राण [१]
"The gift of Bulika, inhabitant of Rohanipada."

No. 115.

L. 1. रोहिणिपदिविसि
L. 2. सैदिनो नागदि-
L. 3. नस्त द्राण [१] ।
"The gift of Sheth Nagadina (Nagadatta), inhabitant of Rohanipada."

३३ Restore सहिष्नुस्तस् द्राणं.
३६ Compare the Buli tribe (Wenzel: Index, sub voce) of Alakappa.
१ Read पृष्ठस्; the फ़ stands above the line, and is a correction.
No. 116.

वाडिवहं च चकास भिजुनो दाने "
"The gift of the monk Chhadika (Chhardika?) from Vāḍivahana."

No. 117.

L. 1: वेडिसवय [वेडिसवय] चरस्वतास चरस्वारकस
L. 2: पर्यायति नागदताय [पर्यायति नागदताय] दाने "
"The gift of Nāgādatā (Nāgādatā), wife of the cavallerist Hamsarakhita (Hamsarakhita), an inhabitant of Vediya (Vediya)."

No. 118.

समिकावे सर्वसिन्धाय दाने "
"The gift of Samikā (Svāmikā) and of her daughter."

No. 119.

स्विरिदसय भिजुनया नादिनागिकाय दाने "
"The gift of the nun Siridīnā (Śrīdīnā), inhabitant of Nadinagara (Nondinagarā)."

No. 120.

सोयसय दान भादनाकाटयस "
"The gift of Sōyasā (Sauyaśasa), inhabitant of Bhādanakaṭa."

No. 121.

[रेह]वाये लेजनिकावे उपस्तिकावे दाने "
"The gift of the female lay disciple Revā, inhabitant of Ujjain."

No. 122.

- - - स भिजुनो दान चास्यन्दुकियस "
"The gift of the monk . . . . , pupil of the venerable Bhamdūka."

No. 123.

L. 1: - - - [लेह] कन
L. 2: [सोह] हुक्कस
L. 3: - [स] - - - - - - - ए
L. 4: - रि - -

Tope II.

No. 1 = C. 3.

पादुकुलिकाय गामस दाने "
"The gift of the village of Pāḍukulikā (Pāṇḍukulikā)."

* The letters are mostly faint, and the bracketed one is very doubtful.
* Possibly another च may have stood in the beginning.
* See above, Nos. 16 and 103
No. 2 = C. 4.

“The gift of Budhila (Buddhila), an inhabitant of Bhogavādhana (Bhogavādhana).”

No. 3 = C. 5.

“The gift of Dhamadevā (Dharmadevā), (who is) a pupil of Mitasiri (Mitraśri).”

No. 4 = C. 6.

“The gift of the monk Isila (Rishila).”

No. 5 = C. 11.

“The gift of the monk Vījha (Vindhya).”

No. 6 = C. 12.

“The gift of the monk Yakhila (Yakshila).”

No. 7 = C. 13.

L. 1 नागपिया बख्छ[ढ]
L. 2 च चेठ दान [†]

“The gift of Nāgapiya (Nāgapriya), a Sheṭh of Achhāvāda.”

No. 8 = C. 14.

L. 1. चापाडू कौरविय दान
L. 2. भिखुनिय [†]

“The gift of the nun Sapakā (Sarpakā ?), an inhabitant of Kurara.”

No. 9 = C. 16.

L. 1. चमरवन्य चौरङिय दान भिखुनि
L. 2. च [†]

“The gift of Dharmasenā (Dharmasenā), an inhabitant of Kurara, a nun.”

No. 10 = C. 17.

नागपालिताय दान घरी [†]

“A pillar, the gift of Nāgapālītā.”

No. 11 = C. 25.

[चो]डिय भिखुनिय घरी दान [†]?

“A pillar, the gift of the nun Odī.”

Read दान; the third letter of निलिपिविवर्य was originally an नि, which was afterwards corrected to नि.

This inscription can be restored in accordance with No. 85, and C. 192 of Tope I.

Properly कुआ; see I, 98.

Possibly कौआ.
No. 12 = C. 30.

वत्तमित्र सोनरक्ष दान [1*]

"The gift of Sāghamita (Śaṅghamitra), an inhabitant of Soṣāra (Soṣārī)."

No. 13 = C. 32.

अगिल दान भवपोरिक्ष [1*]

"The gift of Agīla (Agniśa), inhabitant of Adhāpura (Arḍhapura)."

No. 14 = C. 33.

बसोगिरि दान मिहुनि [1*]

"The gift of Yasōgiri (Yaśogiri), a monk."

No. 15 = C. 36.

गडाय नान्दिनारिकाय [1*]

"(The gift) of Gaḍā, inhabitant of Nādinagara (Nandinagara)."

No. 16 = C. 38.

बसोगिरि दान मिहुनि [1*]

"The gift of Aya-Nāduka (the venerable Nānduka); a monk."

No. 17.

पुसरक्षित दान [ब]अस वसिवासिन [1*]

"The gift of Pusarakṣita (Pusyarakṣita), the pupil of Aya (Ārya, i.e. the venerable one)."

No. 18.

सिराय दान [1*]

"The gift of Sīhā (Śīhā)."

No. 19.

L. 1. सुमनस मिहुनि
L. 2. दान [1*]

"The gift of the monk Sumana (Sumanas)."

No. 20.

धर्मगुट दान दान [1*]

"The gift of Dhamaguta (Dharmagupta) and Pusiniya (Pusyanika)."

No. 21.

विसाक्ष दान — यस [1*]

"The gift of Visākhā (Viśākha), an inhabitant of Pāḍā[na].

9 Restore पाधानिय, according to I, 56.
### APPENDIX.—LISTS OF NAMES.

#### I.—Monks.

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10 Pasanaka occurs as teacher of Dhāmāguta and Saghārakhitā in the inscription on a pillar of the Sūndāri Topa, No. 1, Cunningham, _Bhūta Topes_, plate xxiii.  
11 This corresponds to Sanskrit avadātīkā, literally 'the pure one.'
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12 If the following āryhasa stands for saṃkṣhaya, this person was an asceta.
13 The name is probably wrong.
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Kaboca (proper name) I, 7.
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Kamādājgāma I, C. 47; ćāmiya (adj.) I, C. 45, 46.
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Ramorajhakadi (?) I, 90.

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11 Anekara, on facsimile.
12 Kaurupīya, on facsimile.
13 First syllable obliterated.
14 Spell ćandaka.
15 See also Bharhat Inscriptions, No. 95.
16 See also Bharhat Inscriptions, No. 95.
17 Third syllable obliterated.
18 Pokhāniyaka [k], on copy.
VIII.—HARSHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAHAMANA
VIGRAHARAJA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1080.

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

The stone which bears this inscription lies among the ruins of an ancient temple on the top of a hill, called Harsha or "Unchāpahar," which is near the village of "Harasñāṭh" in the Shaikhāwati province of the Jaypur state of Rājputāna, about 7 miles south of Sikar and 60 miles north-west of Jaypur, Long. 75° 15', Lat. 27° 31', Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 33, N. E. There it was discovered, in 1884, by Dr. G. E. Rankin and Sergeant E. Dean, who both sent facsimiles of the inscription which it bears to the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1835. And, Dr. Rankin's copy having on the way become so much injured as to be totally illegible, the inscription was edited shortly afterwards from Mr. Dean's facsimile by the Rev. Dr. Mill, with a lithograph prepared by Lieutenant Kittoe, and an account of the ruins on the hill Harsha by Mr. Dean, in the Journal As. Soc. Beng., vol. IV, pp. 361-400.¹ 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. Lāla Rām Bakhsh of Jaypur.

According to Mr. Dean's account the inscription is on a slab of black stone, about 3½" thick and 3' square. It consists of 40 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 11" broad by 2' 10" high. Small portions of the inscribed surface are broken away at the four corners, and the right and left margins are slightly damaged; besides, about a dozen aksharas have become illegible in the body of the inscription by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The rest of the writing is well preserved, and may be read with certainty almost throughout. The size of the letters is between 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 Bhārkhūt Inscriptions, Nos. 22, 32, 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 skilfully formed and well engraved. The names of the writer and the engraver are not given. The language is Sanskrit, and by far the greater portion of the inscription, to nearly the end of line 33, is in verse. This poetical part is called a praśasti, and was composed by Dhiranāga, the son of the Karanika Thiruka (verse 43).—In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter ō is throughout denoted by the sign for o; before r, t is always doubled after a vowel, e.g., in vichitra, line 4, and sāstradhāra and dagda-трипura, line 6; and a single j is written instead of jj in ०पल, line 16, and visphurajāna, line 22. The dental n is employed instead of oruśāra in dhvansa, line 22; the dental sibilant instead of the palatal in avtarevāraḥ, line 22, and in Chāndasiva, line 29 (in a verse which offends against the metre); and the dental nasal has been incorrectly changed to the lingual in prasāhnaḥ, line 15, and wrongly retained in nirnāsētā, 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. 2

The proper object of the poetical part of the inscription, which consists of 48 verses, is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva, worshipped under the name of Harsha, on the hill Harsha, by the Śaiva ascetic Allāṭa, and the completion of other works of piety by Allāṭa’s disciple Bhāvadvēyota. 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 Chāhamaṇa 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. Chandrārāja (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 Lāvana, was evidently defeated by his opponents and probably slain in battle (vv. 17-19). He was succeeded by his son—

2 See notes 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 78, 79, 81 & 82.
3 I take this name to be equivalent to Rudrapāla.
7. Vigrahārāja, 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 Durlabhārāja (vv. 20-26). It will appear below that, besides Vigrahārāja, Simhārāja 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 Biholi of which a rough reading is published in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LV, part I, p. 40. From verse 16 of the present inscription it appears that the country over which they held sway, and in which Harsha was situated, was called Ananta, a name which is repeated in verse 28. The princes with whom they are represented to have been at war I have not hitherto met with in any other inscription, but the fact that two of them are described as Tomaras leads me to suspect that at any rate some of them were ruling the country around Delhi, which we know to have passed from the Tomaras to the Chāhamānas in later times.

The contents of the remaining verses of our inscription may be given in very few words. In the country Ananta there lived a sage Viśvarūpa, a devotee of Śiva, who followed the Pañchārthala doctrine (v. 28). He had a disciple named Praśasta (v. 29); and his disciple again was Bhāvarakta, also called Allāta, who was born in a family of Brāhmans of the Vārgaṭika tribe, and had come to Harsha from the neighbouring Rānapalliṇḍa, a village where the Sāṃśārika doctrine was practised. Allāta built the magnificent temple of Harṣhadeva 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 Bhāvadyotā (vv. 35-42). The temple erected by Allāta was built by the architect Chaṇḍaśīva, a son of Virabhadrā (v. 43), and completed on the 13th of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the year 1013 (line 32). And the sage Allāta is (in v. 45) 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 nakṣatra 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-sa.mkrānti took place on the 26th July, A.D. 970, which was the 6th of the dark half of the pārśmānta Bhādrapada, and the third of the following bright half (of the same Bhādrapada) was Monday the 8th August, when the third tithi of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m. and the nakṣatra was Hasta up to 12 h. 29 m. and the yoga Śubha up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. The date is interesting, because it is the earliest Vikrama date known to me in which the writer has quoted a solar samkrānti, instead of giving us the name of the lunar month.⁴

To the poetical part of the inscription is appended, in lines 33-40, the following list of endowments of the temple of Harṣhadeva, which were received up to Āshāḍha-sudi 15 of the (Vikrama) year 1030, the date on which I take the inscription to have been composed:

The king Simhārāja, after having bathed at Pushkaratīrtha, had given the villages Simhagōshṭha in the Tūnakṣapaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and

⁴ The practice is common enough in modern dates of Sanskrit MSS. written in the Bengali characteri
The inscription ends with the usual appeal to future kings to respect these endowments.

TEXT

L. 1. . . . . . . [क] VII

सर्वविद्वासः[नं सराविंतः] पूर्वेश्वर शिव[यो]स्तम्भम्.
भूतंसुविपर्वमालिकंविद्यते नमामि वर[स्] ∪ – ∪ ⊙ ⊙ \overset{9}{\text{।}}10 – [1.]

. . . . .

2. . . . . [का]कुलिनसाधने।

सूर्यमनस्थु संदेहे: पातु विद्वासरातिकः \overset{11}{\text{।}} – [2.]
पालवासाचार्यवा नमति वसुमति श्रीविद्यावलभना
[वा(वा)]कृत्वेच्: स[म्] – ∪ ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ – – –

3. – – कचत्रे।

भिवरवसं समस्तं भवति हि सुमन यस्म दृश्य प्रहते
स च्याह्याभिस्वानो जयति यमपतिंद्रवपवश्युकंपः \overset{12}{\text{।}} – [3.]
सद्यं शुल्क विग्रह्सपरे दृष्टि [भ]वाक[पाल]
भूपा – – ∪ ∪ ∪

4. [भु]जम: बाधिका नीलकंठे।
नृधिविश्वकिन्यन समय कापिण दृष्ट्य विचित्र

\text{Note 79.}
\text{From impressions obtained, at the Editor's request, from}
\text{Col. S. S. Jacob, C. I. E., and made by Lāla Tām Bakhsh of}
\text{Jaypur.}

\text{The words broken away at the beginning were probably}

\text{The aksharas in these brackets are slightly damaged at}
\text{the top, but the reading is certain.}

\text{The word broken away here was probably समानस्त्रूरं.}

\text{Metre: Rathodhātā.}

\text{Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).}

\text{Metre: Sragdhārā.
इत्य गौयां प्रवहसितहर्षस्मितः पुनातु युक्तान्तः।
क्वोहतामित्वाकािघसंगमनातुष्मावाना जलीविचे
तुक्वांगेः स्[स][द्रामः]।

विव्र देवानि राजक्रियासङ्गोऽसः सनांगमः।
यशेश्वामः भिषुवाकारासिद्धि सकलं जायते कौयने च
सोऽवाहो वर्षेवी भुवनेिर्वर्तनासुस्थानेणामः।
नन् वाणामिनििवधकिः पुरस्सरिपु।

विद्यं देवानिश्रेष्ठमन्युविनचरमवः सनांगमः।
साध्यां वाणामिनििविद्यं यर्दवी कौयने च
सोऽवाहो वर्षेवी भुवनेिर्वर्तनासुस्थानेणामः।
नन् वाणामिनििवधकिः पुरस्सरिपु।

देव: पुराध्रस्ताम यम्मस्तक्षस्वबे कः।
हर्षायामित: स हर्षायु समिरियेः पुनातु व:।
शूरस्वत ग्रीवः।
गांगे नी निच्छारऽस: ववस्यमि न जुब्भा नंदनौधानले चोः
स्त्रवंिर्ग्रामासलविविष्यो नवद्।

[सुः] ब्राह्म।
प्रवासं वतं तवाय विद्वानिश्रेष्ठमन्युविनचरमवः श्रीवनिलीयाः
साध्यां वर्षस्वाताः सिद्धार्थविभु: भवम।
महिम भूषरसास्य परम: कौयि: — औः॥

13 जय्यता, मांडाकसांताः।
14 मैत्रो वेसंताः: स्त्राानाः।
15 तः तः।
16 प्रताद स्त्राान, अलीक्षुतो लिपीस्ट्रायः।
17 अौऽस्त्राय, अलीक्षुक्तो लिपीस्ट्रायः।
18 मैत्रो स्त्राा (आनुश्चुर्भु)।
19 तः तः।
20 विद्वानििवस्त्रहा विह्रास रस्तायाः।
21 मैत्रो: स्त्राा (स्त्राा)।
22 अौऽस्त्राय, अलीक्षुक्तो लिपीस्ट्रायः।
23 मैत्रो स्त्राा (आनुश्चुर्भु)।
12.  

13.  

14.  

15.  

16.  

22. Read शून्यं. The akṣara श्च, preceding शून्य, may possibly have been altered to श्च.
23. Originally undoubtedly शून्यम् was engraved, but the akṣara श्च appears to have been altered subsequently, and the only akṣara which would suit the context appears to me to be श्च; I am not certain, however, that the adopted reading is correct.
24. This word, for which Dr. Mill has read चः during, is quite clear and distinct in the original.
26. This akṣara might possibly be read च.
27. The lower portion of this akṣara is not quite distinct.
29. Metre: Śārdulavikriti.
31. The word, being broken away, was probably either चत्र or चत्त्र.
कारावेस्मी भूययु विष्ठास्मयाविवि यावदुः
नस्मुण्डकरुपांगोर रपुकुलि भूवक्रंति स्मयम् ॥ ३५—[१९.]

वीमा—

18. [नित्रेः] यहजोबूमृतुकुली वास्नीपयः.
वंशाललीमर्यीव चेतैते विरहोङ्गते ॥ ३६—[२०.]
वीसिन्द्राजारहिता किल चित्यतीत भीतीव संधार्यति विसुते स्मयति ।
वेनामः(वा) हुः हुन्यले विसर्सविबां संघोितिति ददता निजः—

19. [राः] ज्वक्षितः ॥ ३७—[२१.]
वेन दुहदमनेन स्वतः: साधिताविकमाति स्ववा(वा) हुः हुः.
लीलथेव भवस्वतिनी कता किंकिरीय निलापायोस्तु त्वलि ॥ ३८—[२२.]
यस्य चास चितस तत्त्व सदाः पुज्यताः समर्थः नैसिति जनमः.
हृदिष्टातमचनोस्माकः—

20. ओ— ३९ जायते ततुर्तस्म सुहुम्बुः ॥ ३९—[२३.]
मुखार्यः: सुतारः: प्रतर्तुर्यम्यास्वतिश्रीव शब्दः.
कपीरः: पुराधिबंधयतुर्म्बरेः हमकारारः.
विद्यावः: समनाेवलकल्मिरितिर्निवारः: सदारः—
ग्रंथीः: प्राक्तिर—

21. ओ ओ भिन्नित स्वतः: प्राप्तवेत्: फिन्ने ॥ ४०—[२४.]
हस्ताधारार्यायवाय दितीयः: शंकरार्णः: [१५.]
वेनस्वः हुःना[शाय] [भ्]तया दतो सरस्वति ॥ ४१—[२५.]
वीमुखःमराजन योतुजन विस्मृतिः: [१५.]
लक्षणेंवद वाकुक्षः विमानेव इलायुः: ॥ ४२—[२६.]

22. [महाः] राजावः चासी संघुभक्तिगुणीद्वयम्
वीसियः वुलदेहोऽस्मापवाहिवः कुलकः: ॥ ४३—[२७.]
बनातावः नीवान् प्रिन्त शीततेषि(श्च)।
मथाक्षरवाक्षरः: विन्धुप्रभवः: ॥ ४४—[२८.]
दोषाजातमस्मविस्मुरः: ॥ ४५—

23. [ननिः] प्रावः: 
प्रस्ताव्योऽभवस्वत्स्सर्व पापस्त: कति ॥ ४६—[२९.]
भा[व्] भक्ति[भ्]वस्सस्य विनामोऽस्तः:।
वग्नेतेल्या स्नानस्नानस्यमेव: ॥ ४७—[३०.]
हस्त्यास्वकः गामः: ग्रंथीमाराणाकोः।
संभारिखालकायस्याति यथा विनः[ग्रं: ॥ ४८—[३१.]

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30 Métro : Śāradālavikṛtīgīta.
31 Métro : Śloka (Anushṭābha).
32 Métro : Śloka (Anushṭābha).
33 Métro : Vasantatilākā.
34 Métro : श्लोक (Anushṭābha).
35 Métro : श्लोक (Anushṭābha).
36 Métro : श्लोक (Anushṭābha).
37 Métro : श्लोक (Anushṭābha).
38 Métro : श्लोक (Anushṭाप्त).
39 The two aksharas here broken away, were probably...
40 Read अचारामात्मकः.
41 Originally यम, but apparently altered to य.
42 One would expect to read here वर्णार्थावर्णायाय तथा, and I believe that the akshara त is has been altered to त already in the original.
43 Métro of verses 25—32 : Śloka (Anushṭābha).
44 Métro of verses 22 and 23 : राठोधभाक.
45 ऋतुसन्धिकायायस्य गामः: ग्रंथीमाराणाकोः।
I. 24. श्रीहर्ष श्रृंगार्यिे नर्मपं सर्जनमान्वितात्ताम: | 
दीनारायणे सर्म सर्जनमान्वितात्ताम: [32.]  ।
आजमन बश्वस्रीरी दिगमलमान: संयुतान् स्तम्भी | 
दीनारायणे कन्याक्षणमेवममतिकल्याश्रयामितः।  ।
आशीर्यो लक्ष्मी सर्वत्र [प्रियी] वर् - ०  ।

25. — [प:०] सुव(व) सुप- 
केनेत्र स्थलभित्ति: सुभाषितबिकट कारितं चैवहस्यस् ॥ ४५—[३८.]  ।
आशीर्यारायणे कन्यास्थः ममातिकल्याश्रयामितः ।
चर्म्य श्रीहर्ष श्रृंगार्यिे सर्जनमान्वितात्ताम: | 
दृष्टा सन्तोषसूक्तं बश्वस्रीरी हस्यसम्बन्धन कारितं दीन ।

26. — — 

27. [शक्ति] म: | —[३६.]  ।
गुरौराजारम्या मात्र प्रतिष्ठासि: शिवायस्यैस्।  ।
व्यावारायण(व) कार्यादानमीखाल्लहरीभवद् | —[३७.]  ।
परस्तर्यमयः क्षणान् कारितं दीन ॥  ।
मल्लिका किंतु श्रीहर्ष श्रृंगार्यिे सर्जनमान्वितात्ताम: | 
सदैव वहसमानारस्तः श्रीहर्ष श्रृंगार्यिे।  ।
श्रीहर्ष श्रृंगार्यिे दीन ॥  ।

28. — — [प्राप्ता] यदासीत्तद्धिकार्यामितः चुरहिता गम्यरूपम्।  ।
सत्यासीत्तद्धिकार्यामितः चुरहिता गम्यरूपम्।  ।
कार्याद्यस्मि सारं दर्षितं पुरुषार्थिविवाह: | —[४०.] ।
दिगमब(व) रं जता भवम् तवन् च विपुलां महन्तौ।  ।
लविला हर्षा: कर रात्व वसेरागोन परशुराम: | —[४१.] ।
लिखितमनु-  

29. — — [प:०] रं दासीरमृतविकार्यामितः चुरहिता गम्यरूपम्।  ।
सत्यासीत्तद्धिकार्यामितः चुरहिता गम्यरूपम्। | —[४२.] ।
सत्यासीत्तद्धिकार्यामितः चुरहिता गम्यरूपम्। | —[४२.] ।
विम्मकार्यामितः सुमाहारी वासुविवाह: [सं]।  ।

[मन] निखिलसंदर्भ मनोवेश शंकारस्य मनं महेन्द्रम्।  ।

41 Metro of verses 33 and 34: Sragdhara.  ।
42 Metro of verses 35-41: Ślokā (Anushtubh).  ।
43 Original म: altered to म:.  ।
44 Metro: Mālinī.  ।
45 This word is perfectly clear in the impressions and cannot —
not possibly be read in any other way. It offends against both
the metre and grammar.  ।
46 Metro: Ślokā (Anushtubh).
31. नृत्यनिर्माणाय सर्वप्रथम विषयम् स्थापयति ॥ ३२—[४५]
यावक्षेत्री ो—

32. नृत्यनिर्माणाय सर्वप्रथम विषयम् स्थापयति ॥ ३२—[४५]
यावक्षेत्री ो—

33. [या] यथा कालका समाधारण तत्साम ।

34. चैव लिखिते। महाराजाविवाहारैरसिंहद्राजः स्मृतं तूनृजय्यकारायके स्विनिगौड़।

35. गवते वीर्य्यमेवुष्म वीमतुक्षस्तिव शाश्वतस्तिव ज्ञातरमननिविविवेक्षयाधिकारायः पद्मः।

36. वे कहांस्कारायमास्तिस्वाध्याय । तथा कृतेय्यज्ञानिक्षमायम शस्त्रसमे शास्मितस्विविवेक्षयाधिकाराय: करिकायः

37. [या] संख्या स्वसंख्याकितसाधनशि । [या]... [द]के प्रकोपदः पवित्रार्थमार्च्यविविविवेक्षयाधिकारायः केतीः प्राणयम् ख्यातेन घटाने।

38. हितार्जन: भोजबेन्नर: समुत्तमनायक्षुष्मकाराय भतवा हर्मदेवस्तिव मान्यता सत्यावान् ॥४३—

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31. Metre: Rathodhālā.
32. Metre: Aryā.
33. Metre: Śrīglaṅkā.
34. Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).
35. Metre: Śrīglaṅkā.
36. These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
37. The sign of anusvāra of the last akṣara is doubtful.
38. Originally श्रीसम्ब्रह्मीराजः, altered to श्रीजय्यनराजः.
L. 39. [व]रूटकं प्रति द्रूब एकी दृष्टि: (१) पुरावास्मिद्वतानि देवमुख्यमानसश्चाचारणि यथा। स[ह]\-पुरुसिकायं विधि[य]सतासिकाचे रिन्नस्क[व]ड़िका[थ]ा म द्वर्भिकाचे सहस्पिकायां [भा]-
तेन[स्य] [ह्]मल लाटवेचे . . . .
40. . . .[क]लावम्पिशेस वीणककाचे त्यार्थिक विन्दुकिकानिन्दिमके त्रिवर्तसिद्धि॥
सत्यात्माकाविस्मृतिः मुर्मिपार्वत्यो भूतो वानती रामिनः
सामान्योऽयम्मेवनूपृणां काळिकालि पालनीयो भवः [॥५]—[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 Gauri, guard you!

(5.) May the river of heaven, who with her masses of water pervades the sky where the sun and the planets are shaken by her velocity, and who with the thousands of lines of her waves puts to shame the oceans with their decreasing water; who, white like the moon, appears like a graceful veil on the crest of the moon-crested (god), fast bound with huge uncounted 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 Bharata!

(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

[६०] The missing portion of the verse probably expressed the idea that Śiva is dreaded by the demons.
[६१] i.e. Śiva.
[६२] i.e. 'joy.'
[६३] i.e. Bhāratavarsha, or India.
the quarters with thick volumes of smoke of the trees which were consumed by its flames all round, roaring terribly in its impetuous progress, (and) annihilating the god of love, they became afraid lest the destruction of the world had come, out of season.

(7. 9.) May this mountain Harsha, which grazes the clouds on high (and) on which the god Harsha, the destroyer of Pura, resides, purify you!

A hero speaks the following verse:

(10.) The water of the torrents which flows here is indeed not that of the Ganges; here there is not the charming beauty of the garden of paradise; nor are there [palaces] here which glitter brightly all around with their jewelled and gilded pinnacles. Yet this hill possesses another, superior, unrivalled beauty; for that Śambhu dwells here in person is surely a paramount cause of loveliness.

(11.) Since the eight-formed (८श्च), the lord of the eight perfections, himself dwells here, this mountain possesses supreme grandeur which baffles description.

(12.) Glorious is this mansion of the holy Harshadeva which is charming with the expanse of its spacious chapels, embellished with eggs of gold, (and) pleasing like the sons of Pāṇḍu by reason of the court-yards ६४ which are formed by the flights of buildings along its sides. Surpassing in height the peak of Meru, it is beautified by an excellent porch at which a bull is skilfully carved, and is endowed with manifold objects of enjoyment.

(13.) First came the lord of men known as the illustrious Gūvaka, of the Chāhamāna family, who attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assemblies of the foremost princes of the world, the illustrious Nāgas and the rest ६५; whose fame, remaining on earth in visible form, as an excellent dwelling for the holy Harshadeva, even now endures here and illumines with great . . . . . . .

(14.) His son was the illustrious Chandrārāja, of spotless fame and fierce valour; and his son was the valorous prince who again, like the first, was named Gūvaka. From him sprang, inspiring kings with fear, the illustrious Chandana, who, when he had slain on the battle-field the proud Tomara lord, prince Rudrena, by force secured the fortune of victory.

(15.) After him came his son, the Mahārāja named Vākpatirāja, the illustrious, endowed with supreme splendour, ever victorious in battle;

(16.) Who, managing to sustain the spirit of his army, eager to loosen the reins of their chargers, forced Tantrapāla,—the ruler of the country adjacent to Ananta, who had come arrogantly defying (?) the command of the prince whom he should have honoured,—to wander, quieted, overwhelmed with shame, in every direction, after his elephants had before already been frightened . . . by drums . . . . . . (?).६६

६४ The reading of the second line of this verse is quite clear in the impressions, but owing to the word vikāśa its meaning is not clear to me. Vikāśa 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 35, below; and as regards the other meaning, it may at any rate be noted that Vikāśa is the name of one of the hundred sons of Bhītāraha.

६५ See note 26, above. I am doubtful about the correctness of my translation, but see no other way of explaining the original text.

६६ I do not properly understand the second line of this verse, which is damaged in the original. T-dlētha might of course also mean ‘who had frightened the elephants.’ The word abhārākṣan (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:

(V. 17.) Vākpatirāja's peerless son was the illustrious Simhārāja, who verily all the earth over is sung of by people as the equal of Harīśchandra, of spotless fame for his liberality, majesty, and victories, and of resplendent virtue. He piously gave abundant wealth to Ḡara 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 Lavana, the victorious one annihilated in war rulers of men in every direction. To him, who kept as many (princes) in his prison as he did in his house, the universal sovereign of the earth in Raghu's race came of his own accord to bring him final liberation.67

(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 fallen on 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 Chhattāradhārā and Śāmkarāṇaka.

(26.) He is adorned by his younger brother, the illustrious Durlabhārāja, as Rāma was by Lakṣmanā, and as Halāyudha is by Viṣṇu.

(27.) This row of great kings had the origin of their virtues in devotion to Śambhu. The holy Harsha is their family-deity; through him has the family become illustrious.—

(28.) In the land of Ananta dwelt the blessed preceptor Viśvarūpa, learned and a devout worshipper of Uttarēśvara, whose hereditary doctrine was that of the Pañcārthālae.68

(29.) His disciple was Praśasta, a true worshipper of (Śiva) Paśupati, purified by knowledge which shone brightly because the rite of initiation had removed all stains from it.

67 The following verse shows more clearly that Simhārāja had been unfortunate in war and was probably killed in battle. The universal sovereign in Raghu's race, spoken of in this verse, I understand to be the divine Rāma (or Viṣṇu).

68 This verse contains the two words uttaraśvara and pañcārthāla, which I have not met with elsewhere. The former is derived from uttaraśvara which we have in Utterāśvara-tirtha, the name of a Tirtha, and Utterāśvaraśrama, the name of a Līnga, and which apparently is a name of Śiva. Pañcārthāla is evidently equivalent to pañchārthākha, which occurs in line 6 of the Tewar stone inscription of Gayākampadeva (Indian Antiquary, vol. XVIII, p. 211), and the meaning of which is apparent from the Sarvadārśana-saṅgraha, translation by Cowell and Gough, p. 103.
(Fv. 30 and 31.) His disciple was Bhāvarakta, also called29 Allaṭa, sprung from a family of holy Brāhmans belonging to the Vārgaṭika tribe, who had migrated from the well-known village of Rāṇapallika, near Harsha, where the hereditary doctrine is that of the Sāṃsārikas.79

(32.) In Allaṭa surely Nandin21 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 Śambhū 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 Viṭrabha- dra, omniscient like Viṣvakarma, in the art of building houses .........

(44.) He built this delightful house of Śaṅkara with its chapels, the beautiful porch which contains all the gods, like a portion of heaven made by the creator himself.72

29 This apparently is the meaning of dvindmateh, which does not occur elsewhere.
79 What the doctrines of this sect were I have not been able to find out.
21 An attendant 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 architrave of most elaborate sculpture, divided into twelve compartments, in each of which a group from the Hindu Pantheon occupies a place.
(V. 45.) Dhiranāga, the pious son of the karanika\textsuperscript{72} Thīruka, has composed this lucid eulogy here, at the excellent dwelling of Gaṅgādhaṇa.

(46.) As long as Śambhu owes \ldots \ldots the river of the gods and the moon’s crescent, as long as Lakṣmī sports and the Kaustubha glitters on the bosom of Mura’s foe,\textsuperscript{74} as long as Gāyatri abides near Brahma as his ever-devoted spouse, so long may this Kaśī-like dwelling of the god Harsha shine forth!

(47.) \ldots \ldots how should Śambhu come within the range of time? But the time when this mansion was built is recorded here, as we have learnt it.

In the year 1013, on the 13th of the bright half of Āśāḍha, was the temple of Śambhu completed.

(48.) When a thousand and three times nine years had gone,\textsuperscript{75} and when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with (the yoga) Subha and (the nakshatra) Hasta, on a Monday,\textsuperscript{76}—then that Allaṭa, 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.\textsuperscript{77}

May it be well!

The following is a record of the endowments as they were severally received up to\textsuperscript{78} the 15th of the bright half of Āśāḍha of the year 1030:—

The Mahārājadhirāja, the illustrious Simharāja, having on an auspicious day bathed at the sacred Pushkaratirtha, made over by deed of gift to the holy Harsha-deva on the hill of the moon-decorated (god Harsha), to be his as long as the moon, the sun and the sea endure, four villages in his possession, \textit{viz.} Simhagoshṭha in the Tūnakūpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and Īśanakūpā\textsuperscript{79} in the Paṭṭabaddhaka vishaya, and Kaṇhapallikā in the Sarakottā vishaya, for the purpose of bathing, worshipping and anointing \textit{(the god)}, for oblations, incense and lamps, and for the celebration of processions on festive days.

Similarly his brother, the illustrious Vatsarasāja, gave by deed the village of Karadamakhāta in the Jayapura vishaya which he had become possessed of.

Similarly two villages, already mentioned above,\textsuperscript{80} were given by deed by the illustrious Vigrāharāja.

Similarly the sons of the illustrious Simharāja, the illustrious Chandrāḷa and the illustrious Govindarāja, piously presented by deeds bearing their signatures \ldots two hamlets\textsuperscript{81} \ldots in the Paṭṭabaddhaka vishaya \textit{(and) the Darbhakaksha vishaya} which they had become possessed of.

\textsuperscript{72} \textit{i.e.} a writer of legal documents.

\textsuperscript{74} \textit{i.e.} Vishnu.

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{i.e.} in the expired (Vikrama) year 1027.

\textsuperscript{76} The name of the week-day is similarly put in the instrumental case in other dates, where we should have expected the locative.

\textsuperscript{77} I take \textit{vaideha} as an abstract noun, derived from \textit{videha} ‘bodiless.’

\textsuperscript{78} The word of the original, so translated, is \textit{niruddham}, which I have not met with in this sense elsewhere.

\textsuperscript{79} The names of these two villages form in the original a Dvandva compound, which I cannot be sure of having resolved correctly.

\textsuperscript{80} See above, verse 25.

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{pāṭaka} here differs from that of \textit{pallikā}. On \textit{pāṭaka} see the \textit{Indian Antiquary}, vol. XVIII, p. 135.
The illustrious Simharâja's duḥṣādhyā,\(^{62}\) the illustrious Dhandhuka, with the permission of his master, gave the village of Mayârapadra which he possessed in the Khâṭakûpa vihâra.

The illustrious Jayanarâja, the son of . . . . hila, piously gave by a deed to Harshadeva the village of Kolikûpaka, possessed by him.

Likewise one viṅtopaka on every kâṭaka of salt was assigned by the most illustrious . . . . . . . . . \(^{63}\) at Śâkambari.

And one dramma on every horse was assigned by the . . . . of horse-dealers\(^{64}\) from the northern country.

The fields given by pious-minded people and now possessed by the god are as follows: at Madrâpurikâ a pippalavâlikā\(^{65}\) field, at the village of Nimbâdikâ a dār-bhâtikâ field, at Marupallikâ a jhâta field, at Harsha a lâta field, at . . . . [ka]-lâvanapadra a sekyaṭa field; likewise here at . . . . . . . \(^{66}\) a big plough of land.

(Verse 49.) Râmahadhra again and again entreats all the kings to come: this common causeway of religion to princes must at all times be guarded by you!

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IX.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUBA OF DHIĻĪ.

BY PAUL HORN, Ph.D., STRASSBURG.

The papers relative to Muhammadan inscriptions already published by scholars in India, especially those of the late Professor Blochmann, are so valuable that they have laid a solid foundation for further advances; but the number of inscriptions still unedited must be very large, and their collection and publication may be looked to with confidence for many additions to, and corrections of, our information.

The following inscriptions are from impressions taken by the Archaeological Survey officers of the Panjâb circle at diverse places in the former Śâba of Dihli.

I.—JHAJHAR (\(\pi\pi\pi\pi\pi\)); in inscr. No. 5 \(\pi\pi\pi\pi\).

Jhâjhar is now the head-quarters of the tâhsîl 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 Nuṣrat Khân (\textit{Tab. Nâs}, p. 274); in 756 Firōz Shâh dug a large canal from the river Satlaj and prolonged it to Jhâjhar, a distance of 48 krôh (Firishta, lithographed edition, vol. I, p. 262). In the \textit{Ām-i-Akbar} it is registered with 128,417 bîghâs, 1,422,451 dâm, Sayârghâl 503,461 dâm, 50 cavalry and 1,000 infantry; the castes were Afghans and Jats. In A.H. 967, when Akbar made his encampment at Jhâjhar, Abu'l Ma'âlî, who was set free from his confinement at

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\(^{62}\) This word apparently denotes a city. In other inscriptions we find duḥśadhyasādhanika.

\(^{63}\) The word here left untranslated is bhāmmaha-dedya about the reading of which there is no doubt. Dettl apparently is used in the same sense which it ought to convey here in the Pehleva inscription, ante, vol. I, p. 187, l. 8, and probably denotes "a guild," and in that case bhāmmaha should denote a class of tenders. For viṅtopaka see viṅtopaka, ante, vol. I, p. 196. Kâṭaka probably denotes a certain weight or measure (of salt).

\(^{64}\) The original has keśānîka instead of keśānîka, which occurs in the Mitâksharâ on Vâjîśvalkya II, 30.

\(^{65}\) The terms here left untranslated probably denote various kinds of grain.

\(^{66}\) The words here omitted I do not understand.
Bayâna by Khân 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 Kâlî Masjid, now in the house of Mardân ’All Shâh Bhattiân in the town of Jhajhar, bears the following inscription of four lines1:—

"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) Waddîn 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 1397]."

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 Bâzârwalli 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, Jalâloddîn Muḥammad Akbar Bâdîshâh-i-Ghâzi—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his

1 Here, at Strassburg, I am unable to refer to the Târikh-i Badaoni, the Jaumpârnâma, the Muftâb atashbârh, Stewart’s History of Bengal and other works. I have retained in the transcriptions of the inscriptions the spelling of the originals, adding no wanting dots, jambas or rashidas, the poetry excepted; but I have omitted the signs of the short vowels, and the jambas which often occur arbitrarily. For the short accounts of the places where the inscriptions have been found, I have consulted Hunter’s Imperial Gazetteer of India. To Dr. S. Landauer I am obliged for his kind assistance in the elucidation of some difficulties.
regian! the erection of the honoured

"And beautiful mosque", the lady over natures (?), has been made by the Nāvāb Rūmī Khān, governor of the sarkār Khwāj Kātor (?),

"On the 27th of the month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 970 [22nd March 1563]."

This inscription is interesting because it gives new information about Rūmī Khān, who is not often mentioned in the histories. Blochmann has noted two services of his in his translation of the Āin (No. 111, p. 124), the one from A.H. 971—one year later than the present inscription—the other of A.H. 983 (No. 146, p. 441). His full name is not certain. Blochmann styles him Rūmī Khān Ĉūsāb Jalālī.

3. Over the northern outside arch of the mosque of Shāh Bura in the north of the town, is a sandstone, measuring 22" by 19", bearing the six lines:

—

Braha ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥāfe ḥাতfःखवस्तः अंतःम गतःगी न्यो दाद

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 addîn Akbar—may his days be equal to his desire!—

"Everybody who comes to that mighty one, becomes a new one; Muḥammad Ḥibrâhîm (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 Liṣţâbî has been distinctly engraved, but perhaps atâbî is to be read and Bēga-yā (i.e. Bēr-tī) atâbî synonymous with daryāh khâsîry—Bâbar's Memoirs, p. 489.
3 The reading Kātor is somewhat doubtful; the word may be Ganâr or Kanaam, but even if read thus, we get none of the well-known sarkârs of the Mogul empire. The same strange use of fâruqî occurs in No. 4 and 44.
4 More famous was the homonymous mîr dâraf of Hamâyûn (died 942), who effected in 942 the conquest of the fort of Chânpa by the practice of old Zopyrus' stratagem, after having quitted the service of his former master Sulṭân Bahâdur of Gjirvân, which treachery has given matter for the anecdote of Sulṭân Bahâdur's parrot in Khâqân Khân's Multâkhab allâbâbâb. 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 Persia Shâh, a fact that Shâh Tâmâsh I. in vain attempts to deny in his Memoirs (see my German translation of them, p. 129. Strassburg, Trübner).
From the heavenly speaker I asked the date of completion, a voice gave me 'já (ṣ-yi) sijda fayz da' (Bestow a place of adoration). 976.' [Ramazān 976 began on the 17th February 1669]."

The words of the tárīkh 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 Miyyān Raʿīb 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 Miyyān Raʿīb, son of Piyaṟa, on the tenth of the month Zi-l-Hajj,
In the year 989 [5th January 1582]. His commander (was) Miyyān Dāūd."

5. The graveyard of Miyyān Raʿīb is situated half a mile east of Jhajjar, 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
Mīyān Raʿīb, son of Piyaṟa.
The town full of light, Jajjar, is the repose of all nobles;
In the year 1002, in the month of Ramazān [began the 21st May 1594] . . . .

The marble gravestone itself measures 3' 8" by 10½". It contains the Kalima and the words qabr-i-Miyyān Raʿīb; round the open middle space runs the Fātiha. At the foot of the stone the Persian sentence has been engraved 'Whatsoever came has gone'.

6. Over the outside central arch of the mosque attached to the tomb of 'Abd as-Samad, half a mile east of the town near the Buawalla tank, is a red sandstone slab (21" by 17"), containing the following six lines:

Of the ford of Bāša Piyaṟa on the river Narmadā, Izbidān, Tah., p. 301.
In a good career is the faith of Islam in the time of the king Nūrāddīn (Jahāngīr) O God! may his justice and equity stand firm and solid a thousand years!

This masjid has been built by Ism‘a‘īl Īrāh Rā‘īb, who is a student of the faith.

I asked the mind the date-year, the guiding mind (ṣa‘īd) to me '1020' [began 16th March 1611].

(I), a hermit, the poor 'Abd aš-Šamad, 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 aš-Šamad's father is named Mankan.

7. Over the gateway of Rustam Khān in the south of the town, on a sandstone, measuring 4 feet by 12½", are two lines, and flower arabesques:—

أَمْشِدَ أَنَّ اللَّهُ الْحَقُّ أَنَّ شَرْكَةَ لَهُ رَأْشَدَ أَنِّي مُحَمَّدُ عِبَادُهُ رَسُولُ

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion; and I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The date of the gateway of Rustam Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Sarbānī (īs) 1029' [began 8th December 1619].

"Jahāngīr elevated the builder from a commander of 60 to a chief of 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse and named him Rustam Khān; besides he bestowed on him the government of Gujarāt. He put much confidence in him and placed him in 1032 as general under the command of Prince Parwēz, after he had abandoned the service of the rebel Prince Shāhjāhān. "Iqbalīn. Jah. 209, Waqé‘āt-i Jah. in Elliot’s History, vol. VI, p. 388."

8. Over the central arch of the same mosque as No. 6, on a red sandstone measuring 4½ 7½" by 9", is an inscription of two lines; (not in situ):—

بِدْرِ جَهَانْبِكَهُ شَاهِ جَهَاَنْ شَدَّ أَبِي رَضِيَ الَّذِي قَدْ رَحَمَهُ حَسَّنَ شَهِيد

"In the time of Jahāngīr, the king of the world, this light tomb of Ḥasan Shahīd has been made.

"The date of it for a tomb has been brought by somebody (?) in the year 1035" [began 3rd October 1625].

9. Over the central outside arch of the Shaikhānwalla masjid, a soft sandstone slab, measuring 4' 11" by 8½", contained originally four lines, but the first, in Arabic, has almost vanished. Also the other lines are much injured, and some words are
missing, so that it is not possible to decipher fully the eighteen Persian hemistichs. I give only the beginning and the date:—

نهايت خوشنی جهان
بهرام شاه نژادندین جهانکر
بنای که رستم خان مهد خان
که در زمین بسته نشانسر
(مرتب شده عمارت) بدرخی دهم از ماه پرچم

Metre: Hazaj.

In the time of Shâh Nūraddin Jahângîr, who is more exalted than the kings of the world, Rustam Khân, son of Muḥammad Khân, 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 būnj on the west side of the tank of Shâh Ghâzî 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 نور الهدی
زای رایان زای درکل
سال تاریخ از خرد جستم
ابن منکه که ملک عزالدین
سنہ هزار سے رشک بر

Metre: Khafṣ.

"In the time of the king Nūraddin the tank, which has scarcely its like, became a sign

"Of Râf Râyân Râf Darghal, for the benefit of the happiness of the people of the world,

"I asked the mind the date-year; the mind spoke to me 'Know it in ghulâw.'

"(I) the poor hermit 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, the son of Mankan, who is a master of knowledge.

"The year was 1036" [began the 22nd September 1626].

The name of the builder is not certain.

11. Over the central outer arch of Kulâl Khân's masjid, half a mile outside Jhâjhar towards the east near the Buawalla tank, on a red sandstone measuring 2' 9" by 7\(\frac{3}{4}\)", sculptured at the ends, is an inscription of three lines:—

بلطف ر کرم عنايات کارساز جهان
بنای مسجد عالی کلائل خان کرده
بسان سر نوید بکا ر شیخ میرمحمد
خالائق نهائ

* Concerning Rustam Khân, see above No. 7.  
* Corrected from کلائل.
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.—Pânîpat.

Pânîpat lies to the north of Dihli, as the Akbarnâma (II, 35) says 30, according the Munt. allub. (I, 50) 40, krôhs distant. It dates back to the wars between the Pânlavas and the Kauravas. The modern town stands upon a high mound composed of the débris of earlier buildings. Because of its importance in the Muhammadan period it was frequented by the kings, especially by the Mughal emperors, so that its name occurs very often in the chroniclers. Bâbar, in his Memoirs, names it as a considerable city. Besides, it has at several times witnessed decisive battles which were fought on its plains and sealed the fate of the whole of Upper India. Timûr found it a place of consequence where were stored large provisions of wheat. In 933 A. H. Bâbar met Ibrâhîm Lôdî near Pânîpat 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 Pânîpat, together with the gift of the revenues due on one harvest, upon Sulûn Muhammad Anghîl, who had bravely assisted him in that battle (Târîkh-i-salâtîn-i-Afâghina; Elliot's History, vol. V, p. 34). Sixty years later, Akbar, or speaking more exactly Khân Zâman, conquered Hémû on the same field. On account of these victories Jahângîr, in his Tuzaq, speaks of Pânîpat as of a place 'which has always been a fortunate one for my ancestors' (Transl. of Lowe, p. 47). In 980 it was plundered, together with Sonpat and Karnâl, by the rebel Ibrâhîm Husain Mirzâ. When Nâdir Shâh entered India, battles were again fought in the vicinity of Pânîpat. In A.D. 1761 Aâhnâm Shâh Durrânî gained there his great victory over the Marâthas.

The Aûn states the area of the district to have been 568,444 bighas, 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 Afgânns, Gûjars and Rangbars. Two learned men born at Pânîpat in Akbar's reign were Shaikh Zamân, author of a commentary on the Lâwâîh and other excellent works (Badûnî, II, 258), and of the renowned surgeon Shaikh Hasan (Aûn).

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 (3' 8" by 13½") which bears the following inscription. It has been transported thither from Mûnîk, 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:
"This edifice was ordered to be built in the time of the honoured king 'Aladdunya waddin Abu-l-Muzaffar Mas'ud Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his reign . . . . . . . . . ! . . . . . . . . . . . . of Pargana Munk, Mużaffar Manṣūr 'Alâ Badr addaula waddin,

"(son) of the chief of the Amirı, Pahlavân ashsharg . . . , the defunct, the royal—
may God increase his . . . . !—in the middle of Shawwâl 643" [began the 19th Feb-
uary 1246].

This is the first inscription of Mas'ud Shâh, who reigned from 639 till 644 A.H. He was the son of Firûz Shâh and succeeded Bahram Shâh on the throne. The name of the father of the grandee is not quite certain; the latter bore the title Badr addîn, which Malik Badr addin Sunqar-i-Rûmî (put to death in 639) had before him (Tab. Nâs 255). Afterwards the title was bestowed on Malik Nuṣrat Khân Sunqar-i-Sûfî. As two persons could not have the same title at the same time—which is specially stated, e.g. in the Riyâz asâlâdîn, p. 284—Malik Sunqar-i Sûfî must have been named Badr addin, but in the reign of Mahmûd Shâh, under which king he was more of a persona grata than under Mas'ud, who permitted the Nizâm al Mulk Khwâja Mubazzab 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 Tabâqât-i-Nâsiri among the Shamsî Maliks, for Minhâj addin gives also a defective list of the Maliks of Mahmûd Shâh's reign, from which Major Raverty concludes that the author intended to continue his work to the period falling within his own lifetime.

Pargana Munk has been identified by General Cunningham (Archæol. Survey of India, vol. II, p. 186) with the old Nicea of Alexander the Great. It is not men-
tioned in the A'in, but it occurs once in the Akbarnâma, vol. III, p. 604, where it is said that Akbar gave it to Ziyâ al Mulk.6

13. Over the south door of the tomb of Shaikh Jalâl addin in the east of Pâniapat is a sandstone slab (2' 8½" by 19') bearing four lines; the inscription is not visible from the enclosure owing to a high verandah which has been attached:

باني این عمارت نورز محمد لطف الله انگلی باتی یتی خبر عد Europeans
سکندر شام بلبل شا سلطان بنم باری تعالی تقییت یافت تا گنبد حظیره بندیکی شیخ
المشاگر بالا ریاه شیخ جلال اله شریف رالدین قدس الله سره
العزیز بارود بباپایه دم مه شرال سه اربع و تسعمایه

"The builder of this edifice is Firûz Muḥammad Luṭfâllâh, the Afghan. The builder of this religious edifice, during the time of the king of kings Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhâl Shâh, the king, by the kindness of God Almighty, found grace to erect the vault of the tomb of the revered Shaikh of Shaikhs and saints, Shaikh Jalâl alḥaq wasḥshar' waddin—may God sanctify his dear secret! Dated 2nd Shawwâl, 904" (13th May 1499).

6 Because Blochmann has overlooked the fact that Ziyâ al Mulk is mentioned several times in the Akbarnâma, I add here briefly what is there said about him, as a supplement to the A'in Translation, p. 497, No. 276. In 994, he served under Shaikh Farid Bakhti; in 1000 A.H., he became Governor of Munk. Afterwards he said Aḥâs were sent as ambassa-
dors to Shâh 'Abbâs of Persia. In 1011 he became bakshigar of the army sent against Dir Singh Dëv Dundâlas, the mur-
derer of Abu'l Fazl. In 1012 he was elevated to the rank of a commander of 700 foot and 300 horse. The A'in names him only as a chief of 350.
The words Bânt-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 Pânîpat should be read, written بانی پتی.) In the same place is given an account of Shaikh Jalâl addîn. The inscription falls in the 11th year of Sikandar Shâh Lôdi’s reign.

III.—Sewâh.

14. In Sewâh, 4 miles south of Pânîpat, is the tomb of Sayyid Bâyazîd. A sandstone, measuring 18” by 9”, over the doorway of the dome, bears the following inscription of three lines:—

بنی نامه، کنیبد سید بیاتی دیہید
بلور زه نیست ساکن مرغ سراه
ستن م نژغ سیریپ

“The dome of Sayyid Bâyazîd, the martyr, has been built by Balu, son of Nayat, an inhabitant of the village of Sewâh, in the fourth year of Farrukh Siyar.”

Farrukh Siyar really became emperor in 1124 A.H., but he gave orders that Jahândâr Shâh’s reign should be considered as rebellion, and that his own reign should date from the 1st Rabî’al awwal 1123 [19th March 1711], *Munt. al-lub. II*, 737.

IV.—Sonpât (سمنیت، سرمی پت، سربنیت).

Sonpât is also a town of great antiquity which is said to have been founded by the earliest Aryan settlers. In the *Ain it is registered with 283,299 bîghas, 7,727,828 dâms, 775,105 say. dâms, 70 horse, and 1,000 foot. It had a brick fort. The principal tribes were Afghans and Jats. The following inscriptions are from three mosques and several tombs there. A celebrity buried at Sonpât is Sayyid Naṣîr ‘Abîdallâh ibn Aḥmad, whose tomb is still extant, but no inscription relative to himself has been discovered. Khîzr Khân, son of ‘Alâ addîn Muḥammad Khîlij, is said to have made a pilgrimage to the tombs of certain martyrs buried here (Ibn Baṭûta, French edition, vol. III, p. 187).

15. Over the central outside arch of a mosque attached to the tomb of Imâm Naṣîr, just outside Sonpât, to the south on the Dihli road, is a sandstone slab (7’ 6” by 17”), which bears an inscription of two lines, the letters being thick and clumsy:—

تیجید هذه العمار المسجد المبارک الحمد الله، فی دین السلطان العظم طلیل الله می العالم عداب الدسا رادی

The building of this blessed august mosque was renewed during the reign of the great king, the shadow of God on earth, Ghîyâth addîn waddîn, who stands by the assistance of the merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Balban, the king, the aider of the

9 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 GHIYAS AD DîN 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 Mir Beg, son of Ali Beg, the muqti' 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 Barwala, 680 A.H. (see No. 51); the second from Garhmukhtesar in the Mirat District, 682 A.H. (E. Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dihlat, p. 136); and the third from Sakit in sarkar Qanauj, 684 A.H. (Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng. for 1874, May, p. 104).^{10}

16. In a part of the graveyard of Imam Nasir 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'labiq; 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 Bahlul Lodé.

It has been said that the stone was put up in the time of Aurangzeb, and that it is the tomb of some Pir Yusuf, 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):—

كر سرا پرده قدر تر بر انتک بود عابد زیرہس زبر ورخت خاست بود

"Even if the curtain of thy power were near the heavens, in the end under thy head and armpit will be the dust."

راستا کی کار خبر امرزز کہ عمرت درجست کہ جو لکھ شرود عمر بود کار توراست

"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 Rubá'ís each{11}:

تاکی زامل دین کم و گاسن کنی از متلم سانہ نفس درخواست کنی اہکہ نواز میں کم کی کہ اجمل چندان نگاران کہ نفس راست کنی

"For what length dost thou bid defiance to the fundamentals of the faith, requesting a smooth melody from the musician?"

^{10} Besides those mentioned there exist the following two inscriptions of Balban; viz. at Koh, or 'Allgarh, A.H. 652, and at Manglaur in tahsil Burki, A.H. 683; see A. Fuhrer, Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oude, pages 2 and 17.—Ed. E. T.

^{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, Qurān, Sūra II, 256, and some other short sentences.

Respecting the Imām Naṣīr, near whose tomb the inscription has been found, Mr. F. G. Delmerick gives some information in the Proceedings, As. Soc. Beng. 1873, May, p. 95.

17. Over the eastern doorway of the enclosure of Khwāja Khizr’s tomb, a quarter of a mile north of Sonpat, is a red sandstone, measuring 7' 1" by 1', containing two lines:

مرتب شد عمارت دهائی حظیره میان خرچه خضرین دریا خان سرائی رحمه الله عليهما ين التثنین

الخامس عشرمی شهر شوال سنه ثمان عشرين

و تسمية على عبد السلطان العادل الباقیر الذکری الرحمان ابر المظهر ابراهیم شاه بن اسکندر شاه

بی بہادر سلطان سلطانه خلیل لنیتاء

“The portico of the tomb of Miyān Khwāja Khizr, son of Daryā Khān Shirwānī—may God have mercy upon both!—was erected on Monday the 16th Shawwal, 928 [7th September 1522].

“In the time of the just and liberal king, who relies on the assistance of the Merciful, Abu-1 Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Iskandar Shāh, son of Buhlūl, the king—may his kingdom be perpetuated until the resurrection!"
18. Over the southern doorway of the same tomb is found another inscription of two lines; the stone measures 9' 6½" 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, Miyan Khwaja Khizr, the deceased, the pardoned, son of Daryā Khān, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Aḥmad, son of the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Mandūkā Darwesh 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 Islam and the faith, the shadow of God in both worlds, who trusts to the aid of the Merciful, Abu-l-Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Sikandar Shāh, son of Buhīlāl 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 'Alī Khān, brother of Māhmūd Khān, the Afghan, muqti' of the town of Sonpath, in the time of Bābar Pādīshāh, on the second of the month Ṣafar 937' [25th September 1530].

'Alī Khān belonged to the Farnic tribe and is mentioned in Bābar's Memoirs as 'Umdat al 'A'yan' Alī Khān Shaikhzâda-ya Farmuli, in the battle against Rana Sanka (933); in 935 A.H., he was sent against the rebel Baban (pp. 416, 435, 452). Abu-l-Fazl has inserted the same statements in his Akbarnāma.

20. Over the outside of a doorway, leading to the west from the enclosure of Imām Naṣīr, is a sandstone slab (8' 5" by 1' 3½") containing 16 hemistichs in four lines:—

"Both inscriptions have been published by Blechmann in the Proceedings of At. Soc. Beng. 1873, May, p. 94. et seq.  
Mr. Delmerick there identifies the Khwaja Khizr with the homonymous Khān, who is several times mentioned by Firuzšāh.  
"
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,—

Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, the rose, which is a reminder of the spiritual flower garden;

A conqueror of the world, who makes (men), as the emperor of China and the Caesar, his accustomed servants and slaves.

An Amir was the builder of this building, of whose power the foundation is solid,—

The chief of the kingdom of the majesty, ’Alī Dost, who is like Ispandyār on the day of battle.

I never saw a practiser of justice like him who is sovereign in the reign of justice.

When I asked the mind the year of its erection, he said, 'It is 964' [began the 4th November 1556].

’Alī Dost Khān Bārbēgī (master of the ceremonies), son of Hasan ’Alī, is mentioned in the Akbnāma (II, 69), 963 A.H. as one of Tādī Beg’s officers in the war against Hēmā. A.H. 951 he is named among other nobles who accompanied Humāyūn to Persia (I, 223). In 984 he was attached to Shīhābuddīn Ahmad Khān; and in 991 he was intrusted with the care of the army and the pay of the soldiers (III, 404). For the last time he is mentioned A.H. 1006 (III, 644). He had a son, Fath Dost, who died in 989 (III, 354).

21. Over the south outer arch of the masjid of the Qāzīzādās, in the Maḥalla of the Qāzīzādās, in the fort of Sonpat, is a rectangular soft sandstone slab, measuring 2' 6" by 10", which contains three lines:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
خوشا تعمير مسجد زهمر افلام
سفائي يرش جرح خوش بري عنبر
زماني شد بياهي جان عالم
جلال الدين محمد شاه ابدر
باصن غامعي احمد باين دكر
شده تارخشي (sio) بناء اور مسلم
ماه رجب رجب قدرو سنة تع رستين رستمايية

Metre: Hujaj.

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, Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Shāh.
"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. 989" [began the 7th March 1562].

The Qâzîzâdas mentioned in the Akbarnâma were all rebels, or bad-andêsh (malicious men); one being a partisan of Maʾṣûm Khân; another who had the surname khâbita-ya Mâwarannâh (the impure from Transoxania) obeying Abu-1 Maʿâli's command and attempting to murder Maʾn Chochuk Begum, Prince Muḥammad Hakim's mother; a third being united with a pretended son of Mirzâ 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:

لاَ إِلَهَ إِلَّا الَّهُ محمدٌ الرُسُلُ اللَّهُ

بعيدٌ شاهجاني صاحبٌ

جَنَّانَ مَسِيْدَ سَلِيمَ قَاعِمٌ نَسُر

مَرْتِبُ شَهَمَتُ هَذِهِ (المسجد المباركه الميدونة في التاريخ) زادهٸ شهر ربيع الليل. سنه الف و سنه رستم

(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 Rabi'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 4½". Above the letters there are ornaments in the form of Cufic characters:

عَمَّرَهُ هَذَا اِسْمَّاءُ نَبِيِّ اللَّهِ أَنَامُّ الْيَدُ (مُحَمَّدُ) مُحَمَّدُ مَحْمُودُ نَفْسَهُ الْمَغْرِبُ (عَنْ) اِلَّهِ بَنَاءٌ

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by the leader, the guardian, the Sayyid Abû Bakr (?) Muḥammad, son of Hasan, the Fuzûlī—may God perpetuate their reward!—in the Muharram 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 MAHÎM.

The cities of Rohtak and Mahîm 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 Maḥmūd of Ghazni till the present century, so that there are everywhere remains of destroyed villages; they were laid waste by Maḥmūd the Ghaznavide, by Timur, by Shihāb ad-dīn Ghūrī, by Bābur, by Nādir Shāh, by the Marāths, and by the English under General Lake. Now Mahim belongs to the district of Rohtak lying 19 miles north-west of the town of Rohtak; also in former times, before Akbar, both appertained to one sarkār, the older name of the tract of country being Hariāna. 'Abbās Khān states in his Tārīkh-i Shērshāhī (Elliot-Dowson's History, vol. IV, p. 415) that Shēr Shāh gave the sarkār of Sirhind to masnad ‘Ali Khwās Khān as jāgīr, who kept in that sarkār his slave Malik Bhāgwant at the capital Dīlī. Miān Ahmad Khān Sarvānī was amīr, and ‘Ādil Khān and Hātim Khān shīgdār and faujdār.' If Dīlī was the capital of Malik Bhāgwant's sarkār, it is to be supposed that Rohtak and Mahim were also allotted to his province. Under Akbar they were separated: Rohtak fell to the Dīlī sarkār, and Mahim to sarkār Hīsār Firīza. The Aīn-i Akbar has the following details concerning them: 'Māhīm has a fort of burnt brick; 188,080 bīghās, 4,958,613 dāms naqdī, 84,202 dāms sayyurghāl. The inhabitants were Tūn vār Rājputs and Jats, 700 horse, 2,000 foot (I, 527). 'Rohtak has a fort of burnt brick; 636,885 bīghās, 8,599,270 dāms naqdī, 428,000 dāms sayyurghāl. Jats; 100 horse, 2,000 foot.' (I, 519). At Rohtak Kāi Khosrāu, grandson of Bālban and designated heir of his throne, was murdered by Kāi Qobād's emissaries.

Both towns, especially Mahīm, bear traces of great importance in past times. The following inscriptions refer to five mosques at Mahim and four at Rohtak. The most important and interesting of the nineteen Rohtak and Mahim inscriptions is No. 33. below.

24. Over the central outer arch of the new mosque in Rohtak, the tomb-stone of Firōz Khān is now placed. It measures 3' 8" by 8", and contains two lines. The letters are partly illegible:

"This tomb ... has been finished in the prosperous time of his Majesty Bābār Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—The tomb of ...... the high Masnad "Firōz Khān, son of the high Masnad Ahmād Khān, son of .... Jamāl Khān, both defunct, on the 10th Rabī’al awwal 934" [4th December 1527].

Firōz Khān is mentioned in Bābār’s Memoirs and in the Akbarnāma, 932 A.H., as a renowned officer who was generously rewarded along with other men of merit by Bābār after the victory over Ibrāhīm Lōḍī. Besides one kōr of tankas—(according to Bābār’s Memoirs,—1 kōr 46 lakhs and 5,000 tankas, p. 384) from Jaunpur, he received some jāgīr (chāzā jāgīr). The emperor sent him afterwards against Itāwah.
25. Over the central outside arch of the mosque in the *gārhi*, or fort, of the Pathāns at Rohtak the following inscription of three lines is engraved on a rectangular sandstone—size 16½ by 12½ inches. The *gārhi* of the Pathāns is in the north-west of the town, where the road comes in from Hānsī:

\begin{quote}

\text{بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من جاء بالخضرة فله عشرة مثاليلا و من جاء بالسياحة فله جزءة إلم ستة رما و من قال عليه السلام من بني يسحاق في الدنيا فله نصري أجيلة ۱۵۷۶۵ يجمع سنة ۹۴۵}
\end{quote}

"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.\textsuperscript{18} He (the Prophet), upon whom may God's blessing be, has said:

\begin{quote}

\text{He who builds a mosque in the world will have a castle in Paradise.}' ۹۶,۲۵۱
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{19} A. ۹۴۵’’ [began the 30th May ۱۵۳۸].

26. On a rectangular sandstone over the central outside arch of the *masjid* in the Khābān Māhalla, west of the town Rohtak, is a stone, which measures 13 by 12 inches: the inscription is in three lines, and is worn:

\begin{quote}

\text{بِعُونِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَرَسَالَهُ بِعمَارَتِهِ مُسْجِدَ يُنَادَىَْ فِرَاءَ دَرَّهُ نَصْرٌ ... خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكَهَ وَسَلَاتَهُ تَزَيَّنَتْ الْقَدِيمَ بِرَجَاءِ الْمَلِكَانِ ... صَمْدَ جَامِلَ نَافِرِيَ اِنْتِرَكَتْ سَنَةٌ خَمْسٌ رَأْسَيِنَ وَتَعَاءَةٌ ۹۴۵}
\end{quote}

"With the aid of God almighty and His apostle for the erection of this mosque in the time of the reign of Naṣīr ... Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādishāḥ-i Ghāzī—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—found grace the poor, chief of the Paradise and the faith,

"Muḥammad Jamāl of Nāgūr, the Chishti. In the year ۹۴۵” [began the 30th May ۱۵۳۸].

The inscription being much defaced some words are doubtful. Humāyūn’s common title *naṣīr addīn* does not certainly occur here, though the word after *naṣīr* is not clear.

The Chishtīs are a well-known family of Muhammadan saints. There exist shrines of divers members of it in several places. Chishti saints—*khvājagān-i chisht* in the inscription on the tombstone of Princess Jahānārā at Dīlī (Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, for November 1872, p. 170)—are mentioned in the following published inscriptions:—Qutb addīn Khān Chishti, commonly known as Shaikh Khūbū’i (Blochmann, Ātin-Translation, p. 496), the foster brother of Shāh Jahāngīr in Proceedings, A. S. B., for December 1873, p. 199; Shaikh Faiz Allāh Chishti, ib., p. 200; Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Shaikh Māhmūd Chishti, Proceedings, A. S. B., for April 1877, p. 94.

At Nāgūr, the birth-place of Muḥammad Jamāl of our inscription, was a Chishti shrine.\textsuperscript{20} A contemporary and fellow-countryman of his was Shaikh Mubārak, the

\textsuperscript{17} Qorān, Sūr. vi, 161 (E. H. Palmer’s translation).
\textsuperscript{18} Qorān, Sūr. xi, 90.
\textsuperscript{19} There follows a group like a rupee-sign turned upside down.
\textsuperscript{20} See Cunningham’s Archaeological Survey of India, Reports, vol. XIII, p. 51.
father of the poet Shaikh Faizi and of Abu'l Fazl, but in the year 945 Shaikh Mubarak had already left Nāgor.

27. Over the central outer arch of a mosque at Gokarān, 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 Muhammad Akbar)21:

\[
\text{مَسْتِ جَانِ دَرْيَاشَ سِبْرَ مَكْرَمَت}
\]

\[
	ext{كَفَّتِ اَلْقَانِ بِلَدَةَ فُرَايْبَ حَقَّ}
\]

\[
	ext{كَرَهَ اَلْقَانِ بِقَعَةَ خَاَرِيَ الْأَمَّزَر}
\]

\[
	ext{سَوْيَ أَلْمُسْجِدِ هَرَانَ كَسَ رَفَتَهُ وَهَدَ}
\]

\[
	ext{عَرَقُ ذِلْفَ يَأَبِي (؟) نَأَيِّ حَقَّ}
\]

\[
	ext{كَفَّتِ بِبَرْزَعِ مَعْرِفِ خَاصِلِ حَقَّ}
\]

Metre: Ramal.

"The Darwēsh 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 tārīkh 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 Dihlī 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:

\[
	ext{سَلَّمَتْ شَمْشِيرُ خَلِّيذُ نَزْلِ اللهَ كَنْبُد}
\]

\[
	ext{بِرْسِرَجَرِّ مِرْصَابِي دِلَّ عَا}
\]

\[
	ext{تَسْمَاعَةَ خَمْسَ سِبْعِينَ سَالَ إِسْتَمَحَّرَ [ت]}
\]

"Shamshēr Khān has made with the favour of God the vault over the tomb of Pir Sāfr-Dīl 'Ā...975 II. is the year" [began 8th July 1567].

Shamshēr Khān was shiqqār of purgana Rohtak, A. II. 973, as we learn from inscription No. 43. His name occurs several times in the Akbarān. In 987 he was Khwājasarādī and was sent to Bihār to quell the disturbances which had broken out there; and to Bengal, together with Rāt Purukhūt, Maulānā Tāyyib, and Shaikh Najm ad-Dīn (III, 284). When a rebellion arose in the same year at Pātna, Shamshēr Khān was despatched to Banārās (III, 286). In 991 he was one of the four judges who were named for the four "meadows" of the empire, the others being Rājā Bir Bar, Qāsim 'Alī Khān, and Hákim 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.22

21 The border contains the passage from the Qur'ān, Sūra ii, 255.
22 According to a notice on the inscription, a Shamshēr Khān lies buried at Batala; 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:—

اسید [إن لا لله الله محمد رسول الله] [Bani] دؤوب الله در عهد ملک حلال الدین محمد اکبر داسه، عاری حلال الله ملکه [979]

“The builder...by the grace of God in the time of the reign of Jalāl addīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādīshāh-i-Ghāzi,—may God perpetuate his kingdom!...anno 979” [began 26th May 1571].

The year is perhaps 972, instead of 979.

30. A sandstone partly cylindrical and partly octagonal, each face measuring 19 by 2½", in a graveyard on the west of the fort of Rohtak, near the western gate of the fort, bears an inscription of nine lines. The rubbing does not permit the decipherment of the fourteen engraved hemistichs; the first and last lines are the same, they contain the date—sana 998 (began 10th November 1589). On a brown sandstone (2' by 6") over the gateway of the same graveyard has been engraved, Sūra 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' 2½" by 9". The single lintels have been inscribed with the following sentences from the Qorān: Bis-millāh, Sūra ii, 256-59 incl., Kalima, Sūra cxii. No details of the date or of the builder are found.

32. Over the Dhōbi Gate in the Mahalla of Wazir Khān, is a sandstone (18" by 17") containing an inscription of four lines:—

بوعون الله تعالى رسول بناء ای ای یومر دومه یارا خائن ادرام فتح شیعک الہی محمد صاحب قرآن تاثی شا جیان چا شا مالک نامہ ورم خادم دیوارا پرخان ای بن سرخان سرخان پر خادم دیوارا رستم فری غما مسجد شهوت

“With the favour of God Almighty and His apostle, the erection of this building in the time of the reign

“And the Khalifat of Abu-l Fath Shihāb addīn Muḥammad, the second Shāh-qirān23 (Timūr)

“Shāh-jahān Bādīshāh-i-Ghāzi—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the endeavour of the slave of the...

“Pir Khān, son of Sarhān, the Sarvā[?] has been finished. In the beginning of the month Muharram A. 1044” [began 27th January 1634].

33. About half a mile from the Khāna, on the Rohtak road to Mahim, is the tomb of Jamāl Khān. The door has fallen in, but the walls are well built, and will stand many

---

23 Elsewhere Shāhjahān is named تاثی صاحب قرآن a phrase which is to be interpreted Thānī-yi Shāhīgirān, see Rückert-Pertsch, Grammatik, Poëtik und Rhetorik der Perser, p. 240, note 1, and Tefel, Z. D. M. G., vol. XXXVIII (188), p. 283, note. Titles such as Thānī-yi Iekandar-i-daurān or Thānī-yi Iekandar-i Zāl garnaī and others occur very often.
years yet. A red sandstone (size 1½ by 10½ inches) fixed over the south arch of the tomb, bears the following important inscription:—

"In the name, etc. There is no god, etc.

"In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, Jalāl-Addīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādīshāh-i-Ghāzi,

"The friend of the Merciful, Jamāl Khān, son of Manṣūr, found grace to build this tomb. Jamāl Khān has hope that he will obtain reward. In the Zi’lqāda A. 1100 " [began the 17th August 1689].

This inscription is unique, as no other mention of Muḥammad Akbar, son of Aurangzēb, has till now been found. Prince Akbar proclaimed himself emperor, assisted by the Rājpūts, 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 jūlās 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 Marāthas in the beginning of his insurrection and always lived in the Dekhan."

31. In the north wall of the enclosure of the mosque of the Pīrzādās is a red sandstone, measuring 19" by 16", which bears an inscription of five lines:—

"In the time of the reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the refuge of the world Zahiraddīn Muḥammad Bābar

"Ghāzi Bādīshāh—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—the slave of the court of the sun,

"The poor, base Janyu Sunu Ḍīghā, 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 Hādī’al awwal 935" [7th November 1529]

It is not impossible, as I now see that the last word was mādīa and that the inscription belongs to Akbar himself.

"Ras or rās kūndādan with the meaning ‘to build,’ occurs several times in the inscriptions. In 10 and 33 rāṣ has distinctly been engraved."
V.—INSCRIPTION OF AKBAR FROM KHOKRAKOT, NEAR ROHTAK, OF A.H. 973
35. On an arch over the pulpit of the Jāmi’ Masjid in the centre of the town, is an inscription. It is inside the arch on the east side, so that no one can see it without entering the arch and crouching. The stone is a red sandstone; it measures 3' 1" by 2' 2½" and consists of five lines:

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 Humayun Pádisháh-i Gházi—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign and exalt his condition and dignity!—his highness the admitted

To the palace of Bāga Bégum Sultán, the worthy of the faith, the chosen of the court Amir Yádgár Tağháí, by the grace of God Almighty

Found grace to build the mosque of Mahim—may God Almighty make him accepted and favoured

Through His kindness and His wisdom and His perfect liberality!—On the 7th Rajab 937 [24th February 1531].

Respecting Yádgár Tağháí the Akbarnáma furnishes the following information: One of his girls (according to II, 243 a grand-daughter) gave birth to Prince Alamán, son of Humayun, anno 934 (I, 113); and she most probably is the Bāga Bégum Sultán of our inscription. She made a pilgrimage to Makka and Madina in 972 (II, 244), whence she returned in 975 (II, 329). This journey may probably have been why she was styled Hājí Bégum. Afterwards she lived at Dihlí, 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 Dihlí (III, 373). She died in the same year (III, 375). The Hājí Bégum, who with other Bégums made the pilgrimage in 988, was probably not Prince Alamán’s mother, who then was too old for such a toilsome journey. Blochmann mentions Hājí Bégum in his Áin-translation, but he is in error about her descent. In the Akbarnáma, II, 243 the words dukhtár-i Tağháí are to be understood ‘a daughter of (Yádgár) Tağháí.

Over the mihráb in the western wall of the mosque a sandstone (8' 5" by 10½") is fixed which contains in two lines Qurán, Súra Ixii, 1—8. Round the inside of an arch over the mihráb runs the Kalima and Qurán, Súra, iii, 16-17 (to al islám).

The Jāmi’ mosque was repaired according to inscription No. 39 in A.H. 1078, by Aurāngzéb’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
Mahim (finished in 1887 A.D.), is the following inscription of three lines, which is considerably worn by exposure to the weather:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>در عهد در allotted.</th>
<th>شہنشاہ اعظم بناء حضرت محمد باشا</th>
<th>خالد قائد مارکت هذه النص</th>
<th>ترتیب یافت</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

...: "In the time of the reign of the king of kings, the refuge of the world, His Majesty Muḥammad Humayūn Bādīshah.

"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'bān 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 Nāgōr.²⁹ The mosque was rebuilt in Aurangzēb'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 Qaṣṣāyān ³⁰ 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 Daulatpūr, the Daulatabād of the inscription. The size of the stone which is yet entire is 4' by 11½:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم إنّا نحنُ لك نحنُ مبنی کشاد به بشایسی همیشه این دروازه سخراءشد ایلاه الا‌الله
در عهد در allotted. که حضرت سلیمانی شیر شاه حسن سر سلطان ترتیب یافت بناء این مسجد
ر مقام دولتیہ بہ يحدث این حسن سر سید علی دولتیہ
پایید ثواب حیدری ہدی نو ی吾من بنتی مسیح بنی اللہ تعالیّاً لہ قصرًا فی اجہاد و اجتناب ایقان
الله تعالیّاً إلیہ النبیّ رضی الله علیّه الفضل و الامن
ینعیمی و العظیمین من شیر المبارک المکمل شیر رضا. سنہ نیصد جہل نہ بلد کہ میسر سرائید

"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, Shēr Shāh, the son of Hasan Sūr, Yāsūf ibn Hasan Sūr, the high Sayyid (surnamed) Daulatkhān, found grace to erect this mosque and the place of Daulatabād,

"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 Ramazān of the year 949 [29th December 1542], when it became ready. God is the generous and the omniscient.'

---
²⁹ Cunningham's Reports of Archaeological Survey of India, vol. XXIII, p. 61.
³⁰ See facsimile No. iii, on the plate at p. 138. Qaṣṣāf and qaṣṣāb occur in Hindūstānī (Shakespeare); see No. 40.
³¹ Qordā Sūr. xlviii, 1.
It is known that Shér Sháh built numerous mosques and káravánarsarás, but only very small remains of them have come down to our day. Besides his stately mausoleum at Sahsráram there exist some ruins of his time at Dihlí.\textsuperscript{23} 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 \textit{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 (Tárikh-i Shéhrsháhí, in Elliot-Dowson’s \textit{History}, vol. IV, p. 310). He may be the same who built in 958 H. a door to the shrine of Khwâja Quṭb addin (\textit{Journal Asiatique}, Vème Série, tome XVI, 426).

38. In the south wall of the enclosure of the masjid of the Pírzâdas (No. 34) is a sandstone, measuring 17" by 6", which bears three lines:—

\begin{center}
در عهد درلقت حضرت بناء سلطان شهاب الدین محمد سمحر ترین تاثر شاه جهان باشد旭園 خان خلافت ابدًا

خلافت ترینیا پاندشت شیخ ناصر ابی شیخ الیماد ماهیم سنہ ہفت اور خمسین راہد
\end{center}

"In the time of the reign of his Majesty the slave (of God), the asylum of the Khalifat, the king"

Sháhábaddín Muḥammad, the second lord of the conjunction, Sháhjahán, Bádsháh-i Ghází—may (God) perpetuate

"His Khalifat for ever!—Shaikh Nāṣir, son of Shaikh Ilâhdâd of Mahim, found grace. A. 1051" [began 12th April 1641].

Kháfī Khán, in his \textit{Muntakhab allubáb} (I, 550) and 'Abd al Hamíd in the Bádsháh-náma (I, 2, 337) have each inserted an account of Shaikh Nāṣir, whom they mention among other saints and learned men of Sháhjahán’s time.\textsuperscript{32} Both authors evidently made use of the same sources, Kháfī Khán citing the Sháhjahánnáma.\textsuperscript{33} I extract the following:—His original name was Nāṣir Muḥammad; he was born at Ajmír, and lived afterwards in Gujúrát. 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 Raff’addín, son of Sayyid Ja’far, from Shíráz.

39. On the south outer arch of the façade of the Jāmi’ masjid is a red sandstone (3’ × 1’ 11½”), bearing nine lines:—

\begin{center}
در عهد سعادت مہد حمد زمین زمین خدیذر مکین ر مکین سلطان ناظرین خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفہ خلیفه خلیفہ
\end{center}

23 See Garcin de Tassy: ‘\textit{Description des monuments de Delhi en 1839 d’après le texte hindoustani de Sayyid Ahmad Khán}’ \textit{Journal Asiatique}, Vème Série, tome XVI, passim, e.g. pages 192 (No. xvii), 426 (No. Iviii), and 428 (No. Iviii).

24 The printed text of ‘Abd al Hamíd has Shaikh Názir.

25 Many histories of Sháhjahán’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, Muḥammad Aurangzēb
Bahādur 'Ālamgīr Bādīshāh-1-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his kingdom
And his reign!—the repairing of the Jāmīʿ masjid of the town of Mahīm,
according to the holy order,
Was finished through the endeavour of the slave of the court, Khwāja Rahmat Allāh—
May God Almighty make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and
wisdom!—
On the 17th of the month Muḥarram, the holy, A.H. 1078 [9th July 1667], in the
tenth year after the blessed accession to the throne.

Sarbūland Khān Khwāja Rahmat Allāh was a man of great consequence
under Shāhjāhān and Aurangzēb, and died in 1090. But, as Sarbūland Khān received
this title, which is omitted in the inscription, in the 30th year of Shāhjāhān (Alaősir al
Umārā, II, 478), i.e. 1066, and as he was in 1078 in the Dakkan with Prince Muʿazzam,
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 Shāhjāhān (Bādīshāhnāma, II, 741).

40. The following inscription is engraved on a red sandstone (size: 11 by 7 inches),
now lying on a heap of bricks in the ruins of the former mosque of the Qaṣṣāyān at
Mahīm; 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 Abūl Zafar, Muḥyiddīn Muḥammad Aurangzēb
Bādīshāh-i Ghāzī—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—the mosque of the butchers... was rebuilt. In the mouth 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‘īn. 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 Daulā Khān in the ġarī of the Pathāns in Mahīm. The building being in a critical condition, the inscription, till lately safe, is now in danger of getting lost:

لاِهِ آلِ اللَّهِ ﷺ مُحَمَّدٌ ﷺ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ
يا مُحَمَّدَ يا نَبِيِ اللَّهِ
بِنَائِشَ دِرَاءُ خَانْ رَاشِئُ
مَغْفُرْتُ دِيَاءُ دِرَاءَ خَانْ
سَجَدٌ مَعْتَبَرُ زَخْلُ بِخَرِّ

الله أَسْلَمُ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ
يا اللَّهُ يا فَتْحَ
أَيُّ هُمْرَةَ زُبَرَ بِرَبِّي
پَرْشُ بَخْتَا نَامِرْ
سَلَّ اِتَّمَامًا رَبّي بِعِطْرٍ وَتَمْيِز

“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! “O Muhammad! O apostle of God! “This edifice for the merciful God31 “Its builder (was) Daula Khān of elevated rank; “His father (was) a celebrated Bakh-
tiyār, “Daryā Khān whose sins are forgiven. “Masjd [sic] miqbarā zi Khān ‘mosque and tomb (are built) by the Khān.’”

The letters of the tāštak give 1108 [began 31st July 1696].

42. Daulā Khān, the builder of the mosque of the preceding inscription, erected a tomb for himself in the same year as the masjid. It is now a ruin, and the inscription on its wall being engraved on sandstone (size 2’ 8” by 1’) will be destroyed when it falls. It runs in four lines—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لاِهِ آلِ اللَّهِ ﷺ مُحَمَّدٌ ﷺ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ
بِنَائِشَ دِرَاءُ خَانْ مُحَمَّدُ بن دِيَاءُ دِيَاءُ
مَغْفُرْتُ دِيَاءُ دِرَاءَ خَانْ
بِنَاشَا نَامِرْ بَخْتَا نَامِرْ

41. In the name, etc. There is no god, etc. The slave of the court of the Merciful Daula Khān Muḥammadī Murīd of Gilān—

“I knew that the four friends (the Khalifs) are over this wholly perishable world—found grace

31 Metre—Khafif.
“In his lifetime to erect this burial-place with the favour of the Lord, during the reign of Aurangzèb

"Bādishāh, the shadow of God. On the 14th of the month Ramazān, the blessed A.H. 1114 [1st February 1703]. Through the effort of the architect Ustā Abū Valād Tāyyib.”

The inserted Sunnī dogma in the first person seems to be an allusion to the formula ashhadu an lā ilāha illallāh, etc.

VI.—Khôkarakôt (كرکوک ترک)  

43. Khôkarakôt is a village in ruins situated to the north of Rohtak. Over a gateway of the village, built by Shamshèr Khân, 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' 7\(\frac{1}{4}\)" and it bears a bilingual inscription, three lines in Persian and five lines in Hindi. The Persian text runs—

در آیام سلطنت بندهمان حضرت جلال الدین ومکتباش خان کیما مکتباش خان شقاقر پرچم رفته ممارت این درزو رہنم نہا فی شهر المبارکہ ومضاء سنہ نصف رس و هفتہ باطم رسید

“In the days of the empire of the slave (of God), his Majesty Jalāl addīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādishāh-ī-Ghāzi—

“May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever (and) his highness in Paradise!—Abâ Shamshèr Khân, the sheikdâr of pargana Rohtak,

“Has laid the foundation of this gateway. In the blessed month Ramazān anno 973 it has been finished” [began 22nd March 1566].

The words ṭaf’atahu fi jannāt Abâ are not certain. There is no doubt that the Shamshèr Khân of this inscription and of No. 28 are the same persons.

VII.—Bohm.

44. The village of Bohm (بہم) is 4 miles east of Rohtak on the road to Dihli. In the east wall of the tomb of one Maḥmūd of Bohm, a stone (3' 9\(\frac{1}{2}\)" by 9") has been recently fixed which contains an inscription of three lines not relative to its present place. The passage from the Qurān, Sūra ii, 256, is followed by these words:—

کا سے حروف ابراهیم عزرف مزائلی فرامشی علی نامی بیان شان

“The writer (was) Ibrāhīm, known as Muwāsākhán, by the order of 'Ali Qâzi Bahāīkhán.”

VIII.—Hiṣâr Fîrūzâ.38

45. From a mosque outside the Dihli gate, situate in the Sarâl Nathuā Bhatyârâ (a baker). Four lines on a stone 2' 5" by 1' 3".

35 See the facsimile No. v, at p. 140.
36 The Hindi inscription, as Professor G. Bühler informs me, is not quite intelligible. But it is of the same year, A.D. 1500. The date is Sahvat 1623, Vaitākha vadi 15, which corresponds according to Dr. Schram’s approximate tables to the 29th April 1656, if the year is taken as an ended northern (pūrṇimānta) Vikrama-year; the 20th April was the last of Ramazān. Akbar, Shamshèr Khân and the gate are all mentioned in the Hindi version.
37 For a short historical account of the town of Hiṣâr Fîrūzâ, see Blochmann, Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng. 1877, April, p. 92, ff., 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 Khorasân, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humayûn, Pâdishâh-i-Ghâzî—may God perpetuate his reign

"And his khalifat and extend over both worlds his justice and his compassion! this fine mosque was built and adorned, in beautiful structure, in order to please the Lord, who is adored by the slave who hopes in the mercy of the All-nourisher, who seeks help from God, the strength of the merciful, Nazar Qulî, son of Shâh Qulî Khan,

"Who is known as Nizâm addîn Jânym, the Turkmân—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'bân—may God allow the month to end in victory and security!—anno 939 [1st March 1533]. The writer of these letters is 'Abdallâh Yûsuf Aḥmad, son of Ruknaddîn."

46. The inscription from the Jâmi’ mosque of Hisâr consists of nine lines, and measures 1’ 11” by 1’ 5”. The last line is written very closely, and is almost undecipherable on the rubbing, so that I can only accept Mr. Blochmann’s readings, whose translation I have also adopted, so far as I approve of it,

bism all al-rujum al-sallam 'alî al-nâfi’ wa allâhu 'âdâh wa allâhu 'âmmî allâhu `âdâh...
“In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! [Qurān, Sūra 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 jinns) called out to him and well-nigh crowded upon him.’ The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, ‘He who builds a mosque for God desiring thereby God’s honour, will have one like it built for him by God in Paradise.

“This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king of kings, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, the accomplished Sulṭān, 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 (Qurān, Sūra iv, 62) ‘Obey God, and obey the Apostle and those in authority amongst you,’ the guardian of God’s countries, the helper of God’s servants, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humāyūn, Bādīshāh-i-Ghāzi—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, Amīr Muḥammad, son of the distinguished noble, the meritorious Nizāmaddān Beg Mīrak, son of the pardoned and purified Khushgeldī, ..., son of his highness, whose sins are forgiven .......

(Metre: Ramal). “A mosque has been built in Hīṣār 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 Nizām ........... A. 942” [began 2nd July 1535].

The father of the builder was already, in Bābar’s time, an officer of Prince Humāyūn (Bābar’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 Chanāy, then just conquered (Akbarnāma, I, 151). In the report of the victory gained over Rana Sanka (Bābar’s Memoirs, pp. 410 ff.) ten grandees bear the title Nizāmaddān, but that was probably not their proper title, and is only a declamatory addition of the learned composer of the letter.

49 I do not think that these words are correct.
47. The ruins of Ulugh Beg's mosque are near the Commissariat in the town of Hisar. The inscription consists of five lines; it measures 1' 4" by 2':

"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 IIumay'’un Bádishâh-i-Ghâzi—may God perpetuate his khalifat!—its builder,

"By the grace of God the eternal (mas) the great Amir, Amir Ulugh Beg, son of Amir Yûsuf Alâmî, the master of the horse. Dated in 951" [began 25th March 1544].

48. On a dome outside Hisar, 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—

(Xin sharāt o znand kumb jin poison
Zanfâls bâzâs muhrat damaq
Dayer nakh kesh bâ kerd e r u
Sânâ 976
Dorzar astein bâ abâyé yezid
Kohn bâhk baniyâ bâkhrat
Kânt kibar)

(Metres: Mutaqârîb). "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 salsâbîl (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 'Shâr Buhrâl's mausoleum' outside Hisar, one mile to the south, is an inscription, 2' 5" square, in six lines of well-formed Nasta‘liq:

(Perforated, signed, and dated by the calligrapher 'Abd al-‘Azîz
State of the calligrapher: fine)

"Bairam Shar 'Rasul 'Abdul-‘Azîz
Zanfâl Dâhâsh Dâd 'Abd al-‘Azîz
Dayer 'Sâ'în poison, bâzâs, kesh bâkhrat
Sânâ 976
Bâkhrat yezid bâ bâhk bâkah dála
Kânt kibar"

The stoning marks are in red.
"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 Buhlûl's mausoleum,
"A grand mosque, which is to be the dwelling of worshippers.
"A heavenly speaker said without hesitation, 'write the hemistic
"This building was completed in 1106'" [began 22nd August 1694].

An inscription from a tomb near the Commissariat godowns, 6' 2½" by 10½ inches, is of no value, as it consists only of Quràn, Sûra V. 98.

IX.—BARWÂLA.

Barwâla is now the head-quarters of a tohûl, distant 18 miles north-east of Ilîsâr. In the Âin-i-Akbari, Pargana Barwâla is mentioned as belonging to Sarkâr Hisâr. Its area was 136,799 bighas; the revenues were 1,097,807 dâms (109,052 Say. dâms); the tribes were Sayyids, Malikzâdâs, Baqqâls; the military contingent consisted of 100 horse, 1,500 footmen.

50. An inscription from an old mosque, measuring 2' 5" by 5' is in very bad preservation:—

This mosque was ordered to be built in the time of the noble king Mu'izzaddunyâ waddîn—may (God) perpetuate his reign!—
Abu-l-Muzaffar Kâiqobâd, the king, by the glory of the saints and the poor, Tâjaddaula waddîn— 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 Balbâni Turks, after whom the kingdom was transferred to the Khiljîs.

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' 3" by 11 inches:—

"The light of Islam and of the Muslims Abûl-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 mouth 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. 688, exists in the Saâdo masjid at Amrohâ, Murâdhâbâd 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 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)" 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 Tugluq dynasty, and contains long historical accounts. Tugluq Shâh 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 Tugluq Shâh.\(^4\)

XI.—HĀNSĪ.\(^1\)

53. On the Dinī mosque, near the Sarāogyān mandir, is an inscription in three lines, measuring 2' 9" by 1' 4"—

"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, Fīrūz Shâh, 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 Zilqā'ā, 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—

"......and who manifests the word of God,\(^4\) 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 Iltimīsh (Altamsh), whose name it contains.

Finally, a third inscription, which is found on the back corner of the mosque of Makhdūm Ashraf, measuring 1' 22" by 12", contains some words from Qurān, Sūra ix, 19.

\(^4\) I cannot let this opportunity pass of recommending this interesting document to travelers 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. Guhār Ḥussain, 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 Din, 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.

\(^1\) For the history of the town of Hānsī, see Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng. for 1877, 117, fig.

\(^4\) These words occur as an epithet of Ḥussain Shâh in an inscription from A.H. 906 (see Journal As. Soc. Beng. vol. XLIII (1874), p. 304, note).
X.—BADAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAYANAPALA.

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

In November 1780 Charles Wilkins discovered in the vicinity of the town of Badal, 1 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 Ghoshal, will be found in the Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, vol. XLIII, part i, pages 356-63. I now edit the inscription, of which a complete and trustworthy text has not yet been published, from impressions which at Dr. Burgess’ request the Government of India has had prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing—28 full lines and one line only 5" long,—which cover a space of from 1' 8½" to 1' 10" broad by 1' 7½" high. With the exception of two aksharas each at the commencement of lines 1 and 2, and altogether sixteen aksharas at the commencement of lines 25-28, which have become illegible by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and a few slightly damaged aksharas in the body of the inscription, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between 2½" and 3". The characters are of the same type as, but decidedly more modern than, those of the Ghosravā inscription, of which a photograph 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 6 is throughout denoted by the sign for v. Before 6 the consonant m has been retained, instead of being changed to anusvāra, in simuṛita, line 6, bhṛntam = vikaṇa, line 8, samvāpīta, line 9, satām = vinmayah, line 10, vāchām = vaiḥvam, line 20, and tā driśaṁ = vrayāṭa, line 24; and instead of anusvāra the guttural nasal has been used in vaṇe, lines 1 and 26, and vaṁśaya, line 21; and the dental nasal in pānsuk, line 7. We also have -sanīṭ for -śanāt, line 17, and -saṁghuṭer for -saṁhuṭer, line 4. Besides, it may be noted that the rules of saṁhūṭe have not been observed in viḍhuvaṭ Balla, line 11, and -pīlān chaṭār-, line 13; and that the sign of avagraha has been exceptionally employed in ‘bhidhāḥbhaṭ, line 17, and ‘tāra tvaṭ, line 21. As regards grammar I need draw attention only to the first compound in verse 11, which is formed incorrectly.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (in verses 27 and 28) the erection of a pillar, bearing on its top a figure of the mythical bird Garuḍa,—the pillar on which the inscription still is, but the upper part of which is now missing,—by a Brāhmaṇa,

1 See Montgomery Martin’s (Buchanan Hamilton’s) Eastern India, vol. II, page 672. [Badal Kasberi is in the south of the Dinajpur district, 3 miles north-west from the village of Manighat, which is on the borders of the Suraṇi pargana of the Begur (Bogra) district and 7 miles south-west from Damdama station on the Northern Bengal State Railway. Badal is in long. 88° 58’ E., lat. 25° 6’ N. (Indian Atlas, sheet 119), and the pillar is about a mile north from it. (Conf. Hunter’s Stat. Acc. Bengal, vol. vii, p. 451, and vol. viii, p. 199)—J. B.]
named Rāma Guravamiśra. But the inscription is really a praśasti, 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 Śaṅdilya there was one [Vīṣṇu?]; in his lineage was Viśvaśri; in his family Pāṇohāla; and his son was Garga, the adviser of Dharma (or Dharmapāla), ‘the regent of the east’ (vv. 1–2). Garga married Ichchhā, and their son was Darbhapāni, who became minister of the king Devapāla (vv. 3–7). He, again, married Śarkarādevī, who bore to him Someśvara (vv. 8–9). Someśvara married Rallādevī (v. 10); and their son was Kedāramiśra, by whose counsel the lord of Gauḍa (whom I understand to be Devapāla) is represented to have defeated or held in check the Utkaḷas, Hāṇas, Dravidas and Gurjaras (v. 13), and who is acquainted to have consecrated the king Śurapāla (v. 15). And, finally, Kedāramiśra married Vayvā, a lady born at Devagrāma (v. 16), and she bore to him Rāma, called Guravamiśra (v. 18), who was held in high esteem by the king Nārāyaṇapāla (v. 19). There can be no doubt that this last-named Brāhman is the Bhaṭṭa Gurava who is mentioned as dētaka in the Bhāgalpur copper-plate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla.

Of the four kings mentioned in this inscription three, Dharma[pa]la, Devapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla, are well known to us from copper-plate inscriptions. As to Śuṛa-pāla, 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 Nayapāla; and his son Vigrahapāla III.

TEXT.6

L. 1. ... 'नारायणपालकांकहीरनासंस्कृतकथायो'।

पाणोलो नाम तत्त्वसंस्कृतकांकहीरनासंस्कृतकथायो ॥ 6 — [1.]

वहुः पुरोभिं पतिंद्रिनित्यं दिग्न्तिरं तत्त्वसंस्कृतकांकहीरनासंस्कृतकथायोः।

2. तत्त्वसंस्कृतकांकहीरनासंस्कृतकथायों ॥ 6 — [2.]

भयं: तत्त्वसंस्कृतकांकहीरनासंस्कृतकथायों ॥ 6 — [3.]

सत्यो याः ॥ 6 — [3.]

विषयनिरस्वसंस्कृतकांकहीरनासंस्कृतकथायों ॥ 6 — [3.]

घरसत्यों: कसम्भवीतिरिद्वित्येको विद्यमानाधिकारिति नाम निरस्वसंस्कृतकांकहीरनासंस्कृतकथायों।

See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, page 208, v. 6.

* See ibid., page 307.

* 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.

* The word which has almost entirely disappeared here was probably विषय; and it may have been preceded by the symbol for छ।

7 Read कर्मवत्र।

9 Metre: Śūktaka (Anahutbbh).

10 Metre: Vatsatilalā.

11 Metre: Śūktaka (Anahutbbh).
भ रेवचनकामकामतप्रजामस्वस्तिलोकालारति ॥१२
रा गौरीपितुराजस्नेहनुविकरणं: युपविशिष्टी किरि ।
सातप्रजायीयद्यायत्तमंजरादा चारिरा

मित्रवाया
वीरव यथा सुय स्याकर कर्तादे धीरदियापाती रूपः ॥१३ ॥
सातप्रजायायागेन्द्रपदनरवरतीयासदानारसानाहो
नृपतिरक्रमवस्तिप्रेयः

घनरजःमुन्तमानवायैः ॥१४ ॥
दिज्ञानायतसुभूतायकायायकोषिन्दुविग्लोकः
स्वानी धीरदियापाती रूपतिरक्रमवस्तिप्रेयः

यथा ॥१५ ॥
दक्षायनवस्तुपुष्पविपीठस्य यस्यास्तम नरपति: सुभाराजशक्ष: ।
नानादेश्यपटुइडालितमार्गांचु: संधानसः१६ चा

कितमः खस्माससादः ॥१७ ॥
तस्य धीरमकरदियापातीः सौम इव दिजः: ॥१७
भावस्वर्णमितः: धीमान शरमकरवहानः ॥१८ ॥
न भवास्वर्णकः१९

थन्नवनवलसुपुष्पविपीठस्य यस्यास्तम नरपति: सुभाराजशक्ष: ।
नानादेश्यपटुइडालितमार्गांचु: संधानसः१६ चा

भिन्नायायागेन्द्रपदनरवरतीयासदानारसानाहो
नृपतिरक्रमवस्तिप्रेयः

विकाममता ॥२०
विच्छिन्नविश्लेषयथा स्यातिग्रीर नोहभासीनक्षिणता: ।
नैवोसा महुरस्वहूः प्रणविणः सम्भविषया] तावः नव

इत्यादि ॥२१
विच्छिन्नविश्लेषयथा स्यातिग्रीर नोहभासीनक्षिणता: ।
नैवोसा महुरस्वहूः प्रणविणः सम्भविषया] तावः नव

विकाममता ॥२०
विच्छिन्नविश्लेषयथा स्यातिग्रीर नोहभासीनक्षिणता: ।
नैवोसा महुरस्वहूः प्रणविणः सम्भविषया] तावः नव
L. 13. सहवर्गानस्यप्रदायः १२ वा ज्ञातासिद्धांस्यविनिविचारः ॥ ॥

सहवर्गानस्यप्रदायः ॥ [१२.]

अल्पकालं त्वज्जननम् ॥

14. तद्विवृक्षेणानाध्यायः

तद्विवृक्षेणानाध्यायः ॥

भूमिकामिति(चित्र)रथानाशरणम्(स्तू)भूमि गोविङ्गमविवास्थ चिन्य यदीया ॥ ॥

स्वर्यपहातिविशिक्षनिधिनो थे-

15. अन्तः निर्धारितं वुढ़िदं चालीकाधिविवेकाणि यदाऔधि

भवजनधिबिनिपति यथा भैरवः च ॥ ॥ परिसंपदितक्षणः(ध)धियः ॥ परे थार्ग्र्येचे थे- ॥ ॥

16. छाहु छ(ब)हस्तार्थिनिविवेके: चीयूरपाली चः

साचारिन्द्र द्व जातामिव(व)को गदेव भूयः नयं

नानाब्रोफिविविषकल्य जगतः

17. कालापङ्गः ॥

अवहभुपुत्रानासी नतिरा चास्थु पूर्तम्यः ॥ ॥

देवारसम्बन्धः ॥ [१२.]

नन्दुत्त चलया ल-

18. च्याह सत्या चास्थु[नवन]ध्याणो ॥ ॥

सा द्वैकीव तभार्यशोद्रव्या बीजार्थिनिविवेका द्वारा: ॥

गोपालप्रियावरस्मिनुः सुखोत्सतमन्यः ॥ ॥ [१७.]

19. ज्ञानसिद्धिकारणज्ञः सम्पत्तिविनिवेकः: ॥ [१६.]

या: चीयूरस्मात्रायधी रामो राम इत्यादिः ॥ ॥

कुमली गुणाधिवेकः विनिविवेकुपर्वपुरुषः-

20. यू व(व)हुभेनी ॥

वीनारामपालः प्रभृतिपरास्तो का तथा ॥ ॥

वाचार्येभमानिविविषां ॥ नति: परानिवेशां ॥

वेदानिजषगामाः

21. ममसहस्रवशा ॥ सम्मयिताः

भाषिकत्तलकोमेनिव शास्त्राविश्वासातां ज्योतिरियो

वध्यनवस्मेते सम्भवतः च प्रदृश्यात ॥ [२०.]

22. यस्यविविषय: चीयूरवालान्य विशाल वैराज्ञि निमित्तांनि

ढऩे खिते सर्वधिनिविविषयचित्रः गठाविनाकल लक्षोद्वर सर्वस्य ९

शाखाप्रती-

27 शा. “चीयूरपाली”
28 मृ. “शोका (अनुश्तुभ)।
29 मृ. “वासवतिलक।
30 His sign of punctuation is superfluous.
31 Originally उक्ति, altered to उक्तार्थी।
32 Metre: मालिक।
33 Read वार्षिक।
34 Metre: सार्दालविक्रिता।
35 Originally व उ, altered to वे।
36 The lower portion of the अक्षरम् in brackets is damaged.
37 Metre: “शोका (अनुश्तुभ)।
38 Metre: अयाः
39 Metre: “शोका (अनुश्तुभ)।
40 Metre: अयाः
41 Read वार्षिक वैराज्ञि।
42 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
43 Read वर्षावित।
44 Metre: “शार्दालविक्रिता।
45 Metre: “उपाजित।
[Verse 1.] In Śāndilya's race was . . . 57, in his lineage Viśādeva, in his family Pāṇḍhāla; from him was Garga born.

(2.) As he made Dharma 58, 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 Iēchhā 59, 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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57 The aṅkhaṇa in brackets looks like ो, altered to ो.
58 Metro : Āryā.
59 The aṅkhaṇa ॐ was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line. The following ॐ, which I have added, is not in the original.
60 The ॐ was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line. The following ॐ, which I have added, is not in the original.
61 The aṅkhaṇa ॐ was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.
62 One would have expected ॐ धिःप्रियां, ॐ धिःप्रियां.
63 The name, here missing, probably is Viṣṇu.
64 I.e. the king Dhanurmpāla, whose adviser Garga is represented to have been.
65 I.e. 'desire, love.'
knowledge of the four Vedas, was like the lotus-born Brahman, the possessor of four lotus-like faces.

(7.) By his policy the illustrious prince Devapāla made tributary the earth as far as Revā’s parent41 whose piles of rocks are moist with the rutting-juice of elephants, as far as Gaurī’s father,42 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 Šarkarādevī, the twice-born Someśvara, the illustrious, a favourite of the supreme lord, as the moon had sprung from Atri.

(9.) Never exulting, though like Dhanañjaya43 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 Ballādevī, a suitable spouse, even as Śiva had done of Śivā, and Hari of Lakṣmi.

(11.) From them took his birth the illustrious Kedārāṃśa. Filling the circle of the quarters with the flames of abundant (sacrificial) fires, radiant with the presence of the gods, of irresistible great might, of a pre-eminence in every branch of knowledge matured from within, and brilliant as glowing gold, he, like unto Guha, delighted the minds of gods and men by his deeds.44

(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.45

(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

43 Darbhapāni was chaturvedya (or chaturvedin), as Brahman is chaturmukha; and the epithet dvijate, applied to him, besides suggests that he was like the moon.
41 i.e. the Vindhyā mountains.
42 i.e. the Himalayas.
43 i.e. Arjuna.
44 The general meaning of this verse, in which Kedāramśa 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 Vahān-vṛtti, we should have expected a past passive participle, conveying the sense of ‘touched’ or ‘filled,’ in the place of chumbin, ‘kissing,’ which is the reading of the original. Besides, when the compound is referred to Kedāramśa, none of the ordinary meanings of ajīmha (‘not crooked, straightforward, a frog, a fish’) appears very appropriate. I therefore incline to think that the writer has confounded the word with animāha (‘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’.
45 Agastya is said to have swallowed the ocean.
distinction between friend and foe; he was both afraid and ashamed to fall into the ocean of worldly existence; and having crushed the attachment to the pleasures of this life, he took delight in the supreme abode.

(V. 15.) At the sacrifices of him, the image of Brihaspati, the illustrious prince Śūrapāla, having destroyed the forces of his enemies, often attended of his own accord, like Indra himself, the destroyer of the demon Vāla; 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 Vāiyā, born at Devagrama, unlike the fickle Lakshmi and the childless Sati.

(17.) As Devaki gave birth to Purushottama, the adopted son of Yaśodā, Lakshmi's husband, who delighted the cow-herds, so she bore to him a son, famous and compassionate, who was a lord of fortune, and who caused pleasure to the king, being the most excellent of men.

(18.) He, Rāma,66 called Guravamīśra, the illustrious, born in Jamadagni's race, and conversant with the constellations which bode good fortune, was like another Rāma Jāmadagnya, to whom the thriving 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 lustre by searching after the meaning of the Vedas; that he was eager to celebrate the virtues of great men, and was well versed in astronomy.

(21.) In him, who was possessed of fortune, as well as a master of speech, Lakshmi and Sarasvatī resided both together, having forsaken, as it were, their natural enmity and joining in friendship.

(22.) In the assemblies of the learned he at once confounded the pride of self-conceit of opponents by his speeches to which the constant study of the Śāstras imparted deep meaning, just as, possessed of boundless wealth of valour, he did in battle the conceit of bravery of enemies.

(23.) He never uttered words gratifying to the ear of which the fruit became not at once apparent, nor did he ever bestow a gift which the suppliant having received went to another more bountiful donor.67

(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.

(28.) To his ancestors and to him people were wont to resort, considering that (in them) Brahma himself had first become a father, and that the same Brahma (in him) had again become their offspring.

66 i.e. the prince, at these sacrifices, was as it were concreated as sovereign of the earth.
67 i.e. the god Vishnu-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.
( footwear. He has placed Tārkśha,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 Vishṇubhadra.

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XI.—ATAKÜR 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 Śravāṇa-Belgoḷa, pp. 19, 21 (see note 6 below). It is now published in full for, I believe, the first time. I edit it from inked estampages, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultsch.

Ātakūr is a village about fifteen miles to the north-east of Māṇḍya, which is the head-quarters town of the Māṇḍya 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 Ātukūr. The inscription is on a stone slab, set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challēśvara, 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 ppanneraṇḍum, and continues on the proper left margin, below the ends of lines 20 and 21. Line 23 is a short line, lying below the ends of lines 20, 21, and 22, on the proper left margin. The writing is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout; and, with the exception of two akṣaras in line 4, the whole record can be made out with perfect certainty. The

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.
estheticmages, 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 13".— 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 ri in urru, line 1, prithuvi, line 2, and krishna, line 3; (2) the use of d for v in the word dtra, lines 16, 18; (3) the occasional use of s for ś, e.g. in saka, line 1, and sakti-y-dge, line 16; and (4) the doubling of s after r, in ár-esogara, line 17.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a king named Krishnaraja, whom, partly from the date that is given, and partly from the mention of a predecessor, we know to be Krishna III., a son of Amoghavarsha III., of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mālkheō: in the body of the inscription, he is also called Kannarādeva; and in the addition at the top of the stone, this form only of his name is used. We are told that he was making a display of triumph, after fighting against and killing a Chōla king or chief named Rājāditya, at a place called Takkōla. The inscription then introduces a Gaṅga feudatory of his, called in the body of the record Permāṇādi, and in the addition Būtuga, who, as we learn from the addition, had killed a certain Rāchamalla, the son of Ēreyapa, and (as the result) was ruling over a Ninety-six-thousand district, which is evidently the well-known Gaṅgavādi Ninety-six-thousand. From the addition we also learn that it was Būtuga himself who slew Rājāditya; treacherously, and while they were out taking the air together: and that, in approbation of the deed, Krishna III. gave to Būtuga the districts known as the Banavase Twelvethousand, the Belvola Three-hundred, the Purige Three-hundred, the Kusukād Seventy, and the Bāgenād Seventy. The record then introduces a follower of Būtuga, named Manalarata, of the Sagara lineage, with the hereditary title of "lord of Vājabhi." And it proceeds to state that, in recognition of his valour in battle, Permāṇādi-Būtuga granted some land to a temple of the god Chalāṭvara (a form of Śiva) at the village of Ātukūr; a stone,— evidently the one bearing this

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3 The fact that Rājāditya died in battle with Krishna III., is mentioned also in the large Leyden copper-plate grant (see Dr. Hultsch's Report No. 79, dated the 6th April 1901); the passage speaks of the "lordly elephant," on which Rājāditya was riding.

3 The use of the paramount title in dharma-mahārajaśārdha must be taken, with the use of the name Satyarāya-Keongpavan, 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 Permāṇādi-Būtuga and Krishna III.

4 This name occurs also in the body of the inscription, among the titles of Manalarata. That passage (I. 9) is probably enough to show that Permāṇādi and Būtuga were one and the same person. But the point is rendered quite certain by the other reference to Būtuga and Manalarata in II. 22-23. — When I wrote the preceding remarks, I overlooked the fact that Būtuga is distinctly called Permāṇādi-Būtuga in the Hēbbāl inscription (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 270).

6 One might perhaps expect the name of Rājamalla, rather than Rāchamalla. But the original very distinctly has cha in the second syllable.

6 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 Satyarāya-Keongpavan, or more specifically the Permāṇādi-Būtuga, of lines 6, 8, 8] "was Rāchamalla, the son of Ēreyappa; also, that he defeated a rīvī named Būtuga, who then proposed to Rājāditya, the Chōla prince mentioned in the previous part of the inscription, to join "him in attacking Kannarādeva. 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 6) 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 Manalarata. And from the addition we learn that Bûtuga also granted, to Manalarata himself, the group of villages known as the Åtukûr Twelve, and the village of Köteyûr of the Beltvola country.

In the date the only details given are the Saumya saûvatsara, coupled with Šaka-Saûvmat 872 (current) (A.D. 949-50), expressed in words. This falls within the limits of the dates already obtained for Krisna 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 saûvatsara coincided with Šaka-Saûvmat 871 as an expired year, we have in this record another clear instance of the use of a current Šaka year.

This record refers to a variety of places. Åtukûr itself is mentioned, as Åtukûr, 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 Bejatûr, in the Kejale vâd; but for these names I cannot find any representatives in the map. It gives Takkòla (l. 4) as the name of the place where Râjûditya was slain; this, again, I cannot identify. In the titles of Permânâdi-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 Kolâhalapura of the Eastern Ganga records, and has identified it with “Kólâr, in the east of Maisûr.” The identity of the two names, Kolâla and Kolâhala, is probably established by the statement, in the eastern grants, that Kolâhala was in the Gaûgavâdi vishaya (Ind. Ant., vol. XVIII, p. 170). The identification of the place with Kolâr 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 Dévarâjadurg in the Korêtâgi Tûlukâ of the Tûmkûr District, Maisûr; this seems to me to suggest that Kolâla may possibly be the ancient name of Dévarâjadurg itself. Nandagiri has been identified by Mr. Rice (Mysore Inscriptions, p. xlv) with Nandiâdurg, a fortified hill in the Chikballâpur Tûlukâ of the Kólâr District, Maisûr. And finally, in the titles of Manalarata, the inscription mentions the town of Valabhi (l. 7-8), which is, of course, the well-known Valabhi in Kâţhiâwâd. 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 Manalarata, 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 Gaûgavâdi 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 Gaûgas; towards the north it extended as far as Lakkunâdi, near Gadag, in Dhárwâd (Inscriptions at śrâvâya-Belgola, No. 53). It then mentions a province and four districts which were given by Krisna 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 Banavâsi 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 bela, ‘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 Dhârvâd District (Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 297), Aniligere in Dhârvâd (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 220; apparently Aniligere was then, A.D. 866, the capital of the district), Kurkotâ in Dhârvâd (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 218), Nargund in Dhârvâd and Hutli 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 Kukkanur in the Nizam’s Dominions (Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, p. 275; here the name is written Beluvala, in Nâgari characters). From the wording of the passage in line 23 of the present inscription it seems not to have included Atakur. The second is the Purigere Three-hundred. This, again, is a very well-known district, taking its appellation from the ancient Kanarese name of Lakshmeshwar in the Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârvâd District. The third is the Kisukâd Seventy. This was in later times one of the divisions of the hereditary territory of the Sindas of Eramburage; and the chief town of it (Journ. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc., Vol. XII, p. 272) was Kisuvolal or Paṭṭada-Kisuvolal, which is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bijâpur District, near Badami. To the south it included (id., p. 257) Kuru-Narayangal, which is to be identified with Kozikop, a hamlet of Naregal in the Rân Tâlukâ, Dhârvâd. And the fourth is the Bâgenâd Seventy. This is plainly identical with the Bagadage Seventy, or Bâgâdige nâd, which was another of the divisions of the Sindra 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 Bâgalkot in the Bijâpur District. It has long been known to me that the rustics call this place ‘Bâgâdikote;’ the popular explanation of which is that some Nawâb assigned it to his wife for pin-money (lit. for bangles, bângâdï). And I had a suspicion, but no more, that it might be the ancient Bâgadage or Bâgâdige. All doubt has now been removed by my examination of an inscription on a stone which stands in the courtyard of Tâlukâ Kacheri at Bâgalkot, and was brought, I understand, from the neighbouring village of Hêrcal, and which mentions “the famous capital, Bâgadageya-kote, (erma[ß-]âjadhâni Bâgadag[e]ya-koteya sri-mula)-[sthân-ô] dhi[pati] Nilakaṇṭha-pañjïtadâvaru; lines 9-10). Taken with the rustic appellation, this is quite sufficient to establish the identity of the two names, Bâgadage and Bâgalkot. And finally, in line 22, the addition mentions the village of Koteýur of the Belvola country. This place I cannot identify with any certainty; but it may possibly be either Kurkotâ in Dhârvâd, or the small village of ‘Kotoor,’ 3 miles west of Koppar in the Nizam’s Dominions (Lat. 15° 20’ N., Long. 76° 10’ E.).

There can be, I think, no doubt that the Ereyapa of this inscription is the Ganga king Ereyapa or Ereyapparas, ruler of the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand, of the Bégûr inscription (edited by me, ante, Vol. I, p. 346 ff.). This record, therefore, fixes the period of the events recorded in the Bégûr stone, and adds another interesting link in the history of the Western Gaṅgas. It shows internal dissensions among them; for Pemânaḍi-Bûtuga, himself a Gaṅga (see lines 5, 6), acquired the province by killing Râchamalla, the son of Ereyapa; and Ereyapa, though he has been stamped by Mr. Rice as an “usurper” (e.g. Mysore Inscriptions, pp. xli, 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 Eṟeyapparasa is now known to be about A.D. 949, it follows that there is some real probability of the Ayyapadēva of the Bēgūr record being identical with the Western Chalukya Ayyaṇa I., whose period was two generations before A.D. 973-97.

Among the territory given by Krīṣṇa III. to Būtuga was the Banavase Twelvethousand. This point is of interest, because this province was the principal component of the territory of the Kādambas of Banawāsi and Hāngal; 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.7

1 Svas[t]i Sa(ṣa)ka-nri(ṛi)pa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-sa(ṣa)taṅga[ḷ]eṇtu-nūr=elpatt-eraṁcneya Śau(sau)myam-emba
2 saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttise [[*] Svasti Amoghavarsha’dēva-śrīprithuvi[Vallabha-paramēsvaram-parama-
4 Kan[n]a[ṛadēva[n] . . lū(?)vajara Chōla-Rājāditya mēle [ba]ndu Takkōlado-kādi kondu bijayaṁ-geyyutt-iḷdu [[*]
5 Sva[st]i [S]atyavākya-Koṅguṇivarman-adharm[m]amahārājādhirājam Koḷa-la-puru-
6 vart-śvarāṁ Nandagiri-nāṭham
8 Ša[r]gar-vamśa Va-
9 ḍabhi-puruvara-śvaram=udāra-Bhagirathan=iṁva-beṛeṅgam S[a]ga[e]-Trinētram
10 saṁese-mūgarivom
9 kadan-aika-Su(ṣu)drakāṁ Būtugan-aṅkākāram śrīmat Manalarata[n]aṅg-a[nuvarado] mechhi bēdi-koll-endo-
10 ḍe dayeya mere-vo([ʔ])i-emba Kāliyam daye-geyy-endo kōḍanā nāya[m] Keḷale-nāda Beḷatāra paḍun-
11 vaṇa deseya mōraḍiyel piri[duṁ pa]ndige ṛiṭṭode pandiyum nāyum-oṣa-
12 sattuvadarkke
13 y-Atukkroḷ Challeśvarada munde kallan-naḍīsī piriya kēreya kelage Malti-kāḷangadē-ir-kā[kkha]nḍuga-
14 mana[n]a koṭṭar-ā mana[n]an-okkal nādān=ā[vor=m]12=ūran=ā[vor=1 mana[n]a-
15 alon-ā nāya geyda pāpama[n] kōḍom-

7 From the inked est. images.
* Read "varada".
* Read "prithive" or "prithive".
* We should expect tana(a), with the double nn. But I notice that Sanderson's Kannarese Dictionary gives nana as a variant of nanca.
1 Read gaṅga or gaṅga.
11 Read "āṅg-
12 Read "āṅg-".
The Addition at the Top of the Stone.

The sāṇvaṭara named Saumya, (which is) the eight hundred and seventy-second (in) the centuries that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, being current:—

(Line 2).—Hail! When Krishnārāja (I.I.), the glorious Kannaradēva,—a very bee at the water-lilies which were the feet of Amoghavarshadēva (I.I.), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the Paramēśvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka; a very Triṇētra (Śiva) among kings; a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance); a hero against wild elephants; a (real) fighter (or, disputant),—having . . . . . . . come upon the Chōla, Rājāditya, and having fought and killed (him) at Takkōla, was going in triumph:—

(L. 5).—Hail! (He who has the hereditary titles of) the pious Mahārājādhīrāja Satyavākya-Koṅgunivarman; the lord of Koḷāla, the best of towns; (and) the lord
of the mountain Nandagiri,— (viz.) the illustrious Permanāḍi, 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 Manalara, who is of the lineage of Sagarā, which brought down the stream of the (river) Gaṅgā through (the) prowess that was unimpeded in causing the affliction of all mankind; (who has the hereditary title of) the lord of Valabhi, the best of towns; who is as noble as Bhagiratha; who is a marvel among men who pierce; who is a very Triṇētra among the Sagaras; who cuts off noses when he is angry; who is a very Śūdraka (devoted) only to war; (and) who is the mathematician of Bātuga,— said “Prefer a request!” Thereupon, Kāliya, who is called “the shining river (? of kindness,” said, “Do (this) favour!” Then they loosed his dog at a [great] boar, on the hill in the western quarter of (the village of) Belātūra (the district called) Kērale nāḍ. And then, having set up a stone in front of the temple of (the god) Chalēśvara at Ātukār, at (the place where) the boar and the dog killed each other, he (Permanāḍi) gave land yielding two khandugas (of grain), at the site called Mālīkālāṅga 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! Ōṁ!

(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 Triṇētra among the Sagaras? The king was at (his) back; a multitude of enemies opposed (him) in front; all the people here, emulously rivalling each other, are bathed (in perspiration) to the (very) edges of (their) garments;— under these circumstances he, a very Śūdraka (devoted) only to war, dripping (with sweat), with the assistance of (the god) Hari (and) the brave Lakṣmī, passed on like a lion, cleaving open the forehead of the elephant that was called “the fortress of the Chōla.” Ōṁ!

THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

(L. 20).— Hail! When Bātuga, having fought and killed Rāchamalla, the son of the glorious Ereyapa, was governing the Ninety-six-thousand:— At the time when Kannarādēva was warring against the Chōla, Bātuga treacherously, while (they) were taking the air (together), aimed at and pierced, and thus fought against and killed,
Rājāditya; and then Kannaradēva gave to Būtuga, in token of appprobation, the Banavase 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 appprobation, for subsistence, the Ātukār Twelve, and the village of Kōṭeyûr 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 Karitalāi, a village in the Mudvarā 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 Archeological 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' 3½" high; but of this, again, a large piece, about 1' broad by 1' 8" high, is broken away at the lower proper right corner, and a small piece at the upper left corner. Besides, the stone is broken in several pieces, and some aksharas have thereby become damaged or illegible in the body of the inscription. The average size of the letters is 1". The characters, well formed and skilfully engraved, are Nagari of about the end of the 10th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the words yān-cha, in line 5, and kiṁ 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 jihvāmāliya once occurs in line 9, and the sign of the upadhāniya once in line 30.

The missing introductory portion of the inscription is in all probability contained a number of verses eulogising the earlier Chedi (or Kalachuri) rulers of Tripuri, especially Yuvārāja-deva 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 Brāhmaṇa, named Bhākamiśra, who was chief minister of the king Yuvārāja-deva; and in verses 7-17 that he had a son, Someśvara (in verse 9 described as bhāṭṭa-Someśvara-dikshitā), who became minister of the Chedi lord, the illusrious Lakshmanrāja. And the proper object of the inscription is to record that this Someśvara built a temple of Vishnu, 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 Archeological 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 Pādangir 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 Lakṣhmaṇarāja, 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, Rāhaḍā, gave the village of Chakrabhradī (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 Vishnū (verse 33); and at a solar eclipse were given (it is not certain by whom) the village Ghallipāṭaka in the district of Dhaivalabarā and the village Antarapāṭa (verse 34). Several fields, and the village Vaṭagartikā in the Mālā ‘group of twelve,’ are besides mentioned among the donations to Vishnū, 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 Lakṣhmaṇarāja, mentioned in this inscription, undoubtedly are Keyūravarsha-Yuvarājadeva and his son Lakṣhmaṇarāja, the father of Śaṅkaragaṇa, of the Bilhari inscription (ante, vol. I, page 253); and accordingly the present inscription is older than the Bilhari inscription, and must have been composed some time between the middle and end of the 10th century A.D.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, none have been identified with certainty; but I suspect Dirghaśākhika to be the village Dighee of the maps, about 6 miles south-east of Kārītalai (or Kareetullae).

**TEXT.**

L. 1. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

2. "भैरविलोकितो बलिब्राह्मणमयाणां ज्ञातार्ज्जु / प्र[ल]तयोजनान एव तु जनी: भावादनस्थायितैः / श्रास्त्रवर्गस्वल्काः सत्तान्स्वता लिंगात्मकः[ल] / तरांसतुः व्याहिति।"

3. "त्रिवेणिकी अरुक्तिसहस्रवरियोणार्ज्जु / भृतजातिम् जितिप्रपणम् / भवतुल्लाभव्यंसतवान् कान्तिपूविः।"

* The mutilated state of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word kharindopa, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean ‘a field sown with a kharī of grain’, or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of Kārītalai.

† I am unable to explain fully all the particulars stated in the mutilated verses 38-42. Verse 40 again contains the word desī, mentioned ante, p. 130, note 83.

‡ From Sir A. Cunningham’s rubbing, supplied to me by the editor.

§ 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.

⊥ The last akshara of the preceding line must have been nek. The poet is speaking of the Daitya Bali, with whom he evidently compares a king (probably the Chedi Lakṣmaṇarāja), who must have been spoken of in the lost portion of the inscription.

Ⅱ metre: स्वरदेशाविक्रियाः.

Ⅲ I should have expected to read here वेशि भवतुल्लाभव्यंसतवान् कान्तिकी.

Ⅳ metre: उपसति.

Ⅴ The aksharas, here broken away, probably were श्रीआ, i.e. प्रभुआ.
I. 4. 
सप्ती दु(क)धी न दु(क)धी धे।
चकीचि। कविरापि श्रादतिश्रादेवसमहितः ॥१२॥—[३]।
बदनविधितात्मण्मञ्जरिञ्ज्जेदनवतरक्षरपोतात्मणाति यथिवृ।
दिगैस्वरः[ग]।

5. 
राजानन्दवेशः समूहे वालतियवुप्पममानस्त्रेष्यः कथितितः ॥१३॥—[४]।

6. 
दुहेष्यदावधारणानि कुल ॥१६॥—[५]।

7. 
दे द्वदवधिचित्(वो)तः पदधिरपतिकवस्व्यानैवशस्त्रपतिताः ।
य यादो वेदान्ते सरस्वतिपुजः काव्यसुधः।ष तथासोबीकूथः प्रविष्ट इह सीमिवर दृष्टि ॥१७॥—[७]।

8. 
नववामुस्तिरतसत्वस्विविष्यते तांत्रिकवृत्ति किंतू मन्। कुहणी व(क)वेशः ।
हर्षावपलनयरीचवामुस्वाशाखः राजवेश्यपोपमो हुरु धीमताः व ॥२०॥—[८]।

9. 
हर्षेचिनिर्देशः कला। यद्वेद्य प्रभुचा:।

10. 
था एव हिर्मावमृठि विछिहि। स्काणिः।।

11. 
न नवनीतमनियतः।

12. 
चयन्दनाचिनिः विनिधावेद्य चोमिपुसथ।-

13. 
तत्रार्थार्थमिर्तु सभिशं गार्रपलिख प।

12. इt is somewhat doubtful whether खचः or खचः was engraved.

13. इt is somewhat doubtful whether खचः or खचः was engraved.
13. तीर्थं गोपुर्यानुसारं वयनो यथा सम्वई ||

14. रथं निपद्धति गतमशिवतं राज्यं लम्बांता

15. कर्तृष्णं यदाधवभूया रणशिरसं बदता शंकितं हृदृढः श्रीत्वभे-

16. क्षरतः

17. वीरभद्रसनाराज सक्षमददाराः दोलाया ||

18. युगे न करोऽविरतं वससाननित्रयुं ||

19. कृष्णरिति व(व)प्रियस्वतरामाण्यः कुटिलतरसमध्यात्मायावीरि: ||

20. रीरिष्क्षितेन ध्वजः न ||

21. कनकःसमातिर्चारिनःप्रवाहादसरिदृश्य धति कैतुतायिनः गतिः ||

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17. Metro, Mandākrāntā.
18. The akṣara in brackets was originally omitted, and is ingraven below the line.
19. Metro, Śrāddhāvakṛtti.
20. Metro, Śrūkkā.
22. The exact meaning of this line I do not understand.
23. Metro, Āryā
24. This correction appears to have been made already in the original.
25. Metro, Śrāddhāvakṛtti.
27. Metro, Upajāti.
28. The akṣara in brackets was originally omitted, and is ingraven below the line.
29. Metro, Mālinī.
21. त सूर्यः(ष्ठीन)एः। III⁰ — [22].
ध्वजपटविकटात्त्वातिशास्त्रिकमिति समस्मरसरस्लिस्वेष्ययमाच्छादे।
तरणितुगुणज्ञां यासुमभाषितेऽपि तिरस्तुरागाणां वातुपदों्न। ¹¹

22. [वा] ति II⁴ — [23].
पर्यावरणद्वारतसोक्षेपादिध्यायः।
प्रति: पालस्विनिश्चो ध्यात्मितुगमलं चक्कायोंतसंबंधः। ¹³
यद्वे दृष्टान्तात्त्वाचिटि नियतीष्ठतः।

23. ॐ ॐ ॐ [ढ] ेः।
सायं सायं जानान् वै कल्याति नित्यायांत्वोऽस मयं II⁵ — [24].
नयति यस्मृत्तुवेदविष्यदेवारणेः वा वारं वे तिस्तानां कुक्तन्वासानि।

24. ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — [सी] श्वातिविभिः धूममोतिविल्लां प्रायः सोद्धमन्दः। II⁵ — [25]
अलंकृतस्यावेशेषिलक्षस्यासदिव।
पातश्रिर् (ढः) यथार्थस्यास्वाभावः।

25. ॐ — [ई]²⁴ — [26].
— — — — [ढ] रङ्गचरणचालिदादः।
पुंम मे तव तत्त्वा [शैक्ष] नवंमाग्यविद्यस्वस्तिः।
मा गान्धविशिष्टेस्वर्यं निदिष्टे तत्तावदेदेवदुः
कृष्णेश्चापि [ढः]—

26. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ववि ववि ववि II⁶ — [27].
चिं व (ढः) हुना।
सब्बै (प्रश्ना) दर्जानी नियतं प्रभाति न।
यद्य वै तुद्यावववल्लत्वा (सा) ववि स्वः। II⁷ — [28].
खेळादल्लालमेवतुः—

27. — — — — — — — — — — — — [रसुख]—
प्र (ढः) रङ्गार्धसङ्ग्रुः [ढः] तरगतोन्तिविलक्ष्मोपायः।
कल्यात्विदशेषितं सायंरूपिनायुगर्ष यावदेवदेवकास्वीकर्षेत्रायांस्य।

च्छुपैक्षा [सुर] चासिवद्वी भोजाच्छुनिव।
द्विवासितकन्यामानेषुभासमद्भूप। II⁹ — [30].
च्छुपैक्षा राजाः प्रायं देवाः—

⁰ Metro, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
¹ Metro, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
² Metro, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
³ Metro, Mālinī.
⁴ This may have been altered to "उस्के in the original.
⁵ Possibly this has been altered to "उस्के in the original.
⁶ Metro, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
L. 29.  

... [1]

... [31].

...

... [32].

30.  

... [33].

...

... [34].

...

... [35].

...

... [36].

...

... [37].

...

... [38].

...

... [39].

...

... [40].

...

... [41].

...

... [42].

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12 Metre, Āryā.
13 Metre, Śloka (Anuśṭabh).
14 Metre, Udghi.
15 Metre, Āryā.
16 Metre, from here to the end, Śloka (Anuśṭabh).
17 All this is quite clear in the rubbing.
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 Nágpur Museum, was first edited and translated into English, in 1843, by Bāl Gangādhār Śāstri, from a copy sent to him by Dr. Stevenson, who had received it from Mr. L. R. Reid. And a few years later it was re-edited, with a German translation, by Professor Lassen. 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. 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 estampages, prepared and supplied to me some time ago by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

The main body of the inscription contains 40 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 5½" broad by 2' 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 akṣaras and whole groups of words are either badly damaged or only faintly visible. I nevertheless hope that, with the exception of about a dozen syllables (in lines 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 ¾". The characters are Nāgari of the beginning of the 12th century A.D.; they include the sign of the jihvāmūtya in vāsāṃbhaktakya, in line 12. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory om on nāma Bhāratyai 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 nivōḍhara, in line 16, the letter b is throughout denoted by the sign for v. Besides, attention need only be drawn to the wrong spellings shanśa for shanśa, in lines 6 and 10, nistrimśa for nistrimśa, in line 16, chakshukārṇa for chakshuḥkārṇa, in

3 According to Lassen his copy was marked on the title page ‘Sanskrit No. 57,’ and he believed it to have belonged to a collection of transcripts of inscriptions at Bombay. Having studied Lassen’s text as well as his notes, and compared his various readings with my estampages, I feel certain that, what Lassen was told about the origin of the copy sent to him, was incorrect, and that there never has existed such a copper-plate as is mentioned by him. In my opinion, what he received from Sir W. Erskine was simply another transcript of the stone inscription, made by a Pundit 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 Pundit.
4 This sign of the jihvāmūtya is hardly to be distinguished here from the sign for shī:
5 But not in line 41, where we read nivōḍhara.
line 24, tojñair for tajñair, in line 35, and vidhaddhaṁ for vidhaddhaṁ, 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 brahmāṇḍakaṅgara, 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 Praśasti or laudatory account of the Paramāra rulers of Mālava, from Vairisimha (II.) to Lakshmimadeva, the son of Udayāditya and (probably elder) brother of Naravarmadeva; but, compared with its great length, the actual facts reported in it are few indeed. Beginning with seven benedictory verses, the poet (in verses 8-15) tells the well-known fable how on mount Arbuda (or Ābū) the sage Vasishtha, 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 Muṅjarāja (vv. 23-25), Muṅjarāja’s younger brother Sindharāja (vv. 26-28), and Sindharāja’s son Bhojadeva (vv. 29-31). The description of these five kings is purely conventional and for the historian worthless. In verse 32 the poet intimates that Bhojadeva’s end was unfortunate; and he relates that, during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, Bhojadeva’s relative Udayāditya became king, whose great achievement was that he freed the land from the dominion of (the Chedi) Karna, who, joined by the Karnaṭas,7 had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean (vv. 32-34). Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmimadeva, the glorification of whom takes up no less than twenty verses (vv. 35-54). According to the poet’s account Lakshmimadeva 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 Vaṅkshu, and contains a well-known play on the word kira.8

To the above laudatory account verses 55 and 56 add, that Lakshmimadeva, at the time of a solar eclipse, had granted, it is not clear to whom, two villages in the Vyāpura maṇḍala, and that his brother, the king Naravarmadeva, afterwards assigned the village of Mokhalapāṭaṇa 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 praśasti, the author of which is not mentioned, was likewise composed by no less a personage than the king Naravarmadeva.

6 The use of udhharat in the first compound of verse 29, for udhara, I ascribe to an error of the writer.
7 As Karna is joined here with the Karnaṭas, so the lord of Chedi apparently is joined with the Karnaṭas in the Udaypur Praśasti, ante, vol. I, p. 235, line 29.
8 See, e.g., above, p. 15, verse 12.
This main part of the inscription closes with the date, the (Vikrama) year 1161 = A. D. 1104-5. The additional line 41 (vv. 57 and 58) appeals to the reader to study carefully and with impartiality and to appreciate properly the poem, here set before him.

The history of the earlier Paramāras of Mālava, down to Udayāditya, has been fully treated of by Professor Bühler, ante, vol. I, pp. 223-233. The names of the later rulers of the same dynasty I have given from their copper-plate grants in Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, pp. 346-347. All these later records make Naravarma the immediate successor of Udayāditya, and so does the inscription from Madhukaragāḍh, the substance of which is given in the Transactions Roy. As. Soc., vol. I, p. 226. But from the present inscription it is clear that Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, and he by his brother Naravarma; and the dates available show that Lakshmadeva's reign falls between the years A. D. 1080 and 1104.

TEXT.9

L. 1. श्रीं [मन] नसी भारवे ॥
प्रसादीदार्यामालूमसमाधिमतादय: ।
युवविधे शुष्का: सत्ति वास्तौन वैष्ण सल्लु न: II'—[1].
एक एव भुवनवद्यपि स वैष्णवं वै विभृति ।
यथा महामददात्राय भारवप्रभृत्यवकासति II'—[2].
जाति इत्यय विभाषणः गु- ॥

2. शालाकारचारव: ।
सरसेय प्रसीदनु चुयय: सरयय: न: III'—[3].
हुवेशराजपुरस्वरूपाय भूतंभूतिमिर्य: प्रभूतण: III'।
[च]जाराजातसालव: कब्यशाहीयस्तार: शिव: शिवं IV'—[4].
जाता महामददात्राय वा (ल)शाङ्खश्चितरमूर्ति ।
महेश्वर[वाचिन]—

3. ता सुका जयमक्षोजयविदय: IV'—[5].
देवायं च सरारायं च त्रिसरीमोलयं च माहातिच च
अहानकपरम्भेयौ च वसन चारिच चारायं च।
वहनि च विलियंच च मंति भौमं च भयं च त—
विनायकसुमार्कारमारम्यं मुखिप च सुकीच च व: IV'—[6].
वेद्वर्त्यं सम[भा]—

4. च मोदायकालिकेवतवातः ।
शान्तिनिरसिताष्ट्रिषः विलु: जुलातु व: V'—[7].

9 From impressions supplied to me by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.
10 Expressed by a symbol.
11 Metre, Ākṣaras (Arunaḥṭaḥ).
12 Metre, Ratnabālaḥ.
13 Read विश्वासपन्नाचार्याय विश्ब: पुणातु व: ।
14 Metre, Śloka (Arunaḥṭaḥ).
15 The ākṣaras in these brackets are almost entirely illegible.
नागपुर शिलालिपि से प्राप्त नामक शब्दों के प्राकृतिक प्रतिकृति में समीक्षा तथा व्याख्या।

6. संसारवाॅली देवराज शिलालिपि से प्राप्त इतिहास देवराज शिलालिपि की व्याख्या करते हैं।

7. राणा धर्मशासन अरुणेश्वर शिलालिपि से प्राप्त इतिहास देवराज शिलालिपि की व्याख्या करते हैं।

8. तो धर्मशासन अरुणेश्वर शिलालिपि से प्राप्त इतिहास देवराज शिलालिपि की व्याख्या करते हैं।

9. वराणसी शिलालिपि से प्राप्त इतिहास देवराज शिलालिपि की व्याख्या करते हैं।

10. बुधदाद्वर शिलालिपि से प्राप्त इतिहास देवराज शिलालिपि की व्याख्या करते हैं।

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20 मेट्रा वर्ष 8 और 9, शरदुलाविक्रिद्धा।
21 मेट्रा, रत्नदधा।
22 मेट्रा, रत्नदधा।
23 मेट्रा, शलोका (अनुश्वल्ल)।
24 मेट्रा, शरदधारा।
12. स्मारणं च रिपुव्रजं च सुरजनितानाबिराजं च यः।

13. ध्यामध्यमं धर्माभधोरितस्तिरं ब्रजस्वरङ्गस्वरङ्गाला-

14. नमस्तमूलदितियत्वेति विविषेऽविषेऽदम्पतः।

15. नमस्तमूलदितियत् नामस्वराभदृशयायामार्थेऽविषेऽदम्पतः।

16. नमस्तमूलदितियत् नामस्वराभदृशयायामार्थेऽविषेऽदम्पतः।

12. स्मारणं च रिपुव्रजं च सुरजनितानाबिराजं च यः।

13. ध्यामध्यमं धर्माभधोरितस्तिरं ब्रजस्वरङ्गस्वरङ्गाला-

14. नमस्तमूलदितियति विविषेऽविषेऽदम्पतः।

15. नमस्तमूलदितियत् नामस्वराभदृशयायामार्थेऽविषेऽदम्पतः।

16. नमस्तमूलदितियत् नामस्वराभदृशयायामार्थेऽविषेऽदम्पतः।

18. स्मारणं च वैदिकविवेष्ठायुर्विल्ले च ब्रजस्वरङ्गस्वरङ्गाला-

19. ध्यामध्यमं धर्माभधोरितस्तिरं ब्रजस्वरङ्गस्वरङ्गाला-

20. नमस्तमूलदितियति विविषेऽविषेऽदम्पतः।

21. नमस्तमूलदितियत् नामस्वराभदृशयायामार्थेऽविषेऽदम्पतः।

22. नमस्तमूलदितियति विविषेऽविषेऽदम्पतः।

23. नमस्तमूलदितियत् नामस्वराभदृशयायामार्थेऽविषेऽदम्पतः।

24. नमस्तमूलदितियत् नामस्वराभदृशयायामार्थेऽविषेऽदम्पतः।
17. चेष्टितं।
संघःत्वतःतो विवसिंविरोडःसिध्यः कहे छोडः
दोहरा[माकुर]वर्गमयो शरि वरे संकुचि विवास्यः। ॥ ऋ ॥ —[25].
तत्त्वातिष्ठत पारिवेत्यः घुरयमयः स्वविस्मुरार्णोत्वः
स्वक्षरितवपववस्मृतमेदः।।[सौर्]वर्षंशयोनः।।
याः वंशामुः

18. गाम्बिताधितमपुपुर्वमत्स्कृतमुः
व्यक्ताधितिमपुपुर्वमारम[ट]वेनासम्यवहृतः।।—[26].
ब्रजति जनिनसयामितमवातिन जस्मे तरतसुरवपे गौतमस्मुरवाजः।।
क्वक्कड़निरिन्द्रब्रह्ममपुपुर्वमकार्कितमुः।।—[27].
गाम्बिताधितमपुपुर्वमेवः

19. यार्द्धवर्ष च व(व)षोऽक्तान्तवाक्ष्मः च
धेम्मानु कथाप्रिणात्व[न]गुणाः ताः ॥[व(व)ना]ग्रामःभार्गवः च।
तेजः कालावहतानयः च महायवस्य वृक्षाशः च
सोक्तक्लेव विनिमित्तं यसविदः व्यवायां वर्माणि वधाबुः।। ऋ ॥ ३३ —[28].
तत्रतुमुविनात्माधितिमपुपुर्वमारमारमेवः

20. च्यायार्धम(व)सुधुम(व)ज्यारिकमलः सीमीदेवी द्रुपः।।
यस्यहय(ङ्ग)च [स]मार्गः वन्ति चाणी ययास्याना[न]यथा[ण]सिंहः।।
सर्वव(व)ववविनिनार्तवकरोत्कीर्तिविवः।।—[29].
रटपमारकरवववार्तवत्स्कृतवर्गसङ्क्षेपवस्कर(व)रेिस्तरतिकिश्चोऽहररामः।।
खुः

वज्रिः कस्मातवनाय चतुरायय वर्येतुः युमः
पद्मस्याय च चराय शुभरपि पद्माय युमाय च।।
सनातनीय रम्तुःयुक्तवेच्छं सहस्त्रसनाय
यादयाय सुखः

22. तमसामिती या[क्लीसिस]तुलोकंतयुः।। ऋ ॥ ३६ —[31].
तत्त्वातिशाबव(व)मुनिस्मुरगमते राज्ये च कुष्याकुले
मग्नाकामिति तात्व(व)सुसुद्यावाद्विधीमववग्नितः।।
येनेवदुयाभारवत्स्मिनार्तवकरोष्ट्वर्गभु:।।
सर्वालकंदविदितं भूविस्मिन सीमि रात्राचायितः।।—[32].
या

23. आदुरुगत्रपनाप[प]पाद्वदुर्गुष्टीता
सार्वत्त्वोरवमाधितिस्मृतः।।प्रापणः ये यस्तः।।

22 Metre, Mālīni.
23 Metre of verses 28 and 29, Šārdulavikṛditā. The third line of verse 28 has no censure after the 12th syllable.
24 The aksara in brackets looks as if originally त्र had been engraved.
25 Metre, Prithvi.
26 Metre of verses 31-37, Šārdulavikṛditā. Here, again, the first line of verse 31 has no censure after the 12th syllable.
भः सीयसिति प्रतितिविवताः पर्यत्वः ते
भिः[चा] भास्करमण्डल रिपुभट्टः प्राप्तः परां निर्विति[३३]।
काश्चात् सासिती विलोक्यं विजयं य-"-

L. 24.
शापरक्षां सुव-
[र्न्धनि?] — — [चक्र?] तां समयति दृष्टिज्ञापनस्वरुपे।
किंवान्दननिमित्तेविवेष्टा चौती:; सुवैविशिष्टः-
३३ कुंकुमविपक्षादेशानुपमिति: सीतं वषुक्तिविति। सूर्ये[३३]॥ [३४]॥—[३४]।
पुलसम्बर्जश्रोत्यविकारसः सम्यकराजापालनादेशानुपमे।
श्यामप्रः-

25.
वण: प्रजापतितरिव श्रीलक्ष्मीदेवीतं ।
नीवा वैन मलस्थ्याल्पविद्धि नासी न वैकाल:।
वर्तापि सदाययव्रजं यथा कौतिंचवेष खलः। इ॥—[३५]॥
संभूषयिता शुरूक्षयचराध:। कृष्णराजादयः
सदी नयतः [वा हु] त्तत्न ममता वा प्रव-"

26.
यिर्याशीलभु:।
चतुर्मृतं पिरीयताममनिविष्यः: पांड:; पुरा पूर्य-\nथवं भाजति प्रयाणपद्धती यथा लक्ष्मणविनः॥—[३६]॥
यज्ञगर्भ[गर्भि] वा(व) मयौरवि: विष्यदे: पूर्वः: परिमख्याते
कालात्तेन कायापि कायतर्या नापेत्ये देवः:।
श्राविलिः

27.
त्यति विकाशिचार्ययां प्रकरीये-
मृत्यु: बैलमुत्तमे वैरोप्तितिहायोयावतः॥—[३७]॥
प्रायान्ति यज्ञवियय्यस्य दियं हरेजिँकावियायन्यसमानविनिताः।
यथाविशेषः औषधः पुरे दुर्सन्धः समाहः सहसा पुरुषः।॥३४—[३८]॥
उदाहरिततितविवविद्धि-

28.
ताजस्वप्रायणक्रमे-
शाप्रां विपुरः रणकशक्षरसानि[वस्त्र] सत्रविद्धिः।
वैमात्स्याति विस्मितेनभसिन्नापराधुः-
होनोद्वागतानविव्याकृतिस्वरूपः स्वारिष्टः[क्षति]॥—[३९]॥
जातन्त्र जयशम्भवायामनिनाम वीजानिन: यजुर्वेदस्वामाने।
ठाताले:।

29.
शास्त्रतत्तवाय: श्रेयोपवाहीमिश्रिष्टयं प्रयाप्तः॥—[३०]॥
वे व्यालोकश्चार्यनिमंत्रिकः; क्लाभ्यायानिचषम-
कलावः; कठकारकान्तवर्ग: नायायानाध्याय:।
प्रायान्ति विरोधितिमुनिष्ठथा योगयज्ञिनिवारः
र्मीलामनिमेदुसूचिमिविदिरे विन्यास:।

३७ Read युष्कः।
३५ ग्रं, शारदाविक्रिष्टा।
३६ मेत्र, उपेन्द्रवर्म।
३८ मेत्र, उपाज्ञाति।
NAGPUR STONE INSCRIPTION.

L. 30.  पादाचलः ।(v)"—[41].

स्कार[लक्षा]रावरंगितान्तकेरुकुड़काकड़–
प्रायणकर्तव्याल्पत[ह]रंचवूसकर्व[हु]वभाषा: ।
वेनालकाट्स वेनाकारिकार्तश्नादानासुः(सु)गन्धः
घ्नविदंग्रहन्यद्विद्यकपल्लवाधासिला विन्यासः।वृः—[42].
वे दिन्तक्षुमुः(व).

31.  स्त्रिः: चयमरकोलासिः(सा)श्रेष्ठः
क्रीडालकेरुकुड़(स)कः(विन्न)जलसुमकः(व)झाययुः: ।
वेनालकाट्स वेनाकारिकार्तश्नादानासुः(सु)गन्धः
स्त्रियनुक्रियायुः क्रीडालकेरुकुड़(व) व(व)विन्नति:।मृः—[43].
हेवासो पुर्णरत्नः स भगवानायिनिः न: निधा

32.  शेनेन्द्रः (व)विवैरव(व)नविन्नता विन्य समाभासितः ।
वेनाचारी वनस्पतिः देवता: सामन्दराजः सताः
यस्म प्राच्यमनिविव इः(इ)भजन्यः ज्ञातवःः प्रसन्तवः।—[44].
वे कलामचरसमुक्तालिंभः: काद्विः(रिव)निविन्निः:
चंदनस्यीतिनार्ककुष्ठच्छुद्धसुः—

33.  हिंद्याः(हः)नवः: ।
[व] — — [शापिव]चमुटे पा[भी]वायाहोयने—
वेनामलामकड़जीरितावेदीयुः(सु)वेच्छेः:।—[45].
कुम्भस्वायतदेघ्व बलापाचिल्लुः[च्छः]ति ।
वीलाची(व)कै(भूला) विन्यासः (व)नवलादः:।[व]—[46].
कौ(को)भः: जाये वगायंतास्मातः—

34.  सिमलनी.
वैलुण्य[न्य]निव[विर]यद्वाणः: गर्भस्त: यतस्ति च या: ।
ताभि: संग्रहः यथेऽतु द्विविव वतास्यपर्यंपियः:
वयायााःपि तद्व वायायतः[कौ]ःगातः [गा]वः[वी]।[व]—[47].
स्वामिषप स सेतुरामवती रामस्स वी मातितः
प्रयोपाध्तः—

35.  शीलमुरुरचितो वर्धः(सुविच्छः)वति ।
प्रवाः(हः)व्य कपड़ेहोन कवितं तस्म(कः)हववाय यः
वेनास्यावस्यितनाव विद्येभी श्रीपाचिल्लुः।—[48].
श्रायवभयोम्यवः यमायाः यथा[तः] सर्पति सेवगस्सः।
चामत्सैवियो कुलस्य व्यायामाः—

36.  पादित्यु पार्श्वऽपाद्यायः।[व]—[49]
वेनाक्रमुः श्रवणवुः कुष्किलासामिति कविता
विष्णु काणिपि तीसंईकभ्रमयः: कुलापि वैवः श्रवः:।

" लं, सार्धाविक्रिष्टः.
" लं, संगमभारः.
" लं, वेनालकाट्स।
" लं, लं, लं, सार्धाविक्रिष्टः.
" लं, लं, लं, सार्धाविक्रिष्टः.
" लं, सार्धाविक्रिष्टः.
एतत्रेति न कोष्ठि यथा जलधि [त]शाम्य[येष्ठ] पयः[:]
[पीव] यत्करिमि: इतेकलुकेत्सेलिः

L. 37.
राग्मालायिनं "[50].
[k] संभूष तिमिषिन्मशतिंभि: संसरितिशस[स्]ैि
पीताधानसब(स)सुतां विकरिप्यो भैनाकसुखा जयि
भायमर्दवयित(स)राशिण्यिणे दृशिः१५ तैत्रयायेवयु(स)धी
वस्येनागराय[पीव]कसरा — — नोवूक्षेलः।[51].
यावयानितितिचिरिव राजः

38.
राजमण्य तद्दमां प्रति यथा यातुः।
विधापि भोखुजिभलवत्वपायेवभूमः। प्रतीवविभववेव(व)भूसे[52].
भारामा: समरा सरावं यथा युतागामुगायिसम-
हृत्मानावलेवतिमयितज्ञानमयिमयिकमः। पादः।
वस्यामुवद्रशयेन[प]लयङ्गोऽसिसिवचिक्रित-
व्रीषोपातः

39.
पालमण्डलवलविश्वकुमारकु: [53].
खलेत्वातुतुर्कदत्रतिहलवलवलोयितनी
हलेमेषःकेशराधिकर्षी वंचपकर्षखः।
वेनावास्य सरससस्तिविधाताविधातवालवायिनाथात-
वाटुक्लट[प]लिवप्प्रजर्गतः कीर्तिविदीयायितः।[54].
तेन आवरारस्तिव सुकृतः

40.

ना यथो ययःन्दतः
यद्भाममयार्लीवेष विधिना वियानितं चक्षुः।
तद्भदा नरवेमेत्वपति: पञ्चात्त्यरीवर्चं त-
हारम्म सोकलपाटकायमधिमाणास्यस्माच्छया ॥[55].
तेन वयंकालिभम्मत्रसत्तुसिदिचित्रितं।
धीमजङ्ग्लिचरितेतवागारम्यात्वैः।[56].
सं १९६१॥

41.
ढंडो दु(द)धा: सायु समस्वयं च चायकस्यं च पियं विधवम्[57].
सम्मानवर्चं च समामयव सुखं च न: सुखिसुधासुपार्वव इ१४—[57].
वन्दीयावर्मी सुखित्योतीर्थव विधितः।
यावव्यु सुखं: साद्धमानांवालवाणम(अ)द्री॥[58].

* Metro of verses 50 and 51, शार्दूलविरुक्षिता.
* Originally ययः प्रति seems to have been engraved.
* Metro, Upanāti.
* Metro of verses 53-55, शार्दूलविरुक्षिता.
* Originally ययः प्रति was engraved.
* Metro, Sīka (Anushṭubh).
* Read तद्भदा.
* Metro, Upanāti.
* Metro, Sīka (Anushṭubh).
TRANSLATION.

Om!

Om! Adoration to Bhāratī!

(Verse 1). O goddess of speech and divine Durgā! Let simplicity, force, sweetness, depth, harmony, and whatever other qualities you possess, let them all be shared by us!

(2). May Lakṣmi’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 sṛtṝa metres, 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 of the Yakṣas, resembles this fire-born race, 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 of the husbands of Umā and Lakṣmi 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 Viśnū 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

55. *I.e.*, the goddess of speech or eloquence.

57. For the exact definitions of prasadā, uddṛyag, mādhurya, samādhi and samātā, denoting certain qualities of style, see, e.g., Kavyādāra 1, 45, 76, 81, 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 Viśnunaḥ padam, "Viśnū’s middle stride," is the ish. The idea which the poet intends to convey apparently is, that, if Viśnū’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 Viśnū-Śiva; see ante, vol. I, p. 311, note 47.
the earth, filled with the latter, to the two extremities of this mountain, using it as a balance of virtue, that the round of heaven rose higher even than the top of mount Meru.\(10^3\)

(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 Vasishtha, who, to delight his father Brahma, 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, Vasishtha, enraged, pleased the fire by an oblation, and from that fire sprang, to conquer Viśvāmitra, 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, Dharmaḥpāt, Satyaketu, and Pṛithukirti.

(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.

\(^{43}\) 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.

\(^{44}\) I.e., Viśvāmitra.

\(^{45}\) Viś., 'the slayer of enemies.' See ante, vol. 1, p. 236, verse 6.
V. 19. He ruled the earth, humbling Indra in heaven by his majesty, defeating host of enemies in hostile lands by his valour, and surpassing Vishnu’s lord of serpents in his serpent-home by his ability to uphold the earth.

(20). From him sprang the illustrious king Siyaka, the fire of whose wrath was extinguished by the tears, caused by the pangs of widowhood, of the royal ladies of hostile princes; while the fire of his prowess even now is perceived here, in the guise of the starry firmament, presenting a novel appearance inasmuch as the smoke, in the guise of the atmosphere, is beneath it.

(21). The clusters of big pearls, which flew up into the air from the frontal globes of furious elephants cleft by his sword, though constantly falling down, have, disguised as they are as large sparkling stars; not even now reached the earth.

(22). To whom shall we tell this great unseen and unheard-of wonder? Or who will understand it? Yet for curiosity’s sake we report it: Although he delivered the earth, although he wedded the unique goddess of fortune, although again and again he did the work of the gods, he never was Vaikuntha.

(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; 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 Sindhuraja, 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.

* 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 (sūna na vai kurjakatām).

* See the first verse of the first act of Kālidāsa’s Šiśu, and Sir M. Monier-Williams’ note on it.
(V. 29). His son was the unique ornament of the world, the illustrious king Bhojadeva, whose lotus-feet were richly adorned with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings, and on whose feet rests even now, while he is occupying Indra’s throne, the vivid splendour of the edges of the diadems of the immortals, bowed down with envy.

(30). His army, distinguished by the sharp sound of roaring kettle-drums, by the thunder of loud jharjharas, by a multitude of shrill dhamus, and by tabors heard above the tumult, roamed, filling the world with its noise, over the whole earth, thrown into confusion under the footsteps of his ruddy elephants.

(31). Even now, when they recite his fame in the assembly of the gods, Vaikuṇṭha is ever jealous of the four-mouthed Brahman, Swayambhū again of the five-mouthed Hara, Śambhu too of his six-mouthed son Kārttikeya, and this leader of the divine hosts of the lord of serpents with his thousand mouths.

(32). When he had become Indra’s companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods 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 Karṇātaka, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar.

(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.

(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 Lakṣhamadeva, resembling the lord of creatures in his eagerness properly to rule his subjects; who verily in his conduct so allowed himself to be guided by that son of Vivasvat, Manu, that everywhere and at all times new fame grew up for him of its own accord.

(36). This is what his marching-drum proclaims, under the pretence of resounding: ‘Join together, you king of tortoises and ye others, in upholding the earth, heavy with the load of this army! Either perish at once or bow down speedily, ye opposing princes! Quickly shut your eyes, O gods, before the dust fills them!’

(37). When he marches, the princes of the east, bewildered, forsake even their relatives; those of the south in their perplexity take no note even of good news; the princes of the west find out to their sorrow that the creeping-plant of hope bears no good fruit to them; while those of the north throw themselves on their swords, and thus court death as the best and only fate left to them.

(38). When, desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he first proceeded to Hari's

69 Jharjharas and dhamus are names of certain kinds of drums.
69 Kalyāṇaka would also mean ‘crowded with nobles.’
70 I.e., Vishnu in his boar-incarnation, in which he raised the earth from the bottom of the sea with his tusks.
71 See the Parāśara-āṃśikā, Colcutta ed., p. 626: Doda imau parashau loka sīrpa-mandala-hedinau, paricāř āgyayaktō cha rana chāhānukho kato.
72 I take the words devadāpy ayodhyātane to mean, that the princes of the north did what is expressed by ayodhyātane, in the two senses which these words are capable of conveying. Ayodhya, i.e. ayagyā, may be taken as the nominative of either the neuter ayas, ‘iron, steel,’ or the masculine ayag, ‘favourable fortune.’ Compare below, verses 49 and 52.
quarter, then, just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa, so Purandara even was of a sudden filled with apprehension.

(V. 39). When in the course of an unchecked expedition, undertaken in the height of power and under favourable auspices, he had attacked Tripurī and unhiliated his warlike spirited adversaries, he encamped on the banks of the Revā, where his tents were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains.

(40). The balking of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Revā a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river-banks.

(41). Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, taking them for the elephants of the enemy because their tremulous broad torrents appeared like trunks, their projecting peaks like frontal globes, and the water flowing from their ridges like rutting-juice.

(42). He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land, and which were black with herds of countless wild elephants, excited by the odour of the rutting-juice which thickly covered the broad cheeks of the elephants of his army.

(43). Even the troops of elephants of Aṅga and 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 Tāmraparṇī which is famed all the earth over for the pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles on their hips, behold, even to this day that water affords a livelihood to the Paṇḍya chief.

77 I.e., the east.
71 The word of the original would also mean 'deprived of their trunks.'
72 The words translated by 'it was the holy Purushottama.'
73 and 'the enemy Bali' would also mean 'glorious is that chief of men' and 'powerful enemies.'
74 See Mr. S. P. Paṇṭhi's note on Kālidāsa's Rāghuvamśa VI. 61.
75 See ib., notes on verses IV, 43 and 80.

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V. 48. Respectfully informed by the people, that the dam before him, which looked like the growing Vindhya range, was the bridge of the holy Rāma, constructed of many mountain-peaks which were fetched by Māruti, he listened attentively, but scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army.

49. When his army afterwards, having reduced both the quarter and the expectations of Yama, continued its march unscathed, the nose-bearing Varuṇa despaired of guarding his own quarter from destruction.78

50. It is surely in some ocean or other that the Maināka and the other mountains rest, that the all-devouring fire dwells, that the Timiṅgilas 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 Timiṅgilas and other monsters of the sea, floating about in company with which the Maināka and other mountains appeared like shoals of young fish, by them, unchecked . . . . in the whole ocean, the massive trunks of the lordly elephants of his army were made to assume the marvellous appearance of revolving Mandara mountains.

52. Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings, he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of Yákshas, 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 Vaṅkshu,81 which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron-filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turushka whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kīra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvati 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 Vyāpura maṅgala. Afterwards his brother, the king Naravarmadeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhalapāṭaka, at the request of the three places.

56. And he has ordered the illustrious Lakshmīdhara 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 Varuṇa the regent of the west.
79 Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.
80 Kuvera, the chief of the Yákshas, 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 yaśmai, in reference to which the demonstrative tasmai would have to be supplied in the second half of the verse.
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA.

The year 1161.
Om!

(V. 57). O ye learned! Exert yourselves well, and make your intellect sharp as the point of kusa 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 MATHURÁ.

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, xxiii—xxxvii and xxxix—xli belong to the splendid discoveries which Dr. Führer made in the Kankali Tila at Mathurá 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. xxi is identical with Sir A. Cunningham’s No. 19 (Arch. Surv. Rep., vol. III, plate xv), and No. xxxvii with Mr. Growse’s No. 5 (Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, p. 218). No. xlii is a Buddhist inscription, brought by Dr. Führer from Kāman or Kādambavana. I have added it, because it helps to interpret more correctly a sign used in one of the Jaina inscriptions, and possesses some interest in other respects.

The earliest among these inscriptions, which probably cover more than 1,200 years, is without doubt No. i, which shows exceedingly archaic characters. Its letters do not differ very much from those of Aśoka’s edicts, and they look somewhat older than those in Dhanabhuti’s inscription on the gateway of the Bharhut Stūpa which is dated in the reign of the Śuvāgas (Indian Antiquary, vol. XIV, p. 135). It may, therefore, be assigned to the middle of the second century B.C. Its language is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, which shows a few peculiarities, partly traceable in other ancient documents. The genitive in āsa from a-stems, instead of assa, occurs in one of the older votive inscriptions at Bharhut.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 paryantam, which occurs twice in Āpastamba’s Dharmasūtra, I. 3, 9, 28 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 pāsadotoranam is well known from the inscriptions of the Indo-Skythic period, see ante, vol. I, p. 375 and below. Possibly it is found also in one of the votive inscriptions from the Sānchi Stūpa, No. i, see ante, p. 90.

Next in age comes No. ii, the inscription from the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Soḍāsa. The existence of this ruler was first made known by Sir A. Cunningham, who found another inscription with his name in the Kankali Tila, (see Arch. Surv. Rep.,

Dr. Führer has sent me during the period mentioned altogether 74 inscriptions, among which 64 are new Jaina inscriptions from the Kankali Tila. Those not given in this paper are either very small fragments of no particular interest or not readable with any certainty.

¹ See Dr. E. Hultsch’s article Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Bd. XL, p. 60ff., No. 145.

² See Dr. E. Hultsch’s article Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Bd. XL, p. 60ff., No. 145.
vol. III, p. 30, and plate xiii, No. 1). On the evidence of his coins, which resemble those of Azes, Sir A. Cunningham placed Soḍâsa about 80—70 B.C., and conjectured that he was a son of Rajubula, another Satrap of Mathurâ. The latter conjecture is confirmed, as he has stated of late, by a passage on Dr. Bhagvânâmala's lion-pillar, where Soḍâsa is called the son of Rajula. Though the precise date assigned to Soḍâsa may be doubted, still he must have ruled at Mathurâ 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 Soḍâsa uses. Sir A. Cunningham (loc. cit.) is inclined to identify it with that used by the Mahârâja 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 Mahâkshatrapa, 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 Mahâkshatrapas of Mathurâ must have passed away before the Kusâhanas reigned there. The maṅgala of the inscription, the only portion fully preserved, is in pure Sanskrit.

The next seven inscriptions, Nos. iv—x, which have been grouped under the name "archaic," all belong in my opinion to the period before Kanishka. But I am not able to say anything regarding their relative position towards each other or towards Nos. ii and iii. The chief differences which separate them from the documents of the Kushana-period are the use of the tripartite subscribed ya, the want of the loop on the left side of the ordinary ya, the da, slightly open to the left (which occurs in Nos. iv and ix), and the well developed vertical stroke and symmetrical shape of the ta. The va has a very curious shape in the word Śivayāḥ, 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 Gotti putra Īdrāpāla or Īdrāpalīta with Gotti putra, "the black cobra for the Šakas and the Pōthayas" 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 Mathurâ.

The next group, Nos. xi—xxiv, consists of the dated inscriptions which in my opinion all belong to the time of Kanishka, Huvishta 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 Saṅvât 4 to Saṅvât 98. The characters and the language are of the same mixed types described in the introduction to my first paper, ante, vol. I, p. 371f. 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, bhâvatu, No. xiii, astu, No. xviii, and nirnartayati, No. xx, are pure Sanskrit. No. xxiii, where we have śishyasya ganisya

1 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 Gotti putra Śudasa chhatra. But I do not feel quite certain that Gotti and Rajula 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 Haganandia 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 ganiy isa uggahiniya, furnishes a third instance. Very interesting, too, are the numerous cases where the nominative takes the place of the crude form, both in this and in the next group. Among the remarkable words I note asma or asm i kshune, “at that moment,” in Nos. xv, xxiv and xlii, pana “fifty” in No. xvii and dvapane “fifty-two” in No. xviii, among which the latter possesses some interest on account of the Mahârâshtrí dávaña and the bávan or bâvan of various modern vernaculars.

After this group have been placed thirteen inscriptions, Nos. xxv—xxxvii, which in my opinion, likewise belong to the period of Kanishka and his successors, though it is impossible to exactly fix their dates. With respect to Nos. xxv—xxvii, which show the names of Devaputra Huvishka and Devaputra Huksha, as well as the titles mahârája râjâtireja, 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 Balatráta 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 Jeshåhast Ü, mentioned in No. xxxvii, is known from No. xiv of the earlier collection, where the name of his pupil, looking like Mahalo, has to be read Mihilo, on the evidence of the new inscription. With respect to these two inscriptions, as well as to Nos. xxviii, xxix and xxxiii, the close resemblance of the letters to those of the inscriptions, showing the names of the three kings, must be allowed its due weight. I must, however, admit that Nos. xxx and xxxi are somewhat doubtful, and that they may possibly have to be transferred to the archaic group, belonging to the time before Kanishka. The characters of some of these thirteen inscriptions show a few peculiarities worthy of note. In pratim No. xxix, the á-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. xxv of the earlier collection (ante, vol. I, p. 395, fourth plate), the same vowel has been attached to the lower right limb of ta in the word arahanátu, and similar instances occur in later inscriptions. In No. xxxiv, l. 2, the looped ta of Navahastisa is remarkable, especially as the same sign is used for na in bhrdrinam (l. 3). The looped form of ta is common enough in the southern inscriptions, where it first appears in those of Sâriyaña Sâtakañi. 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 vañhyë, No. xxxii, l. 1, likewise in vihâre, No. xlii, and in Huvishkasya, No. xxxv. 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 bâhav[ta] vachaka oha ganino oha, “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. Wett. Ind., vol. IV, plate Iv, No. 22; compare also No. 20.
utter absence of all feeling for grammatical forms is furnished by the description of the donatrix in No. xxxiv, Navahastisya dhitā, grahasenasya vadhu ... Sivasenasya...... bhrātrināṁ mātu jāyāye, where two nominatives are co-ordinated with two genitives.

The next three inscriptions, Nos. xxxviii—xl, belong, in my opinion, to the Gupta period. This is, of course, indisputable with No. xxxix, which is dated in the reign of Kumāragupta. The shape of the letters, and especially the peculiar method of marking the long and short 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. xlii, the Appendix, dates from the Indo-Skythic period.

Short discussions of the historical results, obtainable from these inscriptions, have been given already in the Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. V, p. 50ff, and p. 175ff, and a fuller one will appear in this publication. Here I content myself with giving a brief resumé of the chief points. First, as regards the political history, we have now, through No. ii, actual proof that the Kshatrapas of Mathurā used a particular era, different from that of Kanishka and his successors. The importance of this fact will probably become still greater when Dr. Bhagvānlī’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 Uṣhka-Hushkapura, was actually used in ancient times for Huvishka.

Secondly, with respect to the history of the Jaina sect, we learn through No. i that the Jainas were settled in Mathurā in the second century B.C., and through No. xx that an ancient Jaina 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 Vachchhaliya kula (No. xiii) and of the Vidyādhaṛi Śākhā (No. xxxix) for the Koṭṭiya or Koṭika gana, as well as those of the Nāṭika, or perhaps Nāḍika kula (No. xxvii) of the Aryanabhyaṣa or perhaps Aryanayya kula and of the Sa[mkāsiyā] Śākhā (No. xxxvi) for the Vārana gana. The schools connected with the Koṭṭiya gana offer no difficulty, as they agree with the corresponding names of the Kalpastra. The Nāṭika or Nāḍika kula may be considered to correspond to the Mālija kula of the Sthāvirāvali, and there is just a possibility that the last name may be an abbreviated spelling for Aryan-Aryasaka(to) and correspond to a Prakrit corruption of Ārya-Kanyasaka, another equivalent for which, Aryya-Kaniyaksaka, occurs in the inscription No. xxiii of the earlier collection (see note 1 to No. xxxvi).

No. I.5

समनस साहसिकित्स भितिभासित वक्कीपस्त सावकास उत्तरासक[?]म पासादीतीर्तम[?]

TRANSLATION.

"An ornamental arch for the temple" (the gift) of the lay-hearer Utarnādāsaka

5 Inscribed on a large ornamented rectangular slab, measuring 4' 2"—6'.
6 According to the impression the reading सावकास is perhaps possible. Possibly उत्तरासक is to be read.
7 Regarding the irregular compound, see above the introductory remarks.
JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA.

(Uttaradásaka), son of the Vachi (Válsī mother and) disciple of the ascetic Māhārakhitā (Māgharākhitā).

No. II.

L. 1. नम चर्चिती चर्चमानस |
2. कः[१]मित्स सहजचाराः श्रोदासम सवसर ४० (?) २ देशामाय से धरतिचुत्व पालस महारचन्द्रसम समसाधनकाचे |
3. कौशिके जागोरिनिव शाहा चुदकिस्म तालाकोपिन गोधोपिन धनरोपिन भायवती प्रतिवापिता प्राय—[भ]—
4. चार्वंती चारंतंतुङ्घाचे [II]

TRANSLATION.

“Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! In the year 42 (?) of the Lord, the Mahākṣatrapa Śoḷāsa, in the second month of winter, on the 9th day, an Āyavati (Āryavatī), was set up by Amohini (Amohinti), the Kochhi (Kautstī), a female lay-disciple of the ascetics (and) wife of Pāla, son of a Hariti (Haritī or Hariti mother), together with her sons Pālaghosha, Poṭthaghosha (Proshṭthaghosha and) Dhanaghosha... the Āryavati (is) for the worship of the Arhat.”

No. III.

L. 1. सितम | नमोस्वङ्गरः
2. महाराजमहाचरवस — —

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration be to the Arhats! ... Mahārāja, Mahākṣatrapa-Ma...

No. IV.

L. 1. भद्रतब्धेनक्ष भातिवासिनिवि
2. धरमशोपवीर दानी पासारे [II*]

TRANSLATION.

“A temple, the gift of Dhamaghosha (Dharmaghosha), the female disciple” of the venerable Jayasena.”

8 Compare the Buddhist name Uttarasaṇa. Uttaraprasana probably stands bhāmavat for Uttarapaliasa or Uttarabhadrpara.
9 Regarding the form भावियसस see above the Introduction. The term means here no doubt that Mahārakhita was the spiritual director of Uttaradasaka; 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 णो, as the ends of the upper strokes of स्त्र are somewhat thickened.
12 The first figure of the date may possibly be 70. The Anuvāra of दुं ह is not certain. Read सुवनस्वारिकाचि.
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 णो is expressed by two abnormally short strokes. An accidental scratch gives to ण the appearance of ण.
15 The last syllable may have been ण —
16 Incised on the back of a broken sculptured Torana, measuring 1’ 2” by 8”.
17 I suppose भावियसस means here, like भावियस in No. 1, that Jayasena was Dhamaghosha’s spiritual director, not that she was an ascetic.
No. VI.

भगवा नेमेसी भग —

TRANSLATION.

"The divine Nemesa (Naigamesha), divine . . . ." 21

No. VII.

L. 1. य — च
2. — र[कस्य] च यी मनो
3. —रत्नव धनक सहल:
4. — — [चेष्ठ] [च] [न] जि 21

The fragment admits of no continuous translation. It would seem that we have in line 2 the beginning of a verse in the Sārdulavikrīḍita metre, and in line 3 the middle portion of another. The whole was no doubt a metrical Praśasti written entirely in Sanskrit.

No. VIII.

नमो षर्पवीरो महाविरस | मायुक — — लवलं [सा] —
भवाये — — व — — नेताये [प्रवायमणे] [n]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvīra (Mahāvīra). A tablet of homage (āyagapaṭa the gift) of . . . itâ, wife of . . lavâda (?), an inhabitant of Mathurâ."

1. 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. Bhagvanī’s slab, *Actes du seizième Congrès, Int. Or.,* pt. III, sect. ii, p. 142.

20. Possibly चमुपेश्वर, but I believe the apparent i-stroke to be accidental.

21. In line 4 the scribe attempted to write चेष्ठ, but the stroke is faint.

22. Regarding the meaning of भवानुप्रव, see ante, vol. I. p. 396.

23. Incised on a small sculptured frieze measuring 8′ 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.

24. The inscription seems to have intended the meaning of the sculpture, regarding which see a subsequent article on sculptures from Mathurā.

25. Incised on a fragment of a large slab, measuring 1′ by 8′.

26. The bracketed letter looks almost like क, but the lower part of the vertical is faint, and the top so damaged, that it is apparent i-stroke may have been only a serif. The Anuvāra of दश is doubtful.

27. Incised on the base of a beautifully-sculptured square panel (an āyagapaṭa), measuring 2′ 10″ by 2′ 10″.
Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura.

No. IX.25

L. 1. सा चर्चन्तवका [व] ²⁷
2. गुत्तिपत्तस ब्यः[व] — — ²³

Translation.

An image of .... for the worship of the Arhats .... of Ídrapála (Ídra-pála),²⁹ the son of the Gouti (Gautí mother).

No. X.³⁰

— व जीवनादाय —

Translation.

"Of Jivunándà (Jivanandà)." ....

No. XI.³¹

A. तिन स ४ तिर १ दिव २० वाराणसी गाँवार अर्ध्वाढळकियाली कुलाव बजंगरिया[ण] शा] — — ³²
B. पुराणिकय श्रीयिनि सर्वित्सुधाय श्रीयिनि सिद्धिस्वर सत्त्वरि — — ³³
C. दाति सहा ग्रहेश्त्र स्थापित —— ³¹

Translation.

"Success! In the year 4, the first (month of) the summer, the day 20, —— ... of ... the female convert²⁵ (sádhakari) of Sihamitra (Síhamitra), the female pupil of Sathisihá (Shashísimhá), the female pupil of Puşyamitra ... out of the Váraṇa gána, out of the Árya-Háttakiya (Árya-Háttakiya) kula, out of the Vajańagarí (Várjanagarí) sákhá ... the gift ... , together with Graha-chóta (and) Grahadása."

No. XII.³⁶

— — — खे ब ५ गट ५ दिव ५ कीतिया — — — — — — — — —
त[ण] भार्यात [ण] वापकं अल्प्य — —

Translation.

"In the year 5 of ...., in the fourth (month of) summer, on the fifth day, — ... of the preacher (váchaka) A r y a .... (Árya ....) out of the Koṭṭiyā (gána) .... .... out of the .... sákhá .... ...."
No. XIII. 37
A. स १० व १ दि २ [चश]ा [च] — [चा]ती गणती — — — — — 38
B. संभोगाती वक्ष्याती कूलाती गणि — — — — — 39
D. 1. — — — वांचि जयस — तु मारिषिति (?) दान सवहन[?]भ[?] — — — 40
2. — [वर्ष]वा[न] सुवाय वहतू 41

TRANSLATION.
"The year 18, the fourth (month of) summer, the third day,—on that (date specified as) above a fourfold [image], the gift of Māsigi(?), (mother of) Jaya . . . . . . [at the request] of . . . . a gani out of the [Koṭṭi]ya gaja . . . . , out of the . . . . savhpga, out of Vachchhaliya (Vātsaliya) kula. May it be for the welfare of all beings!"

No. XIV. 42
A. — — — व १० [च] व २ दि १० १ 43
B. वितु भिति[तंति]रिसे भगवशी वर्षस्तासिस्थ [वेवरि] — — 44

TRANSLATION.
"The year 18, the second (month of) the rainy season, the day 11 . . . . . . [. . . . . . the gift] of Mitā-Siri (? Mitraśri), the daughter of . . . . a . . . of divine Arishṭanemi (Arishṭanemi) . . . . . .

No. XV. 45
A. स १० १ व १ दि १० चश्च चुनिध
2. — — — [पर्च] — दासक नवर्षणा बुविश्च भित्त देवि लच्छ | शिरिये दारण 47

37 Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, 1' by 3'. The section C. has been cut away.
38 Read aayd. The restoration kottiyo is highly probable. At the end of the line the name of the Sambhoga has been lost.
39 Indistinct remnants of aya are visible after gani. The lost piece C must have contained the name of the Ganip and the greater portion of the description of the donatrix which is very imperfect.
40 The impressions point to mātī. For mātiqie it is possible to read maśiqiye or maśeniqe, but none of these forms, admits of an explanation. May it be Masiqiye for Masiqiye? See below No. xxxvii. Restore sa va to haddrikā pratimā.
41 Read sarvasatātāna.42
42 Incised on base of small standing Jina, measuring 2' by 10'.
43 Perhaps varcā is to be restored.
44 The third syllable of the proper name is not certain.
45 Incised on base of small squatted Jina, 2' by 1'.
46 Restore kottiyo gandto; vaḥata (= brikalā). Before kuttmbiṇiye 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.
47 Probably ganiyassa is to be restored in the beginning. As only one syllable has been lost between arya and dārṣya the restoration godāṃṣya seems certain. The name occurs in the Kulpaṣṭra (p. 79 ed. Jacob). After deviltasya stands again a faint vertical stroke, exactly corresponding to that in the upper line. The proper order of the words is therefore:—
48Probably ganiyassa is to be restored in the beginning. As only one syllable has been lost between arya and dārṣya the restoration godāṃṣya seems certain. The name occurs in the Kulpaṣṭra (p. 79 ed. Jacob). After deviltasya stands again a faint vertical stroke, exactly corresponding to that in the upper line. The proper order of the words is therefore:—

Inscriptions of the Kshattrapas of Mathurā

No 2. Of Sodāsa

No 3. Of unnamed Kshattrapa

Scale: Half the original

Archaic Inscriptions: No. 1

Scale: 1-10th

No 5. Archaic

Scale: 1-3rd

No 6. Archaic

Scale: 1-2nd

No 7. Archaic
Translation.

"The year 31, the first (month of the) rainy season, the tenth day,—at this moment a gift (was made) by Grahaśīri (Grahaśīri), daughter of Budhi (and) wife of Devila at the request of the great (?) [Gāyin] Aryya [-Go-]dāsa, out of the [Koṭṭija] gana, the Aryya-Veri (Arya-Vajri) ṭākha, the Thāniya (Sthāniya) kula."

No. XVI.49

A. 1. सिद्ध सब[क]रे २० । २ श्रे[मलास]ं ४ दिसे २ बारयाती गण वा[']
2. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
B. 1. निध अर्थसन्तिकां निर्भरता जातिकामाय [रिर]निधस धीतु वृद्धि कृत्तिमिवि
2. रितक्ष नौ दी या मातु गन्मक्यक्स चरहस्त्रतिसाम सवर्तोभिक्षा.

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 Jitāmītrā, daughter of Rituṇandi (Rituṇandī), wife of Budhi (and) mother of the perfumer . . . . . . at the request of gāi Aya-Nandika (Arya-Nandīkā), . . . . . . out of the Varaṇa gana, the . . . . ya kula . . . . . ."

No. XVII.50

L. 1. भण शर [मल]सं प् — — —
2. चैयचरख — — — — 53
3. व बुद्धिन्दस
4. दित
5. पृथुदिक्ष् — — —

No continuous translation of the fragment is possible. The date is "the year 50 and the first or fifth (?) month of winter."

No. XVIII.54

L. 1. सिद्ध संवर दापणा ५० । २ श्रे[मल]सं प्रय—दिच्य संवर २० । ५ अय जुदे क[']
2. वेरातो पक्तो सुनिकितालो वूकाल['] श्रीमद्दूर समोगाती वाचक्याथेन्द्रक्ष्येश्वर['] 55
3. श्रीयो गणिस्यायन्नर्प हर्षितस पदचरी वाचकी अयवदितिस निर्भरता शुरूच नस['] 57
4. श्रावणक्य होदिक्ष्य लीलाकारक्ष दान स्वरूपतान विशसुखातासु.

49 Incised on base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 8" by 11".
50 Possibly gandha laksitūda is to be restored.
51 Restore gānī, ritu is uncertain.
52 Perhaps prādrīkṣa to be restored, which might mean 'a ferryman.' See below. No. XXXIX.
53 Incised on base of large squatted Jina, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 10".
54 Incised on base of a broken image, measuring 8" by 1' 6".
55 The Anuvāra of sochitāra is doubtful.
56 Read sākhāta.
57 Shañkhachāra stands no doubt for sañkhachāra; possibly devetāsya or divetāsya.
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 Goṭṭika, the Śūra, the son of Śramaṇaṅka, at the request of the preacher Aryya-Dīvita, (who is) the convert of the goṇi Aryya-Maṅguhaṅsti (and) the pupil of the preacher Aryya-Ghastuhaṅsti out of the Koṭṭiya gaṅa, the Verā (Vajrā) sākhā, the Sthāniya kula (and) the Śrīgriha sambhoga. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures!

No. XIX.

L. 1. सं 80 २ २ दि ५ एतस्य पुवेय वाचकस भायव्यक्तिः[स] ।
   2. वाचकस ग्राहक शिरियो श्रेष्ठको प्रातिको तस्म प्रवर्तना।

"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-Karkuhaṅṣtha (Ārya-Karakaśa-gharṣhita) of the Vāraṇa gaṅa, was the āṭaṇika Graha-balama, at his request . . . . .

No. XX.

A. 1. सं 70 ४ २ दि २० एतस्यां वृज्यों कोंकियों गाँगे वडरायां शाबायां —
   2. को चक्ष्यविचित्र चर्च्हाती शाबधुः[श]वर्तस प्रतिमां निविद्योयति।
B. — — — मायेयो व्रज्यायब दिनाय (दिनाय) दान प्रतिमा वोह युन्द देवतिसंहि म — — — —

Translation.

"The year 70, the fourth (month of the) rainy season, the twentieth day—on that (date, specified as) above, Āya-Vṛiddhahaṅṣtha (Ārya-Vṛiddhahaṅṣtha), a preacher in the Koṭṭiya gaṅa (and) in the Vārā (Vajrā) sākhā, gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandāvarta (Nandyāvarta) . . . . . 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.

L. 1. सं 80 १ २ दि ६ एतस्य पुवेय [ष]विवक्षायवियव अवतः–
   2. वाचकितियो द्वाराय निविदना। [ष]हिरियो — —

55 I take Śūra, as the name of the family or the clan.
56 Incised on the upper part of the base of a sitting Jina 2' 8" by 1' 8"; the lower part has been destroyed.
57 On further consideration, I read the numeral sign, which I formerly believed to possibly stand for 40, always as 60.
58 The persons named here are probably the same as those in Sir A. Cunningham’s inscription, re-edited in the Vienna Or. Jour., vol. I, p. 172.
59 Incised on the left portion of the base of a large standing figure of Jina, measuring 2' 3" by 1' 8"; the right portion is missing.
60 I now recognize that the second figure is 9, not 8, as I read it formerly. Possibly the apparent ra-stroke above as may be accidental. Possibly kaliya to be read. At the end of the line the two syllables ucca have certainly been lost, because the syllable ko in l. 2 stands exactly under sam and l. 2 is, therefore, complete.
61 The nas is abnormal, and so is the marking of the length of d by a stroke going upwards.
62 It is possible to read also voḍa, which, however, is unsatisfactory as voḍa. Perhaps voḍdha, i.e. vṛddha “ancient,” is meant. Professor E. Leumann proposes to divide pratīdvo dve and to take this in the sense of pratīdvo (two images)²
63 This exceedingly ingenious explanation becomes difficult, because in A only one statue is mentioned. Restore pratīshtāpita.
64 The beginning of the line stood the name of Dinā’s husband, as a small remnant of the sva is still visible on the impression.
65 The Arhat Nandyāvarta, i.e., he whose mark is the Nandyāvarta symbol, is Arā, the eighteenth Tīrthaṅkara.
66 Incised on the upper part of the base of a seated figure, 2' 5" by 1' 10", lower part destroyed.
No. 16: Dated Sam. 32.

No. 17: Dated Sam. 50

No. 18: Dated Sam. 52

No. 19: Dated Sam. 62

Scale: Half the original

A. Führer, Ph. D., impress
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

No. XXV,76

--- --- [व]पुक्ष्य हुविष्कर स --- VII

Translation.

“In the year .... of ... Devaputra Huvishka ....”

No. XXVI.77

2. वा --- 2. --- [ह]रक्ष 2. प्रतिस ---
D. 1. स्म स --- ख देव[ड]लक्ष्य [ढ]लक्ष --- VIII
2. [वा]सी[क] नगदस्य सियो सिन क --- तस ---

I am not able to give a certain connected translation of this fragment. It is only evident that D. 1—2 gives us the names of the Mahārāja Devaputra Huksha, (Hushka or Huvishka), and of a monk named Nagadatta (Nagadattra). It may also be suggested that the inscription begins with D. 1, because that line contains the group sdha, an abbreviation of sidham, and the name of the king. The continuation may possibly be looked for in A 1, where the word ekunaliśa, the twenty-ninth, seems to belong to the date. The year 29 would fall in the reign of Huvishka.

No. XXVII.79

L. 1. सिद्ध[स] सहरकर्ज राजातिरत्रकर्ज --- --- --- --- ---
2. शिरस्निद्ध शिस्येष से --- न --- --- --- --- 90

Translation.

“Success! Of the great king, the supreme king of kings . . . . by Sena, the pupil of Ohanandi (Oghanandin”) . . . .

No. XXVIII.81

A. --- भगवती उसभर वारणे गणे नाडिके हुले --- --- --- --- खा [व] --- ---
B. दुर्भक्ष वायुक्ति विसिबिखए साधिताते नि --- ---

Translation.

“[Adoration] to divine Usabha [Rishabha]! At the request of Sāditā, female

76 Incised on the base of a standing Jina, measuring 3° 6' by 2° 6'.
77 Restore devaputrasya and sadhvatasya.
78 Incised on the base of a broken standing Jina, measuring 1° 8' by 1° 1'.
79 The bracketed letters are all more or less uncertain: hokhamya looks, like pukhasya. But two impressions show a small curve at the extremity of the top of the right-hand vertical stroke.
80 Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1° 6' by 2° 1'.
81 Restore tenena according to C. No. 10 (reproduced 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 Deha is impossible.
82 As the other inscription is dated Sam. 47, the king, whose name has been lost, must be Huvishka.
83 Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 2° by 1° 8'.
84 Restore name before bhagavato. Possibly ndiśke or ndiśke to be read. Restore sādayān
85 Restore tārvaratand.
pupil of . . . dhuka, a preacher\textsuperscript{58} in the Vārāṇa gaṇa, Nādika kula and . . . . śākhā . . . .

No. XXIX.\textsuperscript{63}

\textcopyright{2}{\textsuperscript{nd}} कितिव कुले गनिस्स उग्गहिनिए शिव्या वाचकी गोपकी गाईलेदे\textsuperscript{77} परिवर्तन प्रतिमा — —

\textbf{Translation.}

. . . "The preacher Ghoshaka, pupil of the Uggahini,\textsuperscript{69} a gaṇi (gaṇin) in the Sthānikiya ("kiya") kulo; an image of the Arhat Parśva (Parśva)." . . .

No. XXX.\textsuperscript{69}

L. 1. नमो चरंतानां सिद्धकस वाकस्यस पुक्तेः कोशिकिपतेः\textsuperscript{80}
2. शिंहानिके आयामपाटो प्रतिवापितो चरंतुपावधै [n]\textsuperscript{[11]}

\textbf{Translation.}

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (āyāgapāta) was set up by Sihanādika (Sinhānādika? "nandika"?), son of the Vānika\textsuperscript{80} Sihaka (Sinhaka) and son of a Kośikī (Kośikī mother), for the worship of the Arhats."

No. XXXI.\textsuperscript{82}

नमो चरंतानां शिव्यो[पक]स भरी[या] — — — ना — — — ना — —

\textbf{Translation.}

"Adoration to the Arhats! . . . the wife of Śivaghoshaka . . . ."

No. XXXII.\textsuperscript{83}

L. 1. नमो चरंतानां [मल] — एस चित्त मद्रयास वस्वय महदनिद हयावे
2. च[चला]वे चा[या]पपटी प्रतिवापितो चरंतुपावधै [n]\textsuperscript{[12]}

\textbf{Translation.}

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (āyāgapāta) was set up by Achalā (?), daughter of Mala-ṇa (?), daughter in-law of Bhadrayaśa (Bhadrayaśas), and wife of Bhadranadi (Bhadranandin), for the worship of the Arhats."

\textsuperscript{58} Vāyaka is the Jaina-Persian form of vācaka.
\textsuperscript{59} Inscribed on the left side of the upper part of the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 9" by 1' 9", the right side being broken off.
\textsuperscript{60} Read arkato.
\textsuperscript{61} The word looks like a female name, and might correspond with Sanskrit udgradhiṣṭa. But the difficulty is that it is joined with the title gaṇi, which is given to males alone.
\textsuperscript{62} Inscribed 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{63} Arakanta is a mistake for arakanta and āyāgamata may be a mistake for pata, but, as the Sanskrit has pata and patta, the form pata is impossible.
\textsuperscript{64} This might be a corruption or misspelling for vidhakas or vānīkakas. But, as Sihanādika receives the epithet košikī-patra, I suspect that he was a Kratviga, not the son of a merchant, and that Vānika is the name of his clan.
\textsuperscript{66} Inscribed on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 10" by 3' 11".
\textsuperscript{67} Inscribed on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 7" by 2' 4".
\textsuperscript{68} The bracketed letters are uncertain. The first may be श्र. The second and third letters of this line are uncertain.
No. XXXIII.  
A. वर्तमानपत्तिमा बजरनाद्य चिता वापिष्टिः — — —  
B1. — रूपेच्छ रूपेच्छु द्रातेद्राति विड्डम्बिल्व — — —  
2. — — — — — — — —  

**TRANSLATION.**

"An image of Vardhamāna, the gift of Dīnā (Dattā), daughter of Vajrayanadīya (Vajranandin), [daughter-in-law] of Vaddhiśiva (Vṛiddhiśiva?) house-wife of . . . . . i; Baḍimasi's (?)" . . . . .

No. XXXIV  
L. 1. उच्चनगरीती शब्दोऽन्तर्गतस्य शिष्मित्रिणय अर्थवृत्ता — — —  
2. अर्थवृत्तस्य निदग्गो अर्थवृत्तस्य निदग्गः सार्येः विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ व विद्वच्छ  
3. निविस्निवय देवसिन्धु निविस्निवय व नाबलिं मातु जायते प्रतिमा प्र — — —  
4. [सा]नद्यो स्वर्गस्यापि ब्रह्मचार्य  

**TRANSLATION.**

“For the acceptance of Aryya-Sandhi (Arya-Sandhi), pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (Arya-Balatrata) [and of?] Aryya-Bahma, . . . (Arya-Brahma . . .), the male pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (Arya-Balatrata) out of the Uchenagari (Uchchānagāri) śākhā, Jayā, daughter of Navahasti (Hastin), daughter-in-law of Grahana, . . ., mother of the brothers Sīvasena, Devasena and Sivadeva, has set up an image of [Vardha]māna for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.”

No. XXXV.  
A. तिथि नियतिता  
B. 1. तो शब्दोऽन्तर्गतिः संबोधकती अर्थे  
2. — चराय चिति मित्रविन्यास व विन्यास —  
3. — — लक्ष्य मले हर्ष[स्त्र] — —  

**Remark.**

If the two fragments, which admit of no connected translation, belong to one inscription, the occurrence of the words nirvartana and nivatanā is very remarkable. There is no other instance of the kind.

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56 Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 1' 11" by 1' 6".
57 The ba of kaṭṭāni is abnormal, being made round and not perfectly closed.
58 The restoration proposed may be safely made according to the analogy of the other inscriptions.
59 Incised on the base of a large slab, measuring 2' 10" by 2' 1".
60 Read गव्यासणी. Restore गव्यासणी.  
61 The apparent अ-stroke after the ba of Balatrata is an accidental scratch, not visible on the reverse. The same remark applies to the apparent अ-stroke above the va of Navaḥastiya. According to the reverse of the impression the real reading is parigrāho, not parigrāhā, as the obverse seems to show. At the end of the line, five or six letters have been lost, probably bhagy or bhāryā, preceded by a male name in the genitive.
62 Read śivasenayya. Restore pratispīhitāte vadh.  
63 Parigrāho 'for the acceptance' is common on the Buddhist inscriptions of the first and the following centuries of our era. Here it indicates that the asetics named exorted 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.  
64 Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 3' by 6', sections C and D being cut away.  
65 A. the beginning एवंत्तपदाय i.e. प्राय़स्तवाय has probably to be restored; compare below No. XXXVI.
No. XXXVI.  

L. 1. — — ५० (?) हि २ दि १ बस्थ पुर्ण वरणाती गण्यति चल्यभिस्तत्तुताति [स] — — ७  
2. — खती मरिरहति समोधति बहुविधि वस्थ च गणनानि च समंदिः [च]—८  
3. — बस्त दिनरख मरिपति चल्यभिस्तत्तुताति तिथि शिखिनिष — — ९  
4. चकरपणास्तिमसीवर्यर्थिन बुकुम विजत रक्षवस्तुधर्मस्य — — १०  
5. [द]विलस्य सतु विपषु व[भ]स्थ पिपम्भिक विजयार्गर्ये दयन वध — — ११  
6. — — — — — — — — — — — —  

TRANSLATION.

"... 50, (?) second month of winter, first day, on that (date, specified as) above, [an image of] Vadhā[māna] (Vardhamānā), the gift of Vijayaśirī (Vijayasyāri), daughter of Bubu, first wife of Rajyavasu (Rajyavasu), mother of Devila and) paternal grandmother of Vīshnubhava, who fasted for a month (and) obeys the command of A[yya] .... ghakarāba (?) (who is) the female pupil, obeying the command of Ayya-Jinadasi (Ayya-Jinadasi), (who was) the female pupil of Samadi ... ya Dinara, the great (?) preacher and gāyī out of the Varana (Vārana) gāna, the Ayyabhhyista (?) kula, the Sa[mkāsiyā] śākūā and the Sīrīgriha (Sīrīgriha) saṃbhoga ... . . . . ."  

No. XXXVII.  

A. 1. सिंह की[डि]यीति गण्यति उच्चन-  
2. मामिति बक्ति बहादासिधति१८  
3. कलमी मिरिप्रिति समोधति  
4. चायमेटिस्य शिखिन च[षायर्]कित[सो]  

B. 1. तस्थ मिर्र[ण] [ठ] भर्वर्यैर१७  
2. [को]वाचको तस्थ विवेत-  
3. न जर्ण[ण]हरिखर[ख]१९  

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* Incised on the base of a broken image, measuring 10" by 1' 4".
* The first figure may possibly have been 7. In the transcript, I have given the apparently plain, but inexplicable, reading ayyabhhyista[koluta]. It is, however, possible that the third syllable may be intended for nō. 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 sāka for sīkā (see No. xxvii), the first four syllables might be a kind of archaic graphic representation of ayyāniyata and correspond to ayyāniyataḥ. This kula of the Vārana gana is mentioned in No. 23, ante, vol. I, p. 392. The śākhā was probably Saṃkāsiyā, see Kalpaditra, p. 60 (ed. Jacobi).
* Restore bākhato i.e. sākhāto; read saṃbhogato and bāhato; the last bracketed letter is very doubtful.
* Restore ayyā.
* Restore dharmapati.
* Read devilaya. Restore ratīmanapratimā or perhaps pājīma, as the inscription does not mark the a-stroke. The last three syllables no doubt stood in line 6, which has been completely destroyed with the exception of the tops of a few letters.
* Panatidhārita corresponds with Sanskrit dhāritaprājñapti.
* Paratiṣṭhāna i.e. in Sanskrit prajñaptikārd.
* Incised on base of a large quadrangle image, consisting of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 1' 7" by 9'.
* Read bahma.
* Read tasya.
* Nirautara is, no doubt, meant for nirvāṇa.
C 1. [च] देविय च विष जय-
2. देवसः वध मोपिनिये
3. वधु कुलसः कसुष्यस
D 1. चयमय[वि]ह फ़रसपै
2. दन वडोभिज्ञक
3. वर्तसलन ह्यितुबैव

TRANSLATION.

“Success! The pupil of Arya-Jeshṭahasti (Jyeshṭahastin) out of the Koṭṭiyagaya, the Uchenagarī (Uchchānapatīya) Śākhā, (and) the Bhamhākāya (Brahmadākṣā-kula). was Arya-Mihila (Arya-Mihira); his pupil (was) the preacher (vāchrā) Arya-Kheraka (Arya-Khairaka?); at his request a fourfold (image was dedicated as) the gift of Sthirā, daughter both of Varaṇahasti (Chastin) and of Devī, daughter-in-law of Jayadeva (and) daughter-in-law of Moshinī (and) first wife of Kuṭha Kasutha for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.”

No. XXXVIII. 22
संवर्णेश सतप्राणाः ॥ ६ ॥ हेमस्वलिती — २३
— रसि [दि]दसे वयोदशी छे—प्रचीनाः — २४

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. सिद्धम् । घरमस्तरक्षाकारराजप्रकरणिया कोटमकुशकु विजयराष्टर ॥ १०० १०
1 क — — — — नामा — — [दि]— स २० ब्यासाः पूर्बां च — २५
2. दियाघरीरते शाखाते दितिबायामप्रविचिताथि शामारावके महिसवर्गी धीतु श्रेष्ठशस्त्रावन्निति [त]वा[ता] विकस्य कुरुक्किनीयी प्रतिमा प्रतिद्वापिता ॥

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) Karṭtikeya—on that (date, specified as) above an image was set up by Śamāḍhyā (Śyamāḍhyā), daughter of Bhaṭṭibhāva (and) house-wife of the ferry-

10 Dhamrapati seems to be a misspelling of dharmapatiya with dhamra for dharma. Compare the forms of the Gītarāṣṭi of Aftāka’s rock-edicts drahyotpā for drahyotpā, tiṣṭhiti for tiṣṭhiti, and so forth.
11 Meant for dānasaṃyaktādikā vin. pratima.
12 Meant for sārvasatadina k śākhā. The spelling sārvar for sārva is not uncommon in bad MSS.
13 This is Mr. Growe’s No. 6 (Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, p. 219). It is incised on tū base of a small statue, now preserved in the Mathura Museum.
14 Read hema; restore tritiya or tritiya.
15 Restore sārva and asadābh.
16 Incised on the base of a large sitting Jina, measuring 3' 8" by 2' 7".
17 Read -mahājya; restore kārtikayemantamāsaya diva.
18 Read datūlākhyāya.—Possibly prabhārikasya is to be read,
man (?) Grahamittrapālita, who had received the command (to make the dedication) from Dattilāchāryya (Dattilāchārya) out of the Koṭṭiṭya gana (and) the Vidyādhari Śākha."

No. XL.30

L. 1. —प्रैक[रच न] "
2. चन्द्रावदला भवेतु
3. तारविची; || मौर्यद्वारा
4. र वृद्धस्तर्वा विनि—
5. भृतोच्छेदिं सुवेदिनेिं

This fragment, of which no continuous translation is possible, belongs to a longer metrical Prāsasti, 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 गद्धसु or भायात्मस has been lost. The verses to which the pieces in lines 2, 3 and 5 belong, seem to have been in the Ṣārdūlavikridita metre.

No. XLII.31

L. 1. ची चीलन्देवः सूरस्वादु श्रीभायवदेिनामामृतः
   श्रीचाचार्यविविजयक्षिः
2. स्तुत्विक्षेपन च प्रौकः; || [११*]32
   सुक्षमकैवेद्यामयम्यानादििः स्वस्फकितः।
3. बह्मानवतुविवः; कारिणीय समविशिनः; || [१२*]33
   वंसवृकः १०८० यंगकप
4. वक्तायां वहितः; || ची34

TRANSLATION.

"O! The illustrious Jina"deva (was) a Sūri; after him was he who is named the illustrious Bhāvadeva. His pupil (is) the Achārya Vijayasiṅga (Vijayasimha). Exhorted by him the virtuous laity, 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 [Fikrama] year35 1080 by Thambhaka and Pappaka. O!"

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30 The translation of prātārika by “ferryman” seems to be justified by the use of prātri, which frequently means "to carry over in a ship or boat."
31 Incised on the back of a large broken slab, the surface of which is beautifully carved.
32 Only the lower portions of the bracketed syllables are visible.
33 Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four sitting Jinas, measuring 2' 5" by 1' 3''.
34 Read ची. Both here and at the end of the inscription, the word is expressed by the symbol resembling the figure 9. Read -vijayasiṃha-.
35 Read vārdha; sthāh, stūrightarrowpha.
36 It is evident from the characters, which show the common Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.D., that the era must be the Vikrama Samvat, and that the date corresponds to A. D. 1022-24, accordingly as the year was expired or current and a northern or a southern one. This donation was, therefore, made within five years after Mahmūd’s expedition against Mathurā (A.H. 409) during which the temples of the town are said to have been burnt (Elliot, History of India, vol. II, p. 4565.). Probably the Jainas temples of the Kankālī Tilā escaped destruction; for, it seems hardly likely that they could have been rebuilt so quickly.
No. XLII. 26
L. 1. सिद्ध | सं ३० ४ र १ दि १० ५. घर्षण चुंबि भिष्मेश नन्दिकड़ दानं भगवती शक्सुनिना प्रतिमा सिद्धविहारी अ[चार्य]णं सबूतसिद्धवानी अभिलेखा मातपिण्यं स. ३७

2. व्यस्त[त]ाणा च हितसुखायेः ३५

TRANSLATION.

"Success! The year 74, the first (month of) summer, the fifteenth day,—at that moment, a statue of divine Śākyamuni (Śākyamuni, was set up as) the gift of the monk Nandīka in the Mihiravihāra, for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādī, (Sarvāstivādī) teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (the donor's) parents and of all creatures."

XV.—SAMGAMNER COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YADAVA BHILLAMA II.

THE ŚĀKA YEAR 922.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., O.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit this inscription from excellent impressions prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archeological Survey of Western India. The original plates belong to an inhabitant of Samgamer, in the Samgamer Sub-Division of the Ahmadnagar District of the Bombay Presidency.

The inscription is on three plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and which are held together by a ring, bearing a Garuḍa as seal. Each plate measures about 8½" broad by 13½" high. The first plate contains 28, and the last 22 lines of writing; on the front of the second plate are 37, and on the back 29 lines. Below the writing on the third plate, in the proper right corner, the figure of a conch-shell is engraved; and the same plate, in line 110, contains an ornamental device, shaped like an open flower. The plates are on the whole well preserved, but in the upper part of the second plate the writing on both sides has suffered slightly from corrosion, and in consequence a few aksharas, 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 ¾" and ½" on the front and at the top of the back of the second plate. The characters are those of the ordinary Nāgari alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Sanskrit, but the names of the Brāhmans, men-

26 Incised on the base of a large seated Bhuddha, found in the town of Kāman.
27 The curve open to the left with a small horizontal bar in the centre is, as now appears, a peculiar form of the full-stop. It occurs also in No. ix of the collection, published ante, vol. i, p. 387. There I failed to recognise its value (see note 5), because I misread the preceding sign as ṣā. The latter is, as I now recognise, sāha, the abbreviation for siddha, which occurs also in No. xxiv of the earlier collection as sāhi and as sāha 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 māsā, which has to be restored in any case. The long ri-vowel in pitṛvanāḥ is plainly expressed on the impression by a curved stroke slanting to the left, to which a second stroke is attached.
28 The third sign of sārvavesastavend 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 (*Kesavanpādhyaṇa* for *Kesavaopādhyaṇa*, in line 114, *Nārayainpādhyaṇa* for *Narāyanopādhyaṇa*, in line 66, *Vidyādharaiṇya* for *Vidyādharaiṇya*, and *Śrīdharaiṇya* for *Śrīdharopādhyaṇa*, in line 67, etc.). Besides, attention may be drawn to the term *khabrevādhā*, in line 88, which is equivalent to the expression *khabravādhā* of the Silajōpi inscription, *ante*, vol. I, p. 165; and to the title or bīruda *sellaridēga*, which does not look like Sanskrit and which I am unable to explain, in line 51. Excepting the words *om namah Śiva* 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,^2 in lines 55-61, 89-95, 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 ḍ is throughout denoted by the sign for v; the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal, e.g., in *Śiva*, l. 1, *śak*, l. 6, *visālāḥ*, l. 26; and the palatal occurs instead of the dental in *sāṁśra*, l. 60, and *śakata*, l. 82. Besides, the vowel *ṛi* is employed instead of *ṛi* in *Atri*, l. 10, and *trigrāmī*, l. 84, and *ṛi* in the place of *ṛi* in the word *rishyāḥ*, 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 *saṁdhi* are frequently disregarded; the verses of the genealogical portion are only partially numbered or have wrong numbers appended to them; single *aksharas* 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 *Mahāṣāmantha* 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 Brahma, Marichi, Atri, Indu, Pururavas, Āyus, 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 (*mangala*) and the people of it after himself. His son was the prince *Dhādi[yappa]*^4^ (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 Śīrāja or Rājagi.

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^1 The inscription resembles in this the Kaba-Budrūkh grant of Bhillama III., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 121.

^2 Compare, in addition to the Kaba-Budrūkh places of Bhillama III., the Passein grant of Seuṇachandra II., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 119, and Professor Bhāṅgārākura's *Early History of the Dekkan*, pp. 75-77.

^3 See note 40, below.

^4 Bhillama provided the god Somanātha (or Śiva), at the place where this inscription was composed, with a valuable head-dress or turban.
From the end of line 34 our inscription becomes more interesting, but also presents some serious difficulties. According to the Kalas-Budrūkh plates of Bhillama III. and the Bassein grant of Seunachandra II., Srirāja was succeeded by his son Vaddiga, and he again by Bhillama II., who married Lakiṣmī or Laccchhiāvā, a lady born in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. The present grant first tells us (in lines 34-40) that from Rājan or Rāja sprang the prince Vaddiga (the Vaddiga of the other plates), a great warrior, who was a follower or feudatory of the illustrious king Kṛiṣṇa or Kṛiṣṇarāja, and that this Vaddiga married the lady Voddiyavā, a daughter of the great prince (mahāniṣṭa), the illustrious Dhoraṇa. It then has to be referred, as the text stands, to the same Vaddiga, two verses (in lines 40-45), the first of which glorifies (as it seems) Vaddiga 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 Raṇaraṅgaṇbhīma; 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 Lakiṣmī 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 Vījayaḥbharayānātha; 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 Bhillama II., and there can be no doubt that the genealogy given in the introductory praṇastī should have been continued to, and that the author who composed it did bring it down to, that Bhillama. Moreover, I consider it to be perfectly certain that the Lakiṣmī, spoken of in line 43, is the Lakṣmī or Laccchhiāvā of the other grants, the wife of Bhillama, 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 Vījayaḥbharayānātha, was founded either by Bhillama himself one of whose titles or birudas, as we learn from line 51, was Vājyābharaṇa, 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 svanārūḍhī in line 40, recording that Voddiyavā bore to Vaddiga a son, named Bhillama, and another, after the word -mahāsaḥ in line 45, stating that Bhillama or his wife Lakiṣmī 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 Vaddiga, but to his son, and it was Bhillama II. who defeated the great prince Muṇja, and who thereby secured uninterrupted fortune for his sovereign lord, the illustrious king Raṇaraṅgaṇbhīma. The question then arises, who were these kings Muṇja and Raṇaraṅgaṇbhīma, and who was the king Kṛiṣṇa or Kṛiṣṇarāja, to whom Bhillama's father Vaddiga owed allegiance?

Our grant being dated in Śaka 922=A. D. 1000, it is clear that Bhillama II.
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 Vâkpatirâja-Munja of Mâlava, 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 Raṇaraṅga-bhâma in our grant, as whose general or feudatory Bhillama was acting, was an adversary of Vâkpatirâja-Munja; and I believe that he was really no other than the Western Châlukya Tailapa, by whom Munja 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 Āhamallâ; and Raṇaraṅga-bhâma is little less than a synonym of Āhamallâ.—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 Krîshna or Krîshnarâja, whose follower he is represented to have been in this inscription, can only have been the Râshtrakûta Krîshna, for whom we have the dates Śaka 867 and 878 = A.D. 945 and 956, the son of Amoghavarsla-Vaddiga. Evidently, down to Vandiga, the Yâdavas were feudatories of the Râshtrakûtas; after the overthrow of this dynasty by the Châlukyas, which took place in A.D. 973, their allegiance was transferred to the Châlukyas.—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 Prâkrit equivalent of the Sanskrit Dhruva, and we know that one of the earlier Râshtrakûta kings was named Dhruva or Dhora, or Nirupama. Now Krîshnarâja, the sovereign lord of Vandiga, had a younger brother likewise named Nirupama, the father of Krîshna's successor Kakkâla, 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 mahânripa 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 Yâdava family and the date of Seu-ñchandra (or his predecessor Drîdhaprahâra) 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 Brâhmans who are enumerated in lines 64-77. The general meaning of the passage (in lines 48-56) 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 Bhillamarâja is described in lines 48-52 as a mahâsâmanta or great feudatory who had obtained the five mahâlabda, the supreme lord of the city of Dvâravati, born in Vishnu's family, eager to worship Śiva, and rendered illustrious by such royal titles as Arâti-nishâdana, 'the destroyer of enemies,' Saṅgrâma-Râma, Kandukâchârya, Sellâvîdega, and

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10 See Professor Bhâpôdârkar, loc. cit., p. 59, and Dr. Flees' Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 41.
11 See Professor Bhâpôdârkar, ib. pp. 54-57, and Dr. Flees, ib., pp. 37-38.
12 It may be noted that Bhillama III. married 'Hâunmâ, the daughter of Jayasimha and sister of Āhamallâ, the Châlukya emperor.' See Professor Bhâpôdârkar, ib., p. 76.
Vijayabharaṇa. Professor Bhāndārkar 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 Vīshnuvaṁśadhamvāna, and that, as Krishna and his immediate descendants reigned at Dyārakā, they assumed the title of Devaravatipuravaraññāvara, 'the supreme lords of Dyāravatī, the best of cities.' As regards the titles or bīruḍas of Bhillama, the term Saṅgrāma-Rāma is applied to him also in line 8 of the Kalas-Budrākha plates. Kandukāchārya apparently means 'a master in playing at ball', and Sellavivēga seems to be a Prakrit 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 61-77, 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 identified15 with the modern Sinnar, the chief town of the Sinnar Sub-Division of the Nāsik District. All were Brāhmans, some students of the Rgveda or Śāma vedā, and others members of the Kānya or Mādhyandina śākhas of the Vājasaneyu branch of the Yajurveda, or of the Maitrāyanīya śākha of the black Yajurveda. Some belonged to the Gautama, Kaṇḍāṇīya, Brāhadvāja, or Kaṇśika gotaras. And one (in line 72) is described as rájadalavārikā, 'the king's doorkeeper.'

To these Brāhmans Bhillama gave16 (lines 78-80) the village of Arjunoṇḍikā, situated on the banks of the river Mātulīṅgi, and some land between the two villages Laghu-arjunonḍhi and Laghu-vavvulavedra. The boundaries of the village were (lines 83-84), to the east, Saṅgamanagara, to the south, the village of Chikhalī, to the west, the village of Jamvalenimvā, and to the north, the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra. On the maps at my disposal I find no name similar to Arjunonḍikā, but Dr. Burgess has suggested to me that the village granted may be the modern Rājapur, on the Mālunțī river of the Saṅgamner Sub-Division of the Ahmednagar 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 Saṅgamanagara of the grant would of course be the town of Saṅgamner of the Ahmednagar District, which is about three miles east of Rājapur. Chikhalīgrāma would be the village of Chikhalī on the river Ārdalā, about two miles south of Rājapur, and Jamvalenimvāgrāma the village of Javlekarād, which is about 2 3/4 miles west of Rājapur. And the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra would be represented by the village Vellūla (not marked on the G. T. S. Map, sheet 38) on the Mālunțī river, about two miles north of Rājapur, and two deserted "vādis" not far from it.

Lines 86-110 in the usual terms admonish future rulers to protect the donees and their descendants in the possession of this grant and warn them not to resume it. Lines 110-113 add that the illustrious Bhillamarāja made the donation here recorded on the new-moon tīthi of the month Bhādrapada of the year Sārvana, on the occasion of a solar

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12 See ib., p. 85; compare also Indian Antiquity, vol. XII, p. 121; and this inscription, lines 21-22.
14 I am not sure about this, for after the word Sīr-Sīndinagara-datalpūtrī one would certainly expect the name of names of one or more villages, situated in the district of Sindinagara.
16 In the formal part of the grant the only unusual term is sākhaḍatapraṇakītyopetam in line 80. I can only compare with it sākhaḍatapatrakītī in line 14 of the inscription published in the Proceedings, Beng. A.S. Soc., 1877, p. 75, but am not able to explain the term properly.
eclipse, at the holy bathing-place of the confluence of the Arunā" (and Godāvari) at Nāsik. And line 114 gives the name of the writer of this sāsana-puṭṭha, Keśava-
upādhyāya, who (in lines 114-116) asks the indulgence of the reader for any mistakes,
and winds up with the remark that no verbal deficiencies of this document will affect its
validity.

The date of this inscription does not work out satisfactorily. The Jovian year
Śaṅkarin, 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 titli of either the pūrṇimānta or amānta Bhādrapada of that year,—the 2nd
and 31st August, A.D. 1000. There was a solar eclipse a month later, on the 30th
September, A.D. 1000, but it was not visible in India.

**TEXT.**

*First plate.*

०. [त्तरी]ति योगियास्याच्चः स इह जयते देव - 30 चाच -
5. [र्द्राइ]मीवः : १ - भूव[न]भवाक्षः द्वितात्मच्चीचित्वः द्विविधः -
6. दक्षात्तावाच्च : पार्श्वीमाप्राणियः द्रिस्तिक्षमदवरेस(ष) : पार्श्व भिक्षः -
7. [संस्कृ]यः - कार्यत्तवाहः सवाद्र चद्वलः - युगायाः -
8. [शष्णु]भवनसरङ्गवनामप्रिणितं सुरपिंवाचिरवाच्चः : संसिद्धिका -
9. श्रियरितः सम्मुखः सकलसरसा भ्रान्तिस्तीलो सरीरचिरायः(ष) - 9ी -
10. [ष्ट्रि]भासोऽरे भूवेन हुत्विनयः २ । ९. 'भूवन(ष)गामामाध्वस्यात्मकः' -
11. दक्षात्तावः - भवानिधारायाच्चति काङ्गडान्दमिदवरेस(ष) । ४ ।
12. [१]ततोउत्तमंहिवायमेववंकारी विमायथामानुषुष्णायः व्रि -
13. यः [१] बुद्धव सूरतिधिकामां सदा बुद्धस्व व(ष)भाज लीला -
14. [१] । ६ । [२] भूवनासरङ्गवनामप्रिणितं सरस(ष) सामाजिता तत्ता -
15. [त्रिम्प]त्तरा याच्चः युगायाः : [१] तत्ता जाती याच्चराच्छायः -
16. परिवर्तनं कणोपापिणितं साधव[ष्ट्रि] - [१] सम्भावनवाच्च चन्द्रस्वः । ६ ।
17. चाचिनः [सन्यासपुंडियाली] यायातिदत्तमविवि -
18. [र्द्री]त्तीविचारानिविलासः [१] तिमिबः [शुप]द्वारातोऽरे[ष]देवः -
19. स साधारणविद्वत्तिविनिर्दितं यादावः सारस्तिः - ॥ २ ॥ अ -

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18 See the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. XVI (Nāsik), p. 524 : 'Aruna tith is where the Aruna joins the Godāvari near Ram's Pool'.
19 From an ink-impression, prepared by Mr. H. C. Couzens.
20 Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.
21 Here and in other places below which it is unnecessary to point out separately the rules of saṃdhi have not been observed.
22 The aksāra घ was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line between वं and वि.
23 This sign of punctuation is superfluous. In the preceding the metre is incorrect.
24 Metre, Śikharī. 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.
25 Metre, Śokha (Anuṃṭubb).
26 Metre, Vānhasṭha.
27 From here the numbers of the verses are wrong.
28 Metre, Śikharī.
29 Read दक्षात्तावः.
30 The two aksāras घ[घ] were originally omitted, and are engraved above the line.
31 Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.
32 I believe the reading intended to be खोरीप्रतीप्रेत:\,
33 Here I would propose reading दक्षात्तारत्र ग्रुतिजोशी दशते
34 The aksāra in brackets, as engraved, is ग्रुतिजोशी दशते.
20. भविष्य याति: सज्जनानन्दकारी यदुदापारिमा्पाकः
21. मन्दाय(या)दच्छ [1] सकलविलुष्य(द)धर्मीविन्दस्यसादुरविधः
22. गदवननिमित्तं यथाय वषेय प्रसादः ॥ ८ ॥ "यतमायादुवः
23. शान्तः ॥ सभवंधुपालचूतामर्शान्वः ॥ कलिकालः
24. कस्म[ष]लवणिशीतिष्णु भूतलेः ॥ श्रावः भेद्ययो एव सतः
25. हसा नाचा निजराज्यः ॥ यो योऽन्न निजमांडलं च समदा
26. राक्षसधर्मयो: ॥ १० ॥ प्रकाशीतीः ॥ सुपुज्जयो विसा(श)ः
27. विनायकसुल्लोऽसारांतकालः ॥ ॥ "जात:सत्कारमीऽचलः
28. भाष: सुर [1] भीमानाक्षीकोः ॥ व्याख्या: ॥ ११ ॥ "तदन विव(य)धः

Second plate; first side.

30. — दीर्घकालाशीलोपरुत्त ॥ ॥ [व्र] भूतलेः भिषवाशः ॥ ॥ १२ ॥
31. [नन] किनिर्मित्तम्बोनाः तस्म माण्य विन्य न व्यालकमुदविव(द)दीर्घमे्
32. [किलेय]वार्षिक यथा ॥ चिरवर्धनकालाभासिनोपायविष्यः ॥
33. दीनमिष देव: परिक्षाः [सो]मनवः ॥ ॥ १२ ॥ "तंत्रायात: स्वतो रा[ज]याः
34. जा राजीवलोचनः [ः] राजेष राजेष योष राजनवनकार: सदा ॥ ॥ १४ ॥ तथा ॥
35. दीनिमुहः अविन्दित्य: सनमनध्वालचूतामर्शान्वः ॥ धीमायमहोर्बिन्दः
36. सुमुग्धशय कवर्दवट्टशुः ॥ राजा दीनमिषविभुः: [ः] अय्यस्वतविष्यः
37. ल: संग्रं ॥ १२ ॥ चुपरिप्रमयेदपर्यंदलवः चोबालाराजयुः: ॥ ॥ १५ ॥
38. दीर्घोऽ[ः]ययमहापपशुदुभिता चीलीर्हिय[ः]मिशः ॥ वयोः: [सेत्रे]यः
39. सुलेख केतामवर्णोऽजीविनः ॥ पालीः [ः] व्यालकसुल्लोऽसाराः ॥ दत्तवयमाः ॥ रणायमाः ॥ यथा
40. [ता] नावार्थप्र及以上[ः] विविन्तर केशवलीलायसुः ॥ [किलेय] ॥ नारातिकारलाईः ॥ ना-चर्चासिः

41. दात्तेऽय चला सुज्जनामहापपिणि: ॥ साम्यसर्गंगणि: [ः]लचीमिष(सु)पिरन्नलवालेविनित्याः ॥ ।
42. वरिष्टीनामहापपशुदुभिता धीमायमहोर्बिन्दः ॥ साम्यसर्गंगणि: ॥ ॥ १६ ॥
43. हानि सन्तीन[ः]पर्यंक्षविनित्याः ॥ सदा स्वता ज्ञातिकारतिमवः यथा सुदिता: ।
44. सन: स[ः]भोः: पाद्य(य)स्य इत्यन्तर्यययस्य यद्योऽयधीष शुपार्चितमवः ॥ चा[ः] ॥
45. भाष: ॥ नारातिकारलाईः ॥ ना-चर्चासिः

24. भाष: सुर [ः] भीमानाक्षीकोः ॥ व्याख्या: ॥ ११ ॥ "तदन विव(य)धः

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21. Originally बही, but altered to "मन्दाय.
22. Originally "सकलविलुष्य(द)धर्मीविन्दस्यसादुरविधः.
23. Read "भूतलेः"; this correction may have been made already in the original.
24. Metro, सालिनि.
25. Read "कालः".
26. The intended reading most probably is धार्यवधी.
27. Metro, मलिनि; and of the next verse.
28. Read "सुपूज्".
29. The akshara in brackets is श्रो रather than श्री.
30. Metro, श्रीका (Anushthub).}

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41. The consonant of the first akshara of this line is slightly damaged, and it may possibly be त; the following aksharas are quite clear.
42. Originally चालवायु was engraved.
43. Of this akshara, again, only the superscript vowel is quite certain, and the whole akshara might possibly be read शी.
44. Read "सुपूज्".
45. Metro, सिलसिली.
46. Read "तत्त्व".
47. Of 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.
48. Read "सिलसिली".
Second plate; second side.

66. — स्वरपातः 33 नारायणपातःतात् तथा बाणिज्याक्षाणाम् चौविश्वामी तात् च [विवा ?]-
67. [च] प्रेमचाय चिररेवातातसुतात् तथा ब(च)चुनानाय भरसानातात् म[दह ?]-
68. [च] प्राय चिर [ह] प्रेमसूतात् तथा बाणिज्याक्षाणाय चौविश्वामीनातात् वाय [महि ?]-
69. वाणिज्यादि प्रेमसूतात् तथा ब(च)चुनानाय देवदायवाय चारसूतात् तथा [क ?]-
70. [च] माप्राकाशदिवितात् तथा मित्रातात्वाच्य व (व) [महि ?]-
71. [न] या स्त्राचन्दन [गु] चित्राचे पय चालानागमान; 35 सोपायुस्तात् तथा गार्थात्र-72
72. दिनमहीनाच तथा ब(व)चुनानादिवसारमहिलाचे पय तथा ब(व)चुनानाचे [वतः] 73
73. तथा जारस्वात्स्य: तथा बाणिज्याक्षाणामेव: तथा ब(व)चुनानाचे: तथा 74
74. ब(व)चुनानाय [व्] चौविश्वामी विवद्याय चिरसूतात् तथा 36

33 Read चथपातः.
35 The akshara चा of अंश हातयार चा was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.
36 Read चरस्वातः. Some of the following signs of punctuation are superfluous.
37 The akshara चा of च्य चा was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.
38 Read चरस्वातः. This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and may have been struck out already in the original.
39 Instead of छ्य, one would have expected हुना.
40 Metro, śloka (Anuṣṭubh).
41 Metro, Īndrayaṭā.
42 Metro, śloka (Anuṣṭubh) ; and of the two next verses. The akshara चा was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.
43 Read चयस्वातः. This word is unnecessarily repeated here.
44 Originally चचित्रित was engraved; see below, line 75.
45 One would expect चाखाय.
46 Read चरस्वातः.
47 The writing is quite distinct here, but must be faulty.
L. 76. [Verse] पत्राय नीतिलोकाय व(०)इच्छार्थनि । तथा व(०)इच्छार्था- 76. य अविनाह्य तथा व(०)इच्छार्थय दुन्द्रिपाय यालपेयसुताय 77. तथा प्रमेयेदेव अल्पपेयसाय । एवमसेरां द्विजानां विन्दुः- 78. तास्मात्तपान्निन् । मातृविन्नितस्मायारसिन्तम चणुरोधिन्- 79. कारणम् तथा च बचुव्यूर्णौपास्निध्युद्विवेद्यास- 80. [०]यायावंतं सबचिमलावल्ल च(०)तत्सोपपर्वतं साद- 81. द्रष्मालक्षोप्येक्यावीपूपुटाडागारामसइन्त तत् एका[०] । 82. पाराशोपनं स(०)कल्पसमझोपेक्य ० [१०] यापक्षाघाता । लिख्यते [१०] ; 83. पूर्वतः संमायनगर दृष्टिंतः चिंहलीयामः पवित्र- 84. त: जम्बलोम्बधारामः उत्तरत: बचुव्यूर्णोभि(०)यामिः इष्टा[०] एवं चाचा(०).- 85. तुराटविश्वा अर्धर्षतरिष्ठा[०] रुपपीपारिसंस्करै- 86. तातं च चद्वार्य यावविपाल्यागोऽ । एववचवयां वैभुव्यामाद्- 87. [बचुव्यूर्णानां सो]जययां । कर्मविपयायाम[०] यथेष्ट प्रतिशर्यता प्रति- 88. दश्यतां [१०] केनापि खेलवाधा[१०] न कर्णेया । उकं च सुनिष्ठा: [१०] । 89. यानीव[२०] द्वारा अर्नेतज्ञानिः पर्यायमथमकाणिः । इष्टा[०] 90. किताश्च दद्यार्थामात्मात्माति तानि । यो नाम साधु: द्वारवतः- 91. दृत(०) च(०)द्विफलसुधा[१०] शुका राजभी: सगरादि 92. भव: । यथ यथ यदा भुविस्तः तथ तदा 93. पल्ल(०) चतो द्रान्निरारामसारात्मस तथा पल- 94. नम् ० [१०]  

Third part.


16 Read “भावने” तयः। 17 Read “सहायः” । 18 Read “वदनम्” । 19 Read “वनस्त्रपीय” । 20 Read “द्वारकायाम्”. 21 Originally only सुभाषित was engraved; but three or four aksharas were afterwards engraved above the line, which, together with the former, appear to me to yield the reading given in the text. 22 Read “नाना वा” । 23 This sign of punctuation is superfluous. 24 The second akshara might also be read “म”, but compare द्वारकायाम्, ante, vol. I, p. 165. 25 Metre, Upajāti. Read “वृ” । 26 This sign of punctuation is superfluous. 27 Metre, Sloka (Anushṭubbh); and of the next verse. 28 Read “वृ” बाद्रि. 29 Metre, Sāmak. Read “दला”, “वनस्त्रपीय” and “सहायः”. 30 This word is superfluous. 31 These signs of punctuation are superfluous. 32 The akshara “वृ” was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line. 33 Metre, Sloka (Anushṭubbh); and of the two next verses. 34 Read “द्वारकायाम्”. 35 Metre, Upajāti. Read वृ. 36 This sign of punctuation is superfluous. 37 Metre, Sloka (Anushṭubbh); and of the next verse. 38 Read “वृ” बाद्रि.
XVI.—STONE INSCRIPTIONS AT VAGHLI IN KHANDES.

THE SAKA YEAR 991.

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

According to the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. XII, p. 478, Vaghlí, a village six miles east (or rather north-east) of Chalisgaon in the Khandes District, has three temples, an old temple of Madhádevi, a small ruined temple to its right, and a temple of the Mánabháva sect. “The Mánbháva temple, built in Hemádpanti style, 33 feet long by 22 broad and 13 high, with ornamented pillars and doorway, formerly contained a línga, 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 Mánbháva sect.” Good impressions of the three inscriptions thus referred to, taken by Mr. H. Cousens, have been supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. They show that the three inscriptions are indeed damaged, especially one of them, but that they are by no means so illegible as they have been reported to be. And their contents appear to me sufficiently interesting to justify my furnishing a short account of them. I shall denote the inscriptions by the letters A, B, and C, but shall show that all three really form part of a single inscription.

A.—This inscription contains 14 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3’ 6” broad by 1’ 1½” high. On the proper right side the writing is much damaged and

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† Metre, Vasanta Tilak.
‡ Really मुद्रा is engraved.
§ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).
¶ Read समाप्तिः स.

1 In the Indian Atlas, sheet 38, spelt “Baugley,” in the Postal Directory “Waghli,” in Long. 75° 10’ E., Lat. 20° 31’ N.
partly altogether illegible, but, as will be seen from my transcript of the text, the greater portion of the inscription is fairly well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between \( \frac{5}{10} \) and \( \frac{3}{10} \). The characters are Nāgari of about the 11th century A.D. The language is Saṃskṛt, and the inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter ḍ is throughout denoted by the sign for \( v \); the dental sibilant is several times used instead of the palatal; and the vowel \( ri \) is employed instead of \( ri \) in \( tṛiṇa \), line 6.

The inscription opens with a verse invoking the blessing of Ṣanapati; 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 Māndhāṭṛi, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya family. Verse 2 then relates how Soma, i.e., the god Śiva, left his home on the mountain Kailāsa and came for the welfare of the people to settle in the country of Surāshṭra; and verse 3 states that here, in Surāshṭra, there is the city of Valabhi, the capital of the Mauryas, the Brāhmaṇ citizens of which enjoy all the blessings of life through the favour of the Mauryas. Verses 4–13 then record the names of a series of princes or chiefs, the first of whom is stated to have been born in the Maurya family, and each of whom has a verse, eulogizing his valour, allotted to him. This list, for it is nothing more, is as follows:—

1. The illustrious Kikaṭa, born in the Maurya family (v. 4).
2. After him came the illustrious Takshaka (v. 5).
3. After him, Bhma (v. 6).
4. Sarvaśūra (v. 7).
5. After him came the prince Govindaśāja (v. 8).
6. After him, the prince Sādhvaśīka (v. 9).
7. The prince Jhanjha (v. 10).
8. From him was born the prince Dovanastin (v. 11).
9. From him, the prince Muṇja (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 \( \frac{1}{2} \) and 1". The characters are the same as those of the inscription A. The language is Saṃskṛt, 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 Māndakrānta 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 Vasantatilaka 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 aksaras 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—

\[ pryarachchanta=Lakṣmīnāyak-chalatva-vadāniyam=a \]

which, with the end of A, would give us the following verse:

\[ padma[nī]dambāgiśvara; itī padma[ṛāsa]vireṇākī; ṯī <br />
dvānaṁ śīvaśūrya[ṛi]tau.[ṛa] pravācya[vācha]vandana[nīyam][padmākar ilī ?] \]

As stated before, verse 14 ends in line 2; verse 15 ends in line 3, verse 16 in line 4, verse 17 in line 5, 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-tato-vanityale, in verse 17).
15. Vālaparāja (tasmād Vālaparāja ity abhīhitā bhūpāla-chādāmaṇiḥ sanjajī, in verse 18).
17. Sāntirāja (śrī-Śāntirāja iti bhāmiparīr-ebhāvā, in verse 20).

No further names seem to occur in the short passages which remain of the verses 25 and 26.

C.—This inscription contains 13 lines of writing which cover a space of 4 2½” broad by 1’ 10½” high. With the exception of a few akṣaras, 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 ¾” and 1”. The characters are the same as in the inscriptions A and B. The language is Śaṃskṛta, and the inscription is throughout in verse. As regards orthography, is everywhere denoted by the sign for \( \nu \); the vowel \( ī \) is used instead of \( ī \) in viniṣṭāta, line 3, and trīḍīva, line 8; and the jñāmālīya and upadmanīya, both denoted by the ordinary sign for \( ē \), are employed in anvitaṁ kirtī, line 8, svadhiḥ padma, line 5, and tanuḥ pṛyā, 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 (vaitarati, nripati, bhūnipāla) Govinda or Govindarāja, who in verse 27 is styled Mauryakula-pradīpa, *the light of the Maurya family,* and who evidently is the Govinda spoken of in verse 21 of the inscription B; and that in particular it records the foundation by this prince of a sattra, or hall of charity for travellers and for the learned and indigent, and the erection of a temple of Śiva, under the name of Siddheśanātha or Siddheśvara, with a tank or well attached to it. In all probability, the temple is the same at which the inscription is still preserved.

The second part of the inscription, the verses of which are numbered separately, opens, towards the end of line 9, with a date, and records up to line 15 various donations in favour of the temple and the charitable institute mentioned before, made both by Govindarāja himself and by (his sovereign lord) the mahāmanidala-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 Ashāqha of the Jupiter year Saumya which was the (expired) Śaka year 991, granted to the temple of Siddheśvara the two villages of Samgami and Madhuvāṭīka, together with the income due from them to the king himself.—The date corresponds, by the amanta 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 Śrāvaṇa of the year Saumya, corresponding to Śaka-saṁvat 991.—The villages of Samgami and Madhuvāṭīka 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 Vagalikamatahabhāmi, Vakkulikshetra, Vanakiljakabhāmi and Paṭayakshinivaḷa, 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 rājīt 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

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* See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 130. It should be stated, however, that the date of the copper-plate is incorrect; for Śrāvanśudī 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 Govindarāja for no less than twenty generations, and records that the original home of the Maurya clan was the city of Valabhi in Surāshṭra, which was their capital. As Govindarāja himself is indirectly described as a feudatory of a Yādava 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 Kāthiāvād to Khandes together with the Yādavas, ‘the lords of Dwārakā.’ 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.**

L. 1. [च|४] ॐ ओ - ॐ - - ॐ - - देव संत |[च|४] मसितिः - - [ता] ||
2. श्रीत: क्षपराशु - - - - - - [तद्व] मसितिः - - [तस्य] ||
3. व (व) || ॥ ||
4. म(चरित्रादी)म: - श्रीति || श्रीति || श्रीति || श्रीति ||
5. - म(चरित्र) मसितिः ||
6. कृतिकामस्तु मसितिः ||
7. ||
8. ॥ ||
9. ||

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4 See Professor Bhaṅgārkar’s *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 76.
5 I know that the Yādava Bhilāma II married the daughter of a Rāja Jhānjha (see *ibid.*, p. 77); but that Jhānjha could not possibly have been the Jhānjha of the present inscription; for, to mention other reasons, Bhilāma lived about A.D. 1000 (see *ibid.*, p. 212), and the Jhānjha of this inscription lived fourteen generations before Govindarāja (A.D. 1069).
6 From impressions taken by Mr. Consens.
7 *ibid.*
8 *ibid.*
L. 10. साधु यथा ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ । गोविन्दवस्तुवदि चंतितमात्रेऽसिद्धांशिनिति नाम स दशौ चरित-तार्यं तु ॥ ॥ राजा साधुचितमात्रेऽति ॥ परमसूचयः ॥ अन्या च वर्त्तमात्र रिपुदंशि ॥

L. 11. ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ । साधु: साधुयं तवार्थरमेवः सक्षोरिति सा (श्री) श्रीति ज्ञानाधीने समाधिसिन: करीति यदि वा तत्तिनित्यमा तु प्रः ॥ ॥ अंभारमिधानामपुति ॥ प्रधितो घटिवाना ॥

L. 12. ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ । संग्रामप्रभुवमुखस्य रमसाधार्यादपुरुषोऽनु शक्ति दत्ति नाम व(व)भा भार्यसा तार्यं ॥ १० ॥ विद्वेदाश्रितवदि ॥ तत्थः विद्वेदचेति वज्ञ धारामंडलशीर्षार्थम: ॥ सम [क्षणी] ॥

L. 13. ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ । सम्भवस्त्यानि आप्रायापरमेवः सीमायस्मासरसरसस्थितिः ॥ [ए] पायथ्यति [त] [कम: ॥ [दुः] रम-मदाविको वो ॥

L. 14. ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ ☑ । सुहर्ष्व[व] वर्तमात्र ॥ ॥ १२ ॥ पश्चिमको ॥ नरपद्यः ॥ प्रव[व] भूसु तथावसु: ॥ प्रवा त्यि [गजवालीवेशने] ॥ दानानि योहुष्ठवययहः ॥

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION C.

L. 1. [नो] दानस्त्यमित्रविलासः द्विष्ठवेशस्माचर्यावर्धान्यन्यानाति स्वामि ॥

संपूर्ण यत्र: प्रवेदिकामयं महयान्तुः ॥ श्रवणं भस्मरसेक्ष्मं ज्ञातो ॥ ॥ २७ ॥

यात्रायं ग्राहतयति स[प्रेमी] ॥

2. साधुयं तवार्थरमेवः सक्षोरिति सा (श्री) श्रीति ज्ञानाधीने समाधिसिन: करीति यदि वा तत्तिनित्यमा तु प्रः ॥ ॥ अंभारमिधानामपुति ॥ प्रधितो घटिवाना ॥

3. प्रजुल्लीपितपितामहेऽक: ॥ विद्वेदाश्रितस्त्रित कुलसम्बन्धार्थिः स सुहर्ष्व वर्तमात्र ॥ ॥ २८ ॥

4. प्रव[व] भूसु तथावसु: ॥ प्रवा त्यि [गजवालीवेशने] ॥ दानानि योहुष्ठवययः ॥

5. बंदनेन ॥

श्रार्थी विश्वम् विविधविशुद्धादाय: प्रवाहितयविविध वर्तमात्रतान्तर ॥ ॥ ३० ॥

6. कस्यविद्वेदाश्रिताधिकारिः दीनायकाधिकारिः तृतीयति: ॥

7. सर्व[स] ॥

8. वर्गायणम् प्रवर्तमात्रतीतिगोत्रमुखर्वने ॥ ॥

9. चित्यवेशद्य तथा तत्त्वसंदेशमा: ॥ (ष) व्रिण्यस्वप्नानाय ॥

[सर्व[स]]

10. [मेठे, बांधुलिखिता।]

11. [मेठे, बांधुलिखिता।]

12. [मेठे, बांधुलिखिता।]

13. [मेठे, बांधुलिखिता।]

14. [मेठे, बांधुलिखिता।]

15. [बी.बी. ओस्ओन्ति हौस्।]

16. [बी.बी. ओस्ओन्ति हौस्।]

17. [बी.बी. ओस्ओन्ति हौस्।]

18. [बी.बी. ओस्ओन्ति हौस्।]

19. [बी.बी. ओस्ओन्ति हौस्।]

20. [बी.बी. ओस्ओन्ति हौस्।]

21. [बी.बी. ओस्ओन्ति हौस्।]

22. [बी.बी. ओस्ओन्ति हौस्।]

23. [बी.बी. ओस्ओन्ति हौस्।]

24. [बी.बी. ओस्ओन्ति हौस्।]
L. 6.

दिश[भू]ख सरसदनसम मंदिर चानैसाहि:
कोनी गोविंदारणारपतिरस्यस्य सरबोत्तमो चकारा ॥ १२ ॥

व[भू]ख शान्तासनात्तिरित्वतयसरसोराचारहस्सांस्मांगी ॥ १२ ॥

राजगिरीचारकालियततः ॥

7.

तुःपुष्पचक्र सूक्ष्म ॥

भागा चूटीयमेकी जगति नरपति: सल्लानान्ददारो
श्रीचारणायणसिद्धांश्यांनन्दतमोहस्ताविनंदराच। ॥ २२ ॥

[थ्र]० 'तर्मानुसारताराममनमवदुरिविविष्यणपैदेये-

8.

तः

चक्री विवेधनायायवंस्मत्महब्येरमोगीपर्वं
सर्वोपार्थिवमाणो तृतीयदिवसतिरसाहिन्नेष्वरतः
श्रीविद्ये शूरसापकल्लकुपुष्पवेदिन्यक्षिणिकाम: ॥ १४ ॥

वापीं च-

9.

कार सुविमलीययमालयब(व)दसोपानाम[प्लु]खुङ्ग]सर्वज्ञानिन्त्यि-द्वेषयः
शान्तज्ञोपर्पिर्ब(च)[प्लु]खुङ्ग]जनपवायस्मिस्लापतिकंशिन्यपानंबदनायबाहम् ॥ १५ ॥

रूपांदानातुवं तृतीय ॥

10.

शाक्याकल्य भूपतिः ॥

सीमसंवलरापाडविन्द्रपर्वंगिन ॥ १ ॥

महाभाँडलनाध्यसु शीमाविकस्यभूपति:।

शिवेकराग्र द्रवी त्रास्मदसुरारपी: ॥ २ ॥

निजेन राजसमैन संग[भी] ॥

11.

[वृ]खवाटिकाम् ॥ २ ॥

गोविंदार्जीवी ददी या[भी]स्य[भी]न्य[भी]मवः

मेलक देवपुरायं ग्रामक दीपसिकवे ॥ ४ ॥

यात्रं गीतावलयं विव्युष्णिसमिवित ॥

तुःपुस्तलम् देवगौरव गद्गतानाः च भुविषय ॥ ॥

12.

विमाणं भूजनाययय साह(च)सुषिक्षा शास्त्रयोऽवायम्

विषाणायस्त्रातानाः ॥ १० ॥

हावात( च)सात्यो भूजनाय च ॥ ६ ॥

चेताणि यानि भुक्कलो ददी तानि विनाययत:।

वागुल्लाप्रभृति!:॥ पूर्वजितमा तू भंसि ॥

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23. Metre, Sragdhara: and of the next verse.
24. The akṣara च was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.
25. The akṣara च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.
26. I am doubtful about this akṣara, and the intended reading may possibly be महि नी।
27. Metre, Yasaṅatālikā.
28. Metre, Sloka (Amunṣṭubbh); and of the following twelve verses.
29. Of this akṣara only the sign of anusāra is doubtful.
30. The reading here and up to the end of the line is quite clear in the original. Read विनाययः (?).
31. I do not understand this, nor the following महकाती, तुःपुस्तलम् may have been put for विनाय.
32. This च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.
33. Originally चर्चित was engraved, but the akṣara च has been struck out.
XVII.—KHALARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF HABIBRAHMADEVA.

THE [Vikrama] YEAR 14701.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.L.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a polished stone, which is fitted into the wall of a small temple at Khalārī, a village about 45 miles2 east of the town of Rāypur in the Central Provinces. It contains sixteen lines of writing, which cover a space of about 1'11½" broad by 11¾" high. The writing is well preserved throughout, and the reading is no-

1 Read खालारी आवाट.
2 The akṣaras ॐ was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.
3 Metro, शार्दूलवर्करक्षिता।
4 Metro, Vasantaśilākā; and of the next verse.
5 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.
6 Wrongly for 1471.
7 See Sir A. Cunningham’s Arcahol. Survey of India, vol. VII, p. 156; according to the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces, p. 248, Khalārī is only about thirteen miles from Rāypur.
where in the least doubtful. The size of the letters is about \( \frac{1}{4} \). The characters are Nāgari of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 15th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, employed by a person of little knowledge; and, excepting the introductory om śrī- Gaṇapatiye namah, and a date and the name of the engraver at the end, the inscription is in verse. The letter b is, as usually, written by the sign for v; otherwise the orthography calls for no remarks.

The inscription, called by the author a praśasti, was composed by Miśra Dāmodara (verse 11), written on the stone by Rāmadāsa of the Vāstavya\(^3\) family (v. 13), and engraved by the artisan Rāthanadeva (line 16). And its proper object is to record the foundation of a temple of Nāraṇa (or Vishnu) by the shoemaker (mochi) Devapāla, a son of Śivadāsa and grandson of Jassau (vv. 9, 10, and 12), at the town of Khalvāṭikā (v. 7), i.e., the modern Khalāri. By way of introduction the inscription—after the words 'om, adoration to Gaṇapati' and three verses in honour of that deity and of Bhārati, the goddess of eloquence, and Nāraṇa,—gives us (in verses 4-6) the following genealogy of the prince, the illustrious Haribrahmadeva, whose capital (rājadhānī) Khalvāṭikā is represented to have been when the inscription was composed:

In the Kalachuri (or Kalachuti) branch of the Hālkhaya (here called Ahihaya) family was the prince Simhaṇa, a worshipper of Śambhu (or Śiva), who conquered eighteen strongholds of adversaries. His son was the prince, Rāmadeva, who slew in battle Bhoniṅgadeva (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 nakṣatra 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-śudi 9 corresponds to Wednesday, the 11th January, A.D. 1413;
for Vikrama 1470 expired = Śaka 1335 expired, to Tuesday, the 30th January, A.D. 1414;
for Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, to Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, when the 9th tithi of the bright half ended 16 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in the nakṣatra Rohini from 13 h. 8 m., or, by the Garga-siddhānta, from 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise, or, by the Brahma-siddhānta, from about sunrise, This Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, also, as required, fell in the Jovian year Plava, which by the Sūrva-siddhānta rule without bīja lasted from the 24th April, A.D. 1414, to the 20th April, A.D. 1415.

\(^3\) 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 1468, which was found at Bûypur and is now in the Nâgpur Museum, and the full date of which I have given in Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, p. 26, No. 20. In that inscription, which records the foundation of a temple of Haṭakâśvara (Śiva) by the Nâyaka Hâjirâjadeva, the prince is described as Mahârâjâ- dhîrâja, and called Râyabrahmadeva, Harirâyabrahma, and simply Brahmadeva. The inscription also mentions his predecessors, who are there called Simgha and Râmachandra, instead of Simhâna and Râmadeva.

I may mention, besides, that the names of these princes Simhâna and Râmachandra also occur in a large mutilated inscription at Ramtek in the Central Provinces of which I owe a faint rubbing to Dr. Fleet.

TEXT.

L. 1. श्री ॥५॥ चरणरैयते नमः ॥४॥
सकलदुरितस्वरूपधिशिष्यवर्मकर्ता नित्यसमसुपीपः श्रेष्ठश्रीपीपः ॥
लकितमुकुरालक्षोऽ-

2. विता ॥ गंगापानीसरसुचि गणराज: पातु वो विज्ञराजः || १ ॥
वेदानारायण वेणा: पठत्थ महाकती यामनायसाचितः
मीकंठक्षरी नादेरपहरत मनः

3. पाबिली किब्रोभिः
द्वारा नारायणश्वरसि रहस्ति रणलक्षण: युधजा: सुः
सदा: सकाब्धसि खुरसू कचनुसल्लीड़े भारती चा || २ ॥
ब्र(ब)ङ्गाद-

4. यी (दि)विषयः सुतिवाक्षरण्य आयति यं पुत्रमाताविद्वीयमूलः
पापान्ति गरभपतनो विलयं प्रव्ययति नारायण: खुरसू चेतना सर्वं व: ॥१॥ ॥१०॥
भक्षिनः ॥

5. यत्रपरं श्रीमुखानादनीश: कलबुत्तिन्द्रि शाष्या प्राय्यो तब्रे(ब)प्रतापः

निजसुमुखविद्वरविद्वरिदुर्रकृष्णबुरवी दश चाँदी सिंहचरीचिण्यताः

6. ॥ ॥१२॥
भवद्वरनिपातसुमुः रामद्वैः समरिष्ठिनि ध्रीरी वेन मोहिनिदेव: ॥
मन्थिविव फलियंचिण्यत्: कोपद्वा तस्मातिनित्याजंतराणाम: ॥ ॥ ॥

7. तत्तुज्जान: श्रुतंता जयिति विजयसे चंद्रवृक्षः भगाः
श्राम: कामामिरसी मनसि खुरसूसुरासुरास्ति कर्तांतः ॥
सर्वोऽयाकाराः खुरसूसमरसाचिण्यति: पंडिता ॥

5 See ibid., vol. VII, p. 112.
6 From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.
7 Read वेणि.
8 Metre, Mālinī.
9 Metre, Brāgharha. In the second line of this verse a relative pronoun has been omitted.
10 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
11 I give this verse exactly as I find it in the original. Its meaning is clear enough. In the Kalachārtibranch of the Haihaya family there was the prince Śīkṣāha, who conquered eighteen forty-eights of adversaries. But the Haihayas are called by the writer Ahihaya, and the Kalachāsiras Kala-chuts, not to mention the grammatical mistakes which the verse contains.
12 Metre of verses 4 and 5, Mālinī.
11. दशमन्त्रातुचर इस अवस्थाभीमके नील ।
नारायणादिवंतां श्रावणीयविद्वाङ्गाधिमानव ।
श्रीमयारायणः सरलविमलो राजवें

12. ईवपालः ॥ ८ ॥
नारायणयायतं लयकम भगवा महा रा चंद्रेन ।
विमृप्तन्त तैन परल चात्र तत्क हरियक्षत्व भाविष्यति । ॥ १० ॥
हरिचरणसरकार्यायणः

13. श्रीयुतसंपसरलपुलकलालसहितीसेन ।
सरसकविज्ञानां विशिष्टिविमयम्बारकम्बारसबोद्धरेशं ॥ १९ ॥
वहिता योगसिद्धा गणेषा वाक्यः ।

14. दातिक्षुबद्धाः सुरसति नविति नारायणसंभूवद्वद्वेषेन ॥
तराणिरसरघचोदनां तावदेशा चेतु चेतु सोवीदिवपालसयानिः ॥ १२ ॥
श्रीवास्तवायन्येने ।

15. प्रमहिरमलाचर ।
लिखिता रामदासेन पंडिताधीशरेष्व तः ॥ ११ ॥
स्वस्त श्रीसंवन्त् १६७० वर्ष साधना १६१४ वंशावल्लोकेश्वरे ॥
श्रवनसंवंसवं माघसुदि ॥

16. शानीयाचारे रोहिष्योदधनेऽहे ["""] सुभाषी सर्वनामानि: ॥ सुझावप्रस्तुविशेषेन ॥

13 Metre, Sragdhara.
14 Metre, Upaśāti.
15 Metre of verses 8 and 9, Sragdhara.
16 Metre, Indravajā.
17 Metre of verses 11 and 12, Malani.

"The word ḍhāndala is perhaps (wrongly) used here in the sense of 'rain-bow'.
11 Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).
12 Read म्युष्यमेण ' in the sixty-years' cycle.'
XVII.—DUBKUND STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KACHCHHIAPATHA VIKRAMASIMHA.

The [Vikrama] year 1145.

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

This inscription was discovered, in 1866, by Captain W. R. Melville,1 in the ruins of a temple at 'Dubkund,' Indian Atlas, Quarter-sheet 51, S. E., Long. 77° 56½ 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 Gwalior; 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 Archaeol. Survey of India, vol. XX, p. 99, and Preface, p. v, together with a small photo-lithograph of the inscription, ib., plates xxi and xxii. I now edit the inscription from one of his rubbings, apparently the same from which the photo-lithograph was prepared.

The inscription contains 61 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 3½" broad by 3' 2" high. With the exception of about twenty aksharas in lines 1 and 2 which have become damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and perhaps a few other aksharas which are illegible in the rubbing, the writing is well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between ⅛" and ⅙". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the introductory om om namo vittaragaya and the greater portion of lines 54-61, the inscription is in verse. It is called a prasasti (lines 47 and 60), and was composed by the Jaina Vijayakirti (line 46), written on the stone by Udayarāja (line 60), and engraved by the stone-mason Tilhaña (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 ḍ is throughout written by the sign for v, and that the dental sibilant is occasionally employed instead of the palatal.9

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 Mahārajadhiraja Vikramasimha (lines 54-58) who ruled the country around Dubkund when the inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1145 (line 61). And the inscription clearly divides itself into two parts, the first of which (lines 10-32) gives an account of the prince Vikramasimha and his ancestors, while the other (lines 32-61) 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 Tirthakaras Rishabhavāmin, Śāntinātha, Chandraprabha and the Jina (Mahāvira), the sage Gotama, and the goddess of eloquence (sruta-devatā) 'famous in the world under the name of Paṅkajavāsini.'

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9 In the rubbing before me it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between the palatal and dental sibilants.
The poet's account of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha (lines 10-32) is as follows:

"There was, an ornament of the Kachchhapaghāta family, and a son of the illustrious Yuvarāja who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince Arjuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a Bowman who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth."

Having, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva, fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājayapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neckbones, 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, pounced 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 averted all suffering whatever on the whole orb of the earth.

Moreover, this prince in a high degree roused the feeling of wonder in the minds of the learned, because in the battles which were viewed by the damsels of heaven he imparted fear to all his enemies one after another, although he had not got it himself, while he never gave to them a portion of the earth, which he did possess.

From him was born the illustrious prince Vikramasimha, 'the lion of valour,' rightly so named, because in the display of his mighty valour, which performed valorous deeds, he cleft asunder the projecting fleshy frontal globes of the arrayed elephants of

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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 Bhīmavat (the second son of Pāṇḍu and elder brother of Arjuna), and Dhāracī (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 illumines all round the wide expanse of this whole earth, and uninterruptedly touches with his fierce rays of supremacy, which spread to the confines of the regions, mountain-like princes.

At his conquest of the quarters, the dust which rose from the orb of the earth, crumbling to pieces under the sharp hoofs of his choice chargers, spread over the chief towns of his adversaries, and, enveloping all things, foretold as it were the time of the universal destruction.

To this noble prince belongs the town named Chaḍobha, the lustre of which spreads on all sides, the excellent markets and the thriving trade of which are celebrated by the people that come to it from all quarters to traffic in things which they have got or wish to acquire."

The historical information contained in these verses is this:—

In the Kachchhipaghaṭa family there was—

1. Yuvarâja. His son was—

2. Arjuna, who, as an ally or feudatory of Vidyâdharadeva, slew in battle Râjyapâla. His son was—

3. Abhimanyu, whose valorous bearing was eulogized by the king Bhoja. His son was—

4. Vijayapâla; and his son again—

5. Vikramasimha, for whom the inscription (in line 61) furnishes the date Monday, the third of the bright half of the month Bhâdrapada of the year 1145, corresponding, as I have shown in Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, p. 361 (No. 170), to the Northern Vikrama year 1145 expired, or to Monday, the 21st August, A.D. 1088.6.

Of the Kachchhipaghaṭa family we possess two other inscriptions of about the same time and from the same part of India. One is the large, Gwâlior Sâsbhû temple inscription7 of the Vikrama year 1150, which gives us the line of princes Lakshmana, Vajradâman, Maṅgalarâja, Kirtirâja, Mûladeva, Devapâla, Padmapâla, and Mahîpâla. And the other is the Narwar copper-plate inscription8 of Virâsîmha-deva of the Vikrama year 1177, which mentions, as the immediate predecessor of Virasîmha-deva, Šaradasîmha-deva, and as his predecessor, Gaganasîmha-deva. 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

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6 The date is one of those in which the tithi is joined with the week-day on which it commenced.
inscriptions belong to three different branches of the Kachchhapagháta family, which must have been in possession of the country around Gwálior in the 11th century A. D. We know that the prince Vajradáman of the Gwálior inscription, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1084, defeated a ruler of Kanaúj and conquered the fort of Gwálior which before belonged to Kanaúj. 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 Kanaúj during the first quarter of the 11th century A. D.

About Vikramasimha and his predecessor Vijayapála the author of our inscription has nothing of importance to report. I myself believe Vijayapála to be identical with the vripatí Vijayádhirája, who is mentioned as a ruling prince in an inscription of the Vikrama year 1100 at Byáná, which is about 80 miles north of Dubkund, and whose name is preserved in the local traditions as Vijayapála; and I may mention that, like the inscription of Vikramasimha, here published, the Byáná inscription of Vijayádhirája also is a Jaina inscription. Of Vijayapála's father Abhimanyu our inscription merely says that his valor and skill were highly eulogized by the intelligent king Bhoja. Considering that for Vikramasimha we have the date Vikrama 1145, and for Vijayapála (Vijayádhirája) 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 Paramára Bhojadeva of Málava, 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 Vidyádhara-deva, the illustrious Rájyapála; and this, in my opinion, is really a valuable piece of information. As regards Vidyádhara-deva, he can be no other than the Chandella king of that name, the successor of Gaṇḍadeva and predecessor of Vijayapáladeva. Gaṇḍadeva was preceded by Dhaṅgadeva, who ruled from about Vikrama 1011 to about 1055, and Vijayapáladeva was succeeded by Devavarmadeva, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1107. Gaṇḍadeva therefore must be placed approximately about Vikrama 1060-1080, which shows that his successor Vidyádhara-deva may well indeed have been a contemporary of the Kachchhapagháta Arjuna. As to Rájyapála, I think it highly probable that he is the Rájyapála who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Trilochana-pála in the Jhústí (or Allahábád) 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 Vijayapáladeva, Rájyapáladeva and Trilochanapáladeva of that inscription, about whom I could say nothing at the time, were really rulers of Kanaúj. For we know that the Chandella Vidyádhara brought about the destruction of a ruler of Kanyakubja (or Kanaúj), and it appears very probable that he allied himself for that purpose with his neighbours, the Kachchhapagháta chiefs, and that the prince of

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9 See Dr. Fleet in Indian Antiquary, vol. XIV, p. 8.
10 There can, in my opinion, be little doubt that the Maṅgalarája, mentioned in another fragmentary inscription at Byáná (ib. p. 9), is the Kachchhapagháta Maṅgalarája of the Gwálior inscription, the successor of Vajradáman.
12 It., p. 196.
13 ib., pp. 124 and 129.
15 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 Chaṭhobha, 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 Dāhāda, on whom Vikramasimha had conferred the rank of śresthiṃsī 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 śresthin Jāsūka, who is described as the head of a family or guild of merchants which had come from Jāyasapur, a town which I am unable to identify.

Lines 39-48 then contain an account of some Jaina sages, the last of whom, Vijayakīrti, not only composed this inscription, but also by his religious teaching incited the people to build the temple at which the inscription was afterwards engraved. The first sage spoken of, an ornament of the Lāṭavāgaṭa gana, is the Guru Devasena. His son was Kulabhāṣṭaṇa; and his son again was Durlabhasenastri. From him sprang the Guru Sāntishaṇa who, in a sabhā held before the king Bhojadeva, defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambarasena and other learned men. And his son was Vijayakīrti.

Of the founders of the temple lines 48-51 mention by name the Sādu Dāhāda whose genealogy has already been given, Kūkeka, Sūrpaṭa, Devadhara, Mahîchandra, and Lakshmanṇa; 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 viṁśopaka on each goni (of grain?), and gave a piece of land in the village of Mahāchakra, capable of being sown with four gonis of wheat, and a garden with a well to the east of Rajakadraha; and that he moreover provided a certain amount of oil 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.


16 The original has the compound latha-gaṭikā-dvajam, the first word of which I am unable to explain properly.
Text.

1. श्री || [श्री] न[श्री] वीरराय || चा || ॥

2. [त्या] — — — वेध[च]: सरसु — — — [तत्] सं और — — — [गग] भवारोल क्रमस्तीति द्विये स्मालेक म् || विचारत्- ॥

3. [शर] युग[सं] यत्तिः प्रतत्सालो निजयोगियाः [यु] हालापि जगति संगगजयः[च] क्रमस्तीति य: || उदाहरण्-

4. कर[व] जीवितगञ्जमात्रस्यस्मां संसारीयदद्वितिद् समय जीतस्य(म्) नितायो जिन: ||

5. विजयमरी कीर्मन्तहिष्ठ[च्] साधारीचित्तसमिद्धदिरपि प्रौद्य कसंकं तथा। चिम्ब्लावदु- पांतमाल सततं [चत]—

6. [सत्याः] संदेखचः सर्वनिश्चय पातु विपित्कप्रभुमें हस्त न: || हो[श्री] कालोकहकसंकुलं रतिदृढेनः ग्रामस्य[सुम्]—

7. — — [त्या] यथयूगसुक्तमहाभाष्यादेशवतवतवति। यो रागादिसमथोपावतकत्पथाविभाविताः

8. वर्ण निताय जयतालो जिन: समस्ति: || ॥ प्रसारितवायुमेयायकान्ताः [भा] स्तर: || पांतसामी- प्रही शैलु गो- ॥

9. तसो सुनिर्वितम्: || ॥ आभविनाधित्यतिसद्धनारिविदसुक्तस्वत्ने(सो) मस्तकंधम्—

10. विद्धमा भयं कर्तं भयं || ॥ आभविनाधित्यतिसद्धनारिविदसुक्तस्वत्ने(सो) मस्तकंधम्—

11. समस्तोऽस्थितानु: || जीतम् || जेतूत[श्री] सुभूततिः: || पतिरधामयाय यथयुताः ईश्वरीयश्च नितितन्तर[व] ॥

12. विन्दुया || श्रीविवाहरवेशवारायामस्त: || सर्वायायः पटाकायर्थिद्विश्वकान्तकंविनिखलवे महतायेः ||

13. ॥ विन्दुया || श्रीविवाहरवेशवारायामस्त: || सर्वायायः पटाकायर्थिद्विश्वकान्तकंविनिखलवे महतायेः ||

14. ॥ दिक्षितम् || श्रीविवाहरवेशवारायामस्त: || सर्वायायः पटाकायर्थिद्विश्वकान्तकंविनिखलवे महतायेः ||

15. ॥ दिक्षितम् || श्रीविवाहरवेशवारायामस्त: || सर्वायायः पटाकायर्थिद्विश्वकान्तकंविनिखलवे महतायेः ||

16. श्रीमयो[च्] सामार्गिकन्तवायामनीकरणसु गुणाभिष्कित्यनिन्ने द्विषदिकलस्यस्यस्यमान्यतौऽति ॥

[च्]—

From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

Expressed by a symbol.

Metro, Sārdaśāvīkṛṣṭa; and of the next three verses.

Read रहस्यः.

Metro, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

Metro, Vasantatilakā.

Metro, Sārdaśāvīkṛṣṭa; and of the next verse.

The aksharas in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

The aksharas in these brackets have been partly painted over in the rubbing.

Metro, Sragdharā.

Metro, Sārdaśāvīkṛṣṭa; and of the next verse.
18. वाह्यासांसहसंख्योऽयोगादिदुः प्रावीष्ण प्रविक्षयतं प्रयुग्मितिः भोज्यवैभुजा। क्षणावधि
19. भयतो दृष्टार्ध्मश्रव्यस्य वाह्यावरणानि विसुव[निँ] की लब्ध अवरणः प्रसः। "तुराकर्मः
20. समुद्रः वनगद्विशार्कं (स) संवधन च यवाधिक | प्रतुतरावसायनेष्यते विश्वमितिः चतुर्वत्त
21. एवम्[ए] सतीवानिवारस। शरद्धमयुफळः निश्चितमकामसरस्तितकी सिख्यासदिक्श्रमावः।
22. पादः। शीतोस्थािऽद्विजः। शिशिस्तोरपालायनं सिरलक्षस्य (स); "भयं वेष्ट्वः निद्रागतीसाधिकाः
23. क्रमिकार्यानं अति दस्तादी। नाम सदा। सतीवंशवादादी[नि] वस्तुवाचिकमती ्वु (क) पहन
24. नरेश्वरो उष्ण च य:। "तष्कनिक[त] कार्यार्कमभूमिसर्वेदित्रोत्सिनां विनिविवामनादमात्रे।
25. भाषां। श्री मात्रमात्रसिद्धायुपत्रसिद्धानामा सम चर्चाः (स) प्रसर्वांभायत:। काेखरेशु
26. वा (वा) लस्यार्व विलोकः यथ परिचाराकं चुज्ज दृष्टण चीताश्चेष्यपरायायतिथिया दीर्घित्वा
27. वाह्यानावहसंहकारां दृष्टान्ता[स]राज्योदरकं[ता] दिग्मकं [विसुवः] स्वर्गमयुन्मंगितः। "शतातो
28. भाषां। क्षतिरिसानो[स्ति] ताराचकी विष्यवार्ताय सहकरामसंद्राकारं दानां। निजःपरां ट"[स]
29. क[राज्‌] तथातीर्थं यशोनाशास(स) मात्र्यविनाश चति विद्वेद्वकोय्यां यमाली। "वहिण्वे
30. गुलश्वासनीवलयनत्योऽभिषेध्यं। विविधिः पुरं दृष्टं तिरीणितात्वकसूक्तां प्रवर्त्यातितमि
31. म॥ सत्त्व चित्तावशयरव चुरं सरस्त्वं विलातत्वमोल्मभिति वर्धोस्संस्तं। प्रसर्वतत्त्वालयभिषेधं
32. वाह्यानवानिवारस। शरद्धमयुफळः निश्चितमसरस्तितकी सिख्यातिक्ष्रमावः।
33. शालिकान्त्वें चकी।" प्रशाविचारः। समागृहाधीनरेव[स] रणवाणाचने गो दृश्यानि पार्विताय [चु]।

35 The above appears to be what was originally engraved, but the akshara न may have been altered.
36 Read काा।
37 Read मलिन। and of the next verse.
38 Read सिक्सरिङ।
39 Read सार्दलविक्रिश्ति। and of the next verse.
40 Originally पूर्विक्षित was engraved.
41 Read सिक्सरिङ।
42 Read सार्दलविक्रिश्ति।
43 Read सार्दलविक्रिश्ति।
44 Read "कादाधूः।"
45 Perhaps altered to चोइयमा।
L. 34. घो द्रान्त रुत: चढ़ा।।”श्रीमलियन[खर]पराद[डु]रहस्यकृतिवृत्तिमन्त्ररब्रम्भ:। पुत्राश्व वैमवः।
35. पदं जयदेवनामा सीमायमन्तरितोजनिः सजनानाम्।”हुपेन सी(श्री)लियन कुँलन सर्वसचीराणं गुप्तेर्वर्यरें।
36. सिरसु। पदं द्रानाल्य व(व)सूक्ष्म माया वशीमति प्रविख शुचिवाम्।”तथामोजाबदसा-विषपादहरूः युक्ते पावः।
37. तद्वसराजितकारसूरतः। प्राचार्यतिरिक्ष्ण(म)शिरों समयः। समस्मसंप्रमाणादकरकनवर्ज्जूर्षः-[तू]|।”प्रोक्तारावकला-
38. सिद्धजनिमिनिदिनरविनिधीद्विष्णुभूमा। मामाभूमित्वसुरभूमि। भियारोजीरामागारी च यः।। सोदारिकम्-
39. सिद्धवमुपः।
40. सिरसु। पदं द्रान्त रुतः। चढ़ा।।”श्रीसीतुभवान् तसी(बो)प्रचरितः।
41. न:।।”सिद्धांतो दिनविषयविलघुविविधाय वेन प्रमाणात[सू]भ्रष्ठं भ्रमः। नियमवाती विलक्ष्य।।
42. जातः।”श्रीकुलबूपणीनिविलियावासस्याग्रामः। सम्मयधनशेष(व)सीरंराचरान्तार्कर्तरी
43. चारणजातिभूमितचारियत स दुर्भवेनसुचिः। सर्व व्रतं समिवगम सहेष सम्मयाङ्कर्कु-पनिरस्तिभविधिः
44. [भो]यः।।”श्रीसांसारियीती बु(इ)धाः[व्र]युक्ते श्रीभोजनन्ते बुपे समेविकव(च)स्मितविदितिसी-रजादिपूव्यवनादः।। योनि-
45. कानू।”श्रीस्वयंवर भूतमायीवान्नवी वादिनः। श्रीसांसारिविलिपाग्रामवतः। श्रीतिरिक्ष्णों
46. गुहः।।”सिद्धांतो श्रीमलियन[खर]पराद[डु]रहस्यकृतिवृत्तिमन्त्ररब्रम्भ:। पुत्राश्व वैमवः।
47. निविविधाय वेन प्रमाणात[सू]भ्रष्ठं भ्रमः। नियमवाती विलक्ष्य।।
48. चारणजातिभूमितचारियत स दुर्भवेनसुचिः। सर्व व्रतं समिवगम सहेष सम्मयाङ्कर्कु-पनिरस्तिभविधिः
49. चारणायारवर्ज्जूर्षः-[तू]|।”प्रोक्तारावकला-
50. तनावक सहीकर्ष:। बुभावनात्।।”श्रीश्रीमलियन[खर]पराद[डु]रहस्यकृतिवृत्तिमन्त्ररब्रम्भ:। पुत्राश्व वैमवः।
XIX.—PABHOSĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

By A. Führer, Ph.D.

The small modern village of Pabhosā stands on a cliff about 30 feet high, overlooking the northern bank of the Jamnā, in tahsil Manjhnāpur, 32 miles south-west of Allahābād, and represents the ancient site of the once famous Prabhāsa.¹ The classical hill of Prabhāsa, which is the only rock in the Antarvédā, or Doab between the Ganges and Jamnā rivers, is 5 miles to the north-west of the great fort of Kosām Khirāj, the ancient Kauśāmbi, and not more than 2 miles from the present villages of Kosām Inām and Pāli,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 Liün Tsiaŋ³ in his account of Kauśāmbi:—“To the south-west of the city, 8 or 9 li (about 1½ miles), is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nāga. Having subdued

¹ Metre, Sārdūlavikājita.
² These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
³ Metre, Śrīka (Anushtubh).
⁴ Metre, Śrīka (Anushtubh).
⁵ Read "Prabhāsa".
¹ The Prabhāsa, mentioned in the Maḥa Chandella inscription of Madanavarman, ante, vol. I, p. 197 & 204, most probably is the modern Pabhosā on the Jamnā, and not the distant place of pilgrimage in Soraṭh.
² A copperplate grant, measuring 7 inches by 6 inches, of Maḥa[rāja] Lūnakha [Rāja] Madavā, dated (Gupta)-Saṅvat 166, was found in this village in May 1891.
this dragon, Tathāgata left here his shadow; but, though this is a tradition of the people there is no vestige of the shadow visible."  

Hiuen Tsiang’s statement that the cave is 8 or 9 li to the south-west of Kausāmbi, is erroneous, as the hill bears north-west from the fort of Kosām. According to the popular belief of the villagers there is a Nāga inside the cave, of which everybody has heard, but which no one has seen. The serpent is believed to have his head in the Jamnā while his tail remains in the cave, which is more than a quarter of a mile from the river. The Nāga is said to be seen once a year at the time of the Divālī festival. Not a little surprised were the people, therefore, to find that no Nāga was encountered when I entered and examined the cave during the night of the 25th March 1887.

At the back of the village a flight of about one hundred and ten steps leads up to a platform, formed of a mere mass of débris, the refuse of former quarries, on which stands a small modern Jaina temple. Close by are three small standing figures of naked Jinas cut in the rock. About 150 feet from the north-east corner of the temple rises the rock perpendicularly about 47 feet in height, in the highest scarp of which the cave is situated. Above the solid rock, in which the cavern is hewn, several large boulders of hard grey quartzite are lying, one upon another, in a sloping position. No doubt, the access to this cave from below was removed by the quarrymen, as it would seem, shortly after the eighth century A.D. In order to effect an entrance into the cave and to copy its inscription outside (Facsimile No. I), which is visible to the naked eye from below, I intended first to erect a staging from the temple below up to the cave and inscription; but finding this to be extremely dangerous on account of the locality and its surroundings, I had a wooden crib made to let down by means of strong ropes from above the cave. As, however, the neighbourhood of the cavern was infested by numerous swarms of wild bees, the cave had to be entered by night and the inscriptions to be copied by the light of a lantern, which added much to the difficulty of the undertaking.

The cave is entirely hewn in the solid rock, the marks of the chisel being apparent throughout; the left side is occupied by a stone couch and pillow, or sej, for the hermit’s use. The roof is of very curious formation, being cut into vaulted shelves or cupboards, on each side of the centre; these shelves occupy about half of the roof, and the remainder is plain. The main entrance, a door measuring 2' 2" by 1' 9", has a stone lintel and plain pilaster of red-coloured sandstone on each side, with square holes above and below, seemingly to bar up the entrance. The lintel of the door is 10 feet from the upper edge of the precipice. To the left of the door, at a distance of 2' 3" are two small windows of irregular shape, one with a diameter of 1' 5" and the other of 1' 7". The thickness of this wall is only 9 inches. About 1' 8" 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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4 Compare, however, Sung-Yun’s account of Buddha’s Shadow Cave, or the Cave of Gopāla, Beal, l.c., vol. I, page 817.

5 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 aksharas in the sixth and nearly the whole of the eighth line, the record is in surprisingly perfect preservation, considering its great age and its long exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather. This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. S. J. Cockburn 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:

L. 1. राज्ञी गोपालीपुत्रब
2. वाहसादिकिरिति
3. मातृलिपि गोपालीया
4. वैविद्यृधिपुच्छे[चा सा]
5. चारापृथिवी दिनः
6. कारिन्त [उषाक्र]10 दस-
7. मे सवर्षं कामोपयान्य अर्थः-
8. [ला]मः -- -- -- -- -- -- -- [u]

Translation.

"By Ásādhasena, the son of Gopālī Vaihidarī (i.e. the Vaihidara-princess), and maternal uncle of king Bhañasatimittra (Bṛhaspatimittra), son of Gopālī, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of . . . . of the Kaśāpya Arhats (i.e. either the Buddhists of the Kāśāpya school, or the pupils of Vardhamāna who was a Kāśyapa by gotra11) . . . ."

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.

6 See Journal As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. LVI, part I, pages 31 to 35.
7 See Facsimile No. I.
8 Possibly गोपालीया. The genitive गोपालीया is constructed with the crude form ब्रह्मिरे which stands in the sense of a genitive, compare, e.g. मिन्त्रेश्वरं मदुःधमा (Apastamba, नौपूर्णा मानारश्विकास्त (Pānini).
9 Afterwards erased.
10 All letters doubtful.
11 I am indebted to Dr. Duhler for the interpretation of this passage.
PAHOSA INSCRIPTION NO. I.—ON THE ROCK OUTSIDE THE CAVE.
PARAOYA INSCRIPTION NO. II—INSIDE THE CAVE ON WEST WALL.
TEXT.

1. अशञ्चिदेशिना राजी श्रीमङ्काविलपस्व वेंमऽ
2. वृजः राजी। तेवीपुष्च्च भागवतल्ल पुष्च्च
3. वेशद्रिपुष्च्च चापाभिसेन कारित [I]

TRANSLATION.

"Caused to be made by अशञ्चिदेशिना, son of the Vaihidari (i.e. Vaihidara—princess, and) son of king Bhāgavata, son of the Tevanī (i.e. Traivarna-princess, and) son of king Vaṅgapāla, son of Śonakāyana (Śaunakāyana) 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 Pāncālā, here furnished to us:

Śonakāyana

Vaṅgapāla married to Tevanī (the Traivarna-princess)²⁷
(King of Adhīchhatrā)²⁶.

King Bhāgavata md. to Gopālī, the Vaihidari (Vaihidara-princess).

Gopālī

King Bahāsātimitra.

Ashādhasena

Where king Bahāsātimitra 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 are have been found at Kauśāmbī.

No. III.

In the modern Dharmśālā.

This inscription is incised on a tablet of red sandstone and is now fixed into the wall of the modern Dharmśālā in the village of Pabhōsā. It records the consecration

²² See Fasceville No. II.
²³ Possibly भक्ति or भस्व.
²⁴ The modern Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand, see Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. I., pp. 255—265, Führer, Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, p. 26—29. The name form Adhīchhatrā, and not the usual Ahikshetra, Ahikshetra, or Ahichchhatra of the Mahābhārata, Harivamsa, and Panini, occurs also in several inscriptions of the first century B.C., lately excavated by me at Rāmnagar.
²⁵ Compare the *Ahuṣṭāpya* of Ptolemy, *Geog.* vii, 1, 53.
²⁶ The epithets Traivarna and Vaihidari are no doubt derivatives from the names of nations or countries although not found in the Paurāṇik lists. Compare c.g. केक्याराण, "the queen of the Kekya-race," वर्षका, "the queen of the Vṛṣa-kula." Compare also the epithet Terapika, or Traivapika occurring in one of the Mathurā inscriptions, *ante*, vol. I., p. 394 and 397.
²⁷ See Sir A. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, Pt. I., p. 73, where the king’s name is wrongly read Bahāsātimitra. The Lucknow Museum Coin cabinet possesses fifteen coins of Bahāsātimitra, nine of which were excavated by me at Kauśāmbī in 1887, and six at Adhīchhatrā (Rāmnagar) in 1891.
of an image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mârgaśîrsha, in Samvat 1881, by Sadhu Śrî Hirâlal of Allahâbâd on the top of the hill of Prabhâsa, outside the city of Kausâmbi. The document is also interesting in another respect, as it clearly shows that the modern villages of Kosâm and Pabhosâ were identified already in A.D. 1821-25 by the people of the country with Kausâmbi and Prabhâsa.

Text.39

I. 1. संवत् १८८१ सिरी मार्गशीर्षपञ्चमी सक्रियाम्
2. रे काठासंध मातुराची मुकारगण जीवाचार्यसांद्रे
3. महाराष्ट्रीयसांस्कृतलिके महाराष्ट्रीयलिकी
4. सिंहितासांधारे जयोत्तमाचे नीलांगीत्रे प्रयागने
5. मारवास्थागानीरावीलीलामुद्रानिपन्नम्
6. हांसतुच्यसांस्कृतसंस्कारचन्द्रावरतासुमरुचे
7. क्तदुरागानीसांस्कृतसंवध्द्रावरतासुमरुचे
8. राजावे कक्षाचीनमगनां भारतयवंतीपर दी
9. प्रारम्भविविनदीलाहानाजावासमसे नीलिने
10. विवाहात्या कारिता चंगारवल्हादुराचे सु[शु]म [I]

Translation.

"(This) image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) 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 Prabhâsa, outside the town of Kausâmbi, by Sadhu Śrî Hirâ Lâl, son of Sadhu Śrî Mânîkya Chand, younger brother of Sumeru Chand, brother of Sadhu Śrî Mehar (i.e., Mihir) Chand, son of Pheru Mall, younger brother of Sadhu Śrî Râyâji Mall, inhabitant of the town of Prayâga (Allahâbâd), belonging to the Goyala gotra, the Agrotaka11 family, and being (spiritual) client of bațâraka the illustrious Lalitakîrtti, in the line of bațâraka the illustrious Jagatkîrtti, the descendant of Lohâchârya, in the Pushkara gava, the Mathurâ gachchha, and the Kâshâsâmgha, on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mârgaśîrsha, in Samvat 1881. May it be propitious!"

The modern Jaina temple possesses a small white marble image of Neminâtha, dated Samvat 1881, and a large undated copper statue of Pârśvanâtha, the setting up of which in this temple our inscription undoubtedly records.

11 i.e. banker and merchant.
12 See facsimile No III.
13 The modern Ayurwâla Baniyâd, see ante, vol. I, p. 94.
पाभोसा अभिलेख — इन दी पुरानी आर्कुतन्त्र के छायांकन के बाद दी थी जो ध्रुव वास रक्षाबल सरसाधारण द्वारा पुकारकर लोकों के लिए दी गई है। किसी निश्चित स्थल पर द्वारकाया चक्री निम्नतम निर्माण से ग्राम कान्द्रे में गोदलगी प्रदूषित गरी कर्कम झाड़ी जो किसी नक्सलदान नफ़्ते रूप में लसते तत्व नए फ़ैलते में बदल होते हैं। नतं नुज़क़ा क्षेत्र में क्रूर दृष्टि समझने की अवसर दी जा कर्कम रेंजन के लिए दृष्टि से पर्यावरण पर्यावरण के पूर्ण निवड होने के लिए कर्कम दी गई है।
XX.—THE PILLAR EDICTS OF ÁŚOKA.

By G. BüHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the Pillar edicts of Áśoka the following materials have been used:


II. Dehlí-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 (Louria-Arárdáj), Mathia (Louria-Naundgarh) and Râmpúrvá,—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 Dehlí-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 Dehlí-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 Râmpúrvá 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 account² of Mr. Garrick, the Râmpúrvá Pillar lies half buried in the ground. Hence only a portion of the inscription is accessible. As the Râmpúrvá 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 Dehlí 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. 110ff.
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 interpolation, 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 ohakhudāepi into ohu khu dāne pi is impossible, and again that the attempt to combine the separated words isuḥ kātaneva, 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. 308) that the so-called eighth circular edict on the Debi-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 Rājaniti, as well as, that certain other details become easily intelligible, when one consults other Śāstras or pays attention to still existing Indian customs. This principle of interpretation is, it seems to me, particularly important for the fourth and fifth Pillar edicts, and hence the remarks on these two pieces have become rather extensive.

Thirdly, I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi-Aśoka had not yet joined the Buddhists, when the Pillar edicts were completed. His conversion to Buddhism fell, as I shall show in a new discussion of the Sahasrām and Rūpaṇṭh 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 Buddhīmut, vol. II, p. 394.
iterations 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 chakhudāne-pi-me bahuvāde dhīne, kālanena-ma-ha-kamen ma palitikasaysantati, nātikā-va-kāni niṣṭhapaysantati, 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 Saṁhitās and Nīgāraṇus are thoroughly examined, of which for the moment only a small proportion is accessible to me. A special examination of the older Buddhist and Jaina literature, which I have begun, but been unable to complete, will probably furnish the means for the further explanation of some other words, which have still to be translated conjecturally or stand in need of further elucidation. In his contributions to the Academy of 1891, Dr. Morris has shown that something may still be done in this way, and some of my notes will show that the Jaina literature also furnishes contributions for the Aśoka inscriptions. Eventually, and I believe, in a not very distant future, every word and form of these precious documents will admit of as certain an interpretation as those of the ordinary classical texts.

**Edict I.**

**Delhi-Sivalik.**


Edict I.

Radhin.

Devānan-piye Piyadasi-lāja bevarā-āha [7] saṣuvāsdeva-sābhis-
patipādaye anāmi-ahāgya-dham-
[2] agaya-sūtsāya ageno-bhaye-
na agena-usāhena[5] Esa-chu-
khō-mama - anusathiya dharma-
[7] Puliṣa-pi-me ukasī-cha geva-
yā-cha maḥīma-cha anuvihī-
yanī [4] saṃpatipādayaṃtī-cha alam-chapalān samādpayitave
hemeva-amātanāmatā-pi[7] Esa-
hi-viḍhi yā-iyān dhammena-pāla-
na[5] dhammena-vidhāne dhar-
mena-sukhiyana dhammena goṭī-
ti [6] [7]

Mathia.

Devānan-piye Piyadasi-lāja bevarā-āha [7] saṣuvāsdeva-sābhis-
sitena-me iyān [1] dharmanāli-
pi likhāpitā [2] hidātapāla-[3] dusār-
patipādaye anāmi-ahāgya dham-
makāmātya[2] agaya-paṭikhāya
agaya-sūtsāya ageno-bhaye-
na agena-usāhena[5] Esa-chu-
khō-mama [3] anusathiya dharma-
peka dharmanāmātā-cha suve-
vaṭhita vaṭhisati cheva[7]

Rāmpāra.

Devānan-piye Piyadasi-lāja bevarā-āha [7] sa[du] ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 
... ... [1] dusārpatipādaye anāmi-ahāgya dhammakāmātya
... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... [3] Esa-chu-
khō-mama [3] anusathiya dharma-
peka dharmanāmātā-cha suve-
padīṭha vaṭhisati cheva[7]

Translation.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the sacred law, the greatest circumspection, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy." 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 Barnouf's explanation of hidāta and pālata, which are found also below IV, I. 7 (D. S.), I. 16 (O. S.), VII, 2, 1.10 as infected forms of the adverbs in trā, is no doubt correct. In popular Sanskrit, too, paratram is used in the sense of paratēlā or pāralakṣikam, see Pāchāntātra, iii, p. 51, l. 17 (Lob. edition).
8 Circumspection, i.e., a careful examination, whether one's actions are lawful or not; obedience, i.e., towards Piyadasi's sacred law; fear, i.e., of sin.
9 Gevaḥ, 'the lowly ones' or 'subalterns' is derived from the Sanskrit root gep or glep, which the Dhānapāda explains by darīya. The corresponding Sanskrit word was no doubt, *geppa*-*glepa*, literally 'the poor' or 'wretched.'
10 Chapala, literally 'flock,' means both in Pali and in Sanskrit durvita, 'ill-behaved,' 'a sinner.'
11 The asantamāmbalā, 'the wardens of the marches,' are the antapālā of the Sanskrit writers, see, e.g., Mālavikā-
giyānta, p. 16, l. 7 (Bo. S. Eor, 2nd ed.).
12 It will be best to take kī here arudhāraṇe, i.e., in the sense of 'indeed,' 'even,' which it has not rarely in Sanskrit prose.
PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

EDICT II.

Dehli—Sivalik.


Dehli—Mirat.


Allahabad.

Devānam piye Piyadasi lāja hevam—aḥa [.] dharma—sādhu [.] Kiyaṁ chu dhaṁme ti [?] Apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye[.] Chakhudāne pi me[3] bahuvidhe diriṁe dupadachapatadesu pakhvibhāchalesu vividhe me anugare kate a pānadakhiṁye aṁmāni pi cha me bahuni kayānāni kaṭāni[.] Etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ—dhaṁmalipi likhāpita[.] hevam—anupaṭipaṭamajunāti chilaṁthitiṁkāta[.] Ye—cha—hevam—sampaṭipaṭamajunāti su—sukatāṁ—kachhati[7].

Radhia.


Mathia.


Rāmpūrva.


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 ² I have given (to men) in various ways; on two-footed and four-footed beings, on birds and aquatic animals I have conferred benefits of many kinds, even the boon of life, and in other ways have I done much good. It is for this purpose that I

13 The quantity of the second vowel of sādhu is not certain.
14 Chilāṁ" looks like child; possibly thitikā to be read.
15 Possibly dupadachapatadesu. But the dot after da is probably accidental.
16 Pānadakhiṁe is the Sanskrit prāṇadakhiṁe, a less commonly used variant for abhayadakhiṁe 'the boon of safety.' The smaller Petersburg Dictionary, however, gives it in this sense.
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 āpāsineve by āpāsravam, used in the sense of āpāsravatvatvam. It may be noted that the Jainas possess a term aṅghāya, which exactly corresponds to āsinaçā, and is derived, like the latter, from āsnu (see Weber: Indische Studien, vol. XVI, p. 326, note 7). Piyadasī's theory of the āsinaçā, which is more fully developed in the next edict, does not agree with the Buddhist doctrine of the threefold or fourfold āsava, but comes closer to that of the Jaina aṅghāya, which includes injury to living beings, lying, stealing, unchastity, and attachment to worldly possessions.

b. The usual interpretation of chakhudāne by cha khu dāne cannot stand, because the enclitic words cha and khu cannot begin a sentence, and because the discontinuousness of the syllables in the text does not permit their being taken as parts of two sentences. The metaphorical use of chakhu, in Sanskrit chakhus, 'eye,' for 'spiritual insight or knowledge,' is common with all Hindu sects. Piyadasī alludes here to the dhāmmasāvanāni and dhāmmānusathīni, 'sermons on, and instruction in, the sacred law,' of which he speaks more fully below (VII, 2, 1, 1); compare also dhāmmadāne (Rock Edicts XI and the note to the latter passage).

EDICT III.

Dehlī-Sivalik.


Dehlī-Mirat.


Allahabad.


Radhia.


Mathia.


Rāmpāravā.

Devnāmi-piye Piyadasī-lāja-hevām-āha[.] kayānām-e[.] nāma-ti[.] Dupātivekhe-chu-kho-esā[.] He[.v.]

17 Possibly nāma-ti is to be read.
18 The apparent vowel-stroke to the left of atha is probably an accidental stroke.
19 Possibly od is to be read.
Edict III—contd.

Translation.

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 this 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.

Devānām-piye Piyadasi-lājavegamāhā[.] saduvasitave[.1] abhijena me iyaṁ-dharmapalipākkhāpāt[.]
Lajukā-me[.2] la-
būsa-pānasaśa[.3] janasi-
āyatā tesāt-ye abhihālē-va[.3]

Kim-ti[.7] lajukā avastha abhihā-
[.4] kaimān-mi-pavatayevā janasa-
janapadaśa hitasukham-upadhas-
evā[.5] anugahineva-chā[.]
Sukhiyana dukhiyaman-jānisaṁti

Dhammayutena cha[.6] viyova-
disaṁti janaṁ-jānapadaṁ[.]
Kim-
ti[.7] bidatam-cha pālataṁ-cha

Alādhasyevā-ti[.7] Lajukā-pi-
hahānti paṭichalitaṁ-mahā[.]
pusāṇi-pi-me[.8] āhamsāṁ-

paṭichalisaṁti te-pi-chā-kāni-vi-
in-
[.9] chaṭhaṁti-alādhasyatuvaever[.]
tave[.2]

Athā-hi-pajam viyataye-dhātiye

2 x 2

= The e-stroke of daśanantarjammi is too distinct in the new facsimile to be considered as accidental. But it is probably only due to a mistake of the mason.

= Miṁa, mind (V. M.), and mana represent in my opinion the Sanskrit maṇḍik, Pali maṇḍ. Na maṇḍik or no maṇḍik 'not in the least, in no wise,' which fits here excellently, is very common in Sanskrit.

= Or 'may I not cause my fall through them.' The Sanskrit translation of the phrase is [teṣaṁ] kāranenaścchaṁ ma parihrāṣṭayiśchyāmi, and ma may be taken in this case to stand for mām, or as the negative particle. M. Senart's attempt to connect iṣya-kālanena is barred by the fact that all versions have breaks between the two words.
Dehi-Sivalik.

Dehi-Mirat.

Allahabad.

Radhia.

Mathia.

Rāmpūravā.

Possibly chā-siyā is to be read.

Possibly ava-ite is to be read.
PORTION OF ĀŚOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION AT RAMPURWA.
Edict IV—contd.

Radhia.

Asvatthe-hoti[8] vietata-dhāti-
chahati-me-pajant-sukham-pali-
hatave-ti,[18] hevam-mama-la-
jāka-kaṇa[j] jānapadasa-bitak-
śuṣṭhāye[8] yena-ete-abhiha-asvathā-
samātmā-avimana-kaṁmāṁ-pa-
vayevu-ti,[23] Ete-na-me lajuk-
naṁ abhihāle-va[18] dāme-va-
atapatya-kate[8] Ichhitaviye-hi-
[8] kim-ti[8] viyohālasamatā-
cha-siya daṁṇasamatā-chá[8],
Avā īte-î-chā-me āvut[8] bhām-
hanabhdhānam[20] muniśa-
naṁ-tilitâdâdânam patavahdā-
nam tīnâm-divasâni-me-yote-
dinme[18] Nātikā-va-kāni-nîjhe-
payisaṁti jivitāye-tānaṁ nāsah-
naṁ-va[21] nhâpayaṭaye dhām-
hāṁti-pātalikam upavān[
hevam-niludhâsi-pi-kâlasi pâla-
ṁ-ālādâyevu-ti[22] jânas-chah-
vaḥatī vīvihā-āhámachâlane
sayame dānasavîbhåge- ti[23]

Mathia.
ni[8] vietata-
dhāti-chahati-me-pajant-
sukham-palihatave-ti,[22] hevam-
mama-lajukka-kaṇa jānapadasa-
bitakśuṭhāye[8] yena-ete-abhi-
śuṣṭham-samātmā-avimana-kaṁ-
māṁ-pavatayevu-ti,[23] Eten-
me-lajukkaṁ-abhihāle-va-dām-
de-va atapatya-kate[8] Ichhit-
samatā-śiṣyā daṁṇasamatā-
chā[21] Āvā-īte-pi-chā-me-āvata-
ti[8] bhāmhanabhadhānam-muni-
nisuma[n] tilitadâdânam patavah-
dhānam tīnâm divasâni-me yote-
dinme[18] Nātikā-va-kāni[25] nī-
jhâpayaṁtī jīvitāye-tānaṁ nāsah-
nam-va-nîjhayapayaṭaye dāma-
hāṁti-pātalikam upavān-
va-kkaḥaṁtī[8] Ichhā-śi ṭā-[8]
hevam[28] niludhâsi-pi-kâlasi pâ-
lahān-ālādâyevu- ti jānas-chah-
vaḥatī vīvihā-āhāmchālāne
sayame dānasavîbhâge- ti[27]

Rāmpūrīā.

Translation.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My Lajjkas 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 Lajjkas 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,—How?—That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the Lajjkas 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 Lajjkas may strive to gain my favour. For, as (a man) feels tranquil after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself, 'The clever nurse strives to bring up my child well,'—even so I have acted with my Lajjkas for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquil, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the Lajjkas independent in ( awarding) both honours and punishments. For the following is desirable:—What? That there may be equity in official business—

22 It is possible to read lajikā-kaṭe. But the stroke is much shorter than the real one, and, hence, is probably due to an accidental flaw in the stone.

23 Though riyālāna, in Sanskrit vyapārāh, 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 abhikāra 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 imprisonment22 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 lajāka or rājāka (Girnār) in the Kalpasūtra, where rājā means ‘a writer, a clerk.’ I have added that lajāka, i.e. lajjāka, 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 ayatā, which I take to be equivalent to pratishṭhīlāh, note 2, on Sep. Ed. 1, in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XLI.

b. Professor Kern has without doubt correctly explained the general meaning of this sentence. Piyadasa 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 confided his subjects to them, just as a man confides his child to an intelligent nurse. I may add that there is a weighty objection to M. Senart’s view, according to which Piyadasa 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 thus follows:—tessām yoś bhihāro vā dāṇḍo vā [tātra] mayā [tessām] svatantram kṛtā, and I take ātmāpanam [svatantram] as a substantive, formed according to the analogy of ādhīpatyam and so forth. The term abhihāra occurs in Pali in the sense of “honour, honorarium,” see Jātaka, vol. V, p. 58, verse 143, and ibid. p. 59, l. 28f. In the former passage the commentary explains abhihāram by pājam. It is obvious that this meaning fits here excellently.

c. I interpret dhammayutena with Professor Kern by dharmayuktena, i.e. dhammayuktyā. M. Senart’s attempt to translate it by ‘together with the Faithful,’ i.e.

22 In the interpretation of one ite (Dh. A.) and ded ite (M. R.) I follow Professor Kern and M. Senart, who explain it by ydeat itaḥ, and I take deoti with M. Senart as equivalent to dyuṭi. Tritta or trītīa has here the same sense as trītī Maṅe, IX, 233.

24 Nilukhasi pi kālā, literally nirāda the pi kālā, may be taken in the sense of nirodhakāśa pi. Similar phrases occur in Pali, e.g., mithyādhāram and andethāram chinnayāvive for andethārcharanayāvive, Jāt. l. 350.
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 janaṁ means there ‘the loyal people,’ and denotes Piyadasi’s subjects, as distinguished from the aṁtā, ‘the free borderers.’

(d) M. Senart’s conjectural emendation chaghaṁti for laghaṁti is barred by the fact that the four complete versions all offer laghaṁti, and that the supposed varia lectio ‘chaghaṁti’ does not exist. Laghaṁti seems to be the representative of Sanskrit raṅghaṁte ‘they hasten’, i.e. ‘are eager.’ I fully agree with the same scholar’s remark that paṭichal must be taken in the sense of Sanskrit paricchar, because in Pali the preposition paṭi is frequently used for pari. Its correctness is demonstrated by the fact that in the Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, paḍiyār, i.e. literally pratichar, means ‘to serve,’ see Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī, glossary sub voce ‘paḍiyariya.’

(e) As there are no other instances in which the neuter terminations are added to feminines in a, I cannot explain cīhandamāṇāi with M. Senart as a Dvandva compound, formed of cīhanda and ājīnā. I take it with Burnouf, as a Tatpurusha compound, equivalent to cīhandamā jānānti cīhandajñāth, ‘knowing the will,’ and construe it with pulisāṇi, ‘the servants.’ This explanation seems also advisable, because one naturally expects that maṁ must be understood and is the object of paṭichalisantaṁ, as of the preceding paṭichaliliya. 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 Paṅchas 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 Lajūkas may strive to gain the favour of the king, probably means that these “servants” will exhort remiss Lajūkas, and that they will also, by exhorting or spreading the Dharma among the provincials at large, rouse the zeal of the Lajūkas. Kāṇi thus refers both to the Lajūkas and the provincials. With the phrase mam-āḷāḥhayītave compare tājālādhi,—Sep. Ed. I, 15 (Dhauli). 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 nījhapayisantaṁ and nījhapayitaḥ from the Prakrit causative of nidhyāti and not from nīkshapayati. This derivation is perfectly justified by the word nīhati, below, VII, 2, 8, which in its general sense is certainly equivalent to Sanskrit nidhyāsanā ‘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 nātikāvākānī is a compound, meaning ‘neither more nor less.’ The six syllables certainly must be separated into the three words nātikā-va-kānī, i.e. jñātaya eva kāmōṣhit. 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 nījhapayitave, which R. and M. offer, instead of nījhapayitaḥ. Nījhapayitave 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 nījhapayitā. The latter may be, too, an infinitive, on the supposition that it stands for nījhapayitāya. And the contraction of the syllable āya does occur in Pali, e.g., in
esana for esanāya (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 nāśantām as equivalent to nāśyamānām, 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 nāśantām as equivalent to nāśyamānām, 'him who is going to be shortly executed.' It is thus the present participle of the passive of nāśayati with the sense of the immediate future. And this explanation is formally unobjectionable, because even in the ancient Prakrits the passive may take the terminations of the active.

With these new interpretations the passage may be translated into Sanskrit as follows:—jñātayā eva kālohaite [prāptavadānā] nidhīyāsāpīkhyanti [tathā] teshām jīvanāya nāśyamānām vā nidhīyāsāpīkhyā vā prāatikam dānanām dāsyantaṁ upāraśām vā karībhīyanti. 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 Lājūkās) 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.**


Devānām-piye Piyadasi-lājā-      .... piye Piyadasi lājā hevam      .... piye Piyadasi lājā hevam
abhisitena me imāni jātāni avadhīyāni-kātāni [2]      ......      ......      ..... 21
suhe sālikā alune chakavāke hanī-      ......      ......      ..... 21
se nandīnmukhe gelāte [3] jāti-      ......      ......      ..... 21
kā ambākapālikā dāji anānīka-      ......      ......      ..... 21
madhulī vedavayaka [4] gānīyā-      ......      ......      ..... 21
puputakē singhījamachhe kapha-      ......      ......      ..... 21
śasayaka23 parnavasame simale [5]      ......      ......      ..... 21
saṁdēke okapiniṣe palaṣate seta-      ......      ......      ..... 21
uptapade ye-paṭībhogam-no ēti na-      ......      ......      ..... 21
chā khādiyati ......  i[7] edu-

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21 Possibly jātāka, or jātikā.
22 The strokes which make dāji look like dabhā are, according to Dr. Fleet, loc. cit., due to flaws in the stone.
23 The apparent 1-stroke above the last syllable of kaphaṭa is, as Dr. Fleet states (Indian Antiquary, vol. XIII, p. 310) the lower part of the tesaugh of Māddavaḥ in the intervening line of later writing just above kaphaṭa.
Dehli-Sivalik.


Radhia, North Side.


Mathia.


Allahabad.

[28] It is, of course, possible to read *avadhīy*, but the right side of the vowel is mutilated, and the real reading was probably *avadhīy*, as the *u* and the variants of the other versions require.

[29] Possibly *ānathāyē*

[30] Read *chāṭānmāśinī*.

[31] This might be read *śādatisāvabhaš*, but the double stroke above *n* is probably due to a flaw.

[32] This looks like *hunārīṇi*, but the double stroke above *n* is probably due to a flaw in the stone.

[33] The quantity of the third vowel of *aṭhami* is not certain.

[34] The *ā* stroke of *yaṭha* is not certain.
makapotē save chatupade[4] ye-
pāṭipogam-no-eti[19] na-cha-khādi-
yati[.] Ajāka-nāṇi edakā-cha
sūkali-cha gabihiṇi-va pāyannā-
va[6] avadhya potake-cha-kāni
āsarāmsīke[.] Vadhikukute no
kaṭaviye[,] tuse-sajive no ṣhā-
pitaviye[.] Dāvē[6] anathāye-
va vibhīṣaye-va no ṣhāpapitaviye
[,] jīvē jīve no-pusitaviye[.]
Tisu-chāṭutūmsāsa tisyam[7]
puṁnamāsīyam tiṁni divaśāni
chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipas-
dam dhuvaśe-cha anuposathaṁ
machhe avadhye no pi[8] viket-
aviye[.] Etānī-yeva-divaśāni nā-
gavansī kevaṭabhogasi yāni-an-
naṇi-pi-jivaniyāni[9] no-ham-
taviyiya[.] Athamipakhāye chā-
vudaseye paṁnaḍaseye
tisyē puṇāvasune tisu-chā-
tūmsāsa[10] sudivāsaye gone-
no-nilakhitaviye ajake edake sū-
kale e-vā-pi-ātme nilakhiyati no-
nilakhitaviye[12] Tisyē puṇ-
avasune chāṭutūmsāye chāṭutūm-
sipakhāye avasa gaṇasa lakhan-
no-kaṭaviye[12] Yāva-sudivāsa-
tivāsāḥbhisate me etāye anitali-
kāye paṁnavisati bamdhana-
mokhāni katāni[13]
pote gāmakopote save chatupade
ye-pāṭibhogam-no-eti na-cha khā-
sūkali-cha gabihiṇi-va pāyannā-
va avadhya potake-cha kāni[6]
āsarāmsīke[.] Vadhikukute no
kaṭaviye[,] tuse-sajive no ṣhā-
pitaviye[,] Dāvē-anathāye-va
vibhīṣaye-va no ṣhāpapitaviye
[,] jīvē jīve no-pusitaviye[,]
Tisu-chāṭutūmsāsa tisyam[8]
puṁnamāsīyam tiṁni—divaśāni
chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipas-
dam dhuvaśe-cha anuposathaṁ
machhe avadhye[9] no-pi-vike-
aviye[,] Etānī-yeva-divaśāni
nāgavansī kevaṭabhogasi yāni-
smānī-pi[10] jīvanikāyāni no-
ḥamāya[.] Athamipakhāye chā-
vudaseye paṁnaḍaseye
tisyē puṇāvasune[11] tisu-chā-
tūmsāsa sudivāsaye gone-
no-nilakhitaviye ajake edake sū-
kale e-vā-pi-ātme[2] nilakhiyati no-
nilakhitaviye[,] Tisyē-puṇ-
avasune chāṭutūmsāye chāṭutūm-
sipakhāye avasa gaṇasa[13]
lakhan-no-kaṭaviye[,] Yāva-
sudivāsāḥbhisate-me etāye
anitalikāye paṁnavisati[14]
bamdhana-mokhāni katāni[15]

EDICT V.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I forbade the slaughter of the following creatures, viz. parrots, starlings,\(^{5}\) aluṇas, Brāhmaṇi ducks, swans,\(^{6}\) nāndmukhas,\(^{40}\) gelātas, jatukas,\(^{41}\) anbrāka-
pilikās,\(^{4}\) terrapins;\(^{4}2\) boneless fish;\(^{4}3\) vedaveyakas, gaṅgāpupulakas, sankuṣa-fish,\(^{3}\) tortoises, porcupines,\(^{4}\) paṁnasasas,\(^{4}\) primaras;\(^{4}\) bull set free,\(7\) okopiṇḍas;\(^{4}\) rhinoceroses,\(^{4}\) grey doves,\(^{4}\) village-pigeons,\(^{4}\) and all quadrupeds, which are not used nor are eaten. She-goats, ewes and sows,\(^{3}\) which 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\(^{8}\); 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);\(^{9}\) living creatures must not be fed with living creatures. At the (full moon of each) of the three seasons and at the full

\(^{40}\) Read pāṭhbhogam.
\(^{41}\) According to the smaller Petersburg Dictionary the Nandmukha is mentioned as an aquatic bird in the Bhāda-

prakāta.

\(^{42}\) 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 same
maṇthāla or vṛganda, may be meant. These are eaten at least by low-caste people, like the Rākharīs. Their flesh is forbidden
in some of the law-books, e.g., Gautama, xvi, 34.

\(^{43}\) Gāmakone 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 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 festivals bulls 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, jātan might be interpreted with M. Senart by jāti and be translated by "animals of the following kinds." But, as the neuter jātu means also "creature," I prefer this simpler interpretation. The eastern versions offer: "Of even the following creatures."

(b) M. Senart's latest translation gives correctly the modern Indian expression "maina." I prefer to put the English word. All the European dictionaries translate sārikā wrongly or omit the translation. Molesworth gives the right meaning in the Marāṭhī Dictionary. The scientific name of the bird is Acridotheres tristis, Linn., Murray, Aves anna of British India, No. 912.

(c) This term probably includes wild geese and large ducks, see Molesworth, Marāṭhī Dictionary sub voce. The birds, which were pointed out to me as hamsas in the palace at Kolhápur and elsewhere, looked very much like Turkish ducks.

(d) M. Senart connects the first part of oṃbākapiṅkā or omākapīṅkā with oṃbu, '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 oṃkapiṅkā, it may be doubted if the word is the Pali representative of pipīṅkā.

(e) As āudi 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 (d).

(f) M. Senart's conjecture that prawns are meant by the expression 'boneless fish' is not improbable.

(g) M. Senart's suggestion that samaṇja is identical with Sanskrit saṅkuci 'a skate,' seems very probable.

42 The translation of saṅkūṣa by 'festival' is merely conjectural, but may be defended by its etymological meaning saṅkana dīnas, which would suit a festival. I think that popular festivals, like the modern Divāli, Dusṣara, and the like may be meant.
(h) Sayaka and savyaka (R. M.), of course, represent Sanskrit šalyaka. The šalyaka is one of the five-toed animals that may be eaten by Aryans, see—e.g., Āpastamba, Dh. Śū, i, 17, 37, Baudhāyana, Dh. Śū, i, 12, 5, Gautama, Dh. Śū, xvii, 27, Vasishṭha, Dh. Śū, xiv, 39. It is associated with the kapāṭa, i.e., according to M. Senart’s excellent conjecture, kamāṭha, ‘the tortoise,’ because in the law-books šalyaka and kachōkhaṇa are always closely put together among the eatable five-toed animals.

(i) According to the analogy of puramṛśa, ‘an animal living in the leaves of trees,’ parvunāseṣe i.e. parvunāśaḥ may mean ‘a hare, i.e. a hare-like animal living in the leaves of trees,’ and denote the large white-bellied, red squirrel, which is found in the forests of the Western Ghāṭs. It is quite as large as a hare, and its skinny 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) Sīmale corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit srimara. Vāgbhaṭa, Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Śū, I, 49, names this animal, among the ten mahāmṛṣa or large wild animals, next to the chaṭṭara or yak-ox and the rhinoceros. It stands also next to the yak in the enumeration of wild animals, which occurs in the Jātalakamālā xxvi, 7, see the smaller Petersburg Dictionary, sub voce srimara). Perhaps it may be the large Bārāsing stag.

(k) M. Senart has called attention to the passage of the Mahāvagga, vi, 17, where the ukkapiṇḍa are said to eat the provisions of the monks. According to the note to the translation, Sacred Books of the East, vol. XVII, p. 10, Buddhaghosa explains the term by bitālamśikagohāṃvāgūṣa, ‘cats, mice, iguanas and mungooses.’ He takes it evidently in its etymological sense, ukke i.e. oke pindo yeyān 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 Buddhaghosa, 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 hulā. White pigeons, as indeed all tame pigeons, are only kept by Musalmans, not by Hindus.

(n) M. Senart has stated that paṭībhogā, 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.
(q) "Ajakánáni must be separated into ajaké náni. Náni is the neuter plural of the
pronoun na, which is associated with a feminine in utter disregard of the rules of conc-
cord, as happens more frequently in these inscriptions. The proper form of the sen-
tence would be in Sanskrit ajá edikása cha sákaryaáscha tó garbhīnyo dhyanatyo vá ava-
dhyáb. M. Senart's conjectural emendation píyamána for píyamána is inadmissible, be-
cause all the versions agree in giving the latter word and because píyamána is against
the Pali idiom. Páyati, not píyati, means in Pali 'to suckle', see Childers Dictionary,
sub voca pibati. Nor is it necessary to change the vowel of the affix. The affix mín-
mina occurs more frequently for máná in the inscriptions, and it is evidently an interest-
ning 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:—

[avadhýá iti keshah]. The plural káni is joined with the singular potake, because the latter
is taken in a collective sense. M. Senart's derivation of ásanásiká from ásamásam
'up to six months,' may be defended by the analogy of ákátka, the adjective belonging
to ákálam, '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. Śá., xviii, 31.

(q) This prohibition probably refers to the practice, which here and there still sur-
vives, of burning the last remnants of the husks remaining on the threshing-floor of
the village, in order to destroy the vermin.

(q) Vihitása, '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) Chátúśmási, which corresponds to the Sanskrit chátúṃśa, 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 for-
timation of the Sanskrit chátúṃśa is taught in Várttika 7 on Páñini, v. 1, 94:—sanjñáyám
an. ‘To chátuvásá,'44 'a period of four months,' (is added) the affix a, which causes
Viprādi of the first syllable, in a (word of) technical import.” Patañjali adds: “chatu-
shu māsēshu bhavā chátuvási pauyamāsi, 'the full-moon day which falls after a period
of four months is called chátuvási,' and the Káśiká, which repeats Patañjali's explana-
tion, says further that the three full-moon days of Áśágha, Kárttika and Pháguna are
meant.45 More explicit are the statements, which the Suanāṭgala Vilásini makes on
Dīgha Nikāya, ii, 1 (p. 139), while explaining the words Kowdhiyā chátumuṣsiniyā
"on the full-moon (night or tithi) of Kárttika (which is) chátumuṣsini." It says:—chátu-
muṣsiniyā ti chátumuṣsiniyā sa hi chatumānu māsāna pariyosānabhūtā chátumuṣi
idha pana chátumāṇiśhā vucohahi. "Chátumāniṇyā is equivalent to chátumāyā. For that (full-

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44 This must be understood from Várttika 6: chátuváśaṁ na yojāc tatra bhavā. See the Tatkabhásha, Vol. II, 361 (ed. Kielhorn).
45 Compare also Haradatta on Ápāstamba, Dharma Sūtra, I, 10, 1.
moon of Kārttika) is the end of four months "and is" hence (called) chātrumāst, but here chātrumāsinī. It thus appears that the real meaning of chātrumāst-chātrumāsinī is "that which falls at the end of a period of four months." And this explanation presupposes a division of the year into three periods of four months each, the months ending, according to what is called the pūrṇimānta scheme of Northern India, with the full-moon days.

The division of the year into three seasons of four months certainly was in India the most popular in the prehistorical period and in the earlier part of the historical period. Each of them was called a Chaturmāsam or Chaturmāsyam. Both the Brāhmaṇas and the Brahmanical Sūtras, as well as the canonical books of the Buddhists, frequently refer to the division of the year into three seasons, which is at the bottom of various religious institutions. With the Brahmans it was the cause of the celebration of the Chātrumāsya59 sacrifices 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 Mahāvagga, iii, 2, 2 and iii, 14, 11. The same period was kept by the Jaina Nirgranthas and the ancient Brahmanical ascetics. It further was used in official documents, and influenced the manner of dating them in most parts of India. The second Separate Edict prescribes the reading of the document 'on the Tishya day at each Chātrumāsa.' The large majority of the ancient dated inscriptions, those from Mathurā incised during the rule of the Indo-Scythic kings Kanishka, Huvisika and Vāsudeva (Epigraphia Indica, vol. I, p. 371, ff, and vol. II, p. 195 ff.; Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep. vol. III, plates xiii-xv), two Gupta inscriptions from the same town (Epigraphia Indica, vol. II, p. 210), the early dated inscription of the Mathurā Satrap Sōthas, the edicts of the Andhras and Abhiras (Burgess, Rep. Arch. Surv. IV. I., vol. IV, p. 103 ff. and vol. V, p. 73 ff.), 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. grishmāhā-grandhā, 'summer,' varshāh-vāsā, 'the rains,' hemantāh-hemanālā 'winter,' the names of which are frequently abbreviated to gr or gri, ọa 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. grishmāsāse)

56 The Sanskrit equivalent chātrumāsinī likewise exists, but has a different meaning, see Vārttika 5 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 94. 57 Other divisions, especially that into six seasons, are no doubt equally ancient, see Prof. Weber, Die Nachrichten von den vedischen Nākhastra, ii, p. 32 ff. But they do not seem to have been used in popular life to an equal extent.

58 Chātrumāsym is formed according to the analogy of tridākyam, trānāsym, chātrumāsym, cātrumāsym and so forth, see Vārttika 1 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 124, and the explanation of the passage in the Kāśikā. I point this out in order to meet the doubt which M. Senart, see Indian Antiquary, vol. XVIII, p. 76, feels regarding my explanation of the compound anucchātrumāsym in the second Separate Edict. He thinks that, if anucchātrumāsym meant 'at the commencement of every term or season of four months,' it must be anucchātrumāsym with a short o in the third syllable. In stating this he has overlooked that chātrumāsym, in Pāli chātrumāsym, is a perfectly correct synonym of chātrumāsym.

59 The word chātrumāsym is according to Vārttika 6 on Pāṇini v. 1, 95, derived from chaturmāsyam by the affix ya, causing Vṛddhi, and meaning tatra bhava, falling into that.

60 See Mann, iv, 26, and the parallel passages in the synonyms to my translation Mann says that they are to be offered rittanta, and thus reckons the three full-moon days as the last of the season. Similarly he uses IV, 119rītvantaṁ rātriśku for chātrumāśku. Ranékhya has rittamukte, and other passages from the śrautasūtras and Brāhmaṇas are quoted by Professor Weber in his Nachrichten v.d. Nākhastra, ii, 329 ff. 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. 8, and second series, No. 20, va, (i.e., varṣhamāse)
4, Cunningham, No. 20, varṣhamāse 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 (Nāśik inscriptions Nos. 16 and 17, Kanheri inscriptions
Nos. 4 and 16), the sixth (Pallava land grant of Śivaskandavarman) and the eighth (Kadamba
inscription of Mṛigesavarman). 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[ṛtikāhema]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 Śūstras speak only of the unkhālo (ushṇa-
kāla) varṣād nā dehāda or ochanāsaum and sāhyālo. The Marāṭhas know only unkhāla,
pāvasadā (prāvīsh and kāla) and hīnakāla (hīmākāla). Further north and east I have
frequently heard the terms in the Ain-i-Akbari,41 dhūphū, barksahāl and sikhāl or equivalents thereof. With respect to the beginning of each season the authorities differ. The oldest, the Brahmaṇas, as well as some Śrauta Śūstras, begin the hot
season with the month of Phālguna, other Śrauta Śūstras with the month of Chaitra.42

The two schemes of the seasons, therefore, are:—

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<tr>
<td>Trīṣmāh</td>
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<td>Phālguna</td>
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<td>Bhāḍrapada or Praushtāpadā</td>
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<td>Aśvina or Aśvayuja</td>
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<td>Mārgaśīrsha</td>
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<td>Pauṣha or Taisha</td>
<td>Pauṣha</td>
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The statements of the Buddhists show the same discrepancies. Huen Tsiang, Śi
yūti, 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 cessa, the retreat during the rainy
season, an "earlier" period, beginning with "the day after the full moon in Āshādha,"

41 Gladvin ed., vol. I, p. 266; see Sir A. Cunningham, Book of Indian Eras, p. 3; Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life,
§1083; and Hillebrandt, Die Sowenend feste, p. 26f.
42 See A. Weber: op cit., p. 329f.
and a later one, commencing "a month later than the full-moon of Ashāḍha," *i.e.* with the day after the full-moon of Śrāvaṇa. And it is further stated that the "later" term closed with *Komudā chāṭumāsīni* "the full moon of Kārttika with which the season of four months ends". Both these passages presuppose, just like that from the *Dīgha Nikāya* (above, p. 261), the use of the *pūṃśimānta* 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 Chāṭumāsīs." They may be either those of Phālguṇa, Āshāḍha and Kārttika, or those of Chaitra, Śrāvaṇa and Mārgaśīrsha. It is further not certain if these full-moon days were considered respectively as the last days of winter, summer and the rains, or as falling in the beginning of summer, the rains and winter. But the *consensus* of the three passages from the Buddhist scriptures and of Manu’s passages induces me to assume that the former view was that held in Piyadasi’s times, as these works were probably composed not very long before and after Piyadasi.

The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of Taisha or Pausha, December—January. The forms *tisyaṁ* (R) and *tisyaṁ* (M) are derived from the feminine adjective *tisā*, which has been formed from *tishyā* without *Vṛddhi* in the first syllable. With the form *tisāyam* (D. S., D. M.), the locative of *tisā*, i.e. *tisā* (*tishyā*), compare the first part of the Vedic *tishyā-pūryamāsa* (see Prof. Weber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326). The word *dhurvāye* which stands before *anuposathaṁ* must no doubt be taken in the sense of the Sanskrit *dhruvāya*, "constantly" (see the Petersburg Dict., *sub voce*) i.e. "all months". *Anuposathaṁ* 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 Brahmanical Sūtras prescribe on the two chief Parvans, the full and new-moon days, for every householder, the performance of sacrifices, which are preceded by fasting. Moreover, there are in the *Dharmasūtras* and *Dharmanādāstras* a number of rules which make the Parvan days times of

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33 See Sacred Books of the East, vol. XIII. p. 299 f. and p. 324. The note on the second passage explains the word *Chāṭumāsīni* erroneously. I translate it according to the explanation given in the *Sūmārijata Vāldeśinī*, see above, p. 261.

34 See Manu iii, 45, and iv, 128, as well as iv, 150 and 153, and the passages quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation.
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cintence, 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 Smṛitis 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 amārta, Piyadasi acted in accordance with the sentiments not only of the heterodox sects, but also of his orthodox subjects. It is equally easy to understand why Piyadasi’s rule applies to the end and the beginning of each season. The three Chāturmāsī full-moons were also great holidays. The orthodox Brahmins, who kept three sacred fires, performed on these occasions the Chāturmāsya sacrifices, those who kept a single fire celebrated corresponding rites, and the Brahmanical schools kept them as holidays on which studying was forbidden. According to the Buddhistic Śramaṇa Pālāśī, p. 140 (explanation of the words upariprásāda-caragata) at least one of these days, the full moon of Kārttika was kept as a popular festival. The Nakṣatra, i.e. the conjunction, was publicly proclaimed, the houses were gaily decorated, and the citizens gave themselves up to celebrating the Nakṣatra by amusements of various kinds. From the Dipawansa, 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 Śvite festival on Kārttika sudi 15, the Holi on Phālguni sudi 15, and the practice of making presents to Brahmins on Kārttika and Āśāḍha sudi 15, may go back to the earliest times or be connected with the more ancient popular holidays at the end and the beginning of the three seasons.

More difficult is the answer to the question why Piyadasi included in his prohibition the three days at full moon of Taisha or Pausha. But it may be suggested that the day may have been regarded as the conventional beginning of the Uttarāyana, the sun’s progress towards the north. This is still a great festival, now called Makarasamkrānti, and celebrated not on the actual day of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign, but later in January.

(t) The term nāgavana, “elephant-preserve,” is found both in Pali and in Sanskrit. It occurs repeatedly in the Chāḷukhatthropamaṇa of the Mājhimā Nikāya. Thus we read, p. 178 (ed. Trenckner):—Seyyathā pi brāhmaṇa nāgavaniko nāgavanam pavi-seyya, sv passeva nāgavane mahantam hathipadam dighato oha āyataṁ tiriyōṁ oha viltatham, etc. “Just as when, O Brāhmaṇa, the keeper of an elephant-preserve, enters

52 Vishnu, 3rd, 87, says: “Let him not cut even a blade of grass.”
53 Manu, iv, 113–114, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis.
54 Partial and temporary prohibitions to kill were issued occasionally even in much later times. Thus the Satroṣaṇa inscriptions, Epigraphia Indica, vol. 11, p. 37, state that the emperor Akbar stopped for a year the killing of aquatic animals at the instance of Jīśhāhānī Sūri, and that the same prince forbade the slaughter of all animals during six months in accordance with the prayer of Hiravijā Sūri
55 Manu, iv, 110, and the parallel passages in the Synopsis.
the elephant-preserve, he may see in the elephant-preserve large footmarks of elephants, both long in length and broad in breadth, etc." In Sanskrit it occurs in Bāṇa's Harsha-
charita.69 The taming of elephants was in India a royal prerogative and the sale of elephants a royal monopoly, see Medhātithi on Manu, viii, 399. Particular forests, belonging to the Crown, were no doubt reserved in Piyaadasi's days, as at present, for the breeding of elephants, and these are meant here.

The word kevatobhaga has not been traced in literary works. But its meaning is not doubtful both on account of its co-ordination with nāgavana and on account of its etymological meaning, 'that which is enjoyed or used by fishermen.' Probably particular lakes or portions of the rivers are meant, which were set apart for the fishermen of the "various towns and villages, and were consequently their bhog, as the modern phrase is.

(v) M. Senart's explanation of athamipakhaye by "pakshasyāśtlanyāṁ on the eighth of (each) fortnight" is no doubt correct. In the Jaina Āchārāṅga, ii, 15, 17, p. 125, Jacobi we have an exactly analogous compound dasamipakkhāya "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 Deśī valayabhāku 'armlet' (Hemachandra, Deśikosha, VII, 52) for bāhuvalaya. Some formations of this kind like vārabāya, 'a protection against arrows, i. e. 'a coat-of-mail,' have even crept into Sanskrit in addition to those words where the grammar or classical usage sanctions the irregular position of the parts of the compound.

(v) The days of the month were commonly named according to the Nakshatras, with which the moon was supposed to be in conjunction, see my note 11 on the Sep. Ed. I, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Ges. vol. XLI. As no specification is added, Piyaadasi's prohibition probably applies to the Tishya and Punarvasu days of each month. Both are among the puṣya 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. Bṛhaspati is the guardian deity of the latter; Aditi of the former.

(v) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained nīlakhīyati by nīrlakshyate, and correctly assigned to it the meaning 'is castrated.' I may add that the Deśī word60 nēlach-
chhō or nelachchhō, 'a eunuch,' furnishes the proof for his assertion.

(x) According to the analogies, found in the Śrauta Śūtras, chātuṁmāsipakha, the fortnight connected with the full moons of the seasons, may mean either the dark fortnight following the Chaturmāsi pārṇimā, as Mr. Senart assumes, or the bright fortnight preceding it. For Kātyāyana uses māghipakṣa for the dark half of Mā gtkha, and Lāṭyāyana phālgunipakṣa for the bright half of Phālguna.61 If, however, as I believe, Piyaadasi used the pārṇimānti 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 Brāhmans considered the new-moon day of Phālguna to be the proper time for marking cows (see also Śāṅkhāyana Grihya Śūtra, III, 10.)

69 See also passage quoted in the smaller Petersburg Dictionary.
60 See Hemachandra Deśikosha, iv, 44, and Piyaadashi, verse 235, as well as the note in the glossary to the latter.
61 See the Petersburg Dictionary under the two words, and the commentaries on the passages quoted there and in Professor Weber's Nachrichten von den Kakshatra, Bd. II, p. 327.
(2) It is not necessary to depart with M. Senart from the natural sense of the passage and to assume that Piyadasi restricted his order to certain classes of criminals. For, it must not be forgotten that long terms of imprisonment were not in favour with the authors of the ancient criminal codes of India. For serious crimes they mostly prescribe capital punishment, mutilation and banishment; for lighter offences fines and whipping. In Piyadasi's times the prisons, therefore, did probably not contain many prisoners condemned to long terms for serious crimes. I may add that the liberation of all prisoners, as an act of royal clemency, seems quite natural to Hindus. Only a few years ago I remember reading a rather sarcastic paragraph in the Bombay Gazette Summary on a princeling in Bengal, I think, who on the birth of a son decreed a general jail delivery in his fortunately not very extensive dominions; compare also Jātakas, vol. V, p. 285, l. 25.

**Edict VI.**

**Delhi-Sivali.**


**Radhia.**


**Mathia.**


\* The stroke which makes pāpovā look like pīpovā is clearly due to an accidental scratch.

\(2 \& 2\)
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). (Saying unto myself) "the welfare and happiness of the people (is concerned)," I thus direct my attention not only to my relatives, but also to those who are near and far;—why so? "In order that I may lead some of them to happiness." In like manner I direct my attention to all bodies corporate. I have also honoured men of all creeds with various honours. 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 Kāliṅga 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 Dhammamahāmattas 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) Apaḥata (D. S.) or apaḥata is undoubtedly, as M. Senart suggests, equivalent to apaḥrītiya or apaḥrītvā. In my opinion it corresponds to the second form, just as pāṭiladdha1 (Jātaka, iv, 46, 28) stands for pratilabdha. With respect to the meaning I differ from M. Senart, as I take apaḥrī in the sense of 'to avoid, to give up,' which it has not rarely in Sanskrit. Tāṁ, the object of apaḥata, stands for tad, and denotes 'that which the people used to do, before they were taught better.' The whole sentence down to pāṇḍava 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-

1 Compare with this sentence the statements in the twelfth Rock Edict.
2 The verse runs as follows:—Sāṁkappam etam pāṭiladdha pāṇḍava achchāddama kamma karovī luddaṁ.

(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 Dhammapamācatas. 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,” apakathā, 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 Dhaṁma by ambassadors, as the thirteenth Rock Edict (Part ii) alleges.

(d) M. Senart has recognised that kimāṁ is equivalent to the very common phrase kimīī. As R. M. read plainly kimimāṁ, I would suggest that kimāṁ also stands for kimimāṁ, and is a contraction of kimāva, i.e. kiṁiva, 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) Pachchēpagamana, in Sanskrit 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.’”

Dehā-Sivalik Pillar

EDICT VII, 1.


64 The second pa of anupaṭipajeyā stands above the line.
65 This might be read anupaṭima, but I believe the blotched line above the d-stroke to be accidental. Anupaṭima is also used by Aśoka elsewhere, e.g. Sāp. Ed., II, 6, (8), etc.]
EDICT VII, 2.

dhammvadhiyā-cha bandha vaḍhisati[72]. Ettye-me aṭhāye dhammasāvanāni sāvāpitāni
dhammānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni yathā me pul]sā-pi67 baluṇe69 janasi āyatā ete
palyovadisanti-pi pavithralisanti-pi[. Laj[a]kā-pi99 bahusesu pānasatasahasesu āyatā
tepi-me ānapitā[;] hevaṇi-cha hevaṇi-cha palyovadātha[1]

janasi dhammānyu[ta]mi25[. ] D)[v]ānan-piye Piyadasi hevan-āhā[;] etam-eva-me anuv-
vekhamāne dhammathambhāni-kaṭāni[;] dhammanahāmātā-kaṭā[;] dhamma[ma[s]a[van]e93-
kaṭe[. ] Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā-hevam āhā[;] magesu-pi-me nigohāni lopāpitāni[;]
chhayopagāni hosanti pasumunisānaṃ[;] abhāvadikya lopāpitā[;] adhak[os][i] kyāni-
pi-me udupanāṇi[2]

khānāpāpitāni[;] nimsidhiyā-cha72 kālāpitā[;] āpanāni-me bahukāni tata-tata kālāpiti-
patibhogaye pasumunisānaṃ[. ] La[huKE chu]73 esa paṭibhoga nāma73[. ] Vividhāya-
hi sukhāyanāyā pulimahi-pi lājīha mamaya-cha sukhyate loke[. ] Imaṃ-cha dhammā-
naputāpi anupāpajanastu-cha etadātha-me[3]
esa-kaṭe[. ] Devānam-piye Piyadasi hevan āhā[;] dhammanahāmātā-pi-me t[o]-bahuvi-
āhesu76 aṭhesu anuvahikṣesu viyāpaṭa-se pavajitananā-cheva gīvīthānaṃ-cha[;] sava-
[pāsaṃ]desu-pi-chā79 viyāpaṭa-se[. ] Samghāṭhasi-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭa hohamti-
ti[;] hevema bābhanesu ājīvikesu-pi-me kaṭe[4]
ime viyāpaṭa hohamti-ti[. ] Niganṭhēsu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭa hohamti [j] nānā-
pāsamadesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭa hohamti-ti[. ] Paṭivisītham paṭivisītham tesu-tesu
-t[e] [ma]jhamatā[. ] Dhammanahāmātā-chu-me etesu-cheva viyā[pa]ta savesu-cha
arinēsā pāsamadesu[. ] Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā-hevan āhā[;5]
ete-chā arime-cha bahukā mukhā dānayisagasi viyāpaṭa-se mama-cheva devinām-cha[;]
savasi-cha-me olohananān te-bahuvidhena a[kā]laena75 tāni tāni ‘uthhāyata[ā]ni paṭi-
[pādayantī] hida-cheva diṣṇu-cha[. ] Dālakānam-pi-me kaṭe arimānam-cha devikum-
mālānaṃ ime dānayisagasi viyāpaṭa hohamti-ti[6]
dhamma-pānātha-haye dhammanapāṭipatiye[. ] Ėsa-hi dhammāpānāne dhammapāṭipati-chā
vā-iyān dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[ve]-cha lokasa hevan vaḍhisati-ti[72]

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[72] Faintly visible are, both on Dr. Fosk's facsimile and on Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, the following letters—ga the

[73] i and the left-hand curve of a, while the right half of a is quite plain. The restoration is not doubtful, because there

is exactly room for three consonants and because the phrase puliā-pi-me “my servant” occurs above Pillar Edict, I, 1, 7

(D. S.), 1, 3 (A), and elsewhere. From Professor Kern's analysis of this edict, Der Buddhismus, vol. II, p. 386, I infer that

he would restore the passage in the same manner.

[69] Balluṣe is possibly a clerical mistake for baluKE. But it may be defended by the locative punānasuṇa above,—v. 16, 18

(D. S.).

[71] The quantity of the second vowel of lajākā is not certain.

[70] The last syllable of dhammānyusthan 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. Stuart. The rubbing shows the a-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 dhammānyu and ṭarī in

l. 2, has here made necessary the division nihiśi dhiyā (not ṭhāyā). Of course, nothing has been lost.

[73] The initial a (not ea) is perfectly plain, both on the facsimile and on the rubbing. Between la and esa, three, or

possibly four, syllables have been lost. The phrase was, therefore, either laukhe chu esa or laukhe chu kho esa, compare

Rock Edict, XIII, 2, l. 14 (Kāṭal), laukhe chU esa laukhe chu kO esa, and below, l. 9, tata chu lahu-se dhammaṇiyame.

[74] The nd of nāma stands above the line, and has been added afterwards as a correction.

[75] Though the la is damaged at the top, it seems probable, both according to the rubbing and the facsimile, that the

reading was te. The se after viyāpaṭa is, of course, not required. Compare also the first clause in l. 5, where another redundant

se 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\(^7\) (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,\(^8\) 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 lajâkas 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,\(^7\) 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 imâni cha, as the sense requires.
78 Etam-ece-me anuvêkhamânâ (i.e., anuvêkshyamânâ) may be explained as a nominative absolute, analogous to avîjîtan hi viśiñamae, Rock Edict XIII (l. 36, k.). But it is not impossible that anuvêkhamânâ (i.e., anuvêkshyamânâ) was what Aoka really wrote.
King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"I have also planted banana-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 kos 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 Sanghas; likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Ajivikas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Nigamathas; 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 Pataliputra) 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 will grow 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.

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13 Regarding the short ā of *vadikā* see note 17 on the Queen’s Edict, Indian Antiquity, vol. XIX, p 123, where it has been pointed out that the corresponding ambātādāḥ may stand for ambātādā. Regarding the long ā of ambā, see below, note 20.

14 *Mudāḥ* has either been used in the sense of mukha, m, a leader (see the smaller Pet. Dict., sub vocé), or it stands for mukhāḥ and corresponds to mudāhāḥ ‘chiefs,’ i.e. ‘officials of high rank.’

15 Thus is in the manner directed by the king.

16 Tala is tala, has here, as often in Sanskrit, a distributive sense, and tala-chu is equivalent to yasutā.
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 kathaṁ as an interrogative adverb. It must have the sense of an indefinite pronoun, just as kāni has more frequently.

(b) Though it is perhaps not absolutely impossible to take etam with M. Senart as equivalent to itra or atrā, I prefer to explain it by elad, 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) Abhyumnāmayahāṁ is the future with the meaning of the subjunctive (see Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, p. 266f., and especially the quotation from the Rāmāyaṇa under b). E for ī appears similarly in paridahessati, etc. (see E. Müller: Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language, p. 118).

(d) Abhyumnānitisati may be either the future of the active abhyumnamati, or, equivalent to abhyumnānmmittisati, the future of the passive of the causative abhyumnānmayati. The use of the active unnamati, abhyumnamati, pronamati, and so forth, in the sense of 'to rise up,' is the usual one both in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits.

(e) Lajuka 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 āyatā note 2 to my German translation of the Sep. Ed. I, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XXI.

(f) Paliyovodāhā 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) Ardhastrañāṇi corresponds to a Sanskrit ardhastrañāṇi. The kraśa or kos meant here, must be that equal to 8,000 Hastas, or half a gavyāti, which thus corresponds to the so-called Sullānā 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) Niśaḍhiyā no doubt stands for niśaḍhiyā, just like the Pali mahaśāsa for mahīsa, and is an equivalent of niśhidiyā, ‘dwelling,’ which occurs in the Nāgārjuni Hill Cave inscriptions, Indian Antiquary, vol. XX, p. 364f., in the compound vāshanīśhidiyāye. Both niśaḍhiyā and nishidiyā are Pali representatives of the Sanskrit nishadyā, “a couch, a market-hall.” They have, however, been derived not from the root nish, but from the stem of the present tense nishid. The lingual ḍha of niśaḍhiyā is due to the influence of the original sḥa of nishidiyā. The Jainas use closely allied words nisīḍhi, nisīḍhi and nisīḍhi for the last resting-place, the ornamental tombs, of their saints, see Indian Antiquary, vol. XII, p. 99. Niśaḍhiyā 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 dharmārthaḥ by benevolent and rich men. Ushavadāta, the pious son-in-law of the Satrap and king Nahapāna boasts in the Nasik inscriptions, Rep. Arch. Surv. West Ind. vol. IV, p. 90, 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 propā.

(j) Sravīṅa, of course, denotes the order of Buddhist monks. The Ājīvikas are probably, as Professor Kern assumes, orthodox Vaishānava ascetics, see my discussion of the question in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XX, p. 362. The Nigarāṇhas are the Jain ascetics or Nigranṭhas. I take pāṭīvīṣaṇham pāṭīvīṣaṇham, “according to the several requirements” in the sense of pratīṣṭhadham, (see the smaller Petersberg Diet, sub voce). Tesu-tesa, 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 Vachablūṁikas and other bodies of officials are mentioned.

(k) I here follow Professor Kern, Der Buddhismus, vol. II, p. 386, who takes tushāyatanāṁ, i.e. tushṭyāyatanāṁ, “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 pāṭi [pāḍayamī] is self-evident.

(l) Devikumātā ‘prince’ means literally ‘son of a queen,’ i.e. of such a lady who has the title devi. 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 nijhaī as a derivative from the causative of niḍhyāt and appropriately translated it by “reflexion.” It is equivalent to Sanskrit nīḍhitāvāśaṇā “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 oṅlā-vaṭikṣṇā, above l. 2. Similarly the nominative singular frequently takes the place of the stem in the inscriptions from Mathurā, ante, vol. I, p. 371 ff. Rare instances occur also in Pali. Thus we have, Jāt. iv, 184, 18, sakhiḥbharīyaṁ, ‘the wife of a friend.’
MAHABAN PRAŚASTI OF SAMVAT 1207.

XXI.—THE MAHĀBAN PRAṢASTĪ 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 Praṣastī of the Reign of Viṣayapāla, according to an impression, furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer and described as an ‘Inscription on black basalt recovered from Keśava mound at Mathurā, 10th February 1889.’

Shortly after the publication of my article Dr. Führer wrote to me that he did not agree with my restoration of the king’s name as Viṣayapāla, 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 facsimile of a much more complete version of this supposed Mathurā Praṣastī, 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 Keśava mound to Dr. Führer, who in 1889 received quite a number of fragments 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 Viṣayapāla. And he may belong to the Yaduvaṃśi dynasty of Bayāna-Sṛipathā (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. 7.
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 specimens 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-sri-Siddhātyadeva and may belong to the seventh century.
Mahābāna 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.
    —
Áśika, married to daughter of Harikaṭha.
    —
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. श्रीं || श्रीं [ग्]विलेठे नमः।
दिद्याले वः कैरवक — — — —
— यांसौं णंतो विराजननः [1]
विजय विजयानिधिः — — णंते (?)
सुधे समाधासुमुक्तिः यः [11]

L. 2. [श्रीं] राजकांतरक्षितवस्त्रता भूलये फ़ि — — — — कर्ता—
वासीलदीपिन समस्तता सरस्य या सहुनीयांश्या।
यत् [ल्] चांठ्वासनापीय कमला दिखीरपिक्षी—

L. 3. पसः
कामीखिद्वितमास्वर क[मि्]िनि्किंजङ्किंंजायति] [2]
स वेष्वतु ज — — — सकलदेवदर्पणः
महानार[क्]मही[न्]् प्रजुरेराकस्त्वई—

L. 4. न: [1]
समस्तभुवनाकरः कमलकुम्भुकारः
धनतमभावर: तु[ण]बुद्धतत्त्वाघरः [2] [3]
द्रति प्रयवस्व ||
शाखर[ण]्यत्तितिविज्ञावस—

L. 5. काल्पभोमिकंस्मादे
झाए: पा[ण्]समायो हिद्रज्ञी: संस्यमानीयार्य।

1 Read सघस्याः. On Dr. Führer's impression the c-stroke above the ta has almost disappeared.
4 Restore कैरवकायाम: वैवालिः.
1 Restore वशे: न:—
4 Read विलेठे नमः।
7 Read 'ए णंते; —मूषकरी; — 'नयमंस्यू' ; — Restore जनाखमं।
चोलश्रमाध्यं सहुरत्रस[ल्यान]पर्वक्रमः
वीमानः ससुः

L. 6.
भरतः चितिसिटले राजन्यवंशी सहान् || [४]
वीमानाधिकरिः सुधुरत्रसाधनामान्यविषः
वीमानाधिकरिः सुधुरत्रसाधनामान्यविषः: [१]

L. 7.
तत्ताकलिकानंकल्पप्राङ्गणसाधनमान्यः
भाषा: च विषयवर्णीशैलिशतः वीमानाधिकरिः || [५]
दानेन संयोजनवेन विधा
वाचनः भ-

L. 8.
रः: शब्दाय च यहः: [१]
शरणः सहः — — तेन सुर्थिः
शरणात्मः क्तिना च तेन [नै]१
शब्दात्मः तेनात्मः नयोजत्वमः: वीमानाधिकरिः
श्रोत्वाचारिः: [१]

L. 9.
शुकिसुधुरत्रसाधनाः विषयवक्रमः
विषयवर्णीशैलिशतः चतुर्दशः देवादिकारिः || [६]
विषयकरिः सुधुरत्रसाधनाः वाचनात्मः: [७]

L. 10.
तत्ताकलिकानंकल्पप्राङ्गणसाधनामान्यः
वीमानाधिकरिः सुधुरत्रसाधनाः देवादिकारिः: [१]
विषयकरिः सुधुरत्रसाधनाः वाचनात्मः: [१]

L. 11.
— — — — रीमानिईशिन्यमल्पीर: सताम संमता: || [८]
श्रृं: वैश्वातिशिव विषयविषयवाचनायां: प्रकृ: [छ]१
चौवीलेकीविषयवर्णनिधिः सताम: चाहिः || [९]
श्रीतां: चित्ता

L. 12.
रीमानिईशिव सुमार्गायायाकामावस्तातः
च वीमानाधिकरिः सुधुरत्रसाधनाभास्त्रातः — — तां || [१०]
तस्यं तेन युनी चर्दे चाहिः: सजान्यवताः
रामो दशमै

L. 13.
रामेन्य वीः [ब]वायुसाधारिः: || [११]
दुःमेवः कल्युतम् बा[र्च]धः क्षुरः ग्रहः
को च गद्यालिनिधिकालः: परिच्छेत्वाचारिः: [१]
नामसा-

1. According to Cunningham's rubbing one might read वीमानाधिक, but Führer's gives plainly चाहि।
2. Restore श्रीतां: चित्ताः: पुनः सुधुरत्रसाधनाः।
3. The second नेत्रि and the second ब्र of विषयवक्रमः stand below the line.
4. The last Pada stands in the margin, and there is a mark after प्रकृं in order to indicate the lacuna. Restore श्रृं: चौवीलेकीविषयवर्णनिधिः।
5. Read श्रीतां: चित्ताः: — Restore वाचनात्मः।
L. 14.
क्रिया दिव्य गणविद्य मोहुच्योतः समयः
तथा स्त्रोते सकलेः च यथा व विद्यः गुणविचय च [११९१]
चर्चः कर्ष्णाचतवाच मद्द्रि
यथाच सिद्धां येम-

L. 15.
कं करोति [१]
ज्ञणः पुन्मृततपार्बं - -
विवेच परां विस्मैति विचित्रि [॥ १२]१३
सहः स्रावरित्रेष वीणात्तमस्य श्रविष्ठ घरेः मति:
दानिमाताविषि: पाः-

L. 16.
रीक्षकस्वर्य लायम् युक्तां न्ति: [१]
- - योरुपयोगितांगान्तंगाने नोधि समं घंधिते:
जनस्माचारान्वयमहायाः सूक्तं: विं त्यं न लोकोत्तरं [॥ १२]११
का-

L. 17.
यः परीक्षातिभि: सूक्तं: - -
- विद्युर्दिशरचर्यात्र एवत: [१]
वन्द्यवर्ष यम्यचित्तपूर्वानेन स्वनेन वागपिः च वधम काला काला-

L. 18.
यां [॥ १४]१५
स्वामान्यिक्यायाञ्चितविदितो राजयवंशोऽगुप्तं:
तस्यायुधविमिववासुचितं धर्मसिदिहानं सतीं
श्रीलाचारविम्बपुरणं गुणमुग्धं भृतं -

L. 19.
ततो सम्बलं
तस्यं [दुब्ब]चतुर्थं समभवमासपत्तं तत: [॥ १५]
तस्यायुधो गुणविधिसुनिशितं कर्षितः
व्यातं: सुदुहुरुपुरुषसिद्धीययुक्त: [१]
गाम्बेर-

L. 20.
स्वामयद्यहः[विचयःकुद्दि:
स्रोतिकावणमुनिन्तरपञ्चासोऽ
चक्कराजसत्वों मायासुस्मिनवर्षेतरी ।
तस्यं स जन्यामास × × × × × - - - - [॥ १६]
संसारं इरिष्णिसांस्मितं विन्याल गोक्षुजः:
साधं घर्मपुरां विरा-

L. 21.
य वहन्ता जुञ्जन निम्मितं ।
विषाजयमेकन्यमहायुक्तां दित्यापत्तं वह-

१३ The reading of the stone seems to have been पाल्येएँ।
१४ Restore सर्कः: सौर्यविधीः।
१५ Restore पाल्येएँ वुद्धिः।
१६ Verse 17 stands in the margin, and is preceded by the figure 20, which refers to the line where it is to be inserted.
कुलगामिनलोकितलघुपट समामभूदिल ॥ [१५]
सीवःसीमः

L. 22. चमककालकजटाटाट्टीनाॅटके
कोडाणुकितकितिशितिरत्न योधविहरं पयः [१]
संप्रोची सुचिरं फणीमकरारणायािकुरारापति चि-

L. 23. पत्रमें गोतिकवाचार्मि ॥
सुतिकारमधीयं रामसिद्धस्य नंदनः ॥
पैदेविसकः

L. 24. अः अः अः अः पी विस्वकालमः ॥ [२०]
संगमपीतो नारदम जासिको माधवांगमः ॥
ठीलाधुनुर्वंसंतव कलसालमध्यलुकः ॥ [२१]
सीमराका महीपालः

L. 25. अः अः अः अः अः अः अः ॥
पुजोरी सड़संसृतं देवरी माधवामः ॥ [२२]
सीढ़ी रामपालस वेद्यणो राजवृहोऽ ॥
ये गोन्त रुसागम्य पुष्पावलादि-

L. 26. अरःकाः ॥ [२३]
[थया] ती तिबकी इन्तिवेदेश्व चक्षुः ॥
स्मरतह नरसेन युवसाकिनेन[न च] ॥ [२४]
देव राजः वीरयः युद्ध वास्तिकः देवहेतवः ॥
गोपी-

L. 27. [प]चित्रतलय मानोकावारामादिका ॥ [२५]
ये ये ये पारी [घास्ता] चातुर्गु युधमलिकात् ॥
माधकाक् चतुर्योऽसो वः कः चेत ब्रापको भवेत् [१२६]
वः कमयतु हः

L. 28. रति हस्तिन न ददाति च मानवः ॥
स गच्छेत्या कः चोर्य यावदाभूतसंस्करः ॥ [२७]
पद्मा: [प]प्रस्थः कर्तरी तुधी पालकुलकरी ।
[चः] तः सयधवस्वप्रेमायुक्तविवारः

L. 29. ॥ [१५]
सवत् १२०७ वायुः- पीर्मास्य महाराजाधिराज् —
नायपालेदेववजयराज् उक्तां सोमलक्षयः [घरी] ॥

v Restore विविद्यांविदानदेतः.
v मारद या, of course, not be correct. Read शुद्धी या.
v The last word is probably meant for यात्राभूतकर्तार. 
XXII.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

By PAUL HORN, PH. D., STRASSBURG.

As in my previous paper on Muhammadan inscriptions from the region of Dihli, I have reproduced the texts of the inscriptions as they are found on the stone, adding no wanting dots, *tashdīd*, etc., except in the first six inscriptions.

1.—BHĀGALPUR.

The history of Bhāgalpur during the first four centuries of Muhammadan rule offers nothing very remarkable. The first inscription below of the time of Mahmūd Shāh ibn Ibrāhīm Shāh of Jaunpur, is of value, because it shows that Bhāgalpur in the ninth Hijrat century belonged to the Šarqī kingdom, as did also Bihār (vide below). In A. H. 982 it came into the possession of Akbar (*Akbar-nāma*, III, 108). Further information regarding the place has been collected by C. J. O'Donnell in W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XIV, p. 82.

The inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are of little historical value; they bear the dates of the years 1032 (reign of Jahāngīr), 1130 (reign of Farrukh Siyar) and 1793 A.D. The last falls in the period of English rule.

The first inscription¹ is engraved on a black basalt slab, fixed on a tomb in a garden belonging to Rānī Bibi in Mānḍa Roga Mahalla, Bhāgalpur; it is no longer *in situ*; the stone measures 36 inches by 18 inches; the size of the inscribed part is 30 by 18 inches.

تَقَالُ الْلَّهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَّامُ مِن بَني مَسْجِدٍ نَيْنَانِيُّ بَني الْلَّهُ تَصَصَّرُ أَنَّاهُ نَيْنَانِيُّ زَمَنِ مَلَكِ الْعَالَمِ مُصْرَمُ شَاهُ السُّلَّطَانِ بِنَا كَرَمَهُ بُنِي مَسْجِدٌ خَانْ خَرْشِيِّهِ خَانْ سُرْ-نَبِيَّ غَيْرِ مَحْلِيِّ وَنَيْنَانِيُّ الزَّمَنِ مِنْ جَمَادِلِلْأَرْضِ سَنَةٌ خَمْسِينَ وَعَشْرِينَةُ

**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 Mahmūd Shāh the honoured Khān Khurshēd Khān, head of the guardians outside the palace, has built this mosque on the tenth of Jumādī'ī awwal, year 850 H. (3rd August 1446).'

The arrangement of the words on the stone is not quite regular, and the deciphering is therefore more difficult than it seems at first sight. I have found no information relative to Khurshēd Khān, whose title *sar-e naubat-e ghair-mahallīn* I have translated according to Blochmann (*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 106, vol. XLII, p. 273, note).

2. The second inscription has already been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, December 1873, p. 200. It is on a Dargāh called the Maskan-i Barārī or Makhdūm Shāh's Dargāh in Champanagar near Bhāgal-

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.
NO. 1. BHAGALPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 850.

NO. 2. MAHDIPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 891.

From J. D. Huglair's impressions.

Scale: 1-6/8 of original.
MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

pūr; the name of the saint buried there is not known. The basalt slab measures 27 by 16 inches, the inscribed part 20 by 13 inches; it contains four lines.—

لا يَأَلَّ لُهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
ابِرْكِر صَدِيقٌ
عَلَيْهِ رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ
ابْنُ حَليْلُ
اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ

جَبَلُ كَبِيرُ فُرَجَدَارِي سِرَارُ مَتَكِيرُ أَمْدَدُ بِهِ بَنِي عُمَّارَتِ أَيْنَ رَخَّصَ مَنْ مَبَرَّ مَرْبَّتِي يَالْيُتِي يَانَتِي سَنَةٌ ١٠٣٢ هَـ.

Si Riz

TRANSLATION.

'There is no god but God and Muhammad 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 Samarqand, according to the order of the Nāvāb, 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 Mahābat Khān, after having defeated in battle Shāh Jahān (īqīlānā-ī Jahāngīrī, p. 230), whereas Bihār, to which sarkār Mungir belonged (Āīn-ī Akbarī, vol. 1, p. 419), remained his own tīyūl.

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.

إِبِنُ حَليْلِ الرَّحْمَةُ
رَضِيَ اللَّهُ بِهِ
إِبِنُ حَليْلُ الرَّحْمَةُ
رَضِيَ اللَّهُ بِهِ

Metre,—Sa`fī:

With much sorrow he tied up the dress of journey from the perishable house towards the country of eternity. From the head of (the word) grief say the year of the death, "The soul clothed with a body went from the world, alas!"

The last line gives, according to abjad reckoning, 1129. As the poet seems to mean that the head of andāh, i.e. the letter alif, is to be added to the tārikh, we get 1129 + 1 = 1130 H. [which began the 5th December 1717].

3 The four caliphs.
4 In Elliot-Dowson's History, vol. VI, p. 417, l. 4, for Bihār read Bengal.
The person referred to is not named.

The following inscription is from the same place as No. 3; the engraved area on the pillar is 12 by 5 inches.

\[
\text{يا لباش اين ميرم از سعي ار تعميرت}
\]

\[
\text{تا بز ببر لوح سك از سال تعميرت نشان}
\]

\[
\text{بعد لفظ ديده اندو مصروع هشمت نوزه}
\]

\[
\text{ديده كم اندو جهان آدم چيني جاي غريب}
\]

\[
\text{طرابلس تارم وچ (؟) عمري (؟) سار بیان}
\]

\[
\text{ناکل هنات زوری شامانی لغت برد}
\]

\[
\text{آنکل در گریش خاطر زهر سریشی بس عجب}
\]

\[
\text{میرن، رامال:}
\]

By (order of) Ziya-i-Mulk this fāzī 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 tāriḵ which runs therefore 'Dīdah bād kam' etc., give 1793 A.D.—the last hemistich=1781 + 12 (bād)—i.e.—1208-9H.

Ziya-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 (Shahbāz), 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 Faṣīl. As a memorial of that fact a Hindūstāni inscription has been engraved in a circle on the side wall of the ghat, and the names of the personages who furthered the work with money have been inscribed in the margin. The total sum amounts to 2,677, if I have added rightly.

II.—HAZRAT PANĐUAH.

The following inscriptions from Panḍuah belong to the Adīna (i.e. Friday) Mosque of which large ruins still remain. These have been described at length by the late J. H. Ravenshaw in his Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions, pp. 60 ff., where also a ground plan of the masjid is given.

The mosque was built by Abūl Mujāhid Sikandar Shāh, son of Shams-ādīn Abūl Muzaaffar Iyās Shāh, king of Bengal, who adorned his capital Panḍuah with that magnificent edifice. Except one, the inscriptions inside and outside the mosque are of no historical value, containing only verses from the Qorān. The rubbings transmitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley are very fine and worthy of the beautiful penmanship which can hardly be surpassed in other Indian Muhammadan inscriptions.

There is another rubbing of a Hindūstāni 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 tālīva and a sādī fagār.
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—

ترجمة:

"The edifice of this Jāmi’ Masjid was ordered to be built during the days of the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal, the most perfect of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abū’l Mu‘ājīd Sikandar Shāh, the king, son of Ilyās Shāh, the king—May his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise! He wrote it during Rajab of the year 776 (began the 6th December 1874)."

There are some mistakes in Blochmann's readings of this inscription (Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. XLII, p. 257, and repeated in Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 62). Regarding the accuracy of my conjecture that the eighth word is to be read ayyām, there can hardly be any doubt. The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if, with Blochmann, we read rajab sitt; besides, the succession of the words should be sitt rajab. Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengali inscriptions, but the construction rajab sitt instead of sādis would be too faulty even for them. I therefore prefer to supply a va (and) before sab‘in or to read the va standing before sab‘miat twice, a case that occurs not at all unfrequently.

We do not know the year in which the Ādīna mosque was finished; the Riyās mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 H. It is very probable that the building required a space of ten years, e.g. the Jāmi’ Masjid at Kotila in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years, and ten are therefore not too much to allow for the erection of that 'gigantic barn,' as General Cunningham calls the Ādīna mosque (Archaeological Survey of India, vol. XV, p. 90).

6. Over the doorway of the king's platform (Ravenshaw calls it Bādashāh ka takht) we find the words of the Kalima. The size of the inscription is 8 by 7 inches.

Over the central prayer niche (mihrāb) are inscribed on two stones the verses of Qorān, Sūr. xixiii, 56, and Sūr. xxii, 76, the latter being quoted with the omission of some words in Major W. Francklin's Journal of a Route from Bājmahāl to Gaur, A. D. 1810, see Ravenshaw, p. 64.

Round the three other prayer niches are also engraved passages from the Qorān, on the northern, the combined verses Sūr. ii, 63, iii, 31, ii, 121 and Sūr. 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 sitt ( inser. of the name of Muhammad Sharif of Balkh in Dihl.—Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng., for 1876, p. 212.

7 The exordial phrase is— "الله دُعْوَنَ عَن تَأْلِفِ رَجِلٍ مِّنْ مَلَكَٰ ("God has said, who is raised above another speaker and more glorious than another orator")."
Round the middle prayer niche runs Sûr. xlvi, 27 28, 29 (size: 153 inches by 12 inches, the measure of the whole stone is 160 by 15 inches); round the southern (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate xlii) Sûr. 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 xli) has been mentioned by Blochmann in the Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, vol. XLII, p. 256. A facsimile is given in Ravenshaw’s work, plate xlv; it contains Qurân, Sûr. ix 18, 19. The top line is in Kufik, a character of writing the artist was evidently not very conversant with, and contains the Fâtîha.

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 Kalîma, the text of Sûra exii.

III.—GAUR.

For the city of Gaur, the reader may be referred to Ravenshaw’s work already cited, the photographs of which give a picture of the former grandeur and magnificence of the town. It also gives a historical sketch of Gaur from the Muhammadan conquest to the end of its independence (pp. 95ff). Some of the following inscriptions have been already published either in this work or by Blochmann.

7. Over the entrance to the court of the Qadam-Rasûl mosque (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate 13, and facsimile, plate 48, No. 6) is an inscription, 2’ 1” by 1’ 2” in two lines—

تَحَلَّىَّ اللَّهُ عَلَىَّ السَّلَامُ مِنَ بَنِى مَسِيدٍ لِلَّهِ بَنِيَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى لَهُ سَبِيعُ قَصَرٍ فِي الْجَنَّةِ بِنَى هَذَا الْمَسِيدٍ

مِن عِيْدِ السُّلطَانِ بِنِيِ السُّلَطَانِ شَهِيْدَ الدَّنْيَا وَالدُّنْيَا ابْنِ الْإِبْرَاهِيمَ

يُسَفِّرُ شَاهُ السُّلَطَانِ مَعَاذِبَ شَاهِ السُّلَطَانِ بِنِيِ مَحْمُودُ شَاهِ السُّلَطَانِ بِنَى هَذَا الْمَسِيدٍ خَلَى إِعْلَامِ رَفَعَ انْعُظِمَ

مرجاه خال اتباع ذات اعلى باطغٍ ٥٩ هِرْدَمِ مَهِ مدَابِرٍ رَمْضَانِ سَنَةٌ خَمْسٍ وَثُمانِينٍ وَثَمانِينَهُ

TRANSLATION.

‘The Prophet (on whom be peace!) has said: ‘He who builds a mosque for God, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.’ This mosque was built in the time of the king, the son of a king, who was the son of a king,’ Shamsaddunyâ waddâin Abu’l Muzafrar Yûṣuf Shâh, the king, son of Bârbak Shâh, the king, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, the king. This mosque was built by the great Khân, the exalted Khâqân Marjâd Khân, the atâbeg of the high person. On the 13th day of the blessed month Ramazân 885 (17th November 1480).’

In Ravenshaw’s book the mistakes of Mr. Blochmann are reproduced. Blochmann has also published three other inscriptions of Yûṣuf Shâh, of the years 882 (Journal As. Soc. Beng. vol. XLII, p. 275), 884 (ib. p. 276), and 885 (ib. vol. XLIV, p. 293); they are from Panduah or the neighbourhood of Dhâka. The information about Yûṣuf Shâh which the histories furnish is very meagre.

* ٥٩ هِرْدَمِ.
* This restoration occurs also on coins.
8. Over the central door of the small golden mosque in Gaur (Ravenshaw, plate xxii) is an inscription. One corner of the stone which contained the date has been broken away in three lines (dimensions 9 feet by 1' 8")—

"بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى أنم يعمر مساجد الله من أسم بإله وآدم الآخر ورافق الصلاة واتّى الزكّة لم تكت أئمة الله غفري أو لئلك ان يكونوا من المهدّبين وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجد الله ربي لله بيّنا في الجنة مثله وعمرة هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد سلطان السادات سيّد السادات منيع السعاديين رحم الله رحم الصالحين والمسالمين ورعايسهم على كلّمات الحق راحسنتن الجريد بتأييد الديان، في سبيل الرحمن خليفة الله بأسمه الجامع بأخيه印发 وبركان غور السلام والمسالمين علاء الدنيا والدنياء إبريل المظفر حسن شاه السادات الجسيم حضرة الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، ويبني هذا (المسجد الجامع) خالصًا مصليًا متوكل على الله وبالإسم باله على المخالب بخطاب مجلس_Valis_Council منصور نصر الله تعالى في الدنيا والآخرة، وتراثهم البديع في الرابع عشر من شهر الله المبارك رجب رجب قدره سبعة هـ ...

Translation.

‘In the name, etc. God Almighty has said: “He only shall repair,” etc. (Qorán, Sûr. ix, 18). And the Prophet (may God’s blessing rest upon him!) has said “He who builds,” etc.

The erection of this Jâmi’ masjid took place in the time of the king of kings, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, the fountain of auspiciousness, the most merciful of the faithful men and women, who exalts the words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, who strifes on the road of the merciful, the viceroy of God, with proof and testimony, the defender of Islâm and the Muslims, 'Alâ addunyà 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 Wâlî Muhammad, son of 'Ali, who has the title of majlis al majâlis majlis-i mansûr—may God render him victorious in this world and the next! Its auspicious date is the 14th of God’s blessed month of Rajab—may its value increase! of the year ...

Husain Shâh reigned from 899 till 929 A. H., we possess many inscriptions of his reign. I have noted 29. This one has been published in Ravenshaw’s work, p. 38.

9. From Shâh N’ imat Allâh’s ásitâna near the Jâmi’ masjid in the Fîrâzpûr suburb of Gaur. Two lines (dimensions 3 feet by 1’ 4")—

"بني هذا البلد الخصب في عهد السلطان المعظم المكن علال الدنيا والدنياء إبريل المظفر حسن شاه السلّان بن سيّد أغّر أحمدّي خلدّاه الله ملكه وسلطانه في سنة ثمان عشرة تسعمائة"

Translation.

‘This gate of the fort was built in the time of the exalted and liberal king, 'Alâ-addunyà 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, 10; xxxvi, 2; xlviii, 1, 2, 3, etc., and in three circles the words Yá râhmân, yá Allâh, yá raḥêm are inscribed; the second measures 2' 4" by 8 in., and contains Qurán, Sûr. lxii, 9, 10, 11.

11. Over the centre arch of the Qadam-Rasûl masjid outside, in three lines (dimensions 2' 3" by 1' 6").

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالخضر لعله عشيرًا فذى هذه الصفة المطلبة التي نبى حضير في إثر رسم
على الله عليه وسلم السلطان

المعظم المكرم السلطان بن السلطان ناصرالدین راجه دين ابومالدد نصرة السلطان بن حسن شاه

بن سيد اشرب الحبيبی خالد الله مالک و سلطانه راعی امره و شاهه فی سنه سبع و ثلاثین و تسعمیا

Translation.

'God Almighty has said: "He who brings a good work shall have ten like it"' (Qurán, Sûr. vi, 161). This pure dais on which is a stone with the foot-print of the Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—was erected by the great, generous king, the king, the son of a king, Nasiruddunyâ waddin Abu'l Muzaffar Nuṣrat Shâh, the king, son of Husain Shâh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his dignity! In the year 937 (began the 25th August 1530).'

Mr. Blochmann has remarked that these inscriptions rectify the Rihâz and Stewart, who give as the date of the completion of the Qadam-Rasûl mosque A.H. 939.

12. From Shâh Nî'mat Allâh's àsitâna, not in situ, in one line (dimensions 2' 1" by 7 in.)

قال الله تعالى أن المساجد الله باني هذا الباب خالد فی المرعویة شروط من ذرة أجیه سنة سبعین و تسعمیا

Translation.

'God Almighty has said "surely the mosques belong to God"' (Qurán, Sûr. lxxii, 18). The builder of this gateway is Khânjahân. In the beginning of Zu'1 Hijja, 970' (22nd July 1563).\[12\]

The inscription falls in the reign of Ghiyâs addin Abu'l Muzaffar Jalâl Shâh of Bengal, 14 years before the conquest of Bengal by Akbar. Khânjahân was in 1522 governor of Orlâ (Akhbarnâma, vol. I, p. 161 var.; he was therefore the successor of Lobby Khan, amir al umara' of Sulaimân, king of Bengal, who was put to death by his sovereign the year before (Badaunî, vol. II, p. 174). In the Moghul empire the title of Khânjahân was the next to that of Khânkhanân (Ma'âsir, I, 649).

\[10\] This was published in Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vol. XLII, p. 295, and repeated in Ravenhaw's Gaur, p. 88, No. 18.

\[12\] There is no reason for Blochmann's sic, who has read faultily.

\[13\] Published in Ravenhaw's Gaur, p. 36. The number '14' is not legible on my rubbing.
13. From the Jâmi’ masjid in the Firâpzâr suburb, evidently a fragmentary inscription (size 1’ 4” by 2 in.), which contains Qurán, Sûr. Ixii, 5 (it begins in the middle of the verse with the words [kamis]lîl himârî).

IV.—Mahdipûr (Village). 13

The following inscription is now fixed in the modern mosque at Mahdipûr, it is arranged in four squares and measures 4’ 4” by 10 in.—

قال الله تعالى لمن يعمر مسجد الله من ابني بالله ر زين الاضرار الصلوة راتي الزكاة ولم لخشي إلا الله

فإمسى ارللف ان يكونوا من المتقدين

قال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فتدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني هذى المسجدي من عبد السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدين رoglأب بن المظفر فتحياء السلطان ابن

حمود شاه السلطان

وقلنا السيد الامام سيد سردار بن سيد راحب بالحصنة تم جعله سر كنبين مزاحم برخوردار ابن خانمعظم

نادر خسرو في شهر المبارك رمضان سنة احدى و رعى و نامانه

Translation.

'God Almighty has said "He only shall repair,” etc. (Qurán Sûr ix, 18).

God Almighty has also said “Verily, the mosques,” etc. (Qurán, Sûr. Ixii, 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, Jâlal addunyâ waddin Abul Muazzafar Path Shâh, the king, son of Mahmûd Shâh, the king. Its builder was the exalted Sayyid, Sayyid Dastûr, son of Sayyid Râhat—through good deeds he has collected fruits for himself—at the head of the vault of Maulânâ Barkhur-dar, son of the exalted Khân Tâj Khân. In the blessed month of Ramazân of the year 891’ (began the 31st August 1486).

The letters being very closely written it is not easy to decipher the names. This is the sixth inscription of Fath Shâh, who reigned from 886 till 893; the others fall in the years 886 from Bandar near Dhakâ, (Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vol. XLII, p. 282), 887 from Dhamrâi, north of Dhakâ, (ib., vol. XLI, p. 109); 888 from Bikrampûr, Dhakâ District (ib., vol. XLII, p. 284), 889 from Sunârgân, (ib., vol. XLII, p. 285), and 892 from Sâtgalunw, (ib., vol. XXXI, 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

جال الدين والدين ابن المظفر فتحياء السلطان ابن حمود شاه السلطان خدام الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلى أمره

رشاه بسعى خال الفتح و خاتام المعظم الراقي بالمملكة المنان خانمعظم برخوردار روزير لشكر تقبل الله منه

في سنة اربع ... ...
Translation.

‘Jalāl addunyā waddin Abu’l Muzaffar Fath Shāh, the king, son of Mahmūd 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 beneficient 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—

الذين رأوا الأقمصفر حسمه صاحب السلطان بني هذا المسجد ملك يزيد معظم طفران بن ملك ...

... سروث ... في سنة ربيع الآخر [؟] في العام سنه ...

Translation.

[‘Alâ-]addunyā waddin Abu’l Muzaffar Husain Shāh. This mosque was built by Malik Yazid Mu’azzam Zafar Khān, son of Malik . . . . . head of the guardians . . . . in the month of Rabi’ 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 (SHERPÜR).

17. In the jungal in the midst of the deserted village of Khandkartola, about two miles south of the Sherpūr 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 pieces; 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—

دا مطهر إلخانان
مانهية روز درسنه ۶۲ ماه درجت سنه ۹۸۹
دا سعاد ندرا مژه روز خان مسجد اعمار گرد درم روز
سنه ۶۲ بتر خال دراز مسجد مجدد مهد غازی بندر
سدرجا ارگه مانند مسجد در سلام کردم رئیس از مبارکامی عربی
کردم که ارگه مانند کام رس راهه دارم دارم زما و رخایت ما درم
مسجد اسلام حکم حمایه درمز معمر کمک حرا به اما مسجد
دور روز شنا از مردم زمانه حضر حما درم کمکه هرکه دند

11 In the Qurān, gabala 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. H. 989, (19th January 1582), the Nawâb Mirzâ Murâd Khan with sacred observances made the beginning of this mosque. The second day—, on Tuesday the 26th (sic.), the fuqîr' Abûdâsâmâd comes for the sake of the mosque. Two milk-white pigeons came down from the air and saluted him, and after the benediction\textsuperscript{15} they said 'we are from the blessed Makka; will you command for us and our friends a place of rest in this mosque?' The fuqîr 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 Khan, son of Jauhar 'Ali Khan Qâqshâl.'

Murâd Qâqshâl in 988 became commander of 1,000 and received the title of Khan (Akhbarnâma, vol. III, pp. 301, 305). In 991 he fought against Ma'sûm Khan Kâbulî (p. 417).

It is well known that the mosque at Makka abounds in flocks of wild pigeons which are considered as inviolable and are called kabîtar (hamûm)-i haram, 'pigeons of the sacred boundary.' Such were those Makkah pigeons which begged an asylum in Murâd Khan'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.

\textsuperscript{15} 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 'bimubâvâkhâd ushtighâddâsh',—Ma'âsîr al 'Umârâ, 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 Bādīshāhī masjid, 18 lines (size 2' 3" by 1' 5")—

\[\text{Translation.}\]

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! ... . . . . .

Sadr Jahān, son of Miyān Jayū, son of Yāzid, son of Da‘ūd, says—

The mosque in the town of Shērpūr has been built through the benefit of confidence in the forgiving God in the time of Shāhjāhān, the famous conqueror of the world, in the year 1042 (\textit{began the 19th July 1632}). God Almighty has said "And whosoever relies on God," etc. (\textit{Qurān}, Sūr. lxv, 3, 4). The Prophet (on whom may rest God's blessing!) has said "He who builds a mosque in the world," etc. A. 1042.

This mosque has been built in the age of Shāhjāhān 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 Chief Sadr (\textit{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 (\textit{ma‘āsir al Umarī}, 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 Ri'yās (pp. 207, 208) it is related that he could not keep the province in order as it ought to be. The inhabitants of Assam (Āshām), neighbours of Bengal, plundered the frontiers unpunished (cf. also \textit{Munt. alulbdāb}, vol. II, p. 132); 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 Shërpûr Mûrça (in Elliot-Dowson: Shërpûr Mirâja). The Ain-i Akbarî, vol. I, p. 405, identifies it with Mîhmânshâhî, stating its revenues at 2,207,715 dâmas. Its fort Salimnagar was built by Râja Mûn Singh, Governor of Bengal, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign Akbarnâma, vol. III, p. 697; it was so named in honour of Prince Salim, afterwards the emperor Jahângîr. Shërpûr was always an important place and a base of operations for the imperial troops.

VI.—Bihâr.

The following six Bihâr inscriptions belong to four different portions of the history of that province. If we follow Blochmann's division (Journal of As. Soc. Beng., vol. XLII, p. 245), the two first inscriptions fall into the 'Initial period,' or the reigns of the Governors of Lakînautî appointed by the Dihli sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyâr Khlîjî, viz., from A. II. 600 to 739, when Tâhâr addin Abl Muzaflar Mubârak Shâh, armour-bearer to Bâhrâm Khân, the Dihli Governor of Sunârgâon, on his master's death, proclaimed himself ruler and established an independent dynasty in Bengal. But Bihâr was detached from Bengal and remained to the Dihli empire till the foundation of the Jaunpûr kingdom, A. II. 796. This is the second period of the history of Bihâr. The third under the Shârqî rulers lasted till 881, when Jaunpûr again became subject to Dihli. To this fourth period belongs one inscription (No. 22) while Nos. 21 and 24 are of the second, and No. 23 of the third period. Inscription Nos. 19, 20, 21, and 23 have been published by Blochmann.

19. On a fine slab of basalt leaning against the wall of the Chotâ Dargâh, measuring 3 feet by 8 in.; it contains two lines—

بِنی هذِہ السَّلَتَّمَةِ نَی نَوَمَ السَّلَتَّمَةِ النَّبِیّ مَسِیحَ الدَّنارِ الیْدَمَ اَمِ اِلَّفْعَرَ مَرِیمَ السَّلَتَّمَةِ وَاِلَّمَبَنَ اَمِ اَلْعَدۡبُ

خادِمُ الرَّجَلِ الْمِلَاحِلِ الدِّیَانِ

امام الله ظلالما العبد الواعف بإلَّه رَقْوهُ الهاشية احفر الخالق بِأَمَام مَن حَاشِيَهُ دَبَّ إِلَّهٍ عَلَیْهِ رَحۡمَة

ولَدَانِهِ فَي اِلْعَرَبِ مَن رَحَّبَ سَنَةٌ حَسَنَ وَعَسْرٌ سَعْمَاءٌ

Translation.

'This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sultan Shams addunya waddin Abl Muzaflar Frîoz Shâh, the king, and during the governorship of the Khâqân of the age, known as Hâtim Khân—may God cause their shadows to last!—by the slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of creatures, Bâhrâm, son of Hâjî—may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents!—In the beginning of the month of Rajab of the year 715' (1st October 1315).

Hâtim Khân was a son of Frîoz Shâh, as we see from the inscription published by Blochmann (at sup.). He must have been governor of Bihâr during the years 709—715.

20. Over the gateway of the Sukunat or residency of the Imperial governor in Bihâr, was a beautiful inscription16 (now in the Bayley Sarai) of three lines, measuring 4 feet by 1' 10"—.

بِسِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ

شَد îب تَحْدِيدٍ عَمَلٍ اَسَن دَرْوَازَةٍ عَلَی١ الْعَلَمِ اَزِی١ وَلِی١ طَلَّفُ رَجَع١ مَلِک١ سَلَطُّن١

مرَأَمَ خَلَائِفَ حَذِفَةٍ حَبیْنَةٍ اَسْمَالّ بَارَثَة١ خَدَافِکَ سَلَطِینَ

16 See facsimile No. 3.
metre: Hazaj—

In the time of the reign of the world-conquering Shāh (may the power of the new-year’s day be in Bihār!), the king of the world, Firōz, the king who was victorious over the kings of the universe. The king of virtue Malik Bayyū İbrāhīm, 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 1355), travelled on that day to Paradise. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him!' Respecting Malik Bayyū, who is, par excellence, the saint of Bihār, see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 300.

22. From the Bayley Sarāţ at Bihār. Two lines (size 1 5” by 8 in.)—

"Thus archaic spelling, instead of kā, occurs several times in the inscriptions."
MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

TRANSLATION.

"On the date of the 11th of month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 960 (the 23rd January 1553) Nârân Shâhîd, son of Hâji Ishâq.

On this place.

28. From a mosque which stood opposite to the Choţa Takya on the other bank of the Adyândi, in Bihar. 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—

"Bismillah the rehman rahim. May the name of peace in the blessed mosque of Allah be blessed with Allah.

May peace be upon him, who is the chosen of Allah, the mighty, the merciful. He who has built this mosque, and who has ordered its raising and the raising of a mosque,

made of brick and stone, is a king who has built many mosques in the land of the world. May peace be upon him, who is the ruler of the world, who is the master of the land, who is the master of all things, who is the master of the land of the world."

Metre: Ramal—

"In the name, etc. He upon whom be peace (the Prophet) says "He who builds etc."

By divine grace and for the sake of Muḥṣafā (Muhammad), the Jum'a mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king Shâh Mahmûd, 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 (Allâh), 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 in this district, Naṣîr, son of Bahâ, ordered this building (to be erected), the best in the Eastern kingdom (Jaunpûr). This building in Bihar is stronger than the portico of Kisâ; 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 (25th October 1443), when, with the assistance of God, the (first) igâma took place in this mosque.'

The metrical Bihar inscriptions are all remarkable for their very bad poetry. This is the fourth known inscription of Mahmûd 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)."

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11 I have not succeeded in making out the meaning of the second line.
12 In this inscription the letters re and dâl often cannot be separated. Blochmann has read d'auer.
13 The form hâsad, instead of hâsâd, is at all, seldom in Indian inscriptions.
14 The form mîsad, instead of hâsâd, is at all, seldom in Indian inscriptions.
15 The Mahmûd Shâh inscription on a stone in the Hindu temple at Bedîbân is very dubious, see General Sir A. Cunningham’s Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. XVI, p. 25, Plate iv.
24. Also from the Bayley Sarāt. Two lines (size 3 feet by 1' 3") ; the right side is partly broken—

مدار رم خاریاء سالان
کردار
انگار اهل سیف نتار هجا اعدار
باز از مه محرم نی شهم

TRANSLATION.

Metre: Ramal—

'in the time of the Khānzāda....

Who is the glory of the men of the world and an esteemed satirist (?)...

The account of the Hijra-date is 767 (began the 18th September 1085) ; backwards from the month of Muharram reckon ....... 22

VII.—Munēr.

Munēr, Māner or Munair, is a very old place on the right bank of the Son at its confluence with the Ganges. Elliot-Dowson erroneously confounds it sometimes with Mungir. Firishta ascribes its foundation to the mythical times of Firōz Rāj, son of Kēshū Rāj, a contemporary of the hero Rustam (litogr. ed., vol. I., p. 18, mugaddima). General Cunningham, in his Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. VIII, pp. 22, 23, offers a theory of his own about the establishment of Munēr immediately after the Muhammadan conquest. He supposes that the Son through some unknown cause at that time had abandoned its original bed and taken its present course, thus forming new waste lands which had no name before, not having been in existence. The town was almost half a krōh distant from the river. Bābar in his Memoirs (p. 478) describes its situation in the following words: 'Down the stream from the place where I was I saw a large number of trees; they said to me that it was Munēr.'

In the Ain (vol. I, p. 419) Munēr is registered with 89,039 bighas, 15 biswas, 7,049,179 dāms, (say) 325,380 dāms. Bābar and Sikandar Shāh Lūdī are related to have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahyā, father of Shaikh Sharaf addin (Tārikh-i Dāddī in Elliot-Dowson's History, vol. IV, p. 462, Bābar's Memoirs, p. 478), from whom the pargana occasionally is named Munēr-i Shaikh Yahyā. Shaikh Sharaf addin was also a renowned saint; in his honour his disciple Ibrāhīm Qiwām Farūqī has called his dictionary Sharafnāma (Journal of As. Soc. Beng., vol. XXXVII, p. 7). Munēr now belongs to the district of Patna, subdivision Danāpur.23

25. Two lines (dimensions 1' 9' by 8 in.)—

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.

No information is given about the places where the following three Munēr inscriptions have been found.
Translation.

Metre: Hazaj—

‘By God’s grace (it was) in the time of the most noble king Maḥmūd, the sincere monarch, when this fine mosque, whose first builder was Jalāl al Haqq, one of the confidential chiefs, was rebuilt and newly adorned by Hāmād Khāṭir . . . . .

It was in 798 A. H. (began the 16th October 1395). Preserve its foundation in security. O God.’

This and the Maḥmūd Shāh inscription of A. H. 799 (Journ. of As. Soc. Beng. vol. XLII, p. 304), are valuable, because they show that Nuṣrat Khān, the opposing king, who was advanced as a claimant to the throne by Saʿūdat Khān A. H. 797, was not acknowledged in Bihār. It is not easy to form a correct picture of the complicated conditions then existing in the empire. Khwāja-i Jahān (Malik ashSharq Khwāja-i Sarāt), the founder of the Jaunpūr kingdom, had got into his possession the provinces of Qanauj, Karah, Audh, Sandelā, Dalamau, Bhrāch, Bihār, and Jaunpūr; the emperor Maḥmūd was confined for some years only to old Dihli, the fortress of Sīrī, and the Jāhāpanāth, while the districts of the Doāb, of Sambhal, Panīpat, Jhaighar and Rohtak were occupied by Nuṣrat Khān, viz., Sultān Naṣīraddin, who had his residence at Firūz-ābād. Other provinces perpetually changed their masters, ambitious amirs and maliks, whocombattedeachotheranxiously. The harvest was fully ripe for the bloody reaper Timūr.

26. Three lines (size 5 9″ by 1 4″)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا الله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

رسول الشعب الإمارة إلى الأبد زمّا حكّى إذا جارها رفوّتة أبناءها رقّال لهم حزنتها سلام عليكما طابن

؛ مخالقها خالقين

کشتّ نئ قدر سرّ هذا الباب
کلّ تللّ رهينة ضياء

قال عقلًا علي طريق الأمور
قلّ مسّ دفّته كلّ إمّا

جبر در روضة مسجد شاه
رعي رعّت Îب نعاس [بالاتمام]

سل ظباح إيز خرب حسن مقى
خرب دير ابن خسه مقم

بعنا لب كشرة ر كفتا
در ديرت كشا [باد درا]

Translation.

‘There is no God, etc. But those who fear their Lord, etc. (Qurân, Sûr. 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: Khaṣif—

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 tārikhs give the year 1022 (began the 21st February 1615).

27. Three lines (10' 0" by 1' 6").—

"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)."

(Metro: Ḥazaf)—

When this high, Ka’ba-like, world-adorning edifice, through the benevolence of the powerful Creator, was completely erected, the heart of Šāhī 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 tārikh gives 1028 A.H. (began the 19th, December 1618).

The tārikh betrays the name of the builder, viz. Ibrāhím Khán Fatḥ Jang, son of Ghiyās Beg of Tāhrān. This combination relies upon the very similar tārikh in the 'Haft Quzum' (Rückert-Pertzsch, p. 228): baná-yi Ka’ba-yā sání nihād Ibrāhīm, 'the erection of the second Ka’ba has been made by Ibrāhīm,' where Ibrāhím Khán Fatḥ Jang is expressly named as builder. He became governor of Bihûr A.H. 1021, and afterwards of Bengál A.H. 1028, and stayed there until 1032, when he was killed in the battle with Princè Shâhjahân. The tārikh of the Haft Quzum gives the date 1010, but as Ibrāhím Khán had already died in 1032, this date cannot be correct. Perhaps the izafat after baná 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., O.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN

This inscription was first brought to public notice, about eighty-five years ago, by Captain Wilford, who, in the *Asian 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-relievo, is Pārvati 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 Pārvati, and the bull, is written Śrī-Karṇa-deva.¹ The grant is dated the second year of his new Era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192. . . . . The ancestors of Śrī-Karṇa-deva, mentioned in the grant, were, first, his father Gāṅgeya-deva, with the title of Vējaya-kantaka: he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kokalla-deva, whose father was Lakṣhmāna-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.² Both were made over to Dr. F. E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal,³ and has thus enabled me to publish the text of this inscription the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise.

The inscription is on two plates which appear to measure about 1' 4" broad by 11½" high each, and each of which is inscribed on one side only. Each plate contains a round hole, about 5" in diameter, for a ring to which was affixed the seal, described by Wilford. The plates probably are thick and substantial, for, to judge from the impression, the letters must have been deeply engraved. The first plate contains twenty-eight lines of very close writing, the second only twenty lines. The writing is well preserved almost throughout, so that, with the exception of about half a dozen aksharas, the actual reading of the text is hardly at all doubtful. The size of the letters is between 5⁄16" and 3⁄16". 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

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 Lauman for having personally communicated to Dr. Hall my request, which has been granted most readily.
Mahārāṣṭrī Prākrit. Excepting the introductory om om namah Śivāya and the words kim-vāpareva in line 13, lines 1-32, which mainly contain the genealogy of the grantor, are in verse; the rest of the inscription, being the formal part of the grant, is in prose, but includes six of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 44-48.—As regards orthography, 6 is throughout denoted by the sign for v; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal everywhere, except in the word ērī which ordinarily is spelt correctly; kṣh is employed instead of khy in sauksa, line 7, and kshālām, line 27, and ky instead of kṣh in kaukyeyako, line 26; j and y are confounded, e.g., in parjjanaisht (for paryyaçaishit), line 10, dur jjasah (for duryyasah), line 27, and annya (for annya), in lines 16 and 22; and the dental nasal is employed instead of the lingual in ārinya, line 8, and kārunya, line 20, and instead of anusvāra in vaansa, 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 aksharas (or even groups of aksharas) are often omitted, short vowels are used instead of long ones, and medial e and o are employed instead of ai and au. Such and other mistakes, too numerous to enumerate here, occur especially frequently in the bottom lines of the first plate; and they have sometimes rendered it impossible for me to restore the correct wording of the original text. Nevertheless, there is no doubt whatever as to what historical facts are intended to be recorded in the poetical part of the inscription; and I am particularly glad to be able to state that the date of this document is so clearly written and engraved as to remove any doubts which may have been entertained in this regard.

The inscription is one of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva), the lord over Trikaliṅga, the illustrious Karṇadeva, who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmādeva (lines 33-34). The epithets which are here officially applied to Karṇadeva are the same which are used with reference to Narasimhadeva in the Lāl-Pahāḍ rock inscription 4 of the Chedi year 909, to his younger brother Jayasimhadeva in the Rewah copper-plate grant 6 of the Mahārāṇaka Kirtivaran of the Chedi year 926, and to Jayasimhadeva’s son Vijayasimhadeva in the Kumbhi copper-plate grant 6 of the Chedi year 932, and which apparently were applied also to Karṇadeva’s immediate successor Yaśaṅkarṇadeva 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 8 that I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trikaliṅga to denote, or to be an older name of, the province of Teliṅgana; but that I am unable to explain the exact significance of the phrase ‘who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmādeva,’ which we thus find employed with reference to five different kings. In accordance with ordinary usage, that phrase ought to mean that Vāmādeva 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


7 See above, page 5; ib., page 7, line 16, the translation should have been: ‘And this . . . . who [meditates on] the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmādeva . . . .’

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 Karṇadeva 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 Venā, 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 Susi) to the learned Viśvarūpa,—a soṇ of Nārāyana, grandson of Vāmana, and great-grandson of Maha,—a student of the Vājasaneyya čākha, who belonged to the Kauśika gotra, and whose three prasāras were Āudala, Devarāta and Vaśvāmitra, and who or whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesālā. Karṇadeva 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 Venā, near which Karṇadeva was encamped when making the grant, and on the banks of which Svāsāga (?) should be looked for, is the Wen-Gangetic 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 Vesālā 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 15 A.D. 1042, as I have given it in Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, p. 216, and ante, vol. I, p. 33. Since I wrote my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era four years ago, I have ascertained from the best materials the exact reading of eleven out of the twelve Chedi dates which contain sufficient data for verification; and there can be no doubt that all these dates, without exception, work out satisfactorily, as dates in current years with the 26th August (= Āśvina-ṣudi 1) A.D. 249, or as dates in expired years with the 5th September (also = Āśvina-ṣudi 1) A.D. 248 as the initial day of the era, and with the pāṃśimānta

1 The Sаmākṣī for camp of victory is viṣaya-kātaka, for which Captain Wilford put viṣaya-kauṭaka, and which he took to be a title of the king Gāngeyadeva. Wilford’s viṣaya-kauṭaka has found its way even into the St. Petersburg Dictionary.
2 Compare the Kumbhl copper-plate, where, instead of mahādeva mahāvaraṇa, we have mahādrīśṭi-ḥ maḥa-
   kumbhastri-ḥ āyagāvahadeva.
4 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.
5 See Plate i in Sir A. Cunningham’s Archæol. Survey of India, vol. XVII.
6 I hardly think that Verāla could be the ancient Vaiśālī, the position of which is shown by Sir A. Cunningham in his
7 On this day the 9th Āśvina of the dark half of the pāṃśimānta Phālguna ended 17th. 9th. after mean sunrise.
8 Writing at Nāgpur (which once must have belonged to the Chedi kings), on the 30th October 1798, Colebrooke, whose
   words may certainly be relied upon, says: ‘The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina; but, opening
   in the midst of Durgā’s festival, New Year’s Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.’ See Life of H. T. Colebrooke,
   page 163.
scheme of the lunar months. The complete agreement of all the twelve dates proves that the date given in the last line of this inscription,—simval 793 Phálguna-vadi 9 Some,—is correct; but it also shows that the statement in line 40, according to which Karnadeva performed the funeral rites in honour of his father on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phálguna, 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, & 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.17 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 párñimántha Mágha ended about 11 hours after mean sunrise, and that the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in line 40 the month in which he was writing the grant. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Monday, the 18th January A.D. 1042, is really the date of this inscription, and that this is as trustworthy a date for the reign of the king Karnadeva as we could wish to have.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, I have still to give an account of the thirty-one verses with which the inscription opens. As is the case with most copper-plate inscriptions, these introductory verses contain little more than the genealogy of the grantor, but they furnish some names which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty.

After the words ‘om om, adoration to Śiva,’ the inscription opens with a verse in honour of the god Śiva, who is identified here with the supreme Brahma.18 It then records, in verses 2-4, the origin of the powerful prince Kártaṇvīrya, the vanquisher of the demon Rāvana;19 and further relates, in verses 5 and 6, that, sprung from Kártaṇvīrya’s family, there were the famous Haiñyaya princes, the clan of whom was rendered illustrious by the valorous and pious prince Kokkalla.20

According to verse 7, this prince Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the illustrious Harsha who is described as the sovereign of Chitrakūṭa, and to the king Śamkaragua. 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,21 I have already adopted Sir A. Cunningham’s suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Rāṣṭrakūṭa 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,22 and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and

17 On Saturday, the 9th January 1142, the full moon titi ended 3h. 7m. after mean sunrise.
18 The same verse occurs at the commencement of the Bhoj copper-plate grant of the Mahārāja Salakañhavarmadeva; Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, page 228. Compare also the first verse of the Tewar inscription of Jayasimha-deva, above, page 29.
19 See verse 9 of the Bihari inscription, ante, vol. I, page 263.
20 This name is spelt both Kokkalla and Kokkalla.
22 See Field, Dynasties of the Kanaujese Districts, page 36. Since the above was written, Prof. Bhāgavārīkar has published an inscription in which Krīṣṇarāja’s father Amoghavarmadeva is named Śri-vallabha; and it is just possible that he may be the Vallabharāja of this copper-plate inscription.
Vallabharâja of the present inscription are the Bhojadeva and Krishnaâja 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 Kakkalla’s wife was a Chandelâ princess; for, as Chitrakûta is a well-known locality of Bandelkhand 23 which was ruled over by the Chandellas, Harsha must be the Chandelâ Harshadeva, the successor of Râhila and predecessor of Yasovarman. It is true, we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshadeva, but, since he apparently had dealings with Kshitiпадâdeva of Kansa24 for whom we have the date A.D. 917, and as his grandson Dhaângadeva25 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 Krisha-vallabha. Lastly, the Śaṁkaragaṇa of our inscription I believe to be Kakkalla’s own son (also called Raṇavigraha), whose daughter Lakshmi was married 26 by Kriśna-vallabha’s son Jagatunaga. One of the Ratnapur inscriptions tells us 27 that the Chedi ruler Kakkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was ruler of Tripuri, while the others became lords of maṇḍalas; and it does not seem at all improbable that Kakkalla already during his life-time may have assigned part of his dominions to Śaṁkaragaṇa, 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, 28 that the reign of Kakkalla, who, as we shall see below, was Kakkalla I, ‘may be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D.’

Our inscription further tells us that Kakkalla 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 Yuvarâjadeva (verse 15).

According to the Bilhari inscription, 29 Kakkalla was succeeded by his son Mûgâduṇâga, and his son again was Keyûrâvarsha-Yuvarâjadeva, who married Nohalâ, a daughter of the Chaulkuya Avanivarman.

Comparing these two accounts with each other, it is clear that Prasiddhadhavala and Mûgâduṇâga are names of one and the same prince, and that the Yuvarâjadeva of the copper-plate is the Keyûrâvarsha-Yuvarâjadeva 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 Mûgâduṇâga (Prasiddhadhavala) conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and took Pâli from the lord of Kosala. Of Keyûrâvarsha-Yuvarâjadeva 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 Yasovarman, who probably was a contemporary of Yuvarâjadeva, informs us 30 that that Chandella king defeated the Chedi king, and ‘brought distress on the shameful Chedis.’

25 See ib., page 124.
26 See ib., Dynasties, page 36.
The next three princes mentioned in the copper-plate, again without any remark of the slightest value, are Yuvarājadeva’s son Lakṣmanarājadeva (verse 17), and his two sons Śaṅkararaṇa-deva (verse 19) and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva II. (verse 21), who are all described as ruling sovereigns. The Kārttala inscription has preserved the name of Lakṣmanarājadeva’s wife, Bāhāḍā; and the Bilhari inscription records that Lakṣmanarājadeva 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 Śiva in Ujjain. Almost the same story is told of Yuvarājadeva II. in the Koroibel inscription of Jayasimhadeva. As regards the times of these kings, it may be mentioned that Lakṣmanarājadeva’s daughter Bonthādevī was the mother of Tailapa, who restored the Western Chālukya dynasty and ascended the throne in A.D. 973-74, and that, according to the Udaypur prakṣasti, Yuvarājadeva II was defeated and his capital Tripuri conquered by Vākpati-Muṇja of Mālava, for whom we have the dates A.D. 974, 979, and 993.

According to the copper-plate grant, Yuvarājadeva II. was succeeded by his son Kokkalladeva II. (verse 23), he by his son Gāngeyadeva (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. Gāngeyadeva, according to the Jabalpur copper-plate of Yaśaṅkarna-deva, also bore the name Vikramādiṭya; 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.’ Other Chedi inscriptions also eulogize both his valour and piety, and even in a Chandella inscription he is styled the conqueror of the universe. Gāngeya is mentioned as the ruler of Dāhāla (or Chedi) by Alberúnī, in A.D. 1030. We also possess a short inscription of his reign which, according to Sir A. Cunningham, is dated in the (Chedi) year 789 A.D. 1037-38; and we know him to have been a contemporary of the Chandella Vijayapāla, who had ceased to rule before A.D. 1051. In all probability Gāngeyadeva’s reign ended about A.D. 1040, not more than a year or two before the date of Karna’s copper-plate.

Of Karna, ‘the lord of the Kalachuris,’ the Jabalpur copper-plate, besides eulogizing his valour, records that he founded the town of Karṇavati, and that at Kāśi or Benares he built a splendid temple, called Karna’s Meru. The Bhera-Ghāṭ inscription of Alhaṇadevī represents him as having subdued or held in check the Pândyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalṅgas, Kṛṣnas and Hūnas; and similarly the Karanbel inscription of Jayasimhadeva makes him be waited upon by the Choda, Kuṅga, Hūna, Gauḍa, Gūrjara and Kīra princes. As we possess an inscription of his son which is dated

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21 See above, p. 175.
22 See ante, vol. i, page 208.
24 See Fleet’s Dynasties, page 41.
26 See Indian Antiquity, vol. XX, page 403.
27 See above, page 6.
28 I believe, Captain Wilford got the ‘leathose dungeon, in which he lets Glangeyadeva die, out of the words [Sansk.] ga-smadabāna (cf. l. 33 of the copper-plate).
30 See Sastun’s Translation of Alberùnù’s India, vol. i, page 503.
32 The copper-plate of Vijayapala’s successor Duvavarnadeva is dated in Vikrama 1107; see Indian Antiquity, vol. XIX, page 364, No. 176.
33 See above, page 6.
34 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 Nagpur prastati Udayādyiya of Malava, whom we know to have ruled in A.D. 1080, freed the land from the dominion of Karna, who, joined by the Karnātas, 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 Sanskrit play, is, that that prince-defeated Karna, the favourite of Fortune, and by doing so restored the independence of the Chandella kingdom. The grammarian Hemachandra eulogizes Bhima-deva I. of Añhilvād (A.D. 1021-63) for having conquered Karna in battle; and, similarly, the poet Bilhana, who elsewhere describes Karna as the god of death to the lord of the Kālañjara mountain, meaning to the Chandella king, records his defeat by the Western Chālukya Someśvara I. (about A.D. 1042-68).

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 Huna princess Ávalladevi and was succeeded by the son whom she bore to him, Yasāhkarnadeva, whose Jabalpur copper-plate grant must have been issued in A.D. 1122, shortly before the close of his reign. Yasāhkarnadeva's name also occurs in a copper-plate inscription of Govinda-chandradeva 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 Yasāhkarna part of the Chedi dominions had passed into the possession of the kings of Kanauj. A successful expedition against Tripuri by Lakshmadeva of Malava, the son and successor of Udayādyiya, which probably took place during Yasāhkarna's reign, is mentioned in the Nagpur prastati. The only exploit which Yasāhkarna's own inscription has to record of him, is, that he 'extirpated with ease' the ruler of Andhra near the river Godīvari; and the same feat is probably alluded to in the Bheraghat inscription of Alhana-devi, where that inscription speaks of the devastation by Yasāhkarna of Champāranya.

Yasāhkarnadeva was succeeded by his son Gayākarnadeva, of whose reign we possess an inscription dated in the Chedi year 902 = A.D. 1151, when his son Narasimha had already been appointed Yuvatija. Gayākarna (or Gayakarna) married Alhana-devi,
a daughter of the king Vijayasimha,—a son of Vairisimha, who was a son of Hamșapāla of the Gulilā family of Mewād,—and his wife Śyāmaladevi, a daughter of Udayāditya of Mālava. And Alhanadevi bore to him two sons, Narasimhadeva and Jayasimhadeva, who succeeded their father one after the other. Of Narasimhadeva’s reign we possess three inscriptions,18 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 inscriptions19 have been edited, two of which are dated in the Chedi years 926 and 928 = A.D. 1175 and 1177. Jayasimhadeva married20 Gosaladevi, and was succeeded by their son Vijayasimhadeva, of whose reign we have two copper-plate inscriptions,21 of the Chedi year 932 = A.D. 1180, and the Vikrama year 1253 = A.D. 1196, the first of which gives us the name of Vijayasimha’s son, the prince Ajayasimhadeva. Of all these princes the inscriptions mention not a single fact which would be worth noticing here.

According to the preceding account the list of succession of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi or Dāhāla, beginning with Kokkalladeva I., would be as follows:—

1. Kokkalladeva I.; contemporary of Bhojadeva of Kanauj (A.D. 862, 876, 882), of the Rāṣhrakūṭa Krishna II. (Krishna-vallabha, about A.D. 875-911) who married a daughter of his; of the Chandella Harshadeva; and of (his own son) Śaṅkaragana. He married the Chandella princess Nāṭā.

2. His son Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala.

3. His son Bālāharsha.

4. His younger brother Keyūravarsha-Yuvarājadeva I.; married Nohalā, a daughter of the Chaulekya Avanivarman.

5. His son Lakshmanarājadeva; married Rāhaḍā. His daughter Bonthādevī was the mother of the Western Chāluksya Tailapa (A.D. 973-74).

6. His son Śaṅkaraganadeva.

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 Alberūḍī (A.D. 1030), and of the Chandella Vījayapāla.


11. His son Yaṣaḥkaranḍa. A copper-plate grant of his is dated in A.D. 1122.

12. His son Gayākaraṇadeva. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1151. He married Alhanadevi, a daughter of Vijayasimha of Mewād and grand-daughter of Udayāditya of Mālava.

13. His son Narasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1155, 1158 and 1159.

18 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.**

1. चौ[५३] [१३] चौ नम: सिं(चि)वायः।
   युगः वायः निम्नं सिं(चि)वे परमारणं।>
   भावयेः परं जऽविस्तत्त्वाः सहुः[५४] ब्राह्मणं नमः। [१३]—[१३].
   वेष्ठित्ववायः[६५] वेष्ठित्ववायः।

2. रसाद्वितीयिसं(चि)दंतुः[५५] मभं। [५६]
   समस्तः स्वरायेः[५७] भावः स्वरायेः। [१३]
   सत्त्वानाम[६२] चौ बाह्त्रम्भ भवास्तः समार्थस्याम्ययत्वोऽस्मी
   ययः। [३२]—[३२].

3. प्राचे कृतिनिमित्ता तत:। [६८]—[२२].
   चौ: चौविषाणीयवः स्वितिपतिरसमपुर(चि) भूतपात्या।
   स्वितिवसादिब्विः भायिवर्णिनिमित्तः स्वास्तः[३२] परस्परितिः(चि)मा। [६२]
   चौ: [३२]—[३२].

4. काष्टेभुश्चतिरङ्गितममम्बायुरस्वरायेः।
   आयेर्वश्चायुयुरुण्डापुण्डरिकवर्षचारवर्षोऽधम्। [१३]—[३२].
   यहस्सुभि[६२] भोता दधिः नुभत:। [६२]—[३२].

5. सावः प्रतिः। [६२]

6. दर्द्वादाने। स्वितिनिमित्ताभाय:। [१३]—[४२].
   तद्वादा:। चौ:। चौ:। चौ:। चौ:। चौ:। चौ:। [६२]—[४२].
7. नान(स्) संवितमुखः सहख्त[ता] ३४ शोच(ख्य)कः तेवास(र)चेवास(र)विन्यासः दिवीमानेवृक्षाः ११(ि)४६ —[५].
सम्यग(व्य) लक्ष्विचारणा प्रतिदिन[न] दर्शाय योगाय च
इत्यः—
8. पूर्वपरोपकारतः यथार्थसती(ळा) मन्त्रः ॥१(ि)
चारुन्य(श्व्र) चिन्मायाम दानात्मकः सदैव(श)पुष्पे सथा
राजन्यासवसायामुक्तदिवसविश्वमन्त्रेः ॥ े । प्रासवान् ॥१(ि) —[६].
भोजे व—
9. [क्षम] राजे ३८ श्रीर्यं(घ) चिवक्षुतं(भु) पावे ।
सुःशरणे च रा[ज]ः। नि वस्त्रार्धमवः पाति: ॥१(ि)७३ —[७].
सचित्विद्धः ॥३८ कस्मात्सुपकृती नय्यावधायीव चरितमोऽहि ।
चासःसम्प्रवन्ते ॥
10. सुसिला नादास्वदीनि स तु पक्षे निपन्नः ॥६३ —[८].
वद्याद्वेषीयोः तावपन्तं क(श)ः दर्शियमापि(पी) नरस्वायानायाम ।
चण्डीजनल विश्वते जनसं तथा सहस(र) चित्र[र] तु—
11. मारम् ॥१(ि) —[९].
नारा प्रसीदे श्रव(व) नवयिदिय प्रसिद्धौऽवी(श्री) ध्वलः स राजा ।
वहूः ॥४५ तूर्य यो मुक्तिवर्धा योविन्यायेर्वर्जनालकाः ॥ च वकार ॥ —[१०].
एकः (कं) द्वितीया दुःसङ्गमि—
12. सुः (श्र्य) खस(श्र्य) हीवित(श्र्य) रचतः
भद्याय(श्र्य) गाहिण्य नागपतिना नय्यार्य उपदेशितः ।
वाचित्राय दृशी (श्री) जन सुरपतिवर्द्धेऽदर्शः ॥ चासायी
वन्यासा (श्र्य) सुवस्वविधायमस्तर्वः ॥२०—
13. चित्र(ल)वृषि: पदं ॥६५ —[११].
अद्यतिपरेः ॥
हो विभिन्न एक यो(श्र्य)स्त्रिया एवलयामार्धमः [१५]
द्वारा हविवर्त जेति यात्रेष्य परित्य(श्र्य)हो गाहियो ॥४७ —[१२].
तत्सु(श्र्य)ः खातः—

३४ Read “कः संवितमुखः”.
३५ Read “शिरामण्डलितो” — The word राजस्क, offends against the metre; but the first line of verse 22 shows that the spelling with double l is correct.
३६ Metre of verses 5 and 6: Sārdhamitrīśita. The hiatus between lines 1 and 2 of verse 6 offends against the metre.
३७ Read “यस्मात्सुपकृती”.
३८ Originally ākṛṣṇe was engraved at the commencement of line 9; but afterwards a letter seems to have been inserted between the aśvatara र रात्रात्.
३९ Metre: Āṣya.
४० Read “मृत्यमुखः”.
४१ Read “धयमथर्यमूर्तिः”.
४२ Read “श्र्यस्थिति:”.
४३ Read “श्र्यसन्ति:”.
४४ Read “श्र्यस्थिति:”.
४५ Mêtre of verses 8:10: Uṣṇājī.
४६ I give this line exactly as it is in the impression. शीतिय may probably be शीति, and the fourth Pāda may be शीतामुक्तविश्वमन्त्राः; but the proper reading of the whole line I am unable to restore.
४७ Metre: Sārdhamitrīśita.
४८ Read “स्थि:” वारणः.
४९ Metre: Āṣya. ‘In this family there will be men highly precocious on account of their great dignity; thus considering, he took possession of the regions.’ Professor Fischel informs me that पक्षी is given as a synonym of दिवम in Hemachandra’s Delīnāmālid, VI, 37.
कभीं द्रिभिन्मितानिभाजातुभु (व्रतमंत्र) ।
भरतम(भ)तान (व)सुध चताप्रस्तुतिचित्र(व)लक्ष्यः सु[ज]भा ।
यः सहस्तिरुतानमात्तालसक्तयां सावाकारस्तिव क्षयं जाते ।

15. ताल्लोकोपयोगः सिरस्मितारुपाकारिवसित्व(व्रत)वर्गः: (॥)॥ ॥ [18].

16. धर्मीति दास (ग)धर्मरिव रितुरुपार्था (पा)को वस्माधविकिमापरं समरोक्तवाय ।
भवत्र भ(म) ।

17. धियक्षानानामार्धवसार्धिति यः सुसीच ॥ ॥ [14].
सख्तवैविनिरितत्र दुष्पिदित्रस तत्ततुनिः (ज)ः प्रविनित्वा (व)हुव (च)को व (द)भूत ।
धृष्टपानातिरितिच (ब)लक्षि (अ)वरंथप्रकाशः ।

18. "क्षी पार्श्वपरः कलिसी वृवाराजनेवः: (॥) ॥ [15].

19. जनवित्वस्यः ।
चा (अ)न्र्य वं वर्मसिव चित्तीर्थि (श) फिराय चेमा जगता सुवानिः ॥ ॥ [17].

20. चं च पदं नीरसु (च) नीरसु (च) यः ।
तत्ततार्थवैनेपुष्पादः ॥ ॥ [18].

21. भास (त)हरणणेवः ।
?

22. लं वायु(प्र) सच्चे शारिरिता ॥ ॥ [20].

L. 23. सा[व्र:दर्शिन्यागः सरसं चुरंजयाचिनः।
यम[स्य]सा[सतं] धमरास्यःस्यःस्यः सनविधाय भूयते:।[1(1)] —[22].
श्रीराजदिवो वश्चिन्यानः।
ब[य]स[र]प:।

24. कालो द्वियमन्दिराणि पुरो धर्मान्ति स्याय्यःस्यःस्यः:।[1(1)] —[23].
नधः कामुकवत् हत नियमम नृपैवर्तित:।
कापिलस चरमानः स्मिरितः: [भा]नरानादस्यान्:।[1(1)]

25. कालो सा[स्य] परिच्छेण रहितं सम्बर[व] स्यायितः
स्मास्मिन् कृतं नरपतिः[विक्रम] स्वामिवधाम्:।[1(1)] —[24].
काललाल्पादवासस्मकः[का]शोभः पदः
ची-।

26. राज्याधिकरणो[भी] रघुमधुग्रामेऽभास्तः।
यमः जायतेन केवलं रघणुं कौके(वे) याविभिषेकः।
स्तवेव प्रतिवति[व] पुनर्रूपलावः[र] स्यमुखः।[1(1)] —[25].

27. अयुजीर्ज्जलोलितः चतुर्व बद्धिः दुर्भस्वः।
लक्ष्यं तदद्वन्दना धिक[स] विद्यमाणाय तस्मिन्:।[1(1)] —[26].
खासी[व] सत्त्वस्य धोषकृतः।।[26]।
लाल्पेन्विव[व] रोच-।

28. निनः
सोऽयनेन[सु:र]। न वैत्तस्वस्तः[व] मतः[व] तत्स्य
एकाशिच्छित्रयं कलोः समनिन्य गामिण्यं नुषी:।
[सु]क्सा रिलित[भि]व तेर-।

100 Read श्रीमये यहाचिनि.
1 उपासी।
2 श्रीमातिरीमणायाय धारायायः: कौके(वे) याविभिषेकः।
3 उपासी।
4 I am not, perhaps, able to restore the exact reading of this verse, but would suggest the following:—
मधुः शर्मच्छवकते निमायीमि गृहीतश्चादनः
कापिलस चरमानाय धिर्मिः संस्कृत्यान्:।
कालो सा[स्य] परिच्छेण रहितं सम्बर[व] स्यायितः
स्मास्मिन्कृतं कृतं नरपतिः[विक्रम] स्वामिवधाम्:।

5 उपासी।
6 For the commencement of this line I would suggest कौके(वे) याविभिषेकः।
7 the end of the line I am unable to restore.
8 Read माध्यक्वस्मिन्नतः।
9 Read शर्मच्छवकते निमायीमि पराशुरः।
10 उपासी।
11 उपासी।
12 Read लक्ष्यमाणायायः:।
13 I would suggest here श्रीमये मौदूरि स वैत्तस्वस्तं मतः धिक[स] विद्यमाणायः:।
14 Read खासी[व] सत्त्वस्य धोषकृतः।
15 I would suggest reading this line श्रीमये निर्मितिनाथ देवस्वभूत्वम् यथीि: नुषी:।
16 I take the meaning of the verse to be that, while formerly people did not believe in the truthfulness of Yudhishthira, etc., they now no longer entertain any such doubts, since they have seen that, even in this Kali age, Gâgâyadeva possesses all the virtues ascribed to those ancient kings, in a higher degree even than they did.
Second Plate.

I. 29. विनयं पूवे वेदीका भुपा: ||16—[27].

संयालास्त्र: करणे इवातसौब्जी: करणे: प्रेतिया(था) प्रेति(यथा) तथा(भ)भाव: ||

वधामिसिसे(वे)काल(व)वणा[वि]प—

30. द्वि(था)प्रहर्ते द्वि(था)वद्वर्जयेन। ||17—[28].

वल्ली। सावता दूरं प्रसरव्या दिने दिने ||(i)

प(था)प्राक्षमेतायोगं: खबतामुपपन्नीयं ||18—[29].

क्षण समु—

31. ख्रुकविंकवाजङ्गियलिंकितात्।

कोहेवः भूम्यवः भूम्यवेश्वरः: काल(था)पापसः। ||—[30].

स(था)सत्त्वेव(थे)कने(हि)नायक सुपाकश्रेष्ठ वर्मधामनः

32. युतिपरं व्यविहारसी क्षितंनिन् विवृत्

चावा(था)पृढङ्गे परसिंधे हृतिश्च: सदेव(थे)व राजन्यते बस्मती भवती(थे)व भूयात्तु। ||19—[31].

लेव(थे)व गुणणपालकः

33. स(था)रीरः: [कसा][न]22 समावावितयोऽर्हन्तकम् नरसमहारकम्हाराजाधिराजपरमिक—

(था)रवीवाम(थे)वपादलुधाम(थ)परमधा—

34. रक्षमहाराजाधिराजपरमिक(था)रपिरस्माद्विश(थ)रतु(वि)कालिया(था)किचित्तिमलकण्यां

देवः।[15]काल(था)को महादेवी महाराजपु[व]22 महासम—

35. ति[ते] महासमलो[व] महासमविविधिका महाभवात्विहिष्टिका महाभवात्विहिष्टिका महाभवात्विहिष्टिका महाभवात्विहिष्टिका महाभवात्विहिष्टिका

36. महासमारायी महासम(था)साविशिकी महामा* एधामारिकी महाभूधृभीतान्या समदीयति श्री(थे)व धर्मयति समायत्यति विवृति—

37. म[सु] भवता(था) यथा यथा(था)22 काविन्नुम्मी(था)22 नव(सु)विद्यासः। सात(स)समुकः

समतलखण्डोम: समवेचरकः[नि]22 महात्मसुतः

38. निम्नमितस(थ)मुरवः(था) मोहायकाः। 22 वेषालङ्गिविविद्यायो कृषिकाग्रस्मो 22 योद्ध तदेववत् विविधिपार्वत्व—

39. प्रवराय वजालेया(था)लया 2 समहन्यु: वास्म[स]नमु नारायणपुवास्य परिधात्रिकिंस्सा(थ)रपाय। ||17 हृदेव पितु: श्री—

21 Metre: शास्त्राविविधिणि।
22 Metre: इंद्राभोजः।
23 Metre of verses 29 and 30: दोङ्ग ('Arjuna').
24 Metre: वंशान्तलकः।
25 Of the word preceding समावावित only the third aksahe (था) is quite clear; the first aksahe might perhaps be read सा, and the second यथा.
26 Read "प्रवाशकुशलकारणाः".
27 The akshe in brackets may have been altered to श्री—
28 What was meant to be engraved here and in the following, was perhaps महासम। साविशिकीयविविधिणि, etc. Compare, e.g., the Mungir copper-plate grant of Devapáladeva, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, page 256, line 31.
29 I suspect that one or more aksahe are omitted in this word.
30 Read सीतितात्।
31 The aksahe in these two brackets are very indistinct and doubtful, and I cannot suggest the exact name of the district in which the village of Suri was situated.
32 These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
33 Read श्रीप्रसिद्धः।
34 Read "प्रकाशप्रर्तिपार्वत्वः".
L. 40. महानेदरस्य संवलस्य सर्वादेः फायुनव(व) हुल्यचतियोयायां स(श) नेपमु(श) रवासे वेशाङ्गां घ्नाला भगवाँते तेवं तेव"विलोचन-
41. मस(श) पनस(श) भागुपात्यंतपाचीयच(च)र[प्र] पंचन परया भलया समभंगोऽसमस्य(श) रुः(श) या सा(श) व विधायोभयमोनिन मसमणं व प्रस्हल । भजः शीघ्राला- ।
42. एकदेवपादा[ः।] मुसोयामालिकासिदः समस्यन्यं प्रायमादिण्यं विदितसमुं भववतां- (तत्तया या मृत्यो"वास्मिः सा(श) सन्नवन प्रदत्त दति मला
43. भागमोऽग्रंसरिकंदखङ्गावकसोवालि"प्रभुवितसस्मरानप्रवादाय(या) जशोपनवया"दति तदपविकर्म्यय साधे वालानिया न
44. गन्तव्यांति ं। अयस्माना॥
सर्वानन्यता(श्र्ह) विवो राजपुमाम्य(श्र्ह) ये भूयो यवचवे राममः।
सासान्याय(या) भगीशुलुभु(यू) वापा(या) काले का-
45. ति पालानीयो भविन्दः। (॥)॥—[32]।
व(श) हुमिव(श) सुहा शुला राजमः। समावदिभः।
यश यश यदा भूसंसक्ष्य तस्य तदा फलस्। (॥)॥—[33]।
अयस्मानन्ये।"हिं[श्]?
46. पि युमा(श) नाश नुपरितभैल।
तस्यापि हसस्त्वोऽहं सा(श) समं न ध्यतिकर्मित्। — [34]।
वानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरावर्णानि धमोधयस्ल(श) सर्वापि।
47. नृसाक्षालापितसमाल"तानि को न(न) म सापुः पुनराधीत। — [35]।
अस(श) सितव(श) साहिन्य राजसु(श) वसहवेन। [१]
गत्या कात(को) लिप्रादेवानिभूमिष
48. चाँ न मु(श) ध्यति। (॥)॥—[36]।
सुवात्सनिधिय(श) गामी।[का] भूसरवर्यसम्पूल(सके)।
हरहर[क] मानोत्स यावदारुसम्पूल। [२]— [37]
संवत् ७८.१ फालुनवधि। चौथे [॥]|
MATHURA SCULPTURES.

Plate I

AN ASAGAPATA (b) AND CENTRAL FIGURE OF ANOTHER (g)
XXIV.—SPECIMENS OF JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the several articles on Dr. Führer's discoveries in the Kankālī Tilā at Mathurā (ante, vol. I, pp. 371ff., 393ff.; vol. II, pp. 193ff.) it has been stated repeatedly that large numbers of statues, relievos, and other sculptures have been found. As the inscriptions incontestably prove the great age of the temples which are buried under the mound, and as hitherto very little has become known regarding the earlier Indian art except what the Buddhist Stūpas furnish, it seemed to me desirable that some specimens of the sculptures found should be published at once without waiting for the comprehensive work which Dr. Führer eventually intends to give us. On my application Dr. Führer in 1890 kindly forwarded to me ten photographs, taken from the most remarkable and best preserved pieces, a selection from which is given in the four accompanying plates.

The first plate gives under figure B a specimen of the most common form of an Āyāgapata, and under figure A the central portion of another sculpture of the same class. The addition of A was made advisable by the mutilation of the central figure of B. The slab, from which A has been taken, is apparently in a state of perfect preservation, and it, moreover, bears an easily legible inscription (No. xxx of the second Series of Mathurā inscriptions, published, ante, vol. II, pp. 195ff.), in which it is clearly stated that the object dedicated is an Āyāgapata. 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 Svastika and one or two Trikālas 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 Jīna, with the hands in his lap. The posture is the usual one, in which all seated Jínas are represented even in the present day. Above his head there is a canopy, from which on either side very thick garlands hang down. Their shape is very peculiar and differs somewhat from that used on Buddhist sculptures (see, e.g., Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, plates xxiv, 2; xxvi, 1—2). It is found on all the Jaina sculptures from Mathurā (see, e.g., Dr. Bhagvānlī's ancient slab,² where these sausage-like garlands are visible at the top of the Stūpa), and it may possibly be a characteristic mark of the early Jaina customs. On the side of the Jīna 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 Jīna is Pārvīta, 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.—F. B.  
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 Trisūlas, which, no doubt, with the ancient Jainas, just as with the Baudhāyas, were considered as emblems of “the three Jewels” which with the Jainas are right faith, right cognition, and right conduct.

They differ somewhat from those found on the Buddhist buildings (see, e.g., Cunningham’s Bharhut Stūpa, plates vi and vii), as the lotus, which the Baudhāyas 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 Trisūla on a pillar in the Indrasabhā at Elura, (Burgess, Arch. Reports West. Ind., vol. V, plate xxxviii, 3). The Trisūla was, no doubt, in ancient India a symbol, used by all sects for various purposes and with various interpretations. It was also commonly used for personal ornaments and appears in earrings (Cunningham’s Bharhut, plate xlix), in necklaces (op. cit., plate I), and in women’s girdles (Cunningham’s Arch. Surv. Rep., vol. III, plate xi, A). In such ornaments it has frequently the very same shape as on our slab.

The second much broader band of the slab is occupied by four curvilinear ornaments, ending each on the left side in two horns and enclosing in the centre a sacred symbol. Just below the spot where the two horns separate are four bands or garlands, to which rosettes or small lotuses are tied, and from the interstices between the horns issue the stalks of half-opened larger lotuses, which rest with their open faces on the second circle. A comparison of the four large ornaments with the Trisūlas in the first circular band leaves no doubt that they represent halves of these sacred symbols. The smaller emblems enclosed by the larger ones are,—(1) at the top, a Svasti, which is commonly used as a lucky or sacred mark by all Indian sects, (2) below, two fish, which are likewise considered very generally as marks of good omen, and are found as such over the doors of the great Jaina caves at Junāgadh, called Bāwā Pyārā’s Math (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 Trisūla, common on Buddhist monuments, and (4) on the right, a mark which looks like a monogram, formed of the syllables na and vo, and is not uncommon on Buddhist sculptures, and is also used for ornaments (Fergusson, op. cit., plate iii, fig. 4).

The third circular band, which is again very narrow, shows,—(1) below a seated Jina; (2) above a Stūpa, resting with its base on the fourth or outermost circle, and hence looking as if it were turned topsy-turvy; (3) on the right and on the left two sacred trees, rising out of a square enclosure. The interstices between these four emblems are filled up by pairs of half recumbent male and female figures, probably worshipping deities (Vidyādharas). Each compartment contains two pairs, one facing one way, and the other turning in the opposite direction.

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3 An exception is found in Cunningham’s Dhika Tepes, plate xxxii, Fig. 4.
4 Compare also Dr. Bhagvīḍāla, Actes du xvième Congrès int. des Or. tome III, part 2, p. 137. The Vīshṇa Sūtra, xxiii, 35 (Jelly’s edition) enumerates the fish among the Mangalas, to which Brahmans must pay reverence. In his notes to the passage Nandapandita most absurdly adds that the rule refers to ‘boiled or fried’ (pakv) fish. On Buddhist sculptures the two fish appear as parts of personal ornaments; (see Ferguson 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.

भोण्यं दर्षते राजस्वति यदिचिवित[तः]।
बभूत रामायण मैथ्युपयुतात्। इ
स हृश। . . . . . . . . .

“That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhishma in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of Chaityas and sacrificial posts.”

The juxtaposition of the Chaityas and Yûpas shows that Brahmanical sacred buildings, probably Stūpas, are meant.

The worship of sacred trees by the Jainas has been discussed by Dr. Bhagvânålâl (op. cit., p. 142), and he has given the names of the Bodhi-trees of three Tirthamkaras. The worship of trees in India is older than Jainism and Buddhism. Quite irrespective of its traces, found in the Vedic ritual, all the Brahmanical Sûtras bear witness to its existence, as they mention Chaitya trees, which Brahmans and all Áryans 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 Buddhás 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 Āyāgapatas, 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 Dharmachakra, regarding the worship of which more will be said in connection with plate iv, and a fourth, which was dedicated by the wife of a dancer (see Inscription No. v of the second Series) offers the representation of a Stûpa, in front of which two naked men dance on the lower

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1 The fact that each Tirthamkāra has his Chaityavakra is also stated by Hemachandra, Abhidhammakhāntāmapi, verse 62 (bodhīnīk and Rieu). The commentary to the passage is, however, mutilated or corrupt. A complete list of the sacred trees is given in the Ratnasāra, vol. II, p. 708E.

2 Ante, pp. 195f.
rail, exactly in the same indecent posture as those on Dr. Bhagavanlal’s Mathurā slab. The latter seems therefore to belong likewise to the class of the Āyāgapaṭhas.7

From all these specimens it appears that an Āyāgapaṭha is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jīna 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 Āyāgapaṭhas seem to be a distinctive feature of the ancient Jaina art, as neither the Buddhists8 nor the orthodox sects mention them. The Baudhāyas have, however, the term udhapaṭha, i.e., ārdhvapapaṭha, (see, e.g., Burgess, Arch. Rep. South. Ind., vol. 1, pp. 90f). Even among the Jainas they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to me dated. In the more modern Jaina temples we find instead of them slabs, called paṇḍhaparameshthipapaṭha (Satruṇjaya inscriptions, Nos. 58, 66, ante, pp. 34f.), chaturvinsatīrthamkārapapaṭha (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 Nemiśa, 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 Jacob and Leumann have kindly assisted me, failed to bring to light any legend that could be turned to use. Finally, Professor Jacob suggested to me that it might be possible to read bhagavā Nemẹsa “divine Nemesa,” to refer these words to the figure with a goat’s head just above them, and to identify the goat-headed Nemesa with Indra’s divine commander of the foot troops Harinēgamesi, who is represented in medieval pictures as a man with the head of an antelope.9 The reading Nemẹsa 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 Naigameshīn appears instead of the longer word.

It stands in the beginning of the seventh Sarga, where it is narrated how Kṛṣṇa tried to obtain for Satyabhāma a son equal to Pradyumna in luck and good qualities. The text10 runs as follows:

7 Possibly the word āyaga, which occurs in l. 4 of the inscription, may be meant for āyaga. Regarding the performances of dancing girls at Jaina festivals, see below the remarks on plate iii.
8 A Buddhist āyaga-paṭha was excavated by me in January 1862 at the ancient site of Adhichattirā (Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand) from the runis of a Buddhist Vihāra. The slab shows a full-blown lotus in the middle surrounded by four highly ornamented Trifołia. An inscription in archaic characters records its dedication and object.—A.F.
9 See Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXII, page 227, note. Professor Jacob has kindly furnished me with a sketch of Harinēgamesi, which is inserted in his ancient illustrated copy of the Kalpadṛtra.
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 Kervalā’s store of MSS, rejected as useless by the Bombay officials in charge of the search for Sanskrit MSS. (see my paper: Über eine kurzzhich für die Wiener Universität erarbeitete Sammlung von Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften, Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. XCl, p. 568ff).
b) Obverse of doorstep.

c) Reverse of doorstep.
(8) "Annoyed at the great luck of Pradyumna and his fame, Bhâmâ went into her boudoir and lay down on a broken cot.

(9) The foe of Kârtha visited her there and spoke agitatedly: 'Who has shown disrespect to thee, whereby, O fair-browed one, thou art thus afflicted?'

(10) Bhâmâ 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, Krishna 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? Krishna answered: 'Give to Bhâmâ 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 Vâsudeva joyfully gave the precious ornament to Satyâ.”

The legend shows that the Jainas worshipped a divine being, called Naigameshin, and considered him to preside over the procreation of children. And Professor Lenman informs me that there are passages in older Jaina works from which the same conclusion may be drawn. Now, Hariâçegamesh, the deer-headed general of Indra, is, according to the Kalasatâra, likewise closely connected with the same delicate matter, since at his master’s command he transferred the embryo of Mahâvira from the body of the Brâhma Devananda to the womb of the Kshatryâni Triśâlâ. The last four syllables of his name exactly correspond with the Sanskrit Naigameshin, and the whole compound Hariâçegamesh means in all probability, as the note to the Kalpasatâra suggests, “the Negamesi of Hari,” i.e., “Negamesi, the servant of Indra.”

The close resemblance of the name Negamesi-Naigameshi and of Nemoso, and the fact that both deities are represented with the heads of similar animals, again tempt one to assume that both the names and the personages are identical. The difficulty, caused by the slight difference in the terminations of the names, may be removed by assuming that the word had originally, like many others, two forms, one ending in a and one
ending in in. And the correctness of this view is proved by the occurrence of the Sanskrit words Naigamesha and Nejamesha, which in the Gṛihya Sūtras and the medical Saṅhitās are the names of a deity with a ram’s head, particularly dangerous to children. Our word Nemeso corresponds exactly with Naigamesha according to the analogy of the Pali eneva for evameva, ajjhena for adhyayana, iṇa 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 seize children and sorely afflict them with disease and the son-granting and embryo-exchanging Naigamesha-Naigameshin of the Jainas are in reality identical. They represent two different aspects of the same deity, which was conceived both as beneficent and as hurtful or destructive. Their identity comes out still more fully, if one takes into account another Brahmanical deity, Naigameya, whose name, as the larger Petersburg Dictionary points out sub voce, is certainly only a variant of Naigamesha. This Naigameya is declared to be another form, or a son and companion, of the war-god Skanda, which latter likewise is represented as dangerous to children. A passage of the Mahābhārata, quoted in the Dictionary, sub voce naigamesha, asserts that he is chhāgavakra or ‘goat-faced,’ just like the Nemeso of our sculpture. The goat’s head excellently suits a deity, who has to do with the procreation of children, as the strong sexual instincts of the goat did not escape the notice of the ancient Hindus. 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,’ and the Jainas a deer’s head on account of the compound Harin(gamesi), 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 Kṛishna), (2) by the elaborately carved throne on which he sits, (3) by the female attendant to his proper left, who apparently fans him with a Chauri, and (4) by the fragment of a canopy or chhatra, which, I think, is visible above his head. Nemesa’s face is turned to the right, and he lifts his hand apparently addressing somebody who was represented on the lost right half of the slab. At his left knee stands a small naked male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic, and with uplifted right hand. Below this figure is a fragment of an inscription, showing on Dr. Führer’s rubbings very plainly the syllables bhaya. The first word was therefore bhaya-

11 See the two Petersburg Dictionaries under these words. The identity of Harinameshi with Naigamesha has already been hinted by Bököly, sub voce Harinaigameshin. The latter word is a faulty form, given by Mr. Colebrooke in his Essay on the Jainas, probably in accordance with a bad MS. of one of the commentaries of the Kalpastrā.
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 Sutrāta Saṅhitā, and the Astādghaṭa-dīnapya, Uttarāsthāna, ii, 63, and iii, 12-14.
14 Āpastamba, Dh. Śū. II, 14, 13, quotes a Vedic passage to this effect: “Therefore, a he-goat and a learned Bhāhmana 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. Bhāgavatī’s slab from Mathurā.
 śā "divine," and a proper name no doubt followed. This epithet makes it probable that the ascetic is meant for a Tirthamkara, because, as far as my observation goes, bhagavā is not applied in the inscriptions to ordinary monks. Next, on the left comes the female fan-bearer already mentioned. To the left of her stands another female, who raises her right arm in astonishment and looks apparently at the ascetic. She wears earrings, a necklace, armlets, anklets and the usual dress of married ladies, while a scarf, or sārī, hangs over her shoulders. At some little distance further to the left, apparently in a separate section of the slab, which is indicated by remnants of architectural ornaments, is found the upper half of a mutilated female figure, who wears the usual ornaments. She likewise raises her right arm and supports with her left on a dish or cushion the body of a motionless infant with the hands folded on its breast.

A Jaina sculpture representing Naigamesha, a small Tirthamkara and a female with a small infant can only be taken to refer to the most famous legend, in which the deity plays a part, viz., the exchange of the embryos of Devanandā and Trīṣalā. And it seems to me that the various figures on our slab may be explained on this supposition. The story, as related in the Kalpasūtra,17 is briefly this,—"When Indra became aware that Mahāvīra had taken the form of an embryo in the Brāhmaṇī Devanandā's body, he paid his reverence to the Arhat that was to be born. It then occurred to him that an Arhat ought not to be born in a low Brahmānical 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 Brahmān caste. In order to fulfil this duty, Indra directed Hariṇegamesi, the divine commander of infantry, to transfer Mahāvīra from the body of Devanandā to Trīṣalā, a lady of the Jñātri family of Kshatriyas who was also with child. Hariṇegamesi then repaired first to the Brahmānical quarter of Kunda-grāma, took Mahāvīra from Devanandā, cleansing him from all impurity, and carried him carefully in his folded hands to the Kshatriya quarter of the same town. There he took Trīṣalā's embryo from her, likewise duly cleansing it, and put Mahāvīra in its place. Next, he returned to Devanandā and placed Trīṣalā'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 Nemeso's left knee, called in the inscription "divine" . . . . , is no doubt meant for Mahāvīra, 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 Trīṣalā, 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 Trīsalā 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 Trīsalā 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-Nemoso, irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the legend referred to must be the same in both sculptures.

The other two reliefs on plate II, B and C, are found on a fragment of the doorstep
from one of the two temples, buried under the Kaṅkālī mound. Though they bear no inscription, they cannot be later than the first century B.C.; for one of the two temples existed on the evidence of the very ancient No. i of my second Series of Mathurā inscriptions already in the middle of the second century B.C., while the likewise archaic inscription No. xv of the same Series which records the erection of the second temple, cannot be later than about the middle of the first century. The obverse, A, represents the worship of a Stūpa by two Suparnās, half birds and half men, and by five centaurs or Kimnaras. 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 Stūpa stand trees, and the two Suparnās seem to be seated on, or hovering above, the bending branches of those nearest to the Stūpa. All the five figures wear turbans, such as many of the males of rank represented on Buddhist sculptures wear.

A somewhat similar scene, where Suparnās worship a Stūpa, occurs on a relievo at Sanchi (Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, plate xxvii, 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 Garuḍa, 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 Pālanpur breed, and filled with males and females. The cart closely resembles a modern shigrahram, 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 relievos. 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

12 Compare also ibidem, plates xxiv, 2; xxv, 1; xxvi, 1; xxvii, 1, where Suparnās are represented as worshiping the Bodhi tree.
14 Ferguson, op. cit., Plate xxxiv, Fig. 1, etc.
open-mouthed Makara, which—in five cases—a man teases by taking hold of its tongue and upper jaw. The Makara, filling the corner of a row of figures, is common also on all Buddhist monuments. 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 (pīṭhikā), which in the centre seem to have borne representations of sacred marks (Pādukās?), and at the upper ends are decorated, each with two lotuses. Two of the semi-circular rows of figures on the obverse, the first and the third, contain each two covered carts (shighram) very similar to that on plate II, C., which are apparently each occupied by several passengers and attended by servants. In front of the cart in the first row walk three dancing girls, who may be easily recognised by the manner in which they expose their persons. It is possible, but not certain, that two of them support with their left hands trays or dishes with offerings. In the third row we have in the place of the dancing girls portions of a clothed male figure seated on a throne and attended by a female fan-bearer. The second row of the obverse shows running male figures with flying upper garments, holding bunches of flowers (lotuses?) in their hands.

On the reverse only the second, or central, row contains the representation of an uncovered bullock or horse-cart, preceded by dancing girls. Behind this cart comes a male figure riding on a marine monster, and in front there is a mutilated male figure on a throne. The riders on sea-lions and Makaros 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 Sūriyābha to the Ambasālāvāna Chaitya mention them

27 On the Amarāvati Stūpa, Burcess, 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.
a) Obverse of Torana.

b) Reverse of Torana.
MATHURA JAINA SCULPTURES.

Plate IV.
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 Vidyādharas, moving through the air. Similarly, the dancing girls, who, even in modern times, are engaged to perform in honour of the Tirthāṅkaras, 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 everts along with the riders on marine monsters and Vidyādharas, 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 Toranā 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 Tirthāṅkaras, to their Stūpas and temples.

Plate IV reproduces the mutilated slab, which bears No. xxi of my second Series of Mathurā inscriptions:

"The year 79, fourth month of the rainy season, day 20,—on that (date, specified as above, Aya-Vṛidhahasti, a preacher in the Koṭṭiya ganā and the Vaīrā ākāhā gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Naṇḍiāravā (Arā) . . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dīnā (Dālā), 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 Śaṅkhas, 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 Dhārmanachakra, which, as the Mathurā sculptures prove, was used and worshipped as much by the Jinas as by the Bauddhās. The fact is not very astonishing, as the wheel is the emblem of rule and government with all

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24 See Cunningham, Bharhut, plates xxi, 2-4, xxx, 3, etc.
25 Arch. Reports South India, vol. I, plates xxxiii, 2, xxiv, 1, xxxi, 2, and Care Temples, plate, Fig. 1-2.
27 The Śaṅkhas have probably been added maṅgalārtham.
Hindus, and the Sanskrit Koshas give rāṣṭra as one of the meanings of chakra. The epithet apratihatachakra, 'he whose wheel, i.e., rule, is unopposed,' is commonly given to kings in the inscriptions, and there are hundreds of passages in epic and classical poetry in which the chakra of kings is mentioned. Nor are the compound dharmachakra, 'the rule of the sacred law,' and the familiar phrase dharmachakraṁ 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:—

भीष्मेऽविहितं राज्य वर्षकर्मवर्तमानं।

"The rule of the law continued, which Bhishma had established in the kingdom;" and Mah. XII, 356, 2:—

यथा युक्तमभिर्मै वर्षेत्यप्रतिर्थितम्।
नैसिध्य गोमतीति रीति तत्र नागास्यं गुरम्॥

"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 Dharmachakra 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 Dharmachakra is a distinctive mark of the Buddhists and their particular invention.

These new sculptures from the Kaṅkāli Tīla teach the same lesson as Dr. Bhagvānlā'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 Archeological 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 Nâgârjuni belonged to the Vaishnava âjivikas, and those near Katak to the Jaina worshippers of the Arhats. The undoubtedly Buddhist Lepas date from somewhat later times. It is, therefore, not in the least doubtful that all the old Indian sects used rock-excavations for sheltering their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and sometimes also their idols, and it is highly probable that this usage goes back to times antecedent to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. In the face of such facts one can only say that it would be surprising if the worship of Stûpas, 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 Bhaṭṭiprolu Stûpa, 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, ā, u, o and the consonants k, kh, chh, ū, ū, th, th, dh, n, p, ph, b, y, r, v, s and h agree exactly with those of the Southern Maurya alphabet.

(2) The letter g has both the usual angular Maurya form and that with the rounded top, which occurs occasionally in Aśoka’s Edicts, e.g., in magesu Pillar Edicts, VII. 2. 2, and is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The first palatal, ch, has a tail caused by a prolongation of the vertical. The third lingual, ð, shows slanting strokes instead of straight ones, which peculiarity is also repeatedly observable in the word pâsânda (Kalâśi version of the Rock Edict XII., 1, ll. 33–34) and in ambâvâjikâ, Allahabad, Queen’s Edict, l. 3. The dental media, ḍ, exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round like the Andhra da and that of the modern Devanâgarî. The same remarks apply to the fourth labial, dh.

(3) Five letters are entirely abnormal, viz.:—

(a) ph, 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 palæographic peculiarities of the first nine, have been printed in the Academy, 1892, p. 221, and in the Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. VI. p. 145.
similar manner out of the signs for oña, śa and pa). It occurs in the names Vaghavā, i.e., Vyāghrapād (II. 2), Satughā, i.e., Śatrughna (II. 8), Chaghaṇa, i.e., Jaghanya (VII), Chaghā, i.e., Chaṅga (? VIII. 2), Akhaṇgho, i.e., Akṣaghna or Kikṣaghna (VIII. 5).

(b) j has the angular form, which is rare in Aśoka's inscriptions, (but see, e.g., rājā, Girnār Rock Edict, IX. 1) and the usual one in later documents, minus the central horizontal bar. It occurs repeatedly (e.g., I, A, B) in the word majūsa or majūsa, i.e., mañjūśā.

(c) m is turned topsy-turvy. It is found in the last-mentioned word and frequently in well-known names like Samana (III. 5), i.e., Šramaṇa, Māho (VIII. 5), i.e., Māgha, etc.

(d) l shows instead of the short horizontal bar on the left a long slanting line attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It occurs only in names, e.g., Picalako (III. 9), i.e., Pīcalaka, Oḍalo (III. 11), i.e., Oḍāla or Andāra, Gilāno (VII. 13), i.e., Glāna, Gosālakānām (III. 16), i.e., Gosālakānām, and so forth.

(e) The lingual sibilant looks almost exactly like the kra of the later inscriptions, and seems to be developed from the kha of the Kālisi 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 teshām (VI), i.e., teshām, in the word shāmuga (I, A), i.e., samudga and in many proper names.

(4) There is further the lingual l, which does not occur in Aśoka's Edicts. It looks like a pa with a short horizontal bar, attached to the right of the vertical stroke; it is more archaic than the corresponding Andhra letter and very similar to the la of a Sanchi inscription. It occurs in the word phālīga (I, A), i.e., sphātka and in various proper names.

(5) The notation of the medial and final vowels shows two very remarkable peculiarities:

(a) The short a is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant, which denotes long ā in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvāra follows. The latter limitation is probably due to the circumstance that the Anusvāra was considered equivalent to am, in which form it is invariably given in the native lists of mātrikās, or the alphabets.

(b) The long ā is usually marked by a horizontal stroke and a vertical hanging down from its end. In negama, 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., nigohāṇa, Pillar Edict, VII, 2, 2. Finally, in the syllables νι and ντ the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke of ν, according to the analogy of na and nā.

(7) The initial vowels i, ī, ī, e and the consonants jh and ḍh do not occur, and there are at least no certain traces of the palatal sibilant ć, though there is a sign somewhat like it in a difficult name towards the end of III, 10.
BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX OF THE SECOND CASKET.

ON THE LID OF THE SECOND CASKET.
BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE LID OF THE THIRD CASKET.

ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX
OF THE LOWER OR THIRD CASKET.
The inscription, No. X, which is incised on the piece of crystal, shares only two of the peculiarities, just described. Its cha (l. 2) has a tail and its da in &delanam (l. 3) and in dana (l. 6) opens towards the left. In other respects its letters, as well as its vowel notation, fully agree with those of Asoka's Edicts. It may be noted that it twice offers in Samanudelanam (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 Asoka'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 Kubiraka or Khubiraka, i.e., Kuberaka, of various families, of gotitis 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 Asoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nânâghat, Hathigumpha and Bharalhut-Torana inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhattiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, may mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be somewhat earlier.

If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Asoka'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 Asoka 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 Asoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pataliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces and to induce them to imitate as much as possible the shape of the letters used at head-quarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhattiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing, which in some respects is radically different and which may be reasonably supposed to have arisen in Asoka's times or even earlier, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practiced in India for many centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pataliputra.

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 Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabet, which, as stated already, has been formed by the extension of a principle underlying the formation of chha, ḍha and pha, proves the Semitic prototype of the Southern Maurya characters to have been destitute of a sign for the guttural media aspirata. Though the common Southern ḍha 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 Bhaṭṭiprolu 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 ṣh are in all probability younger than the corresponding Maurya characters. With respect to ṣh 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 ḍha, 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 Bhaṭṭiprolu 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 ṣa, not one of the peculiarities of the Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabet has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets.

The language of the Bhaṭṭiprolu 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 ṣa.

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.²

(B.) Banavaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [II].

² Nos. I and II are incised on the rim of the lower stene of the first casket.
³ Looks like Sivaḥka as the lower curve of the ṣha has not been formed properly.
⁴ Possibly phālīgam samugam.
Translation.

"By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (himself) and Siva (Siva), (has been ordered) the preparation of a casket and (has been given) a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Budha (Buddha).

"By Kura, the son of Banava, associated with his father (has been given), the casket.

II.

Utaro Pigahaputo kāṇṭhā [a]

Translation.

"Ubara (Uttara), the youngest son of Pigaha (Pigaha).

III.

L. 1 Goṭhi
2 Hirāṇavaghavā
3 V[u]gālako K[ā]λaho
4 Visako Tharasisi
5 Samana Odalo
6 Apaka . Shamudo
7 Anuga[h]o Kuro
8 Satugho Potako [P]oto Ālínaka
9 V[a]runo Piga[la]ko Koshako
10 Suto Pâpa Kabherakh[a] [Gâlo]ko
11 Samana[d]ās ho Bharado
12 Odalo Thoratiso Tiso
13 Gîlano Jambho
14 Puḍara (?) [B]ūbo
15 Gālavata . . . (?) Janako
16 Gosâlakahâm Kûro
17 Uposhathaputo Utaro
18 Kârahaputo [s]

Translation.

"The Committee (consists of):—

Hirāṇavaghavā (Hiranyayaghrapād) Vugālaka (Udgāraka), Kâlaha, Visaka (Visaka), Tharasisi (Shauvalārshi), Samana (Śramoṇa), Odala, Apaka, Shamuda (Samudra), Anugaha (Anugaha), Kura, Satugha (Satughāna), Potaka, Pota, Ālínaka (Ālínaka?), Varuna, Pīgala (Pīgala), Koshaka (Kauśika?), Sutā, Pâpa, (Kabherахa ?) (Kabheraka ?), Gāleka (?), Samanā[ā]s ha (Śramanaddaśa), Bharada (Bharata) (L. 12), Odala (Audāra?) Thoratisa (Shauvalatisya), Tisa (Tisya), Gîlana (Glāna), Jambha, . . . . Bûba . . . . Janaka, of the Gosâlakahas (Gosālaka), Kura, the son of Uposhatha, (Upoṣtha), Utara (Uttara), the son of Kârâha.

1 The genitive sarīrâbha has to be taken as genitivus partitivus.
2 This seems to be meant for Kanītha.
3 For the change of va to pa, compare words like Pali pājāpati, Sanskrit prajāpati and the inscriptive bhogapatī for bhogaceto, pījīte for vijīte, and the like. Probably Uttara was the stone-cutter who made the casket.
4 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.

L. 1 Gothisamaṇo Kubo [I]
2 Hirānakāragamaniputo Būbo [II]

Translation.

"Kuba (Kumbha), the ascetic of the Committee (?)."
"Būba, the son of the village-headman Hirānakāra (Hiranyakāra)."

VI.


Translation.

"By the sons of the Shāgathi 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.

Samaṇo Chagha[ṇa] puto Utaro Ārāmutara . . [II]

Translation.

"Samaṇa (Śramaṇa), the son of Chaghaṇa (? Jaghaṇa ?). Utara (Uttaro) . . . .

VIII

L. 1 Negamā
2 Vachho Chagho
3 Jeto Jaribho Tiso
4 Reṭo Achino Shabhiko
5 Akhagho Kelo Keso Māho
6 Seto Chhadiko Okhabulo
7 Soṇutaro Samaṇo
8 Samaṇdāsho Sāmako
9 Kāmuko Chitako [II]

* Incised on the rim to the left and below the inscription on the central disc.
* Incised on the outer rim, to the right of the inscription on the central disc. Possibly Edho is to be read.
* Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket.
* Read "pāmukhānam.
* Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket, outside the No. VI, the letters being turned the other way.
* Incised on the upper stone of the third casket.
THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

TRANSLATION.

"The members of the guild (are) :—
Vachha (Vatsa), Chagha (Chaṅga ?), Jeta (Jayanta), Jamha, Tisa (Tishyo),
Reta (Raivata) Achina (Achitrya ?), Shabhika (Sabhika), Akabha (Akabhaṅga),
Kela, Kesā (Kesa), Māha (Māgha), Setā (Śvaitra ?), Oshadika (Oshandika?),
Oshabu, Osonutara (Oṣvarṇottara), Oṣama (Oṣamaṇa),
Oṣamaṇadāsha (Oṣamaṇadāsa), Oṣaka (Oṣakā), Kāmaka, Oṣitaka
(Oṣitaka).

IX.15
Arahadinānam gothiyā majūsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [!] tena kama yena
Kubirako rājā aṁ[k]i [!]" 

TRANSLATION.

"By the Committee of the venerable Arahadina (Arhadatta, 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 Mātugāmasa [Nāma]dubabā17
2 Suvanamahā
3 Šamānuḍesānam cha18
4 Gilanakerasa19 ayasaka
5 [Sa]ṭhiya20
6 gohiya a-ga dānam21 [!]"

TRANSLATION.

"An A-ga,—gift by the women from Nandapura (?) and by the Šramaneras from
Suvanamahā, in the Ayasakaṣṭhi gohi of Gilanakerasa (?) ."

The arrangement of the lines of this inscription seems to be fixed, first by the cha
after Šamānuḍesānam 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 gilanakerasa 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 *keresā, 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 GANGADHARAAA.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

BY PROFESSION 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 1883, of an inscription, described as being on a slab of stone in Narsingh Māli's house at Govindpur, in the Nawādā sub-division of the Gayā district of the Province of Bengal. And some time afterwards I received another rubbing of the same inscription from Dr. Burgess, to whom it had been made over by Mr. Beglar. 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 ākṣaras 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 ākṣaras are more or less illegible on the left side. The size of the letters is between 1½" and 1¾". The characters are the peculiar kind of Nāgarī 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 ākṣara 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 Āṃgāchhī plate of Vigrahapāla 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. 1 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 s,

1 I saw at once that the inscription, of which these two rubbings had thus been sent to me, was of some value, but have long hesitated to attempt a full decipherment of the text, because the imperfect state of my rubbings suggested the advisability of waiting for a proper impression. To secure one, I applied in April 1892 to Mr. Grierson, and he again, having then left the Gayā District, kindly communicated my request to Mr. D. J. Macpherson, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Macpherson most readily at once sent two of his men to Narsingh Māli's house at Govindpur, but they were told that two or three years ago a Sahib had come and examined the stone which contains the inscription, and that next day the same Sahib had returned on a camel, and taken the stone away. If this story is really true, I need hardly say that even now I should be grateful to the present owner of the stone for an impression.
2 See Kendall's Catalogue, plate ii, 2.
4 For Govindapāla we have the date Vikrama 1292 = A.D. 1178; see Indian Antiquary, vol. XIX, p. 358
and dh, and of the subscript u and r, have caused me no slight difficulty. The inscription never employs the signs of the jiḥvāmāṭīya and upadhanīya, and the sign of the anagraha is used only once, in Gaṅgādharo 'bhūt in line 24.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory om om namah Saravatyaṁ 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 ṣ is throughout written by the sign o. The dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in Kasypāḍ, line 6, and prasrayīḥ, line 7; and the palatal instead of the dental in kāribhir, line 29. Instead of anusvāra we find the guttural nasal in the word vaṅsa, 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 mitra, lines 7 and 24, amitra, line 21, maitvī, line 27, and ātapatra, line 31; and ḍh is similarly doubled in abhṛyaṁ (for abhṛyaṁ), line 30. As regards the rules of euphony, t is left unchanged before ś in śrutmatānkanara, line 17; and m before y and v in savyattau, line 18, svaśadvya, line 9, and svasvasvaṁ-vitālā, line 11; and the dental sibilant is wrongly employed instead of the lingual in nisprabhārdham (assuming this to be the right reading) in line 13, and duskarē (for duskarā) in line 30. Of words which according to von Böhtlingk's Dictionary have been hitherto found only in lexicographical works our inscription offers girō 'speech, song,' in line 5, mahallaka 'eunuch,' in line 10, and atman in the sense of 'the sun,' in line 13. Besides we find śivirī for the neuter śivīra, 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 Śaka year 1059, corresponding to A.D. 1137-38. It was engraved by the artisan Śālapaṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa (verse 39). And its immediate object is, to record that a man named Gaṅgādharā, 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 praśasti, 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 Śākadvipa Brāhmans.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Viśvambhara (Viṣṇu), 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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5 According to verse 37 of the text Gaṅgādharā composed two praśasti which both must have been engraved and put up close to each other.

6 See Professor Weber's most interesting essay on the Mgaṁyakti of Kṛṣṇapāda.
Samba (the son of Krishna and Jambavati). According to our author the first of these MaGa Brâhmans was Bhâradvâja (verse 3), whose family had a hundred branches (verse 4). In one of these was born, as a son of a certain Dâmôdara, Chakrapâni, who, compared as he is to Vâlmiki, 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 Varṇamâna of the Mâna family (verse 10), where one of them was appointed to the office of pratihâra, while the other was made superintendent of the eunuchs (verse 11). Daśaratha again had two sons, Hariharâ 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 Kâlidâsa (verse 15), we learn that he married a daughter of Devaśarma, a counsellor of the prince of the [Ghauḍâ] country (verse 18); and that she bore to him also two sons, Gaṅgâdharma, the author of the inscription, and Mahidharma (verses 21-22). All these six men, Manoratha and Daśaratha and their four sons, are especially eulogized for their learning and proficency in Vedic studies (verse 23). The rest of the inscription treats of Gaṅgâdharma himself. Here it will be sufficient to say that he represents himself to have been a counsellor and friend of the Mâna prince, the king Rudramâna (verse 24); that he married Pâsala-devi, a daughter of Jayapâni, an official of the king of Gauḍâ, and his wife Subhagâ (verse 29), and finally, that, according to his own account, he was the author of a poem entitled Advaitâsata and had shown his skill as a poet also in the composition of other poems (verse 33).

The princes of the Mâna 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 Varṇamâna and Rudramâna 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 Gaṅgâdharma and his relatives, the inscription tells us distinctly that, like Gaṅgâdharma himself, Chakrapâni 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 Saduktikarâmrârâmârîta, an anthology compiled by Śrîdhara-dâsa in A.D. 1205, contains verses of six poets bearing the same names as six of the MaGa Brâhmans mentioned in this inscription, and, considering that these Brâhmans lived in Eastern India and that the Saduktikarâmrârâmârîta also was compiled there, I have little doubt indeed as to the identity of the six poets mentioned by Śrîdhara-dâsa with Gaṅgâdharma, the author of this inscription, and five of his relatives, viz., his great-grandfather Dâmôdara, his grandfather Chakrapâni, his father’s brother Daśaratha, his own brother Mahidharma, and his cousin Purushottama.

Of Gaṅgâdharma himself the Saduktikarâmrârâmârîta has two verses which were first published by Professor Aufrechte in Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morg. Ges., vol. xxxvi, p. 511.

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 Aufrechte states the Saduktikarâmrârâmârîta to be an anthology, compiled chiefly from Bengal poets. The compiler’s father, Bhaja-bhâsa, lived under Lakshmana-gama. 
and have afterwards been reprinted by Professor Peterson in his edition of Vallabhadeva’s Subhāṣitāvalī, Introduction, p. 32. Of Dāmodara the Sadukthikārṇāmpita contains two verses,11 of Chakrapāṇi four, of Daśaratha also four, and of Mahīdhara one verse. As regards Gaṅgādhara’s cousin, the author of the anthology assigns six verses to Śrīmat-Purushottamadeva, one verse to Purushottampādāh, and one to Purushottama and it seems probable that only the last is the Purushottama of our inscription. All these verses have been kindly copied out for me by Professor Aufrecht and will be published elsewhere. The inscription being dated in Śaka 1059, the six poets may be assumed to have composed their verses—

Dāmodara between about A.D. 1050 and 1075;
Chakrapāṇi between about A.D. 1075 and 1100;
Daśaratha between about A.D. 1100 and 1125;
Gaṅgādhara, Mahīdhara and Purushottama between about A.D. 1125 and 1150.

TEXT,12

L. 1.   

11 The first words of these verses and of those mentioned below are: Kaiḍāra ve puspati; Śilam čātyata; Tosā darā maṇḍ; Yot kāman yan ganaçarana; Ārānātaraçarana anasa; Āgrā yan śarana; Āchchādya Lakśmī; Iṣhā sa Kai Linda; Nakaṁ jana tavaiva; Vaudgosāv vādī ve; Lottōvānasaya; and Kāntāreshu karāvālambi.

12 From Sir A. Cunningham’s pencil-rubbings.
13 Expressed by a symbol.
14 The akṣara, here broken away, was probably न.
15 Metro: Śārdūlavākśīlīta.
16 Read चंद्रम.
17 The akṣaras, here broken away, were probably हुआ.
18 Read यावी for यावी.
19 Metro: Śārdūlavākśīlīta.
20 Metro: Vasantāliakā.
1. विलुप्तविलसित्वादी घनि नामः
वोराणा च ज्ञेय च सबालिसविनोद्सदिसहारां।
यो वाल्मीकिकिरित्वादतिरिगीतिराधारः स विश्वसळ[वें]
कृह्वसळ न न - च जनसुख यथा विष्णुमणि:। ॥५॥-[५]
अतिरिक्ता प्रयुऽ...४०

6. लोहितावर्भ[माया]ः
दिक्कं यदि नारदं तद्भमवचयम वचः।।२७॥-[६]
जाती रात्रिवेदवाचिव मुळी तम्बावसवारसी
मसरीचादिव कस्तर्पुरयवित्तों धर्म कृणे समरधागः।
व्यायामस्मि सन्तोषी दशरथसङ्क्षानुजः [वें]

7. विवा[शा]रघुचित्वीविलसित्वादी घनि नामः ॥२८॥-[७]
सूर्यलेख सताः याक्षमिरित्वादोऽहः स्वकरणःऽहः
सत्यक्षोपगमेन तैरित्वादीभिग्यारोपः।॥७॥
भालोर यवोंनेन द्रावणनित्ति: स्प्रेसमति: प्रसः॥७॥

8. ख्यामानि हियदाननानि विद्वं शक्ष्योदशक्षो गुणः।।२॥-[८]
तो भाषारविविरं सहमोलतिनेः प्रेमस्य परस्त्वमोहकर्षणामानि।
स्ताभं भेंति यथोऽथवीर: काव्योऽथ न कलितसि बलः कार्याधित। ॥२९॥-[९]

9. आनोत्रा भन्तिज्ञानसुन्तकनिवित्तु यव्याः प्रतितालना
शास्त्रायः तर्केयुप्रवेशो शिवर्विः शीर्षप्रसादानि
तथारूपः लक्ष्ययः तत्त्वसिद्धि साधारणतः प्राप्तिः
कार्यात् कोठिस्तुतरो गुणस्व: कोठिस्त्विन्दिरिपः।।२३॥-[१०]

10. सिर्वोऽसी[चोऽ]णनीयगीत्वमुणेनकेन [से]णेवयोऽ
सत्यचारायत्विक्षर्योऽसी गृहे प्राप्ति प्रतीहारः।
भेंति यवोऽसी[स]कुहरः ॥५०ज्ञेयस्योऽसीविश्वार्थः
वेंति सचनवेंशः ॥७५भूततुरिक प्रेमकाव्यालिनी।।२५॥-[११]

galu श्री-

11. पुष्पोत्सवः [सम] वयोऽशः प्रतिहारः
पाराकारः परिवेशः लघुवादनविहिनसी।
वस्मिन्दित्तारः तार्कितयुक्तोः कार्याविनु西班牙ि
स्तोऽयं यथि: भिन्नितञ्च यथि: साधारणाय चारः।।२६॥

मान[सा]ः

34 Read अक्षरोऽसिः The next three aksaras are quite blurred in the rubbings, and it is impossible to say confidently what they were.
35 Metre: सारदालविक्रिधीता.
36 The aksaras, here broken away, were probably सरा य-
37 Metre: शीक्षा (Anuṣṭānabh).
38 Metre of verses 7 and 8: सारदालविक्रिधीता.
39 Metre: Vasantatilakā.
40 Read अक्षरोऽसिः.
41 One would have expected the neater अक्षरोऽसिः.
42 Metre of verses 10—12: सारदालविक्रिधीता.
43 The aksara in brackets is doubtful, and looks rather like ल।
44 This is clearly engraved, but I believe the intended reading to be अक्षरोऽसिः.
45 Read अक्षरोऽसिः.
L. 12. जिल्लाया[हु]ं तिमिरपालिती चन्द्राशिकोलिकालं
बारायप्रियं येवागमसमर्थविद्यूलयुवानतरम्
एवं: सेनोज्ञार विज्ञाति विदितारणया[व]ं लव्दीया-
द्विं भूमचर्कोनीयकङ्कितरचिराचिन्तिते हृद्-

13. भव्यः।।[13].
के तवि। सं वचति [पितृमी]कालानी [निम्ना(प)भाषे]।
वहेवन्द्रप्रियारामिर्मिति ष्टिमिति ष्टितुष्टक्तः
कस्मिन्न स्वयमयारति व्यभिचारः कहूरिणियात्राते-
क्रोमिति लोकार्थिरु भजति भूमचर्कोनीयकङ्कितः।।[14].

14. चेस्तोरी [प्रयवशा]ेष्टिर्यावयोमार्श[व]ं
प्रामा[रण]हमहैरसुभस्थस्यतमतिवयासमाधानं व्याहतृ।
राजायानसर: सरोर्हस्तिति सैंद्र पुर: खास्तां
गीतो नत्नार्धविज्ञान हित व: कालियु हैतालिकिः।।[15].

15. \(\text{तुरीयर्च}[/ैच]ैचार्याश्याति: प्रसुत-
प्रासार्गितिर्दिपिक्षवर्धिति: [ै]ैचार्यानिमादिः।।
सद्वज्ज्ञानो गमेयसिमारे स[व]ं हैतालिकिः।।[16].
भागान प्रतिमाप्रभो: कविकालासद्वज्ज्ञानमेंशरः।।

16. \(\text{रपस्म: प्रेमोपचारोसर}-
राहुरेकगंगानंदानेर[र]चनासायुर्वयंगुः।।
घोरियाः सुधियां सुभासितपार्थलिः: सदारापन-
भागाः जस्थ निज निरानय सुजन: स्वास्ति शालीय यः।।[17].
पलो तथ सनोर्यश्च।।

17. \(\text{तिनबारिकसु[श]रर्द}-
[वी]ं [दीर्घमन्दरशुष्टिस्विधिवर्णमोक्षमा]।।
भूमचर्कोर[व]ं [व]ं सत्यम्य्ययावोज[व]ं भूमुः।।[18].
[ना]पलब विकारात्वेंचित वैनीव तीर्थ।।

35 अस्त्र: समस्तारा।
36 त्यस्त: कालास्तो।
37 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
38 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
39 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
40 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
41 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
42 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
43 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
44 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
45 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
46 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
47 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
48 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
49 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
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66 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
67 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
68 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
69 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
70 अस्त्र: कविभूषक।
पति
सम्यक्षारणिः नृनमन्तवतः सन्तापमन्ततः।
सामाराध्यतं पृविवयमरतिमयो सुताशीन वां
"मलेति स्वयमादिः मिरिश्यो जनि सम्र्धिं जयोः।"
सुमतीतवाहं (भ्रम) गातो सम्म नायायसाधिकसम्भव नान-।

19. रिवितशासनोऽः
स्वाराधितमस्मरस्मातुऽः स्वायामेत्रसुनायकतिनित्वः।
गाधाधरःस्तः तत्त्वे जितात्मः योः स्वायाहिनिनिवृत्तः।
विविद्मासः परतोऽक्षरी चद्राकानोः नवसाताता-।

20. न।
अम्बवर्दजो श्रेष्ठिकः दति धेरती सीमनोरवालुः।
श्रीराधिरामनानि स्त्रिः स्त्रिरुपेश्वरामो दशस्यात्तः।
सालक्ष्माणः स्त्रित्वाणिः न निःस्त्रिः स्त्रिः।
तत्त्वः मात्रारामस्वरामोः श्रीममानोजि वीन भूमुः।
सोमदेवीशबाधिकोलकठः लपामिच्छ।

21. धी साधवः।
[श्या]ता व्याकरणकमेण विवुमाह[लुम्बे]भीष्मेण।
देवाभ्यसिमा। वर्णेव मध्येन ते मित्रोवः भक्ति भातरः।।

22. कू(कू)निधि तसः कूमुः।
पारिः[हृन्दृष्ण:] प्रमोहः[लहरी:] वक्षक्ष यस्त सवः
मर्यदायिकतिमात्मः एव जगतां जोयात्त्वे:।
तत्त्वः बलवनायवहिष्ठकमः सा विवभागुः।
पश्चातः निष्प्राप्तसाङ्गति विवेचिन्ये प्रक्षि।

23. यागीरबः।
सुझास दिकार्त्रसिवकोऽसिंहुः कातील्। गिरीश। धर्मौ भ्रमौ
धार्मौ व्यासं प्रदछ्वताचिच्च दिर्ब्राह्म प्रोत्य वशि भूलिवः।
जीवार्योः लुम्बाधिश्वराधिः प्रमोहान सुमहे भ्रमादश्रूणम:।
तिर्यानवलिव्यवस्थित्वः वर्णाश्वमेकिर्मि: यथाव-।

24. 
युवं वनः दिनविविधिभ्रमोभिः: [लिखः] सदा दी
वनः त्वः शोभे विपदिव विस्तर्कायिनिर्याचीमाः।
अध्यायः स्वः सदर्यन्वीश्वकश्रापाः।
पारिः मिश्च श्रद्धमितिर्त्तु महाअधे:।।
आचारामः।

49 Read संसाहारणिः।
50 मेट्र: वसानातिलकः।
51 विवुमाह: उपायः।
52 Metre: गिः।
53 तत्त्वः मात्रारामस्वरामोः।
54 विवुमाह: उपायः।
55 मेट्र: वायुसाहायः।
56 रिवितशासनोऽः।
L. 25. रष: सुमामितच्यः सधीतिरज्ञापणः।
प्रागव्यवस्था: प्रभान्तकरणः काव्यावरणाभः।।
यः सीजवनिधि खिनावसुपर्शिलः सख्या सुखेऽविष्णुः सीजवां लेखनः विष्णुः विष्णुः।।५३—[२८]।

26. सी—
दराजपुढ़ी जयपारितिरिकिरिक्षीपरदशः।
शायकालमून्दवलिमः वेगलां स कील पारदर्शीयः।।६०—[२९]।
शायकालो न कृष्ण कर्मध यमन कृष्णराजः नानाश्रोतो नानाश्रोते शिशुत्तर गणितात्मक।

27. सी—
गीतिमत्स्यावः।
सीजवास्विनिलासवस्त्रिलोकोषीर्वां कुटीर्वः[निम्न]भूतोः।
सुनायः गीतियोपाधित्वमनवविहिमयमलावलुमः।।६०—[३०]।
सीजवास्विनिस्विनिविहिमयं नागाशिष्यमन्यन्तरः।
सीजवास्विनिस्विनिविहिमयमन्यन्तरः।

28. सी—
सी नारायणाकालः।
दराजपुढ़ी विस्तर लोको भवतमार्थवाच्याप्रमादः।
प्रेष्याचनिप्रधनमवस्त्रायः संविवच्यते समंय सारी जनः।।—[३१]।
तेनात् दु:हक्षामोहः वसवकः केवः क्षभुवंश्वमितोदोहः समायः।

29. भावातः[व]दीवनः[म]सुरित्रिवधि[व]सुःसुलक्ष्यं वसतिक्ष चमलः।निराकारसिध्वीयः।।—[३२]।
[व]सुःसुलक्ष्यं हस्तिवर्णिति।निर्मलिवत्वः भवतो विशिष्टंविवाहः।
भावः शुःशुःग्रिम्वेतंचन्दकविवः।

30. भावातः
तावाक शून्ते दु:स्करे।
भावातः शुद्धितदर्शिणि घरद्रामवानाः धरेन सः।।६६—[३३]।
वाल्ला वाल्ला माध्याकिश्चिदर्शिणि घरामवानाः।
वाल्ला माध्याकिश्चिदर्शिणि घरामवानाः।
वाल्ला तत्कात्त्वी।

31. दृष्टेदः तयाः
मलेव विजज्ञानः वेन जनितः सलिलस्मृतिः।।—[३४]।
प्रकृतिरतिमितमतः निजसिद्धिः पितसिद्धिः।
कौशिकः तेव तयोऽरं रचयतः शुभातपरसं लगतु।
कारासिद्धारितः पारदर्शः।

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[88] मेट्र: शार्दुलविक्रिक्षिता।
[89] मेट्र: सगात्ता।
[90] मेट्र of verses 30 and 31: शार्दुलविक्रिक्षिता। At the beginning of verse 30 I would suggest reading भावः विनिमेयः।
[91] मेट्र: वसांतसिकिता।
[92] Originally त्रित्र was engraved, but the initial त may have been altered to च।

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[93] Originally त्रु was engraved, but the sign for र has been added afterwards.
[94] Read दुःस्करे।
[95] मेट्र of verses 33-35: शार्दुलविक्रिक्षिता।
[96] The second akṣara of this line originally was clearly तर, but it seems to have been altered to रि।
TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Sarasvati!

(Verse 1.) May the supporter 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, whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śakaṇḍīpa where the Brāhmans are named Magas! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the sun’s own body, grazed by the lathe, whom Śāmba himself brought hither. Glorious are they, honoured in the world!

(3.) The first of them was an abode of all vedic lore and of the knowledge of the supreme soul, and wholly occupied in thoughts familiar with every sacrificial rite, that

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47 Metro: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).
48 Read ।
49 Metro : Śrīdhūrakāvya.
50 Metro : Śikharin.
51 Metro : Upajāti.
52 i.e., Vishnu.
53 The story told in the Purāṇa is, that, to diminish the sun’s intensity, Viṣvakarma placed the luminous on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (Viṣṇu-purāṇa III, 2); and the above verse appears to intimate that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the sun’s body, which were taken away by this process of grinding it.
54 In connection with Ṛṣiprītu one would have expected the Loc., not the Isdr. case.
sage Bhāradvāja whose penance could both deliver and destroy the world, and in whose face there was . . . . like a garland of the great race of the Maga twice-born.

(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.

(6.) 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.

(7.) If his everlasting, widely spread and weighty renown had not mounted the wheel of the quarters,26 how would that wheel turn round now?

(8.) As Indra and Vishnu have sprung from Kaśyapa, the descendant of Marichi so to Chakrapāṇi were born, to sustain the homage heaped upon their family, two sons favoured by the immortals, an elder son named Manoratha and his younger brother Dāsaratha, the bright renown of whose learning, purity of conduct and good disposition has purified the world.

(9.) 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).

(10.) 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.

(11.) In order that they might render his reign illustrious, the wise prince Varanāmana b-sought them ooth 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.

(12.) 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 pratihāra,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.

(13.) Pleased 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.

(14.) 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

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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 15
29 The exact meaning of this is not clear to me. Altogether the construction is objectionable, because the two verbs citatāra and dpa 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.6

(15.) To him the illustrious ruler of Magadha gave the name of Vyāsa, because in consequence of his prudent management his own mind had not to attend to any matters whatever relating to the proper conduct of affairs. He also, even in the presence of princes, was at the appointed seasons freely sung of by the bards as the lotus in the lake of the king's audience hall, and as a modern Kālidāsa.

(16.) He was a Vāchaspati among good ministers on account of his familiarity with shrewd schemes, a very Brahman in creating due knowledge for whatever was propounded, in consequence of his noble conduct a gem fulfilling all desires in regard to propriety, a source of goodness, and a home of depth. He possessed the true knowledge of the jewel-tryad,81 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 Devaśarma, the stainless counsellor of the prince of the [Ghauśī] country, a lady on whom propriety of conduct had set its seal. Considering that she verily was Arundhati in mortal frame, to be revered by the worlds as the foremost of good wives, the holy Śānkara manifested himself to cause the seeds of piety to sprout.

(19.) As for a long time they did not obtain the desired-for offspring, both husband and wife, though not to blame, were naturally distressed in mind. Then Śiva himself came to them in a dream, and told them that their anxiety was groundless; they should worship him, and then they would have a son.

(20.) To them, well pleased by this and by the god's further command that they should give his own name to their son, a son was born who was like his parents 82 who had well worshipped the destroyer 83 of Śivara, and whose good conduct was proportionate to his beauty.

(21.) Him then they called Gaṅgādharā; 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.

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6 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 gudh instead of ruch, and in the second line we miss the relative gau. 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 resort 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-ratnapāsī the author is referring to. With Buddhists the term would denote duddha, dharma and saṅgha, with Jainas saṃyojana, saṃyojana and saṃyojana.
82 The original has rama, which should mean 'husband and wife,' not 'parents.'
83 i.e., Śiva, the destroyer of the god of love.
(22.) After him came another son, named Mahidhara. These were the two sons of Manoratha. To Daśaratha, on the other hand, were born Harihara and Purushottama, blessing and fulfilment of desire.

(23.) Fond of the Vedas, devoted to the proper ceremonial, illustrious for their knowledge of the Śikṣās, well acquainted with the Jyotisha, accurately understanding the Nirukta, proficient in the rules of metrics, famous for their progress in grammar, these six brothers, deeply engaged in the lofty course of study of the learned, well represent the Vedāṅgas in the world.

(21.) Meanwhile there was born that moon of the Māna princes, the king Vudramāna, 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 cumbrous insignia of high rank of the Creator!

(26.) Marvellous indeed is his fame, because it shares the properties of the supreme lord. So subtle as to pervade the edges of the teeth of the elephants of the quarters, so light as to reach the heavens in its ascent of the mountains, it extends everywhere here in the broad regions and roams freely about at will; it predominates in the sea of milk as well as in the white splendour of the moon, and it goes out of the mundane egg, and stays in it as it pleases.

(27.) Of this (king) Gaṅgādhara was (as it were) a second heart to protect friends, (Gaṅgādhara), who always was in battle a magician (in scattering) the lines of exulting hostile warriors, in misfortune an honest friend, a check when affairs were getting beyond control, an excellent associate in a spotless assembly, and worthy to be trusted in everything.

(28.) (Gaṅgādhara), who was embellished by good behaviour, famed for his cleverness of speech, a market of the gems of prudent counsel, a lover of resoluteness, tranquil-minded, full of compassion, a store-house of benevolence, fraudless in obligations, a prime promoter of friendship, boundless in steadfastness, free from the failing of untruth, and a treasure of intelligence.

(29.) He married the charming Pāsaladevi, a daughter of Jayaśrīnī who bore the title of ādhibhārīa, a friend of the king of Gauḍa, and of (his wife) Subhagā.

(30.) And their matrimonial union was universally esteemed even as that of Siva 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 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,

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84 Here, again, the two first lines of the original verse do not admit of a proper construction.
85 i.e., "a superintendent of affairs."
and who destroys deceit, malice, folly, covetousness, selfishness, envy, fraud, infatuation, hatred, jealousy and other evil qualities.

(P. 32.) Having accomplished here a thousand times, ever since he was a boy and a youth, and even to the end 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 Advaitaśāstra 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 Uddharana, himself engraved this eulogy.

The Śaka year 1059.

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46 Instead of the Abl. case apramāñātāt I should have expected the Dat. case.
47 Literally 'will bestow on this eulogy also the excellence of Gaṅgādhara's words.'
XXVII.—DUDHPANI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF UDAYAMANA.

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

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 Dudhpuni Ghat near Dumduma,’ with the note that ‘Dudhpuni’ is ‘in the Hazaribâgh district’ (of Chûtâ Nagpur in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, south of the districts of Gayâ and Monghyr).

This inscription contains thirteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6’ broad by 1’ 2½” high. With the exception of about half a dozen aksharas which are broken away, but can be easily supplied, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is about ¾”. The characters are essentially the same as, but somewhat more modern than, those of the Apsaâd inscription of Âdityasena, and may be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. In describing the writing of the Apsaâd 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 saurya, 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 parâkramâyâ, line 1, aparyântam, line 3, and saurya, line 4), and is each time written exactly as in the Apsaâd 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 upadhmânya (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 jihvâmûllya seems to be used once, before the word khântita 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 Sanskrit, and the whole is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter b is written by the sign for v; instead of anusvâra the guttural nasal is used in siṅha, lines 1, 6 and 8, aṅśuka, line 5, and nistriṅśa, line 6, and the dental nasal in kasminściti, line 2, bhânsi and yaśânsi, line 5, and even in prācin-surendrâ, line 10; and the consonants k and t are everywhere doubled before r (e.g., in parâkramâkramapadâkkrântâtrilokâ, in line 5). Besides, attention may be drawn to the hiatus in bṝādīśiṅka, 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 anusvâra, but to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs.—Wrong grammatical forms which the inscription contains are dâdâta for datta, in line 7, and chakhmâh for chakhmâh, in line 12; and the causal is improperly employed instead of the primitive verb in acohkarat, in line 11. Wrong constructions we find in verses 16, 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 prârabhâ, in line 6, avalâgaka and avalâgana, in

1 See Fleet’s Gupta Inscriptions, plate XXVIII
2 See ib., p. 202
line 7, vyuttānika (derived from vyuttāna as vijñānika is from vijñāna), in line 12, and rechaka (unless this is an error for mechaka) in the same line.

The inscription is not dated, but, as intimated above, it may, on palaeographical 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 (palli) of which the inscription treats and near one of which it must have been engraved,—Bhramarasālmal, Chhiṅgal, and Nabhūtisanda. Now, once upon a time three brothers—Udayamana, Śrīdhautamana, and Ajitamana—merchants, went on business from Ayodhya to Tāmaliṭi; 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 Bhramarasālmal (verses 4—5). While they were there, the king Ádisimha came to the forest near the villages on a hunting expedition, and ordered the inhabitants to give him an avalagana (or avalagana). The villagers, on receipt of the king’s orders, went to the eldest brother, Udayamana, 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 (śripattā) on him, but also, at Udayamana’s solicitation, assured the people of Bhramarasālmal of his royal favour (verses 12—16). When Udayamana returned to the village, the inhabitants in their delight, and with the king’s approval, requested him to become their rājya, 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 Śrīdhautamana and Ajitamana to rule, subordinately to himself, over Nabhūtisanda and Chhiṅgal (verses 20—23). Verse 24 (if I understand it rightly) adds that people of former days had this eulogy engraved to record that the family (ruling at Bhramarasālmal) had been founded and owed its greatness to Udayamana, 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 Udayamana-deva.

I am not at present able to state whether any or what historical importance should be attached to this inscription; nor can I identify the three villages of which the inscription treats. The place Tāmaliṭi (Tāmrālipiṭi), to which the three brothers are said to have gone from Ayodhya, is the modern Tamlūk, the head-quarters of the sub-division

3 So the name is given in verse 3. In verses 21 and 23 originally Bhūtisanda was engraved, but both times this appears to have been altered to Nabhūtisanda.

4 These names are given below.

5 The verses 6-11 only glorify the wealth, liberality, valour, etc., of the three brothers in the customary manner.

6 This appears to be the general sense of the original text, but I am unable to give the exact meaning of the word pradūth-kīhela, and of the following words avalagana and avalagana. According to the dictionaries pradūth is the post to which an elephant is fastened, which would suggest that the king was out elephant-hunting. For avalagana (as a neuter noun) von Böhtlingk’s Dictionary only gives the meaning ‘the winning of somebody,’ and avalagana I find in Professor Jacob’s edition of Bhadrakāla’s Kalpadara, p. 107, note 21, employed in the explanation of the word kaunambika where also its meaning seems to be uncertain.

7 See Varkhamiśra’s Bṛhatisambhāra, Chapter XXIX. In the note on the Kalpadara, quoted above, the word śrātikā is explained by Śrīdevatābhāṣita-uṣvarupapattā-bhūtihottandāgah; what the king gave to Udayamana was apparently such a śripattā.

8 Accordingly, the present inscription is recording events which had happened generations before this inscription was engraved.

9 The names of Udayamana and his brothers will of course remind the reader of the occurrence of the names Varnamana and Udrandana in the preceding inscription.
of the same name of the Midnapur district of Bengal, on the Rūpnrāyana river, a town which is well known from Buddhist records, and is even now one of the principal seats of commerce in the district.10

TEXT.11

1. [śri12]

चीरास्चस्मविद्यमानसमालेखः भोगी[ऽत्र]शासिके13।


व(व)भुव्य पूव्यमानकारार: चीरास्चस्मविद्यमानः[व]सिद्धः।

पराषास्ये भवतोस्वरूपः प्रथितो: प्रतिप्लावितीयः।

2. चीरास्चस्म[र]सं द्व द्वितीयः ॥15—[2].

प्रयासः[स]र्गवस्याविद्यमालयः[तम]प्रेमं च।

नन्दीस्य[य]काराविद्यमालयः भवति ॥17—[3].

चतुर्वधिनिमित्वमेव19 यज्ञजो म्यायानस्य।

तत्तत्त्विनिष्ठमेवतः भव: पूव्यमानिन्नातः ॥ —[4].

भूयः प्राप्तंनिमोऽस्य समावासं व्ययास्वः: ॥(3)

3. प्रयाससन केनायिक विश्वासारिष्ठ सिद्धिः ॥ —[5].

सुवर्णमेवाद्विविषणवस्यायामः पूव्यमानमस्ते ॥७२२—[6].

विन्दुपरमवेवासोपयोगवस्तुपार्जिन्तिः ॥ —[8].

सरस्वतिः विन्दुपरमवेवासोपयोगवस्तुपार्जिन्तिः।

स्त्रद्ध(र)य द्व लोकसः च: चतितसुपार्जितः: ॥ —[7].

वेदेषाः: काथम: कालः—

4. विन्दुपरमवेवासोपयोगवस्तुपार्जिन्तिः:

प्रयाससन केनायिक विश्वासारिष्ठ सिद्धिः।

तारवचः समावासं नुष्टवति जाता इति प्रायोगः

वेयामानः व(व)भुव्य निमायानुयुक्तः श्रीवत्स नैवोर्तमा ॥२०—[8].

दारुणवेदि सरस्वति व(व)भृष्टु न पुरा: काथायिक वेयामात: श्रीवत्सायां वचनमिन्नातः।

5. वेदेषाः: काथम: कालः—

विन्दुपरमवेवासोपयोगवस्तुपार्जिन्तिः

वाराहावस्यवस्यायामः पूव्य(व)स्यन्तरः: श्रीवत्सायां वचनमिन्नातः।

दिकाम(स)मोत्तत्त्वादपार्जिन्तिः [र] स्यायां स्यायां श्रीवत्सायां श्रीवत्सायां वचनमिन्नातः।

चथायिक चथायिक चथायिक चथायिक चथायिक चथायिक चथायिक चथायिक चथायिक चथायिक ॥17—[10].

विश्वासमुंदग्ना

10 See the Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XIII, p. 171.
11 From Sir A. Cunningham’s robbing.
12 Expressed by a symbol.
13 The two alakharas in brackets are almost entirely broken away.
14 Metre. Indravajja; but the third Pāda of the verse is as if the metre were Vasumatiśakā.—Compare Vallabhadra’s Subhāśīkādūla, verse 41.
15 Observe the hiatus in नीरत्रि; and read यिन्द्रेण and यिन्द्रेण.
16 Metre. Upājīta.
17 Metre of verses 3-7: Śloka (Anusāsana).
18 Read चित्तेण, चित्तेण.
19 Read युक्तेऽवि.
20 Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śādālavākṣyitā. 21 Read मर्मश्च.
22 Read विचारबुधकारणगः.
23 Read मर्मश्च विचारबुधकारणगः.
24 Metre of verses 10 and 11: Vasumatiśakā. 25
L. 6. श्रीप न [श्रीप] नमः: सुदूरसमय चौहितसमूहितमाजः।
निसित्त्रामिविन्दयकः। [क] प्रवाहलय वे चारिकौतरस्यः चिवरीविभाजः: II —[11].
स श्रीमालादिप्सिद्धः कथाविदेशिमि स।
प्राणिव (वी) खेलबूढ़क श्रविश्वाचारणीश्वरः। II —[12].
श्राविश्व

7. समाहय स पशुचिततारत्नः।
युयम्यास्थवर्गरमार्यादः ददतांशिष्यतः II —[13].
ब्रजस्वान्नमालकार्यः [तूस्व] व(स) लपरिव्रस्तः। II(1)
वषिणां भाटरं वेदाघुर्दवमानसुपमागमतः II —[14].
राजनीलगनाशर्य तमस्तम्य प्रयत्नः।
प्रेयणामास तत्तपी प्रभोमृङ्गाहिये। II —[15].

8. श्रीराहेमिरुमुखु नृपवर्षार्यं श्रीपदवं भस्मिगम्यत: ततः।
श्रीचाँदिसिद्धपुरीपथितर्योग(वी) अधिष्ठि तत[स] भारिनि भमपहायलिनिलोकः। II —[16].
तुरास्तो भमपहायलिनिलोकं भृस्तुमाससमस्वेद जनश्रुयाश्रम।
राजा भव लम्भ हराय पशुचितसिद्धाः।

9. देवतार्योविद्धवसुद्दतः। II —[17].
एवास भविष्यतः प्रतिव वच्चालमार्यादः ति
तथे राज्यपदसम; निपतिन्तायानापि[ता] नासखाये।
श्रीमचिरुखशिरिपुराससायिनि: 
राजावतविश्वास्यपरिवर्तनारामदयायो नृपं। II —[18].
यथा लानान्यायोविरुद्धायामाधिकालिनोऽति।

10. कीकेरसकःकाव्रतातिसंभगायायाय पोषारायः।
श्रीचाँदिसिद्धपुरीपथितसंवतिमष्ट्यस्मात्ताय:।
प्रामोक्षासंकलपाद्यायः गायत्रि चिन्द्रियः II —[19].
भाग्यीलमासवतु तैवामायितस्वातः।
पशुहेतुपिर राज्यार्य भाटरी विसर्ज स। II —[20].
श्रीमचिरुखशिरिपुराससः। प्रथास्य [न]भृति।

35 Read 'कीकेरस'।
36 Read 'निपतिन्ता'।
37 Read 'नासखाये'।
38 Metro of verses 12-15; Sloka (Anuahubh).  
39 Originally अक्षर was engraved, but it has been altered to  अक्षर.
40 Read 'कीकेरस'।
41 Of the akkhas in brackets the upper portion is broken away.
42 Read श्रीबिन ो तत्तपी।
43 Observe again the hiatus in श्रीचाँदि and read चाँदि।
COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAI DYADEVA, KING OF KÂMARûPA.

L. 11. वायाकोदयमानस्य चिरं रायसमवीकरत्। —[21].
प्रवचनमस्थापातीपुष्पितसामन्दिरल।।
अभिद्वरतात्मानीयै विष्णुलायं महीपति। —[22].
पत्युपलमासमार्थिकिङ्कला[ः?ै]भृतिपणकी।।
वयाकृ व(व)मुखः पूर्वमितविती ययास्वस। —[23].
आराध्यादयमानमादियुपय गीता।।

12. कंगी वायस्द्व—
नाकामायसिद्धान्तमाहिनीमित्वालोको ते पूर्वम्।
अभिन्नाचवालकादविदनामुखानिधिः स्वादिः
संपत्तिसमिकिलिभिच चक्षुपुपुमिकात्वरःतिमात्। —[24].
यावाभास्वरोरितेऽवज्जात्वासिद्विवोकिच्य।
चक्रं चक्ष्योरिव (व)भर्ति गिरियो गात्रवानीपति।।

13. यायाकोदयमात्रवात्त्वमित्वालर्थरस्वाभूमुः
अर्थात्यादयमानद्वृत्तेऽवत्त्वतिपिपुत्रात्मस। —[25].

XXVIII.—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAI DYADEVA, KING OF KÂMARûPA.

By ARTHUR VENIS, M.A., PRINCIPAL, SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES.

Twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions were found in October 1892 in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barnâ and the Ganges at Benares. The story at the time was that a villager while ploughing a field had turned up one of the plates with his plough and so discovered the others; but I do not know whether this simple and (in India) not unusual story has been subsequently confirmed by official inquiry into the locality and circumstances of the find. Mr. R. H. Brereton, Magistrate of Benares, sent me the plates, which are the subject of this and the next paper, viz. the grant of Vaidyadeva and two grants of Govindachandra of Kanauj, for immediate examination and report. On receiving from me a few rough notes as to their general contents and approximate dates, he kindly permitted a more careful and leisurely revision of these grants.

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 Gâneśa. The plates measure 9 1/4" broad by 7" high, and weigh together

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1 Here again the akshara in brackets seems to be engraved above the line.
2 This was originally engraved, but appears to have been altered to विष्णु न जन, and I believe the intended reading to be विष्णु न जन.  
3 Metro of verses 24 and 25, Sāradalavikriṣṭa.
4 I am not sure whether the word रेष्य of this line should be altered to निपु.  
5 All the plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow in July 1892.
2lbs. 13oz.; their margins are slightly thickened outwards. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only. Each side contains sixteen lines, except the outer side of the third plate, on which there are nine lines only. The height of the letters is about a quarter inch. On the whole, the writing is well preserved, being nowhere completely obliterated. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (ante, vol. I, p. 305), but approach more closely to the modern Bengali character. They may also be compared, in some respects, with the character of the Krishnadvarikā Temple inscription at Gayā (Arch. Survey Reports, vol. III, plate xxxvii), which Dr. Kielhorn describes as "a kind of Devanāgarī 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 श, घ, ङ. The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse.

The inscription records the grant of two villages named Sāntipātaka and Mandarā situated in the vishaya of Bāḍā, in the bhūki of Prāgjyotisha, in the maṇḍala of Kāmarupa. The donee is a Brahman named Śrīdhara, the son of Yudhishtīra and Pāt his wife, and the grandson of Bharata, who was born of the gotra of Viśvāmitra, in the village of Bhāva in Vārendri. Vaidyadeva, the donor, is the son of Bodhideva and Praţāpadevi 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:—

Sāryavanśā Pālas.                                  Mantrins.

I. Vigrahapāla.                                    1. Yogadeva.
II. Rāmapāla (son of I).                            2. Bodhideva (son of 1).

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?) Mithili, and killed a certain raja Bhima, 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 Hamsākoñchi, which again I cannot identify. His younger brother (? nephew), Budhadēva, is introduced without any apparent reason, unless indeed it be to mark him as the heir. The praśasti was written by Manoratha, the son of the rājaguru Murāri and Padmā his wife. The śāsana was delivered by Gonandana, Vaidyadeva's dharmādhikārīn. It was engraved by Karaṇabhādra.

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, l, l. 5, appears to be only a prose repetition of the statement in verse 28, with the addition of the word Sam and the numerical sign 4. The syllable ni, with which it concludes, I take as a contraction of nibaddhānī (to qualify śāsanaṁ). Verse 28 will be considered below. The other statement in ll. 3, 4 of plate iii, l, baffles me. The last word Guggulī is very doubtful. Read thus, it may be explained as an upanāman of Śridhara, the donee, in reference to the story of the Guggulū in verse 26. But the forms of conjunct ggu are entirely different in the two words. I am still inclined to think that the letters read Guggulī are somehow connected with the date indication.

Failing to fix Vaidyadeva's date from the inscription itself, I have been forced to enter on the much debated chronology of the Pāla and Sena dynasties. Now, in regard to the Pāla dynasty, the reign of Mahāpāla 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 Mahāpāla. 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 Ihesasamkranti fell (1) on ekādaśī and (2) on dvādaśī in Vaiśākhā (krishiypaksha)? 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 1033 A.D.
whether Kumárapála was the immediate predecessor of Govindapála or not, we are not a liberty to count the years of Kumárapála backwards directly from 1161 A.D. Then, turning to the other end of the line, even if Nayapála’s name be omitted from that part of the royal succession which is now under review, it is safer to place Kumárapála 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 Sëna dynasty, it is generally acknowledged that some time during the second half of the 11th century A.D. the Pálás lost Eastern and Northern Bengal (including Assam) to the Senas under Vijayasena. “Vijayasena’s reign (Dr. Kielhorn writes, ante, vol. I, 307) may therefore be reasonably supposed to have begun about the beginning of the last quarter of the 11th century.” I have no wish to indulge in further speculation. Briefly, this is what I suppose the drift of events to have been. At first, i.e. roughly from 1060—1138 A.D. the Pálás were driven westwards by the Senas. Then the Senas began to lose ground rapidly and were driven back by the Pálás 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 Janakabhúmi (Mithilá) by Rámapála, recounted in verse 4 of the Vaidyadeva grant, may have been an historical fact, marking the return of power to the Pála line. And thus, too, the Pála culmination under Kumárapála 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 Pálas arranged in order of descent; it throws some more light on the relations existing between the rival Pála and Sena dynasties in Bengal during the 12th century A.D.; and its date, as confirmed by the history of the period, seem to point to 1142 A.D. as its probable date.

Text.

Plate I. (Inner side only.)

Line [1:] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय || स्वर्गीयो अचर्माननन्दमः कुम्भः संसारवीरचाया।

[2.] भिन्नस्तिः क्रीडायोत्तेष्व द्विजविवेद्यर्गुप्ते सम्भविष्य कालवान पूर्वः। विग्रहणः।

[3.] कौ तु विद्वति: स्वत्तमार्पितसिद्धः॥ (2) यथा यज्ञसकायमात्रयमोरिव: गुरुविचारः। योगः

[4.] स्नुदिर्होत्सवविक्रमः। (3). तद्यत: ज्ञात संसारविवेद्यर्गुप्ते। चारामपलोभवतुः। पालकुञ्जाविन्धियोः।

[5.] तत्कालिनः सावधानविवेद्यतिमाक। तेन देव जगच्ये जनकभूतात्माद्वेद्यः कौशिनाविविध्यते।

Read ॐूर्ध्वः and द्विजविवेद्यर्गुप्ते.

Metre of verses 1 and 2: Pathyārṇavā.

Read आत्मवान पूर्वः.

Read स्वत्तमार्पितसिद्धः।

Metre: Śloka. (Pathyārṇavā.)

Read स्नुदिर्होत्सवविक्रमः।
[6.] रावणवधारुकुण्योर्ज्ञंकानानात् ॥१० (४) यद्य प्रशस्यचिह्नः पुराणवधीकृतिः शति तत्काव्यसूः।

[7.] दितीयोत्सुत्योगस्यस्मालोकस्त्रयः चिततार्यः ॥१३ (५)। जस्य मद्यपद्ये यद्यचम्प्रज्ञेशादिकृतिः नामतः।

[8.] चिततार्यः। घण्डोहस्यकान्तिः सन्निःसकान्तिः पद्यः ॥१२ (६)। श्रव्यसूक्ष्मवधानन्योष्य सिद्धतः।

[9.] वीरविमायः। प्रक्या द्विया वतः। यद्यसुवधीकृतिः शतिरोदः ॥१५ (७)। प्रभुहस्य च। जस्य श्रव्यसूक्ष्मवधानन्योष्य शतिरोदः।

[10.] चां च च चांचुनि च च च। विशेषतत्वबधानस्वस्य शतिरोदः। चां च चां।

[11.] चां च चां। विशेषतत्वबधानस्वस्य शतिरोदः। प्रभुहस्य च। चां च।

[12.] चां। चां। चां। चां।

[13.] चां। चां।

[14.] चां। चां।

[15.] चां। चां।

[16.] चां। चां।

[17.] चां। चां।

[18.] चां।

[19.] चां।

[20.] चां।

[21.] चां।

Plate II, A.

Metre of verses 8 and 9: सारवदानकराच्चिकरोदः।

Metre of verses 11 and 12: सारवदानकराच्चिकरोदः।

Metre of verses 13 and 14: सारवदानकराच्चिकरोदः।

Metre of verses 15 and 16: सारवदानकराच्चिकरोदः।

Metre of verses 17 and 18: सारवदानकराच्चिकरोदः।

Metre of verses 19 and 20: सारवदानकराच्चिकरोदः।

Metre of verses 21 and 22: सारवदानकराच्चिकरोदः।
L. [22.] दुतुं। तमवनियतं जिला युले वभूष महीयतिपितं च श्रमाहसरे। श्रमनियतिपितं च।॥(14)." प।
[23.] तत्त्र प्रवचनाधिसमें पांसुकरे। भनिलालां भोमते। कैसमकणै।
[24.] कंब्हिपुज्यानवर्म। कविकावयविनयन्तुभोधिकाविष्कारसब्रह्मसंव। श्रमाहसरे।
[25.] नानिनियतं कर्ण स्वतं निद्वत्॥(15) दोहङ्कारणिः। विभवमुख प्रतिवर्धान्ते।
[26.] समाधायमत्तते परिपोष्यं: दीपिकास्तुपरीक्षेष। ॥१॥ कवला होमसिद्धं परि।
[27.] जा दलाले॥२॥ पूणालुतं वन्धवादिगंगो। मात्रत्वकलमो। वीरबन्धवो। वभूष।॥(16)। युधसरसंघात॥३॥ ख्रीयातो॥
[28.] त्यथं॥ परसुभाषोदिवे। रीयं निरीक्ष। भास्तित। विसरराधायहीविव्धवं। खक।
[29.] रुचमापं रजोमिः। प्रेस्वयं॥३॥। चुरापो॥९॥। चं चुरापो॥(17)। चन्द्रदस्रवुमोहब्रह्मसरं सत्यप्रवासणं।।
[30.] ज्ञेयं। निकुल्यं। नियं। कुलिः॥। कान्सकित्व॥
[31.] श्रीपति। खलारे सुधीर्मुखेथिदि जलाचारोऽवलयं भजित।॥(18)॥। भानामीविनितिज्ञिति॥
[32.] समयीधिः। श्रीपतिदेवसुपिरितिकालयानिः॥६॥ संप्रायपति। || किंकैतैधं निरोपमान।

**Plate II, B.**

[33.] प्राय। प्रसिद्धवंलादु हुम किन्नु वरं स्त्रयं संस्कृतं। सविश्वाणा॥४॥। गर्ली॥(19)॥। यह मीरुच| धेय दंदलुभुभु॥
[34.] चौरामभद्राग्रान्तस्तस्तस्तस्तसिंकितेति संबुद्धसात्रोदिस्मम्॥। दाने॥। शोभनपलविहिष।॥
[35.] कुलप्रमुति दानेश्रित्। खायन। कुलसहस्रमुति तिन्कितोलिंकावसः॥।(20)॥। अयक्ष।
[36.] वत कौणिकमणिको। सुधीरमुखार्थो। निज्ञोऽपुवृषण।। प्रयोजनवक्षः।। प्रयोजनवक्षः॥।
[37.] यदापापितो दुर्भः गिरा किंवत॥॥१॥। अति संहति हर्षः। प्रातुरातीतिभवित्त्वमारं॥

[38.] प्रवचनया: शासीपृच्छे वर्णद्वारा प्रस्तावश्वायमात्रसाध्यायामात्रावायालो।

[39.] विक्षुम्य। निरीक्ष। निरीक्षायानं प्रयोजः॥॥(22)॥। अति। विप्रतिकालको दुस्तिहर।। दुर्भ॥
[40.] वभेदविवर्णानिः। श्रीबन्धविपिलसमस्मिति॥।(18)॥। यह॥
[41.] तिं धरिपली। प्रभवरसाय वित्तितिवादिता।। चर्मिनिविसषा।॥

51 राधे समि दिसलोऽभिर्। ।
52 मरे हरिनि। ।
53 मरे वर्षामन्। ।
54 मरे वामसि। ।
55 मरे मालिनि। ।
56 कवि द्वितीयस्मि। ।
57 कवियस्मि। ।
58 कवियस्मि। ।
59 कवियस्मि। ।
60 मरे मालिनि। ।
61 के सवि पलेण। ।
62 मरे मालिनि। ।
63 मरे मालिनि। ।
64 मरे मालिनि। ।
65 मरे मालिनि। ।

46 The var. lect सरककलवर्षेम् (with the numeral sign 2
asfixd) is given in the upper margin of the plate, and
मीरुच ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ is cut out in the text.
47 रा धारीसुधारमितिवर्णविरोधमयः॥। कर्माँ॥। is cut out in the body of the plate, and व्याक (with the sign 3
and the numeral sign 2
asfixd) is supplied in the lower margin.
48 रा महयुमूसूहित: । चुनुमूहित: ।
49 रा नारायणधम। ।
50 मरे वामसि। ।
51 दाने॥। शोभनपलविहिष।॥
52 रा नारायणधम। ।
53 रा नारायणधम। ।
54 मरे रशीपलेण। ।
55 रा नारायणधम। ।
GRANT OF VAIETYADEVA OF KAMARUPA.

THE SEAL.

Scale: 3/4ths of original.
Plate III, B.

[65.] स्त्रि सत्त्वन्ति: स विद्विते शैलांकर्ण परिहृत वाचार्यमुशुद्रयुक्तिः पर्वतं।

[66.] ताराभुजसङ्गः बधयते अत्र नृपति: कौलिनीः।

[67.] जयमान: पञ्चागमिनीवल्लिका परेशीर्मणिवर्णः।

[68.] परस्परात्मानतौण्डीतमाया शीघ्रः। यथतः सुधिती विनयतयो वर्णाधिकार्यिनित्यो-गीतन्द्रकौपिनीः।

[69.] ध्रुववचस्य प्रादर्शेऽभवत् सामग्री।

[70.] सामान्यम् भवति। श्रद्धा परदस्या यो हरेत वस-भ्रंशां। स विद्याया करिम्बुवा।

[71.] प्रस्ते विन्युभिस्वाग। गामिका वस्मिणीकसा भृतिराधारस्यस्मिनूपलं हरवर्जनसमायतिः।

[72.] तत्संतवं बहुर्मित्वमुख दत्ता नायकम्। सगरादिविस्वविभय: यथ यथ यथा भृतिस्वविभय: तथा तथा फ-।

[73.] ल।

**Translation.**

Om! Salutation to the holy Vasudeva! 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 Vigralahapāla, perfect in every accomplishment.

20 Read^c ध्रुवोऽवन्यम् विनयम् निवायः।
21 Read सत्त्वन्ति: स विद्विते शैलांकर्ण परिहृत वाचार्यमुशुद्रयुक्तिः पर्वतं।
22 Read ताराभुजसङ्गः बधयते अत्र नृपति: कौलिनीः।
23 Read गामिका वस्मिणीकसा भृतिराधारस्यस्मिनूपलं हरवर्जनसमायतिः।
24 Read सामान्यम् भवति। श्रद्धा परदायिता यो हरेत वस-भ्रंशां। स विद्याया करिम्बुवा।
25 Read ध्रुववचस्य प्रादर्शेऽभवत् सामग्री।
26 Read गामिका वस्मिणीकसा भृतिराधारस्यस्मिनूपलं हरवर्जनसमायतिः।
27 Read सामान्यम् भवति। श्रद्धा परदायिता यो हरेत वस-भ्रंशां। स विद्याया करिम्बुवा।
(3.) His minister was Yogađeva, who was versed in the Śāstras and the prowess of whose arm was manifest.

(4.) Of this king of mighty power the son was Rāmapāla, who was the moon (produced) from the ocean-like Pāla family and who wielded the glory of empire. As befitted one of his name (yathāvatsa), Rāmapāla (yena) spread glory through the three worlds, by gaining the country of Janaka,73 (as Rāma gained Janakabhū, the child of Janaka, i.e. Sītā); and by killing king Bhima,69 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 Vaiḍyadeva, who was endowed with the highest happiness, and in whose lake of leaping glory the mountain of Śiva (i.e. Kailāsa) appeared as it were but a lotus-sprout.

(8.) Hearing from astrologers and mendicants of the auspicious juncture of Vaiḍyadeva’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 Vaiḍyadeva 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 (Vaiḍyadeva).

(10.) This Vaiḍyadeva 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 Cham-pakā (i.e. Karna); he was the moon among the lily-like minds of good men.

(11.) And on the occasion of Vaiḍyadeva’s (yasya) victory at the battle in Southern Vanga,67 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 (Vaiḍyadeva) 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 Vṛihaspati in his wisdom.

(13.) The aforesaid renowned Vaiḍyadeva 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.

73 i.e. Mithilā. To take janaka = “father” would spoil the play upon the word.
69 I cannot identify the name.
67 Anuttara = “complete” may qualify “victory.” For Naurdja see Dr. Hultzsch, Ind. Antiq. vol. XV, p. 209.
(14.) This victorious Vaidyadeva having placed upon his head, garland-wise, the command of his glorious master, marched speedily in a few days, and having defeated that king (viz. Timgyadeva) by the energy of his own arm, became king and appeared like the valiant Indra himself.

(15.) When during the glorious march of this Vaidyadeva the sky became like the surface of the earth on account of the heaps of dust, the horses of the sun found it difficult to move their feet. - Further, Indra, while closing both his eyes (against the dust), is unable to use his hands for any other action, (and therefore) reviles his fate,\(^1\) to which is due the never-closing condition of his eyes.

(16.) This Vaidyadeva performed the Homa in the fire of his own splendour, which, produced from his arm as fire from the arani, was fed like fire by the fuel of his enemies' hosts, and was worshipped at the fight, as fire at the sacrifice, (and he used as material for his sacrifice) many heads of his enemies in the place of bright vilva fruits; next, he offered the purnâluti oblation with the (body of the) hostile king, and having acquired vast glory as the result (of his sacrifice) he shone resplendent.

(17.) The sun, beholding the sky covered with the enemies' heads, as at the stroke of the sword they fly upwards from the great fight of Vaidyadeva (yad), suddenly became alarmed at the thought of these heads being so many Râhus 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 jalâdhâra, i.e. protector of fools (jala = jâda), as the ocean is a jalâdhâra, i.e. receptacle of water; or if he were conquerable (laṅghita) as the ocean was crossed (by Râma)—(for in other points the comparison holds, thus)—the ocean is the birthplace of the moon, and he is the source of delight (chandra); the ocean is the refuge of mountains (e.g. Mainâka) and he is the refuge of kings (mahâdhâra); 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 (pâtra); 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); Vishnû dwells within the ocean and within his heart.

(19.) He was Vîhisapati as regards his knowledge, and the Sun as regarus his energies, and Vishnû as regards his good actions, and Varûna as regards his stability, and Kuvera as regards his wealth, and the king of Chamâ (Karna) as regards his liberality. Further, even these names (so. Vîhisapati et al.) are here employed because of their notoriety as the common objects of comparison in poetry (girâ); but we for our part declare that in respect to all his numerous qualities Vaidyadeva was like himself alone.

(20.) His younger brother \(^2\) was Buddha-deva, who, resembling the younger brother of Râma (viz. Lakshmana) in possessing his well-known (tattat) boundless and spotless qualities, (and himself) the abode of perfect dharma and perfect character, with glory leaping in the might of his arm, was famed to be like the Kalpataru in his gifts and also in his donations to Brahmans, which are the good fruits and fresh sprouts.

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\(^1\) It is his kar-ṣan = (pîrabhâā) that makes him Indra with never-closing eyes.

\(^2\) Anujobhâsh is ambiguous. I explain thus:—anujâ bâh (vtpati) ṣasya so anujobhâsh.
(21.) Now (turning to the receiver of this grant), there was that chief of munis, named Kumarika, the first of his gotra, in whose mouth Sarasvati rested after her fatigue in wandering through the (four) mouths of Brahmā.

(22.) In his great vaṇiṣṭa, in the strictly-disciplined village of Bhava, the Varendri appeared Bharata, a Brāhmana, 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 Yudhishtīhra, chief of Brāhanas and intelligent men, the repository of knowledge purified by (study of) the Vedas and Śastras, the abode of glory showing itself through his mastery of the sacred learning.

(24.) The wife of this learned man was Pāi of boundless beauty, the repose of her husband’s heart, and the dwelling-place of virtue, nobleness and prosperity.

(25.) As the result of his merit, acquired in many previous states of existence, there was born to him of that great son Śrīdhara, honoured among Brāhanas.

(26.) By reason of his pilgrimages to tīrthas, and study of Veda, and generosity, as well as by his teaching and by his performance of sacrifices and strict observance of vows, Śrīdhara was chief among learned Brāhanas. Through Śrīdhara’s penances of eating once only either by day or by night, and living on alms without begging, and fasting, the Lord Śiva was propitiated here, in the Kaliyuga, by being drawn out of a Guggulu tree.

(27.) Foremost among those who know karman and brahman (i.e. the Karma-kanda and the Jāna-kanda of the Veda), Śrīdhara, the store-house of every kind of religious observances, was famed to be like Vīhaspati in (his mastery of) the hidden things of Śrutī and Smṛti.

(28.) To this Śrīdhara, at the Vishuvati (sambrānti) in Vaishākha on Ekādaśi, the king Vaidyadeva gave this charter, to gain heaven.

[To follow line 14 of the second Plate]

(29.) As determined by the bhūmichekhidra rule, the village Santipātaka is joined to the village Mandarā and belongs to the Baḍā-vishaya.

(30.) The villages conveyed are all sources of revenue, and are exempt from royal charges and payments in kind. They are to be enjoyed as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and the profits (phala) of cultivation (kriyā) shall be arranged for as (the owner may) wish. They are provided with water and dry land, forest tracts, gardens and enclosures for cows.

(31.) Whoever may himself appropriate this or cause it to be appropriated, shall see his sons and property perish before him and shall remain in Naraka for the period of a Kalpa. But the honourable man who respects it shall be blessed with sons and wealth; and having long enjoyed Svarga he shall go to the supreme abode of Vishnu.

(32.) May the glory of king Vaidyadeva continue to shine as long as sun, moon, stars, mountains, sea and earth endure!

84. Sīmapore, I take equal to Ugrasaraṇa, the commoner bhumirhi.
85. The sign of omission is found in the second plate (side B) after kariṇārte, the last word of 1. 14. The translation is therefore made to follow the order intended by the words dvitiya-pataktaya chaturddhatapaṃktiyā, to which I supply “agere” to complete the construction.
86. Translation doubtful. Dr Kielhorn explains pātaṭka by “outlying hamlet.” (Ind. Antiq. vol. XVIII, p. 135), which I follow above. Santist would thus be the name of the pātaṭka adjoining the village Mandarā and falling within the viśaya Baḍā; and the correct 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 santipātakasvaḥ/sah an adjective to Śiśumā in verse 28: (observe also idam in verse 31).
(33.) Manoratha, son of the brâhmaṇa rajaguru Murârî, and Padmâ, his wife, composed this praśasti.

(34.) This is that king whose active arm destroyed the famed prowess of his many foes. And this is that Śrîdara, whose glory ever spreading through the world extends anew. [The king] being pleased delivered this śasana to that brâhmaṇa through the words of his dharmādhiśārin, the very learned Gonandana.

[Plate II, B, l. 15.] Hail! From the victorious camp at Hamsâkoñchî, his Majesty Vaidyadeva, a most devout worshipper of Śiva and of Vishnu, the Muhirâjâdhikâ, the Paramârûvâ, the Parmabhaṭṭâraka, being in good health [Plate III, A, l. 1.] greets, informs and commands the people of the villages of Śânti-Bâdâ and Mandarâ possessed by Gaṅgâdhara Bhaṭṭa, in the vishaya of Baḍâ, in the manḍala of Kâmârâpa in the bhakti of Prâgjyotisha, 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 Śrîdara Śarmâ (surnamed) Guggult in ? ? . . . . Therefore be obedient to this charter. Written in the fourth year on the first day of Vaisâkha ḍhiti of the movement of the sun.67

67 See above, p. 349.

68 Here follow the boundaries of the villages.

69 The usual imperfections which follow are left untranslated.

[Plate III, B, l. 5.] (35) This copper was engraved by the artist Karnabhadra, an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman.

To such a plate are added the words of the Munis65:—

XXXIX.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ

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No I.1.—Dated Samvat 1162.

This grant is on a single plate, and closely resembles the Basâhi grant of Samvat 1161, both in its outward form and text.2 The plate is 1' 6" long by 11" broad, and weighs 8lbs. 12oz. Like the Basâhi 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 Nâgârî 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 (bâhûva) 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 s have two forms. In line 22 I

1 As to the finding of these plates see ante, p. 347.
2 See Ryendraâla Mîtra, Journal As. Soc. Beng., vol XII (1873), and Fleet, Ind. Antiq., vol. XIV (1885) for the Basâhi plate.
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 Basáhi plate. Line 2 reads Mahálásunátaḥ—conf. Mahiál-leśutah or Mahiál-sunáta 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 Basáhi plate: but these omissions are unimportant. Line 6 records the date in words and figures,3 viz. Tuesday, full moon (bright half) of Kārttika, 1162 Samvat, date corresponding to 24th October, 1105 A.D.

Line 7. Govindachandra, the donor, was then encamped in Viśnupura and made the grant after having bathed in the Ganges, etc. This, and the succeeding names of places, I cannot identify.

Line 8. He gives the village of Usithā (?), in the Jīvati-pattalā in the Pañchāla country, with the usual appurtenances.

[12]—13. The donee, Viśvākṣāya Dikṣita, who came originally from Śāvithadēsa (?), was the son of Puravāsa and grandson of Nāgānanda (?). These belonged to the Vandhula gotra with the three pravaras of Vandhula, Aghamarshaṇa and Viśvāmitra, and were followers of the Yajurveda.

Li. 16—16 contain the well-known crux मला यहीर्मान ... द्रव (व) bhavati śatrubhairuḥ purukkhasamhitṛ.

Li. 23—24. The composer of the inscription was Viśvādāsa, who also composed the Basáhi document. The following consented to the grant:—the pratiḥara Gautama, the purohita Jāgūkā, the mahattaka Vālhana (all three of whom are mentioned in the Basáhi plate) and the Queen-mother Rālhaidevi.

Text.

Front.

Line [1.] ॥ कमो भगवः वासुदेवाः द्रामोदरसुरामाः ॥ तस्याः स्ववेदाः चास्वेदाः ॥

1. छन्दोः गाहवातः चक्तिः विद्याः ॥ (1)।

2. महीरवलसुः ॥ वीशाबवलनाभकामस्वरस्वमितिशिलेः ॥ (2)। यार्तेजीवोज्जीवी विशवदरसुन्नीतनि मातातिशिलेः ॥

3. महर्षि घर्ष्रीविद्विदविभिन्निं प्राप्तयोगादुपेता चाता बिश्वं यूहं समवधिः स्व चाश्चापतिंद्रद्वेषः। (3)।

4. महपालं द्रव द्रविकान्तः ॥ वेनासियां वसुम: ॥ समस्वयं: ॥ संस्कर्तृतव्रतमितज्ञवत्सवत्सवत्सवत्सवत्सवतः। (4)।

5. तारामाय सत्यवर्णयादिस्थारविप्रवत्सवत्सवतः ॥

6. तितत्रता यह द्रो: स्वमेव सत्यवर्णयादिनिः। भस्मण्याश्चेतिषीलो म-
[6] दराजीव लच्छि || (6)१४ संवादमध्ये विलासुतर तथाकथिति कालिकिन्तृकेशाये भीमे
दिने कड़िप संवत १६६२ सुदृढ़ होमे" यचोऽह जीवितमिश्रायनवासिणी-
[7] विजयकाले संलकालमित्तायाया गंगायां खाला || यथाविधानें संमेधवयमनुष्या
भूतमित्तायायायें || साहृत महाराजं संपूर्ण || भगवतं महादेवं
[8] रं समयमेव || विजयवार वालुविदय समाराय || मंचित्वं शुभदेव हुला || पच्चालसे जीपा
वतीपलत्तयायं उपसीरामें समस्तविन्यासायायं समस्तायामेत्रं
[9] सह्यनसमन्दपण समारस्याय तस्मासाय || यथा भाष्यायं मया जसामित्तायायं निःसोवर-
धर्मेन; सजलाक्षात् सामस्यायं सततोपयागायणं सा--
[10] नदीनवृक्षायामकारं || सदाप्रायाधारं || मातापातालं || स्त्रीमातरगृहाविग्राहानं
पुरवतुदेवाझायारं || नलिनीदसन्मति
[11] जयतालयं प्रायिकम् || हिंदाय || कारकलेखकायं प्रवेषति वपल्पां लक्ष्मीं विलीक्षः
जयसुदायारं योयं परिश्राव || कालिकदुरबं
[12] तु संसारसमाय || समाजलय || सावित्रिविनिर्मातायां वाजस्यनसाहित्यायाम यं भुजागोवाय
वचो भगवान्विन्यासामित्तायायाम यमयारासाः
[13] दीर्घतावगरणं प्रायिकम् || दीर्घतावगरणं प्रायिकम् || यं भुजागोवाय
वचो भगवान्विन्यासाः
[14] महाराजपुनसौभोविद्यदेव सुपुरुषकोविद्यदेव सुपुरुषकोविद्यदेव सुपुरुषको
कारिकारं निसाने समग्रायात्रे भाषियार्यां माताप्रजीरामां व्रजयारणं
[15] बुद्धि वंशार्धारं धिरेन्द्राधितिलिपणात्मारण्य यावतु शारणीकूले प्रदत्तः || मला यद्रीयानां
भागायानुजार्णकूलद्वार धिरेन्द्राधितिलिपणात्मारण्य यावतु शारणीकूले प्रदत्तः
[16] व्यक्तं प्रसादवस्तुदं वनायं तत्तु सर्वमेव निमेंदीनाः || ये आयत्ता समीत्तो तत् कुटि
क्ष वा परस्परस्यविरास्य स्मारज्ञचिरिचित सादिकयां
[17] तत्तु कियत दुःस्मायान्यर्य स्वस्मान्तरता दल सदा पापता चावुर्वेढ्य तत्त्वत्र त्रायते
ज्ञाल सुनिनाह वचः || (7)२१ ब्राह्मण पीरारिकाः
[18] ब्राह्मणे || भूमिः || प्रतिच्छािीत यथा भूमिः प्रयाढः || उभो ती तुषारामाणैव नियत
स्वर्याविलामैिी || (8)२६ योद्धिते प्रतिच्छािीत ददार्शिधि
[19] तस्मात्त्व था || तातुभो गच्छति || यस्य नवर्णी तु विधये || (9) वहितियुस्माता भुजका राजविते सागरारि
यथा || यथा तया भूमिस्य तत्त्व वदा
[20] फलं || (10) यानी दत्तानि पुरा नरेद्रदासानि धर्मायङ्गमारण्य यस्य लोकायसानि निर्पायेतत्त्वायः
मात्ानि तानि को नाम साप्तु पुनरामदेव || (11)२३ वाकस्तुलाः पर--
L. [21.] तुदारुस्तदरहरिजय राजमिदमचः। शुमदेश्वरः। लक्ष्मीविभिवकुछुबूदमारया दानं फलं प्रयागः। यहियाणं च जयं (12).32 शून्यमिदासः।

[22.] छल वराशा बरवारणा। भगवानस्व पिप्पान्न्नी भरसं। * पूर्वदर (13).33 छल तां पर- 

- वरता वा यी देत वारंस्या। स विख्यातयां शास्त्रीयोः पितुभी: स।

[23.] इ महाजय (14). तपोहराजनिमकर्मक जग्गकां दूरोपयिनः। जनसाधारण च वाल्श-

- शय महात्मा: (15). ऐरेयां संसमति जुष्य सम्बिक्षितः।

Reverse.

[84] वानिदमृ। नाया विजयदासाय: चायशं राजसंबलम् (16).

No. II.—Dated Samvat 1196.

This inscription is engraved on a single plate, which measures 1' 3⅝ in length by 1' 4⅝ in breadth, and weighs 5½ lbs. 15½ oz. 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. 15.—Govindachandra while at Benares conveys the village of Janakadevī- 

- purā in the Rāṇa pattalā (the latter name I read doubtfully owing to the plate being 

- injured).

L. 16, 17.—Contain the date, and mention a lunar eclipse on that date, vis. 

- Monday, the 15th day in the bright half of Āsviṇa, 1196 Samvat, corresponding to 

- 9th October 1139 A.D.38

19, 20. The donee was the purohita Jāgū Śārmā, the son of the donee in the 

- preceding grant.

TEXT.

L. [1.] स्वसिः। शाकुसकामृष्टकुशकुटिलुटकरः। सर्पः37 सुर्यरथः स विषयः। 

- वेयस्वले व:। (1).33 शास्त्रियोऽविवृतविवृतस्मातमालोऽपनाते:।

[2.] श्रव कद्रिक्षः। वायुकितसानिब्धः। भुरिपाया नायणा मनोविषयः द्वादशः:। (2).41 

- तस्मात् भुजाघरेचरुस्त्रप्राप्तानमपिक्षे। वेनापासः।

[3.] कृपापारः। व्यापायिन्य:। (3).43 तस्मात् मनुके नवे वर्ण्याय: काव्याक्षात्तो 

- विव्यथोऽत्त्वदोषोऽधिकितमः। जीतदेवे नृथु:। (वेनी)।

* Read "सदाशिरसाधारः शास्तिमनान्नवीनायः। वेनाक्ष

- रनारःतुवास्तावः। "परिवर्तनः।

32 Metre: Vasantaśīlakā.

33 Read नारायणः वा दश्य दरवार गरायमः। वर्षमः।

37 Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh), and in the three following 

- verses.

38 Read दूरेऽन्नतमः। च विख्यातं कृष्णस्वमः।

39 Read प्रतीर्थक्षोधलम।

41 Dr. Kielhorn again kindly notes,— "The year is the 

- northern expired year; the lunar eclipse occurred 13 h 21 m. 

- after mean sunrise."

42 Read श्रवकोऽवरः।

43 Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

44 Read "वामनः।" वेनी.

45 Read शास्त्रियः।

46 वेनापासः।

48 वेनी.

50 Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[4.] दार्शनिकपत्रसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारसारs

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**Note:** The page contains Sanskrit text, which requires a fluent reader of the language to properly transcribe and translate. The text seems to be discussing philosophical or religious topics, given the context and vocabulary used. The annotations and references suggest that this is part of a larger work, possibly a commentary or an extended essay. The text includes references to specific works and authors, indicating it might be part of an academic or scholarly discourse. Without additional context, a precise translation or interpretation is beyond the scope of this response. However, the structure of the text indicates it follows the typical format of classical Sanskrit prose, with references to previous works and scholars, and employs technical vocabulary typical of philosophical or religious texts.
XXX.—PALI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MAHARAJA LAKSHMANA.

DATED SAMVAT 158.

BY A. FÜHREI, PH.D.

The original plate containing the inscription now published was found, in May 1891, buried underground in the house of a goldsmith at the village of Pālī, close to Kosām, the ancient Kaunāmbī, the chief town of the Karārī pargāna in the Mānjanpur tahsill 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 6¼". 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 6th and 6th centuries A.D. The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the benediction and imprecatory verses in lines 9

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* Read "वर्षीकारपूर्णम्" · · · उत्तरस्थितियां" श्राद्धाः! · and remove unnecessary signs of punctuation.
* Read "दक्षिणाम्"—The asterisk is represented in the plate by a character like ए. (cf. Ind. Antig., vol. XVIII., p. 12).
* Metre: śloka (Anushtubh), and in the following verses.
* Read "प्रदक्षिणम्", "पद्मावति" · · · श्राद्धाः!
* Read "सदायां पद्मानं श्राद्धाः! · · · श्राद्धाः!

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3 & 2
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 \textit{māḍḍhyandināyā}, line 5; (2) the doubling of \( t \) in conjunction with a following \( r \) in \textit{pitro}, line 4, and in \textit{gottāya}, line 5; (3) the doubling of \( v, g, th, bh, v, \) and \( šh \) in conjunction with a preceding \( r \) in \textit{paurṇaṇmasyām}, line 15; in \textit{svargye}, line 13; in \textit{arthe}, line 8; in \textit{vīdheyair bhuḥavatsayam}, line 7, and \textit{krimir bhuḥhutvā}, line 10; in \textit{parvati}, line 2, and \textit{bahubhir evasudhā}, line 11; in \textit{vārabhā}, line 12; (4) the doubling of \( v \) after the anuvāra in \textit{samvatsara}, line 15; (5) the use of \( v \) for \( b \) in \textit{kūṭumvinaḥ}, line 3.

Towards the proper right side of the plate, about 2\( \frac{1}{4} \)" 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 \textit{kṛṣṇa-mahārāja-lakṣmaṇaśya}, "of the illustrious Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa." The seal itself rests on two low leg-fashion supports. The weight of the plate is 37\( \frac{1}{4} \) tolas, and of the ring and seal 27\( \frac{1}{4} \) tolas; total 65 tolas.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa, and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city Jayapura. The date of the writing of the charter is given in words as the year one hundred and fifty-eight, and the full-moon day of the month Jyaṁśṭha. 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, \textit{nakṣatra}, or other astronomical details are not given, which could be utilized in checking the calculation. The object of the charter is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa, of an \textit{aṅgārāra} in the village Phelā-parvati,—undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern village Pāli,—to the Brāhmaṇa Revatiśvāmin of the Kautsagotra. The \textit{dātaka} is the Mahārāja Nara-vāhanadatta. Neither the capital Jayapura nor the names of the two feudatory princes are known to us from earlier or contemporaneous inscriptions.

\[ \text{Text:}^3 \]

\[ \text{Overse.} \]

L. [1.] श्रीं स्वाभिः जयुपालं प्रजानांमर्यमः जीवमहाराजः

[2.] ष्मण: कृष्णी फेलापवन्तानाम महाराजादिः

[3.] ग्नातिविविष्टुविविन्य: समाप्रायवित तिदिं तीसू श-

[4.] वैष्य ग्रामं स्या मातापित्योसङ्गनाश पुञ्जामिहिताय

[5.] कौशिकोपाय वासनित्वश्रव्यारिष्ठि मातारनि

[6.] महाराजाधिविविष्टिनेश्वरारिष्ठितव्युत्तथाभिषेक

[7.] स्वामिविष्टिनिभविष्येः समुचितां च चबायायाय

[8.] मेघविहार्यो देवो: [II]चापि चासुधारय धर्मात्मा

[9.] श्रीक भवलिः [II]कदलिः परदत्ताः व यी हरेन वमस्त्यर [I]

[10.] व विहायं क्षिप्रभुः पितृभि: वह महति [II]

\[ ^3 \text{From the original plate.} \]

\[ ^4 \text{Metres: Anushtubb, and the following two verses.} \]

\[ ^5 \text{Read \\(''t''} bhaabhūtā. \]
Reverse.

L. [11.] बहुमित्रबुधासा दत्ता राजमिठ्यगरादिमि: [1] यथ यथ
[12.] यद्य भूमिद्वार तथ तदा फलम [1] परिवर्तनह-  
[13.] साधिव सम्मिति भूमिदि: [1] वाच्येता चारंभन्ता च तान्येय
[14.] नरके केवल [1] दूतवत्व चीरसंगरामरवालं कस्त
[15.] संववशसतेषु पाणिन्यत जीवे साप दीप्यम्
[16.] मास्य जिक्वितं वलयवेनं ति ९५ [1]

Translation.

Oml! Hail from Jayapura! A most devout worshipper of the god Māheśvara, the illustrious Mahārāja Lākshmana, being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brāhmaṇas, and to the cultivators, at the village of Phelā-parvaticā:—“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 Kautsagotra, a student of the Vājasaneyā-Mādhyandina (śākha). You shall be obedient to his commands, and you shall render to him the customary taxes, that which is to be measured out, gold, etc.” And on the same subject there are also the following verses by Vyāsa:—“He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks into hell together with his ancestors. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant) and he who asssents (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 Balađeva in a century of years, increased by fifty-eight, on the full-moon day of the month Jyaishṭha, 158.
XXXI.—FURTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM SĀNCHI.  

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.LE.

In the course of a tour through Eastern Rajputāna and the Central India Agency in March 1893, Dr. A. Führer again visited the famous Stūpas of Sānchī, rectē in Sanskrit Kākaṇāda or in Prakrit Kākaṇāva (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 Stūpas 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; 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, the latest of which shows the Nāgarī of the 9th or 10th century A.D. These new finds prove that the Stūpas were visited by Buddhist pilgrims both during the interval between the times of the early Andhras and of the Guptas, and long after the latter had passed away. Moreover, the late Nāgarī inscription may also be considered to furnish additional evidence for the fact that Buddhism survived in India until very late times, long after the period when the stupid legends allege it to have been drowned in a deluge of blood. The recovery of the fragment of the Aśoka edict does not quite fulfill the expectations which I thought might be reasonably entertained. I am not able to decipher the whole or even to suggest a complete plausible restoration of the portion with which I declined to meddle in my former article. But I am able to settle two points. First, the two signs indistinctly visible in the beginning cannot have formed part of the word devānam, nor can the word piya have followed. The first sign of the line, which, counting from below, I number as line 7, has been lost, the second is illegible, and the third is either yaṁ or yāṁ. The ya is plain and certain, and so is the Anuvāra, but the vowel is doubtful. The next consonant is certainly bhur, 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 inconceivable piece has been lost at the top.

Secondly, at the end of line 7 stand not only, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated (Bhilṣa Topeś, p. 260), the letters mag, but muge, and after it quite distinctly kāfe. This new reading removes the possibility that the Samaṅgha of Māgadhā 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 bhū, 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 tī appears and immediately after it nama. Then comes an indistinct sign and next tī. Thus, we obtain—. bhū . . bhi . . inām . ti. It is almost certain that the reading was bhikṣuṇī or bhikṣuṇinā or bhi, 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 a fragment of a stambha or pillar which probably stood near the Southern gate, and might be placed in some museum in order to keep it safe. See place of facsimiles.
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 Saṅgha 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 8 towards the end the letters ka or ke, ye, as well as the word saṅghaṁ, 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>Sāṁchi.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y itu ānāpe .</td>
<td>. . ikhi(?) tam . m . ri (?) . [ke?] ye saṅghaṁ [5] bhokhati bhiku vā bhikhunī vā odāṭa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v ti</td>
<td>i sanam . . yitu anā . [8]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa . v . s . y . y .</td>
<td>sasi v[j]is . petavi . [.] Ichhā hi me kim . [2]</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 (māge) is something material. Possibly the expression refers to the procession path or "terrace for circumambulation"† which surrounds the Stūpa (see Bhūṣa Ṭayas, 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 dānāṁ, 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 Ujeṇiyā (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 Rājuka (I, No. 177), and sometimes in the word pājōvati, ja looks

---

∗ The word ti indicates that the sentence is at an end.

† I am inclined to take saṅghaṁ as a neter nominative with the tiṅgaṇya-ta-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 Pradakṣhīnd by the Brahmans and Bhūṣit (Bhramanit) by the Jainas.
almost like ṭā. In Yakkhadāsīya (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 ạ and e often slant upwards, as in the Kāśi version of the Rock-Edicts and in the later inscriptions. The vowel ī very commonly consists, as in the Giriṇār 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 ạ is attached against the usual practice to the inner side of the left prong of ma in the word Māhāsatiya, I, Nos. 313-14, and that the vowel ī occupies a similar position in Sirimitāyā (I, No. 355).

The unusual ṇha, with a little tail, known from Mr. Rea’s Bhaṭṭiprolu Stāpa inscriptions, appears in I, Nos. 269 and 284. A ṇa, intermediate between the form of the Bhaṭṭiprolu Stāpa and that of the Andhra cave inscriptions, is used in the name Vāḷiṇavaḥana, a vicarious form for Vāḷiṇavaḥana in I, No. 199. This is one of the few certain instances of the occurrence of ṇa north of the Āravinda before the times of the Guptas.

There are also, just as in Sir A. Cunningham’s collection, a certain number of inscriptions, showing later characters than those of the Aśoka Edicts. To these belong—

(1) the long imprecatory document, I, No. 377, which shows the dagger-like ka, the angular ṇha and a peculiar short ṇa, 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. 26, 59, 66, among which the first shows curves to the left attached to ṇa and ra, while the third offers an almost circular ba and the looped ṇa, common in the southern inscriptions of the second century A.D. and of later times. It seems to me that these facts confirm the remarks made in my former article regarding the age of the Stūpas, and show that the bulk of the work belongs to the 3rd century B.C. and to the beginning of the 2nd, as well as that some additions and repairs were made in later times.

With respect to the language I have not to add anything to the notes given in my former article. The type is that of the Pāli of the Aśoka inscriptions and of the Buddhist scriptures. Anomalous forms of the kinds noticed before are also numerous. If my reading of the second word of I, No. 263, is right, there is one instance of the use of a double consonant.

As regards the contents I may state that the new inscriptions mention also a number of the collective donations.

Thus, I, No. 214 registers a gift of the village of Asvavaṭṭi; No. 124 one by the nuns of Vāḍiṇavaḥana; Nos. 147 and 231 those of the female lay worshippers of Navagama and of Ejāvaṭṭi; No. 276 one by the family of Dhamu [ṭaṇa] 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 sulāṭika or teacher of the Sūtras, a therā (I, No. 266), and it would seem, a tāpasa or ascetic (I, No. 260). This designation is usually not adopted by Buddhists, who despise the performance of austerities. Possibly this person may have belonged to some other sect.

One of the most prominent personages among the monks apparently was Gotiputa Bhumādikā, who occurs twice (I, Nos. 16, 256) and had four pupils . . . ka, Budharakhita, Aya-Kaṇa and Dhamadatta. The names of nuns making donations
SANCHI INSCRIPTIONS.


Scale: 2.5ths.

p. 370.

Scale: 1.3rd

St. I, 377. p. 306

Scale: 1.5th.

St. I, 378. p. 306

Scale: 1.4th.

St. I, 358.

Scale: 1.5th.

Scale: 1-6th.
SANCHI INSCRIPTIONS.

Stupa I, 21.—p. 99.

Sr. I, 230.—p. 381.

Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 50.—p. 102.

A. Fubrcr impress

Sr. I, 236.—p. 384.

Scale: 1-5th.

St. II, 1.—p. 110.

Sr. I, 237.

Scale: 1-5th.

Asoka Fragment

p. 367.


Scale: 1-5th.

Sr. I, 288.

Scale: 1-5th.
now rise from thirty-seven to nearly seventy. One or two among them mention their children, and must have been married before they entered the 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 Kamḍa-ḍigāma,” and No. 167 that “of the mother of the Sheth.” Among the other professions of the donors there are some new ones. Thus, we have a sotika, i.e., saṅtirika, “weaver,” in I, No. 195; advaṭi, i.e., probably varṇihakina, “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 rajjaya, and is explained to mean ‘a clerk or accountant,’ what is now called in India a karkam.  

The word is an abbreviation of rajjagāhaka, literally, a ropeholder and is an ancient name for a Revenue Settlement officer. Rājaliṅkara “a royal scribe” (I, Nos. 48, 49), apparently differs in meaning from lekhaṅka (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 Ajarāṇi, 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, Bhogavidhāna, Kuraghara, Kurara, Madhuvana, Nandinagara Navagāma, Pokhara, Tumbavana, Ujjain and Vedisa defrayed nearly the whole expense of the ornaments of the two Stūpas, the lion’s share falling to Ujjain, which is mentioned thirty-five times.

If we now turn to the three later inscriptions incised on the bases of statues which Dr. Führer has discovered, the first records the dedication of a statue of Buddha by Madhurikā, daughter of Khara or Vera in the Vihāra of Dharmadeva during the reign of the [mahārāja] 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 Huvishka, and one feels tempted to consider it as another name of the third Kushana king. If the first sign of the date is read, as Sir A. Cunningham, I think, correctly proposes, as 70, the identification of Vāsushka with Vāsudeva becomes quite unobjectionable; for the year 78 certainly falls within Vāsudeva’s reign and the characters of the document fully agree with those of the inscriptions which bear his name. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated in the beginning of each line and the third line has almost entirely disappeared. What remains may be read as follows:—

\[ L. 1. \ldots \ldots syā \text{8} \ rājātirājasya \ldots \text{putrasya,} \text{9} \ \text{Shabh[i] Vāsushkasya} \text{10} \]  
\[ \text{sam } [70] \text{11 8 he } [\text{di } 5] \text{[e]asy[ām] [p]u[r]v[yāyām] bhungava—} \]

---

8 Restore, as Sir A. Cunningham suggests, Mahārāja, or perhaps Śiddhāś mahārājasya.
9 Restore devaputrasya.
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 Inscription No. XX (Epigr. Ind., vol. II, p. 214), which belongs to the same period, has a very similar sign. (See facsimile on the plate.)
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 Nagari characters of the 9th or 10th century, originally consisted of a Sragdhara verse, of which only two Padas are at present completely legible:

L. 1. Om Pr̥—. āyushy o — o o o o o o o — — o — o — [T]aśyākhyāyāḥ kilánte Sugatagūṇāvṛataḥ samsthito bhadra. . . . . . . . . .

L. 2. śavdah [1]
o ra o o o o o o o o — — o — — sam sam — dedharmoyaṁ kṝtasya pravarasukhakarajñānasam—

L. 3. práptaye saḥ [II]

DONATIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM SANCHI.

TOPE I.

No. 124 = C. 2.

[वाड़ि]वज्रना भिक्षुनिना दानं [॥६] 16

The gift of the nuns from [Vāḍi]vahana.

No. 125 = C. 6.

वजिजगतत्वानि [॥७] 17

The gift of Vajiguta (Vajrigupta).

No. 126 = C. 7.

देवभाण्य [स]थवनिक[य] भिक्षुनिब दानं [॥८]

The gift of the nun Devabhāga, inhabitant of Madhuvana.

No. 127 = C. 8.

वालकाः देविष्य अहिदितं[तु* ॥९] 18

(The gift) of the Vākalā queen, the mother of Ahimita (Ahimitra).

11 Probably to sākyamunīya to be restored.
12 Read pratiṣṭhāpita.
13 Or Vāraṇa.
14 Read dhītāra.
15 As a contraction of deyadharma, made for the sake of the metre.
16 Sir A. Cunningham has only Hana bhīkṣunīya. Dr. Pürer’s impression shows a faint ra before hand. The restoration is not doubtful, as Vāpacarana is mentioned in Nos. 101, 116, and so forth.
17 The letters are beautifully carved and about half a foot high. Vajjin may be,—Indra, a Buddha, or one of the Viśva Devas.
18 Possibly वाकलावि.
No. 128 = C. 10.

नगदिना́ स्मिलुनी दानं [Ⅲ*]
The gift of Nagadina (Nagadatta or Nâgadatta), the monk.

No. 129 = C. 17.

सुवर्णदेवा́ [प]रिजय चविल्लिवा [य च द्र]सं [Ⅲ*]
The gift of Suvarṇadevā (Suvarṇadevā), Parijā (?) and Agidevā (Agni devā).

No. 130 = C. 18.

सुभागाय सभिलिनिकाय दानं [Ⅲ*]
The gift of Subhāgā and her sister.

No. 131 = C. 21.(?)

पुसगिरिनि नाच[ग]मचस दानं [Ⅲ*]
The gift of Pusagiri (Pushyagiri), inhabitant of Navagāma (Navagrāma).

No. 132 = C. 26.

तितकाय भिक्षुनि वेदितिका [Ⅲ*]
The gift of Odātikā (Avadātikā), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 133 = C. 27.

वसोपालय दानं भद[त]कड़िय च [?] [Ⅲ*]
(The gift of Yasopāla (Yasohpāla), pupil of the venerable Kāḍa (?).

No. 134 = C. 28.

रमवरि रेगिल्ला सीहिगिरिनि दन [Ⅲ*]
The gift of Sihagiri (Simhagiri) from Māhamoragi.21

No. 135 = C. 29.

पुसाचे वचतिस्स भिलुनी दानं [Ⅲ*]
The gift of Pusa (Pushya) the Chahatiya monk.

No. 136 = C. 32.

[ग]मध्यिनि दुविल्ल दानं [Ⅲ*]
The gift of the gahapati Budhila (Buddhila).

No. 137 = C. 37.

धवर[र]दिल्ल साधिनिकाय [Ⅲ*]
The gift of the mother of the venerable Rahila (?), the Sāphineyaka.

17 Swarṇa, i.e. the Gandāhara of that name.
18 Compare the note to II, No. 33.
19 See ante, No. 77.
20 Possibly "inhabitant of Chahaṭa."
21 This might be read चाहतियकास, but below (in No. 161), the च is distinct.
No. 138 = C. 42.

L. 1. नवगामका दिसारखि
L. 2. तस दानं [II*]
The gift of Disārakhita²⁴ (Disārakshita) from Navagamaka (Navagrama).

No. 139 = C. 44.

पोठदेवाय दानं [II*]
The gift of Pothadeva (Prosthadeva).

No. 140 = C. 45 (?)²⁵.

L. 1. कंद्रिगमियस लेखिनी
L. 2. पंछावतिया नागाय दानं [II*]
The gift of Nāgā, the wife of the Sheth of Kamdağigama ('grama).

No. 141 = C. 46.

L. 1. कंद्रिगामियस लेखिनी
L. 2. पंछावतिय पुस्ताय दानं [II]
The gift of Pushā (Pushyā), wife of the Sheth of Kamdağigama.

No. 142 = C. 47.

कंद्रिगामा बलद दानं [II*]
The gift of Vadhā (Vriddha) from Kamdaçigrama.

No. 143 = C. 48.

सुखमिरियो दानं तेकाम [II*]
The gift of Mullagiri (Mülagiri), the copyist.

No. 144 = C. 49.

वल्लिनिय — — — —
From Ujjain . . . .

No. 145 = C. 50.

वख्रिः क्रमसंभूलनो दानं [II*] .
The gift of Yakhadina (Yakshadatta), the monk.

No. 146 = C. 51.

वल्लिनिय उपारकशाय दानं [II*]
The gift of a female lay worshipper from Ujjain.

No. 147 = C. 53.

नवगामिकानि उपासिकाय दानं [II*]
The gift of the female lay worshippers of Navagama ('grama).

²⁴ The deities meant here are the dīśāh, the nymphs of the quarters of the horizon
²⁵ Sir A Cunningham's identical inscription is in one line. Hence this may be a different one.
No. 148 = C. 55.

The gift of Rohani (Rohini) from Ujjain.

No. 149 = C. 56.

The gift of Dhamagiri (Dharma) from Ujjain.

No. 150 = C. 57.

The gift of Sona (Suvarna) from Ujjain.

No. 151 = C. 58.

The gift of Najä, the daughter-in-law of the Tāpasiyas, from Ujjain.

No. 152 = C. 59.

The gift of Isimita (Rishimitra) of the Tāpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 153 = C. 60.

The gift of Muladatta (Mūladattā) from Ujjain.

No. 154 = C. 61.

The gift of Balakā from Ujjain.

No. 155 = C. 62.

The gift of Vayudatta (Vāyudattā), wife of Upedadata (Upendradatta), from Ujjain.

No. 156 = C. 63.

The gift of Himadatta (Himadattā), sister of Upedadata (Upendradatta), from Ujjain.

No. 157 = C. 64.

The gift of Budhā (Buddhā), sister of Upedadata (Upendradatta), from Ujjain.

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25 The reverse shows clearly that the apparent u-stroke under च is due to an accidental scratch.
26 The little horizontal stroke, denoting the ः is placed rather high up and detached from the vertical line.
27 Read चज्जाय.
 Possibly चज्जिया to be read.
No. 158 = C. 65.

The gift of the nun Kâlî (Kâladî), from Ujjain.

No. 159 = C. 66.

The gift of the mother of Chhatra (Kshetra), from Ujjain.

No. 160 = C. 67.

The gift of Siṃhadatâ (°dattâ) of the Tāpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 161 = 68.

The gift of Isika (Rishiika) of the Saphineyakas from Ujjain.

No. 162 = C. 69.

The gift of Isimita (Rishimitra) from Kuraghara.

No. 163 = C. 70.

The gift of Vâsulâ (?), from Ujjain.

No. 164 = C. 71.

The gift of Narâ from Kuraghara.

No. 165 = C. 72.

The gift of Nagamitâ (Naga or Nágamitrâ), from Kuraghara.

No. 166 = C. 83.

The gift of Aśvadevâ (Aśvadevâ), mother of Samika (Śvâmiika).

No. 167 = C. 85.

(The gift) of Kaniyasi (Kaniyasi), the mother of the Sheth.

30 In this and similar compounds Siṃha may possibly stand for Śrīsmha, shortened bḥāmāṛat.
31 Possibly śrīasmha to be read.
32 i.e. probably Nvradatâ.
33 In this and similar compounds bha may probably stand bḥāmāṛat for bḥāmāṛat.
34 The vowel of śrī is indistinct.
No. 168 = C. 88.

बसुलाय दान [२*]
The gift of Vasulā.

No. 169 = C. 89.

ईददात पाविडकस दान [२*]
The gift of Īdadaṭa (Indradatta), inhabitant of Pavīḍa.

No. 170 = C. 94.

कुजरस सैन्यभानु दान [२*]
The gift of Kujjara (Kuṇjara), the brother of the Sheth.

No. 171 = C. 96.

L. 1. —[सिद्द]दाताय सरकादिन पञ्चाव—
L. 2. —व दान [२*]35
The gift of Isidatā (Rishidattā), wife of Sakadina (Śakradatta).

No. 172 = C. 97.

भद्रगुत्सस गात्वागमीनसु दान [२*]
The gift of Bhadraguṭṭa (Bhadragupta), inhabitant of Sānukaṭāma (grāma).

No. 173 = C. 98.

धरकिन्त चातिलस दान [२*–३७]
The gift of Sāṭila (Śāntila or Svāṭila)37 from Dharakinā (Erakinā or Erān).

No. 17¼ = C. 106.

स[ष्ठा]व दान [२*]
The gift of Saghā (Samghā).

No. 175 = C. 118.33

वाघुमता काचा—
(The gift of) Kāchā . . . . from Vāghumatu.

No. 176 = C. 119—21.

L. 1. समिक्षस सामिक्षस
L. 2. पुतस चस सिरिपालस
L. 3. दान ॥ [२*]
Three (rails)39; the gift of Samiks (Śāmika), the trader, and of his son Siripāla (Śrīpāla).

31 Restore श्रीविद्याय and पञ्चावतिय.
32 Probably एरकिन to be read.
33 Diminutive from Sāntīdeva, Sāntivarman, or Śālīdatta.
34 As the inscription is mutilated, its identity with C. 118 is not absolutely certain.
35 As Sir A. Cunningham (The Bhillava Tope, p. 262) states, the three lines are carved on three different rails, 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 (Dharmapāla), 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.

1. Balikāyā bhārutvā maḍalāchik-
2. Thikāyā dātanā

The gift of the nun Balikā, inhabitant of Maḍalachbhikata.

Or Kuthukapada, i.e., either Kuthuka or Kriṣhtukapada or padra.
Read नम्दिनागरिक
No. 187 = C. 163.  
L. 1. भधिक्यस संविलस दानं [II*]
The gift of Samghila, a pupil of Bhadika.  

No. 188 = C. 164.  
चर्हतपालितस भिभृंचृं [II*]
(The gift) of the monk Arahatapālita (Arhatpālita).

No. 189 = C. 165.  
L. 1. चर्हकस परि-
L. 2. पनकस दानं [II*]
The gift of Arahaka (Arhaka), the Paripanaka.  

No. 190 = C. 166.  
धमगरिकभाृत दानं [II*]
The gift of the mother of Dhamagiri (Dharmagiri).

No. 191 = C. 168.  
सिपथस भिभृं भिभृं  
.... of Sidhatha (Siddhartha) ....

No. 192 = C. 169.  
इसिकातिये नादिनागरिकर्त्ताय मिकुनिये दानं [II*]
The gift of the nun Isidāsī (Rishidāsī), inhabitant of Namdinagara.

No. 193 = C. 170.  
नमदिनारा दुस्ह्यसहस्स भिभृं दानं [II*]
The gift of the nun Dupasahā (Dushprasahā?) from Namdinagara.

No. 194 = C. 171.  
यशदासिये दानं [भिभृंभिभृं] [II*]
The gift of Yakhadāsī (Yakshadāsī), the nun.

No. 195 = C. 172.  
दत्तकलिवतस दानं [II*]  
The gift of Datikalivata (?)

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., Pariparna or Paripāna?
46 The inscription may be mutilated in the beginning.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

No. 196 = C. 174.\footnote{There are four impressions bearing these letters. Though perfectly identical, they may yet belong to two different inscriptions.}

L. 1. दमकस सीति- 
L. 2. कस कुसूकापिति 
L. 3. दानं [n°] 

The gift of the weaver Damaka, father of Kusuka.

No. 197 = C. 179.\footnote{Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.}

L. 1. दसिवलीतस च 
L. 2. सम्मकं च दानं [n°] 

The gift of Isipâlita (Rishipâlita) and of Samaña (Śramaya).

No. 198 = C. 186.

अ वीरस भिक्षुनी दानं [n°] 

The gift of the monk Vīra.

No. 199 = C. 187-88.

L. 1. सखिय भिक्षुनिया वाकीव =
L. 2. अ यक्षी का दानं भ 

The gift of the nun Yakhi (Yakshi), inhabitant of Vālñivahana.

No. 200 = C. 189.

चेदककोटि दशकारिष्ट सुपक्रसं कवि [n°] 

The workers in ivory of Vedisa have done the carving.

No. 201 = C. 192.

कुरारय नागापेश जाभाब्दे वेदीर धुतस च संधस [दा]नं [n°]\footnote{Read कुरारय। नागापेश।} 

The gift of Nāgapiya (priya) in Kurara, Sheth in Aabhāvaḍa, and of (his) son Saṅgha.

No. 202.\footnote{As there are four impressions with these letters, it is possible that they refer to two separate inscriptions.}

चाभारा विरसितमात दानं [n°] 

The gift of Chirāti (Kirdi) from Aabhāvāta (? Ma\textsuperscript{3}).

No. 203.

चण[स]निय दानं [n°] 

The gift of Ajarānti (Ajirānti).

No. 204.

[च]ठकवरस गण्डल व भिक्षुनी दानं [n°] 

The gift of Gagāndata (Gaṅgadatta), the monk, inhabitant of Athakanagara.
No. 205.\textsuperscript{11}

The gift of Apa-yaha (?)

No. 206.

The gift of Apákánt.

No. 207.

The gift of the venerable Kana, pupil of the venerable Bhamḍuka.\textsuperscript{12}

No. 208.

The gift of the monk, the venerable Jeta (Jayanta).

No. 209.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{L. 1.} Chayakumay saricavajirini
  \item \textbf{L. 2.} Chayakum patanati dhan \textsuperscript{[II*]}
\end{itemize}

The gift of the monk Khemaka (Khemaka), the fellow-wanderer of the venerable Phaguna (Phalguna).


The gift of Asúda (Aśūdha) \ldots from Arapana.

No. 211.

From Arapana \ldots

No. 212.

The gift of Sihu (Simhā), inhabitant of Arapāna.

No. 213.

The gift of Asaguta (Āśagūta).

No. 214.

The gift of Asabhā, a nun of Ujjain.

No. 215.

(The gift) of the village of Asvavati (Āśavati).

\textsuperscript{11} Incised on the proscription path.

\textsuperscript{12} See ante, p. 38, No. 10, and below No. 215.
No. 216.

L. 1. धसिद्विये नादिनामरिकाये भिन्न[निन्ने]
L. 2. दानं [॥]*

The gift of Isidasi (Rishidasi), a nun of Nandinagara.

No. 217.

L. 1. धसिद्वनस्दानं [॥]*
L. 2. [य]जवरतिनयस [॥]*

The gift of Isinadana (Rishinananda), inhabitant of Puñavaṇdhana (Punyavardhana).

No. 218.

दिसरविखिलं दानं [॥]*
The gift of Isirakhita (Rishrakshita).

No. 219.

ञजेनिये पररविखिल्ये दानं [॥]*
The gift of Asvarakhita (Āśvarakshita) in Ujjain.

No. 220.

ञजेनाया वपसिकाये सिरिकाये दानं [॥]*

The gift of the lay worshipper Sirikā (Śrika) from Ujjain.

No. 221.*

ञजेनिया चन्द्यद्रितस पञ्चायविन बा[य]दत्तय दानं [॥]*
The gift of Vāyudatā, wife of Upeđatā (Upendradatta) from Ujjain.

No. 222.

L. 1. [*य]ञजेनिय चरुरय-
L. 2. तस्र सुसु दानं [॥]*

The gift of Bumu, son of Kalura, from Ujjain.*

No. 223.

L. 1. [ञजेनिया तामसिया-
L. 2. न— — — वम-
L. 3. [दत्त]य दानं [॥]*

The gift of Dhamadatā (Dharmadatta) . . . of the Tāpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 224.

[ञ]ञजेनिया भमयस्या सतू सिरुनिया दानं [॥]*

The gift of the mother of the nun Dhamayasa (Dharmayaśas) from Ujjain.

* This is identical in words with No. 162 (C. 169), which however is in one line.
* Read चम्मिनिता.
* This is identical in words, but not in spelling, with No. 155 (C. 62).
No. 225.

L. 1. डजिनिया विलिकाया
L. 2. मातृ दानं [॥]*
The gift of the mother of Balikā from Ujjain.

No. 226.

उजिनिये मतिये मियु — — — —
(The gift) of the nun Mitā (Mitrā) in Ujjain.

No. 227.

उजिनिया वसुलय दानं [॥]*
The gift of Vasulā from Ujjain.

No. 228.

उजिनिया समघदत्त दानं [॥]*
The gift of Samghadatta (ศาส้า) from Ujjain.

No. 229.

उजिनिया सुलासय दानं [॥]*
The gift of Sulāsa from Ujjain.

No. 230.

उतरन साजकस दानं [॥]*
The gift of Utra (Uttara), the Rajuka.

No. 231.

एजावतिय तपा]सिकाया — —
(The gift) of the female lay worshippers from Ejāvatī.

No. 232.

एजावतिया वाहिलस दानं [॥]*
The gift of Vāhila from Ejāvatī.

No. 233.

कटकलु[ळ]कस [॥]*देवस दानं [॥]*
The gift of Idadeva (Indradeva), inhabitant of Kaṭakaṇu.

No. 234.

कटकलुया अरहसदानं [॥]*
The gift of Araha (Arhat) from Kaṭakaṇu.

No. 235.

कटकलुया घ — — — —
From Kaṭakaṇu . . . . . . . .

* See facsimile on the plate.
No. 236.

कंदिरकामा देवि —
From Kamadāgāma (ग्रामa), of the Sheth . . .

No. 237.

L. 1. कंदिरकामिस्य सेठिनी
L. 2. पञ्चविंति देवभानाय दानं [II°]
The gift of Devabhāgā, wife of the Sheth of Kamadāgāma (ग्रामa).

No. 238.

L. 1. काण्या सिद्धनी
L. 2. दानं [III°]
The gift of the monk Kāṇa.

No. 239.67

कुक्कूरवा घोषकम दानं [II°]
The gift of Ghosaka (Goshaka) from Kuraghara.

No. 240.

कुक्कूरवा नागमित्य दानं [II°]
The gift of Nagamitā (Naga or Nāgamitrā) from Kuraghara.

No. 241.

L. 1. [कु]क्र्य वरिय स[ति]सिचिरिय
L. 2. —खृन्य — — — —
(The gift) of the nun Sātisirī (Śāntisirī or Svātisirī), inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 242.

L. 1. कुक्कूतो अश्रुयुस्म
L. 2. दनं [III°]
The gift of Arahaguta (Arhagupta) from Kurara.

No. 243.69

L. 1. कुक्कूतो अश्रु[य]तस
L. 2. दानं [II°]

No. 244.

L. 1. कुक्कूय बश्रवत्यत
L. 2. भिश्चूनिय दानं [II°]
The gift of the nun Achhāvatī (Rikshavati) in Kurara.

67 There are two illegible lines above that given here.
68 Restore सिस्यनिय दानं.
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.
70 It is not impossible that the कुक्कू in this inscription and in Nos. 241 and 244 is meant for कुक्कूर.
No. 245.

The gift of Nāgūdinā (Nāgadattā) in Kurara.

No. 246.

The gift of Dhamaka (Dharmaka) in Kurara.

No. 247.

No. 248.

L. 1. The gift of the nun Saghārakhitā (Saṅgharakshitā) in Kurara.

No. 249.

The gift of Arahagutā (Arhadguptā), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 250.

The gift of Arahadinā (Arhaddattā), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 251.

No. 252.

L. 1. The gift of the nun Gaḍā (Gaḍā?).

No. 253.

The gift of the nun Gaḍā (Gaḍā?), inhabitant of Vedisa.

No. 254.

The gift of . . tī, wife of Girika.

No. 255.

(The gift) of Isinikā (Rishikā), the Gotamī (Gautamī).

a Read श्याम.
b Read श्यार.®
c There are four impressions, which seem to refer to the same inscription.
No. 256. 

गीतिधुतस भद्रुकस भिक्षुनी दानं [II8]
The gift of the monk Bhadruka, son of the Goti (Gaupti mother).

No. 257.65

जितमित्र दानं [II]
The gift of Jitamitra (Jitamitra).

No. 258.66

जोश्वन प्रियत्वने दानं [II8]
The gift of the monk Jonhaka (Jyotsnaká).

No. 259.

ताकारायद्र संवर्जितस दानं [II8]
The gift of Samgharakhita (Crakshita) from Takarapada.

No. 260.

तापसस गोकुन्दस दानं [II8]
The gift of the ascetic Gomadaka.

No. 261.

तिरिदाम्या नामाया ज्ञातिकाय [II] में [II8]
The gift of the female lay worshipper Nagá from Tiridapada.

No. 262.

तिथस दानं [II8]
The gift of Tisa (Tishya).

No. 263.

तुडस पुजाकाय स्वस दानं [II8]
The gift of Tuđa (Tupala), inhabitant of Phujakapalli (¿).

No. 264.68

तुं[ब]वना गहपतिट स्वस्थ्यस्त दानं [II8]
The gift of Gahapati Patithiya (Pratishtita) from Tumbavana.3

No. 265.

तुं[ब]वना गहपतिट स्वस्थ्यस्त भावु [आ]याय च[व]य दानं [II8]
The gift of Daňa (Dhanja), wife of the brother of the gahapati Patithiya (Pratishtita) from Tumbavana.69

64 This is identical in words with the inscription No. 16 (ante, p. 98), which however has three lines, see facsimile.
65 See facsimile.
66 Identical in words (but not in the size of the letters) with No. 75, ante, p. 105.
67 The consonant of the bracketed syllable is very doubtful.
68 Identical in words with No. 23, ante, p. 90.
69 Tumbavana occurs in Hemachandra's Pratishtita Parvan. (see Professor Jacobi's Introduction, p. 71).
No. 266.

The gift of the Thera, the venerable Nāga, a monk of Ujjain.

No. 267.

1. दत्तेयि मिहुनिया म — — निविदायि 70
2. दान [I*]
The gift of the nun Dattā (Dattā), inhabitant of Madhalaçhīkata.

No. 268.

देवरक्षितस् सीराक्षितस्म भिषुनी दान [I*]
The gift of the monk Devarakhita (rakṣita), inhabitant of Morajahakaṭa.

No. 269.

धनगिरिनी [चड्ड]पिस्य 71 च भिषुनं दान [I*]
The gift of the monks Dhanagiri and Chādipiya (Chādipiya?).

No. 270.

1. धमककस वेजिनक—
2. स दन [I*]
The gift of Dhamaka (Dharmaka), inhabitant of Vejaja.

No. 271.

धनगिरिनी व धमसेनस स दन [I*]
The gift both of Dhamagiri (Dharma?) and of Dhamasena (Dharma?).

No. 272.

धमदिनाई दान [I*]
The gift of Dhamadinā (Dharmadatlā).

No. 273.

1. धमयालस
2. म[च्छ]पास 72 दान [I*]
The gift of Dhammapāla (Dharma and) of Mahipāla.

No. 274.

1. धमरक्षितस
2. — रकरकस दान [I*]
The Dhamarakhita (Dharmarakshita), inhabitant of —rakara(?).

No. 275.

धमरक्षितय सभुवनियाय दान [I*]
The gift of Dhamarakhitā (Dharmarakshitā), inhabitant of Madhuvana.

70 Restore सङ्क्यतिकायिः
71 This may also be intended for चड्डपिस्य or पिस्य
72 The second vowel has been obliterated.
No. 276.

L. 1. घु [---
L. 2. फुल द[न ॥*]

The gift of the family of Dhamu[tara] (Dharmottara).

No. 277.

L. 1. नदिनगर चचल—
L. 2. सिंहनिव दान[ँ ॥*]

The gift of the nun Achalá from Nadinagara (Nandi).

No. 278.

L. 1. नदिनगर बम[ग व]
L. 2. दान [॥*]

The gift of Amagà (Amatá, i.e., Amritá ?) from Nadinagara.

No. 279.

L. 1. नदिनगर[ँ] उतरदतय
L. 2. दान [॥*]¹¹

The gift of Uttaradatá (Uttaradattá) from Nadinagara.

No. 280.

नदिनगर [उतर]मितय दान [॥*]

The gift of Utaramitá (Uttaramitá) from Nadinagara.

No. 281.

L. 1. [न]दिनगर ब्यास-
L. 2. [कस] बमदस दन [॥*]²⁹

The gift of the lay worshipper Yama[d[a] (दत्ता) from Nadinagara.

No. 282.

L. 1. नदिनगर रोहनदेव-
L. 2. य [द]न [॥*]

The gift of Rohnadévá (Rohinidevá) from Nadinagara (Nadinagara).

No. 283.

न[दु]तय दन व[द]िसिमय सिद्धिवाय

The gift of Namuttarà (? Nandottarà), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 284.

L. 1. नागदाता सयाक्षितम च कोरवरान
L. 2. दान [॥*]²⁶

The gift of Nágadatta (दत्ता) and Sagharakhita (Sagharkhita), inhabitants of Kuraghara.

²³ Probably घस्तु to be restored.
²⁴ Above the first syllable stands another न.
²⁵ Read यमदस
²⁶ This inscription has to be read from below, see ante, p. 107, No. 93.
No. 285.77

ना[गिल]स बीट्ठने दान् [॥]*
The gift of Sēth Nāgīla.

No. 286.

नाटिय सिबूनिय [की]ङ्घर्षिय दानः [॥]*
The gift of the nun Nāṭi, inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 287

नाटिनगर काबोज़ -
स मिलणी दानः [॥]*
The gift of the monk Kāboja (Kāmbha) from Nādinagara (Nandi*).

No. 288.78

L. 1. चंकके मिलणी उ[मे]ङ्घका — —
L. 2. लष्पानीटम मिलणी दानः [॥]*
The gift of the monk Paṁṭhaka (Pāṁṭhaka) . . . . (and) of the monk Bādhapālita (Buddhāpālita).

No. 289.

[पाि]तिठानन दानः [॥]*
The gift of Pāṭithāna.

No. 290.

पुष्विका दिसागिरिपुतान दानः [॥]*
The gift of the sons of Disāgīrī (Disāgīrī) from Puruviḍā.

No. 291.

पुस्तके दन [॥]*
The gift of Pusaka (Pusyaka).

No. 292.

पुस्तके नवसमंजिल्ले दन [॥']
The gift of Pusadatta (Pusyadatta), inhabitant of Navagāma (grāma).

No. 293.

पसयित्वात् सूपठासयी मिलवनी दानः [॥]*
The gift of the nun Supaṭhāmā (Suprasthāmā ?), inhabitant of Pemuta.

No. 294.

[पेि]*घरानी रिनिद्वाय लेवस पजावित्त्या दानः [॥]*
The gift of Isidatā (Rishidattā), the wife of Loṣa from Pokhara (Pushkara).

77 See facsimile. 78 Given among the facsimiles. 79 See above, note 24 to No. 138.
No. 295.
The gift of Isidatā from Pokhara.

No. 296.
The gift of Tuṇḍa and Tuṇḍa (Tuṇḍas) from Pokhara.

No. 297.

No. 298.
The gift of Isidina (Rishidattā), inhabitant of Poḍavijha.

No. 299.
(The gift) of the monk Baddhaka (Baddhaka), inhabitant of Koḍijila.

No. 300.
The gift of Baladatā (Cdattā), inhabitant of Chuḍaphalagiri (Kṣudra).

No. 301.
The gift of Bohu (Bhoḍhri?), the father of Mula (Mula).

No. 302.
The gift of Budharakhita (Buddharakshita).

No. 303.
The gift of the monk Budharakhita (pupil) of the venerable Bhamḍuka.

L. 1. Budharakhita [devarāja] —
L. 2. [ta]n —
The gift of the nun Budharākhata (Buddharakshita).

50 Read वंधराक्षिताः.
51 Professor Jacobi suggests that this may be derived from a Sanskrit compound वंधरिन्धर.
52 This may be a misspelling for वंधर or वंधक.
53 Perhaps meant for वंधराक्षिताः. See the facsimile.
No. 305.

The gift of Bodhi.

No. 306.

L. 1. भद्रिकस सिर्भना
L. 2. कुरचराक
L. 3. स क र ां]""

The gift of the monk Bhaḍika, inhabitant of Kuragbha.

No. 307.

भड़ — — — छूना कौरघरस दन [""

The gift of [the monk] Bhaḍ[ika], inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 308.

भडुना प्रजाबतिय दान [""

The gift of the wife of Bhaḍu (Bhaḍu).

No. 309.

[भैः]गवन्ना धलिकाय — —
(The gift) of Dhaṇikā (Dhanyakā) from Bhogavaḍhana ( vardhana).

No. 310.

मलवटा नादिनिया दान [""

The gift of Nādinī (Nandini) from Machhavaṭa (Matsyavarta).

No. 311.

मन्नौरमस वडखिनी ची — — — —
(The gift) of the carpenter  Manorama .......

No. 312.

महानामश

Of Mahānāman.

No. 313.

महासतिय बधिमाधिय दान [""

The gift of Arihadatā (Arhaddattā) from Māhasati (Māhishmati).

No. 314.

महिसतिय जि — — स दान [""

The gift of Jī ... from Māhishmati (Māhishmatī).

64 Probably कुराणियस to be read.
65 Restore भैः गवन्ना सिर्भनाः.
66 I take वडखिनी to stand for वडधकिनी, just as we have in No. 210 Arhaddata for Arshade.
67 Meant for महिषतिय; the blurred letters of the inscription might be taken to represent महिष्मशिय.
No. 315.
भित्तिङ्गिया दानं भिक्षुनिया कौररिया [n.]
The gift of Mitasiri (Mitraśri), a nun of Kurara.

No. 316.
बखिय भिक्षुनियि वंदिसा दानं [n.]
The gift of the nun Yakhi (Yakṣi) from Vedisa.

No. 317.
रतिनवाम माहिसतिय दानं [n.]
The gift of Ratina from Māhisati (Māhīṣmatī).

No. 318.
L. 1. रबिलस नंदिनगारकस[79]
L. 2. दानं [n.]
The gift of Rebilā,90 inhabitant of Nandinagaran.

No. 319.
L. 1. भवतिमिताय बलक-  
L. 2. म पञ्चावति[या दा]नं [n.]
The gift of Revatimitā (Revatimitra), wife of Balaka.

No. 320.
L. 1. वजिनिय भिक्षुनिया  
L. 2. दानं [n.]
The gift of the nun Vajini (Vajini).

Nos. 321-22.
L. 1. वरदलस दानं  
L. 2.भमिनियः वर्सेनाय  
L. 3. दानं  
The gift of Varadata ('datta'); the gift of (his) sister Varasenā.

No. 323.
L. 1. वरदस्य पञ्चावति  
L. 2. डासल्य दानं [n.]
The gift of Isilā (Rishilā), wife of Varadasa (Varadatta).

[79] Meant for rebilas, diminutive from rebil or rebh.
[80] Probably meant for māhīṣmatis:
[81] This probably stands for rebilā, like aśada (No. 210) for aśadsa.
[82] Meant for reśhīsā.
No. 324.

L. 1. वरदतस पञ्चवतया
L. 2. रोहाय दानं [II]

The gift of Rohā, wife of Varadāta (śānta).

No. 325.

क्षणस दनं [II]

The gift of Varuṇa.

No. 326.

L. 1. [ब]हसिताय सिनि-
L. 2. हुनिय [दानन]  
L. 3. उज्जिसय

The gift of Vasumitā (śītīrā), a nun of Ujjain.

No. 327.

वसुलाय दनं [II]

The gift of Vasulā.

No. 328.

वाहीवचनती योडङङङ सानं [II]

The gift of Oḍaka (Ādraka) from Vāḍīvahana.

No. 329.

वासपाय नदिनगारा शिशुनिये दानं [II]

The gift of Vāsavā, a nun from Nām dinagara.

No. 330.

L. 1. [वि]तिरिन्धय भुत-
L. 2. रघुवत सानं [II]

The gift of Bhutarakhita (Bhūtārakshita) from Vitirināhā (?) .

No. 331.

L. 1. चितरिनन्धय मनि-
L. 2. रघुवत सानं [II]

The gift of Mahirakhita (Mahārakshita) from Vitirinahi (?) .

No. 332.

L. 1. विपुलाय कायासङ्गा—
L. 2. श्रूष्मुनिया दानं [II]

The gift of Vipulā, a nun from Kāpāṣigāma (grāma).
No. 333.

विरोषकट घरिनिये [सिम]भाये दानं [॥*]
The gift of Sijhâ (Saikhsâ), a house-wife from Virohakašṭa.

No. 334.

विसाक्षरिकिस्त दानं [॥*]
The gift of Visâkharakhita (Viśākharakṣita).

No. 335.

विसाक्षरिकिस्त मिलिमी दानं [॥*]
The gift of the monk Visakharakhita (Viśākharakṣita).

No. 336.

वीरसेनाये दानं [॥*]
The gift of Vīrasena.

No. 337.

वी[राये] मिलिमिया तीवतनिपायाया दानं
The gift of Virâ(?), a nun of Tumbavana.

No. 338.

वेदिसा चरसहरिक्रित — दानं [॥*]
The gift of Arahatarakhita (Arhadrákṣita) from Vedisa.

No. 339.

वेदिसा दत्ता कतवध्या दानं [॥*]

No. 340.

वेदिसा दत्ता कतवध्या दानं [॥*]
The gift of Datta (Datta) Kalavâḍa from Vedisa.

No. 341.

वेदिसा भोगिकाये मिलिमिये दानं [॥*]
The gift of the nun Mohikâ from Vedisa.

No. 342.

सकरिकिस्त दानं [॥*]
The gift of Sakarakhita (Sakhrakṣita).

No. 343.

शंगरिकिस्त कैरसियाय मिलिमिया [दम] [॥*]
The gift of Saṁgharakhita (Çakhrakṣita), a nun of Kurama.

*13 Meant for वेदिसा.
No. 344.

Of Saṅghā.

No. 315.

The gift of Saṅghā, mother of Dāsaka.

No. 346.

The gift of Satiguta (Śaktigupta or Śvātigupta).

No. 347.

The gift of the monk Samaṇa (Srāmaṇa), pupil of the venerable Uṭara (Uṭṭara).

No. 348.

The gift of Samika (Śvāmīka), pupil of the venerable Nāga (Nāga).

No. 349.

The gift of the trader Samika (Śvāmīka) and of (his) son Śhadeva (Śhadeva).

No. 350.

The gift of the nun Samikā (Śvāmikā).

No. 351.

The gift of the nun Sāmikā (Śvāmikā).

No. 352.

The gift of the monk Śāmidata (Śvāmidatta).

No. 353.

The gift of the nun Śīridinā (Śrīdattā) of Nandinagara.
No. 354.

सिरिमागह संब - - -
Of Siribhāga (Śrībhāga) . . . .

No. 355.

सिरिमित्राय नादिनाग[ग] सिरिपिय श्रिहुत्वय दानः [िन]
The gift of the nun Śrīmitrā (Śrīmitrā) of Nandinagarā.

No. 356.

सिरिया भिहुनिया दानः [िन]
The gift of the nun Śrī (Śrī).

No. 357.

सचाति या
Of Sivatī.

No. 358.

सिस्तुयः
Of Śīhā (Śīhā).

No. 359.

L. 1. सिस्तुय देवदत्ताय
L. 2. च दानः [क] एकरा भिहुः
L. 3. निनः [िन]
The gift of Śīhā (Śīhā) and Devadatā (dattā), nuns from Kuraghara.

No. 360.

सिस्तुय या देवदत्ताय वाजैनिकिय दानः [िन]
The gift of Śīhā (Śīhā), Samāṭikā (Samāptikā?) (and) Vajini (Vajrini).

No. 361.

सबाधिशित्व पछाय[तै]
Of the wife of Subāhita . . . .

No. 362.

L. 1. सूर्यव वृहद्य वेषितिकाय
L. 2. च दानः [िन]
The gift of Surīya (Śūrya and) Budhadeva (Buddha) of Pemata.

a Incised on the procession path and surrounded by four sacred symbols, among which that on the right hand looks like a large ṭ. See facsimile on the plate.

b Possibly samāṭikāya may stand for samāṭikāya and be intended to indicate that Vajini was the mother of Śīhā. If so, the construction is of course ungrammatical.

c Compare No. 48, ante p. 102.
The gift of the nun Suriya (Śāryā).

The gift of Yona (Yavana), inhabitant of Setapatha (Śveta).

The gift of Hālā, the Southern (?).

The explanation of द्रविषांजी by द्रविषांजी is, of course, merely tentative.

On the analogy of Gujarāti Vikamājit for Vikramāditya, Ajitgata may stand for Aditiyagata.
No. 375.
L. 2. — — — य सुभाग युसाय नागरस्वस संघर्षितास कोरच[क्रा][नाख]?
L. 1. द्वार [ II:]
The gift of . . . Subhagā, Pusā (Pushyā) Nāgadāta (Datta) Sagharakhita (Samgharakhita), inhabitants of Kuraghara.

No. 376.
— — — — जन[राय] ट — — —

No. 377.29
L. 1. [दो] द्वार काकाणा — ती तीर्थ वा वेदिक वा
L. 2. उपाधिय उपाधि — — य वा चायन वा (राज) आचरितः —
L. 3. संकामिय तो म — — — तिन पितिःचा — न
L. 4. भर्तिद्वार वितान — — — — — — [म सो]
L. 5. [कम] उपाधकाण — — — — [कम पापा]
L. 6. [कर] न केव — — — — — — — —

He who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kākanā[va] an ornamental arch or rail, or causes it to be transferred1 to another temple of the teacher [shall incur the guilt] of murderers of mothers, of murderers of fathers, of murderers of Arhats . . . . . . . . . . . .

No. 378.2
चम्के 5[चा] मनमर्यकार्कार [म] गत गक्य यो द्वारे काकाणाबाली से[के] उपाधी य[8]
[व्या] दारेन्द्र वा
चायन वा आचरितकालं संकामिया तस ती पातका भवेयु [II]

A pillar (the gift) of the workmen, inhabitants of Parichānagara (?) . . . . on him who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kākanāva 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.

नामिकस्व द्वारं कथं चेत्वात्सिनी [II]
The gift of Nāgila, the pupil of Aya (Arya).

No. 23 = C. 2

संघर्षितस्व देमस्सु कु — —

. . . of Dharmarakhita (Dhormarakhita), the pupil.

The inscriptions must be read from below.

29 Identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 183. There is a large abrasion in the centre, and the right side of lines 1-4 have been somewhat defaced by a large diagram which has been carved over them. Restore I. 1 काकाणास्ति; I. 2. उपाधिपेत्र आचरितकाला. I. 3 सामर्थरितकम्बितायान. All the bracketed signs are indistinct and their vowels doubtful. See facsimile on the plate.

1 This explanation, which requires संकामिया to be taken in the sense of संकामिया, has been suggested to me by Professor Jacobi. With आचरितकाल, in the sense of 'temple of the teacher,' compare द्वारेन्द्र.

2 This inscription, which may be identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 195, is incised on a long band. See facsimile.
No. 24 = C. 7.
सघसितस सिखुनो दानं [II*]
The gift of the monk Saghamsita (Sāghamitro)

No. 25 = C. 8.
बुधपालितस सेठिनो पुड़ुकुलिकस दानं [II*]
The gift of Shetha Budhapālita (Buddha), inhabitant of Paḍukulikā (Pāḍu-
kulikā).

No. 26 = C. 15.
L. 1. वलाय कोरिये भिखुः
L. 2. निचे दानं [II*]
The gift of the nun Valā, inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 27 = C. 19.
L. 1. वलकस चयस चर्चुहुस घासा-
दकस चवेवासिनो दानं [II*]
The gift of Balaka, the pupil of the venerable Arahagūta (Arhadgupta), inhabit-
ant of Sásaḍa.

No. 28 = C. 21.
सुलाय दानं घमो गड़य चवेवासिनय [II*]
A pillar, the gift of Mulā (Mūlā), the pupil of Gaḍā

No. 29 = C. 22.
L. 1. सघरखिताया मातु — — कटिकाया 4
L. 2. इसीिसिया सिकिनिया दानं [II*]
The gift of the nun Isidāśi (Rishidāśi), inhabitant of — — kaḍa, mother of Sagharaṅkitā (Sāṅgharaṅkhitā).

No. 30 = C. 23.
चयस बुधराङकस पौखरेयकस दानं [II*]
The gift of the venerable Budharāṅkita (Buddharāṅkita), inhabitant of Pokhara
(Pushkara)

No. 31 = C. 26.
सिद्दिवत टिकियस दानं [II*] 5
The gift of Tikisa (†) from Sidakaḍa.

No. 32 = C. 27.
— य सिद्धाभिया दानं [II*]
The gift of . . . . 1, inhabitant of Sidakada.

3 See ante, p. 110, No. 1.
4 The syllable ga stands in l. 2 after दान.
5 The letters qa and ka look rather modern, the qa is of the Andhra type.
No. 33 = C. 28.

बुधपालिता विद्वानवेय दान [II*]
The gift of Budhāpalitā (Buddha), inhabitant of Sidakaṇḍa.

No. 34 = C. 29

सद्विक्षेप गोलाय दान [II*]
The gift of Gola (Godāvari), inhabitant of Sadakāṇḍa (Sidakaṇḍa).

No. 35 = C. 31.

वधरवत्स विद्वानवेय दान [II*]
The gift of Budhagutā (Buddhagupta), inhabitant of Sidakaṇḍa.

No. 36 = C. 34.

चरित्क भिक्षुनि भाषितदान दान [II*]
The gift of the monk Arahaka (Arhat), a preacher.

No. 37 = C. 35.

बहुलस दान [II*]
The gift of Bahula.

No. 38 = C. 39.

नामरवित्स भिक्षुनि पोहरेयकस दान [II*]
The gift of the monk Nāgarakṣita (Rakṣita), inhabitant of Pokhara (Pushkara).

No. 39 = C. 40.

L. 1. सवरवित्स भिक्षुनि दान कौर-\nL. 2. स [II*]
The gift of the monk Sagharakṣita (Saṅgharakṣita), an inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 40 = C. 43.

सविद्य भिक्षुनिय ये मो दान [II*]
A pillar, the gift of the nun Odī.

No. 41.

सव वीरवास दान [II*]
The gift of Aya (Arya), inhabitant of Pokhara (Pushkara).

No. 42.

सवसेव भिक्षुनिय दान [II*]
The gift of the nun Asadeva (Āsvadeva).

* This seems to be one of the cases where only one of two words standing in the same case is inflected—see also above.

1. No. 192.
No. 43.

L. 1. चाणावर वाणवा
L. 2. कस दान [II*]

The gift of Āvāsika from Ājanāva.

No. 44.

द्विषतय भिष्नुन्यः दन [II*]

The gift of the nun Isidadā (Rishidatta).

No. 45.

इददत्त उपसत्तस दन [II*]*

The gift of the layman Īdadata (Indradatta).

No. 46.

गंधारस भिष्नुन्यः दान [II*]*

The gift of the monk Gaṇḍhāra.

No. 47.

मोदान्य भिष्नुनयः दन [II*]*

The gift of the nun Gotamī (Gautamī).

No. 48.

विरतियं भिष्नुनयः दव [II*]*

The gift of the nun Chiratī (Kiratī).

No. 49.

चु[व]मोरिगिरियो गामस् द[ि]न [II*]*

The gift of the village of Chumvamoragiri (♀).

No. 50.

दानं मोरिगिरियस [II*]

The gift of the inhabitant of Morayakhtiyā.

No. 51.

L. 1. धार्मरसिरय उपसिका-
L. 2. द दन [II*]

The gift of Dhamarasiri (Dharmaśīri ??), a lay worshipper.

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7 The letters are somewhat blurred.
8 The letters are blurred and only just recognisable.
9 The u-stroke of kha is very faint, and there is also an 6-stroke at the top, which seems to have been afterwards obliterated.
10 Read दन
11 The second sign is abnormal. I suspect that तृढ़मोरिगिरियो is intended.
12 This is probably intended for धर्मरसिरय; compare धर्मरसिरय in the Mathurā inscriptions,—ante, p. 210, No. 37.
No. 52.

[धि]सेतुस भिखुनी दन [ह्]
The gift of the monk Dhamasena (Dharmo).

No. 53.

L. 1. नन्दिनगरा
L. 2. बसदवय भिखुय दन [ह्]
The gift of the nun Asadava (Asvadevā), from Nadinagara (Nandinagara).

No. 54.

L. 1. नन्दिनगरा
L. 2. — दिसित भिखुनय दन [ह्]
The gift of the nun . . imitā from Nadinagara (Nandinagara).

No. 55.

नदुःकस भिखुनी दन [ह्]
The gift of the monk Namduka.

No. 56.

पल्ल भिखुनो दन [ह्]
The gift of the monk Pala (Pāla).

No. 57.

L. 1. बब[ध]कस करस भिखु—
L. 2. दन [ह्]
The gift of the Badhaka (?) (Baddhaka), a monk of Kurara.

No. 58.

[धि]य[न]स उद्दरवरिस [वा]न [ह्]
The gift of Budhaguta (Buddhagupta), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (Udd. baragriha).

No. 59.

चुरहरितकस सुतातिकस अध[ध]नकस दन [ह्]
The gift of Budharakhitaka (Buddharakhitaka), the Sutātikā (Sautrāntika) inhabitant of Arapāna.

13 All the letters are much blurred, and the first is not certain.
14 Meant for भवदेवा भिखुः.
15 Restore दिसित.
16 Possibly नदुःकस, but compare above, No. 10.
17 All the letters are much blurred, and the first may have been य.
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.

वुधरक्षित [कु]— —

No. 61.

L. 1. वुधरक्षितय भिषुनिण्य
L. 2. द्रम [उँ]*
The gift of the nun Budharakhitā (Buddharakhitā).

No. 62.

वुधरक्षितय भिषुनी द्रम [उँ]*
The gift of the monk Budharakhita (Buddharakhitā).

No. 63.

वोचिया सू— —
(The gift) of Bodhi . . . .

No. 64.

भ[र]ेमृतिनि भिषुनी द्रम [उँ]*
The gift of the monk Bharāṇabhūti (?) (Bharāṇībhūti).

No. 65.

भिषुनिकाय द्रम [उँ]*
The gift of Bhichhunikā (the little nun ?)

No. 66.

रोहणिकस वुधरक्षितय द्रम [उँ]*
The gift of Rohanika, inhabitant of Udubaraghara (Udumbaragriha).

No. 67.

विपुलस भिषुनो [द्रम]न [उँ]*
The gift of the monk Vipula.

No. 68.

L. 1. विसकस रोहणिकितयस
cL. 2. द्रम [उँ]*
The gift of Visaka (Viśvaka), inhabitant of Rohanipada.

No. 69.

सचय मातृ वार्दिनिकाय[उँ]*
(The gift) of Śāphineyikā, mother of Saghā (Sāṅghā).

19 The ख is made circular, the ख has the looped form of some Andhra and Mathurā inscriptions. The last letter is uncertain.
22 All the lines of the letters are double.
No. 70.

The gift of the nun Sonaśiri (Suvarṇahārī).

No. 71.

_—— — तय समितीविकाय घम ———_ [क्ष]वय दानं [॥*]

No. 72.

L. 1. ——— रस भिषुनी मातु कोडुय
L. 2. ——— या दानं [॥*]

The gift of Koṅu, mother of the monk...ra...

No. 73.

L. 2. दानं कीर्मिकाय [बन]वासिनिया [॥]

The gift of Dhamarakhitā (?), pupil of Koramikā.

No. 74.

——— रस भिषुनी दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk...ṇa...

No. 75.

——— कुनय स ———

No. 76.

L. 1. —— य भिषुनिय
L. 2. —-[की]र रिय [॥*]

_(The gift)_ of the nun...inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 77.

—— — भिषुनी दानं [॥*]

No. 78

—— तया घवङ्गवय दन [॥*]

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¹ Restore धमरविवाथ.
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11 This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer’s new impression.
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26 According to Dr. Führer's new impression it is possible to read Sgusa.
19 This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, instead of Haṁsa° (?).
20 This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, —compare ante (Note).
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2 This is the distinct reading of Dr. Fuhrer's new impression, instead of Poraikikila. It is confirmed by the form Pōsakā in No. 298.
XXXII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1485.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.; Göttlingen.

Dr. Burgess has furnished me with good impressions, by Dr. A. Führer, of three inscriptions of the Guhila princes of Mewād, which are at Chitorgad in the Udaypur state of Rājputāna. Of the earliest of them—it is dated in the Vikrama year 1381—I have already given an account 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. It contains fifty-three lines of writing, which cover a space of about 4’ 2” broad by 2’ 8” high. In the midst of the writing, causing a break in the lines 21-29, is an ornamental device, 5½” square, enclosing a circle which is about 3½” in diameter; and inside this circle again is an open flower with eight leaves. Near the periphery of the circle is a verse in the Anushṭubh metre, which apparently invokes the blessing of the God Harā (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 aksaras are engraved, three of which clearly give the name Mokalā. 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 xcv.
2 In Dr. Führer’s impressions the name of the 14th prince, Āturaparāśa, 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.
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 $\frac{3}{5}$ and $\frac{7}{16}$. The characters are Nagari of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the introductory words Om Om namah Sivaya and a date at the end, the whole is in verse. Considering the great length of the inscription, the historical information conveyed by it is very meagre indeed; and the author has tried to make up for the want of substance by lengthy and exaggerated descriptions of the valour, fame, piety and munificence of the princes of whom he is treating. His language is sometimes obscure, and not free from actual mistakes. The orthography does not differ from that of an ordinary Sanskrit manuscript.

The object of the inscription is, to record the erection, at Chitrakûta (the modern Chitoragadh), of a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddhesa or Samâdhiśa) by the prince Mokala of Medapâta (or Mewâd). After the words "Om, Om, adoration to Śiva," the inscription has four verses invoking the blessings of Gajâsya (Ganâsa), Ekaâśi (Śiva), the daughter of the mountain (i.e. Śiva's consort Pârvati) who dwells on the Vindhya, and Acyuta (Vishnu). The poet then (in verses 5-6) glorifies the pious and famous family of the prince Guhila. In that family was born the lord of Medapâta Arisimha (vv. 7-12). His son was the prince Hammira (Hammirâ-vîra, Hammirâ-deva; vv. 13-23). From him sprang the prince Kshetra (Kshetra-mahipati, Kshetra-kshhitika; vv. 24-33). His son was the prince Lakshasimha (Lakshasimha-mârâ, Lakshas-kshhitika; vv. 34-43), who according to verses 38 and 41 freed the holy place Gayâ from the distress brought upon it by the ruler of the Śakas (i.e. the Muhammadans). And Lakshasimha's son was Mokala (Mokala-kshmâpata, Mokalendra; vv. 44-60), whom his father appointed his successor, and of whom in verse 51 it is intimated that he defeated Perotya, the king of the Yavanae (meaning, again, the Muhammadans). Mokala, according to vv. 61-64, had already before built a splendid temple of 'the lord of Dvârakâ' (i.e. the god Vishnu-Krishna), near which he also had a tank excavated. And it is now recorded by this inscription (vv. 65-73) that on the Mount Chitrakûta, situated in the prince's dominion, Mokala also built a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddhesa or Samâdhiśa) and provided for its proper maintenance. Verse 74 gives the date on which this temple was inaugurated; and the Prakastî closes (in verse 75) with a prayer for the continuance of Mokala's rule. Five additional verses record that the preceding Prakastî was written (i.e. composed) by Ekanâta, a son of Bhâta Vishnu, 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 Visala, a son of Mana, and engraved by Visa, who also is described as a son of Mana, and is perhaps identical with Visala. And the inscription ends with a date which differs from the date given in verse 74.

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4 The text, in verse 72, actually has Samidevata, which must be altered to either Samiddhesa or Samâdhiśa. Samâdhiśa occurs as a name of Śiva, in line 53 of this inscription and in other inscriptions at Chitoragadh and Mount Âbû; and Samiddhesa occurs in another Chitoragadh inscription of the Vikrama year 1207. See below, p. 222.


6 Verse 46 states in a general way that Mokala subdued the Angas, Kamârûpas, Vangas, Nishâdas, Chinas, and Turushkas; but there can be no doubt that that verse has been put in solely for the sake of poetical ornamentation.

7 The original has abhàsat, which must be abhâsat, 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 (8), 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 pārṇimānta 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 tīthi of the dark half ended 18h. 20m. after mean sunrise, the nakshatra at sunrise was Pūrvā-phalgunī, and the sun was in Makara and Jupiter in Kumbha, all as required; but the day was a Sunday, not a Thursday, as stated erroneously by the inscription.—The date at the end of the inscription is Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Māgha of the year 1485. In the impression the figures for the day is not as clear as one could wish it to be. But, under any circumstances, this date, on which the inscription is said to have been engraved, would precede the date recorded in the body of the inscription; and assuming my reading to be right, the possible equivalents of the date would be Monday, the 10th January A.D. 1428, and Saturday, the 8th January A.D. 1429, which shows that this date too cannot be correct.

Notwithstanding these errors, there appears to be no reason to doubt that the temple which was built by Mokala was finished by him in A.D. 1428-1429, and that this inscription furnishes a true date for the reign of that prince. Mokala, therefore, could not have been succeeded by his son Kumbhakarna (Koombho) as early as Vikrama 1475 = A.D. 1419, as was stated by Tod in his Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān vol. I, p. 256. And if there be any truth in the statement of our inscription that Mokala defeated the Yavana King Peroja, who could only have been the Sultān Firuz Shāh (A.D. 1351—1388), the commencement of his reign, too, must be placed at least ten years before the time assigned to it by Tod. As regards Mokala’s predecessors, I can only say that the list furnished of them by this inscription agrees with the one given in the Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān and in Prinsep’s Useful Tables, p. 257.

**TEXT.**

L. 1.

चौद ॥ चौ नमः शिवाय ॥

शिवायमेवसंतोतीयसिंद्रियमतिहारायणः

श्रीमहेश्वरसमाधियथिथिसाहिन नानुपर्यायः (क्षेत्रः) ॥(1)॥

संभवितसत्तात्त्विनरूपतिवामसिद्धीदयः

क्रममक्षिंभिवि प्रथमसिद्धिसिद्धिमिव ॥ १ ॥(13)

वेदा वामिनिति शिवायमुपलो यः कर्मभासामीचि—

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(1) The earliest certain date of Kumbhakarna's reign known to me is of the Vikrama year 1492; see Peckar's Third Report, Appendix, p. 203.

(13) The names given by Tod are Utsi, Hamir, Khaitsi.


(1) From an impression, prepared by Dr. Fuhrer.

(13) Expressed by a symbol.

(13) Metre of verses 1—4: Śāradālavrīḍī. 
CHITORGADH INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD. 411

L. 2.

ता

साची तत्त्रांतिमः पुनर्भवति सचिवालय संदर्शनः।

चालीसेवः14 विजन्नेश्वर सजात्ता विविहः। फलं

देवेः सचिवारः यत् स सत्तान सचिवालयाभिमानः॥ २ ॥

भूतिनिर्मलसकृष्टिपरीक्षितविशेषः गुरुः नस्ते वंचनो

विधिमाला विविहारित्वो न चकितः प्राचार्यग्रामाणाः।١५॥

कथा साचितमा महोलमविधा।

3. विधेयमंतोतिलो

याबानीनयदेशमाय गिरिजा विधालया सावतात्॥ ३ ॥

कालिदीर्घवंतवंजववसति; सहें प्रिया राधिका

सरस्वतं ननु शंकिपी न भवती हु वारुंहासिन्यसि।

युज्ञा न्त[व] कलावती सुविदितं लं सचिवालयात्

नीकासेिति विनिगत्तोशमुक्तिधेिष्योऽचुनः। पातु व। ॥ ४ ॥

स्तरास्त्रियोक्तयायो गुरुसिदनरपते।

4. विष्ठा जापप्रभवः

व्रेणिशान्ता यस्या वस्तिरिहु युज्ञा धर्मकार्यादयथ।

श्वस्यागुप्तारामः (क) स्वरविविहारीसि भूभोगीनभागः।١८॥

भूयोन्नाः विष्ठा युज्ञाः शतस्वं परि युज्ञाँ ॥ ५ ॥१९॥

वालोत्तरमचवनातिरिघि दिन्द्रिम प्रवातमानोदबतिः

निर्गतेन्यन्त्रापि भिन्नोपशिको नानाधवीकाकः।

वाक्वचित्तविव्रहसि सुनिकायागीतादिगतिस्वितिः

विच्छिन्नवं

5. पुराणमुत्तते वितहुः यव्हीयपञ्चविणि। ॥[॥] 6 ॥२०॥

वंशो ततांविषिंसं; विचितिपिताजनी चतुनावलकरी

वेदवाचार्यत्युत्तकालोगविशेषः चतुस्मासाधस्वमाधसिनः।

विन्ध्यवंतप्रदेशस्तम्भमलखनिवागिताकारली

स्तरामिन्द्रपाणाविसेधसि वलयलक्ष्मणायोऽचंद्रः। ॥ ७ ॥ २१॥

नार्पतिरिसिंहः श्वस्यात्रोदेशः वितरणरः

6. यक्षणाः विन्ध्यविशालवकृष्णः। ॥(१)

सुपुराणमुकुतविसः पुष्करश्रीसनामा निविन्नविविहेकोवायानुपस्तोतिः। सन् ॥ ८ ॥ २२॥

विन्ध्यलिङ्गसप्तदसूप सकरी नन्त मोहोतो यती

वाजी वर(व) हविस्ताताधरसुवः। मोक्त्याय गच्छति।

वाछात् वाहन महान्विते द्वारस्त्रान्नासुता।

14 Read कलेश्वर.
15 I should have expected प्राचार्याना।
16 The reading of this line is perfectly clear in the impression, but the end of it yields no suitable sense.
17 Read जनस्तम्भी.
18 वैद्यक्यगारान्ति
19 Metre: Sragdhārā.
20 यक्षणेऽपि 'cloud' is apparently used here in the sense of यक्षणों 'ocean.' Originally चुराम् was engraved.
21 Metre: Sragdhārā.
22 विश्वस्त्रान्त् 'ocean' was engraved.
23 विश्वस्त्रान्त् 'ocean' was engraved.
24 Read वाराही.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

में वािणमातीनोदयसतस, स्थानधमोदरस। ॥ ८॥३५
कोरियि: कीतुकिनी दिघंतागममत्तकृष्। ॥

८. रूपार्जव(कव) ला
खेलती निजवासितामवामादालिनिता दियाजी: ।
चोरांभोनिरिवाहाणु तु विचित्रा काव्यादाहुदिनितात
माध्यामानुकृष्टसुभाषाण्श प्रगाभा दियव ॥ १ ॥
विनितानुगंगती वानादेिसकालश ॥ विनितानुिविकात्त वातिवभाम भीषज्ज्ञातीत। ।
भयं काव्यमुिसम: काव्यभंदश्च वानादहिनिविनिकाणयते॥३७ विनितालमावजीनते। ॥ ९ ॥
नितारः न मदेपः-

९. रोि काठी नाचेिनीितितं
दातानिवजीभवः परिःदी न भारती दुभेमा ।
सुन्दराधिनििपुषांिमितात्ती नोक्ष्यत: यथा वा यथियो
नाराम: कातितितितात: कामसत: पुर्यं: स पुर्यं दिवः॥ ६२॥३१
शूर: सुरषारागृिनिरस[शे] वंशावत: सुितु-स्वयं चासुिरमातागरिमा स्वथोरश्वीरी जयि।
विक्षात: अन्नकुसिलवपुषाङ्कीनिवासाधुतो
वाक्षेत्रीयतुरागनी दिषुः-

१०. कुसिलकाठिप्राग्यो मधायु। ॥ १ ॥
हस्मीर: फिल वस्मापिचितविविचिहरितवस: सच्छं व्यवानयि
मिलाकथा सहकांगृ रविगणाथायी भयं जमत:।
श्च्छवतास्वशि स्वतानुिरिपयो: चुळा सहस्त सुि-स्वयं
भुवनारायण परस्मातानितिसुदा तद्यागमिनिचितं ॥ १४॥
कणकीनितान्यक दिनायविभावाय दिमवनविदी
ईङ्गु द्रव्यमपया काममवधाता भयं दीियां ।
द्वाकशीमे

११. जनास्ती: परिभयं सं शंकामानिनीतः
दुःसुं न चमते प्रजा मनुष्ये यक्ष्दाश्रीं यासित ॥ १ ॥
स्मायामासादविदासामुीकुमुं वसरिवभोजितेनः।
प्रचीक्षणान्तागार्गकमवेदनार्थवतुनीभिनिरिण॥ १६॥३२
संसारायमसूसी सदिगणितात संगता पंचशाकी
सज्जाये यमालागी वातावरंवतुप्रिनिरिन्द्रनाचारः ।
विचलं सूते विविष्या कुसम-
CHITORGADH INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

Ⅰ

वंशीप्रीवीरो रणंगणीरो वाद्यानुपलिपन्तवेनिविस्तकं।

भराध्वंतंकरणीवन्वतंकरणींनिपुष्पिनिपुष्पिनं।

एतत्वाचे अनंतं दिनंदुस्पवनंहा-रंगं द्वारा।

काराभारीवीरं सरं तन्मतं शीत्तितं भीतरिदेशः।

- ना

L. 12. ध्रुवं कार्यचिह्नतं वहत्ततं नौ विविधतं विय्वतं-

त्सिरं वांस चतुरं नां वितरतं रत्नं न दिव्यिन्यन चिनं न।

पायं पायं सुपीनाः। परमतमिवं तत्त्वानंगंहनातमा।

खुलं: कालं: कुलं तं कृतमियवयं कीर्तिन्यवनं चाहें।

एण्ड़ावाचणी नौं सदर्प्रियदनमित्तलंवंजनानां।

तानातुदिनियं खुलुनवणं चतुर्वत्त्वं चौरं चं।

- 20 [Ⅻ]

द्वायप्रीमतापाननविन्दमाविविष्यं विय्वतं-

न्यायस्वमीतिचांकितं चतुरं योतिरविलिमधं।

शिंके रूपानं चं कवितं वं घुणस्वानं रणं चाहं-

धीरं वर्णरं वहत्ततं चं परमंकाष्ठं चं संस्करण।

- 21 [Ⅻ]

कुर्ववि जुनः चं चं विपिरितं विविधानं दशानं चाहें।

नौं गोंके जनं दों चं वर्णस्वानं चं तथं स्वानं।

- भूलुवा -

- 14.

मोरेष्यचिततिपतियवस्यः: सत्व्वरणमिनी

गंतांतु गुणोपासना दिनिः दिनिः सुरिचं सत्त्विना सुखं।

- 22 [Ⅻ]

गोपी गोरेरतात्वादं: न्यायस्वमीतिचन्द्रवचं चाहं

काला च: कालोत्तांतिवंदनम्।

शेषवाकेशपः श्रवगुणवत्तांवत्तांचारद्वंची।

कीर्तिक्वसंसूति: जिस चरितं दुर्याचारंचित्तवात्।

- 23 [Ⅻ]

तत्त्वार्थे

- 15.

ब्रम्हिपति: समभवस्माती गुणम्बीनिक्षिकुः

श्रीवाकारायमेवः।

- 24 [Ⅻ]

भक्तिस्वरामाणि श्रीं जननी रजनीस्वानादि-

भूवेष्वरलिङ्गप्राप्तिमनमापिञ्जिनाः।

- 25 [Ⅻ]

हिंसितामार्क्षोत्तालिमालिमिनविविधानं

समस्तवर्ज्जितो लोकं दुस्ती कद नयननिवर्तिति

- 16.

करोधं: प्रक्षिप्तांतिमोहः।

- 26 [Ⅻ]

संग्रामा दंसंदंतुव्यक्तमूलं मोतितायोऽः

- 27 [Ⅻ]

संग्रामा दंसंदंतुव्यक्तमूलं मोतितायोऽः

- 28 [Ⅻ]

संग्रामा दंसंदंतुव्यक्तमूलं मोतितायोऽः

- 29 [Ⅻ]

संग्रामा दंसंदंतुव्यक्तमूलं मोतितायोऽः

- 30 [Ⅻ]

संग्रामा दंसंदंतुव्यक्तमूलं मोतितायोऽः

- 31 [Ⅻ]


17. नवनवासवर्तियार्द्या ॥(१)
प्रासोदधारश्रवीचे कशोवी रजानवनश्चारणि गी: 

श्रूरे कोरिलायो धरायलम्बे यथिन्यािशह शालित ॥ २६ ॥
कीरितिकरोदतूरे धृतबिंधुव्रित्यल्लोकदीर्मिविलानि 
क्षणि: श्रेष्ठ खङ्कः सुकुमसरसरे केशगारादा श्रवो: ॥
टूळे भी राजसता दियि दिवि न ततो मानि वीयमा- ॥

18. ना:
सीतल्या विलचा: श्रुति न कमलोन्वितिर्पिचितियाप ॥ २५ ॥
पचासिं: वाटरावजि: सुरुति भिल अथवान्व वीरि— ॥
— — [भि]द्वारिकि: प्रभवदहिभयं भुतराजसितार्य ॥(१)
पन्नेशोधो न चैया भवति विघटं चकयो[भि] नियोगा-
सेरिजोगि: भीति: पति विजया ॥

19. नीचिभाष: पंक्यात: ॥ २८ ॥
भ्रात: कबतरो रामारथ्यम भगवदेभाग कृत्यां
कतृथे चेतवथाल्या: प्रवती दानानि हुः सतानि: ॥
हरि[चे खचे] कर्ष ग्रहणखुशिय लं वर्गे सिल्यश:
रीयां यदि [वि] दरा ति ति ति बधु कं दे जन: ॥ ६० ॥
दवं दनिका सतीय संजय किमति विन्दयापिणिसर्वगि-
सुखा- ॥

20. नामत्यदानमयार्विलवस्यासुसुमुसुष्व प्रमो: ॥
वृक्षाच्यज्ञार्द्वतु(धु) जामनलस्वक्ष्याताचिवस्युर-
क्षणाकुयुक्तविपद्विपितविगतितः: ॥ ११ ॥
सायाधिरंगदार्विनर्विगतिर्योन्याधिर्यो: 
सूजस्तिरड्यंतिद्रितिवच्चकत्वएत्थायन्यो: ॥
जने प्राणामति गणयति न गणय विजिरय सुँ- ॥

21. च्यामि-
ध्वनि: चेस्वचिथिय: प्रतिभमत्स्पति ज्ञात्रिकाकिलित्व:॥ १२ ॥
सुदुःसतं तु जटीभच्छुतिपथं संघनितितकलं 
भीक्षणं च सुहुँसुः: चिमिस्चित्य यांति न[वि]सुःस्य ॥(१)

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41 Read "क्ष्रुति", and भ्राति.
42 Metre: Sragāhārī.
43 Metre: Śādulavṛkṣā.
44 Metre of verses 28 and 29: Sragāhārī.
45 Here four आखरस are broken away
46 Metre of verses 30 and 31: Śādulavṛkṣā.
47 Perhaps altered to "क्ष्रुति".
48 Metre: Sragāhārī.
CHITORGADH INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

22. लङ्कां जयं पृथुतं गायफलसकस्व येन्द्रत्र दृष्टिः

23. तात्त्वापि ख्याति नवसिन्नतपिता। ख्याति गुणेनाम्यकी।

24. येवम् मद्यमनायकस्वततिः।

25. द्वारहत्वामामसाम शरणगतजनमाणपायाशसीमा

26. तनामा।

27. ताकालक्ष्यविविधताय धर्मान्यमः

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49 The word ध्वनि before दृष्टि appears rather superfluous.
50 Metre of verses 33–35: Sārdalavikṛtīṭa.
51 Originally छाया was engraved.
52 One would expect गुणि.
53 Originally भक्ति was engraved.
54 Read गृहाक्षाक्षो।
55 Metre of verses 36 and 37: Śrāmdhā."
संधामें छोटीतां श्लोकमं सवर्णमानसां राजस्यको विग्रहते
विषं बंधुं समेतं विकुं समुपगतं: साधु कैयाकिरीसयात्: ॥ ४७ ॥६०

L. २८. शेषकों शक्तिपिकरकोद्वीभूतानां
‘धैर्यसुमुचं दूरीप्रदायव मयामानविस्मायव।’
धर्मक्रां समस्तकोविहितं [का]ढां परासापती
निः[कर्ति ।]वस्त्रवेहतः वनस्पतियाः स्मववायसवः ॥ ४८ ॥
समुन्या [जैं]ः नामस्वत्तिरातु तुला पृथिवी गये तुला
सुख

२९. चौधिपसर्वं खटवतो मनवसहिष्यं: पुरः ।
तत्कालसुः सङ्गदादनं विद्धता धौरेन दृष्टपराः
सै नामानाडिकानीजस्ततिविविदयो वियथाटवः ॥ ४२ ॥
संख्यातुं कायमेवं काविजना दानानि नानाविशाः
ँग्लाईतमसमस्राजसुविशास्त्रिसय चित्रोत्रीतः ।

३०. लक्षणी नीहिन्नी वनीपकाग्यामद्वा(वह) न यद्वीतिः
व्याट प्राण सुद्राविततोलाः ॥ ६२ ॥
तत्कालसुः ज्यावलयं नवं नगः: संतोपमायुः[वषः]
[सं]भूः: खरसुंदरी गृहमतः: पुरः: सधीमिथिकः: ।
शताः उपरुत्तरार्थ विवेकः तितुवः[वें] सच्चरुकारः: पुरः:
संभोगिनिः यत्सत्तातोर्ज्जुच्चुवो नायः

३१. सुपिलवा ज्यातः: ॥ ४४ ॥
प्रायादा दहुः: समुलतित्युत: चौधििपुन्ता कारिता:।
शुद्धसुःङ्ग श्रावणसर्वप्रकाशकु मकोमित्रः: ।
नायादा ह भीमरुः हतकोठातः[वा]य लीलसुधाः
यातुं नाशत्तिविहिता महाभुजिां धीराष्ट्रानीतिकोकः ॥ ४४ ॥
अङ्गा: संसूपासंहा: श्रुताधिविदया: कारुण्य विषुष्या
वंगा

३२. गंगायीकावं गतविक्रमसदा जाततादा निघादा: ।
चीना: संसूपासंहा: खलवद्विविद्यो भोवित्तायक्षात्काव्
भूमिपुत्रे गरिष्ण्य सुपुर्वत महिमनि खापार्मिकिङ्करः ॥ ४६ ॥६५
सुरूः। ६७ सिंदुररेखामक्षसत्तिवलः राजमाना गवीरं
कुवितं: शब्दसुते रद्दविचंपलः: बिषमतत्त्वा कवाभा:।
संग्रामप्राप्यास्यायता रें-

६० Metro. Snagāra.
६१ Metro of verses 41-45 : Śandhāvivṛtiṣa.
६२ I should have expected here तथायथ, but am uncowful about the exact sense of the second half of this verse.
६३ This is quite clear in the impression, but the sense of the word is not apparent.

६४ Here again the exact construciton of the line is not clear.
६५ Read दृष्ट्वन्.
६६ Metro of verses 46-61 : Snagāra
६७ Read मूढः.
33. युक्तियो! ग्रामस्थालिपी
योहेयोवातिरिया: खलु सिविलजन पूरि! वर्णित सब:।। ४७ ॥
कर्म प्रोढयमानाचरणरण[७४]कर्ममानाचरणमान।। २०
साधनाच्यावर्तव[७५]कसाधनामर्मवद्विजाराजकार।।
नाथ[७६]चतु विश्वांशित हि विश्रमु पर्यन्त्यत्त्रकामः
स्वाशिष्यसमवार्य्यज्ञि परिचयदय तस्मात्त्व भाष्यं महीयः।। ४८ ॥

34. वर्ती नामास्व भाष्यकर्तरचरितव्यासविद्यतात्सः वै रातु
पारातरान्तरायादिप न द्वि गमन द्वारस्मादकारः।।
सिवांशाकमेववचत बहुमात्र दत्त विचस्वां नितां।।
[७७]श्रीमाणिकरिक प्रतिविषतश्च भूपतीस्वकलः।। ४८ ॥
पुरुषोदात्तविचारोत्तमपुरस(व)लघुसंहस्माचारी- ।
घृंभ रष्ट्राण।।

35. डमांसीदर्मतितिविलं बीच संगु झूक:।
स्त्रीविलिप सुखोत बचायात वल्लवान्दिव्यहिंकवारम्।।
[७८]सारातीतिदूरंतिकरणपवकुता विवेचनाववारम्।। ५० ॥
नेता पातांत्राया व्यवनतरपति बुंडतितायेदिसेनं
पेरोंज कर्मन्वाहोकुसमसमसत्यंकरोलायंग्यकः।।
पारीमाणात्तवात्।।

36. कलमुक्ति कलया कर्मनिता यस हेलाः।।
पंचास्यङ्ग सायातवजललस्यर्लीविया रंकपुमां।। ५१ ॥
आर्थुर्म: सिविता तुलाया कलमुक्ति द्राह्मुक्तिन तनया
दूरं सुतपरिश्राही वहशुचा विलोक्यस्मावः।।
चोरियें घुडसम्भम तु विचिना ग्रामस्तराला गाँवते
वायमानिविततमासं वित्तस्वारं श्रीमाणिकायपति:।।(१२) ५२ ॥

37. मानवाधिका मनायगी मनोर्लबनीनिततोः
नी जानानाति विज्ञानात्मकत्वातुतुतु सिंहो यथा निवासः।।
मन्ये मानसेमाराष्टिजयो हता तुलायामध्य:-
देवादन्ताय सांपेन सुतात्माय वा[७९] तित्तिति किं ।। ५३ ॥
दद्रुषा हार्तकोविष्टङ्गतुहः द्वाराय मानापथिनः
सब: शैवित[७५]वैवक्तमय: संयोगते शा० ।।
शक्तिशार्थित-।।

38. हेमदे तिरं तिं तिं तु चिनामणी
हेमदेव श्रीवल्ली विशु तुलायामध्य विशेषित:।। ५४ ॥

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80 Read क्षेत्रावधि
81 Read मुरै।
82 Read इत्यदिाषी।
83 Read सूफैसम।
84 Here, again, the reading is quite certain, but the sense is not clear. Perhaps the intended reading may be भा० ।।
85 This is not quite clear in the original.
86 Perhaps altered to दीनाः।
87 Metro of verses 52-54: Sādālāvākṛtīla.
The word तुम्हारू is apparently used here in the sense of लगभग.

77 Read ग्रामरात्रा.
78 Metre of verses 55 and 56: Sragdharā.
79 Read ग्रामरात्रा.
80 Metre: Sārādhavikṛṣṭīta.
81 Read धृतामर्गात (?)
CHITORGADH INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

L. 43. दिस्मतस्य नियतिः ॥ ॥ ॥
वतिः प्रवुषकंढवदिवसमध्वभा तुसंभार्षाता ॥ ॥ ॥
पालस्मध्वातपपलविविद्वजस्मीलवालाः ॥ ॥
व्याप्ते दत्तमिस्त्रे धृष्टमध्वमुना भाष्यमाध्वाय शिखः ॥
स श्रीभद्रेऽधवधाव्यति ॥ ॥
स्मातिर्मोलकेश्वरायुर्वीरतिः ॥ ॥
सौधी नेष्या यवधिः ॥ ॥

44. चाँ दारकानाथः ॥
प्रेमाय पादीपुसलं सत्यसुपमगतवच्चतं ॥
नीद्राय शुभयो नारुतिततरामतरेणेनमेवः ॥
शापयति ॥ विद्वधावलमिति विनयमहा ॥
व्याप्ते विभाषिणमिति विभाषिणातिः ॥
विभाषिणयस्तु क्षणिनिदितामहाराजातिनियुं ॥
नीतीैवधर्मविधायप्रकुचवतातिनियुं ॥
सत्यसतोन्तुविधिविन्यगनः ॥

45. दीविषेण संरीघांतः ॥
समीन्दुतुरुपमु स्वयंति वदशमीसिविभवः ॥
असुध्य धरणीभूती विभत्मधवरी ॥
म[द्रो]शर्यवर्तः परमस्मीनग्मञ्चातः ॥
विभाषिणमिति जयति विभाषिणातिः ॥
जायता नाम कामं कुलधर्मिणमु नमः ॥
वैचित्या विविक्षु तुविवः ॥

46. द्विमन्तर तीर्थभूतप्रदेशः ॥
मा मृदुविनिरिसवः महुदिततवयो नीचगमानश्रीः ॥
श्रीः यः चीशरायनिनिधिसिधितरायुद्यं समयेणवचां ॥
वहस्यालेविनिज्ञसरुपप्रकाशिताजातिवरीरः ॥
विभाषिणमिति वहस्यालेवातरामपुराणमेवन्तः ॥
मध्वालपरादरादुधः तुलयो दानवविनिरदाचवि
विविक्षोः वनान क्रिययार्थियमव नें ॥

47. इ शैली विद्रव्यः ॥ ॥
वतिः प्रवुषकंढवदिवससमध्वभाता ॥
व्याप्ते दत्तमिस्त्रे धृष्टमध्वमुना भाष्यमाध्वाय बिभिन्नाय ॥
श्रीभद्रेऽधवधाव्यति ॥
स्मातिर्मोलकेश्वरायुर्वीरतिः ॥
सौधी नेष्या यवधिः ॥

30 2
The text is in Sanskrit and appears to be an epigraphic inscription, possibly related to religious or historical significance. The page contains several verses, each numbered from 48 to 52. The text includes reference to names and titles, possibly indicating a connection to deities or figures of importance. The text is written in a traditional style, with intricate details typical of ancient Sanskrit inscriptions.

### Verse 48

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लक्षा तिन्म नाम दुर्गा जलनिरिच्चिता । यत्र स दुर्गा कालकार ॥

मात्र वृद्धेषु विवेयं गलितमयेति मात ॥
```

### Verse 49

```
यो पवने शौरवारांनिधिनिपरि परे राज्रजसेरम्भं
सत्तुवो विवशः जयति बसमतीमंडलं भूरिश्रुति ॥ १२ ॥

सौभाग्यमाध्यं भिक्षुभीती युधिष्ठिरमाति सर्वः
वामस्य विनयाधिनवस्ति: साधवीर्यानां रुक्मी ॥(२)

देव: श्रीपि सम्प्रदायकार्यार्थसंयतानादासम्मज:
प्रश्रीरसभारांदिविंदुसरसभ्रार्ज्ञानवग्यान। ॥ १३ ॥

सेवा- ॥
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### Verse 50

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शून्यदेवसुतत्तत्ततिरियोपसामवसंप- ॥
ढ़यः विवशवानीकतसुधुवसवन्सारसौरमहादार।

यहारि प्रतिपरि वहति वणाद्रों मन्त्रीनामंगलं
प्रातिवेद समानाशिकसम्भाष्यावलिपी महावेव। ॥ १३ ॥

गिरि: वैलसारी वर्गयुर्मुखोहधा नानादिनानादिनमन्त्रामा प्रभावति न नाथां विवाहिता ॥(१)
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### Verse 51

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प्रदेशायामभारम[व] तिरिपीव तत्तुपा समियामः ।
शीलाय धसति शृगारोस्वर: ॥ ७२ ॥

एकोक्तावतात्त्वतितिरिमण्डलम्बावैरैशस्मां
खला प्रासादशास्त्रामुक्तसुकरसतियोशोसीमानमस्य ।

वशस्योपवचरचम्यनसुदिरार- ॥

श्वेतः श्रीमक्षेत्री धनुपुष्प मिच्च यासमायासिद्धि ।
चन्द्र वामावदेवचित्तपरिकलिते ॥
```

### Verse 52

```
विराममोमाज्ञपी: ।
पुष्च सासे तपस्ये सतिकर्म सकरं याति जीवे घटक ॥(१)

परेश्वरं श्रुति वर्णयुर्मुखद्वये चालूमें तुलया-
तिथियां देवप्रतिगायामकतरां मोक्तो भूमिपाल: ॥ ७४ ॥

उष्णवायुगायामीत्रत्वतस्मितीमात्रानमान्धामामा
सुस्त्रामा यावदेवो विद्विद्रपरीपालनवस्तीति: ।

ययोन्यास्मात्महां सूक्ष्मम दश्यती श्रीमक्षेत्री च वास- ॥

सांतायामस्तांतिरियोऽर्थसंप- ॥ ७५ ॥

शीलाय धसति शृगारोस्वर: ॥ ७६ ॥

वनस्तायामभारमभित्त्वियोशोसीमामा ।
नानादिनानादिनानामालिक जातिसुल्खः (वर) ॥ १ ॥
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1. Read “सिंहसि।”
2. The *aksharas* in these brackets are damaged.
3. Read “भूरिविनं”.
5. Metro: Śrāvastī.
6. Read “सिन्धुस्कमकलिता” originally “सिन्धुस” was engraved.
7. Metro: Sraghatthāra.
8. Read “सिन्धुसम्भवन”.
10. Read धन्वदानन्दिम or धन्वदानन्दिम, which are both names of Siva.
12. Six *aksharas* of this line are omitted; the last word of the line must have been यावदेवः.
14. Read चन्द्रः.
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 Mokalji\(^1\) at Chitorgadh, in the Udaypur state of Rājputāna. I edit it from Dr. Führer’s impressions.

The inscription contains twenty-eight lines of writing which cover a space of about 1’ 8” broad by 1’ 3” high. Lines 1-14 are generally well preserved; but in the subsequent lines part of the writing is entirely gone, in consequence of the peeling off of the surface of the stone, on the proper right side; and from the same cause a number of akṣaras 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 \(\frac{5}{8}\) and \(\frac{1}{2}\). The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Śāṃskṛt; 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 \(\delta\) is denoted by the sign for \(v\), and that the dental sibilant is

\(^{15}\) Metre: Śikharīn.
\(^{16}\) Read मषड़ि.
\(^{17}\) Read छा।
\(^{18}\) Originally छोलिपल्लु was engraved.
\(^{19}\) Metre: Upajāti.
\(^{20}\) Metre of verses 4 and 5: Śīla (Anuṣṭābha).
\(^{21}\) Read विखस.
\(^{22}\) Read सन्तातीर.

appears to have been followed by three or four other akṣaras, which are illegible.

\(^{1}\) See above, p. 408. [I took impressions of the inscriptions at Chitorgadh in January 1873; Mr. H. B. W. Garrick copied several of them in 1884 (Arch. Surv. Reports, vol. XXIII, pls. xx, xxi); and again Dr. Führer on a tour in Rājputāna took fresh impressions, one of which is used for this paper.—J B.]
several times used instead of the palatal and the palatal once instead of the dental sibilant.

The inscription is dated (in line 28) in the year 1207, corresponding, as a year of the Vikrama era, to A.D. 1149-50 or 1150-51; and its object is, to record a visit of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla to Mount Chitrakūṭa, the modern Chitorgarh, and some donations which on that occasion were made by the king in favour of a temple of the god Samiddhesvara (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, Mṛdā, and Samiddheśvara, while the others invoke the assistance of the goddess of eloquence, Sarasvatī, and celebrate the compositions of poets. The author then (in line 5) eulogizes the family of the Chaulukyas. In that family the king Mūlarāja 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 Sākambhari (line 10) and devastated the Sapādalakṣa 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 Chitra-kūṭa 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 Samiddheśvara (line 22) which was on the northern slope of the mountain, he worshipped the god and his consort, and gave to the temple a village the name of which has not been preserved (line 26). Other donations (a ghūlaka 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 Rāmakirtti, a pupil of Jayakirtti, 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 (Armarāja), the ruler of the Sapādalakṣa country, whose capital was Sākambhari (Sambhar) 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 Chitrakūta, I am unable to identify.

Text.3

1. यौः ॥ नमः सर्व[श्री] ॥ नमः ॥ [स]साभिर[व्र]संवक्यजनार ॥ शवाय परम
   ज्ञातिः[र्तु]खत्वक्यजनार ॥ अयतं वस च चोमासुऽ ॥

2. दनाम्वर[स्व] ॥ यस्य कथायः ॥ से(व)वालथव चहरी ॥ यद्यार्थश्रवियक्तोमदन-क्रियावधार ॥ समण्डपम् ह्रताधायितम् चन्द ॥

3. रत्न: प्रकाशान ॥ तनिकेश्वरस्वं च यवमयिति पार्थ दुर्ख त पातु यदुपालव्रेक्तान्ति: सवन्ति खयः ॥ यथोऽर्ध्वनर्त तिक्षितान्ति । सुकुमः विद्यः

4. तन: भिक्षुपः सदा ततः ॥ सारीरकः ज्ञातिर्गतरस्वसत्वाक्षरां च श्रवणांवृत्ति: ॥ अववधार
   च(च)पीतविविषिद्विद्विद्विदमला: ॥ ततः तत्त्वाः [सम

4 From impressions prepared by Dr. A. Führer.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
6 Read ‘श्री’.
7 The missing aksharas are न्री.
8 Metre: Prithvi.
9 Metre: Uṣṇīṣṭi.
10 Metre: Śloka (Anushṭabh); and of the next three verses
CHITORGADH INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAULUKYA KUMARAPALA. 423

L. 5. कीसी(सी) नां बालिकासा महीदया: II न वैरसिधितः¹² वैमात्र जलानां¹³ समाजय:।

6. दृष्टया अमावाहृतकासान् सिद्धि:। मूतराणा(ण) महीदायी सुहासिपिरीक्षण(ण):।

7. एको चिरकाल:। तस्मान्ये¹⁰ सहित मृत्युतितः भोख यत्र चेम(म) सवेत सर्वया। प्रजा राजस्वरी नूम(न) जः

8. जनौपति: प्रभुतो व(व)मृत्यु। जनविष्या¹¹ समाजिन्त व विलोक संस्कारः। भान्ता जगति

9. बर्तको निर्माणवसाना। कुमारपालेको भविष्य तापान्ताशकवा। चर्चितसाम्प्रज्ञान

10. न पर वेन याववः। यद्य मृत्युराख्रीस्तः कार्यि

11. तो व(व) दुर्गायः। आज्ञा यथ महीदाये भूमिस्त्रो(सु) सिद्धमणि:। विविधव भूमिवाहस(से)ः

12. श: पियारुलोके न शाक्यमंगः। आय प्राचूरमुद्धयालंमुस्त: फिस्ती जस सतेववाजः

13. उपे ग्राम गंगार्यः। जिसमें विविधवकीय विवर्णवः। चिलकू

14. तहः भीमिलार्कािसिनिमुखसिधिः। बंजामानो निमायायो बलाती लक्ष्मिविषयः।

15. - I²३ - - त[श] गार्दिकोराजवियो रथानवर्चो हस्तस्वर्यः।

16. - - - - - - - - - - - [ण] [त] समस्तसः। चुक(च) विंक्ति। प्राप्त²³ कवार्य स या

17. - - - - - - - - - - - [र] [ष] लराणाः। एवमातिर्यूषीयः दुर्गेन वम्भे पा विषय [सं]

22. Divide, also, वैरस्तितः।
23. i.e., also, जदानाः।
25. Metre: Skīka (Anushtubh); and of the next three verses.
26. Metre: Vānāśaṣṭha; and of the next verse.
27. The aksharas, here broken away, are probably भ:।
28. The aksharas, here broken away, are probably रामोऽ।
29. Metre: Māṣīnt.
31. Metre: Dīdīkā.
32. Metre: Skīka (Anushtubh); and of all the following verses.
33. Originally स्कीकः was n. engraved.
34. Metre: Skīka (Anushtubh).
35. Metre: Svāgatā.
36. जिः: ग्रामेः, वर्णितया संचारादिनस्योऽः
XXXIV—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SÈBA OF DIHLÍ.

No. II.

BY PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

The following inscriptions are in continuation of, and in addition to, those contained in a previous paper, ante, pp. 130 seq. I begin with Fathâbâd, which was there represented by the inscription from Fîrûz Shâh’s famous pillar.

FATHâBâD.

1. To the left of the mihrâb 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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²⁵ 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.

²⁶ Metre: Sîka (Anusualhabh).

²⁷ Below this line some more aksharas have been roughly engraved; but they are quite illegible in the impression.

³ Mr. H. B. W. Garriek, in General Cunningham’s Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. XII, p. 11, remarks that Manâlavl 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.
MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUBA OF DIIHLI. 425

1' 2\frac{1}{4}" of which Mr. Garrick gives a good copy (Arch. Sur. India Rep. vol. XXIII plate iii)—

\[sic\]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ران المساجد [لله] قد يدمروا
مع الله أحدًا رأته لمَّا قام عبدالله يدمِّر [؟] كابرلا [؟] يكتون
عليه ابدًا قال عليه السلام [رس] بني الله [sic] حسناً يبتغى به رجع الله بني الله له في
الجنة مثله تمام شد ابن مسجد في أيام دورت شاء اعظام رائفان المعظم
مالك الروابط طويلة الأمم من الهند والترك والعرب والجسر راني راني ريان رايت [؟]
مجاهدات
والغازي محمد همايوني باشا غازى خلَّد الله تعالى ملله في جبال الطف [sic]

فلوه بضع [sic] جناب سعادته فرجام زيدة فضلاء الإمام لتغطية الأطراع العظام امير رستم بك بن
جناب المغفور الجهراء الخاتم امير محمد عليه تغطية حمام . . . . . . . . في الثاني: ماه رمضان
سند خمس [رب] لوعيغية كنورما تقوير عبد الكريم جرد برائ جراح بر مريم [؟] تعني كرد شد
طلق است ازرا هرك منع كند.

"In the name," etc. (Qurân, Sûra lxxii, 18, 19). "The prophet,—upon whom be peace,—says, 'He who builds, etc.' This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzi,—May God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom [and guide] his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignity, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amir, Amir Rustam Beg, son of his highness the pardoned and purified chosen Amir Muhammad 'Ali,—God Almighty. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . on the 2nd of the month Ramažân A. 945 (the 22nd January, 1539). The superintendent of the work (wasa) the poor 'Abdul-Karim."

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 Hisâr (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' 2\frac{1}{4}" by 6\frac{3}{4}"—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ناه عليّا مظهر
إهجايب بديع مزاحك في الروابط كل
هم ر غم سيلجي بربتک يا محمد باريك
يا علي يا علي يا علي تم تم

"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 prophetship, O Muhammad, through thy saintliness, O 'Ali, O 'Ali, O 'Ali, O 'Ali!"

Hisår.3

3. Near the Nâgôr-Gate, outside the town, is a sandstone (measuring 5' by 4''), on four sides covered with inscriptions. It belonged to the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Chishti, 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—

"The departure of this king of the Shaikhs and the Saints, Shaikh Muhammad, son of Mahmûd, the Chishtî, (took place) on the 9th Shu'bân, 892 (31st July, 1437)."

Since the tomb of so highly revered a man as Shaikh Muhammad Chishti was not claimed or interfered with, it is very likely that this inscription was placed on the wrong grave. I give also the Arabic inscriptions of the lower west side and the east face—

"ya miû bi dinâhia astghel ðíd ðirábâl ðir ðiraz al-ahl al-mart yâtâ yâtâ abîn al-qânrîr mânaqîr al-umal"

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."

"In the name, etc., there is no God but, etc. Is not the world verily like the station of a camel-rider? Will he sleep in the evening when he is to depart in the morning?"

4. Outside the Nâgôr-Gate is also the enclosure known as Shaikh Junaid's tomb. The stone on the west contains the name of the builder twice, who, in spite of the omission of any title, may nevertheless be identical with the Shaikh named, from his also being

2 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. 109). Mr. Blochmann gives it in his Aîn-i Akbarî Translation, p. 507, with an unmetrical alteration in the second line. But see also Proceedings As. S. Beng. (loc. cit.)

3 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. 143) is in the Sovârî ul-anwâr, a copy of which is in the 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. Elie in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the India Office Collection (No. 654), for access to the proof sheets of which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. R. Root. 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 Matchâb wâli, which is restricted to the life and deeds of Nizâm ud-dîn Auliyâ. Compared with such books those of the princes Jahânârâh about Shaikh Mu'în ud-dîn and of her brother Dârâ Shukhâ (Suffnât u'l-a'wilâ) are very dilettante. I have tried 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 that the most by Dârâ Shukhâ's, which pretends to be more serious than Jahânârâh'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 ud-dîn.
born at Ajodhan,— the name for Dipalpur,— too striking an accord. But then the date of the latter’s death, as given in the Khazinat ul-asfyl, which Blochmann has extracted, must be too early. The size of the two inscriptions is 7\' 6” by 7”, and 6\' by 4\'\frac{1}{2}”, respectively.

"In the name, etc. On the first Rabi’ul-awwal, 927 (9th February, 1521). The builder (was) Junaid, son of Chandan."

The other inscription, on the first Zil’-Qa’d, 931 (30th August, 1525). Its builder (was) Junaid, son of Chandan, son of Mahmud, of Ajodhan."

There are some other inscriptions from the same Mausoleum, but of no value. One, measuring 2’ 1\frac{1}{2}” by 6”, contains, in two lines, the Bismillah and the Kalima; two others from the north and west sides of the N.-W. pillar of the tomb, each measuring 1’ 1” square, bear Qur’an, Sura exii, adorned with flowers.

5. Over the western arch inside a tomb, west of the road leading from Hisar to Duna Shere, outside the town half a mile from the Dihli-Gate, is an inscription in stucco; it measures 1’ 2” by 1’ 1\frac{1}{2}”, 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 Waltu Khan . . . . son of Mir . . . . son of Sultan Malik Beg, was finished on the third [?] of month Ramzan, 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.—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and raise his condition and dignity!—this building of Waltu Khan . . . . son of Mir . . . . son of Sultan Malik Beg, was finished on the third [?] of month Ramzan, 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 Rabi’ul-awwal, 927 (9th February, 1521). The builder (was) Junaid, son of Chandan."

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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 Waltu Khan . . . . son of Mir . . . . son of Sultan Malik Beg, was finished on the third [?] of month Ramzan, A. 943 (13th February, 1537)."

Along the right-hand side, almost in the same line with the above, are the following words:

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

Shaikh Fariduddin Mustad was also born at Ajodhan,—see W. Pertsch, Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, No. 590, p. 556.

Mr. Ghalam Husain, who prepared the impressions of all these inscriptions with the same care as those of the former Panjab series, remarks that both have been published by Amin 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. S. Beng. vol. VII. (1889), p. 429,—"has the appearance of having been partially worked by Persian order, and possibly 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."

“... 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—

"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, Badishah-i Ghazi,—May (God) perpetuate his khilafate!—this building was completed in the month Rabab—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 Baranthaq, the Moghul; and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarat. The cost was 15,000 copper-tankas (750 rupees)."

"In the propitious time and augst reign of the king of India and Khorasan, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, Tahir ud-din Muhammad Humayun, Badishah-i Ghazi,—May (God) perpetuate his khilafate!—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 'Asiq Muhammad, son of Mir Shah 'Ali, and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarat. The cost was 12,000 copper-tankas (600 rupees)."

* Mr. Blochmann has wrongly read Humayun's common kunya Nasir ud-din; but here Tahir ud-din has been engraved.
Zahir ud-din was Babar's kunya.
* Here 'Ali has been engraved, but this is no name.
Both youths probably served in the Gujarāt war that ended with Bahādur Shāh’s victory, A.H. 942. Then, or perhaps in Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā’s attempt to overpower the country, their death may have occurred, and they afterwards found a tomb at home, Gujarāt being lost to Humāyūn.

7. Over the mihrāb of an ‘Idgah at Dāna Sher, one mile south of Hisār on the old Hānsī road, is an inscription of four lines in stucco, measuring 1’ 9” by 4½”. It is in very bad condition, being exposed to wind and weather. I try to read it thus—

ابن مسجد [؟] يهال واد سرباني[؟]
ابره شیخ مسجد مسجد [؟]
سلطان سنع بیح [؟]
خراج شد مبلغ دراوی [؟]

“This mosque of . . . Beg, son of Pūlad Sārvānī . . . son of Idrīs Sārvānī . . . the high Masnad of the Daulatkhāna, was finished in the reign of Shēr Shāh, the king, in the year 947 (began the 8th May, 1540) . . . The cost was 12,000 . . .”

With Messrs. Ghulām Husain and the late E. Behatsek (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. I would then be for 947 ‘hundred’, scarcely for 947; so I read the monarch’s name as Shēr Shāh, which is possible. And surely, if 947 were only a blunder, perhaps of the stone-cutter, a reiterated it’s, only with a shortening of the long stroke of the 9 and the date in this case were 749, one could not read the king’s name as Muhammad, as would then be necessary, or the word after sab’ as ms’at. Besides, there are some words, especially ‘in masjid’, that I cannot warrant as certain.10

Hānsī

Mr. H. B. W. Garrick (at sup., pp. 15, 16) gives a list of the principal inscriptions found at Hānsī. Some of them have already been published by Blochmann, that of the Dīnī mosque, also ante, p. 159. There are several others perhaps also deserving notice that are not mentioned in Mr. Garrick’s list, but I miss also some inscriptions of his in Mr. Rodgers’s collection.11

Because Hānsī was an important place in the times of the early Pathān Sultāns, it is not surprising that numerous old inscriptions of that dynasty are found there. If we do

10 In the Ma’dṭhir ul-Umarā, vol. I, p. 663, it is mentioned by the way that the dāigh of the dautakhāna was bestowed only upon trustworthy men. The author of the Tūrīkh-i Shērshāhī, ‘Abbās Khān, son of Shāh Ṭalḥ Ali, was also a Sārvānī, an Afghan tribe tracing its lineage to the mythic Rutān (see Ahrār, I, 531), likewise ‘Azam Humāyūn (who lived in Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī’s time, cf. Bābār’s Memoirs, pp. 347, 392; Akbarnāma, vol. I, p. 103) and therefore also his son Fath Khān Khānjahān (Bābār’s Memoirs, pp. 390, 392, Akbarnāma, vol. I, pp. 103, 104), and grandson Mahmūd Khān (Bābār’s Memoirs, pp. 393, Akbarnāma, vol. I, p. 104), or Bahādur Khān, whose tomb Bābār visited at Sāgūndār (Memoirs, p. 491), and others. For another Shēr Shāh 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 Dihlī inscriptions from the years 587 (E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehlī*, p. 22 or *Journal Asiatique*, Vᵉʳ 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 Dihlī inscription, see *Jour. Asiat.* u.s. p. 240). Shaikh Nî’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 Ghori’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 Nî’mat Ullâh’s tomb. Formerly it belonged to a mosque built by ’Ali, 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) ’ Ali, son of Isfandiyár on the 10th Zil Hijja, 593 (24th October, 1197)."

9. The masjid walls of the second enclosure of Shaikh Nî’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:

"[Abūl] Muzaffar Muhammâd, son of Sâm, the helper of the Khalif of the faithful.

The other jamb contains also one line (measuring 3′ 7½″ by 11″); the lintel has not been found:

"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 Dihlī 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 (Qār Ṣâr) (Qorân, Sûra ii, verse 215—, and in the northern inside wall (1′ 7″ by 6″), a fragment, (Qorân, Sûra ix, verse 9). But there is no reference to the age of all.

10. South-east of the town, about 150 yards from the walls, is the tomb of the four Qulbs or Saints (cf. Mr. Garrick’s *Report*, p. 14, and plate vii). In the wall of the
enclosure is the following inscription, which originally belonged to the grave of some unnamed noble lady. It consists of two lines and measures 4 3\(^{\circ}\) by 11—

\[
\text{“Finished was the tomb of the veiled noble lady,—May Allâh illuminate her tomb and may Allâh pardon her in the garden of the asylum (Paradise)! O most merciful of the merciful! This took place on the 1st Zil Qâda, 622 (4th November, 1225).”}
\]

It is curious that the word qabr is used as feminine, of course only from its being occupied by a woman. The year 622 falls in the reign of Shams-ud-Din 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' 10\(^{\frac{2}{3}}\)" by 1' 1\(^{\frac{2}{3}}\)""). A complement of it must be Mr. Garrick’s sixth one—

\[
\text{[G]ilanî and to Fir d a u s S ultânî. He was a slave of Mas’ûd Muhamm ad of Isfahân.}
\]

In the wall of the mosque of the four Quôbs is a fragmentary inscription of two lines, measuring 1' 4" by 1'—

\[
\text{By the grace of his highness K a m âl, son of ..........}
\]

11. At the mosque of Bû Ali Baksh in the Moghulpâra-Quarter of Hânsi is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 2' 6" by 6", with two lines—

\[
\text{This building (is) the mosque of the feeble slave (of God) A h m âd, son of Muhamm ad, of A s m â n d. In the middle of Rabî’ II, 623 (began the 1st April, 1226).’}
\]

Mr. Blochmann remarks that Asmand is a small place near Samarqand. There are also two other inscriptions over the north and south arches of the same mosque, the first (1' 5" by 7\(^{\frac{2}{3}}\)") containing the Bismillâh, with the Kalima, the second (1' by 7") being a fragment.

12. Half a mile to the west of the town, in the fields, is an ‘Idgâh and on the left of its central arch (mihrâb) is an old fragmentary inscription of two lines (measuring 2' 10\(^{\frac{2}{3}}\)" by 1’), very much damaged. It runs—

\[
\text{In the name, etc. Jesus, the son of Mary, has said, “O God, our Lord, send down to us a table from heaven [} \text{etc.} \text{.]—Qurán, Sûra v, verse 114.}
\]
Because the inscription is so worn there may be doubts about the king's name. I think it was Nasir uddin Mahmud, 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 doubt we are scarcely allowed to think of his elder brother, owing to Mr. Thomas' remarks in his *Pathan 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 Bakhsh's mosque is a fragment, (the right half not being found) of three lines, size 1' 4" by 1' 2½":—

شَاهُ كَبِيحان مُعَالدِي
شلطن خزَل ملله فر نويت
بَحَرَل بِن مَحْرات الإلَّى دِر ... ... ...

"The king of the world Mu'tizz uddunya,......the Sultan,—May (God) perpetuate his reign!—in the time of......Bahlu, son of Mihrā (?) Bēg, Alānī... Muharram, 687 (began the 6th February, 1288)."

The name of the grandee is not certain. For other inscriptions of Kāiqobād see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 158, and note 42.

14. About a quarter of a mile north of the fort of Hānsi is the tomb of Wala' Yat Shāh Sultān Shāhīd. Here are two inscriptions of no value; one mentioning the date 713, measuring 1' 10½" by 1' 2½", in three lines, the other measuring 1' 10½" by 5½", in one line, being a portion of Qurān, Sūra ii, verse 256.

15. At the mosque of the Qutb (see No. 10) a rectangular sandstone bears eight lines in coarse and indistinct characters; size 3' 8" by 11":—

الملك لله
بترنيق الله تعالى بنه درکه سنجانی ای با نام جلوانی که یگی
از مریدان پیر مستبد سلطانی المشايخ شیخ ابراهیم قنیس الله سو العزيز است
در وایان قلب اکتقب عالم شیخ جمال الدین رشید دعوای رفل
اگذن مثواو زورالله مراتخه در رقت جالس سجده بندگی سلطان المشايخ
شیخ مور که الله عمو این مشهد راس کاتب هرکه درون مسجد نام پناه دعوای
ایشان [? یاه که کتیب هریب غنی قلاب نایب قاتعی هانوی... ... ...
اگذن و عشیر عیسی رفسه رجب قدرب سنه ست رسمی رسمانی رنسنترام امین [? بیرال [?]

"The Kingdom belongs to God!

'By Almighty God's grace, the slave of the glorious court, Abah Bakr by name, Jalwani, one of the disciples of the guiding spiritual chief, the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh

13 In Bābar's *Memoirs* occur also Jaleesī, by name Isma'īl (pp. 338, 486, 487) and Mubārah Khān (p. 421), or Rā' Husain, a partisan of Shāh Khān (side Akbarānama, vol. i, p. 164), and others. I have read *faqīn* (first word of the 7th line) instead of *fāqīn*, as it has been engraved on the stone.
Abu’l Fath,—May God sanctify his dear secret!—has laid the foundation of this mosque at the feet of the pole of the poles of the world, Shaikh Jamāl ul-haqq wa’shshahr wa’dātn (i.e. Shaikh Jamāl uddīn),—May his grave be fragrant! May (God) make Paradise his mansion, and may God illuminate his resting-place!—at the time when the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Farīd,—May God lengthen his life!—ascended to the throne of the spiritual rule. Every one who prays in this mosque should remember these men in his prayer.

“The writer of the words (was) Razā Quṭb, the representative of the judge of Hānṣi. . . . On the 26th Rajab,—May its power increase!—896 (3rd January, 1491). The stone-cutter (was) Aмир (?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—

درعہ باشا زمان [؟] سعددار شاہ بن پنجہ شاہان خلیل الله ملکہ رستمائه۔

“In the time of the king of the age, Sikandar Shāh, son of Buhlūl Shāh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!"

16. In the north inner wall of the Barfi gate in Hānṣi is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 1’ 5” by 1’ 1”, on which are five lines—

بناء عمارة ابن دروازه میتین ٹبری با مرمی حصی محسوم علیالی
کہ میرخست سنہ ائی نسبتیہ در عہد سلطان السلاطین ابرالمظفر
ابراہیم شاہ سلطان خلیل الله ملکہ رستمائه ود عمل مسند علی جانبی حمید خان
[ naam خان کمال ردر شقداری خراجہ شیخ [؟] سعددار ریبموشیت مکمل بن کمال

[Ekambhāthroughout in English.

The building of the edifice of this solid, high gate, together with the repairs of the strong upper fort,12 dated 702 A.H. (began 26th August, 1302), (took place) in the time of the king of kings, Abul’ Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—and during the governorship of the high Māsnaḍ Hamīd Khān, son of Amān Khān Kamāl and during the shidārī of Khwāja Shaikh Muhammad, and by order of Muwakkal, son of Kamāl, on the 5th Zill qa’dah, 928 (26th September, 1522). The writer (was) Khān zāda Nāṣr, the Mufti of Hānṣi.”

Hamīd Khān is known to have been governor of Hisār Firdās; he was defeated in battle by Prince Humāyūn A.H. 932 (Akbari, vol. I, p. 94, and Bābar’s

12 As we learn from an inscription on the same gate, to the left of the entrance, published by Blochmann in the Proceedings of Ar. Soc. B., for May 1877, p. 123, and mentioned by Mr. Garriock (No. 6), the correct year of the first fortification of Hānṣi was 703, not 702. The repairing of the fort which must probably Muhammad Shāh had intended be an outpost against the Moghuls, was useless against their final invasion under Akbar.
Memoirs, p. 389, where he is styled Hamüd Khan Khäppa Khällä, shiðdär of Hijär Firöza.

The following inscription refers also to Muhammad Shäh’s fortification of the place.14 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 8’ 3” by 1’ 6” —

[ بناء عمارة ابن حسن حسین ردریا ملیم در عهد [سلطان السالطین]]
[جم نامه رسولی ملکان سکندر ملازم ابرالملک حسین شاه السالم[ل]]

“The building of the edifice of this strong fort and solid gate (waz) in the time of (the king of kings) celebrated like Jamshíd, of high dignity like Solomon, the Alexander of the period, Abu‘l Muzaffar Muhammad Shäh, the king......”

17. Inside of the mosque of the Makkhäuser Shähîb Ashraf in the Weavers’ Quarter of Hânsî, is a very old inscription in square Kufic characters that must be of the first Pathân period. It measures 1’ 1” by 9” and consists of the Kalima only. Over the outer gateway of the enclosure of the same mosque is found a poor inscription of three lines (9½” by 6”), giving the date, “Month Safar 989,” (began 7th March, 1581). The old mosque therefore was repaired in Akbar’s time.

18. Outside the stables of Haidar Bég, high up in a wall is a rectanguland sandstone, bearing an inscription of nine lines (size 1’ 9½” by 1’ 7”). It is frightfully worn and can be deciphered only with the greatest difficulty. But the following is certain:

[بغايات...]
[در عهد رئیس سلطان السالطین]
[ابوالملک شاه الالدین حسین صاحب]

14 Perhaps also to the Bara Gate (Blochmann No. 3, Garrick No. 6).

16 Other inscriptions of ‘Al’i Amdh Muhammad Shäh’s reign (A.H. 695-715) have been published in General Cunningham’s Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. XX, p. 76 (A.H. 705, at Bayâna), by E. Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathân Kings, p. 173 (A.H. 710, at Dihl), and by Blochmann, Proceedings of As. Soc. B., for August 1873, p. 156 (A.H. 711, at Râpîr), (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 Khiljî tribe, viz. of Mâhmûd Sâlah I. of Mâlîwâ. 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. Rehatseck did not know of one elsewhere. Its title is Madâthir-i Mâhmûdshâhî va sîyâs-i khilâfût-pandâhî, written in the lifetime of Mâhmûd Shäh I. of Mâlîwâ, as the author ‘Alî Ibn Mâhmûd ul-Kirmânsi states, by Mâhmûd’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 divine visions as justifying the rebellion of the subject against his former master. Although partly composed in a very bombastic style, it would still be worth publishing, all the more as it is a proof of the taste then reigning at the court of Mâlâwâ. Mâhmûd 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 Bâmî Bîhisht, built by Shäh Mâhmûd A.H. 846 in his capital, he employed Persian artists because of their higher dexterity, and these applied the thulût and muhâfaq kinds of writing (Fol. 89). This may be a hint in cases where nothing is related concerning the nationality of the stone-cutters. It is remarkable how many of the ‘modern’ Indian calligraphists mentioned in the 34th chapter of the first book of the Âhn-e Akbari (cf. also Mr. Blochmann’s translation, p. 100, et seq. and notes) were strangers by birth and only afterwards settled in India. The Kufic style that has flourished in Arabia, Egypt and Spain has produced only some scanty flowers in India, but this is easily explained by the later date of Islam in India, the Kufic period then already having passed. Some remarks about the calligraphy of the inscriptions are to be found in the Journ. of As. S. B., vol. XI, p. 387-8, and in Ravenshaw’s Gaur.
The words *chah-i xanán*—"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 *Átn-i Akbari*, vol. I, p. 284, it is stated amongst the duties of the *Kotiod*, to reserve separate fountains and wells for men and women.

19. On the east wall of the enclosure of a tomb in the court-yard of *Makhdám Sáhib Ashraf*’s mosque is an inscription, measuring 1’ 2” by 8½”, in a very bad condition; only the date *A.H. 1087*’ (began the 16th March, 1676) and the name of the architect, *Besíy Múmar Síríf*, are legible. The reigning monarch was Aurangzéb Alamgír.

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 (*Qorán*, 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).

**Bhaț índa.**

21. Bhaț índa, the Bhatti’s city, according to the very probable etymology of Mr. Garrick, p. 5, has always had a strong fort. There is preserved a large cannon of Aurangzéb’s time bearing two inscriptions:—

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18 Bhaț índa is mentioned in the *Átn-i Akbari* amongst others as a place where Akbar often hunted leopards vol. I, 207, and near which camels were numerous, vol. I, p. 148.
"He (God) is the conqueror! In the time of Abul Zafar Muhuy'ddin Muhammad Aurang泽b Bahadur 'Alamgir, Baidishah-i Ghazi, the Aurangshah-cannon was set up in A.H. 1073 (began the 16th August, 1663). By the efforts of the devoted and sincere subject Mutmam Khan, in the 5th year of the blessed reign."

During the office of Mathuradass Dilaramji........... the cannon has been placed in the fort of Gwalliár."

The cannon, consequently, was placed at first at Gwalliár, where Mutmam Khan was commandant from the 24th Jumâdâ I, 1071. Afterwards it was brought to Bhathinda.

Inscriptions from other cannons have been published by Major St. G. D. Showers,—Shahjahan's gun Jahankusha 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. 15

22. Over the mihrab of the Ádina 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......................................................

Alâ 'uddunya wadânin,.......of the kings of the world,.......Abul Musaffar Muhmâmad Shâh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom!—has designed to build this mosque of the true believers and......place of the people of the faith. It was on the 1st Ramazân A.H. 708 (13th February, 1509)."

23. Over the outer archway of a small mosque in the fort of Rohtak, near the Dhilli 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 name of the Baidishah-i Ghazi, the king of kings, Ghiyath 'uddunya waddin, the Alexander of the period, Abul Musaffar Tughluq Shâh (this mosque has been

17 See the particulars concerning this officer given by Blochmann from the Mu'adhati 'Alamgir in the Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng. for August 1874, p. 170.
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. J., vol. II, pp. 149 et seq.
built, through the grace of the Lord, by) Muhammad 'Ali Sultanī. On the first of the blessed month Ramazān,—May its blessings be general!—Δ. 724 (22nd August, 1324)."

This inscription is the second as yet published of Tughluq Shāh’s reign (see Blochmann, Proc. As. Soc. B., for August 1873, p. 157; A.H. 722, at Mahōbā).

Perhaps the mosque was repaired in Bābar’s time; there is at least an inscription over the central archway (measuring 1’10” by 1’1”) outside, that seems to mention such a fact, but it is too much injured to allow a decisive judgment. The first line is nearly altogether gone, also the beginning of the second and the whole third of the line are illegible; almost all dots are missing.

"This mosque.............in the time of...........His Majesty Zahīr uddīn Muhammad Bābar, Bádishāhī Ghāṣī.............Ramsān.........93"

The date, of course, must be between 932 and 937.

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XXXV.—SRIDHARA’S DEVAPATTANA PRASASTI.

By Dr. G. Bühlér and Vajeshkar G. Ozhā.

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 Somnāthpātān near Verāval on a pillar near the Qāzi’s house. At present the slab on which it is incised is built into the wall of the fort, to the right of the great gate of the town. Both Colonel Tod and Mr. Postans give what is said to be a translation of the document, prepared, “with the assistance of a learned Jain priest,” by Mr. Wathen, according to an eye-copy made by Rāmdatt Krishnadatt Purāṇī. Mr. Wathen’s translation teems with the most extraordinary statements regarding the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvād, which, however, fortunately have received little attention. The present edition has been prepared according to a rubbing by the late Pandit Girjāshankar Sāmalji, which Mr. V. G. Ozhā forwarded for publication to the first-named editor, together with a transcript,¹ a Gujarātī translation and some explanatory notes in the same language.

The slab measures according to the rubbing 30 inches in breadth and 27 in length, a space of 5 inches having been left blank at the lower end. At the upper left-hand corner a piece has been broken off. To the right considerable portions of a good many

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 V. G. O.—[G. B.]
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 anuvāras have been made highly ornamental, being surrounded by three semi-circles, to the uppermost of which a stroke resembling a mátrā is attached. At the end there are two signs of good omen, the second of which is a Svastika. The name of the first is not known to me. It consists of an oblong with two small circles at the top and one in the centre and a triangle attached below. The characters are ordinary Devanāgarī of the 13th century. It must be noted that va does duty for ba and va, and that the groups like jy, tva, dya are invariably spelt jy, tv, and dya. In verse 45 we have the curious word Gūjrātrāh corresponding to the modern Gujarāt. In my opinion it has been coined out of the latter just like Suratrāna out of Sultan and Gurjanaka out of Ghaznav. Gujarāt itself is probably a hybrid formation, the Arabic collective affix āt, being added to the name of the Gurjara or Gujar clan.

The contents of the inscription, which, with the exception of the first and last words, is throughout metrical, are as follows:—

(1) A maṅgala, verses 1-3, the first two being addressed to Śiva, identified with the supreme Brahma.

(2) A eulogy of the temple and town of Somanātha, which the Moon founded in order to escape from the intolerable disease of consumption, verses 4-5.

(3) A eulogy of certain members of the Vastrākula race and of the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvād, verses 6-25.

(4) A eulogy of Śrīdhara, the representative of the Vastrākula family in Vikrama Sāṃvat 1273, who built several temples at Devapattana, verses 26-51.

(5) A eulogy of an ascetic, Vimalaśīva (?), 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 58-66 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 Pada of verse 16. Their description is almost entirely conventional. The only historical fact mentioned (verse 23) is that Bhīmadeva II. built a Somesvaramandapa, 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. Vadnagar in northern Gujarāt. To this race belonged Uyābhattā (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 Uyābhattā 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

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3 Those letters, which are very faint or doubtful, have been enclosed between brackets.—G. B.
refuge, colleges, temples and alms-houses, gilt flagstaffs, arches, markets, towns, villages, drinking-fountains and halls (verses 9-10). King Châmuṇḍa continued to show them favour and bestowed “the village of Kanheśvara on the great councillor (mahāmantri) Mādhava,” “his father’s friend” (verse 12). The line of the Vastrākulas was continued further through the offspring of Uyābhāṭṭa’s second son, Lūla. The latter had a son, called Bhāba or also Lūla(?)(verse 24), who was a friend of King Bhīmadeva I. Bhāba-Lūla begat Šohba, “the dear friend of him who was called Jayasimha” (verse 25). His son Valla became an official (sachiva) under Kumārapāla (verse 25) and married Rohini. “She bore to him Śridhara, who caused his race to unfold just as the moon makes the night-lotuses open their blossoms” (verse 26), and “was honoured among the officials of illustrious King Bhīma,” i.e. of Bhīmadeva II. (verse 27). The poet then goes on to lavish the most extravagant praises on this person with which are mixed a few apparently historical statements. Verse 40 inform us that Śridhara was much married and had three wives, Sāvitri, Lakshmi and Saubhāgyadevi. According to verse 42: “He quickly made again stable by the power of his mantra (i.e. his political wisdom or charms) the country, that had been shaken by the multitude of the [impetuous] war elephants of Mālvā resembling a forest of dark Tamāla trees, and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power.”

From this statement it would appear that he somehow assisted his sovereign to get over the troubles with King Arjunavarman, who some time before A.D. 1216 effected the bhaṅga of Gujarāt, and that he was governor of Devapattana. The latter point seems to be hinted at also in the next following verse, where it is asserted that “Śridhara the pride of the fort” made like to much grass the host of heroic Hammira, that moved like the high rising waves of the ocean which on the dissolution of the world inundate the shores,—that smashed the hills by the impetus of the mere movement of its feet and that split in twain the circle of the earth.”

“Heroic Hammira” is probably one of the Musalman generals, who more than once attacked and temporarily conquered Gujarāt during Bhīmadeva’s reign. How great and important these successes in politics and war really were, must remain doubtful, as a little goes a long way with the composers of Prakāstis. Verse 44 informs us that Śridhara built in Somnāthpātan two temples, at Rohiniśvāmin, sacred to Vishnu, in memory of his mother and a temple of Śiva, called after his father Valla. The remaining verses are so badly mutilated that it is impossible to speak with any certainty as to their contents. The date Vikrama Saravat 1273, Vaisākha śudi 4 Friday corresponds, according to Professor Jacobi’s Tables (ante, volume I, p. 403, ff.) to Friday, April 22, A.D. 1216.

Transcript.

L. 1. ——: विवाय ||
मनोमयानिदिशयंति-मालावलं ||
उपाधिये परं तलं पंकवलंकारं || 1 [II]’
विय्याजुर्विज्ञान-मर्विनिर्दितनकर-
विद्वान-चेति विश्व-निमिटं न्यायमभूत।
स: चेति देया-

2 Or, possibly, “he whose pride was the fort.”
"3. — जनविद्या समुदायाः
द्रोहिर्द्रुसदायाय प्रख्याताविषयाः किं च [II*]
थैनसंवादायातनस्य रेखा भृगुरिषियोधिकवध महति।
अनुवत्ताधारणयोम्यमित्यथपुरुषरिविदित सूचवते [II*]
सहीवदनयंकर्ता सूयनः [II*]

4. — भूपालितेः
निरिंचि: सक्तसंपुष्यं निमुनितिरि: समप्रत्।
तदेवतिपद्धप्रवचनाविनान्विती पुरा
श्यामरचितं पुरं ज्ययति वारिषि: सन्ताधिर्मय [II*]
शस्त्रि सतिमस्कुशान्नानमनिमश्चार्थानि यज्ञमिव-
धूमधाममिविलातः [II*]

5. — लावतरण स्थानं वियंतिलिङ्गुः।
अभ्यं हिजपुंगावगस्मिवृक्कं वधासिषि:।
प्रायारंहलाववापरवच्च: पथमस्तन्त्रे च यथा [II*]
शान्तिव्योदयवाप्यवट्टिकं ख्यातं नाम ववाकुः यत्।
क्षया। [II*]

6. — छ देशपुस्तक ज्ञे देशप्रलं यस्य साचयमात्मकं। [II*]
यद्यपििविलीदैस्मरप्रतिलकणां नांवतां
शुनक्षि आयतं निषन्तिपु राज्यम् विरस्तः।
निनवः भापलानणविषिः सुवर्णयुप्सः
प्रस्तुतं तत्मेयवस्थात सुकात्तपयथितं [II*]
गंगाप्रवाहः [II*]

7. — मलिसं भवभुस्त्योक्ताः सापवालम्बेयः।
ते सूक्तराजेन सुरस्तुताच भगीरथेनिव यशोऽववत्। [II*]
वारसूपतुडालमुक्तसमसारिसवादालालायाः
सीतार्च्चेतिर्घरायायपुराखामप्रामाण्यायाः।
कृतित्वीशोकलक्षायाः [II*]

¹ Metro, Sikharil.— Restore श्रववविक्रिण्डाः—[V. G. O.]
"श्रववविक्रिण्डाः" erroneously,—[V. G. O.]
⁶ Metro, Śrādālavikṛṣṭā.— Restore गंगाप्रवाहः—[V. G. O.]
[V. G. O]
⁷ Metro, Upāti.— Read "विरस्तः".
⁸ Metro, Prithvī.— Restore गंगाप्रवाहः.—[V. G. O.]
¹⁰ Metro, Śrādālavikṛṣṭā.— Restore "आमहवालस्"—
Delete stop after "पुराखांचः"
¹² Metro, Śrādālavikṛṣṭā.— Restore फल(व)च आमहवालस्—
[V. G. O.]
¹¹ Metro, Sikharil.
¹³ Metro, Upāti.— Delete वाग्राहा in यशोऽववत्।
9. श्राक्षोपाया—
स्थिरभ: पठट्यसिन्न: चितापर्यायोऽवसासः ।
तथाश्रयेण नानान्वयकामथायापिते भूपि:।
प्रवाहितयितिशयलौकिकिशयासुधाराणो ॥ ।

t. श्राक्षोपाया—

10. य तथां

t. तथां

11. लक्षणा

12. श्राष्ट्रवतः

13. िश्यारंजनशैवः।

14. श्राक्षोपाया—

15. खः वासंतलिंक।—

16. आक्षेरी—

17. आक्षेरी—

18. श्राक्षोपाया—

19. श्राक्षोपाया—

"Metro, शारदालविक्रिया।—Read "सरस्वतिः।—[V. G. O.]

"Metro, शारदालविक्रिया।—Read "वसूलः।—[V. G. O.]

"Metro, शारदालविक्रिया। कोटा erroneously—[V. G. O.]

"Metro, शारदालविक्रिया। कोटा erroneously—[V. G. O.]

"Metro, शारदालविक्रिया।—[V. G. O.]

"Metro, शारदालविक्रिया।—[V. G. O.]

"Metro, शारदालविक्रिया।—[V. G. O.]

"Metro, शारदालविक्रिया।—[V. G. O.]

"Metro, शारदालविक्रिया।—[V. G. O.]

"Metro, शारदालविक्रिया।—[V. G. O.]

3 L
14. अक्षरतमससृजः
कृतिर्विशेषलिङ्ग स्मरितिः नाटांगमिव ॥ १५ [२४] ॥
यायामान्य जयविधिम् चित्रस्वास्तमेः समायं मधी- 
स्वक्षतपारित्यादि विद्वत्ता वीरेऽऽः विरः ॥
संबंधाय लिङ्गि- ॥ १६ [२५] ॥

15. तीव्रसंभियसृजः: प्रतापनमः ॥ १६ [२६] ॥
तच्छुच्छुद्विलमनमुनुफळः वैशवीन्द्राचार्यविधिमांकः ॥
स्वक्षतपारित्यादि विद्वत्ता: कुमारवासः ॥ १५ [२५] ॥
वस्तुमुखः भूषः ॥ १४ [२४] ॥
स-भाषा- 
पश्चममप्रलयोः ॥ १६ [२६] ॥

16. वाहीदिकः: प्रतापः ॥
बायायति: चन्द्रवेशाचार्यकोलेकरं 
विषमिषिलमनमयतिभु: प्रकारम् ॥ २० [२७] ॥

c-भाषा- 

c-भाषा- 

17. नेत्रमयमंवचाः ॥ २१ [२८] ॥
हस्त्वंकवाचार्यमनवायनानेविषिलमिन्तियमः: प्रवत्तिः। 
वमाजः: तकुमस्मवित्तेभु: कीततुरालस्वयमन्तियययः ॥ २२ [२९] ॥

c-भाषा- 

18. कार्ति सीमेशर्मपीयं वैष्णवः स्वच्छन्निनामाच्येः: ॥ २१ [२८] ॥

c-भाषा- 

19. ॥ २४ [२८] ॥

c-भाषा- 

23 Metre, Vasantatilakā.—V. G. O. reads after नि: 
[धर्मश्रवण्य युव — — — ] : read सशास्त्रस्य युव—[V. G. O.]
24 Metre, śārdulavikrātita.—V. G. O. reads निस्ताः[स्मा] 
रूपः: शुरु — — — क- विश्व — — — ”
25 Metro, Upājāti.
26 Metro, Mālinī.—वैष्णववियस्तादिपालः—[V. G. O.]
27 Metro, Upājāti.—राजसाधनाय:। चावलस्वयंप्रवः—[V. G. O.]
28 Metro, first three Pādas Vasantatilakā. स्विचर stands at 
the end of the inscription with the figure 19 added.
29 Metro, Upājāti.
30 Metro, Upājāti.—The first Pāda is very indistinct.
31 Metro, Vasantatilakā.—बुद्धाभु: [स्था] या यू कक्ष्यमपुष्पकुमः 
स्वरूपमहोऽस्मि—[V. G. O.]. The same corrects बुद्धाभु: 
to बुद्धाभु:।
32 Metro, first three Pādas Vasantatilakā. स्विचर stands at 
the end of the inscription with the figure 19 added.
L. 20. लामियाचुः।
चायायतार्थं कुलकीर्त्वाकरः
प्रवीचकः चागरनामचंद्रभा रूपं [II *] १७
चीरोदिरिपाति चुटुपुरकिरीष्
नीरिविनेश युरुम् — वसात्मिने।
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
नमतिपितः
चीमोम्मू

21. पति-नियोगिनीकामान्यं २७ [II *] २३
धार्मिकः परंपरा सरस्वतीहरि कामेन [I]
चीरुक्षविन्नरुक्षियोऽविचलः प्रीतिरघुमा || २८ [II *] २३
कांता वंशर तेर्जसा — — — — — — — — —
— — सानपदालान्यखि

22. लामियाचुः धनाध्याचि।
[चुड़ा] सामर्थ्य प्रभावविध्यना निवं विरंचवल्ली
कीच्छि रामित् हुर्निर्दृकतया कंपयित् चीरि || २८ [II *] २३
मिसोमस। — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
रुशिल्लिन्द्रव:।
सीज्ञानी

23. निष्क्रियतसल्लोसा
जागरि हाश पूड़वे पूर्ण: पुराण: || २० [II *] २३
चीयोधिरिपि न ब्रै झुङ्गः: सर्वोत्पार न यातितिल्ल।
देवरिपि न कायाधिरि — — — — — — — [II ३१ II *] ५४
त[तालियं वन्दु] पादवकामविदुः
सुखाः।

24. मस्तुचापांचनिदत्रा भर्तः
बिंत्विचि सत्यमयानंतर्विदल
विचरिवलेवविन्यासुका विशिवः || २२ [II *] २३
जायामकुलिन्याति [पितातिति: चीरायाध्यायाति]
[कांति] — — दायसं शर्मल: चीरोद्विला

25. यति।
चीरि: चीयबायाति ४ जनसिररि: माणियवेलायवि
वलीचौ श्रववस्यवित्वितिवी रायाः: माणियाति || २१ [II *] ३५
निर्मलख्यं [वंदः] — — — — — — — — — — — —
चीयाः: पादवकामाः

**Notes:**
12. Metre, Varṇāṣṭhā.—च्छोपेये दिवसां च दिविकाः.—[V. G. O.]
13.संस्कृत भाषेय इन्ते:—[V. G. O.]
14. Metre, Vasantatilaka.—युधियुगमा,—भूमि सवषूचिवर्यय—

**Notes:**
23. Metre, सार्वदलविक्रीज्याः.—मायिकासाहयद्रः.—[V. G. O.]
24. Metre, Vasantatilaka.—मिळाहिरवदुस्तेपपुलपिवहितुरा
कर्माधर,कर्माधर,कर्माधर,—[V. G. O.]
25. Metre, Anuśhṭubh, वंशप्रायस्वस्वास्ये (सत्यमूल्यं
दक्षिणे) —[V. G. O.]
26. Metre, Vasantatilaka.—युधियुगमा,—भूमि सवषूचिवर्यय—

**Notes:**
3. L. 2
L. 26. तमच्यायतिर्देवसंवाहयंकः ।
उद्योगं पांचयां शरसिद्धसिद्धतीयोदयिः।।
रिलेवं यस्य कौत्तं खयमयं कूमं सौम् ॥ ३७ ॥
संकर्ति नायागामीः।।

27. संकर्ति नायागामीः ॥ ॥
वेधा विलक्षण सुनिष्ठातान तवान्ति नान्या स्त्रीगीति नूनं ॥ ३६ ॥
चारी यमो दानः सुचरितपरिशंदेशः।।
परिष्करं कौतिः सूक्ती ॥ ॥
भासु पूवं जः।।

28. नायागामीः ॥ ॥
तुलसेन सद्या स्थिरतिसिद्धसंहारः।।
रवीयण्यांस्वभागपाण्योक्तीप्रक्षेपः।।
- - - - - - - - ।।
सन्: विनिवेशः।।

29. निनिवेशः।।
निर्भरतं दिनिवेशः।।
कामस्वरोधयतिः त्वाय समायिते ॥ ३७ ॥
दिशः तालक्षणसाधुक्षमसंबंधरांगते।।
यस्य रमणं -- -- -- -- -- -- -- - ।।
महेशार्जुनः।।

30. प्रणयिनः निनिवेशः।।
सिद्धाय तयमानं कृतं कामस्वरोधयतिः।।
कौतिः मातामादक्षणं त्वाय समायिते ॥ ३६ ॥
सृष्टिः कालशेषः।।
- - - - - - - - - - - ।।
संस्कारसमंगे।।

31. कीर्तिवीरीयः।।
यस्य प्रणयायमुक्तवाचक्षुमोदस्ताराताराट्रीः।।
प्रज्ञान्य वयस्य सृतिः भगवद्ग्रंथसंस्कारं ॥ ३६ ॥
- - - - - साक्षियोढ़स्तिसंभायमार्यः।।

32. प्रक्षेपः किवास्मेतं तद्दीर्माणं महतः ॥ ४० ॥
साक्षियोढ़स्तिसंभायमार्यः।।
प्रज्ञान्य वयस्य वाचः।।
- - [मालवतमकस्य] वनमार्यः।।

33. प्रकरंगुरितां सुवं य: ॥
[भूमस्य: सिंहं सपदं संवर्ते खला]

47 Metro, Sragdhar—वददेवी स्मृतपरिक्रिया।
48 Metro, Sragdhar—[V. G. O]; स्मृतिः—[V. G. O]; तिमार्यः—[V. G. O].
49 Metro, Upajati—(स्मृतिःसामान्ययु) द्विभाषी (स्मृतिः) विवेकी
मार्यः—[V. G. O]; तिमार्यः—[V. G. O].
50 Metro, Sragdhar.
51 Metro, Anushthubh (स्मृत प्रथाः) धातिकाः—[V. G. O].
52 Metro, Anushthubh (स्मृत प्रथाः) धातिकाः—[V. G. O].
SRIDHARA'S DEVARATTANA PRASASTI.

34. चः वीरं हयं मीरणं
बहुनमस्वरूपः श्रीरोकुरण्डृष्टं || 82 [२६] ।

35. तत्स तत्स विद्यासमवेति ||
[धाम] श्रीमहिष्यव प्रतिष्ठादृष्टि कारितं भूरिश्रीं इ || 84 [२६] ।

36. युधिः घनना —— ||
[चेरण] श्रीरोकुरण्डृष्टं रूपमधि योगितलक नाशा
मासादि: श्रीरोकुरण्यसवनिजय: कारित: —— || 85 [२६] ।

37. शिवराजपाणि ||
[प्रथम] श्रीरोकुरण्डृष्टं रूपमधि योगितलक नाशा
वासादि: श्रीरोकुरण्यसवनिजय: कारित: —— || 86 [२६] ।

38. समान्दरात गुणम्; —— ||
— माकार्यार्याविषयसात्त || 87 [२६] ।

39. स्तवित्वति —— ||
— सुनयो ययो 87 [२६] ।

40. भूपीत्रधा —— ||
— [धाम] बालं मधि ||
— [चेत] ॥ ५२ [२६] ।

॥५२ [२६] ॥
41. यमवि देववादागतः...[१*]

42. कः [१*]

43. यासातिकाश्वाश्व[धि:]

44. सर्वंसंस्कृतः [१*]

45. अंगीकारता...[१*]

46. हिष्णुर्विश्वसितः...[१*]

47. विष्णु:कुम:...[१*]

66 विष्णुः [विष्णुवाच]: विद्वकुसवसंस्कृतः व एकावतम्—(third pāda); [V. G. O.] Metro, Mālānī
65 Metro, Aṇuṣṭubh—
64 Metro, Śārddulāvīkṛtī.
63 विष्णु:कुम:...[१*]
62 विष्णुः [विष्णुवाच]: विद्वकुसवसंस्कृतः व एकावतम्—(third pāda); [V. G. O.] Metro, Śārgsārjān—
61 Metro, Yasontālakā—[V. G. O.]
60 Metro, Uṣṇājāti.
59 Metro, Uṣṇājāti. At the end of pāda 1—[V. G. O.]
58 विष्णुः [विष्णुवाच]: विद्वकुसवसंस्कृतः व एकावतम्—(third pāda); [V. G. O.] Metro, Sṛgṣārjān—
57 विष्णुः [विष्णुवाच]: विद्वकुसवसंस्कृतः व एकावतम्—(third pāda); [V. G. O.] Metro, Yasontālakā—[V. G. O.]
56 Metro, Aṇuṣṭubh—
55 Metro, Aṇuṣṭubh—
54 Metro, Śārddulāvīkṛtī.
XXXVI.—ASOKA’S ROCK EDICTS ACCORDING TO THE GIRNAR,
SHÂHBÁZGARHÍ, KÁLSÍ 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
pre pared.

(2) *Shâhbázgarhí*, 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) *Mansehra*, anestampage, 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) Kálsí, an excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in October 1887, ac-
cording to which the accompanying facsimile has been prepared. With respect to the
latter it must be noted that the readings of the transcript occasionally, though rarely,
differ. And it must be borne in mind that in difficult passages the reverse of the
estampage has been consulted, where the letters appear in high relief and where some-
times 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 Kálsí version. There a good many alterations had to be made, which mostly
however refer to very minute points, such as á-strokes, Anusváras 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 dešam-pí hápesati, proves that we have to transliterate
dešam api hápayishyati, not dešam apihápayishyati. 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 Shâhbázgarhí 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 Manséhra version.
It is now perfectly certain that the Mansehra version is most closely related in its word-
ing to that of Kálsí.

1 This was used for my German article in the Zeit-
schrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. 4,
2 Also used for my German articles in the Zeitschr. der
The new facsimiles of the Girnár and Kālši 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 Kālši inscription (see, e.g., Ed. XIII, 2, 1, 15 पापताः मे अ). The second form is observable also in the Indo-Skythic documents, and perhaps is the parent of the modern Devanāgari $a$ of Western India. Andhra forms are found in $ka$, which has the dagger-like form, (see, e.g., Kālši Ed. IV, 1, 11, वृत्त-भाँ रमः); in $chha$, which sometimes consists of two circles with a vertical line standing on the point of the junction (e.g., Kālši Ed. V, 1, 14, कच्छनि) in $ja$, which is angular (e.g., Girnär Edict IX, 1, 1, राजः); in $da$, which is round in atapāśaṁde, Kālši Ed. XII, 1, 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 Girnär and in the Kālši inscriptions; in $va$, which is triangular in the superscribed vijaye Kālši Ed. XIII, 2, 1, 13. As peculiarities of the vowel-notation commonly observed in the later inscriptions may be noted (1) $a$-strokes running upwards or downwards (see, e.g., Kālši Ed. XIV, 2, 11, 21-23 passim, (2) $e$-strokes, slanting downwards, much like the modern mātrās (see, e.g., Kālši Ed. XIII 1, 1, 39, ṣatabhāge, and Ed. XIV, 2, 11, 21-23 passim); and (3) a looped o in no kutapuluvā, (Kālši Ed. V, 1, 14). Finally, the Anuvāra is occasionally placed above the letter to which it belongs, (see, e.g., the first of dhaṁmaṁ, Kālši Ed. XII, 1, 33, dhaṁmamahāmāṭa, Kālši Ed. XII, 1, 34), and it seems not improbable that the short strokes which sometimes (e.g., in the third syllable of śālavāṛhi, Kālši Ed. XII, 1, 34, and in the second syllable of śatabhāge, Kālši Ed. XIII, 1, 1, 39) are attached to the tops of the consonants, in reality are serifs. These points, to which others might be added, in my opinion leave no doubt that in Aśoka’s times much more developed forms of the Southern alphabet were used in everyday life, which conclusion has an important bearing on the question whether the art of writing had then been newly introduced into India or had been cultivated for a long period. With respect to the Northern or Kharoshṭhī alphabet, it may also be safely asserted that its characters show numerous vacillations.  

TRANSCRIPTS.

EDICT I.  

Girnär.  

fyam ḍhaṁmalipi devānāṁ priyena \[1\] Priyadasinā rānā lekhāpiṭā \[1\] idha na kiṁ-\[2\]ebi jivaṁ ārabīṭpā praśāḥṣayavan \[3\] na cha samājo katuṣva[.] Bahurakam hi dosam \[4\] samājāṃhi pasati

SHĀḤBĀZGARH.  

[\[A\]ya[n]]² dhramadipī devana priasa raṇo likhāpiṭu[.] bida no khoi jive ara[bbhi]t.² prayukotave no pi cha samaja kaḍa[va]³[.] [Ba]huka hi dohām sama. sa

² For the present I will only point to the introductions of my two articles in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XLIII, p. 12 ff; and 276 ff, where some remarks on the Kharoshṭhī lips have been published.

³ The Anuvāra is probable according to the reverse, but not certain.

⁴ Read arahhit; the last vowel has been lost.

⁵ The vowel of the second syllable has been placed too high but to read ge is not correct.

⁶ Possibly kṣaṛa.
Girnár.


Shāhbhāyzgarit.


Mansehra.


Kālīti.


EDICT II.

Girnår.


Shāhbhāyzgarit.


[8] The top of the letter da has been destroyed and it is impossible to say whether the word was dekha[9]tīr or dekhaitīr.
[9] The obverse seems to show akatītī, while the very thin e-stroke is inable on the reverse.
[10] The sa has a serif which makes it look like se. At the end of the line a second mā has been scratched in.
[12] Possibly suptaḥraye.
[14] The long i is probable, but owing to an abrasion not absolutely certain.
[15] Owing to an abrasion the second a-stroke is somewhat abnormal.
[16] Possibly dhiōvā is to be read.
[17] It is possible to read ārabhiśamhre, as there are two deep holes after sa. But both are probably accidental.
[18] The last vowel is uncertain, as the upper portion of the apparent i-stroke is abnormal and less deep than the lower one. Hence the reading may have been ayo.
[19] Only the right half of the sa of Priyadrasīna is visible on the reverse.
[20] Possibly na or no to be read.
[21] Possibly bahuka to be read.
[22] Dosah samajāsa is very indistinct.
[23] Samadjasī is more probable than samadjasī.
[24] The last syllable of Priyadrasīne is not certain; it may have been sa.
[25] i. n. i.e. tīdā is uncertain; the reading may be a n. i.e. adhuna.
[26] The Anuvāra is at least probable.
[27] The ra-stroke of mrige is not quite certain.
[28] 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 mruje. The left one has probably been added by mistake.
[29] Etāni-pi-čhā is distinct on the reverse of the impression.
[30] Possibly Piyadasino is to be read.
[31] Only the lower part of the first sign of aṭṭa has been preserved.
[32] The reverse of the impression shows distinctly that the last syllable is paṛs.
Girnār.


EDICT III.

Girnār.


Śāhbaṭagahā.


Kāśī.


CHIKISATĀ is the distinct reading of the new impression (facsimile kī), which also shows that no other sign, but a hole, exists between ka and kaf. 

CHAD, not cha, is the plain reading of the reverse of the impression. 

Possibly paśumāṇaḥ.

The first two signs of badaya⁵ are indistinct, but the reading baraya⁵ seems impossible. Possibly the correct form was bada[a]⁵. 

The ra-stroke of nikramatā is not certain. 

The cha is somewhat abnormal, the upright line being slightly bent. 

Read mitra⁴. An a-stroke was probably not intended but in its stead the short upward-turned ra-stroke.
Ginurā.

Dānunā praṇānaṁ sādhunā anārāḥbho
apavyatā apabhāṁcitā sādhunā[5] Parisā pi yute śāṇapyayati gaṇanāyaṁ hetuto cha
vyāmjanato cha[6].

Manshra.

duva[da]śavasahisitena me ayaṁ
[a]papay[i]te[8] sa navratā vijitās[me]. ta jaya,
[pra]desike cha sambhān[i] śvasheshu[9]
avi sathraye imayē dharamanuṣṭaṁya ya aṁ aghaṁ pi
kraman[5] sa. matapi shu
bra[m]aḥ śramananāṁ sādhu dana prāpana
saḥ. Parisa pi cha yatani guṇanāi

Kālaṅ.

[duva]śavasābhisiṁte-me iyam
ānapayite[5] savatā vijitās mama yatū lajūke
pādesike patiṁchās paṁchās vasesu
anu[s]aṁyā[n]āṁ, 52 nihkamanta etāye-vā atāyē
imay[e]e, 53 śramanuṣṭaṁya 54 yatā aṁmaIÓN- 
mitasati bhumānāṁ-chā bhumānāṁ
śramanuṣṭaṁya[5] sādhu dāne 55 pānāṁ
anālīṁ[5] sādhu apavyāẏatā apabhāṁcitā
sādhu[.] Paliṁ-pi cha yatā[n]i guṇanāi
apanyāsiti hetuvaṭa-čā viyaṁjanatā[5]-cha[.]

EDIT IV.

Ginurā.

Atikātaṁ aṁtaṁ bahuṁ vāsasatāṁ vaḍhitō eva
praṇārāṁbho vīhanaṁ cha bhūttanāṁ nāṭīsu[1]
asaṁ-
pratipati śramanuṣṭaṁyaḥ asaṁpratipati[5]a[1]. Ta aja devāṇāṁ priyasa Piyadasino
raño[9] dhramaṁcaraṇena bherīghosa abo
dhramaṁghosa vīmaṁdaṇaṁ cha hastidasaṇaṁ cha[5]
agikāṁdhānī cha aṁsānī cha diyaṁ rāpoon
dasyāyīta janai[1]. Yārīce bahuḥ vāsastebei[4]
na bhūtāpurve tāriśe aja vaṭaki devāṁ priyasa
Piyadasino raño dhramaṁuṣṭaṁyaḥ anāṁ[5]
bho priyāvaṁ avibhā[5] bhūttanāṁ nāṭīnaṁ
samanāṭīpati śramanuṣṭaṁyaḥ samanāṭīpati
mātāri pitari[5] susrās thairasusrā[.]
Esa aṁe cha bhavvidha dhrama-

Shāhbadgarthī.

Aṭikratana aṁtaṁ bahuṁ vāsasataṁ vaḍhitō vo
praṇārāṁbho vīhisa cha bhūtanaṁ nāṭiṁnaṁ [asa]maṁ-
dharmaṁcaraṇenā bherīghosah abo
dhramaṁghosah vīmananāṁ draśīnaṁ [ha]stino
jotikāṁdhānī aṁsānī cha divau[15] ruṣpān
bhūtāpurve tāriśe aja vaṭaki devāṁ priyasa
Piyadraśīs raño dhramaṁuṣṭaṁyaḥ anāmā
bho p[rāpanaṁ] avibhā vahista bhūtanaṁ nāṭīnaṁ
asa[maṁpatipati] braṁcana[8]aṁyanaṁ
samanāṭīpati mātārī pitāri [5] susrās thairasusrā[.]
Esa aṁe cha bhavvidha dhrama-

48 The Anusvāra is not certain.
49 Read parīka pi.
50 Ādā, not āda, is the reading of the impression.
51 The third letter of dvandvata is not certain and may
have been da or an abnormal ra. Perhaps ābhāsita
is to be read.
52 Possibly anusāṁyānaṁ to be read.
53 Possibly imdaṁ to be read.
54 The Anusvāra is very probable, but not absolutely
certain.
55 The second sign is abnormal and might be read tru.
56 Read dhramaṁuṣṭaṁyaḥ.
57 The last syllable of mādapiśe is distinct on the reverse.
58 The second plane is the possible reading to the reverse of
the impression.
59 Caha ought to stand, not before, but after braṁcanaṁ-
ramanaṁ.
60 Dāne, not dañca, is the reading of the impression.
61 The reverse of the impression decidedly speaks in
favour of ṣāne, not of ṣātī.
Girnár.

Dhārmacakaraṇe pi na bhavati asīlasa [.]. Ta imamī athamhā [10] vaḍhī cha abhin cha sadhu [.]. ēvaṁ athēva idān lekhāpi-

Mansehra.

Dhārmacakaraṇe25 pi cha na hoti asīlasa [.].

Shāḥbāyzārhi.

[ma]n[u]ṣaṇāṁ [.] [Dhūrma]charaṇaṁ pi cha na bhōti asīlasa [.]. So imissā athāsa vaḍhī abhī cha sadhu [.]. Ētāye śāṭe ēvaṁ ima[n] dīpi-

Kālī.

Atiṁkātaṁ añнтalaṁ bahuni vasasatāni va[dhi]-
puluve tādiṣe āja vaḍhite devānāṁ-piyāsa Piyadāsīe lājine dhārmānusāśitaṁ 65 amalambhe pāṇīṁhi avihisa bhūtaṁ nātī[ṣu] 66[9] 10 asaṁpa-
ṭipati bāṁbhāna[sa] maṇāmaṁ saṁpaṭipati mātaptiṁ susaśa [.]. Eṣha-čāḥ 65 aṁne-ḥa bahuvṛde dhūrmachāla[na]ye vaḍhite vaḍhsāti-cheva devāṇaṁ-piye Piyadāsī lājā 68 imaṇi dhūrmachāla-
naṁ [.]. Putra-čā-kaṁ 67 nātāle-ḥa pa[n]āṭī[ky]yā
Dhūrmachālan-pi-ḥa no-hoti asīlasa [.].

62 It is impossible to read čā. 63 The bracketed letters at the end of the line are very
64 The New impression seems to offer nāṭīva, instead of nātānaṁ.
65 Eṣha-čāḥ, not eso-čāḥ, is the reading of the new
66 Ldā looks exactly like ldā. 67 Keṁ, not ka ..., is the distinct reading of the new
68 The additional pa is badly mutilated, but certain; compare also the Mansehra version.
69 Čeva, not eva, seems to be the reading of the new
70 The first badly mutilated syllable may have been čā; the second is, according to the reverse of the impression, distinctly čā, not čā. The third seems to be eva. Compare the reading of the Mansehra version.
71 Karṁaṁ is now more probable than eva.
72 The Anuvāsa is doubtful.
73 The na is abnormal, and similar to a na.
Manschra.

imasa athrasa vadhi[r]i ahini cha sadhu[.] 

Kālāri.

imasa athrasa vadhi ahini-chā sadhu[.] 
Etaye athaye [ya][r]i likhite[.] 12) iomas a[th]asā vadhi yujanita hini-chā mā-alochayisu[.] Duvadhavasabhisitena devana-pinyena Priyadarsinha lājinā lekhitam[.]

Girnār.

Devānām pīry Priyadasī rājā evāni āha[.] kalāṇaṁ dukaram[.] ye[2] a ... 3 kalanesa so dukaram karoti[.] Ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṁ kāta[.] Ta mama putā cha potra cha paraṁ cha tene ya me apachan āva saṅvatakāpa anvatisate tathā[2] so sukaraṁ kāṣṭi[.] Yo tu eta ānam pi hāpeṣati so dukaraṁ kāṣṭi[.] Sukaraṁ hi pārpar[.]

Edict V.

Shāhīhāganī.


94 Read dhāma-dhīṣṭhānāya. The single ma is to be read as double.
95 Possibly vodhesu.
96 The last sign has apparently also an Anuvāra.
97 The na has been added later as a correction.
98 The second sign of mekhaya is not quite distinct.
99 The last syllable of anubadhaṁ stands lower than the others.
100 Possibly mahalaka.
101 Possibly biṣu.
102 Regarding the first sign of spasamāṁ, see the note to the German edition.
103 Restore ye rā pi. Before e there is only a vertical stroke, not a na.
104 The vōl has not been added.
105 The third vōl is not certain.
106 The wa has been added later.
107 The lower end of the last syllable has been destroyed.
108 The ra-stroke is abnormal.
Mansehra.


Kāśī.


Girnār.


Ta mayā evaṁ katan [2] save kāle bhubajāmānaṇa

30 The new impression gives distinctly ahā for dhā.
31 The reverse of the impression gives dā vítāle, which is supported by the reading of Masshehra adikare.
32 Possibly kāti to be read.
33 Only the feet of the second sign of ma has been preserved.
34 Possibly natāri to be read.
35 Possibly anuvatāsiti to be read.
36 The impression has the Anuvāra distinctly, which must probably be deleted.
37 There is a stroke, above va which, however, seems not to be a real c-stroke, but an accidental scratch.
38 The impression seems to offer hīda[2], with a badly blurred da instead of kita[5], and chā instead of ed.
39 The impression shows no distinct letters, but merely scratches, between "yuktāṇa and Tora[3].
40 Read Bastiṣka, the second letter has not been written completely.

Edict VI.

Shāhbaḍagṛhi.


Ta mayā evaṁ katan [3] savamā kalanś asaman-

41 Chā is much defaced and looks like che or je; the Anuvāra of iyān is not certain.
42 The first letter is much defaced by several scratches and looks nearly like a deformed che.
43 The impression offers distinctly ne (i.e. naḥ) instead of na, and according to the reverse chā is more probable than chā.
44 Bhaginīṇā is more probable than ṇaṇāh.
45 The lingual of aṭhāye is plain both in the rubbing and on the impression.
46 Only the lower portions of the first letters are distinct.
47 Possibly Priyadāraśī, but see the notes to the German edition.
48 The ro-stroke is doubtful.
49 The tops of re, va and la are gone. Restores "reva savama kātiḥ."
Girnar.

me ordhanasapi gráhagáramhi vadhámhi vi [3] viñut-
tumbhi cha uyánesa cha savatra pâśveda[ã] strá athe
je manasa [4] pâśvedetha iti[.] Sarvatra cha janasa
athe karomi[.] Ya cha kiñchhi mukhot[ã] áropitam bhavati tāya
athaya vivádo níjantha sa vaháte pariśáyan[7]

Shñábháṣparváti.

sa me ordhanasapi gráhagáramhi vadhámhi vînîtasapi
uyánaspiri pâśváda[ã] savatra pâśvedetha aฑhām janasa
pâś[ã] vedetu me savatra cha janasa aฑhā karomi[.]
Yañi p[cha] kiñchhi mukhot anapayami
mahámatānam vi[54] oṣhyika[ã]k a pitañ[ã] bhoti
taye aṭhaye vivade vi nī[ã]n[u]vi[56] sa vaháte pariśáya-
ne anûtaritāya pâśvedetavo me[14] savatra sav[r]ãn kalãm[.]
Yañi aṇapita[ã]n maya[.] Nasti hi me toso ubhâsa-
ni aṭhasanitāraya cha[.] Kâta-
vamate hi me sarvalokahitam[ã] Sa[ã] cha puma esa múthi uṣṭánah cha aṭhasanitāraya cha[.] Nasti hi karmany[10] sarvalokahitāpi[.] Ya cha
kiñchhi parākramām hi aṭhām[ã] kiñnti[?] bhutasāmar
anumānap gñehayāna[11] idha cha nāmi sakhāya-
mi parātā cha svagāṃ ārādayayita[.] Ta etāya
athaya[12] aṣṭi dhammāmālā lokāhiṇā ti[?] chinnām
iti śeyṣe ēka ti tathā cha me putra poñ[ã] ca
Dukarañ[ã] tu idāna aṣṭa aṇaṇa pariñātema[14]

Mansehra.

atbrak[rama]m[ã] van pâśvedana va[.] Ta maya evān
kītān[?]: savakala anasata me ordhanāne grāhagāraṇi
me savatrā cha janasa aṭhāra karomi aṭhām[.]
Yañi p[cha] kīchhi mukhati anapame aṇaṇa damahapakh
vi sāvaka[ã]n van[ã]n puna mahamathrehi

Sa me ordhanasapi grāhagāramhi vadhāmhi vīnātisapi
uyānaṣpi savatrā pāśvedāka aṭhāram janasa
pās[r]vedatu me savatrā cha janasa aṭhāra karomi.[] Yañi p[cha] kīchhi mukhati anapayami
[alhā da] pākasāvan vi śāvakān va yān va pāna
mahāmatanāṃ vi[54] oṣhyika[ā]ka o pitañ[ã] bhoti
taye aṭhaye vivade vi nī[ã]n[u]vi[56] va saṃhita pariṣa-
ye anvātaritāya pāśvedetavo me[14] savatra sav[r]ān kalām[.]
Yañi aṇapitān mayā[.]
Nasti hi me tosho ubha-
nāṣi aṭhasanitāraya cha[.]
Katavamata hi me
sav[r]alokahitam[.]
Taṣa cha muñān et[ra]
atamsāṃ aṭhasanitāraya cha[.]
Nāṣṭi hi kramata[5] sarvabahitāpi[.]
Ya cha kīchhi parākramām hi aṭhām[ã]
kiñnti[?] bhutasamā
anumānap gñehayāna[11] idha cha nāmi sakhāya-
mi parātā cha svagāṃ ārādayayita[.] Ta etāya
athaya[12] aṣṭi dhammāmālā lokāhiṇā ti[?] chinnām
iti śeyṣe ēka ti tathā cha me putra poñ[ã] ca
Dukarañ[ã] tu idāna aṣṭa aṇaṇa pariñātema[14]

Kāśi.

Devanaṃ-piye Priyadasī lajja hevan-thā[.]
atikramānta anitānān no-hutapruve savatrā kāla
atbrak[rama] anuvatara[ã] pāśvedana va[.] Ta maya evān
kītām[?]: savakalā tamāsa me ordhanāne grāhagāraṇa
me savatrā cha janasa aṭhāra karomi aṭhām[.]
Yañi p[cha] kīchhi mukhati anapame aṇaṇa damahapakh
vi sāvaka[ã]n van[ã]n puna mahamathrehi

sa me ordhanasapi grāhagāramhi vadhāmhi vi
nītisāpī uyanaṣpi savatrā pāśvedāka aṭhāram janasa
pās[r]vedatu me savatrā cha janasa aṭhāra karomi.[] Yañi p[cha] kīchhi mukhati anapayami
[alhā da] pākasāvan vi śāvakān va yān va pāna
mahāmatanāṃ vi[54] oṣhyika[ā]ka o pitañ[ã] bhoti
taye aṭhaye vivade vi nī[ã]n[u]vi[56] va saṃhita pariṣa-
ye anvātaritāya pāśvedetavo me[14] savatra sav[r]ān kalām[.]
Yañi aṇapitān mayā[.]
Nasti hi me tosho ubhāsa-
nāṣi aṭhasanitāraya cha[.]
Katavamata hi me
sav[r]alokahitam[.]
Taṣa cha muñān et[ra]
atamsāṃ aṭhasanitāraya cha[.]
Nāṣṭi hi kramata[5] sarvabahitāpi[.]
Ya cha kīchhi parākramām hi aṭhām[ã]
kiñnti[?] bhutasamā
anumānap gñehayāna[11] idha cha nāmi sakhāya-
mi parātā cha svagāṃ ārādayayita[.] Ta etāya
athaya[12] aṣṭi dhammāmālā lokāhiṇā ti[?] chinnām
iti śeyṣe ēka ti tathā cha me putra poñ[ã] ca
Dukarañ[ã] tu idāna aṣṭa aṇaṇa pariñātema[14]
Mansehra.

achayike aropita hoti[28] taye atthraye vivade nijhāṭ
va satra pariyahe a[na]n[i] talyana pa[ti]vēlitaviye
me savatta savra kala[.]

Eva[na]n aptaitya[n]aya[.]

Nasti hi me toshu u[thana]i atthrasaatinraya
cha[.][29] Kaḍavyamante hi me savralokhat[.]

Tasa chu [puna] ehe mule uphaane atthrasaatinraya cha[.]

Nasti hi kramarama savralokhatena[.]

Yan cha [k[i]chi para[k]am]ma aham [j]a ki[t]i [?] bhuta
ma[30] saa[n]yan yeham ia cha sna sukhayami
paraat ra spagrapn[.][31] aradhetu tī[.]

Se etaye atthraye iyam dharmadi jikhiya [4] chiraṭhitikāna hotu tathāma
cha me putra [nata]re para[k]ramateth[32]
savra[.][31] lokhataye[.]

Dukare chu kha aṣatra
agrenu parakramena[.]

Kālṣṭ.

Mahāmatethi[18] aṭiyākite[4, pita]m]hoti tāyēṭhāye
vivade nijhāṭ-vai[27] satramati palisey a nasthalayen
pati [. . .] viye me savatā savram kālam havi
ānapayite manmāya[.][33] Nabhī-hi me dose-va uṭhāna-a
āṭhasaṁti[4]na[.][37]

Nabhī- hi kānmatālā savalokaṁita[n].

Yahn-cha kīchī paḷakamām hi kahin [j]a ki[t]i [?] bhutanam a[n]nyam yeham
hada-chakāni sukhayāmī palata-chai[28] svagam aḷāḍhayaṭ[38]
Se-ēṭayēṭhāye iyam dharmadi liśhita[.]
Chitaṭhitikā hotu tathā cha me putāḍā la pakamāt
savralokhā[y][ye][.][39] Dukule-ch[a][4] iyam anata
agena paḷakamē[.]

EDICT VII.

Shāḥbāzugharē.

Devamā āhī Piyadasi rāja savatra iḥchhati
save pāsāṅdā vassu[.][40] Save te
sayamān cha [1] bhavaśuddhi cha iḥchhati[.]

Jano tu uchavachchhāna uchavachchārata[.][41] Te savrān
va kāsantī ekadesan va kāsanṭī[.][42] Vipule[33] tu
pi dāne yasa nāsti sayama bhavaśuddhi
va karamuṭā va ādhabhūtitā cha nīchā bādhām[.][8]

Shāḥbāzgarhā.[43]

Devamā āhī Piyadasi rāja savatra iḥchhati
sayama bhavaśuddhi cha iḥchhati[.][45] Jane chhu
uchavachchhade uchavachchārata[.][46] Te savrān
pi chhu dāne yasa nāsti sayama bhavaśuddhi
kīṭanatā diṭhābhātitā nīchā pādhaṁ[.][5]

EDICT VIII.

Gırnrā.

Devama[na priye] Piyadarsī raja savatra iḥchhati
savra pāṣhanda vassu[.][48] Savre hi te sayama
bhavaśuddhi cha[.][32] Iḥchhati[.][49] Jane chhu
uchavachchade uchavachchārata[.][50] Te savrām
va ekadesam va pī kahasthi[.][51] Vipule pi chhu
dāne yasa nāsti sayama bhavaśuddhi
kīṭanatā diṭhābhātitā cha[.][33 nīchā bādhām[.]

Gīnārā.

Atikātām antaram rājāna vihāṛa
yātān ānyasa[.][52] Eta munguyv. añānī
ta etastisani[.][53] abhirmanakāni abhūsu[.][54] So

no stroke or abrasion to the right of the sa.

Cā, not cha, is distinct.

The impression shows everywhere distinctly uchavachha, not uchavachha.

Dānāh is, according to the reverse of the impression, more probable than dāne.

According to the impression the reading is kīṭanatā, for which kīṭanatā must be read.

One of the ra-strokes in dīṭṛha[56] is superfluous, and ought to be removed. The form was probably dīṭṛha, i.e. dīṭṛha.

This stands for atitramati, just like savra for savra.

The stress is not quite distinct, and the reading abhasva is perhaps possible.
Asoka's Rock Edicts.

Girnarı.

Devanāṁ priya Priyadāśi rājā dasavasabhīsito. 

Mansehra.

Atikratam aratanām devana priyaviyatra nama nikrama-naha. 

Kālest.

Atikataraṁ aratanām devaṁ-piyā vihālayātana. 

Edict IX.

Devanāṁ priya Priyadāśi rājā evaṁ āha asti. 

Shāhbabazgarhī.

Devanāṁ priya Priyadāśi rājā dasavasabhīsito santo nikramisabohi [hc]. 

32 The dra looks very much like dom. 

33 The implication makes the second Anuvāra very probable. 

5 The Edict makes the second Anuvāra very probable. 

6 Etaye stands for Eta iyam. According to the analogy genname for yena une, etc. see E. Müller: Simplified Pali Grammar, p. 69. 

7 Possibly tena is to be read. 

8 The obverse of the impression seems to give sate, but the reverse shows santham to be the right reading. 

9 Possibly nikhamihā to be read. 

10 The impression shows no the after janas, only superfluous strokes. 

11 Read kiraṇapatihidham. 

12 Read dhamaṃsathā. 

13 There is no Anuvāra in dharamapuśchhā. 

14 Possibly the reading may have been bhagi. 

15 Read edithe. 

16 Read bahu; only the lower half of the first letter has been preserved; the second has been omitted. 

17 Karote stands for karote. 

18 For etārāvat. 

19 Read dharamanaṅgala.
Gīrnār.


Shāhbaḍgarhi.


Manescha.


Kāśṭi.


25 The last letter, which is badly damaged, seems to have been one of the abnormal signs, occurring Ed. VI in oro- dhānapī and so forth, and is probably meant for esa.
26 The last sign is the same as in oroṇāhatapi and so forth.
27 Read dhānām.
28 Probably a mistake for anagaha.
29 The va-stroke is not quite certain.
30 The second and fourth vowels are not quite distinct, and one might possibly read niyagati.
31 The last vowel is not quite certain.
32 The two signs of this word stand the one above the other.
33 Read adikena.
34 Read sahāyena.
35 Possibly pana to be read.
36 Possibly sa to be read.
37 Read sādhu.
38 The Anuvārā of sakati is at least very probably.
39 Possibly pana to be read.
40 Read dhṛamamāṅgaleṇa.
41 The Anuvāra is uncertain.
42 The Anuvāra is uncertain.
43 Thus distinct in B, instead of pracaceti.
ASOKA'S ROCK EDICTS.

**Mansehra.**


**Kālē.**


**Girnār.**


**EDICT X.**

**Śahbhāṣgarhi.**


**Mansehra.**

... [8] priye Pri. dhraśi raja yaso va kiti va u[a] mahāṭhavahā maññati aṇātra yāni pi ya[so] va kiti va ichchati tadātyey[9] aṇāṭiy[a][9] cha jane dhramasurasionsu .[cha] tu me ti 17 This may be read *ekele*.
18 Possibly *strake* or *etake* according to B., which also shows the ma.
19 This is plain in B.
20 The existence of this word, which is not found in the closely corresponding Mansehra version, is very doubtful.
21 The hogal of *āṭhāk* is plain in the impression both here and in the next sentences.
22 This may also be read *ihche lokhi cha* or *šāhchalokihake*.
23 *Nīṛta* and *āṭhāk*.
24 This according to B.
25 *Parasutā*, as suggested by M. Senart.
26 *Hida*, not *kidd*, is the distinct reading of the impression.
27 *Tato*, not *tataś*, is the reading of the impression, though the e-stroke is short (compare *Mansehra* and *Shahbhagari*).
28 *Ubhyahe* is distinct on the reverse, but the following omitted syllable is very doubtful. It looks most like an original *ānāna* or *nārā*.
29 *Hida*, not *kidd*, is the reading of the impression.
Manschra.


Kālṣe.


Giruār.


Manṣchra.

... [priya]n Priyadeva raja evam aha [.] nāsti dīse dāṃ adīse dharmadānām bhramaṃ va dhramaṃ maśī[ṃ]vibhageḥ dhramaṃ ... dhe [1] [Tatra eshe [.] dāsa[bha][.] ta esā[.] sa[.] sa[.] samyapati-pātipati[8] matapitvuḥ ... [12] samstutatātikāṇaṃ śramāṃbharamaṇāṃ dana praṇana anarabhē[.] Ėsa vatavāya pituma pi putrana pi bhavāna pi spami ... pi mitrasatutātikāṇaṃ eva paṭiveseyeyehi[.] [18] iyaṃ sādhuḥ iyaṃ krta-vāyaḥ[.] So taṭhā[.] karmanāḥ bidaḥ ... ka cha[.] aradhe ... rataḥ ceto a. taṃ puṣṭhān prasavatī ... [dhrāmaṃ]dānaṃ[.] [14]

Śāhābçauriḥ.


Kālṣe.


15 Yāh, not yasno, is the reading of the impression.
16 Read ichaṭi.
17 Read palakamati.
18 Priyadāsī, not ṣe, is the reading of the impression.
19 Read lāḍā.
20 Siya ti ti is also the reading of the Kālṣe version. It stands for titi, which occasionally occurs also in Sanskrit.
21 Read apapālāhaṇe; shyāḥ, not sīya, is the reading.
22 Eshe, not ese, is the reading of the impression here and in the next sentence.
23 The u-stroke is distinct.
24 A short final is more probable than a long one.
25 This looks like pīdama, with two u-strokes.
26 The two apparent a-strokes after ta are due to fixures in the rock.
27 Probably anantarāḥ.
ASI AŚOKA INSCRIPTION,—(IV) ON EAST END OF THE STONE.
Tadāmāṇiḥ karoto ati-prapiṣadpatch[na]ḥ cha ohhayaḥ paraprasaṃḍhaḥ cha pi apakaro[ḥ].
Yo hi koḍi atiprapaṇḍinaṃ pujaṭi parapraṣastādaṃ va garahaḥ[ḥ] savam atiprapaṇḍahatiyā[ḥ] kiṇi[?] atiprapaṇḍinaṃ dīpayam iti so cha puna tatha karato[ḥ].
ati-prapiṣadpatcharām upahānet[ḥ]. Ta samavāya eva sādhun[ḥ] kiṇi[?] aṁśamanānāsā āhāmāniṃnāṃ sūrāṃsa cha susunaṃ cha[ḥ].
Evam hi devanaṃ piṣaṃ ichhā[ḥ] kiṇi[?] sa ṣavasaṃḍhā hahubhūteḥ cha asu kalāṇiṃgāmā cha asu[ḥ].
Ye cha tatra tate[?] prasamā[na] tehi vatayvān[ḥ] de[++] devanaṃ piyō no tatha dānāṃ va pujaḥ va maṃṇāṃ yathā kiṇi[?] sa ṣavasaṃḍhā[ḥ] asa paraprapaṇḍhānāḥ bhahā[ḥ]
cha[ḥ].
Etāya[ḥ] aṭha vyāpātā dhāmyaḥmaḥmahātmaḥ ētaḥ ṛhuphathaḥmahātmaḥ ca vahahbhumikaḥ ca aṣṇa cha[?] nākāyā[ḥ].
Ayo[?] cha etasā phala ya atiprapaṇḍavaṇḍhī cha botī dharmama cha dīpana[?] naṃmaḥ is impossible; so is M. Senart's pakarena.
12 Dele čū. 12 Possibly pravrajītāni to be read. 11 Possibly gharśitiū to be read. 11 Pravrajīta, first read by M. Senart, stands according to a direct photograph above the line, just before grahaḥthāni.
Mauscha.


Kītāt.

Girnär.

sā matāśītari susu[r]ā

gurumata., ram [deva]nāṁ priyasa[.] Tatra h[i]

[3]

[4] mahā yatra

nāsti manusānam ekatanāthī pāsadarvām na nāma

prasā[.] Yāvātako jan. tādā [b]

na ya sakām

chamitave[.] Yā cha pi aṭavīyo devānaṁ

priyasa pijite pāti [6]¹⁸

sabhādānām

achātīn cha sayamāṁ cha samachārāṁ cha mādaṁāṁ

cha [7]

Yonrajā prām anā cha tena chatprā

rājāno Turamāyō cha Aṃṭekinā [8] cha Magā cha [8]

[8] niḍha-P[i]rūndesu savata
devānaṁ priyasa dharmamānaśṭīṁ anuvatare[.]

Yata pi dūti[9] [9]

vijayō savathā puna vijayo pūṁra

so[.]. Ladhā sā pīṭ hoti dharmavijayamāṁ [10]

ṁ vijayāṁ ma vijayamāṁ maṁ [9] [9]


¹¹ Possibly viditaṁ according to B.
¹² This is probably according to B, instead of Bhubhi.
¹³ Thus both A. and B.
¹⁴ Thus B. plainly for ekatere.
¹⁵ Looks like pari.
¹⁶ Thus plainly B., instead of prashādā jana nama.
¹⁷ Thus both A. and B., instead of bhūga.
¹⁸ Read hoti. With pīṭhe for vijito compare Pali.

Shāhbādgārī.

gurumata., ram [deva]nāṁ priyasa[.] Tatra h[i]

[8] vasaṁti brahmaṇaḥ sa māmaṇaḥ sa anāṁ ve prasāhāṇa gra[ha]thaḥ ya pesu vihitā[.] esha agra


kesi [di]sabha[.] kanāṁ nīmṣuṣṭiṣṭa diṇḍha[bhāti][.] Teshāṁ tatra bhoti apagra-

tho ve vakho ve abhiratana ve niṃravaḥ[.] Yesto. ya pi satvibhitaṁ [ne]ho aviprahino e[te]sha [mi]traṁṣuṣṭaḥsaṁsthuṇaṇaṭīka vasana[.][5] pāpuṇāt[.] Tatra tām pi teshā vo apagrap-

tho bhoti[.] Pratībhāgaṁ cha etām savrāṃ manuvānaṁ[.][4] gurumataṁ cha devānaṁ priya-

sa[.] Nasti cha ekatārasi "pi " prasāhāṇaṁ na nama[.][4] prasado.[.] So yamatra [jana]te kaliga

tabhage[.][7] va sahārabhāgā kva aja gurumataṁ
do devānaṁ priyasā.[.] Yo pi cha apakāraya ti

chhaminav Jamaica vo devānaṁ priyasa yam ekā
cobhumane[.] Ya pi cha aṭavi devānaṁ

priyasa [vi]jite bhoti ta pi anuṇetī [h]ape tī[.]

[9] anutape ta pi cān[.]abhāve devānaṁ priyasa[.]

Vuchasi teshā[.] kī[?] avatrapeṇu na baḥnī-

yeṣu.[.] Ichhati bi devānaṁ priyo savrābhatana

achāti semahamāṁ samachārayāṁ raddaṣṣaīye[.]

Eṣe cha muk[ha] mute[.][8] vijayo devānaṁ priyasa
dha pravijayo[.] to cha puna labhā devānaṁ

priyasa iha cha sa[vr]e[.][h]u cha umteṣu[.][8] a

shāha[.] pi yonaṁ[.]sa[.]u cha yatra Aṃṭikyāko

nāma Yonrajā prāmat cha tena Aṃṭikyokena chaṭure[.]

rājāno Turamāyō cha Aṃṭekinā pada muk[nama] avo

Aṃṭarpitāṁ viṃśeva Hidāra[.] viṃśe,

Vajjī-ya-[b]āhnoṣṭhu Nabhake[nbh]tīna[.][9]

Bhūga-Pitikṣeṣu Aṃṭhrin-Palīde[.]su savrā

devānaṁ priyasa dharmamānaṁ anuvaṇaṭāntī[.]

Yatra pi devānaṁ priyasa dota na vrachānāṁ to pi śru[.]u devānaṁ priyasa dharmamānaṁ vidhena

dharmamānaṁ dharmāḥ [an]uvadhiṇaṁ anu-

vidhiyāṁṣṭi cha[.]. Yo cha laṭhe etakena bhōti


so[.]. Ladha [h]oti priti dharmavijayaṣṭī[.][2] La-

huka tu kho sa priti[.] Parakrameva mabhāhala

mēṣati devānaṁ priyo[.]. Etaye cha aṣṭhayē

ayo dharmadīpi [di] pīstā[.] kī[?] putraropura me

asa navata vijayaṁ ma vijetāv[ya]n manuṣṇa[.][7]

ka .[.]. ye[.] vijaya [chhamai] ti cha labhaṁ[da].

pajāpati for prajāpati.

¹¹ Possibly mukṣhamu to according to B.
¹² Possibly Aṃṭekinā to be read.
¹³ Read dūṭid.
¹⁴ Thus B. plainly for vijayasi.
¹⁵ Read māṇḍūṭa.
¹⁶ Not legible with certainty in B, where the first syllable looks like spaa.
Gîrnrā.  

* * *

ilokāî cha parsalokāî cha[.12]

Kālsī.  


.......

.......

Manekhra.  

[.Kalīgā]  


[.pa]v[a]vhe vα jαnα Se vedyaniyama[.]

[.3] esha agrabhu. suṣrūsha matapiśhu [suṣrūsha] guruṣrūsha mī s[nuṣtu]  

[.4] va [alhī . nān] vα vinikamana[.]


.......

7. Read gulsusheśa.  
8. The ād of nātikya stands above the line, and is indistinct.  
9. Read skathāga.  
10. Read piyāṭa.
**EDICT XIV.**


**Kāśi.**


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74 The apparent e-stroke in the second syllable is accidental.
75 Read tājāne.
76 The last syllable is perfectly distinct on the reverse.
77 Deha kacarema.
78 The last vowel is distinct on the reverse.
79 The older impression reads [Nabha]ka.
80 The apparent d-stroke in the first syllable is accidental.
81 Read piyaśa.
82 Vijaye stands above the line, the vis is triangular, the ja badly formed.
83 Read māna devanam piya.
84 Restore aeu.
85 Probably savyakashakshi yo (i.e. [e]va for eva) to be read.
86 Probably kikyē to be read.
87 Ayo according to B.
88 Restore viṣṭatena.
89 Read Priyadraśinā.
90 The syllable sa has been added as a correction.
91 Probably a mistake for lipikāraparadhena.
92 The syllable tā stands above the line.
TRANSLATION OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI 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 Chodas, the Pandiyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaaputa, Tamba pañña, the Yona king, called Amšíyoka as well as among those who are the vassal-kings of that Amšíyoka,—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. 2

EDICT III.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—When I had been anointed twelve years [this following order was given by me]:—“Everywhere in my empire both my loyal Rajukas 3 and vassals shall go forth on a tour every five years,—the reason of this

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1 The subjoined translation of Edicts I—X, XIV differs only slightly, as the text requires, from that given, Arrêts, 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. 19f. The translation of Edict XIII is based on my German rendering in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XLIII, p. 112f. The few notes given here mostly contain matter not given in my former articles on these inscriptions.

2 The Chodas are the Cholas of Kânchi; the Pandiyas are the Pândyas of the extreme south; the Satiyaputa is probably the king of the Satræs; the Keralaaputa, the king of Kerala or Malabar. Tamba pañña, or Thamrapura, is Ceylon, the Yona are the Yavanas or Greeks, and Amšíyoka is Antiochos II (see below Edict XIII).

3 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 obeisance 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

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5 Compare Jātaka, iv, 269-76: dhāmabhārīh cha rājapēt.
6 Compare Fa Hsin’s account (Beal, p. 106.) of religious processions at Pātañ.
7 The word adīkara—adīkara has been completely preserved in the Manṣhara and Kādi versions alone.
loyal subjects, as also among the Yonas, Kamboyas, Gamdháras, Rastikas, Pitinikas, and all other nations which are my neighbours. Among my hired servants, among Brahmas and Vaiṣyas, among the unprotected and among the aged, they are busy with the welfare and happiness, with the removal of obstacles among my loyal ones. With the prevention of unjust imprisonment and of unjust corporal punishment, with the removal of obstacles and with loosening bonds, for these purposes they are busy, considering that there is a numerous progeny, or that the person concerned has been overwhelmed by misfortune, or that he is aged. Here, and in all the outlying towns, they are everywhere busy in all the harems of my brothers and sisters, and among my other relatives. These Overseers of the Sacred Law are busy with what concerns the Sacred Law, with watching over the Sacred Law, and with what is connected with pious gifts, in my whole loyal empire. This religious edict has been written for the following purposes, viz. that it may endure for a long time, and that my subjects may act accordingly.

EDICT VI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—A long period has elapsed, during which formerly the despatch of business and the hearing of the informers have not regularly taken place. Now I have made the following arrangement, that the informers may report to me the concerns of the people at any time, while I dine, in my harem, in my private rooms, in the latrine, in my carriages, and in my pleasure-garden and everywhere I despatch the business of the people. Moreover, if, with respect to anything which I order by word of mouth to be given or to be obeyed as a command, or which as a pressing matter is entrusted to my officials, a dispute or a fraud happens in the committee of any caste or sect, I have given orders that it shall be brought forthwith to my cognisance in any place and at any time; for I am never satisfied with my exertions and with the despatch of business. For I consider the welfare of all people as something for which I must work. But the root of that is exertion and the despatch of business. There is no more important work than to secure the welfare of all. And what is the purpose of every effort which I make? It is that I may discharge the debt which I owe to the creatures, that I may make some happy in this world, and that they may gain heaven in the next. This religious edict has been written for the following purpose, that it may endure for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may thus exert themselves for the welfare of all men. But that is difficult to carry out without the utmost exertion.

EDICT VII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires that adherents of creeds of all kinds may dwell everywhere; for they all seek after self-control and purity of mind. But men possess various desires and various likings. They will put in practice either the whole or a part only of what they profess. But self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm attachment are laudable in a lowly man, to whom even great liberality is impossible.

6 The Rastikas I identify with the Rishikas, a southern nation. The Pitinikas, or Pitienikas, probably had their seats in the same districts.
9 Compare Mahabharata, XII. 56, 14 and 38, 14, where utthana “exertion” is prescribed for kings and declared to be the root of all good government.
10 The term nicād in the Gīḍhārī version instead of nicā, may be explained as a contraction of nicādya i.e. nicādya; compare Pillar Edict iv, note on niḥkapayita.
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EDICT VIII.

A long period has elapsed, during which the beloved of the gods used to go forth on so-called pleasure-tours.\(^{11}\) 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. \textit{It is thus that, in exchange for past pleasures,} King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, since then enjoys the pleasures which these virtuous actions procure.

EDICT IX.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—The people performs various auspicious rites in misfortunes, at marriages of sons and daughters,\(^{15}\) on the birth of sons, at the time of starting on a journey. On these and similar occasions the people perform many auspicious rites. But at such times the women perform many and various despicable and useless rites. Now, auspicious rites ought indeed to be performed. But rites of this description produce no results. But the following, the auspicious rite, which consists in the fulfilment of the Sacred Law, produces, indeed, great results.\(^{13}\) That includes kindness towards slaves and servants, reverence towards venerable persons, self-control with respect to living creatures, liberality towards ascetics and Brahmans. These and other similar virtuous actions are called the auspicious rites of the Sacred Law. Now a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, ought to speak as follows:—"This is meritorious; this auspicious rite must be practised until the desired aim is attained." To the success of which auspicious rites does this refer? For every worldly auspicious rite is doubtful. It may be that it accomplishes the desired object; but it may be that it remains even in this world. But that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law acts without reference to time. If it does not secure here the desired object, it yet produces endless merit in the next world. But, if it secures the desired object both are gained; here that desired object, and endless merit is produced\(^ {14}\) in the next world through that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law.

EDICT X.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, does not think that glory and fame bring much profit, except that he desires glory and fame with the view that at present and in the future the people may practise obedience to the Sacred Law, and that they observe the duties of the Sacred Law. For this purpose King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires glory and fame. But all the efforts of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, are made with reference to the results for a future life. How so? \textit{It is his wish that all may be free from danger. Now the danger is sin. But assuredly the thing is difficult

\(^{11}\) The word \textit{vikārayādita} occurs in the sense of "pleasure-tour" in Aśraghoṣha's \textit{Buddhacharita}, III, 9, and \textit{pāśin}.

\(^{11}\) For the use of \textit{ādha} and \textit{sādha} compare the \textit{Avadhūta Sutta} 2:1 (\textit{Di̊ghaṇkārīya}, vol. I, p. 99).

\(^{13}\) Compare the beginning of the Jaina Dasavākālīka Sūtra, —\textit{dhammo maṅgalam ukkhassati}, etc.

\(^{14}\) Compare Jētaka's, IV, 239, 9, \textit{mahantaṁ puṣṭanāṁ parādānīī.}
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 Priyadarsin, 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 Priyadarsin, 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 own 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-restraintalone 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 Vachabhândikas 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 Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, being anointed eight years, conquered the country of Kalinga. One hundred and fifty thousand souls were carried away thence, one

16 Compare Itivuttaka, p. 90 (Windsich), where most of the terms used in this Edict occur, as well as the general views.

17 The reading of the other three versions samandya “concord, harmony” is better than sayamo “self-restraint,” i.e. with respect to opponents.

18 Or, possibly, [they shall obey (it as far as it is worthy to be obeyed).]

19 As the Māṇḍhāra version offers Vachabhândika, the term may mean either “Overseers of the latrines,” or (vraja-
   bhândika) “Overseers of cows,” see Kâmasutra, p. 290, l. 1 (Durgapramada).
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 Brahmans, or ascetics, or men of other creeds, or householders, among whom the following is practised, viz. obedience towards the first-born (?), obedience towards parents, obedience towards venerable persons, becoming behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, slaves and servants, and firm attachment. Such men suffer there injury or destruction, or forcible separation from their beloved ones. Or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those who themselves are well protected, but whose affection is undiminished. Then even that misfortune becomes an injury just for those unhurt ones. All this falls severally on men, and appears regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. And men have faith not merely in a single creed.\(^1\)

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 chuest, 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 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 Amitykini, he called Maka, and he called Alikasudara further in the south, where the Chetasas and Pandoras dwell as far as Tamapamnii, likewise where the Hida-king dwells. Among the Vissas, Vajiras, Yonas, Kamboyas, in Nabhaka of the Nabhatitis, among the Bohjas, the Pitikas, the Amaluras, 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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\(^1\) For the construction compare the reading of the MSS. A and B in the passage Jataka, III, p. 275—Senaka nām rajjatā kārento Bdhapatā Sakkottahā kārentā.

\(^2\) 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 K blazing version, with which that of Glimnār seems to have agreed, is more explicit, as it says: "And there is no country where there are not found those countless congregations into which these Brahmans and ascetics are divided. And there is nowhere a country where the people have faith in one creed alone."

\(^3\) According to Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, Bd. II, p. 234 f., the five Yona or Greek kings named are Antiochos I., king of Syria (died 247 B.C.), Ptolemios II., king of Egypt (died 226 B.C.), Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia (died 239 B.C.), Megas, king of Chyrene (died 239 B.C.), Alexander, king of Epidus (died between 293 and 258 B.C.).

\(^4\) The Vissas are probably the Sais Ributs, the Vajrias the Vyijis 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 edicts21 have been written by order of King Priyadasin, beloved of the gods, under a form, whether abridged, or expanded. For not everything is suitable in every place. For my empire is large, and much has been written, and I shall write still more. Certain sentences have been repeated over and over again because of the sweetness of their import. And for what purpose has that been done? It is with the intention that the people may act thus. But it may be that something has been written here incompletely, be it on account of the space, be it on account of some reason to be specially determined, or through a mistake of the writer.

XXXVII.—A COLLECTION OF SANADS OF MOGHUL EMPERORS.

BY PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

Mr. H. Blochmann remarks in his translation of the Ain-i-Akbari that the 19th chapter of the second book on the Sayarighâls is one of the most interesting in Abul Fazl's whole work. The collection of seventy sanads discussed here may therefore claim some interest1 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 Sayarighâls 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 Batâla (spelt Batâlah or Batâlā, and perhaps in the oldest of the documents Watâlah) in the Panjâb, only a small number being from other cities or districts as Akbarâbâd, Jalâlâbâd, Blâh, Chamârî, Dâbbhâwâla, and Patihâbatpûr. Occasionally we find mention of such villages as Bhagwânpûr, Faizuddinpûr, Harpûr, Kartâr pûr, Rahimâbâd, Rasûlpûr.

1 The translation gives a free rendering of the Gîmâr reading, sarasake eru, literally "only possible by arrows."
21 The word dhramadipî and dhrammaiî has here to be taken in a collective sense; compare the use of Srîtî, Srutî and similar terms in Sanskrit.
1 These sanads were obtained by Mr. C. J. Rodger's, of the Archaeological Survey in the Panjâb, and by the Government of India were ordered to be distributed among the British, Calcutta, Lahore and Lakhnau Museums.
and Shâhjahânpûr, belonging to the pargana of Batâla, or Pâdishâhpûr alias Kalânkhurdûpûr, belonging to Patîhaibatpûr, or with localities in Batâla as the masjid-i jâmî-i kalân 'the large jami-mosque' and the mahalla-i qâzi Ima'm Muhammad 'the quarter of judge Ism'â'il Muhammad.' The sanads were written under the rule of the Emperors Bâbar, Jahângîr, Shâhjahân, Aurangzîb, Shâh 'Alam, Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Shâh, Ahmad Shâh, and Timûr Shâh.

Among all the names of the persons on whom lands were conferred through these papers only a very few belong to important men. They are almost all small people, mostly women who scarcely would be found in the chronicles, not even the Shaikhs and Qâzîs that sometimes appear. No assignation of grounds to one person reaches a hundred big'has, an allowance that Badûnî (vol. III, p. 205) states as too mean for a learned man, and in most cases the grants vary between 10 and 12 big'has or something more, except rare grants of 40, 60 or 70 to Shaikhs, or once to a wife of such a pious man. The big'ha is defined as a jarîb-i shastgazî, i.e. 60 gaz long and by 60 broad;² if fractions of big'has occur we find bîsâcas, but no bîsâhdânas. It was not customary, as appears from these sanads generally to execute a separate document for every single little allotment, but to take together several persons in one party. Sometimes an order extends even to several parties, the amounts of the property of individuals not being specified in the text. But the statements in question are given on the back, written in siyâqat-characters. Also, the individual members of each party are not enumerated in the text, but only one as a representative followed by the words wa ghairu hu, wa ghairohá, or seldom wa jâmâ' aluhu, with or without the added shurakâ-i (for men and women), viz., shurikhâd-i farhân. A farhmân, e.g., generally concerns musammât Maulânâ Khâtîb wa ghairu hu, and afterwards we learn that these others were Maulânâ Hâmid, Maulânâ Ahmad, and Maulânâ Ya'qûb; or it is about musammât Daulat Khâtûn wa ghairu há, and on the back we find the other names Rahmat Khâtûn, Bibi Aima, Bibi Fâtima, and Maryam Khâtûn, all written without diacritical points and in very cursive characters, the representative person pointed at only by a mus'hâr ilaihî. A farhmân of a first grant of lands naturally always prescribes the measurement and boundaries (paimîdan u obak bastân) 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 (batawdrîk u sanîn-i mukhtalîf).

For a rent-free fee the Chagatai word sayûrghâl is only once used, viz., in the oldest sanad of Bâbar's time, and the Arabic aima seldom occurs; generally the Arabic-Persian madad-i ma'dâsh 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 Makkâ and Madîna. Once the grant is renewed because one of two parties has died, the other being alive. In the new farhmân therefore the dead person is replaced by his heirs and the lands are granted anew to those and the old surviving possessors, quite on the former conditions. A sanad of Shâhjahân's reign mentions

² Cf. Col. H. S. Jarrett's note in his translation of the ʻĀin-i-Abârî, vol. II, p. 61, and the 10th chapter, p. 62. We learn from Badûnî (vol. II, p. 200) 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 Lāhūr to part of the property of the testators in sayārghāl-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 (khālkha sharifa), and the rest was handed to the heirs. This may be one of the many tricks invented by the šādars 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 Ḥikari, vol. I, p. 198)—I may mention here that sayārghāls are conferred on certain persons even in the so-called ‘Institutes of Amr 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 Bātāla often by the mudarras of the jāmi’-mosque and the muftī. Before the sanad could be written a memorandum or a yāddāshth-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 benevolent phrase for persons that were discharged from the service in the Moghul empire (conf. Alamgir-nāma, p. 591).

In Akbar’s time the rule followed in conferring land was, that all sayārghāl-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 (samīn-i uflāda-i ld’iq-i-zirā’at) and sometimes banjar-land, i.e., such as has been uncultivated for five years or more (Āin-i-Akhbar, vol. I., p. 297).

Of course a certain order is observed in putting the seals on these farmānhā-i thabt—such were issued for conferring sayārghāls according to the Āin-i Ḥikari, 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 Qazi Jālal, judge of Bātāla, in A.H. 933, has been signed only with the emperor’s own seal—round the middle field bearing the words Zahīruddin Muhammad Bābar and the date 928, in five panels the names of his ancestors to Amīr Timūr have been inscribed. Likewise the documents bestowing a first sayārghāl, 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 Jamādil awwal 1069 (30th January 1659), the julūs being on the 24th Ramazān (the 16th June) of the same year. The seal of the king’s son is a round one and contains the words Muhammad Aurangzēb Bahādur Ghazi thānt-i Šāhīb-qirān ‘thānti. These sanads are all on paper about 33 inches by 17 (but the margins are

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2 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.)
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now all more or less cut and torn off), and are handsomely written in fair ta’līq, except Bābar’s one (that measures 13 by 7½ inches, and is in very cursive characters). In Akbar’s and Jahāngīr’s time we find the Ḥīḍhī era exclusively used, while later it is seldom mentioned, but that of the Hijrā 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.1 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-sūdār commands the performance of an imperial farman and gives orders for the assigned lands to be surveyed; such sanads in Jahāngīr’s time bear only the seal of the functionary named, whereas under Jahāngīr and Shāh ʿAram the seals also of the Divān of or of the Khān Khānān were affixed. In Farrukh Siyar’s reign in these cases the Qāṣī’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 Ṣadr ul-sūdār’s:

Rizawī Bukhārī, 24th year of ʿĀlamgīr (who died in the same year,—conf. Maʿāthir-i ʿĀlamgīr, p. (207) and Maʿāthir ul-Umarā, vol. II, pp. 308, 309);

Sharīf Khān, 25th year of ʿĀlamgīr (who was elevated to this dignity in the same year,—conf. Maʿāthir-i ʿĀlamgīr, p. 219);

Āsāf ʿAqīla, 15th and 32nd years of ʿĀlamgīr (with the dates 1081, 14 and 1088, 20 on his seals), i.e., Aṣaf uddaula Jumlat ul-Mulk Āsāf Khān. He is styled Tarkhān in another farman (18th year); and

Amjad Khān Ṣadr Jahān, 49th year of Shāh ʿĀlam.

Not bearing the title of Ṣadr ul-sūdār on their seals, as also Ṣadr Khān does not, but in that function, appear:

Siyādat Khān, 38th year of ʿĀlamgīr (with the date 1096, 28 on his seal, in which year he, Suyyid ʿAbdāl, received this title, cf. Maʿāthir ul-Umarā, vol. II. p. 495);

Amīn Khān Bahādur, 47th year of ʿĀlamgīr (with the date 1113, 46 on his seal); and

Amīr ul-Umarā, 48th year of ʿĀlamgīr (with the date 1113, 45 on his seal).

In the re-investment-documents we find two seals: that of the Divān (-i quł) and that of the Ṣadr, but generally without titles. That one of them must belong to the Divān is (besides ʿĀbū-i Akbarī, vol. I, p. 195, line 6 et seq.) shown in a sanad of the 50th year of ʿĀlamgīr which bears Ḥāfiz Khān’s seal, who in that year became Divān of Lāhūr,—till then having been in the service of Gauhar-rāʾi Bēgūm, younger sister of the emperor (Maʿāthir-i ʿĀlamgīr, p. 513). The same document has also the seal of Mīr Khwāja Shāh, who is here exceptionally styled Ṣadr. The dates of the entries of the sanads in the registers of the sadārat and the divān (-i-saʿādat) are always noted, the latter falling one or more weeks later than the first. The Ṣadr’s seal is placed outside the text in the vertical fold on the right, that of the Divān 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 kaiserlichen 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 Dīvān and Šādres appear together:

Šābīr ‘Alī and Sayyid Ahmad, 11th and 13th years of Jahāngīr,
Diyānat Khān and Nizāmuddin Hasan Qādirī, 23rd year of ’Ālamgīr (the first with the date 1084, 17 on his seal);

‘Abd Ilāhīyar 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 (? Kāzim and 'Abd ul-Baqī, 44th year of ’Ālamgīr (with the dates 32, viz., 1110, 42 on the seals);

Sa’ādatmand Khān and Sayyid Ashraf Khān, 3rd year of Shāh ’Ālam (with the dates 1120, viz., 1119, 1 on the seals);

Sa’ādatmand 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 ‘Alī Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 4th and 5th years of Farrukh Siyar;
Ziyā uddīn Muhammad Khān and Futūh Khān, 7th year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the date ‘third year’ on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muhammad 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 Husain Khān Mausāwi, 15th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the date 1138, viz., 1144, 15 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muḥyīddīn Mausāwi, 18th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, viz. 1148 on the seals); and

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Khwāja Islāh Khān, 19th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, viz., 1149, 19 on the seals).

With one seal only (on the right) the same documents have been sealed in the 25th year of Muhammad Shāh (Sayyid Mirak Khān, 1153, 22), in the 2nd year of Ahmad Shāh (Shamsīrbeb Khān Khānazād, 1161, 1), and in the first year of Timūr Shāh (Dāwar Khān Šadr ul-su’dār). 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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1 Nizāmuddin Hasan Qādirī occurs as Šadr ul-su’dār also in the text of some sanads from ’Ālamgīr’s 22nd year. The Qādirīs were a dārāsh order. Nineteen principles of theirs are enumerated in the Berlin Persian manuscript, Petermann, No. 721, (cf. Fertisch, Verzeichniss 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. Ma’dthir ul-Umarā, vol. 1, p. 791).
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 Batála, viz., 25 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 banjarland, and 60 rupees for 20 big'has samín-i dārānt, the price of the big'ha varying therefore between 2½ and 4 rupees. The sales took place under the rule of Muhammad and Ahmad Shâh, the rupees and the annas being specified as álamgīrt. In Shâh 'Álam’s time once Buhālîs or Dâm-i álamgīrt’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 Qâzî as of the competent official and the signatures and seals of a number of witnesses. Judges of Batâla were according to our sanads:—

Qâzî Arjumând in the year 1115 (2), the seal with the date 1112; Qâzî 'Atâ Úllâh, son of 'Azîm Úllâh, 1139, on the seal 1120; Qâzî Ahlîyat Úllâh, 1141, on the seal 1138; Qâzî Mir Muhammad, 1141, 1147, and 1161, and

Wâli Muhammad, son of the dismissed Qâzî Hibat Úllâh, ‘who, as his father extended the hand of oppression and tyranny over the inhabitants,’ and for this reason, in the second year of Shâh 'Álam’s reign, the citizens presented a petition that he should be deposed and be replaced by their former just Qâzî Ghulâm Muhammad, whose seal with the date 48 appears on documents from ‘Álamgîr’s 49th year. I am not sure if this request was entirely successful, at all events in A. H. 1120, 1125, and 1126 the desired Ghulâm Muhammad was not judge, but Muhammad Wâli Úllâh, who is perhaps identical with the unjust Wali Muhammad.

In the 16th year of Muhammad Shâh Mir Muhammad Qâim, was appointed judge of Batâla, as successor of Amânat Úllâh, and he was confirmed in this office after Ahmad Shâh’s accession to the throne. The documents bear the seals of Mir Muhy‘iddîn Khánazâd, 1118, and Shamshèrbêg Khán Khánazâd, 1161. That Jalâl was Qâzî of Batâla 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 Nâr Muhammad and his companions in Patihabatpûr, to be paid by the fautadár of that town, or regarding the lease of the village of Pâdishâhpûr alias Kalânkhûrdpûr in the pargana of Patihabatpûr, amounting to 550 rupees a year and being to be delivered to the fautakhâna, which need not to be further described.

I now give as a specimen the text* of three sayârghâl-sanads, together with their English translations:

* 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 sība of the Panjāb, according to the endorsement were bestowed as a rent-free fee 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 krōtis having surveyed the stated lands and marked their boundaries should give them into their possession, and by no means allow any alteration or change. After the settlement of the boundaries and the new cultivation one should not trouble them for any demands of the Government and the levies of the court in the shape of quit-rent, taxes, and tributes, as qutlugha, presents, the rates of jarībūna, zābitāna, muhasālāna, mahrāna, dārāhagāna, for war and chase, the muqaddāmi, and qānāngōyī, and the annual sequestrations. Regarding this no new order should be yearly expected and other eventual existing appointments not considered. Written on the 20th Shawwâl of the 40th year since the sublime accession to the throne (viz., of 'Ālamgîr).

On the back of the yādāhāsh-i waqī'a, dated Monday, the 13th Rabi II, 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., Nār Bībī, Sāhib Khâtūn, and Sharifa Bânâ, each of them getting 10 big'has.

Another sanad concerning a re-investment runs:

Khulmīnī

The name in the sanad is Chaudhārīs (I cannot understand for what reason Böckhmann has banished this spelling into the notes of his Ān-i Akbar-e edition, etc. vol. i. p. 198, line 18, instead of putting it into the text). Qānāngōyī, Muqaddāms and Māźīs are said to have taken part and consented to this act.

7 These technical terms are all fully explained in the dictionaries.

8 I know that this last phrase also could be translated 'it should not be taken notice of,' but I have preferred the above translation as more harmonizing with the context.

9 Corrected from mārāmâ-rād according to other sanads.
A COLLECTION OF SANADS OF MOGHUL EMPERORS.

Shâh 'Ālam. — His Majesty Muhammad Shâh-i Ghâzi, may God perpetuate his reign for ever!

"The present and future representatives of the Jâgîr-holders and Krôrîs of the pargana of Batâlâ, belonging to the šâba of the Panjâb, may know: According to the high order of His Majesty, dated the 2nd Shâ'bân of the third year (i.e., of Shâh 'Ālam), 59 big'has of the land of the pargana stated have been bestowed as a rent-free fee, by former Šâdars upon P. P. Nûr Khâtûn and companions, partners of the farmân, and upon P. P. 'Abdul Ghanî and companions, heir of Muhammad 'Āqîl and companions. It now being evidenced through trustworthy testimony that the above-named are alive, really own and possess the stated lands, and do not get their livelihood otherwise, on that account as an alms of the blessed head of the slave (of God), His Majesty the sovereign of the world, the master of the time, the author of safety and security, the covering shadow of the sublime God, the excellent viceregent of the peerless distributor of justice, the most perfect manifestation of the all-nourisher, the universal pity of the creator, the founder of the institutions of the world-possessing, who lays the foundation of the carpet of graciousness, the asylum of the khalifate,—the possession of the stated lands, in the former place and on the former conditions, according to the endorse 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 Jumâdâl awwal of the 18th year since the sublime accession to the throne (i.e., of Muhammad Shâh), corresponding to the year 1148 of the holy flight (the 20th September, 1735)."

On the back the endorsement of Shâh 'Ālam is written, as always in these cases. The names of Nûr Khâtûn's partners were 'Azîz Khâtûn, daughter of Shaikh Muhammad, 'Âmîla, Shams Khâtûn, daughter of Ilyâs, Hayât Bânû, those of 'Abdul Ghanî's Jân Bîbî, Sâliha Bânû, etc.

Bâbar's sanad runs—12

Hâlîgalîb

din-e-nâm-e 'Azîz Khâtûn, Nûr Khâtûn, Shams Khâtûn, Ilyâs, Hayât, Bânû, etc.

11 Khulād-manzil was Shâh 'Ālam's post-mortem-name.
12 Cf. note 9.
13 This farmân is very difficult to decipher. The characters want almost all diacritical dots; they are indeed not more fluently written than those of the other sanads, but the tenor is different, so that it cannot be understood by the help of the others. I am indebted for a very few hints to Mr. Jami Khan Ghôrî 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.
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.

TRANSRIPTION.

L. 1. Śri-Prayagaṁ var[e?]uttam(?)[p?]odhaki(?)[h]
L. 2. Suttadār[a?] akhāṁdaṁaḥ
L. 3. Suttadār[a?] yayyo [a?] ubha, p[ ]daya [b *]

Above l. 1 stands high up in the left hand corner a large sign, which may be intended for jūd, and lower above the middle of the line two letters, the second of which

14 Otherwise sār jihāt.
PAHOSA INSCRIPTIONS: ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.
PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE BEFORE'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.

Scale 1/4 of originals.
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 Prayâga" and (2) the mention of two sutradhâra or masons. Possibly the whole may be intended for: Śrî-Prayâga[âd Varaputtro Modhâkt (or Podhâkt), sutradhâro' khanḍitala sutradhâra Yayya ubha[yo]h* deyam || or in English "From glorious Prayâga, the unblamed mason Modhâkin (or Podhâkin) son of Vara, (and) the mason Yayya (Jajja),—the gift of both these." If this is correct, the inscription probably records repairs of the cave, done by the two persons mentioned.

No. II.

TRANSCRIPT.

Śrî-Kalase[se*]śvarâdiś(?)lā kuṭṭi ||

The reading of the seventh and eighth consonants is uncertain; kuṭṭi is probably a mistake for kuṭi, the two dots, which I have taken for stops, may, of course, denote the āsarga, which however would be wrong. The translation is: "The cella (or temple) of glorious Kalaśeśvara and the rest." Kalâka is the name of a Nâga, and the inscription probably refers to the legend, which makes the cave the home of an enormous Nâga, (see ante, p. 241).

No. III.

The only signs readable with any certainty are: râvadatta towards the end of the line.

No. IV.

[Nanda]dattiprasādo loli . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

No. V.

Deva . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

No. VI.

TRANSCRIPT.

Om Ke[Ki*]rañ[e]śvarit(?)ila(?)keda(?)va . . . sya [i*]

The inscription seems to refer to a deity called Kirañeśvarî, which seems to occur again in No. VII.

No. VII.

TRANSCRIPT.

Kirañ[e]śv[a]riś[te*]ka[r*]ttâ [i*]

If the restoration is correct, the translation will be, "The maker of (the statue of) glorious Kiraneśvari" and the inscription may refer to one of the masons, mentioned in No. I, see also No. VIII.
No. VIII.

TRANSCRIPT.

Śri-Krishṇagopīrūpakartā [n]

The second ta of "kartā looks like va. The translation is, "The maker of the statues of glorious Krishṇa and of the milkmaids." The inscription probably refers to one of the masons in No. I.

Nos. IX and X.

TRANSCRIPT.

Vijayasenasyah[ya*] 1
Kiraṇabhōjak[a?]

These two pieces may belong together and may possibly mean," Of Vijayasena, the temple-priest of Kiraṇa (i.e. Kiraṇeśvart)." If this interpretation is correct, the two notes may indicate that Vijayasena visited the cave when the two masons, named in No. I, repaired it. The contents of the whole series may perhaps be connected as follows:— "Some time in the seventh or eighth century the Pābhosā cave was gratuitously restored by two masons of Prayāga and dedicated by Vijayasena, the Bhojaka of Kiraṇeśvart, to the Nāga Kalaśa and other deities." This would account for the existence of the legend mentioned by Dr. Führer, according to which the cave is inhabited by an enormous Nāga.

XXXIX.—AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE BAIJNĀTH PRAṢASTIS.

By G. Bührler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

During the Christmas vacation of 1892 Dr. M. A. Steīn, the energetic and learned Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, visited the Kāṅgrā district and spent some days at Kirāgrāma, where he studied the Bajñāth Praṣastis on the spot and made enquiries regarding various facts they mention. After a certain show of resistance the temple-priests became communicative, no doubt, as Dr. Stein thinks, because they wanted to learn what their inscribed tablets contained. And the results of his enquiries are so valuable for the interpretation of the inscriptions that I am sure I shall render a service to the readers of the Epigraphia Indica if I publish here a translation of the portion of his letter, which contains them. Writing from Lahore on February 6th, 1893, he says:—

"Navagrāma, mentioned in the inscription [I, 33] is probably identical with the village of Nāur,1 where the temple still owns 2 ½ haḷas of land. Nāur lies about 3 miles west from Kirāgrāma 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, 81]. About thirty years ago, when the introduction of tea-planting induced many Europeans to settle in Kāṅgrā, Palam2 was turned into Palampur.

1 The Sanskrit prototype of Nāur would be Nava pura, which probably was another name of Navagrāma.—[G. B.]
2 The Kāṅgrā Gazetteer still mentions Palam.
“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 Bānians, whom the local traditions too know as the founders of the temple, are said to have lived. This is clearly the panyalāla mentioned in the Prakāṣṭi II, 34. Regarding the oil-mill which Manyuka and Áhuka dedicated I could not hear anything; and the god has long lost the income from the manojava. But there was formerly a custom-house on the frontier of the territory of Mándi which passes close to the village. On the rocky hill which rises near the village and is now occupied by the Dák 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 pargāna of Bajjnāth, are identical with the Rājānākas of Kiragrāma.5

“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 Mīān 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 Susarmapura 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 Yamunā, which clearly belong to the time of the inscription, are found on the gateway pillars of the Puri, exactly as Rāma describes them in the Prakāṣṭi, 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 Sarinsārcharand.”5

XL.—A NOTE ON THE PRAKRIT GRANT OF THE PALLAVA KING SĪVASKANDAVARMAN (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10)

BY ERNST LEUMANN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

Prakrit inscriptions always present particular difficulties. Dr. Bühler, with his usual sagacity, has removed most of those connected with Sivaskandavarman’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

8 I consider the identity of the Rāne family with the Rājānākas to be very probable. Rājānāka is also the parent of the title Rānḍ.-[G. B.]


5 I take this opportunity to note that Professor Kiernhorn has published in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XXI, pp. 114 ff., certain emendations of my readings of the two Prakāṣṭis in accordance with rubbings made by Sir A. Cunningham. The following among Professor Kiernhorn’s proposals appear to me acceptable:—I. 6, euruṣu nādhān aparēṣu kūrvalām; I. 29, bhaktiṣaḷloḥbhakalena tena; I. 37, śāstrā infused ansuriṣya; II. 2, sa pāṇa va Mahādeva Brahmadāya bhaktim ālāthāḥ; and II. 9, Kṛīḍāthānu. In addition, I would mention that I now translate aśrījāna in I. 13a by “ascents” instead of by “heroes;” as aṣṭi is clearly the nominative of aṣṭri; note 64 must be altered accordingly.
to correct the following passages in Dr. Bühler's transcript (on pages 5–7 of volume I):

1. 1, Read aggithoma. The irregular combination ṭḥ (for ṭḥ) is a mistake of the engraver which has crept in on account of the similarity of the signs for ṭh and ṭh.

1. 3, Separate visayē savattha, i.e. vislayē savatra ‘everywhere in our (amhaṃ) country.’

1. 4, Read máḍalīka and restore it to máḍamba. This word, which means ‘chief of a máḍamba district’ is often found in the older Jain literature; its base máḍamba occurs in the same texts and beside in some Niryuktis and Bhāshyas.

1. 5, Read árakhádhikate, which stands for árakhádhikate and is equivalent with árakhiya ‘guard’ of the Jain literature; literally it means ‘employed as a guard (árakhshádhikriya).’ As to the sign khá, cf. lines 27 and 38.

1. 7, Read e instead of cha and cf. the sign for e in lines 27, 30, 34. The word ettha (atra ‘here’) opens of course a new phrase, and we need not follow Dr. Bühler in inserting a second verb; vitaréma is indeed the verb wanted and closes well the preceding phrase. The first verb (ápaveiti), however, is certainly well supplied by Dr. Bühler; only we think its place is not before amhaṃ (in l. 3), but after ppayntie (in l. 6). At any rate we are not to combine in irregular co-ordination the accusatives of lines 3–6 with the genitive sannoharan-taka-bhadama-nyaśaṇa.

I would then translate the whole passage thus: . . . . . . . “Śivaskandavarman informs (ápaveiti) in our country everywhere the royal princes, generals, rulers of larger and smaller districts (raṭhikas and máḍambikas), local prefects and others, the freeholders of various villages, vallavas, govallavas, ministers, guards, captains tūṭhikas, neyikas and all others employed in our service: We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) sannoharantakas, soldiers or other persons.

1. 44, Read vasudhāhdmipataye (acc. pl. from 6-pati).

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1 e.g. in the Aupapadikā ettra, Paryushankalka (‘Kolpadatra’), etc.
2 The corrected reading árakhádhikate (in l. 9) makes it very probable that the word immediately following (yamika) is also a military term.

2 In reply to Dr. Bühler’s appended note, I may remark that the persons favoured by the grant are undoubtedly “the Brahmans, who are the freeholders of the settlement (koṭ,E)na) called Chilakeka.” The gift is therefore a Brahman parikhara, i.e. an immunity granted to Brahmins. Honourable allowance, as Dr. Bühler proposes, does not change the sense, but is less appropriate, koṭ(E)na is apparently a contracted form of koṭ(E)mbaka (Śans. kouṭEmbaka); in the same way neyikaka seems to me to stand for neyikakaka, which would be a synonym of the term abhyakakaka-śervant‘—of the Jain literature. The term kumdra parikhara 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 prince’s 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: Sābhakṣigatāḥ sarva-neyyokāḥ rṣavatālakāḥ sānnoharantakāḥ cha tat-imāḥ sarva-parikharaḥ parikharam parikharam cha ayatū sava-parikharaḥ parikharam parikharam (tu cha). “The persons of the king’s service and party must spare and cause to spare the territory (described before) by all the (eighteen) kinds of exemption. “In face of these parallel passages, the words—sānnoharantakaka-bhadamanvadana... parikharam vitarém—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 parikharam are deciphered.

That sānnoharantakas are a nuisance to people, we learn, e.g. from the description of a model town given in the Nemiḥṣakara, I, 14 (in Hemachandras Bhavabhūvanā, v. 5): in that town no sānnoharantakas are allowed to stroll about (... sānnoharantakāh śravā na tatāḥ bhānam...). Another Prakrit word of the Pallava Inscription (which however occurs also elsewhere) is bappa ‘father’; this is found in Dalavaīdikasutra vii, 18.—Sev Zeitsch. d. Deut. Morgengesellschaft, vol. XLVI, pp. 628.
NOTES ON THE SIVASKANDAVARMAN GRANT.

1. 45, Read mejáláye, i.e. mejjáláye. In Jaina Prākrit maryádá becomes mejjá, the last two syllables being contracted. The Sanskrit sounds arya in Prākrit generally are changed to era, sometimes to eṣja or ariya or ajja.

1. 46, Separate cha si. The word si refers to mejáláye, and therefore represents a singular case like tasyaḥ; it is indeed a short form for the anaphoric pronoun se that is often met with in the Niryuktis and Bhāshyas 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 geneds and numbers we find occasionally in the Niryuktis and Bhāshyas a special plural form siṃ which, by the addition of the Anusvāra, has been formed after the fashion of plural genitives like tesiṃ (teshām), etc.

What remains to be said is of less importance; we are probably to read vādaka for vātaka (in lines 12 and 30); misprints are apparently hiroga for hirogo (10), patibhāgo for patibhāgo (12), patibhāgo for pattibhā (21), ṭṭivās for ṭṭivās (36), pitā for pilā (40), dattā for datā (48), kada for kāda (51), brāhmaṇa for brahmaṇa. and lekhakā for lekhakā (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 of the two possible forms with ṭṭha and thā. Both in literary and in epigraphic Pali, Sanskrit ṣṭha or ṣṭha is represented occasionally by the dental tenus and the tenus aspirata. Thus, we have in literary works for kroṣṭhi ‘a jackal,’ both kottihuka and kothhuka, or even kutthu, as well as forms in ṭṭha for various past participles in ṣṭha. And the Sanchi votive inscriptions offer sethi and sethi for śreshṭhīn; Aśoka’s New Edicts both vivutha and vyuṭha for vyuṣṭa. In such words the Pali ṭṭha probably goes back to originals with sṭa, similar to those in the Śāhbaẓgarhī version of the Rock Edicts, where we find sreṣṭa for śreshṭha, dipīṣa (3rd pers. sing. aor. Ātm.) equivalent to a Sanskrit form adipīṣṭa.

(L. 3.) Professor Leumann is right in separating visaye savattha, but the correction has already been given by me in the Addenda and Corrigenda to vol. I, p. 479.

(L. 4.) The plates have not mādabika, 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 mādambika ‘governors of Maḍambas,’ instead of māṇḍabika ‘custom-house officers,’ is possible, though, owing to the rarity of the word maḍamba (except in Jaina works), somewhat doubtful. I add an explanation of the term maḍamba, which Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished to me from the Jaina commentaries: maḍambāni sarvato’rdha yojanāt parato’cakshittagrāmāṇī.
(Ll. 5-7.) Professor Leumann's readings árakhádikate and ettha for my áranadhikate and chattha are certainly correct. His translation of lines 6-7, "We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) Samcharantakas (soldiers) and other persons" cannot stand, for "hadamanusána is separated from parihára by a not now readable word ending in o, and in all probability the two expressions do not belong together. Even supposing that samoharatankabhadamanusána pariháram vitaráma had to be taken together, the meaning could only be, "We grant an exemption to Samcharantakas, etc.;" it is against the custom observed in the grants to name first an exemption and afterwards the object granted. I must add that my translation of parihára by "an immunity" ought to be changed to 'a honorific grant.' Of late I have found in the Játrakas several passages where parihára has a concrete meaning and is used for "appanage, honorific allowance, special grant." In several stories it is narrated how queens receive or are deprived of their parihára, and there is the compound kumára-parihára "an allowance suitable for a prince."

(L. 40.) The correct reading is pilá (not pilá, as Professor Leumann says), the short i being expressed, as is done very often, by a complete circle.

(L. 45.) Majátáye is the reading of the plates, not, as Professor Leumann holds, mejátáye. The little stroke above the ma has been caused by a slip of the engraver's punch. A real me looks very different (see lines 1, 29, 41)

(L. 46.) As sim is permissible for tesín, etesín and esín, according to Hemachandra Prákrit Práktit Vyákaraṇa III, 81, and occurs, as Professor Leumann says, in Jána works, I agree with him that its equivalent sī in cha sī should be written separate. Sī refers, however, not, as Professor Leumann thinks, to majátáye, but to the grantees. Compare the corresponding passages in the Sanskrit grants, e.g. Indian Antiquary, vol. V. p. 196, l. 6; p. 207, l. 9; p. 212, l. 25; vol. XI, p. 118, l. 43; p. 159, l. 50.

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TABLES FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES IN TRUE LOCAL TIME.

BY HERMANN JACOB, PH.D., SANSKRIT PROFESSOR, BONN.

In my paper on the computation of Hindu dates, etc. (vol. I, page 408 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 ghatîkâs and vinâdîs 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. 22s. 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 vinâdîs 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.\(^3\) As the different parts of Table XXVII represent the tropical signs, one entry serves for the whole part. Thus we find in Part B that on the 20th parallel one degree of the ecliptic (between 30° and 60° trop. Long.) takes up 8.79 \(\text{vinādīs}\) 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 \(\text{ayanāṁśas}\) (or amount of the precession of the equinox) for the year in question.

The rule for calculating the \(\text{ayanāṁśas}\) is given in section 39 of the former paper (page 421); to find them without calculation is the object of Tables XXVIII and XXIX, \(\text{e.g.},\) we find by Table XXVIII that in K. Y. 4683 the \(\text{ayanāṁśas}\) were—

\[
\begin{align*}
16° & 14’ 42” \text{, viz. K.Y. 4600} = 15° 0’ 0” \\
80 \text{ years} & = 1° 12’ 0” \\
3 “ & = 0° 2’ 42” \\
\text{Ayanāṁśa} & = 16° 14’ 42”
\end{align*}
\]

Table XXIX serves for the \(\text{Brahma Siddhānta}\) and \(\text{Siddhānta Siromani}, \) Table XXVIII, for the other \(\text{Siddhāntas}\).

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.\(^3\)

\(\text{1st Example}.\) Let it be proposed to calculate the true \(\text{Tillī}\) for true sunrise on the 7th (solar) Jyaishtha K.Y. 4128 at Aligarh, whose latitude is 27° 53’ (or roundly 28°) and time difference \(+1\frac{1}{4}\) \(\text{vinādīs}\). We use for this and the following examples the tables for the \(\text{Sārya Siddhānta}:\)

\(\text{a) We calculate the elements: Distance } \odot - \odot \text{ etc., for the year and day in question, viz.}\)

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Dist. } & \odot & \odot’s \text{An} & \odot’s \text{LAn.} & \text{Corr} \\
\hline
4100 \text{ years} & 69° 48’ 0” & 217° 8’ 30” & 252° 44’ 16” & + 29 gh. 54 v \\
28 “ & 117° 47’ 3” & 58° 34’ 37” & ... & - 14 gh. 49 v. \\
7th Jyai & 66° 40’ 54” & 97° 16’ 26” & 34° 29’ 46” & \\
\hline
254° 15’ 31” & 13° 3’ 33” & 317° 13’ 52” & + 6 gh. 11 v. \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\(\text{b) Add the time difference, with the sign changed, for the place in question, to the Corr. (} +6gh. 11v. -14v. = +5gh. 57 v.\), and find by Table XXII the corresponding increase of the elements, distance, etc.—

\[
\begin{align*}
5 \text{ gh. } & = 1° 0’ 57” \\
57 \text{ v.} & = 11° 35” \\
5 \text{ gh. 57 v.} & = +1° 12’ 32”
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{c) Add (or subtract, according to the sign) the increase from the first result.}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{254° } & = 15’ 37” \\
+ & 1° 12’ 32” \\
\text{317° } & = 0’ 33”
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{d) Find the equations for the anomalies of the moon and sun by Table XXIV—}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{An. } & = 14° 21’ \ldots \text{ Eq. } \odot = -1° 15’ 38” \\
\text{An. } & = 317° 20’ \ldots \text{ Eq. } \odot = -1° 29’ 12”
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{Sum of eq’s.} = -2° 44’ 44”
\]

\(^3\) 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.

\(^3\) 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 O's an., the same for beginning of the century. (Table XIII.)

\[
\begin{align*}
317° & 19' 44'' \\
- \quad 282° & 44' 16'' \\
\hline
\text{Sid. Long. O} & = 34° 35' 28''
\end{align*}
\]

(g) Find the ayanāṃśas for the year in question, by Table XXVIII—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{K.Y. 4100} & = 7° 30' 0'' \\
28 & \text{years} = 23 & 12'' \\
\hline
\text{K.Y. 4128} & = 7° 55' 12''
\end{align*}
\]

(h) Add the ayanāṃśas thus found to the sidereal longitude of the sun, the result is the tropical longitude of the sun.—

\[
\begin{align*}
34° & 53' 28'' \\
7° & 55' 12'' \\
\hline
\text{Trop. Long. O} & = 42° 30' 40''
\end{align*}
\]

(i) Look out in Table XXVII the "interval of rising" of the degree of trop. Long. O now found for the latitude of the given place.

If the left-hand index (O — 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" vināḍīs, 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 vināḍīs in (k) to the result in (i); find the increase of Dist. c — O for the sum, in Table XXII; add the increase (or subtract according to the sign) of the sum to the true Dist. c — O (found in e). The result is the true Dist. c — O for true sunrise at the place in question. Here — 1gh. 46v. + 12v. = — 1gh. 34v.

\[
\begin{align*}
1\text{gh.} & = 12' 11'' \\
34v. & = 6' 54'' \\
\hline
\text{— 1gh. 34v.} & = —19' 5''
\end{align*}
\]

This, added to the result in (e), viz., 252° 452'', makes 252° 24' 20''.

(m) This result is not quite correct, because we have made use of the mean increase (or decrease) of Dist. c — O 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 "tithi or the 6th tithi 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 \( \alpha \) and \( \Theta \), as in (d), and add their sum to the distance, as in (e). The result is the true distance. In this case — \( 1 gh. 34 v. \):

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Dist.} & \alpha & \Theta & \Theta \text{'s An.} \\
1 gh. & . & . & 0^\circ 12' 11'' \\
34 v. & . & . & 0^\circ 13' 4'' \\
\hline
-1 gh. 34 v. & . & . & 19 5 \\
\text{subtracted from} & . & . & 225 28 9 \\
\text{makes} & . & . & 255 9' 4'' \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{An. } \Theta = 14^\circ 1' \text{ eq. } = - 1^\circ 13' 49'' \\
\text{An. } \Theta = 317^\circ 18' \text{ eq. } = - 1^\circ 30' 8'' \\
\text{Sum of eqs'} = - 2^\circ 43' 57'' \\
\text{Dist. } \alpha - \Theta = + 255 9' 4'' \\
\text{True dist.} = 252^\circ 25' 7''
\end{array}
\]

This then is the strictly accurate true distance \( \alpha \) — \( \Theta \). 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.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Cor. } \alpha & \Theta & \Theta \text{'s An.} \\
\alpha & . & . & 59 48 \\
\Theta & . & . & 48 48 \\
\hline
\text{Sum} & . & . & 107 96 \\
\end{array}
\]

Ex. 3.—K. Y. 4325, 4th Mārgāśīra. Simugur, Lat. 34° 6', time difference —8 vin.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Cor. } \alpha & \Theta & \Theta \text{'s An.} \\
\alpha & . & . & 23 10 \\
\Theta & . & . & 9 48 \\
\hline
\text{Sum} & . & . & 32 58 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Ex. 3.—K. Y. 4325, 4th Mārgāśīra. Simugur, Lat. 34° 6', time difference —8 vin.} \\
\text{(a) 4300 years} & . & . & 345° 24' 0'' \\
\text{25 } & . & . & 79 27 0 \\
\text{4th Mārg.} & . & . & 187 35 2 \\
\hline
\text{298 28 2} & . & . & 296 32 56 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\hline
\text{Dist.} & \alpha & \Theta & \Theta \text{'s An.} \\
1 gh. & . & . & 0^\circ 12' 11'' \\
34 v. & . & . & 0^\circ 13' 4'' \\
\hline
-1 gh. 34 v. & . & . & 19 5 \\
\text{subtracted from} & . & . & 225 28 9 \\
\text{makes} & . & . & 255 9' 4'' \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{An. } \Theta = 14^\circ 1' \text{ eq. } = - 1^\circ 13' 49'' \\
\text{An. } \Theta = 317^\circ 18' \text{ eq. } = - 1^\circ 30' 8'' \\
\text{Sum of eqs'} = - 2^\circ 43' 57'' \\
\text{Dist. } \alpha - \Theta = + 255 9' 4'' \\
\text{True dist.} = 252^\circ 25' 7''
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Ex. 3.—K. Y. 4325, 4th Mārgāśīra. Simugur, Lat. 34° 6', time difference —8 vin.} \\
\text{(a) 4300 years} & . & . & 345° 24' 0'' \\
\text{25 } & . & . & 79 27 0 \\
\text{4th Mārg.} & . & . & 187 35 2 \\
\hline
\text{298 28 2} & . & . & 296 32 56 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Ex. 3.—K. Y. 4325, 4th Mārgāśīra. Simugur, Lat. 34° 6', time difference —8 vin.} \\
\text{(a) 4300 years} & . & . & 345° 24' 0'' \\
\text{25 } & . & . & 79 27 0 \\
\text{4th Mārg.} & . & . & 187 35 2 \\
\hline
\text{298 28 2} & . & . & 296 32 56 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\hline
\text{Dist.} & \alpha & \Theta & \Theta \text{'s An.} \\
1 gh. & . & . & 0^\circ 12' 11'' \\
34 v. & . & . & 0^\circ 13' 4'' \\
\hline
-1 gh. 34 v. & . & . & 19 5 \\
\text{subtracted from} & . & . & 225 28 9 \\
\text{makes} & . & . & 255 9' 4'' \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{An. } \Theta = 14^\circ 1' \text{ eq. } = - 1^\circ 13' 49'' \\
\text{An. } \Theta = 317^\circ 18' \text{ eq. } = - 1^\circ 30' 8'' \\
\text{Sum of eqs'} = - 2^\circ 43' 57'' \\
\text{Dist. } \alpha - \Theta = + 255 9' 4'' \\
\text{True dist.} = 252^\circ 25' 7''
\end{array}
\]
TABLES FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES.

(c) 52 gh. \[= 10^\circ 33' 55''\]
10 v. \[= \frac{1}{2}\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
52 gh. & 10 v. & \text{(e)} \\
\hline
-10 & 35 & 57 \\
205 & 36 & 2 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{Sum of eq.} & + & 6 \\
\text{of eq.} & = & 26 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
198 & 16 & 28 \\
\end{array}
\]

(d) \(\text{eq. } c = + 4^\circ 55' 16''\)
\(\text{eq. } \Omega = + 1^\circ 31' 7''\)

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{Sum} & + & 6^\circ 26' 23'' \\
\end{array}
\]

(e) \(498^\circ 44' 9''\) (an. \(\Omega + 360^\circ\))

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
214 & 43 & 53 \\
\end{array}
\]

224 52 46 (e.d. Long. \(\Omega\))

224 52 46 (trop. Long. \(\Omega\))

(i) trop. Long. \(\Omega = 225^\circ\) on 34° Lat. Interval \(= + 1\) gh. 32 v.

(j) Eq. \(\frac{31'}{12} (1^\circ = 12. 18)\), time of rising \(= + 18\)

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{Sum} & + & 1^\circ 14' \\
\end{array}
\]

(l) 1 gh. \(= 12' 11''\)
14 v. \(= 2' 51''\)

+ 1 gh. 14 v. \(= 15' 2''\) (added to c)

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
198 & 16 & 28 \\
\end{array}
\]

Result.

6. In § 6 of my former paper I have said: "In the Siddhānta Siromaṇī Golādhyāya" IV, 20, Bhāskara states that the ancient astronomers assumed that at Lāṅkā (or on the Equator) the zodiacal signs rise in the same time with 30 degrees of the equinoctial, while in fact they do not. The tables give the interval according to Bhāskara's theory. If the value without Bhāskara's correction is wanted, it may be elicted from the tables. For that purpose the column 0° has been added; in it are given what Bhāskara calls the udayāntara. They must be added to, or subtracted from (according to the sign), the value in the table. Under this supposition, we shall get in (i) of the first example above 1gh. 24v. instead of 1gh. 46v., and in (k) we find 8:27 vin. instead of 8:23 as the time taken up in rising 1 degree; the latter correction does not, in this case, sensibly affect the final result, while the former will.

In calculating dates anterior to Bhāskara (K. Y. 4251) the value of the "interval" given in the table should be corrected in the way just explained.

7. The present tables may be used roughly to estimate the difference between mean Indian and true local time, as in the following example.

In § 2 of my first paper we found that in K. Y. 4682 the 11th titi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha ended 46 chaitikas after mean sunrise in Lāṅkā 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 Lāṅkā time: 46 gh. + 1 gh. 58v. = 47 gh. 58 vin.

Then look out in Table VIII the sidereal Long. \(\Omega\) on the 18th Vaiśākha: 16° 40' ; add the ayanāṅa for K. Y. 4682, viz. 16° 15'; the sum is the trop. Long. \(\Omega\), 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. \(\Omega = 33°\); viz. 1 gh. 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. 47 gh. 58v. + 1 gh. 25v. = 49 gh. 23 v.

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* Our text of the Sūrya Siddhānta III, 43, 44, is in accordance with Bhāskara's theory, and must therefore be later.

From the error in the position of the Moon's node relative to that of the Sun, I am persuaded that the present text of the Sūrya Siddhānta was fixed not before the 13th century A.D. The bija is a still later addition.

TABLE FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES.

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TABLE XXVII. (Part B.—Trop. Long. = 30° — 59°, 330° — 301°.)

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PART B—continued.
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**EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.**
### TABLE XXVII. (Part D.—Trop. Long. $\varphi = 90^\circ - 115^\circ$, 270°—241°.)

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This table provides data for calculating Hindu dates, listing longitudes from 90° to 241° with a focus on tropic longitudes. Each entry includes values at specific latitudes, which are essential for astrological calculations in Hindu astronomy.
Table XXVII. (Part E—Trop. Long. \(\circ=120^\circ—149^\circ ; 240^\circ—211^\circ\)).

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Part E.—continued.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDIKA
### TABLE XXVII. (Part F.—Trop. Long. = 160° — 180°, 210° — 250°)

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**TABLES FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES.**
Table XXVIII.—The *Ayankīda* for centuries of the Kali Yuga and for odd years.

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Table XXIX.—The *Ayankīda* according to the Siddhānta Siromani.

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* Before K.Y. 3600 the *Ayankīda* are negative; but they were probably not yet known at that time.
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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 2, line 16, and page 7, line 16.—See page 298 note 7.

" 7, l. 31—for Tohwon read Tolman.
" 10, l. 3—read inscription.
" 15, in note 72—read Śrī.
" 17, l. 25—for Tohwon read Tolman.
" 35—read Vrahmadā.
" 19, l. 5 fr. bot. for Āditya read Āditya.
" 25, ll. 1, 2—for Haranāśājī read Haranāśa-ji.
" 13, l. 2—from bottom, for Dey 4-karaṇa read Devakarana.
" 35, foot-note, prefix 2.
" 81, l. 27—for nāyara read nāgara.
" 87, l. 6—for twenty, read nearly seventy (69).
" 19, l. 9—for hundred read hundred.
" 2nd foot-note, prefix 3.
" 94, l. 5—for Dhamā read Dhamasiya.
" 126, l. 7, and p. 127, l. 1.—As suggested by Prof. Aufrecht in his Catal. Catalogorum the word Śāra of the original should be taken to be a proper name, and the two passages should therefore be translated:
The following is a verse of 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, prefix 4.
" 134, l. 1—for 1 read 1 and l. 8, read Ismā’al, son of Rāshī.
" 134, ll. 24 and 28, delete "and."
" 135, l. 18—for 6 we may read 6 i.e. Durgah Mālī.
" 136, l. 11—from bottom, delete of before the
renowned.
" 148, l. 13, from bottom read 148, l. 13, from bottom—The poor, wretched Khan Yūṣuf Aqā, son of Shāikh Yūnūs.
" 150, l. 20—for 20 read 20 i.e., 20, his Solomon-like majesty.
" 154, lines 25, 26, 27, for Bohm read Bohar.
" 157, l. 6—for 6 read 6.
" 160, l. 12, delete the sign of punctuation after
Asiatic.
" 161—prefix 2 to the first note.

Page 162, l. 13—read दक्षापा.
" 1. 27—"दक्षापा.
" 175, l. 29—"प्रार.
" in note 7—read been ṣ.
" 176, l. 32—read सुही.
" 180, l. 28—वाह्पांभक्तका.
" 185, l. 23—"कुक्खा.
" 1. 25—"कुक्खा.

192, note 22 add.—As pointed out to me by Prof. Buhler, this verse evidently contains a reference to the towns of Kalyāṇa, Ādāvalī and Ayodhyā; but I cannot give yet an entirely satisfactory translation.

212, last foot-note, prefix 1, and add.—Dr. Fleet informs me, that these copper-plates now belong to Gaṅgatīśingh bin Nārāyaṇ singh Patṭemālī, of Saṅhamalī. He also informs me that the Gaṇḍa 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 Paṭhan and other Rāṣṭrākūta seals.

217, note 19 add.—Dr. Fleet, after cleaning the original plates, has kindly furnished the following notes on the printed text. In line 16 the inserted lettera (compare note 22) are साक्ष्य; the anusvāra is omitted. In line 29 the reading is नादना-नद्यान-नन्दन।—In line 30 read त्या हि नरेन्द्रो।—In line 31 for [naun] read 6th. In line 31 for [tale] read 6th. In line 35 the bracketed akṣaras ra and ud are quite clear. In line 40 read yena=sa.}

219, l. 51—read रवीपृत्तिः.
" 223, l. 6—अनुसारः.
" 1. 42—अनुवादः.
" 226, l. 3—सिंहप.
" 1. 24—वाह्पांभक्तिः.
" 229, l. 41—सर्वास्माता.
" 230, l. 30—सुदृढ़जाक्षरः.
" 238, l. 32—अवस्था.
" 240, note 2—for Lākṣmanā read Lākṣmanā.
" 255, l. 31—read 6 (f).
" 255, l. 10—Posa ma read Posa ma.
" 257, l. 23—for Paṭṭa read Paṭṭa.
" 297, in note 3—read Lāma.
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 307, l. 24—read "समस्तः".
   " 334, l. 15—add the sign of vicarga opposite the figure 8.
   " 335, l. 6—read "हृद्".
   " 335, l. 11—" नौसिन्धः".
   " 336, l. 31—put a comma after was.
   " 339, l. 13—put a comma at the end of the line.
   " 343, l. 9—for which read "which".
   " 345, l. 6—read "भोगी".
   "   l. 21—" औरः".
   " 361, note 36—for Kielhorn read Kielhorn.
   " 366, note 9, last line—for See place read See plate.
   " 367, l. 16 (2nd col.)—for odâṭh read odâṭh-[4.]

Page 411, l. 7—read "सहोकरः".
   " 411, l. 10—" ब्राह्मणः".
   "   l. 19—" अम्बारीः".
   " 413, l. 17—" विषयवरः".
   "   l. 32—" अभासः".
   " 415, l. 34—" न्यायोक्तः".
   " 416, l. 16—" तथुपः".
   " 420, l. 23—" चरबन्धः".
   " 421, l. 23—add a comma at the end of the line.
   " 422, l. 24—read Râmakirti and Jayakirti.
   "   l. 25 for a read any.
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