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of
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University**

for the Academic Year 2013

Volume XVII

Supplement

Kanaganahalli Inscriptions

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Suggested abbreviation:

ARIRIAB = *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology*

Kanaganahalli Inscriptions

Maiko NAKANISHI and Oskar von HINÜBER

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Foreword*

Maiko NAKANISHI

The great *stūpa* at Kanaganahalli (Lat. 16°51'10"N; Long. 76°56'20"E) is located on the left bank of the river Bhima, a branch of the Krishna River, at Sannati in the Gulbarga district of northern Karnataka. Sannati (Lat. 16°49'40"N; Long. 76°54'30"E) is known as the place where one of the Aśokan Edicts was discovered in 1989.¹ Today the site is generally referred to as the great *stūpa* at Kanaganahalli, in line with an excavation report in 1996-97 by Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), since it is located about half a kilometer southwest of the village of Kanaganahalli.² This research has shown that the *stūpa* at Kanaganahalli was called Adhālaka-Mahācaitya when it was in use (see inscriptions I. 8, II. 1, 3).

Our research on this *stūpa* began after listening to the presentation by Duraiswamy Dayalan, Superintending Archaeologist at ASI, at an international colloquium in Vietnam in August 2007.³ Subsequently a field study was planned for the purpose of taking photographs and recording the existing conditions at the site in February and April 2009.⁴ The preliminary report on this project has been published with the photographs of the upper drum slabs and a detailed plan of the actual state of the excavation at the site in 2011.⁵

The present work comprises about 300 inscriptions recovered from approximately 2,000

* I would like to express my deep gratitude to Prof. Noritoshi Aramaki, Prof. Kazunobu Matsuda, Prof. Monika Zin and Dr. Lore Sander for their suggestions and constant support. My co-author and I would like to thank Dr. Gautam Sengupta, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Government of India, who kindly gave us permission to publish facsimile reproductions of the photos published in K. P. Poonacha, *Excavations at Kanaganahalli (Sannati) Taluk Chitapur, Dist. Gulbarga Karnataka*, ASI Memoirs 106 (2011; appeared in 2013) along with the photographs of the inscriptions on the panels of the great *Stūpa* at Kanaganahalli taken by M. Nakanishi, and issued "Permission to include photos from ASI Published Material – reg.", F. No. 20/1/2010-Pub. We also thank Drs. Madhulika Samanta and Daljit Singh, both Superintending Archaeologists at ASI for conveying this permission to us; Drs. Lokesh Chandra and Shashi Bala, who helped us by facilitating our contact with ASI; and Mr. Rajiv M. Takahashi, who visited the ASI office several times and presented the project on our behalf.

¹ I. K. Sarma, R. V. Sivasarma and J. Varaprasada Rao, "Rock Edicts of Aśoka from Sannati, Chitapur Taluk, Gulbarga District (Karnataka)," *Indian Museum Bulletin* 1987, (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 7–15.

² "Excavation at Kanaganahalli, District Gulbarga," in *Indian Archaeology 1996-7A Review*, (Delhi: ASI, 2002) pp. 53–55.

³ Dayalan, Duraiswamy, "Kanaganahalli: A Unique Discovery of Buddhist Site in India," at the *International Colloquium "Vietnam and the East Asian Buddhist Tradition"*, held at Vietnam Buddhist University, Vietnam, 20 to 22 August 2007.

⁴ All photographs and the publication with the kind permission of ASI (F. No. 15/2/2009EE). This project was organized by Prof. Noritoshi Aramaki (Emeritus Professor of Kyoto University) and funded by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research [Project (C), no. 20520050].

⁵ Noritoshi Aramaki et al., *A New Approach to the Origin of Mahāyānasūtra Movement on the Basis of Art Historical and Archeological Evidence: A Preliminary Report on the Research*, Kyoto, 2011.

photographs, including forty-one inscriptions published in the excavation report in 2013 by K. P. Poonacha only and some additional inscriptions from photographs taken by Christian Luczanits.⁶

The main *stūpa* consists of the three parts: (1) The upper drum, with the upper drum slabs, the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* (circum-ambulatory path) and the *puphagahaṇis* (cornice); (2) the lower drum, with the lower drum slabs and the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha*; and (3) the surrounding *vedikā* (railing) (see Fig. 1). The total diameter including the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* and the *vedikā* is 28 meters. The walls of the core of the main *stūpa* are made up of rectangular lime-stones and its interior is filled with mud, bricks and rubble.

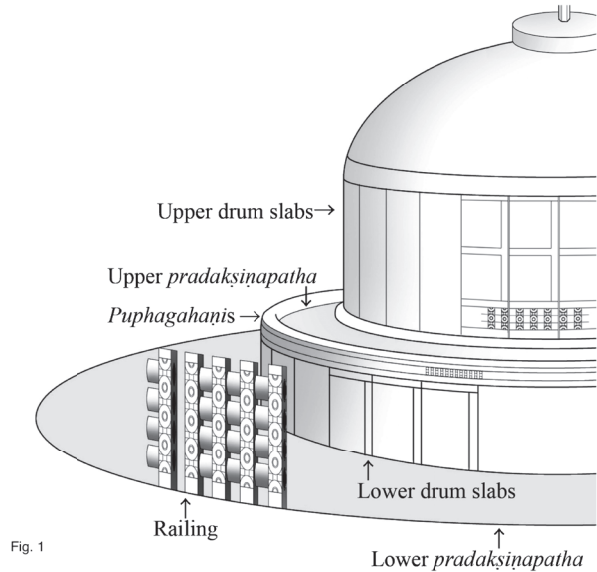


Fig. 1

(1) The upper drum is covered by fifty-nine pieces of the upper drum slabs and the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* of roughly 80 centimeters in width is edged with the *puphagahaṇis*. (2) The lower drum is covered by lower drum slabs. The lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* is 3.75 meters in width. (3) The *vedikā* consists of the about 130 *pāyakas* (or *pādakas*, uprights), each of which is connected to four *sūcīs* (cross-bars). These *pāyakas* have been found to be reinforced by two metal bars inserted into them. The *pāyakas* and the *sūcīs* are decorated with medallions or half-medallions in the shape of lotus flowers.

There are four entrances in the four cardinal directions of the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha*. *Āyāga*-platforms, which protrude from the lower drum of the main *stūpa*, are located at each entrance (Fig. 2). Each of these *āyāga*-platforms, measuring about 3.60 meters in length and 1.25 meters in width, is covered by five lower drum slabs, with three on the front and one each on both sides. The cornice of each of the four platforms is a frieze with scenes from the last life of the Buddha (cf. MASI plate CXXII–CXXV). Seven scenes are depicted on the frieze of the eastern platform; six on that of the southern platform; seven on that of the western platform (see inscriptions I.13, III. 2, 1-

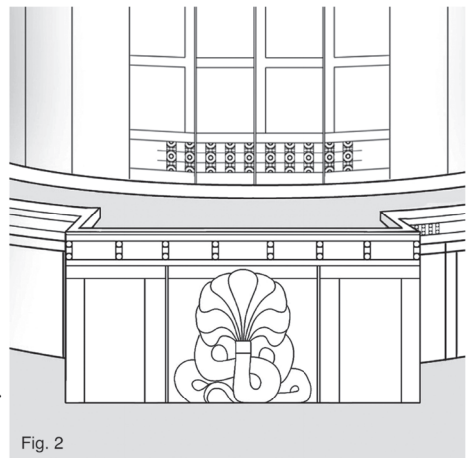


Fig. 2

⁶ K. P. Poonacha, *Excavations at Kanaganahalli: (Sannati) Taluk Chitapur, Dist. Gulbarga, Karnataka* (Memoirs of the ASI No. 106), Delhi, ASI, 2011.

2); and finally, nine on that of the northern platform (see inscriptions II.1, 3-4). On the eastern platform there were also four octagonal *āyāgathambhas* (pillars), fragments of which are found in its vicinity (see inscriptions II. 1,2). These were not found on the

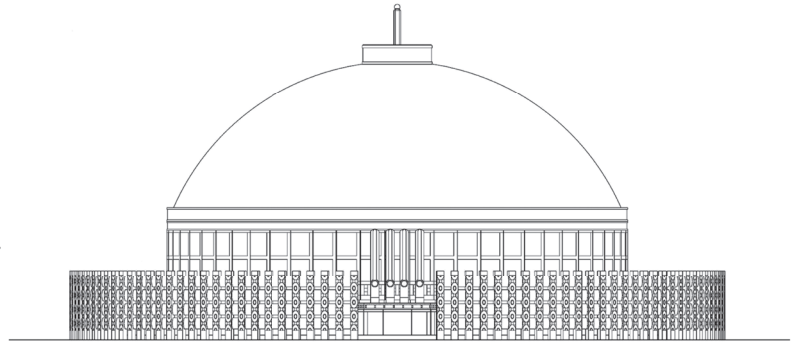


Fig. 3

other platforms. Therefore it is quite likely that the eastern gate was the main entrance. Fig. 3 is the perspective of the entire *stūpa* from the east.

The reliefs on the upper drum slabs have attracted most attention from scholars among the excavated structures of the great *stūpa*. Several papers on the identification of each relief have already appeared.⁷ All the upper drum slabs measure 3.30 meters in height, while their length differs (the longest is 1.30 meters, the shortest is 1.15 meters). Their average length is about 1.20 meters. Each upper drum slab is divided into three parts: (1) the upper register, (2) the lower register and (3) the bottom *vedikā*—a railing decorated with carvings of lotus flowers (see Fig. 4). The upper and lower registers are divided by the horizontal border 13 centimeters in width (MASI plate XXXVII B). The inscriptions which explain the scenes of the narrative reliefs of both registers are found on the lower border, which is situated between the lower register and the bottom *vedikā*. The total number of upper drum slabs so far

⁷ Elizabeth Rosen Stone, "Some Begram Ivories and the South Indian Narrative Tradition: New Evidence," *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 3 (2008), pp. 47–50. M. Meister, "Notes Toward the Study of Representations of Early Indian Architecture, Kanganhalli," in *Prasadam: Recent Researches on Archaeology, Art, Architecture and Culture* (Professor B. Rajendra Prasad Festschrift), eds. S.S. Ramachandra Murty, D. Bhaskara Murti and D. Kiran Kranth Choudary (New Delhi: Harman Publishing House, 2004), pp. 120–24.; do., "Early Architecture and Its Transformations: New Evidence for Vernacular Origins for the Indian Temple," in *The Temple in South Asia*, ed. Adam Hardy, vol. 2 of the proceedings of the 18th conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, (London: British Association for South Asian Studies, The British Academy, 2007), pp. 1–19. "Places, Kings, and Sages: World Rulers and World Renouncers in Early Buddhism," in *From Turfan to Ajanta: Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, volume 2, (Lumbini International Research Institute, 2010), pp. 651–70. Maiko Nakanishi, "Kanganhalli iseki kara shutsudosita Buddha no tanjyou zu ni tsuite" (The Birth of the Buddha: On the Interpretation of the Kanganhalli Relief), *The Institute of Shin Buddhist Culture* 21 (2012), pp. 1–19.; do., "Kanganhalli no Shotenbōrin zu ni tsuite" (A Iconographic Study of the First Preaching in the Kanganhalli Relief), *The Institute of Shin Buddhist Culture* 22 (2013), pp. 1–25. M. Zin, "Narrative Reliefs in Kanaganahalli: A Short Outline of Their Importance for Buddhist Studies," *Marg* 63-1 (2011), pp. 12–21; do., "Māndhātā, the Universal Monarch, and the Meaning of Representations of the Cakravartin in the Amaravati School, and of the Kings on the Kanaganahalli Stūpa," in *Buddhist Narrative in Asia and Beyond*, Volume I, eds. Peter Skilling and Justin McDaniel, Bangkok (2012), pp. 149–166. V. Dehejia, "Questioning Narrativity and Inscribed Labels: Buddhist Bharhut, Sannati and Borobudur," in *Sacred Landscapes in Asia: Shared Traditions, Multiple Histories*, ed. Himanshu Prabha Ray, India International Centre - Asia Project, (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2007), pp. 285–307.

excavated and identified by ASI is fifty-nine. The upper drum slabs have been classified into four types by ASI: (1) Two with pilasters on both sides (ASI 14/19, 10); (2) Two without any side pilasters (ASI 37/24, 01); (3) Thirty-seven with a pilaster on the right side; and (4) Eighteen with a pilaster on the left side. These four types form a full circle along the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*, in such a way that it appears as if both sides of all fifty-nine upper drum slabs were decorated with the pilasters.

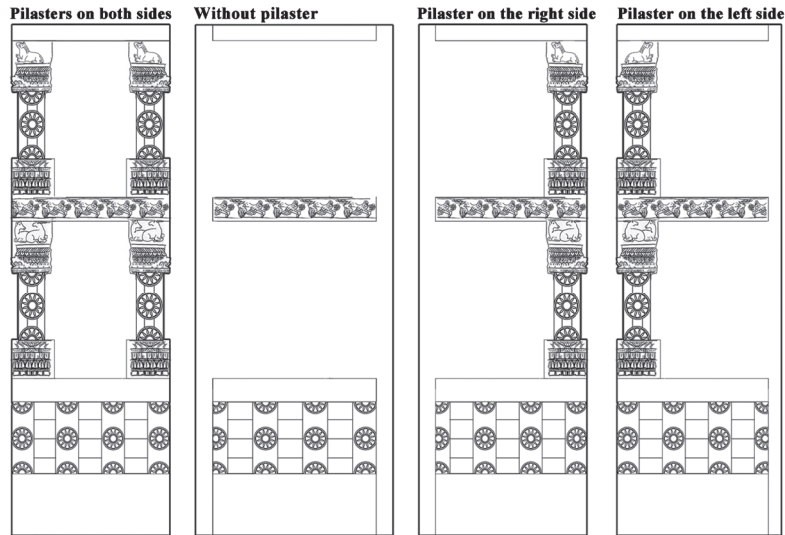


Fig. 4

Understanding the arrangement of the narrative reliefs on the upper drum slabs, according to their placement in a clockwise order starting from the eastern entrance, would shed light on the relationship between narratives and art in ancient Indian Buddhism. However, few attempts to reconstruct the arrangement of those upper drum slabs have been made in the excavation report (MASI-106).

At the time of our field study of 2009, the excavation work by ASI was almost finished, and the upper drum slabs were put on the ground around the main *stūpa*, after a “jigsaw puzzle” joining numerous smaller and larger pieces of the upper drum slabs had been completed.⁸ Two different numbers had been written in Arabic numerals by ASI on the side of each fragment of the upper drum slabs with black paint.⁹ It is possible that a number was assigned for this work to collate with each fragment after having moved it to the ground. Therefore these numbers are not related to the arrangement of the upper drum slabs. So no clues which showed the original location of the upper drum slabs were found by our study.

In such unfavorable circumstances, it is highly significant that the photographs of Ch. Luczanits, who took pictures of the site of Kanaganahalli in 2000, show the original location of the upper drum slabs. In his photographs, the bottom portions of the upper drum slabs

⁸. A detailed plan of the actual state of the excavation of the site in 2009 is found in Noritoshi Aramaki et al., *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁹. We used these numbers as reference numbers for the upper drum slabs in our preliminary report on the research.

appear in their original locations on the upper drum (similar photographs to MASI plate XXII B, XXVIII A), which allows us to see how the reliefs were laid out to some extent. Unfortunately the damage that the *stūpa* had incurred prior to the excavation is so severe

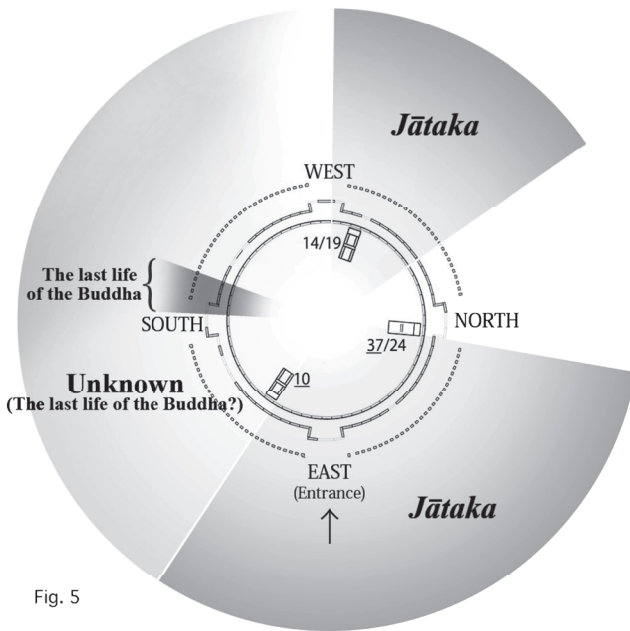


Fig. 5

between the southern and the eastern entrances, that it is impossible to determine the original positions of the slabs in the southeastern quadrant. The fragments of the upper drum slabs on the southeastern quadrant were removed from their original place; they may have represented the last life of the Buddha. In contrast to the arrangement of the reliefs at Bārhut and Sāñcī, the depiction of the last life of the Buddha and the narration of the *Jātakas* on the upper drum slabs were arranged as distinct sequences of the events (Fig. 5).

However, other reliefs on the upper drum slabs, such as royal portraits, were placed individually with no apparent connection to the surrounding reliefs.

In the future, it is hoped that the inscriptions introduced below might facilitate our understanding of the original arrangement of the upper drum slabs.

Fig. 1. Major elements of the main *stūpa*.

Fig. 2. Image of the *āyāga*-platform.

Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the eastern side of the main *stūpa*.

Fig. 4. Four types of upper drum slabs.

Fig. 5. Contents and placement of the reliefs on the upper drum slabs.

These figures were prepared by the author.

Kanaganahalli Inscriptions

OSKAR VON HINÜBER

INTRODUCTION

1. GENERAL REMARKS

The inscriptions are arranged according to their content. Therefore, some inscriptions can and must be classified under different categories, e.g., if a king is mentioned (category I) and at the same time the object of the donation (category II). Therefore, inscriptions of this type are, though discussed only once, mentioned twice (or more often), once under each pertinent category with only the important parts of text and translation being repeated. These abbreviated repetitions are printed in smaller type and not numbered.

The headline introducing an inscription gives a survey of the images available. First, the number of the photos collected in the research project on the Stūpa at Kanaganahalli under the supervision of Noritoshi Aramaki, Kyoto University, is mentioned as “N” (Maiko Nakanishi).

Preliminary results of these researches were published jointly by N. Aramaki, D. Dayalan and M. Nakanishi from Kyoto in 2011 as mentioned in the foreword by M. Nakanishi.

A substantial number of images and some inscriptions from Kanaganahalli are published in this book. Although this material is now superseded by the excavation report, which finally appeared in late summer 2013 while the edition of the inscriptions was in progress, the numbers originally allotted by the Archaeological Survey of India and used in Aramaki / Dayalan / Nakanishi are kept for sake of convenience. They are marked as, e.g., **ASI 58; AN p. 90** = “Archaeological Survey of India image no. 58; Aramaki/Nakanishi in ‘A New Approach’ p. 90” (cf. foreword note 5).

This collection overlaps to a certain extent with photos taken at Kanaganahalli in January 2000 by Christian Luczanits, Rubin Museum, New York. These photos, which are now also available online (www.luczanits.net), are of particular importance, because they are often the only available documentation of the original position of images and inscriptions. Moreover, there are images excavated at Kanaganahalli and photographed by Ch. Luczanits, which were not included in the excavation report. Therefore, it seemed justified to mention these important photos as “L.” The authors are particularly grateful to Ch. Luczanits for the permission to use his invaluable material.¹

¹ Furthermore, I would like to thank L. Sander, Berlin, for sharing her helpful readings of some inscriptions with me.

Finally, the excavation report by K. P. Poonacha published from Delhi in 2011 (thus the title page; on the back side of that page: First Edition 2013) under the title “Excavations at Kanaganahalli (Sannati) Taluk Chitapur, Dist. Gulbarga, Karnataka. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 106” is referred to as **MASI**.² First, the plates showing the inscriptions are mentioned, e.g., MASI CXXXIX.4, then the reading in MASI is referred to, e.g., p. 463, no. 96. These readings are neither systematically discussed nor repeated, because they are embarrassingly often faulty, so frequently, that it did not seem to make much sense to point out each and every mistake. Only really misleading statements in MASI that are apt to create confusion are mentioned.

Moreover, a large number of inscriptions is not documented by images in MASI. They are found in “Part-B”, nos. 151-270, p. 470-479. Those few, for which “N photos” are available, are included in the present edition. The unfortunate large remainder is reproduced here as read in MASI without any attempt of correction in an appendix together with a separate index. The often slightly erratic transcription is cautiously normalized only in the index to allow finding words. As long as no photos are available, this material cannot be used for research.

At the same time, the information presented in the headlines of the individual inscriptions connects the images to the inscriptions and thus provides information sadly absent from MASI. Moreover, as there are neither a detailed table of contents nor an index nor any cross references within the text of MASI, the information found in the headlines may also serve as a guide to the excavation report.

Concordances allow connecting the “MASI” and the “L” images to the new edition of the inscriptions.

The headline is followed by a short description of the object, on which the inscription is found and of the image, which it explains. The preliminary character of a certain number of these descriptions must be emphatically stressed. For, it is by no means intended to anticipate any art historical research, which has hardly begun, cf. foreword, note 7.

The inscriptions are followed by a translation, as far as this is possible, and by a commentary. Not all inscriptions are fully understood as yet, and further research will certainly help to clarify many points which are still obscure. However, preference was given to making the material available for research as quickly as possible over the attempt to present (after protracted investigations and in a distant future) a perhaps, in many cases, only marginally more perfect text and interpretation.

² Preliminary excavation reports were published in *Indian Archaeology, A Review* 1994-95, p. 37-39 (plate XII showing the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* and the *vedikā*); 1996-97, p. 53-55; 1997-98, p. 93-96 (survey of the site: plates 70, 71); 1998-99, p. 66 (survey of the site: plate 30); 2000-01, p. 74-77 (survey of the site: plate 55).

2. CONTENT AND LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS AT KANAGANAHALLI

The inscriptions from Kanaganahalli provide an exceptionally rich material for a large variety of studies, which cannot be undertaken here. Therefore it may suffice to point out some of the many possible directions for future research.

A large number of the inscriptions, about 130, recovered from the Adhālaka-Mahācaitya at Kanaganahalli refer to donations in one way or the other. The objects of these donations are architectural parts and images. The only exception is inscription I.7 commemorating the gift of silver lotus flowers to the Mahācaitya.

Other inscriptions, about 70, are labels explaining donated images, among them the inscriptions I.1, I.2, I.4, I.5, I.6 and I.9 referring to “portraits” of different rulers, Aśoka and various Sātavāhana kings. These are together with the Nānāghāt images the oldest royal “portraits” in the South.³

Inscription I.9 is of exceptional importance for the history of the Sātavāhanas, because it shows that Pulumāvi lost the city of Ujjain to one of the Kṣatrapa adversaries of the Sātavāhanas, most likely to Caṣṭana (see below p. 24).

As the donations are made by numerous persons over a period of about two centuries or more, it is not surprising to find a large variety of **writing styles**. As most inscriptions are very short, it is never easy to distinguish between the personal writing style and a development of the script. An instructive example for various writing styles are the different, sometimes unusual shapes of the *akṣara* -jā- (*jātaka* in III.1.1-18; unusual shapes are: *upajāēhi*, I.8, *jātaka*, III.1.7), while the shape of the *akṣara* -va- used in inscriptions III.1.5 and III.2.14 points to the same scribe. However, even the same scribe may vary the shape of the same *akṣara* in one inscription such as the two markedly different forms of -va- in *devi sāmivati* (III.3.6). Occasionally, ornamental script is used (II.2.18; VI.8 etc.); for an unusual writing style see II.2.23 (commentary).

Various **symbols**, mostly one of the *aṣṭamaṅgalas*, are occasionally put in front or at the end of an inscription (II.2.12; II.2.27; II.2.33; II.2.38; III.2.3; VI.3).

A detailed and systematic investigation into the **palaeography** is one of the many tasks of future research. Therefore, remarks on palaeography are limited to explaining some selected peculiarities only, where this is necessary to justify the interpretation of an individual inscription.

As script is the always imperfect medium to present the language, palaeography and linguistics are closely related. First, it should be noted that in many cases even short -a- and long -ā- are not distinguished (*kāhapanani dinani*, II.10.1, cf. II.71 [commentary]). Equally, only short -i- and short -u- are normally written with very rare exceptions (e.g. *bhaginīhi*, II.5.4). A peculiarity is the use of four instead of three dots to mark an initial

³ Most likely, these are portraits “by definition” without much, if any likeness, cf. *Palola Śāhis*, p. 171. This question is now investigated by Vincent Lefèvre: *Portraiture in Early India. Between Transience and Eternity. Handbuch der Orientalistik II. South Asia*, Vol. 25. Leiden 2011 and, from a religious point of view, by Gérard Colas: *Penser l’icone en Inde ancienne. Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études. Sciences religieuses*, volume 158. Turnhout 2012, p. 50 foll. Without giving any reason, MASI plate XLV is assumed to be a portrait of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi, cf. inscription I. 11 (commentary).

short *i-* (II.2,37 [commentary] and note 12 below). Rarely, long *-ū-* is indicated (*pitūhi* I.12; *kacūkā*, II.4,22-23; *cūdā*, III.2,7; *saduhutūkāya* V.2,13). It is mostly impossible to decide whether or not an *anusvāra* is written, or whether the dot is accidental. The *anusvāra* is frequently left unmarked, which, obviously, in many cases contributes to the ambiguity of the respective interpretation. Once a *virāma* is indicated in *sidham* (II.2,18).

Among the consonants it is particularly difficult to distinguish between the *akṣaras* *-ḍa-* and *-ḍha-* in names, which resist interpretation. In rare cases, also the shapes of *-ra-* and *-ḍa-* can be similar (*caḍa* : *siri*, I.13; *vihāra* and *thera*, III.2,2). A peculiar hook-like shape of the *akṣara* *-ḍa-* is used in *cūḍā* (III.2,7, cf. *toḍa*, II.4,23). Similarly, the *akṣaras* *-kha-* and *-ga-* tend to be similar as in I.8 (commentary). A good example showing the difference is *jātaka da(ga)rakhas[iya]* (III.1,9).

Sometimes, unusual shapes of individual *akṣaras* are used. Thus the *akṣara* *-de-* in *deti* (I.9) is very similar to a (in Kanaganahalli) rare form of the initial *e-* used in *paṭimāe* (II.7,7, cf. also the peculiar *akṣara* *-da-* in *su(d)arasākiyāni* III.2,28). A singular form of the *akṣara* *-mā-* is written in *sajāmātusa* (IV.2). The rare vowel sign *-e-* with a “hook” at the left side anticipates later forms (*pekunirakasa*, II.3,5; *vesa*^o, III.1,14; *jetā*, III.2,15).

It is not surprising that the lingual *-la-* is used in southern inscriptions (*puḷumāvi*, I.9; *naḷa*, II.1,1; *koḷāmba*, II.9,1; *goḷamulāyāna*, III.2,8; [*mahākā*](!)*o*, III.2,9), and even the aspirated form is found once in *dalhagharo*, IV.4, cf. Mittelindisch § 199. The *-l-* in *phaḷa* (D,3) is hardly justified, cf. Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. Band 2. Heidelberg 1996, s.v. *phāla*.

The difficulties in interpreting the inscriptions created by the script are increased by a very high degree of inconsistency when it comes to writing down the texts. This “want of precision” and the frequency of mistakes due to carelessness were already deplored by Jean Philippe Vogel, when he edited the inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.⁴ The same is true for Kanaganahalli. Although there seem to be occasional attempts to correct mistakes, e.g., by adding a forgotten *akṣara* below the line (II.5,4) or by erasing the *akṣara* *ra* to correct *ceratiya(m)* to *cetiya(m)* (III.2,4), cf. also the remarks on *ni(cā)tāna* (II.4,23), most mistakes stand uncorrected. A sad example is the astonishing variation in the forms used for one and the same name found in the inscriptions on the pedestals of the set of Buddha images donated by Visākha (II.7,1-8). Here, even the name of the Buddha Kakosa(m)dho is miswritten as Kosadho (II.7,4). The name of the principal donor appears occasionally in the correct form Visākkena, besides Visākēna, Visaghena, Visāghena, and Visāghanena (!). While the standard form of the well-known name Visākha is easily established, this is impossible in the case of Visākha’s family name written Vāgāḍhicānaṃ, Vāgāḍhina, Vākāṭicānaṃ, Vākāḍicāna, Vākāḍhicānaṃ. The derivation of the name is not known, and, consequently, no **linguistic analysis** allowing a standardisation is possible.

This variation between *akṣaras* denoting voiced and unvoiced, or aspirated and

⁴ Jean Philippe Vogel: Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. *EI* 20. 1929-30, p. 1-37, particularly p. 11.

unaspirated sounds is not uncommon in South Indian Prakrit inscriptions,⁵ and the evidence from Kanaganahalli corresponds to the general pattern of southern Prakrit phonology.

A few examples may demonstrate this: *āyāga*^o (II.1,1) against *āyāka*^o (II.1,3); *°nākara* (II.2,24) < *nāgara*, *nākarāya* (II.8,3) < *nāgarāja*; *bhakavato* (only in III.2,3) besides the standard form *bhagavato* (I.8 etc.); *cadamugha* (V.2,12) < *candramukha*, *sugha* (I.8, I.10 etc.) < *sukha* (*sukha* is not attested in Kanaganahalli), *pūcā* (I.10) < *pūjā*, and, perhaps, inversely *lakhako* (IV.6) if < *laṃghako*. Geminates do not share this development: *sataradano* < *sattaratano* (III.3,1).

Aspiration is lost in *upajāehi* (I.8) besides *upajhāehi* (II.6,1) and *upajhāyena* (II.7,10) < *upādhyāya*, *visāka* (II.7,6) < *viśākha*, perhaps also in *padanasāsana* (A,2), if < *padhāna*^o < *pradhāna*^o and equally uncertain *sadīniya*, if < *sādhīniya* (III.1,3).

Dental and retroflex consonants are not always distinguished as in (*āyu*)*vaḍhanika* (II.1,1) besides *°-vaḍhanika* (II.10,1 etc.).

Occasionally, intervocalic stops are dropped: *bhayata* (I.8 etc.) < *bhadanta* or *payumāni* (I.7) < *padumāni* < *padmāni*; *pūcā* and *pūyā* occur side by side (I.10).

Although the intervocalic -y- is almost regularly written in *deyadhama*, the so far unattested (?) form *dejadhama* (I.14; II.2,18) for *dejja*^o < *deyya*^o shows a later Middle Indic development (Mittelindisch § 213). In the weak position at the end of the word (Mittelindisch § 189), -y- is sometimes dropped as in *upajāehi* (I.8), *ācariāna* (II.1,3; II.1,4); *bodhia* (II.5,4) < *bodhiya*; *paṭimāe* (II.7,7) < *paṭimāye*; *mahācetiē* (II.6,1; II.6,2) < *mahācetiye*, but [*mahāce*](t)[i]yasa (I.7); unclear: *ae* (VI.3 [commentary]), cf. below p. 17 on Buddhist vocabulary.

The name Caṇḍasātakāṇṇi is written Saḍasatakani (I.13), which corresponds to the variation in the name Chimuka (I.3; I.4) in inscriptions, but Simuka in the Purāṇas, cf. also Kosadho (II.7,4) for Kakucchanda.

Dravidian influence is possibly visible in names such as Chimuka / Simuka. While many names can easily be explained from Indo-Aryan others resist interpretation so far, and are perhaps also derived from Dravidian vocabulary. This should be investigated in an **onomastic study** of the names at Kanaganahalli. Interestingly, the formation of names by help of the suffix *-ṇaka* / *-ṇikā* known from cave inscriptions in western India (Hilka, p. 70) is also attested in Kanaganahalli. The names of the couple Nāgaṇaka and Rāmaṇikā (both II.4,13) occur in both *corpora*; further Budhiṇaka (II.4,16); Bhimhaṇaka (II.5,6);]mit(ā)naka (II.4,11);](r)akhitanikā (II.4,20); Sivāsīnikā (V.2,8).

Besides personal names, there are a number of **place names** (MASI p. 109b, 445 foll.) referring often to the place of origin of a donor or of a monk, to whom a pupil is attached. Only very few can be identified, first of all Koru(ṃ)gala, which is mentioned as

⁵ Madhukar Anant Mehendale: *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits*. Deccan College Dissertation Series 3. Poona 1948, chapter III Southern group, p. 105-134. - A similar hesitation (*t/d*; *t/h* etc.) as in South Indian Middle Indic can be observed in the Pāli tradition of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, cf. O. v. Hinüber: *Buddhist Law and the Phonetics of Pāli*. 1987, in: *Selected Papers on Pāli Studies*. Oxford ²2005, p. 255.

Κορούγκαλα by Ptolemy (II.1,3 [commentary]). Another identifiable place name is the Mahisa (Maḥiṣa) country (II.2,24 [commentary]). Khaja (II.2,24; II.2,25), Pokuḍur(u) (II.3,2; V.2,17) and Sapuḍi (II.3,3; II.3,5) are located in this country. There were obviously close relations to Amarāvati, because the largest group of donors stem from Dhaññakaṭa (Amarāvati) (II.1,1 [commentary]), which is mentioned 11 times and perhaps also once again in the undocumented inscription no. 220.

Further place names are the famous city Ujjain (*ujeni*, I.9); Kupanaraṭha (VI.1, cf. II.2,24; II.2,25); Koṭṭūra, a frequent place name in South India (V.2,12 [commentary]); Gāyana (II.10,1); Dāraghād(h)a (II.7,10); Baṭana (II.2,26); Baḍivāraka (? II.4,10); Bhogavadhana (II.4,1), also known from Bhārhut and from the Purāṇas; Mahāgāma (II.4,13); Rāmagāma (III.2,31 [commentary]) mentioned in the Mahāparinibbānāsuttanta; Viniga (V.2,1), which is perhaps a place name; Sabhaḍākāra (V.2,7); Seḍivaya (II.4,14).

The caves Indasālaguhā (III.2,12) and Sattapaṇṇi (III.2,13) are well-known from Buddhist literature. Mount Khalatika is also known from the Aśokan inscriptions (IV.5 [commentary]). Perhaps mount Chādaka or Sādaka occurs in inscription I.14 (commentary). The name of the Yakṣa Sādāgira (II.8,5) might be derived from this mountain.

No river is mentioned.

Particularly the **vocabulary** of architecture is expanded by the Kanaganahalli inscriptions. An altogether new term is *puphagahani* (II.2, introduction). Neither reading nor interpretation of *u(d)uk(o)pat(o)* (I.10) are certain, which occurs in one donation including four *pāyakas* “uprights” < *pādaka* “small column,” also a new term (II.4, introduction). Therefore, an *udukopato* might designate a “coping stone” usually called *uṣṇīṣa*, a term absent even from those inscriptions recording the donation of this architectural part (II.4,15-21). Although *ālambana* is translated as “coping stone” in MASI there is no need to postulate a meaning other than the usual “base, plinth,” here most likely meaning “lower crossbar” (II.4,1 [commentary]). Terms known already from other sites are *āyāgathabha* (II.1, introduction; II.2,1; II.2,2), *āyāgapata* (II.2,3; II.2,4), *sūji / sūci* (II.4,1 foll.) normally donated together with an upright (*pāyaka*), or *ka(m)cūka* “encasement” (II.4,22; II.4,23), a term also attested in Pāli literature (II.4,22 [commentary]).

The different forms developed from *bhāryā* are remarkable. The word is mostly attested in compounds such as *sa-bhariya-* etc. Besides *bhariyā* (II.1,1; V.2,8) and *bhāriyā* (II.2,7; II.2,32) there is the true western Middle Indic form *bhayā* (II.3,1; II.5,5) written for *bhayyā* and even the later form *bhājā* (II.7,9, cf. Lüders, List 1186 = Tsukamoto, III Bana 1,2; III Kanh 33,3 [see below]), which developed from *bhājā* with a quantitative metathesis⁶ and survives in old Marāṭhī.⁷

If the wives of the donors participate in the donation, they are occasionally referred to as *koḍubini* (II.4,13) or as *gharini* (II.2,5; II.2,6). First, the term *gharini* is clearly different from *bhāryā* as shown by an inscription from Kanheri *bhājāya ghariniya*

⁶. Mittelindisch § 152 and on the metathesis § 110.

⁷. S. G. Tulpule; Anne Feldhaus: *A Dictionary of Old Marathi*. Oxford 2000, s.v. *bhājā*.

Dāmilāya (Lüders, List 1018 = Tsukamoto, III Kanh 33,3). This is certainly not a simple “housewife” as H. Lüders translates. For, as the evidence gathered from Tsukamoto’s collection demonstrates, a *ghariṇi* always seems to be the wife of a wealthy man, being married either to a merchant (*vāniya*, Lüders, List 1239, 1281 = Tsukamoto, II Amar 41, 77), to a banker (*gahapati*, Lüders, List 1209 = Tsukamoto, II Amar 16,2; *gahapati seṭhi*, Lüders, List 1003 = Tsukamoto, III Kanh 43,2; daughter of a banker: Lüders, List 1252 = Tsukamoto, II Amar 51a), a master mariner or ship-owner (*mahānāvika*, J. Ph. Vogel, EI 27. 1947-48, p. 4, inscription E² = Tsukamoto, II Ghant 5,2)⁸ or a foreman of artisans (*āvesani*, Lüders, List 1202 = 1203 = Tsukamoto, II Jagg 1,3 = 2,3). In contrast to this southern usage, northern Middle Indic inscriptions have *kuṭumbini* instead of the southern *gharini*.

Only in Kanheri and in Kanaganahalli both terms are used side by side, in Kanheri most likely by southerners as *ghariṇiya Dāmilāya* indicates. Similarly, the second inscription at Kanheri using *gharini* is most likely also written by a southerner, because he uses the southern *hitasughatha*, not the northern *hitasukhatha*.⁹ Therefore, the donor Nāgaṇaka and his wife, the *koḍu(m)bini* Rāmaṇikā, most likely came from western or northern India to Kanaganahalli (II.4,13 [commentary]).

Numerals occur once in a date *soḍe* “16” (I.3), in donations counting the donated objects: *catāri* (*pāyaka*, I.10; *āyāgatha(m)bha*, II.1,1; II.1,2; *paṭimā*, II.7,7) and on *puphaḡahanis* of uncertain meaning: *dasahi* “10” (II.2,3), *visayi* “20” (II.2,2 [commentary]), *panāsa* “50” (II.2,26).

Finite verbs are extremely rare: *oṇoyeti* (I.7), *deti* (I.9), and so are participles *thāvitā* (II.7,9), for *kata*, *kārita* etc. see index s.v.

Dravidian influence can be traced in the loanword *koḷamba* “bowl” (II.9,1 [commentary]).

It is not impossible that **Aśokan vocabulary** influenced the language of the Kanaganahalli inscriptions (II.4,2; III.2,21 [commentaries]). If this observation is correct, this might point to the fact that the Aśokan inscriptions found at Sannati / Kanaganahalli¹⁰ were read well into Sātavāhana times and used as a model to formulate official statements.

The **Buddhist vocabulary**¹¹ found in the inscriptions includes the usual terms such as *bhikhu* / *bhikhuni*, *thera*, *atevāsi* / *atevāsini*, *pavayita* / *pavayitā*, the honorifics *aya*, perhaps also as *ae* (VI.3 [commentary]), and *bhayata* besides *bhata*. There are four references to *dhamakadhikas*, and once the name of a monastery of unknown location is

⁸ On this inscription, Suchandra Ghosh: A Mahānāvika in an Inscription from Coastal Andhra Pradesh and Related Archaeological Issues, in: *South Asian Archaeology 2001* ed. by Catherine Jarrige and Vincent Lefèvre, Paris 2005, p. 491-493.

⁹ The word *hitasughatha* is found at Kanheri (Lüders, List 1024 = Tsukamoto, III Kanh 25) and in Karle (Lüders, List 1106 = Tsukamoto, III Karl 33,3) in inscriptions with Sātavāhana dates. Therefore, the preference of *sugha* instead of *sukha* in Western Indian cave inscriptions most likely points to donors from the South.

¹⁰ Harry Falk: *Aśokan Sites and Artefacts. A Source-Book with Bibliography*. [Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie Band 18]. Mainz 2006, p. 130 foll.

¹¹ For references see *index verborum*.

mentioned (III.2,2 [commentary]). Only the building at Rāmagāma enshrining the relics of the Buddha is referred to as Stūpa (*thuvo*, III.2,31), while the Stūpa at Kanaganahalli is called Adhāḷaka Mahācaitya (*mahācetiya*, I.8 [commentary]).

The inscriptions do not point to any specific **school affiliation**. Although the Buddhist missionaries Majjhima and Dundubhissra (III.3,2) are known only from the Theravāda tradition today, this is only a possible, but by no means reliable indication of Theravāda presence or influence at Kanaganahalli. For, given the almost complete loss of the texts of numerous south Indian Buddhist schools known by name only, it is dangerous to apply the *argumentum e silentio*. There is no immediate evidence that suggests Mahāyāna presence at Kanaganahalli.

3. HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY

The number of inscriptions mentioning Śātavāhana rulers increased considerably by the epigraphic material recovered from Kanaganahalli and, moreover, is likely to grow further once excavations are continued in the Sannati / Kanaganahalli area.¹² The altogether 37 Śātavāhana inscriptions known by 1980 were collected together with those of the Western Kṣatrapas by V. V. Mirashi.¹³ Moreover, new finds only from the Sannati / Kanaganahalli area were edited by I. Karthikeya Sarma and J. Varaprasada Rao.¹⁴ Three inscriptions in the latter collection mention Śātavāhana rulers; they are included here without any discussion in detail only to unite all inscriptions discovered since Mirashi's edition.¹⁵ The vocabulary of these inscriptions numbered A – F is included in the index.

A. Sarma / Rao: VII (A), p. 63:

The inscription is written below a largely destroyed image showing about 15 women.

1. ... [vāseṭhi](p)[u](t)[a](sa) (s)jiri sātakaṇisa samuditabalavāhanasa abhagavāhanasa sātavāhanasa beṇākaṭa-vidabha-uparigirapar(ā)ta-asaka-mūḍaka-sajayavi-cakora-valaraṭha-dakhiṇa[paṭh].
2. ... su]sūsakasa pitu-satu-vera-niyātakasa anekasa(m)gā mavijitavijayasa khakharata-

¹² The latest addition to Śātavāhana inscriptions was announced in The New Indian Express, Sunday 28th July 2013: "... found in a paddy field at Mukkatraopet in Velgatoor mandal ... shifted to Archaeological Museum ... in Karimnagar." The second of three lines is readable on the accompanying photo as](a)macaputasa sīvavaṭusa + + [. In line 3, an initial *i*- marked by four dots is remarkable, see above p. 13.

¹³ Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi: *The History and Inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas*. Bombay 1981, Part II, pp. 1-94. However, V. V. Mirashi overlooked the Amarāvātī Sanskrit (!) inscription by Gotamīputra Śrī Yajñasātakarṇi published by H. Sarkar: Some Early Inscriptions in the Amarāvātī Museum. *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 4. 1971, p. 1- 13, no. 60 (p. 8), inscription F: *sidham rājño gotam[i]pu[trasya] śrī yajñasā[ta]kanisya samvatsare + vā[r]sa pa 5 divase 8 ujjayinī upasakena [2] jayilena ... mahācetiye ... kāritam ... [3] dhan[ya]kaṭacetiya ...* The inscription, which is not listed by K. Tsukamoto, is almost effaced, and the reading of H. Sarkar cannot be verified on the accompanying plate III. The entire inscribed slab is reproduced on plate 43 in Akira Shimada: *Early Buddhist Architecture in Context. The Great Stūpa at Amarāvātī (ca. 300 BCE - 300 CE)*. Brill's *Indological Library* Volume 43. Leiden 2013, cf. p. 102, where, however, the inscription is not visible. A slightly edited reading is given in B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao et alii: *Buddhist Inscriptions of Andhradesa*. Secunderabad 1998, p. 59, no. 57 (without photo). The vocabulary of this inscription is included as inscription "F" in the index.

¹⁴ I. Karthikeya Sarma and J. Varaprasada Rao: *Early Brāhmī inscriptions from Sannati*. Delhi 1993.

¹⁵ The numbering is that of Sarma and Rao. The reading and interpretation occasionally needed revision.

kulaghātakasa anekarājamathakapatigahitasa padanasāsanasa ekakusasa ekadhan(u)-dha[rasa...

3. (lost)

“Of Vāsetṭhiputta Siri Sātakaṇṇi (Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakaṇṇi), whose army is well equipped (cf. Pāli *balavāhana*), the Abhagavāhana (?), the Sātavāhana,¹⁶ (Lord) of Beṇākata-Vidarbha-Uparagiri-Aparānta-Aśmaka-(Aśvaka)-Mūḍaka-Sa(m)jayavi-Cakora-Vala-Raṭha-Dakṣiṇāpātha, who is of (unchecked) obedience (towards his mother [?]), who has taken revenge against the enemies of his father (*pitṛ-śatru-vaira-niryātaka*), who has won numerous battles, who has annihilated the family of Khakharata (Kaharāta), who has received the heads of numerous kings, whose command is ... (?), who is the only real controller (*eka[m]kusa*), who is the only real archer (*ekadhanudhara*)¹⁷...”

The beginnings of the first two lines are lost. The heads of the three *akṣaras* visible at the beginning of line 1 point to the word °-*putasa* in front of the word *siri*. This seems to allow for a reconstruction as *sidhaṃ raṇo vāsetṭhiputasa siri sātakaṇṇisa*, which is likely in the light of the next inscription. If this is correct, about 10 *akṣaras* are missing at the beginning of line 2. This gap can be filled very tentatively by inserting the corresponding wording found in the Nāsik Praśasti of Queen Gotami Balasiri¹⁸ lines 11 and 4: *dakṣiṇa[pathe/2/saro avipanatamātusu]sūsakasa*. The sequence *ekakusasa ekadhanudharasa ekasūrāsa ekabamhaṇasa* occurs in the Nāsik Praśasti, line 7, and the text of the Sannati inscription probably continued in a similar way in line 3, of which only some faint traces of the heads of *akṣaras* are extant. Any restoration beyond *ekadhanudharasa* is, however, impossible. The word *padana*-° in *padana-sāsano*, line 2 is taken by Sarma and Rao as an equivalent of *pradhāna*-°, cf. inscription III.1,3 (commentary).

Most likely this inscription commemorates a gift and, if the Nāsik Praśasti is compared again, by some high ranking person.

Interestingly, the words are divided by space.

B. Sarma / Rao: A.2, p. 75:

The inscription was found on a fragmentary slab “near the stūpa site.”

1. *sidhaṃ raṇo vāsetṭhiputasa siri s(āta)[kaṇṇisa ...*
2. *pavajitena nāgabudhi[nā atevāsiniya bhikhuniyā]*
3. *yakh[i]yāya ...*

“Success! Of King Vāsetṭhiputta Siri Sātakaṇṇi (Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakaṇṇi) ... by the mendicant Nāgabuddhi of the pupil the nun ... of Yakkhikā (Yakṣikā) (?)”

The reading cannot be controlled in detail on the accompanying photo. Only the beginnings of lines 1 and 2 are read safely. Syntactically, *atevāsiniya bhikhuniya* does not

¹⁶. This sequence shows that *sātavāhana* rather is an *appellativum*, than a *nomen proprium*. The word *abhagavāhana* might be *abhaṅga*-° or *abhagga-vāhana*. However, the exact meaning of °-*vāhana*, which seems to be almost a suffix in this sequence, remains uncertain: “carrying non-destruction” > “indestructible” (??).

¹⁷. The translation of these words follows R. C. C. Fynes: The Religious Patronage of the Sātavāhana Dynasty. *South Asian Studies* 11.1995, p. 43-50, particularly note 9.

¹⁸. Émile Senart: The inscriptions in the caves at Nasik. *EI* 8. 1905/06, p. 60.

make sense.¹⁹

Most likely, the inscription records a gift to the Adhālaka-Mahācaitya.

C. Sarma / Rao: A. 3, p. 76:

The inscription was found “in the compound wall of a house in Sannati village.” It is written on a stone slab.

1st side:

1. ... *vāseṭhi*]puto siva siri puḍum[āvi ...
2. ... (na)sukinādikesu kadamūla[phala ...
3. ... *yaya + telasa* ...
4. ... *tapāna karetena na vasi[tavo(?)]*...

2nd side:

1. ... *atāpasena vā na vāsītava d(a)rahal(e or o)*[...
2. ... *tavo sudhāvāsikena ekaratiparivuthe[na* ...

“... of King Vāseṭṭhiputta Siva Siri Puḷumāvi (Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śīva Śrī Pulumāvi) ... and so on, bulbous fruits in the form of *kanda*-roots ... of oil (?) ... (a person) doing ... must not live (here?) ... or a person, who is not an ascetic must not live in ... must by a person, who is wearing white clothes and who has fasted one night ...”

The meaning of *darahale* is unclear; for further comments see next inscription.

D. MASI, plate II, A

This fragment recovered from Kanaganahalli is obviously parallel to or even a second copy of inscription C. It is communicated in the excavation report, where it is briefly mentioned (MASI, p. 15). Only *jayati kanakasa* is read and interpreted as referring to the Buddha Kanakamuni (!) in a strange attempt to interpret the place name Kanaganahalli as “village of Kanaka” that is of Kanakamuni (!). The exact find spot is not communicated.

1. ...] *bhagavaṃ mahāseno jayati bhagavaṃ kaṇakasa[ti jayati* ...
2. ... *rāyā vāseṭh]ip(u)to siva siri puḷumāvi āṇapayati dhamāraṃṇe[* ...
3. ... *Itena ka(m)damulaphaḷanivār(o) ca gahetavo sasamu + [...*
4. ...] *pamāno vavahāranidi(t)ho ca daḍho yo pi tāpasasa[...*

“Lord Mahāseno (Skanda) is victorious, Lord Kanakaśakti (Skanda) is victorious²⁰ ... King Vāseṭṭhiputta Siva Siri Puḷumāvī (Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śīva Śrī Pulumāvi) rules: In the *dharma*-wilderness ... and by him (or: therefore) a restriction concerning fruit in the form of *kanda*-roots must be observed ... and the decision, which is indicated in the law suit is firmly established. And who of/to an ascetic ...”

The fragmentary character of this legal decision concerning ascetics does not allow a

¹⁹. This inscription is also edited by M. S. Nagaraja Rao: Brāhmī Inscriptions and Their Bearing on the Great Stūpa at Sannati, in Frederick M. Asher and S. Gai (eds.): *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*. Delhi 1985, p. 41-45, no. 1.

²⁰. It is worth noticing that the king named Śīvaśrī invokes Skanda and that his son (?) and successor is named Khanda (Skanda) Sātakaṇi. Though it is dangerous to draw these conclusions from personal names, this accumulation of Śaiva names seems to point to the religious preferences of the king, cf. II.5.8.

complete interpretation.

The verb *āṇapayati* <*ājñapayati* is Aśokan (Mauryan) vocabulary, cf. p. 17 above.

A meaningless (?) reading *dhamoramṇe* instead of *dhamāramṇe* (*dharmāraṇye*) “a wilderness, where the Dharma is practiced (?)” can be ruled out. The expression *kanda-mūla-phala-bhojana* “living of fruits and *kanda*-roots (?)” is used in canonical Pāli to characterize ascetics living in the wilderness (*araññe vanaṃ ajjhogāhati*, D I 101,12), cf. CPD s.v. The meaning of *sasamu[* in line 3 is obscure: *sassa-mū[la]* ?

E. In addition, a fragmentary undated inscription found at Vāsana (Nargund Taluk, Dharwar District, Karṇāṭaka) and mentioning Vāsiṭṭhiputta Siri Puḷumāvi, was published in *Epigraphia Indica*:²¹

1. ...]ṇa raṅo vās[i]ṭṭhiputasa siri puḷumāvisa + +

2.ā]yatanav(ā)sisā mahādevasa caḍasivasa

3. ... s[e]llavaḍhakisa

4. ... ka]to ti — sarparāja nu[...]

“[In the year] of King Vāsiṭṭhiputta Siri Puḷumāvi (Vāsiṭṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi) ... of the great god Ca(ṃ)ḍasiva (Caṇḍasiva) residing in the temple ... of the sculptor ... was made. || — The serpent king Nu[.”

The beginning of the inscription is lost, but the ends of lines 2-4 seem to be extant. If so, two *akṣaras* are missing in line 1. The end of the first word extant is *ṇa*. In this position it the word [*sātvāha*]na can be ruled out, which is, moreover, not written with a retroflex *ṇa* normally. Therefore, no reconstruction is possible. The inscription ends in *iti*. “The serpent king Nu[” is a later addition.

Adding the three inscriptions published by Sarma and Rao, the one inscription overlooked by Mirashi, the Vāsana inscription, the one published in MASI, and one undocumented inscription from MASI (cf. I.11 [commentary]) to the 12 inscriptions from Kanaganahalli in the present edition, all together 19 inscriptions, brings the total up to 56 inscriptions presently known to mention Sātavāhana rulers against the 37 inscriptions collected by V. V. Mirashi in 1981.

Besides in inscriptions, the Sātavāhana kings are of course mentioned as Andhrājātīya or Andhrabrṛtya in different Purāṇas. The relevant information was collected and the list of Sātavāhana kings reconstructed by Frederick Eden Pargiter.²² As the names of the Āndhra kings in the Purāṇas and those found in inscriptions as well as on coins of the Sātavāhanas are identical, there is no doubt about identifying the Andhrabrṛtyas as Sātavāhanas.

The general problems of the history of the Sātavāhanas, which will not be discussed here, are outlined briefly, but brilliantly in the still important, though of course partly

21. M. J. Sharma: Vāsana Inscription of Vāsa(sic!)ṭṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāvi. *EI* 41. 1975-76, p. 154-158.

22. *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*. - On the Andhras in the Mahābhārata cf. M.A. Mehendale: *Mahābhārata - Cultural Index*, II.2. Names of Countries, Peoples, Islands etc. Poona 2001, p. 616 foll. s.v. Andhra.

aged survey by Louis de La Vallée Poussin;²³ more recent, but not necessarily in every respect satisfactory outlines by K. Gopalachari are found in the “Comprehensive History of India²⁴” and by Dinesh Chandra Sircar in the “History and Culture of the Indian People.²⁵” A detailed and comprehensive interpretation of all material known at the time is given by V. V. Mirashi in 1981 (see above, note 13).

The Sātavāhana chronology has haunted historical research on ancient India since a long time. By the end of the last century, Ajay Mitra Shastri (AMS)²⁶ and Shailendra Bhandare (SB)²⁷ independently investigated this problem from different perspectives. While A. M. Shastri tried to include all evidence available (Purāṇas, coins, inscriptions), S. Bhandare concentrated mainly on numismatics. The results are remarkably similar as far as the later Sātavāhanas are concerned²⁸, almost the same given the general insufficiency of the material available.

The following rulers of the Sātavāhana dynasty out of a total of 30 kings listed in Pargiter are mentioned now in inscriptions:²⁹

1. Chimuka/Simuka (AMS 52-30; SB 80-65)³⁰ K
2. Kaṇha (AMS 29-12; SB –)
6. Sātakaṇṇi (AMS 12-44 AD; SB –)
[Vedisiri³¹]
18. Mantalaka (AMS -, SB –) K

²³. L’Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tchi. *Histoire du Monde publiée sous la direction de M. E. Cavaignac*. Paris 1930, p. 203-225.

²⁴. Vol. 2: The Mauryas and Sātavāhanas 325 B.C. - A. D. 300. Bombay 1957, chapter X The Sātavāhana Empire, p. 293-327.

²⁵. Vol. 2: The Age of Imperial Unity. Bombay ⁴1968, chapter XIII The Sātavāhanas and the Chedis, p. 191-216. - The useful survey in Himanshu Prabha Ray: *Monastery and Guild. Commerce and Trade under the Sātavāhanas*. Delhi 1986, p. 33-50 does not take into account the work by Mirashi 1981, cf. note 13 above.

²⁶. Ajay Mitra Shastri: *Purāṇas on the Sātavāhanas: An Archaeological-Historical Perspective*, in: A. M. Shastri (ed.): *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*. Vol. I. Delhi 1999, p. 3-72 and A. M. Shastri: *Sātavāhana-Kṣaharāta Chronology and Art History*, in: Ellen M. Raven (ed.): *South Asian Archaeology 1999*. Groningen 2008, p. 341-351. The dates given in both these contributions by A. M. Shastri vary slightly; here, the AMS dates from Vāsīṭṭhiputta Siri Pulumāvi onwards are adopted as communicated in *South Asian Archaeology 1999*.

²⁷. Shailendra Bhandare: *Historical Analysis of the Satavahana Era: A Study of Coins*. Unpublished PhD thesis Bombay 1998 (Large parts of the thesis are available electronically under www.academia.edu, to which I was most kindly directed by the author) and S. Bhandare: *Linking the Past: Overstruck Coins and the Chronology of the Satavahanas*, in: Shailendra Bhandare and Sanjay Garg (eds.): *Felicitas. Essays in Numismatics, Epigraphy and History in Honour of Joe Cribb*. Bombay 2011, p. 53-64. - The very brief summary of the political history of the Sātavāhanas in the *Comprehensive History and Culture of Andhra Pradesh*, Vol. II: *Early Historic Andhra Pradesh 500 BC - AD 624* ed. by I. K. Sarma. Delhi 2008, p. 10-17 was outdated at the time of publication.

²⁸. The still fairly obscure early history has no bearing on the material from Kanaganahalli and will not be taken into account here.

²⁹. The numbers of Pargiter’s list are put in front of the names. Kings documented at the Adhālaka-Mahācaitya in Kanaganahalli are marked by “K,” those found in inscriptions in the Sannati / Kanaganahalli area by “(K).”

³⁰. This is the second Simuka of S. Bhandare, who, following numismatic evidence, postulates a much earlier Simuka I.

³¹. The identity of Vedisiri, a name found only in the Nānāghāt inscriptions (Lüders, List 1112) is doubtful, cf. A. M. Shastri: *Purāṇas on the Sātavāhanas*, as above note 26, p. 25.

20. Sundara Sātakaṇṇi (AMS -, SB -)	K
22. Śivasvāti (Siva Sātakaṇṇi) (AMS -; SB 32-60, cf. note 33)	
23. Gotamiputta Sātakaṇṇi (AMS 61-90; SB 60-84 [or longer])	K(?)
24. Vāsītṭhiputta Siri Puḷumāvi (AMS 91-118; SB 85-125)	K
24a. Vāsītṭhiputta Siri Sātakaṇṇi (AMS 119-147; SB 125-147)	K
25. Vāsītṭhiputta Siva Siri Pulumāvi (AMS 148-154; SB 152-160)	(K)
26. Vāsītṭhiputta Khanda Sātakaṇṇi (AMS 155-169; SB 160-165)	
[28. Vāsītṭhiputta Vijaya Sātakaṇṇi (AMS -; SB 165-170)]	
27. Gotamiputta Yañña Sātakaṇṇi (AMS 170-198; SB 170-200)	K
28. Gotamiputta Vijaya Sātakaṇṇi (AMS 199-204; SB -)	
29. Vāsītṭhiputta Caṇḍa Sātakaṇṇi (AMS 205-214; SB 200-215)	K
[28. Gotamiputta Vijaya Sātakaṇṇi (AMS 215-224 [Vāsītṭhiputta]; SB 215-225)]	
30. Mādhariputta Siri Pulumāvi (AMS 225-230 [Vāsītṭhiputta]; SB 225-240)	K

The inscriptions in Kanaganahalli contribute some important new facts. First, the kings Mantalaka and Sundara, known only from the Purāṇic lists so far, are documented in one inscription each. Their “portraits” show that they were evidently important rulers and both are called *rāyā* as other ruling kings are. Although it is at present impossible to say anything on their chronology, the Purāṇic sequence is followed here. For, a comparison of the Purāṇic list with the evidence gathered from coins and inscriptions shows that the sequence of at least the later kings and to a certain extent even the length of their respective reign, it seems,³² might be more trustworthy than usually conceded.³³ This is underlined by the emergence of both these so far undocumented kings.³⁴

Moreover, for the first time, a regnal year of Chimuka is provided (I.3), and he is shown on an image (I.4). His year 16 might correspond to 36 BC (AMS) or 64 BC (SB). This inscription records the oldest dated donation at Kanaganahalli.

The rather long reign of Vāsītṭhiputta Siri Pulumāvi of about 40 years as assumed by S. Bhandare following numismatic evidence is confirmed by the regnal year 35 in inscription I.8.

The inscriptions I.10 and I.12 giving the regnal years 6 of Vāsītṭhiputta Siri Sātakaṇṇi and 11 for Gotamiputta Siri Yañña Sātakaṇṇi respectively, cf. year 10 - 19 (?) in inscription I.11, do not contradict the assumed length of both reigns. However, the year 11 of Caṇḍa Sātakaṇṇi (I.13) shows that the reign of only nine years assumed by A. M.

³². Even if the number of years can be taken into consideration at best *cum grano salis*; however, the categories “long” and “short” might apply.

³³. While there is some uncertainty concerning Vāsītṭhiputta Vijaya Sātakaṇṇi, who is placed before no. 27 Yañña Sātakaṇṇi by S. Bhandare, but after no. 29 Caṇḍa Sātakaṇṇi by A. M. Shastri, where S. Bhandare has Gotamiputta Vijaya Sātakaṇṇi, S. Bhandare’s identification of Siva Sātakaṇṇi known only from coins and dated by him to AD 32-60 (p. 248) with no. 22 Śivasvāti of the Purāṇas, the immediate predecessor of Gotamiputta Sātakaṇṇi, could further corroborate this trustworthiness.

³⁴. A comparatively correct historical memory of the Sātāvāhanas is not unlikely. As the Guptas, who are concluding the Purāṇic list, are just mentioned summarily without naming any individual king, the list of the Sātāvāhana dynasty might have been established by 300 AD, less than a century after the last ruler. - The thorny problems of dating (the individual parts of) Purāṇas are discussed by Ludo Rocher: *The Purāṇas. A History of Indian Literature* II.3. Wiesbaden 1986, p. 100-103 in general terms, and, e.g., of the Matsya-Purāṇa p. 199.

Shastri is too short, and that the span of fifteen years suggested by S. Bhandare seems to be nearer to truth.

Unfortunately, the date in the inscription of Mādhariputta Siri Pulumāvi is lost (I.14). At any rate the time of his reign shows that this is the latest approximately dated donation made in Kanaganahalli sometime around 230 AD following again S. Bhandare. Therefore, donations to the Adhālaka-Mahācaitya must have gone on for about two centuries, if not even two centuries and a half. This is the only Buddhist monument in ancient India, for which continuous building activities accompanying the donations can be traced in epigraphical records over such a long period.³⁵

Lastly, there are two undated inscriptions, which record events of importance to the Buddhist Saṃgha at Kanaganahalli and, given the very close connection of this community with the house of the Sātavāhanas, also for the latter.

The first inscription (I.7) mentions a particularly precious gift to the Adhālaka-Mahācaitya by King Sātakaṇṇi. It is impossible to identify this king with certainty. The only kings, who can be ruled out at once are Vāsiṭṭhiputta Siri Pulumāvi and Vāsiṭṭhiputta Siva Siri Pulumāvi, because they do not have the element Sātakaṇṇi in their names. Equally, no. 6 of the Purāṇic list, Sātakaṇṇi, whose very existence is still in doubt, can be excluded. Most of the kings following Vāsiṭṭhiputta Siri Pulumāvi distinguish themselves by epithets such as Siri, Siva, Yañña etc. and, consequently, would hardly have dropped the very part of their name that identifies them. This leaves us with Gotamiputta Sātakaṇṇi, who could have shortened his name as his successor did using only Pulumāvi in inscription I.9.

The inscription I.9 is perhaps the most interesting one found at Kanaganahalli:³⁶ “King Puḷumāvi hands over Ujjain to the Non-Victorious.” This is obviously an event of prime importance for the history of both, the Sātavāhanas and the second party, which can be, given the time and the area, only the Kṣatrapas. This raises the question of the identity of the Kṣatrapa ruler standing besides Pulumāvi, who holds a *bhṛṅgāra* ready to make his donation. First, in spite of the numismatic evidence, which seems to indicate that the area controlled by Pulumāvi did not stretch beyond the Narmada into Malwa (S. Bhandare, p. 283) he evidently was in the possession of Ujjain at a certain time. This would concur with the Nāsik Praśasti, where it is said that Ākara and Avanti (line 2: *ākaraṅva[m]ti*), that is Malwa and consequently Ujjain, both were in the possession of Pulumāvi’s predecessor Gotamiputta Siri Sātakaṇṇi. After finding the Kanaganahalli inscription, the Nāsik Praśasti can be no longer interpreted as “the contents of the eulogy ... are evidently exaltations” (S. Bhandare p. 283) and dismissed. On the contrary, the suggestion by V. V. Mirashi (p. 35), who, by adducing evidence from Ptolemy, assumes that Pulumāvi lost the northern part of the Sātavāhana-realm to either, Caṣṭana or Rudradāman, seems to be preferable. For, Ptolemy says in his Geography, that Pulumāvi

³⁵. On the possible duration of construction activities at the Adhālaka-Mahācaitya cf. inscription I.10 (commentary).

³⁶. This inscription is also discussed in O. v. Hinüber: Mitteilungen aus einer vergangenen Welt. Frühe Buddhisten und ihre Inschriften. *ZDMG* 144. 2014 (in press).

rules in Paithan and Tiastanos / Caṣṭana in Ujjain (VII.1.82 Βαιθάνα βασίλειον Σιριππολεμαίου and VII.1.63 Ὀζήνη βασίλειον Τιαστανού). This describes a situation in evident retrospective even if this is part of the first edition of the Geography: Ptolemy was probably still working on a second edition when he died in about 170 AD. If Caṣṭana's very long reign lasted from approximately 78 to 130,³⁷ and Pulumāvi reigned approximately between 91 and 118 (AMS) or 85 and 125 (SB), the date of the event depicted at Kanaganahalli cannot be determined exactly, because it could have occurred any time during Pulumāvi's reign. It is not impossible that this transfer of Ujjain from Sātavāhana rule to Caṣṭana was part of a peace treaty (see inscription I.9 [commentary]).

Friendly relations between the Kṣatrapas and the Sātavāhanas were also inaugurated by the marriage between Pulumāvi's brother and successor Siri Sātakaṇṇi with the daughter of Rudradāman,³⁸ the successor to and son of Caṣṭana. Later, however, relations deteriorated and Rudradāman defeated one of the Sātavāhana rulers, most likely his own son-in-law, twice in battle.³⁹

^{37.} The dates of the Kṣatrapas and their conflict with the Sātavāhanas are discussed by Joe Cribb: *Early Indian History*, in: Michael Willis: *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India*. London 2000, p. 39-54.

^{38.} Shobhana Gokhale: *Kanheri Inscriptions*. Poona 1991, no. 16 (cave no. 5), p. 62: *vāsiṣṭhiputrasya śrī sātakaṇṇisya devyā ... mahākṣatraparu[dradāma]putryāḥ ...*

^{39.} Rudradāman states in his Gīrnār inscription of 150 AD that he treated a defeated Sātavāhana ruler friendly because they were not too distantly related (*dakṣiṇāpates sātakaṇṇer dvir api nīrvyājam avajītyāvajītya sambandhāvidūrā[ta]jyā anutsādanāt prāptayaśasā*, line 12): Franz Kielhorn: *Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman; Year 72. EI 8. 1905-06*, p. 36-47.

EDITION OF THE KANAGANAHALLI INSCRIPTIONS

I. INSCRIPTIONS CONTAINING THE NAMES OF HISTORICAL KINGS

A first and preliminary survey of the images of kings unearthed in Kanaganahalli is given by Monika Zin: Māndhātar, the Universal Monarch, and the Meaning of Representations of the Cakravartin in the Amaravati School, and of the Kings on the Kanaganahalli Stūpa, in: Peter Skilling and Justin McDaniel (eds.): *Buddhist Narrative in Asia and Beyond*, Volume I. Bangkok 2012, p. 149–164. At the time of writing, only a small part of the Kanaganahalli inscriptions and their readings were accessible to M. Zin.

1. N 2768; AN p. 91 (Asoka 1); MASI CXXXIX. 3 (p. 463, no. 95), plate CIV, fig. 47b; IAR 1997-98, plate 72

Above a two-tiered panel, the upper one showing Asoka with female attendants, the lower one the Bodhisatva Somarāta (cf. II.7,11 [N 2770]).

rāyā asoko

“King Asoka.”

Commentary:

The name of the king is written above the image to be well visible in the exceptional position near the northern exit of the Great Stūpa. It is positioned in such a way on the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*, that it would be seen above the Bodhisatva Somarāta, as the last image by devotees when descending (?) to the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

The image is discussed in MASI p. 165, 293.

Image and inscription are published on the cover of *Indian Archaeology — A Review 1997/98* and mentioned p. 96. This image recalls a scene depicted in Sāñcī, which was described by Alfred Foucher as showing King Asoka visiting the Buddha. This identification has been questioned by D. Schlingloff, who refers the image at Sāñcī to Māra rather: “Aśoka or Māra? On the interpretation of some Sāñcī reliefs,” in: *Indological and Buddhist Studies. Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*. Canberra 1982, pp. 441-455, cf. also *Ajātaśatru visiting the Buddha: A. Coomaraswamy: La sculpture de Bhārhut*. Paris 1956, planche XIII, Fig. 33.

2. N 2773 = L 39:38, AN p. 92 (Asoka 2); MASI CXXXIX. 5 (p. 463, no. 97), plate CV

Below a fragmentary two-tiered panel both showing the veneration of the Buddha by a group of persons, among them presumably Asoka.

rāyā asoko

“King Asoka.”

Commentary:

Image and inscription are positioned in such a way in the western exit of the upper

pradakṣiṇapatha that it would be seen by devotees as the last image when descending (?) to the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha*. The inscription most likely describes a scene from the *Aśoka-Avadāna*. The image is discussed in MASI p. 295.

3. N 3514; ASI 21, AN p. 73; MASI CXLIII, A-D (p. 464, no. 101) = MASI CXXXIX. 9a-d; plate C = L 39:27 (plate C, B)

Above a two-tiered panel, the upper one showing Kassapagotta being carried in a palanquin, the lower one riders on mythical animals, cf. III.3,3 (N 3505).

Date: Year 16, reign of King Siri Chimuka / Simuka Sātavāhana (approximately 36 BC [AMS] or 64 BC [SB]).

raño siri chimu(ka)sātavāhanasa savachare soḍe 10 6 mātiseka[

“In the year sixteen 16 of King Siri Chimuka Sātavāhana. Mātiseka[.]”

Commentary:

This fragment, which is the oldest dated inscription found in Kanaganahalli, breaks off after the name of the assumed donor Mātiseka (Mātṛseka?), cf. Hilka, p. 87 on names with Mātṛ-. The second part of this name is not clear and might point to a hybrid name, cf. Mātṛ-spāla, an Indo-Iranian name found on the Upper Indus, MANP 10, p. 187 (Khomar Das 42:1 quoting Thor Nord 157:1).

The images are discussed in MASI p. 165, 289.

According to MASI CXXXIX. 9a-d = CXLIII.A-D, this fragment is part of a longer inscription broken into four fragments: (a) I.3 (N 3514), (b) IV.9 (N 2064), (c) IV.2 (N 3486) and (d) II.4,22 (N 2112). Consequently, the complete inscription would read:

(a) *raño siri chimu(ka)sātavāhanasa savachare soḍe 10 6 mātiseka***(b)***sa gahapatinā toḍ(e)sacanagahapatiput(e)sa sabhāriyesa sa ... (c) saputasa sajamātusa sasunhasa sagotasa saduhu[takasa] ... (d) kacūkā deyadhamadāna*

If this is correct, this result would be a sequence of the panels MASI C, A (p. 406), XCIX (p. 405), XCVIII (p. 404), XCIII (p. 399). As the margins and the breaks at the sides of the panels are clearly visible only II.4,22 (plate VII, B: original position of the stone ?), it is difficult guess whether or not the fragments really fit together. At any rate there is a rather long gap between parts (b) and (c) of the inscription, cf. plates XCIX, A and XCVIII, A, and possibly between parts (c) and (d), cf. plates XCVIII, A and XCIII, A. Therefore, strong doubts remain concerning the unity of these fragments.

Considering the text, no problem seems to be posed by the transition from (a) to (b) in this respect. However, the resulting construction of the sentence is very strange, because the genitive *mātisekasa* seems to be continued by the instrumental *gahapatinā*. Here, the title *gahapati* follows the name as in *toḍagahapatino*, III.1,12 (N 3245).

The segmentation of the sequence *gahapatinātoḍ(e)sacanagahapatiput(e)sa* remains doubtful. The end *gahapatiputesa* is certain in spite of the strange ending *-esa*, cf. the following *sabhāriyesa*, which seems to be a crossing of genitive and instrumental. This crossing might explain the *anakoluthon* in *mātisekasa gahapatinā* “by (and of) the banker Mātiseka.” He would be the son of a banker bearing the name Toḍesacana “Sacana of the Toḍa family” (?), cf. IV.9 [N 2064] (commentary).

The transition from (b) to (c) is equally problematic, because of the gap. For, it is difficult to see, what could be filled in between *sabhāriyesa sa* [(end b)... (beginning c)] *saputasa*. It is very unlikely that the parents are named after the wife is mentioned; the daughter(s) follow later.

Even after supplementing *saduhu[tukasa]* a gap seems to remain open between (c) and (d).

If this text really forms a unit, a full translation of this highly hypothetical reconstruction could be:

“In the year sixteen 16 of King Śrī Chimuka Sātavāhana. The pious donation and gift, encasement slabs by/of Mātiseka, the banker, the son of the banker Sacana of the Toḍa family (?), together with his wife(s), ... son(s), son(s)-in-law, daughter(s)-in-law, his clan (*gotra*), his (daughter(s))...”

Because of the many prevailing linguistic uncertainties, which stand in the way of taking these fragments as one inscription, the individual fragments are dealt with separately and in detail under the numbers listed above.

Lastly, a date for the execution of the final *kañcuka* already during Chimuka's reign would be highly problematic, if not impossible.

4. N 3231a; ASI 58; AN p. 90; MASI CXXXIX. 4 (p. 463, no. 96), plates LX, A; CVIII, A = L 38:18; fig. 48a.

Below a two-tiered panel; the lower one showing a Nāgarāja (cf. II.8,2 [N 3231b]); the upper one King Chimuka in his harem.

Date: 1st century BC or later.

rājā siri chimukasādavāhana

“King Siri Chimuka Sātavāhana.”

Commentary:

The inscription describes the upper panel, which shows the King Simuka and his queen. In spite of the fact that the second inscription following this one on the same stone and naming the Nāgarāja Śaṅkapāla probably seen in the damaged lower panel is clearly written by a different hand, cf. II.8,2 (N 3231b), MASI takes this to be one inscription and translates “King Chhimuka Sādavāhana and his friend serpent king” confusing *sakha* (*śaṃkha*) and *sakhi*, while disregarding °-*vālo* altogether.

The image is discussed in MASI p. 297 foll., cf. p. 165, 193a.

The original position of the image after excavation (to the right of the southern entrance of the *pradakṣiṇapatha*) is shown on plates XIX, A and XXIX, C (L 36:09). The panel LX, B is erroneously placed besides LX, A. The correct combination can be seen on plate CVIII.

5. N 3002 = L 37:40-44; ASI 40; AN p. 81; MASI CXXXIX. 2 (p. 463, no. 94), plate LXI, A; CX, A

Below a two-tiered panel; the lower shows riders on an elephant and a horse, the upper one a royal couple. King Mantalaka holds a precious drinking vessel in his right hand.

Date: later than about 50 AD.

rāya matalako

“King Mantalaka.”

Commentary:

The first *akṣara* is looks like *ro* rather than *rā*. According to the Purāṇas, King Mantalaka, who is supposed to have ruled for five years, is no. 18 in the list of Pargiter, p. 36, cf. Introduction: 3. History and Chronology, p. 22. The inscription proves the reading Pattalaka in some Purāṇas to be a mistake for Mantalaka as correctly seen by Pargiter.

The image is discussed in MASI p. 193, 300.

6. N 2732; ASI 30; AN p. 77; MASI (p. 477, no. 240), plate CXI, A; (LXI, B [?])

Below a two-tiered panel; the lower shows riders on elephant and horse. Only fragments of the upper tier survive which point to the image of a royal couple.

Date: later than about 50 AD.

rāyā sudara sātakaṇi

“King Sundara Sātakaṇi.”

Commentary:

The name, which is written in a slightly unusual script, particularly the *akṣaras su* and *da*, is no. 20 in the list of Pargiter, p. 36, cf. Introduction: 3. History and Chronology, p. 23.

The image is discussed in MASI p. 193, 301. *sātakaṇi*.

7. N 3326; ASI 59; AN p. 91; MASI CXXXIX.10 (p. 464, no. 102), plate CIX, fig. 48b (the monk in the background does not carry the *cāmara* erroneously shown on the drawing); **plate LX, B**

Below a two-tiered panel; the lower showing mahouts on elephants and a groom with a horse, the upper one showing King (Gotamīputra?) Sātakaṇi making a donation to two monks.

Date: 61-90 AD (AMS) or 60-84 AD (SB).

rāyā sātakaṇ[i mahāce](t)[i]yasa r(u)pāmayāni payumāni oṅ(o)yeti

“King Sātakaṇi donates silver lotus flowers to the Great Caitya.”

Commentary:

The inscription is broken into two parts. The exact length of the gap is uncertain, because part of the stone seems to be missing.

There might be faint traces of an *-i-* above *sātakaṇi*. Equally faint traces at the beginning of the fragment of the inscription preserved on the right part of the stone would not contradict a reconstruction of the *akṣara ca*. The lower part of the *akṣara ta* is visible. Therefore the suggested reconstruction *mahācetiya* is likely and supported by parallels naming the Great Caitya. At any rate, the recipient of the gift should be placed here, which is the Caitya.

The next word is *rupāmayāni* corresponding to Sanskrit **rūpyāmayāni*, Middle Indic *ruppa-*^o; on the lengthening of the *-a-* before the ending *-maya* cf. Pāli *haritāmaya*

“golden.” The verb corresponds to Pāli *oṇojeti* “to give away as a present.”

The image is discussed in MASI p. 193, 298 foll.

The inscription describes the image in the upper tier and obviously records as an important historical event that King Sātakaṇṇi made a substantial donation the Great Caitya, which is received by two monks, cf. the donation made by the Toḍa family II.4,23 (N 2670). The event is dated by the name of the king. The king called Sātakaṇṇi without further epithet is most likely Gotamīputra Sātakaṇṇi, see Introduction: 3. History and Chronology, p. 24.

Here, the Caitya receives a gift, which it “owns” as property. This is known from Theravāda sources, where the commentary to the Vinayaṭīkā has, e.g.: *vetanañ ca paṇ’ ettha cetiyasantakam pi saṅghasantakam pi dātuṃ vaṭṭati*, Sp 387,14 “it is permitted to use property of the Caitya and property of the Saṅgha to pay wages;” cf. the explanation in the Vinaya sub-commentary *cetiyaṣṣa upanikkhepato ti cetiye navakammatthāya upanikkhittato, cetiyasantakato*, Sp-ṭ (B^c) III 493,21 ad Sp 1406,14 “as a deposit for the Caitya means as a deposit for repairs at the Caitya, as property of the Caitya,” cf. Sp 358,19; 1330,2 and G. Schopen: The Buddha as an Owner of Property and Permanent Resident in Medieval Indian Monasteries. 1990, in: *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks. Collected Papers on Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India*. Honolulu 1997, p. 258–289.

8. MASI CXXXVI.8 (p. 458, no. 75) = CXLIV,A = L 41:46

“Slabs paved in the pseudo-*pradakṣhiṇāpatha* preceding the *pushpagrāhiṇis* ... carry inscriptions ... of these, inscription no. A.75 ...,” MASI p. 439b.

Date: Year 35, 2nd half month of the summer, 10th (day), reign of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāvi (120 AD [SB]).

1. *sidha* || *na(mo) bhagavato samasabudhasa adh(ā)lakamahā*
2. *ce[t]iyasa (ra)ñño vāseṭhi(p)uta siri pulumāvisa*
3. *savachare 30 5 gi(m)h(ā)na pakhe 2 10 koruku(la)na*
4. *bhikhuniye dhamasiriyāya agarak(o) paṭasa*
5. *tharo ca deyadhama saha a(māpitū)hi saha ca m(e)*
6. *upajāehi bhayata varanabhutihi saha ca bhayata*
7. *(s)ihēhi savasatāna ca hitasughatha*

“Success! Homage to the Lord, the perfectly Enlightened One, of the great Adhālaka Caitya.

In the year 35 of King Vāseṭhiputta Siri Pulumāvi (Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāvi), in the 2nd half-month of the summer, (on the) 10th (day). An *agaraka* and a covering with slabs are the pious gift of the nun from the Koru family, Dhamasiri (Dharmaśrī), together with (my) parents and with my teacher, the Venerable Varanabhūti, and with the Venerable S(ī)ha (Siṃha) and for the well-being and happiness of all beings.”

Commentary:

This is the longest inscription among those found in Kanaganahalli. It is edited and discussed by Harry Falk, Two Dated Sātavāhana Epigraphs, *IJJ* 52. 2009, p. 197–206.

The reading *adhālaka* as the correct name of the *stūpa* at Kanaganahalli is confirmed, once the photo in MASI, inscription II.1,3 (N 3130-3132) *adh[ā]laka-cetiya-dhamarajaka* and particularly for the *akṣara dhā* inscription VI.8 (N 4203-2) are compared. The reading *śudhala* suggested earlier is due to a deception by the photo L 41:46. Far off the mark is the reading *adholoka* (!) in MASI.

An unsolved problem is posed by the word *agarako* in line 4. This word was read as *akharika* by H. Falk. The faint stroke interpreted as *-i-*, rather is an accidental scratch on the stone, if other super-script *-i-*s used in this inscription are compared. This, however, has no consequences for the interpretation of the text. The second *akṣara* certainly is a *ga* as in *bhagavato*, line 1. The *akṣara kha*, on the contrary, is slightly slanting in *bhikhuniye*, line 4 and in *pakhe*, line 2 compared to the symmetrically round *akṣara* in *agarako*.

The *-o-* above the last *akṣara* is clearly visible, though the top of the *akṣara* is crossed by a crack in the stone. Therefore, the sequence *agarakopaṭasatharoca* could be segmented as *agarako paṭasa tharo ca* or more likely ... *paṭasa(m)tharo*.

The reading *agaduko* suggested in MASI can be ruled out once the *akṣaras ra* in *tharo*, and *da* in *deya-*^o, both in line 5, are compared. How this word comes to mean “the final course (*āgatukapaṭa*) of the *stūpa*,” MASI p. 439b, is enigmatic. Neither is the second translation offered for the same word justified: “upper most slab (*agatuko-paṭa*),” MASI p. 458, no. 75.

The word *ca* at the end of the sequence shows that Dhammasiri’s donation consisted of two parts. The second part is easily understood. For, *tharo* occurs in *dānaṃ tharo*, II.5,10 (N 2976) “covering, lining” that means probably that the costs incurred for having slabs (*paṭa*, i.e. *paṭṭa*) attached to some part of the building is covered by this donation. What is meant exactly by *paṭa-sa(m)tharo* is shown by an inscription from Nāgarjuna-koṇḍa: *cetiyaḡharaṃ sapataṣaṃtharaṃ sacetiṃyaṃ*, F 1,2 (*EI* 20. 1929/30, p. 22), cf. also O. v. Hinüber, review of R. Salomon, *Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the Song of Lake Anavatapta (Anavatapta-gāthā)*. 2008, *JAOS* 130. 2010, p. 90–94 on *saṃstara*.

The technical meaning of *paṭa (paṭṭa)* “slab” with or without an image is moreover confirmed by many inscriptions at Kanaganahalli. Consequently, the nun Dhammasiri donated the slabs covering the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*. These are seen best on plate VII, B.

The problem of *agarako* remains unsolved for now, because none of the possible linguistic interpretations yields a straightforward result:

agarako / aṃgarako / aggarako / agrarako / aṃgrarako / argarako / argrarako / agnarako / agaraṃko etc. or *agarāṃko* etc.

Most likely, it is an architectural term, the exact meaning of which cannot be ascertained at present. As the find spot is not described precisely, no help can be derived from the architectural context. A possible guess is that an approach to the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* (stairs? entrance?) are meant (cf. II.2,2 Pūphagahanis, introduction)

The connection of Koru-kula to a place name as suggested by H. Falk in his translation “Dharmaśrī hailing from Korukula” (*IJJ* 52. 2009, p. 202 foll.), does not seem to be possible. For place names referring to the origin of persons are given in the

singular, while the plural is used for family names, cf., e.g., inscription II.1,1 (N 3212): *dhaññakāḍakasa ṇaḷabāhukānaṃ ... asilasa* “Aśvila of the Naḷabāhukas (i.e. the Naḷabāhuka family) from Dhaññakaṭa.” Exceptionally, a place name is put in the plural, if it is combined with the honorific plural *therānaṃ*. The place name Koru(m)gālaka does, however, occur in an inscription, cf. II.1,3 [N 3130-3132] (commentary).

The length of the reign of Vāseṭṭhiputta Siri Pulumāvi (Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi) was assumed to have been 27 years (91-118) by A. M. Shastri but more correctly 40 years (85-125) by S. Bhandare as this inscription dated in the 35th regnal year shows.

Instead of the common *mātāpituhi*, the compound *amā-pit(ū)hi* is preferred here, cf. III.2,2 (N 2808-2810). It is likely, though not entirely clear because of a crack in the stone, that a long *-ū-* is intended in °*pitūhi*. If so, this is the correct form, cf. *Mittelindisch* § 189.

It is remarkable that the nun Dhammasiri refers to her teacher by using *me*, and, moreover, that she had a personal (*me*: my) male teacher (*upajāehi [upādhyāyāiḥ]* with loss of aspiration, and of the intervocalic *-y-*, cf. *upajhāehi*, II.6,1). Following the Buddhist scriptures, the teacher of a nun (or novice) should also be a nun (*pavattinī*, rarely *upajjhāyā [upajjhā*, fem. does not exist in Pāli]), and the nun is called either *sahajīvinī* or *antevāsibhikkhunī* in the *Theravāda-Vinaya*, cf. U. Hüsken: *Die Vorschriften für die buddhistische Nonnengemeinde im Vinayapiṭaka der Theravādin*. Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie Band 11. Berlin 1997, p. 198 foll., 261; only the *bhikkhunī-ovādaka* “instructor of the nuns” is a monk (Vin II 216,4). However, as the inscriptions at Kanaganahalli and elsewhere show, it was usual for a nun to be a pupil (*antevāsini*) of a monk, cf. nos. II.1,3 (N 3130-32), II.1,4 (N 3134-3135), II.3,4.

The name of the *upādhyāya* Varaṇa-bhūti is parallel to Varaṇa-hasti found in a Mathurā inscription as pointed out by H Falk, *IJJ* 52. 2002, p. 204; on names, particularly of Vaiśyas, ending in °*bhūti*, cf. Hilka, p. 26.

The image is discussed in MASI p. 303 foll.

9. N 2949 = L 39:39/40; ASI 39; AN p. 81; MASI CXXXIX.7 (p. 463, no. 99), plates CXII, LXI, C, figure 48c

On a two-tiered panel, the lower one showing elephants and horses, the upper one a king making a donation to a second king.

Date: During Pulumāvi's reign 91-118 AD (AMS) / 85-125 AD (SB).

rāya puḷumāvi ajayatasa ujeni deti

“King Puḷumāvi hands over Ujain to Ajaya(m)ta (‘the non-victorious’).”

Commentary:

The image was found behind the northern *āyāga*-platform (plate XXII, B), and consequently was well visible upon entering the *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

The reading is unproblematic: The *akṣara de* is written in an unusual form, cf. however, III.2,28 (N 3104) *sudara-*° and Ramesh Chandra Babu: *Palaeography of the Brāhmī Script in Andhra*. Delhi 2006, Plate III B, line 16 etc. Although a reading *eti* instead of *deti* has been suggested, the shape of the *akṣara e-* as commonly used in

Kanaganahalli is quite different, and no similar *e-* is listed in R. Ch. Babu. However, there is a similar *akṣara e-* used once in *paṭimāe* II.7.7. The image, however, confirms the reading *deti*.

The inscription describes the upper panel and must be interpreted according to what is seen on the image. A defeated king (Puḷumāvi) hands over the conquered city to the victorious king and thus seems to refer to a historical event.

The word *ajayatasa* is to be interpreted most likely as *a-jayantassa* (Skt. *a-jayataḥ*) “not being victorious.” This, obviously, can hardly be the name of the second king standing next to Puḷumāvi, who is easily recognized as the donor by the *bhr̥ṅgāra* in his hands. It has been assumed from epigraphic evidence that Puḷumāvi lost Ujjain to the Kṣatrapa ruler Caṣṭana (cf. Introduction, 3. History and Chronology, p. 24).

This act may have been the formal confirmation of a peace treaty as described in *Arthaśāstra* 7.3.32 with Puḷumāvi giving away part of his territory to preserve the rest: “Protecting the remaining constituents by surrendering a portion of his land is the ‘preplanned peace act’ ...” (P. Olivelle: *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India. Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra*. Delhi 2013, p. 284).

The panel is discussed in MASI p. 193, 303, 446.

10. MASI CXXXI. 5 (p. 451, no. 15) = CXLVI, A-C

On an upright (or coping stone?) of the railing, cf. MASI p. 169.

Date: Year 6, 4th half-month of the summer, 5th day, reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi (125 AD [AMS] / 131 AD [SB]).

1. *[sidham] r[a]ñ[o] v[ā]s(i)ṭh(i)puta(sa si)r(i) sadakan(i)[sa savacha]r(a) (6) gi(mhā)na pakha 4 divasa 5 utarāhakena sathavāh(e)na sama(l)[e]ṇa u(d)uk(o)pat(o) catāri ca pāyaka (de)ya(dhama)*

2. *savabudhapu(cā)ya mātāpituna puyāya savalokah[ita](s)ughāya*

“Success! In the year 6 of King Vāsiṣṭhīputta Siri S(ā)dakanni (Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi), in the 4th half-month of the summer, on the 5th day. This is the pious gift by Samala, a caravan leader from the north, a coping stone (???) and four uprights, to honour all Buddhas, to honour the parents, for the happiness of the whole world.”

Commentary:

Neither the exact find spot nor the object, on which the inscription is written, are mentioned in MASI. It is found either on an upright or on a coping stone of the *vedikā* according to MASI, p. 451.

The inscription is divided into two, not three lines as indicated in MASI. Once the image (CXLVI, A-C) is enlarged and manipulated on the computer screen, the readings in MASI are, by and large, confirmed, however, with some important exceptions.

The figure indicating the regnal year is certainly “6”, not “5” as read in MASI, because the vertical stroke on top of the figure is clearly visible, cf. also Dhammasena-inscription, line 15 *kāhāpaṇa cha 6* where the same numeral can be seen expressed as a figure and in words (O. v. Hinüber: Again on the donation made by the *vinayadhara* Dhammasena and on other inscriptions from Phanigiri. *ARIRIAB* 16. 2013, p. 3-12,

Plates 1–3).

The name of the donor is Samala, a caravan leader from the north; the reading *sathav*-° is certain. There is no long *-ā-* in the first *akṣara*, and the second is a circle with a dot in the middle that is faintly visible. The third *akṣara* in the name of the donor is *-la-*, cf. *loka*, line 2. Consequently, the reading in MASI *sātavavāhana samaṇera* is not tenable; the reading *-ṇe-* was obviously influenced by a much later form of that *akṣara*, which does not yet occur at Kanaganahalli.

The word *utarāhaka*, i.e. *uttarāhaka*, confirms the *lectio difficilior* in *uttarāhakā assavāñijā*, Vin III 6,20, cf. H. Smith in CPD I s. v. *assavāñija*; the remarks s.v. *uttarāpatha* in CPD II supporting the reading *uttarāpathaka* instead are thus proven to be wrong; both variants are missing in NPED.

The gift consists of two parts as the word *ca* indicates. Reading and interpretation of *uduk(o)p(e)ta* or *udukapata* (the reading *uju-* can safely be ruled out) are uncertain. As the second part of the donation is a set of four uprights (not *chatāricha* “umbrella” as in MASI!), this word might mean perhaps “coping stone,” usually designated by *uñhīsa*, cf. MASI p. 169.

In line 2 the Prakrit word corresponding to Sanskrit *pūjā* is written first *pūcā*, then *pūyā* (there is no “*punya*” as read by MASI); inversely *sugha* regularly replaces *sukha* and *utupāno* replaces *udupāno*.

Both the inscriptions recording the donations by the nun Dhammasiri and the caravan leader Samala contain important dates relevant for the construction of the Adhālakā-Caitya. The upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* was paved by the help of Dhammasiri’s donation in the year 35 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, which must have been one of the last years of this long reign. His immediate successor was Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi. Therefore, the *vedikā* was erected perhaps seven or eight years after the paving of the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*. During this period the slabs decorating the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* were probably made or at least put in place. Only after this was done, the *puphagahani*-stones could be fixed on top of these slabs, cf. MASI plate VII, B.

Furthermore, it makes sense only to erect the *vedikā* once all other building activities are finished, because the *vedikā* would prevent free access of the masons from all sides and to all parts of the building, when they had to bring the heavy slabs to their final position.

However, some building activities continued even several years after the *vedikā* was erected. As far as that can be seen in inscriptions, these later activities included work at the *āyāga*-platforms, which are easily accessible at the four entrances, and the erection of umbrellas, see following inscriptions. Moreover, the donation of the Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa sitting in the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha*, were added later, cf. inscriptions II.71 foll., and MASI p. 97, 328 foll.

11. N 4200 + N 4203-01 [not in MASI]

On the fragment of an octagonal pillar, probably the shaft of an umbrella.

Date: Year (10 to 19), reign of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi (between 180 and 199 AD [AMS

and SB]).

1. *ya]ñasātakaṇṇisa saṃvachare (10)*
2. *]tak(ā)na mahāḍataśa[*
3. *mahāceti[*

1. “In the year (10) of Yaññasātakaṇṇi (Yajñasātakarṇi) ...
2. Mahāḍata of the]taka family...
3. The great Caitya[.]”

Commentary:

The fragments N 4200 and 4203-01 are parts of the same inscription. N 4200 contains the first part of the name of the king: *Jñasātakan(i)*. The superscript *-i-* is seen exactly where the stone is split and consequently visible in part on both fragments. There is no trace of an *-o-*, which guarantees the reconstruction *ya]ña* and, at the same time, excludes *ra]ño*.

As only the first part of the numeral is extant, any year from 10 to 19 must be considered as possible, which results in a bracket of ten years. The second line most likely contains the name of the donor, perhaps preceded by his family name.

The Caitya referred to should be the Adhālaka-Caitya.

There is no reason to assume that MASI Plate XLV is a portrait of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi, cf. Introduction, note 3.

The undocumented inscriptions MASI p. 478, no. 254 and 255 seem to be very similar, cf. Introduction: 2. History and Chronology, p. 23.

MSAI 254: 1. ... *gimha pakha 5* ... 2. ... *ta Mahāchētiyē*

MASI 255: 1. ... *Siri-Yana Sātakaṇi* ... *ni Mēhadatasa* (thus read in MASI)

Mēhadatasa is almost certainly identical with Mahāḍata, a name of unknown derivation.

There seems to be a set of altogether six fragmentary (similar?) inscriptions found on the shafts of umbrellas (MASI p. 477 foll., nos. 251-256).

12. N 2826-2832; CXLI.9 (p. 467, no. 143), plate XLIV, B = CXLIV, B

On two sides of an octagonal pillar once supporting an umbrella.

Date: Year 11, 1st half month of the winter, 1st day, reign of Yajñasātakarṇi (181 AD [AMS and SB]).

1. *siddham || raño gotamiputasa siri yañnasātakaṇ(i)śa sa(va) 10 1*
2. *hematāna pakhe 1 diva 1 bhikhusa dhamakadhikasa bodhikayasa*
3. *chata deyadhama sahā mātāpitūhi sahā ca bhātūbhaginihi*
4. *savalokahitāya*

“Success! In the year 11 of King Gotamiputta Siri Yañña Sātakaṇṇi (Gautamīputra Śrī Yajñasātakarṇi), in the 1st half-month of the winter, on the 1st day. The pious gift of the monk (and) preacher Bodhikaya, an umbrella, a together with (his) parents and with (his) brothers and sisters for the well-being of the whole world.”

Commentary:

The pillar was found in an absidal building (STR-I), MASI, p. 113 with Fig. 37 and plate XLIV, A.

The inscription is written on the column vertically from top to bottom. The part of the shaft to be buried in the ground, and the knob to fix an umbrella on top of the column are preserved. Although fragments of various umbrellas were found (MASI fig. 26-29, p. 95), no mention is made of any remains of an umbrella which might have been attached to this pillar. Perhaps one of the umbrellas shown on plates XXXVIII, B and XXXIX (misprinted as XXXVIX), B which do not seem to be identical with those shown on fig. 26-29, belong to this pillar.

The square holes in one umbrella (plate XXXIX, A = fig. 29) may have been used for “suspending garlands” (p. 95), or rather to fix supports as seen in petroglyphs from the Upper Indus, cf. Volker Thewalt: Rock-carvings and Inscriptions along the Indus. The Buddhist Tradition, in: *South Asian Archaeology 1983* ed. by Janine Schotsmans and Maurizio Taddei. Naples 1985, p. 779-800, particularly figures 7-12; further: *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan. Reports and Studies*. Vol. I (Plates) Rock Inscriptions in the Indus Valley ed. by Karl Jettmar. Mainz 1989, plates 94, 105, 107, 115, 137, 143, 146, 150, 159, 165 and: *Die Felsbildstationen Shing Nala und Gichi Nala* hg. von Ditte Bandini-König und O. v. Hinüber. MANP Band 4. Mainz 2001, frontispiece, Tafel IIIa, Va, VIa, etc. Examples from Kashmir are found in Robert E. Fischer: Buddhist Architecture, p. 19 foll., plates 1, 2, 3 in: Pratapaditya Pal (ed.): *Art and Architecture of Ancient Kashmir*. Bombay 1989, p. 17-28. This interesting architectural feature is mentioned only in passing in Kurt A. Behrendt: *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Section Two, India, vol. 17. Leiden 2004 (description of figure 8, cf. p. XV).

The reading of the inscription does not pose any problems. As usual, it is not clear, whether or not one of the dots visible above the *akṣara dha* in *sidha* is meant to mark an *anusvāra*. The long *-ū-* in *°pitūhi* is unusual, but correct, cf. Mittelindisch § 189, while the short *-i-* in *bhaginīhi* is not.

The date falls within Yajña Sātakarṇi's assumed reign of 28 or 30 years (170-198 AD [AMS] / 170-200 AD [SB]). The usual abbreviations *sava* for “year” (*saṃvacchara* / *saṃvatsara*) and *diva* for *divasa* are used here.

Monks described as *dhamakadhika* (*dhammakathika*) are also mentioned in the inscriptions nos. II.2,18 (N 3534b); II.2,19 (N 3580); II.2,20 (N 4018) and in other Buddhist inscriptions, cf. Tsukamoto, Index.

The qualifications of a learned monk, who is able to deliver discourses on the *dhamma* are described in the *Samantapāsādikā* (788,26-790,9), cf. O. v. Hinüber: *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jg 1989, Nr. 11, p. 68-70. The first and foremost among the *dhammakathikas* is Puṇṇo Mantāniputto, AN I 23,25, cf. As 29,12-19.

The formation of the name Bodhikaya with a double suffix *-ka-ya* is unusual, cf. the double suffix *-ṇa-ka* in *Nāga-ṇa-ka*, II.4,13 and Hilka, p. 70.

13. N 2802-2806 = L 42:33-35; MASI CXXXVI.1 (p. 457, no. 68) = CXLV; plate CXXV, G

Above a panel showing the transport of the distributed relics of the Buddha on elephants.

Date: Year 11, 1nd half month of the rainy season, 1st (day), reign of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Caṇḍasātakarṇi (216 AD [AMS] / 211 AD [SB]).

(s)[i]dha) namo [bha]gavato raṅo vās(i)ṭhiputasa saḍasatakanisa sava 10 1 vā pa 1 di 1 pavabātasā kanhasir(i)sa bhātuno saghakasa deyaḍha(ma)

“Success! Homage to the Lord. In the year 11 of King Vāsiṣṭhiputta Sa(m)ḍasatakanni (Vāsiṣṭhiputra Caṇḍasātakarṇi), in the 1st half month of the rainy season, on the 1st day. The pious gift of Saṃghaka, the brother of the novice Kanhasiri (Kṛṣṇasrī).”

Commentary:

The inscription is written above the friezes of the cornice of the western *āyāga*-platform, MASI, p. 320-322, particularly p. 322. It is a set of three donations made by Kanhasiri (cf. III.2,1 [N 3953] and III.2,2 [N 2808-2810]), which comprise scenes of the life of the Buddha beginning with the dream of Queen Māyā, then follows the interpretation of the dream, Māyā in the palace (?), the birth of the Bodhisatva, Māra’s attack, the Buddha preaching, the transport of the distributed relics: MASI plate CXXV, cf. plate XXXIV, cf. III.2,29 [N 3427] (commentary).

The superscript *-i-s* in *vās(i)ṭhiputasa saḍasatak(i)nasa* are visible on plate CXLV. The name of the king is written Sa(m)ḍa-° for Caṇḍa-° as Simuka is in the Purāṇas for Chimuka. This is misunderstood in MASI. King Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi ruled in about AD 205-214 according to A. M. Shastri, who seems to follow the 10 years mentioned in the Purāṇas, cf. Pargiter, p. 36, no. 29. This period is too short according to this inscription. For, the figure is clearly 10 + 1 (not “2” as in MASI). Again the 15 years allotted to Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi by S. Bhandare (200-215) are more realistic.

Although the reading *pavabātasā kanhasir(i)sa* is beyond doubt, this is certainly an error for *pavayitasa*, silently corrected in MASI, once the inscription III.2,1 is compared.

The name Saṃghaka occurs occasionally (Tsukamoto, Index), similar Buddhist names are Saṃbuddhajā (inscription III.2,2 [N 2808-2810]) and Buddhā (inscription V.2,9) or Śikṣamāṇī, Buddhasaṃgha, Vinaya and Dharmakā found in the colophons of the Khotan Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra or Pavajitikā “the little girl that has left home,” Bodhā and Buddhā mentioned in the Dhammasena-inscription, ARIRIAB 16. 2013, p. 3-12, cf. also Namobuddhāya etc. found in the inscriptions on the Gilgit bronzes, cf. *Palola Śāhis*, p. 92.

The name of the donor is Kṛṣṇā-śrī in spite of the fact that he is a Buddhist monk, on names derived from Kṛṣṇa cf. Hilka, p. 93, on Buddhist names ending in °-śrī p. 146.

14. MASI CXLVII, A, B (p. 469, no. 150), plate L, A, cf. plate XXVI, A = CXLVII

Above a panel located at the eastern entrance to the Caitya and showing a Caitya.

Date: 15th (or 5th) day, reign of Māṭharīputra Śrī Pulumāvi (225-230 AD [AMS] / 225-240 AD [SB]).

1. namo bhaga[vato] budhasa raṅo māḍhar(i)putasa siri pulumāvisa (sa)[vachare] + + +

+ + *d(i)va (10) 5 (sā)dakapavatakasa (dhava)[*

2. *(de)va vāñijaputasa hāgāna kaṇhasirisa samāt[u]kasa sabhā](tu)kasa saputakasa dejadhama (ce)ti(ya)paṭo sava(l)[oka ...*

“Homage to Lord Buddha! In the year ... on the 15th day of King Māḍhariputa Siri Pulumāvi (Māḍharīputra Śrī Pulumāvi). The pious gift, a slab (showing) a Caitya, of the son of the merchant Dhava.i[...]deva from the Sā(Chā)daka mountain, Kaṇhasiri (Kṛṣṇaśrī) of the Hāga family, with his mother, with his brother(s), with his son(s) for the (wellbeing ...) of the whole world.”

Commentary:

The donation is placed on very prominent spot decorating the eastern face of the eastern *āyāga*-platform (MASI p. 74), and, consequently, was seen at once upon entering the *pradakṣiṇapatha* by the main entrance from the east. The inscribed slab is shown on plate L, A, and in its original position on plate XXVI, A (slanting slab to the right side of the seated Buddha, description p. 74, cf. L 34:39). Next to it in the centre of eastern face of the *āyāga*-platform stood the panel depicting demons (?), plate XXVII = LII. It is, however, not likely that the extant inscription on this panel (inscription IV.10 [N 3153]) is the missing end Kanhasiri's inscription; there is only one line, and no immediate connection of both texts seems possible.

The images on the cornice are found on plates CXXIII and XXVIII, B depicting scenes of the life of the Buddha among them the return of the horse Kanthaka (XXVIII, B = CXXIII, B), the gods bringing Sujātā's bowl to heaven (CXXIII, C) according to the version found in the *Lalitavistara* (Lv 270,10; on the Theravāda story see inscription III.2,9 [N 3336]), the bowl venerated in heaven (D) (*pātrīmahō*, Lv 270,13 “festival of the bowl”), *cūḍāharaṇa* (E), Māra's attack (?) and Trapuṣa and Bhallika (F). The description as given in MASI, p. 74 needs correction. In MASI this king is forgotten in the chapter on Sātavāhana rulers, MASI p. 297-304.

At the beginning of line 1 at least 4 *akṣaras* are missing, perhaps even 7, if the inscription began with *sidhaṃ*. This corresponds to the end of line 2 (see below). Consequently, 4 to 6 *akṣaras* each are lost at the end of line 1 and at the beginning of line 2.

The name of the king is written with a dental *-l-* in this inscription.

Traces of an *akṣara sa* visible in front of the gap in line 1 allow the reconstruction of *savachare* as expected. MASI reads *savachare 10*, without, however, any trace being visible after *sa[*, let alone a figure “10.” The reference to the *pakṣa* is lost. Therefore, the length of the gap between *(sa)[* and *]d(i)* is approximately 7 to 8 *akṣaras*.

The character following *diva* is not clear: either *diva(sa)* or *diva (10)* seem possible.

The name of the mountain could be either *chādaka* or *sādaka*, cf. Pāli Chāta-pabbata and Sāta-pabbata. However, in the light of II.8,5 most likely Mount Sāta in Majjhimadesa is referred to here, cf. DPPN s. vv.

In line 2 there is only a very short gap, because the topmost umbrella of the Stūpa seen on the image protrudes into the inscription. The reconstruction *[sabhā](tu)kasa*, therefore, is fairly safe. The father is not mentioned and consequently most likely

deceased.

At the end of line 2 faint traces of an *akṣara la* are preserved, which allow the reconstruction of *saval[oka....* Therefore, approximately 4 to 6 *akṣaras* are missing, depending on the reconstruction *saval[okahitāya]* or *saval[okahitasughāya]*. This corresponds to the number of *akṣaras* missing in the beginning of line 1 (see above).

Therefore, the inscription was longer than the image itself and began most likely on the narrow slab which seems to have flanked this panel once and can be seen on plate XXVI, A and ended on the slab showing “demons” (plate LII) (see above).

The donation is described as *cetiya-pāṭa* “a slab showing a Cetiya.” The form *deja-dhama* (*deja*°) instead of *deya-dhama* (*deyya*°) also occurs in II.2,18 (N 3534), cf. Introduction: 2. Content and Language of the inscriptions, p. 15.

The donor was the son of a merchant, and most likely a merchant himself (on the meaning of *vaṇik-putra* “son of a merchant” and “merchant” cf. L. Alsdorf: *Kleine Schriften*. Stuttgart ²2001, p. 588), whose place of origin seems to have been Mount Sātaka or, less likely, Mount Chātaka, cf. Mount Khalatika, IV.5 (N 3461).

King Māṭharīputra Śrī Pulumāvi is the last Sātavāhana ruler. His mother belongs to the Māṭharī Gotra, a metronym, which is also found in the names of Ikṣvāku kings, the successors to the Sātavāhanas (cf. Lüders: List, Index). This Gotra name corresponds to the name Māṭhara, one of the *ṛṣis* of the Kaśyapas, cf. J. Brough: *The early Brahmanical system of gotra and pravara*. Cambridge 1953, p. 163.

II. INSCRIPTIONS ON ARCHITECTURAL PARTS AND INSCRIPTIONS REFERRING TO THE OBJECT OF THE DONATION

II.1. ĀYĀGA-THAMBHAS AND ĀYĀGA-PAṬṬAS

According to Tsukamoto, Index, one inscription from Ghaṇṭasāla mentions an unspecified number of *ayaka(tha)bha*, EI XXVII. 1947/48, p. 4 inscription E². Moreover, three almost identical inscriptions from Jagayyapeṭa record the donation of five *āyakakhaṃbhas* translated as “entrance pillars” in Lüders, List 1202, 1203, 1204, which were erected at the eastern gate of the Stūpa. This concurs with the evidence from Kanaganahalli, where only the eastern entrance is provided *āyāgathambhas*, however, only with four, not five, MASI, p. 71 foll., p. 51 and plate XVI, B. The important panel showing the image of a Stūpa with four *āyāgathabhas* is documented only in L 38:38-42, but missing in MASI.

The *āyāgakhaṃbhas* are investigated by Mireille Bénisti: Les stūpa aux cinq piliers. *BEFEO* 68. 1971, p. 131-162 = Stūpas with Five Pillars, in: M. Bénisti: *Stylistics of Buddhist Art in India*. Delhi 2003, Vol. I, p. 121-157 (plates: Vol. II: chapter III, plates I-IX). The interpretation by M. Bénisti, which is based on the series of five pillars, needs reconsideration in the light of the four pillars at Kanaganahalli.

The technical term *āyāga-paṭṭa* was known so far only from a Jaina context, cf. S. R. Quintanilla: *Āyāgapaṭas: Characteristics, Symbolism, and Chronology. Artibus Asiae* 50. 2000, p. 79-147 and: *History of Early Stone Sculpture at Mathurā ca. 150 BC - 100 CE. Studies in Indian Art and Archaeology* XXV. Leiden 2007, p. 99-103.

The etymology of *āyāga* has been discussed more than once (cf. M. Bénisti, p. 124; S. Quintanilla, AA 50, 2000, p. 80, note 4 for references to earlier opinions). The evidence from Kanaganahalli forbids understanding *āyaka-* as “entrance,” (*āya-ka*) or as “lofty” as suggested by M. Bénisti, meanings attested neither in Sanskrit nor Middle Indic, where *āya* regularly means “income.” Only in the etymology of Pāli *kāya* “body” *āya* is supposed by commentators to mean “entrance” (CPD s.v. *kāya*); on the possible derivation of the word *āyāga-* cf. O. v. Hinüber: *Das Nandyāvarta-Symbol. 1974, Kleine Schriften. Wiesbaden 2009, p. 793, note 18.*

The exact translation of the word *āyāga(thambha)* remains uncertain: “pillar for offerings” or “pillars located in a place, where offerings are made (?)”.

1. N 3212 = L 35:18; MASI CXXXVI.6 (p. 458, no. 73), plates XVI, B; XXVI, C; fig. 18 (p. 73)

On a broken octagonal pillar found at the eastern entrance.

1. *dhaññakadaka*
2. *ṇaḷabāhukāna(m)*
3. *utikaputasa*
4. *gahapatino*
5. *asilasa*
6. *samātukasa*
7. *sabhariyasa*
8. *saputakasa*
9. *āyuvadhānika*
10. ***āyāgathabhā***
11. *catāri deyadhama*

“Four columns (decorating) the *āyāga*(-platform) (*āyāgathabhā* [*āyāgastambha*]) are the pious gift of the banker Asila (Aśvila) of the Ṇaḷabāhuka (family) from Dhaññakata, the son of Utika, together with his mother, with his wife(s), with his son(s) (for the purpose) to prolong (their) life span.”

Commentary:

The pillar is described in MASI p. 72 foll. The fragments can be seen at their original find spot on plate XXVI, C. The lower part of a shaft (of this pillar?) is shown in L 35:17.

The shapes of the *akṣaras -la-* in *asilasa* and *da-* in *deyadhama* are noteworthy.

The family name *ṇaḷa-bāhuka* “possessing arms like bamboo” can be compared to personal names ending in °-*bāhu*, Hilka, p. 129, for *ṇaḷa-*° cf. Hilka, p. 116.

The place name Dhaññakata is identified as Amarāvati: Cunningham, *Geography*, p. 607 foll. with Sastri’s note p. 737; cf. also André Bureau: *Le site de Dhānyakataka de Hiuan-Tsang, suivi d’une note stylistique par M. Bénisti. Arts Asiatiques* 12. 1965,

p. 21-82; idem: Recherches complémentaires sur le site probable de Dhānyakaṭaka de Hiuan-Tsang. *Arts Asiatiques* 16. 1967, p. 89-100.

The interpretation of the name Utika, which occurs also in Amarāvātī (Tsukamoto, II Amar 114), is not clear. The name of the donor, Asila (Aśvila) is an abbreviated name, cf. Hilka, p. 69. Asila's father is not mentioned and consequently most likely dead at the time of the donation. As usual the wording does not allow guessing the number of wives or sons; there are no daughters. The wish for a long life (*āyuvadhānika*: *āyurvardhanika*) occurs also elsewhere at Amarāvātī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Tsukamoto, Index).

The numeral *catāri* "four" is interpreted in MASI as "umbrella," p. 72.

The gift is a set of four *āyāgathambhas* "pillars for offerings / at a place, where offerings are made(?)." An inscribed fragment of a second pillar of this set was also recovered, cf. II.1,2. The number four corresponds to the number of *āyāgathambhas*, which are seen in the image of a Stūpa found at Kanaganahalli referred to above.

2. N 3219 = MASI CXXXVI.7 (p. 458, no. 74)

On a fragmenray octogonal pillar found at the eastern entrance.

1. — 8.: lost

9. (*ā*)[*yuvadhānika*]

10. *ā(y)*[*āgathabhā*]

11. *catāri deyadhama*

Commentary:

The content of the first eight lines of the inscription on the second of the four "pillars for offerings" is preserved in no. II.1,1. The extant text allows seeing that both inscriptions are identical. The *-e-* is attached to the *akṣara de* in *deyadhama* in different ways in both inscriptions.

3. N 3130-3132 = L 39:08-12 = MASI CXXXVI.4 (p. 457, no. 71), plate XXV = CXXII

Above a series of panels showing scenes from the life of the Buddha located at the northern *āyāga*-platform, cf. next inscription.

[*sidha* || *korugālakāna*] (*ā*)*cariāna bhayata sat(ikana) atevāsiniya [pa]vaj(i)t(ā)ya (b)udharakkhitāya āyākapaṭā adh[ā]lakacetiya dhamarajaka deyadhama paṭiḥhāpit(ā +)*["[Success!] Slabs (decorating) the *āyāga*-(platform) were erected by the pupil of the venerable Sa(ṃ)tika (Śāntika?) of the teachers [from Koru(ṃ)gāla], the novice Buddhārakkhitā (Buddhārakṣitā), as a pious gift (belonging to) the Adhālaka-Cetiya-Dhammarājaka."

Commentary:

The cornice was originally located above slabs showing the first sermon and the figure of a Yakṣī (?) (plates XXII, B; XXIII, A = LIII; XXIV) (p. 67 foll.). The scenes depicted on the cornice are: Māyā's dream, interpretation of the dream, birth of the Bodhisatva, Māyā's return to the palace (?), presenting the Bodhisatva to the family deity, *abhiniṣkramaṇa*, *cūḍāharaṇa*, temptation by Māra, first (?) sermon (plates XXV =

CXXII and p. 313-136).

This cornice is a joint donation of two pupils of the same teacher, cf. II.1.4 (commentary). Buddharakṣitā donated the six images from Māyā's dream to the *abhiniṣkramaṇa*. The rest was donated by her fellow antevāsinī the nun Dharmarakṣitā, see next inscription.

Beginning and end of the inscription, which are lost, can be reconstructed from parallels. The adjective of place name Koru(m)gāla ending in °-ka is in the plural in congruence with *ācariāna*.

The place name Koru(m)gāla, which can be connected to the town κορούγκαλα mentioned by Ptolemy in his Γεωγραφικὰ VII 1,93 (L. Renou: La géographie de Ptolémée. L'Inde (VII, 1-4). Paris 1925, p. 40), as suggested by H. Falk, who also mentions the identification of Κορούγκαλα as Warangal by A. Cunningham after K. Gopalachari (H. Falk, IJ 52. 2009, p. 203). However, this identification is not found in Cunningham: Geography, p. 603, notes p. 736, where Warangal is discussed ("Muhammadan spelling of Orungallu"). Because of the missing initial K- this identification remains doubtful, although it is also mentioned hesitatingly in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (1908, Vol. XXIV, p. 365 s.v. Warangal Village) and repeated in N. L. De: *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*. 1927, s.v. Warangal, where the many and very different names of this place are enumerated.

The name of the teacher may be Saṃtika or Saṃtaka corresponding to Śāntika or Śāntaka. In this inscription, it seems that an -i- is written above the *akṣara ta*, which, however, is missing in the parallel. A deception by the photo is possible.

The name of the Caitya at Kanaganahalli is attested here again (cf. I.8) as Adhālakā-Cetiya-Dhamarajaka. In spite of the spelling (instead of *dhamarājaka* ?), an interpretation as "King of the Dharma" as a not uncommon designation of a Caitya seems preferable to an interpretation as *dhammaramjaka* "(a donation) to please the Dharma."

4. N 3134-3135 = L 39:44-40:07 = MASI CXXXVI. 5 (p. 457, no. 72), plate XXV, C

Above a series of panels, cf. previous inscription.

(s)[i]dha || korugālakāna ācari(ā)na bhayata satak(ā)na atevās(i)n(i)ya bhikhuniya dhamarakhitāya (ay)[āgapaṭā

"Success! Slabs (decorating) the āyāga(-platform) were [erected] by the pupil of the venerable Sa(m)taka (Śāntaka?) of the teachers from Koru(m)gāla, the nun Dhamarakhitā (Dharmarakṣitā) [."

Commentary:

The inscription runs parallel to II.1.3. The name of the teacher is written here *satakana*, without any trace of an -i- above the *akṣara ka*.

The end of the inscription is interpreted in MASI as *adhā(lō)*: However, if the *akṣaras ya* as written in this inscription and the previous inscription are compared, the reconstruction *ay[āgapaṭā]* is much more likely.

This is a joint donation by two pupils of the same teacher. Dharmarakṣitā donated the three panels of the *cūḍāharaṇa*, temptation by Māra, and first sermon.

It is noteworthy that the names of the two pupils of the same *ācārya* are Buddha- and Dhammarakkhitā. The name Dhammarakkhitā seems to occur again in MASI p. 471, no. 166 (Appendix). As one pupil is called *pavajitā*, the other *bhikkhunī*, the former seems to designate a novice. On nuns as pupils of monks, cf. I.8 (commentary) and on the place name Koru(ṃ)gālaka, cf. II.1,3 (commentary).

5. MASI CXXXIII. 11 (p. 454, no. 44), plate XXXIII, A; L 38:32/33; 38:35-37

Above a relic-shrine.

Ipavo āyāko

“... *āyāga*.”

Commentary:

The slab, showing a relic-shrine (?) is situated in the south-western corner of western *āyāga*-platform facing west, MASI plate XXXIII, A (p. 79 foll.), cf. Meister, Architecture, fig. 13. The beginning of the inscription, which might have been written above the Nāga shown on plate XXXIII, B, is lost. The second *akṣara* is most likely *vo*, certainly not *to* as read in MASI. The word *āyāga* without *thambha* or *paṭa* seems to occur only here. The meaning of the inscription is unclear.

The inscription is not visible on the L images.

II.2. PUPHAGAHANIS

The following inscriptions are written on the upper front-side of the cornice crowning the long sequence of slabs decorating the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* and, at the same time forming the railing of the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*. The height of these slabs is 165 cm (image) + 12,5 cm (upper border) = 177,5 cm according to MASI p. 82. The height of the *puphagahanis* forming the cornice measures 30 cm and that of the inscribed part 4 cm, cf. MASI p. 86, 192. Therefore, the inscriptions on the *puphagahanis* are approximately 203-207 cm above the ground.

The sequence of the *puphagahanis* is not documented in MASI, for images see MASI, plates XXXVI, LIX and figure 61(a) (p. 196).

The *puphagahanis* are placed immediately above the slabs with the images decorating the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha*. As MASI, plates VII, B and LIX, A clearly show, there is no projection on the *puphagahanis* in order to hold the slabs in place as suggested by the (inexact) drawing MASI, figure 23 (p. 85) with “detail A” (cf. also the images L 35:42; 37:10; 41:02; 41:38-40).

These objects of the donations refer to themselves as *puphagahani* (*puṣpa-gahani*) “flower-thicket” or, if the equivalent is Sanskrit **puṣpagrahaṇi* “receptacles of flowers,” which is perhaps less likely. Sometimes the architectural term *puphagahani* is combined with *paṭa* “slab,” which may be interpreted as a *dvandva* compound “a *puphagahani* together with the accompanying slab,” i.e. the slab below decorating the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha*. This interpretation is perhaps supported by those two inscriptions using

sapuphagahanika (II.2,13; II.2,14), which might mean (a *paṭṭa*) together with a *puphagahani*. In these cases it is particularly unfortunate that the original position of the individual *puphagahanis* are not indicated (and not documented?). Consequently, their relation to the slabs immediately below the *puphagahanis* remains unclear.

This architectural term does not seem to occur elsewhere, but cf. the similar, if not identical *puphagaṇiyapaṭa* (mistake for *puphaga[ha]ṇiya° = puṣpag[r]jahanika??*) attested at Amarāvati once (Tsukamoto, II Amar 32 = Lüders, List 1225 “slab with a flower vase [?]”). This *puphagaṇiyapaṭa* is decorated with a garland and lotus flowers (plate 55, p. 142 in Robert Knox: *Amarāvati. Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stūpa*. London 1992).

According to the plan Fig. 22, p. 84 the circumference of the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* can be calculated as about 72 m. Each *puphagahani* measures approximately (“almost”, MASI, p. 86) 0,75 m in length. Therefore, most likely the circumference was divided in such a way that about or perhaps even exactly 100 (hardly 108) *puphagahanis* were needed. As many as altogether 69 donations are documented by inscriptions. For, besides the 47 inscriptions listed below and including also the fragmentary inscriptions, because their location guarantees that they refer to *puphagahanis*, there are 33 additional inscriptions on *puphagahanis* undocumented in MASI and included in the Appendix, nos. 198 - 230. As 11 of these are shown on N-photos, the real number of additional inscriptions dwindles down to only 22.

The *puphagahanis* do not seem to have formed a complete circle, because the left edge of *puphagahani* with inscription II.2,18 and the matching right edge of the one with inscription II.2,40 indicate that the “*vedikā*” of the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* was interrupted at this point to allow access to the *pradakṣiṇapatha* (?), cf. I.8 (commentary) on *agarako*. Unfortunately, the exact location of this gap is not known.

All *puphagahanis* should have been inserted at the same period. Consequently all donations by different persons from different places using a great variety of style of writing were made during that period that is more or less simultaneously. Their number demonstrates the volume of this major undertaking. The construction or completion of the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* can be dated approximately to 120 AD according to the inscription by the nun Dhammasiri, cf. I. 8 (commentary).

1. N 3554

On a *puphagahani*.

(ca)tanikāya *puphagahani* dāna

“The gift of a *puphagahani* by Catanikā.”

Commentary:

The reading of the name, which resists explanation, is uncertain.

2. N 3629-3631 = MASI p. 474, no. 207

On a *puphagahani*.

utaramitāya dānam *puphagahan[i]* v[i]s[a]y[i]

“The gift of a *puphagahani* by Uttaramittā (Uttaramitrā). 20.”

Commentary:

The inscription is written on two fragments. The upper part of the last three *akṣaras* is destroyed. Consequently, in *n.v.s.y.* the *-ā-* and the *-ĩ-*vowels, if they existed, are lost. The reconstruction *visayi* for *viṃsayi* (*viṃśati*) is likely, if other inscriptions ending in numerals are compared. The meaning of these figures is uncertain. The wide variation between ten and fifty does not support the assumption that the price paid for a single *puphagahani* is indicated, unless the donors donated varying numbers of *puphagahanis*. Given the number of donors, it is also impossible that the figure refers to the number of *puphagahanis* donated by a single donor, who would have donated almost half the *puphagahanis*, if inscription II.2,26 (N 3659) *panāsa* is compared. As the length of the *puphagahani* is uniform, the figure cannot refer to their measurements. This leaves the option that the position of the respective *puphagahani* is indicated, cf. on the positioning of architectural elements R. Salomon: *Kharoṣṭhī Syllables Used as Location Markers in Gandhāran Stūpa Architecture*, in: *Architetti, capomastri, artigiani. ... Studi offerti a Domenico Faccenna ... a cura di Pierfrancesco Callieri*. Serie Orientale Roma C. Rome 2006, p. 181-224.

If this assumption is correct, it is difficult to explain *dasahi* II.2,3 “by (or: for) ten,” unless it is taken as a locative “at (position) ten” (??), cf. *Mittelindisch* § 321.

3. N 3831 + 3640 = MASI p. 474, no. 210

On a *puphagahani*.

payavatām(i)tāya dāna puphagahani dasahi

“Gift of a *puphagahani* by Payavatāmitā; at (?) ten.”

Commentary:

The name of the donor is not clear. A segmentation *payavatā-mitāya* (°*mitrāya*) seems to suggest itself. However, a convincing interpretation of *payavatā-*° is not yet found (cf. V.2,1 [2983]?), and a mistake for *pavayitā* is very unlikely; for the numeral *dasa-hi* cf. previous inscription (commentary), *visayi*, II.2,2 (N 3629) and II.2,26 (N 3659) *panāsa*.

4. N 3651 (= MASI p. 474, 475 nos. 212, 229?)

On a *puphagahani*.

Jsamāya puphagahani dāna

“The gift of a *puphagahani* by Samā (Śyāmā?).”

Commentary:

A similar fragmentary name (*Js.māya*) is found in V.2,6 (L 35:16); comparing also MASI p. 470, no. 154: “1. ... *ya samāya ...sa sūchikō dānam*,” this inscription could be reconstructed as 1. [*upāsikā*] *ya samāya* ... 2. ... [*pāyako*] *sasūcikō dānam*, cf. also MASI p. 475, 229: *Samāya upāsikāya dānam*, cf. also V.2,6.

This *puphagahani* is also shown on plate 43 (N 3648). The inscription on the next *puphagahani* is II.2,23 (N 3648).

5. N 3660 = MASI plate XXXVI, C

On a *puphagahani*.

dhaññakadikāya gharaniyā nāgāy(ā) puphagahani dāna

“The gift of a *puphagahani* by the wife of a well-to-do man, Nāgā from Dhaññakaṭa.”

Commentary:

Presumably, the name of same donor occurs again in the inscription II.2,6 (N 3653) and II.2,27 in two slightly different forms as Nāgā or Nāgilā, cf. Hilka, p. 69 for names ending in °-ilā: Nāgilā occurs also in Sāñcī and Bhārhut. Here, *gharaniyā* is written instead of *ghariniyā*. The inscription is published also in MASI plate XXXVI, C without giving a reading.

6. N 3653 = MASI CXXXV.4 (p. 455, no. 62)

On a *puphagahani*.

dhaññakad(i)kāya ghariniyā nā[gāya] puphagahani dāna

“The gift of a *puphagahani* by the wife of a well-to-do man, Nāgā from Dhaññakaṭa.”

Commentary:

The reconstruction follows the parallel inscription II.2,5 (3660). The name should be reconstructed Nāgā, not as Nāgilā, because of the epitheton *gharini*, cf. *nāgilā* II.2,27.

7. N 3728-3735 = L 36:01 = MASI CXXXV.8 (p. 456, no. 65[b])

On a *puphagahani*.

manikārasa mahāmar(i)tino sabhāriyasa saputakasa sadu(h)[utakasa] (sajā)mātukasa (dāna cetiyapu)[pha](gaha)[ni]

“The gift, a *puphagahani*, (and a slab showing) a Caitya (?), by the jeweller Mahāmariti(n) with his wife, with his son(s), with his daughter(s), with his son(s)-in-law.”

Commentary:

The name Mahā-Mariti(n) occurs also in II.5,1 (N 3354), where he is mentioned as the donor of a slab showing a Caitya (*dāna cediya*). Here, the meaning of the words *dāna cetiyapuphagaha* is uncertain.

If the *puphagahani* II.2,7 was positioned above the Caitya-slab donated by Mahā-Mariti(n) shown on plate L, A, the translation could be “the *puphagahani* above (or: accompanying) the slab showing the Caitya.” Unfortunately, the find spot of neither, *puphagahani* nor slab is communicated except for the information that it is a “lower drum slab” (caption of plate L) and as such it was certainly crowned by a *puphagahani*.

According to MASI, the first part of this inscription is II.2,27. However, it is difficult to see, if and how the texts of these fragments would fit together. Unfortunately, the images in MASI do not show the breaking point clearly. Consequently, the question remains open.

8. N 3541 = MASI, p. 474, no. 205

On a *puphagahani*.

koka ... k(a)ya p(u)[phagahani dāna]

“The gift of a *puphagahani* by ...”

Commentary:

Details of the heavily damaged inscription are incomprehensible. The tentative reconstruction is following the numerous parallels. The first *akṣara* is read as *ke* in MASI. This *puphagahani* is placed next to II.2,18 (N 3534), cf. II.2,18 (commentary).

9. N 3572

On a *puphagahani*.

[(pu)phagahanipaṭa dāna(m)

“Gift of a slab (and) a *puphagahani*.”

Commentary:

The name of the donor is lost. It is likely that *puphagahanipaṭa* refers to the *puphagahani* itself and the slab which was crowned by it. Alternatively, only the *puphagahani* could be referred to as a slab, cf. II.2,12 foll. On plate 43 (N 3568) this inscriptions is shown together with II.2,45.

10. N 3547

On a *puphagahani*.

[puphagahapa[ṭa] dāna

“Gift of a slab (and) a *puphagahani*.”

Commentary:

The name of the donor is lost. The word *puphagahapaṭa* is an evident writing mistake for *puphagahanipaṭa*, cf. II.2,9.

11. N 3703 = MASI p. 474, no. 217

On a *puphagahani*.

dhaññakaḍakasa harapusasa paṭadāna

“The gift of a slab (and a *puphagahani*?) by Harapusa (Harapuṣya) from Dhaññakaṭa.”

Commentary:

Here either the *puphagahani* is referred to as *paṭa* “slab,” or, more likely, if inscriptions II.2,9 and II.2,10 are compared, the *puphagahani* and the accompanying slab seem to be the object of the donation.

The interpretation of the name Harapusa (Harapuṣya) is not clear; on the final member cf. Hilka, p. 36. Similar names are Pusayā, II.4,15 (MASI CXXXII.1 [p. 473, no. 17]) and Pusaguta (Puṣya-gupta) in the undocumented inscription MASI p. 473, no. 189: *pusa-gutasa samātukasa sabhātukasa dāna*.

There is no trace visible on the photo of a *nandyāvarta* (mentioned in MASI as *triratna*) preceding the inscription.

12. N 4006 = MASI CXXXV.5 (p. 455, no. 63)

On a *puphagahani*.

(symbol) *dhamasiriya paṭadānaṃ* (symbol)

“The gift of a slab by Dhammasiri (Dharmaśrī).”

Commentary:

Here the *puphagahani* is again referred to as *paṭa* “slab,” cf. II.2,11. At the beginning and at the end there are two identical symbols of a cross-like shape.

13. MASI, CXXXII. 7 (p. 453 no. 28)

On a *vedikā* slab.

[*dha*]ñakaḍik[ā]ya aya dāsiyā *sapu(pha)gahanika* dāna

“The gift [of a *vedikā* slab] together with a *puphagahani* by the venerable Dāsī from Dhaññakaṭa.”

Commentary:

The name the ending in *-iyā* / *-ikā* and the adjective of the place name are clearly feminine. Therefore, *sapuphagahanika* is a compound “together with a *puphagahani*,” cf. II.2,14 (N 3257), and the interpretation *dāsiyāsa* (gen. masc.!) suggested in MASI, is ruled out. As the inscription is written on a *vedikā* slab according to MASI, the donation consists of that slab and the corresponding *puphagahani* on top. Most likely, *paṭa* should be supplemented as the referent of *sa-puphagahanika*, cf. preceding and following inscriptions.

14. N 3257 = MASI CXXXII. 8 (p. 453, no. 29)

On a *vedikā*-slab above a void panel decorating the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha*. The panel is limited on one side by a half-column with lotus flowers.

[*dh.* + *sa upaṭṭhāyakasa aya budharakhitasa sapuphagahanika* dā[na]

“Gift of a [of a *vedikā* slab] together with a *puphagahani* by the Venerable Buddhārakkhita (Buddharakṣita) the personal attendant of ...”

Commentary:

The fragment with the damaged beginning of the inscription is missing in MASI. At the beginning of the inscription the name of the monk, to whom Buddhārakṣita attended, is lost. An *upaṭṭhāyaka* (Pāli *upaṭṭhāka*, BHS *upasthāyaka*, once *upasthāka*, m. c.) is a layman (Vin II 185,23) or a monk (Vin II 302,28), who supports and attends to a(nother) monk. As in the previous inscription the gift consists of a *vedikā*-slab accompanied by the corresponding *puphagahani*.

— — — — —

15. N 4020

On a *puphagahani*.

(the)[*rāna*] [*bha*](*yata ma*)hā(*rakhitāna*) *atevāsinā* + + + + + *kācaya* + + *taya* + + *mahāce(ti)ye deyadhama*

“The pious gift at the Great Caitya by the pupil ... of the Venerable Elder Mahārakkhita (Mahārakṣita).”

Commentary:

The exact number of missing *akṣaras* is uncertain. In spite of the very bad state of

preservation, the inscription can be deciphered in part by the help of the equally badly preserved parallel inscription II.2,16 (N 3675).

16. N 3675

On a *puphagahani*.

+ + *ra therāna bhayata maharakhitāna at[e]vāsin.* + + + *gha* + + + + + + + + + +
tara + + + + + *na* + + [*de*](*ya*)*dha[ma] [dā]na* ////

“... the pious gift of the pupil of the Venerable Elder Mahārakkhita (Mahārakṣita) ////.”

Commentary:

The number of missing *akṣaras* is uncertain. The reading is highly conjectural and, consequently, a complete interpretation of the inscription, which is for the better part decayed, is impossible even by help of the parallel II.2,15 (N 4020).

17. N 3645-3647 = 3837-3839 = MASI CXXXV.3 (p. 456, no. 61)

On a *puphagahani*.

therasa aya punavasuno dāna savabudhapuyāya

“The gift of the Venerable Elder Punavasū (Punarvasu) to venerate all Buddhas.”

Commentary:

The elder is named after the *nakṣatra* Punarvasu, cf. Hilka, p. 33-35.

18. N 3534b = MASI p. 474, no. 206

On a *puphagahani*.

s(i)dham | | *dhamakadhikasa nāgas(i)sa de(ja)dhama sa[ha ...*

“Success! The pious gift of the preacher Nāgasi[ri?] (Nāgaśrī) together with...”

Commentary:

The word *sidham* is provided with a rare *virāma* written as a vertical stroke above the *akṣara dha*. Some *akṣaras*, particularly *ka* and *dhi* show the same ornamental flourishes as inscription II,19, which is written by the same hand.

The name is written *nāgasi-sa* for *nāgasi[ri]sa* by mistake, cf. the parallel inscription II.2,19.

The rare *deja*-^o is used here as in inscription I.14. The end of the inscription is preserved in II.2,19.

The text is grossly misread and mistranslated in MASI.

The *puphagahani* II.2,8 (N 3541) is placed next to this one, as seen on photo N 3534b. However, these two *puphagahanis* do not connect. For, the left edge of the *puphagahani* N 3534b shows the end of a *puphagahani*, as if there was an opening (to access the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*?). The matching right edge is can be seen in II.2,40 (N 3573), cf. II.2, introduction.

19. N 3580 = MASI p. 473, no. 199

On a *puphagahani*.

Jdhamakadhikasa n(ā)gas[i]r[i]sa (d)[eja](dha)ma | saha (bh)[ā](t)unā nāgabudhinā

“The pious gift of the preacher Nāgasiri (Nāgaśrī) with his brother Nāgabuddhi.”

Commentary:

The inscription shows the same ornamental features as the previous one II.2,18 (N 3534), which was written by the same hand and contains the same wording. The beginning of the inscription is preserved in II.2,18. The name Nāgabuddhi (cf. II.7,2 [N 2834]) confirms the reconstruction Nā[ga]buddhi in the Dhammasena-inscription, *ARIRIAB* 16. 2013, p. 3-12.

20. N 4018 = L 35:38

On a *puphagahani*.

dhamakadhika(sa) (aya)[sa] (kanha)[

“Of the preacher, the Venerable Kanha[(Kṛṣṇa[) ...”

Commentary:

The inscription can be read rather safely after manipulating the image on the computer, cf. next inscription.

21. N 3727

On a *puphagahani*.

dhama]kadhikasa (aya)[sa] (kanha)[

“Of the preacher the Venerable ...”

Commentary:

It is impossible to decide whether or not this inscription is identical with II.2,20.

22. N 3797

On a *puphagahani*.

upā]sikāya cu(pana)[

“... of the Upāsikā Cupana[.”

Commentary:

The fragmentary name cannot be interpreted, cf. Kupana in inscription II.2,24 (N 3799) (?).

23. N 3648

On a *puphagahani*.

(matā)sakasa (upā)sakasa +

“... of the lay practitioner ...”

Commentary:

The end and perhaps also the beginning of the inscription are destroyed and the reading is highly conjectural. The first word may be a place name.

This *puphagahani* is placed next to the one bearing the inscription II.2,4 (N 3651), cf. plate 43 (N 3648).

For the unusual style of writing cf. II.2,31 (N 3636) and II.2,32 (N 3670).

24. N 3799 = MASI CXXXV.2 (p. 456, no. 60)

On a *puphagahani*.

khajanākarasa mäh(i)sakasa kupanasa dāna

“The donation of Kupana, a citizen of Khaja in the Mahiṣa country.”

Commentary:

There are two donations made by Kupana commemorated by two inscriptions identical in wording; note the damage on the stone (below the *akṣara sa* of *mahisaka*) in II.2,24.

The word *nākara* is to be interpreted as *nāgara* “citizen,” cf. *bhakavato* for *bhagavato* III.2,3 (N 3409). The town Khaja does not seem to be known otherwise. It was located in the well-known Mahiṣa country, cf. also the undocumented inscription MASI p. 472, no. 185 written here by mistake (?) *māhisaka* instead of *māhiseka*: D. C. Sircar: *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*. Delhi 1971, p. 244-247; for epic evidence cf. also M. A. Mehendale (ed.): *Mahābhārata - Cultural Index*. Poona 2004, Vol. II, p. 838. This donation is among the earliest epigraphical reference to the name Mahiṣa “Mysore,” cf. also *EI* XXXIX. 1972/1973, p. 249, the next inscription, II.3,2, II.3,5 and Appendix nos. 185, 265.

The name Kupana cannot be interpreted at present, but cf. inscription VI.1 (2820) and Cupana in II.2,22 (?).

25. N 3804 = MASI CXXXV.1 (p. 456, no. 59)

On a *puphagahani*.

khajan(ā)karasa māhisekasa kupanasa dāna

“The donation of Kupana, a citizen of Khaja in the Mahiṣa country.”

Commentary:

Cf. the commentary on the previous inscription. The name *māhiseka* is usually written thus in Kanaganahalli.

26. N 3659 = MASI CXXXV.9 (p. 456, no. 66) (= p. 479, no. 267?)

On a *puphagahani*.

baṭaniyāya sudhamāya saputakāya (dā)na panāsa

“The gift of Sudharmā (Sudharmā) from Baṭana; fifty.”

Commentary:

The clearly legible *baṭaniyā* or *baṭanāyā* is probably an adjective referring to the place name Baṭana. On the numeral cf. II.2,2 and II.2,3.

MASI p. 479, no. 267 either refers again to the same inscription, or less likely to a second donation by Sudharmā, this time of a “coping member.” Both inscriptions are misread in a similar way in MASI: [*gaha*] ... *patanīyāya Sudhamāya saputikāya dāna upāsa(i)* ..., no. 66 and ... *pataniyāya Sudhamāya saputikā tadāba upāsa (si)* ..., no. 267.

27. MASI CXXXV.7 (p. 456, no. 65)

On a *puphagahani*.

(symbol: *nandyāvarta*) *dhañakaḍikāya nāgilā(ya)*[

“Of Nāgila from Dhaññaḥaṭṭa ...”

Commentary:

The symbol is shown only in MASI CXXXVI.7. This donor is different from the *gharini* Nāgā, cf. II.2,5 (N 3660); II.2,6, (N 3653); cf. II.2,7 [N 3728] (commentary) on a possible, but unlikely connection of this fragment.

28. N 3667 = MASI CXXXV.10 (p. 456, no. 67)

On a *puphagahani*.

dhaññaḥaḍḍikāya utaraya[

“... of Utaraya[from Dhaññaḥaṭṭa.”

Commentary:

The inscription breaks off in the middle of the name of the donor.

29. N 3739 (= MASI p. 475, 479 nos. 228, 270?)

On a *puphagahani*.

dhaññaḥaḍḍikāya ya(kha)[

“... of the (lady) Yakha[from Dhaññaḥaṭṭa...”

Commentary:

The reading of the last *akṣara* is uncertain, but *kha* is likely; names beginning with Yakṣa-° were popular with Buddhists, cf. Hilka, p. 88.

The fragments MASI nos. 228 and 270 (undocumented) are identical with II.2,29 (N 3739). As it is not very likely that two or even three identical fragments exist, there is perhaps only one inscription.

30. N 2859-2861

On a *puphagahani*.

]khasa samātukasa sabhaginikasa ///[

“... of ... together with his mother, with his sister(s) ...”

Commentary:

The inscription is hardly legible. Beginning and end are lost. At the beginning *]khasa* is more likely than *]gasa*. Very faint traces at the very beginning would not contradict an interpretation as *yakhasa* (*yakṣasya*), cf. previous inscription.

31. N 3636+3637

On a *puphagahani*.

] + (l)asa saputakasa (dā)na[

“The gift of]la together with his son(s).”

Commentary:

The first two *akṣaras* are illegible; the reading *dāna* is highly conjectural. The peculiar style of writing occurs also in II.2,23 (N 3648) and II.2,32 (N 3670): These three inscriptions are certainly written by the same scribe.

32. N 3670

On a *puphagahani*.

Jsabhār(i)yasa (dāna)

“The gift of ... together with his wife.”

Commentary:

The word *dāna* most likely marks the end of the inscription. The peculiar style of writing occurs also in II.2,23 (N 3648) and II.2,31 (N 3636): These three inscriptions are certainly written by the same scribe.

33. N 3689 = Plate CXXXV.6 (p. 456, no. 64)

On a *puphagahani*.

naṃdikasa dānaṃ (symbol: *śrīvatsa*)

“The gift of Nandika.”

Commentary:

Nandika is an abbreviated name with the suffix °-ika, cf. Hilka, p. 61 foll.

34. N 3635

On a *puphagahani*.

gopāya dāna

“The gift of Gopā.”

Commentary:

The reading of the *akṣara* assumed to be *pā* is conjectural. The strange shape may be due to the intention to match the first *akṣara* *go*.

35. N 3691

On a *puphagahani*.

bhadāya dāna

“The donation of Bhaddā (Bhadrā).”

Commentary:

On the name Bhadrā, cf. Hilka, p. 133.

36. N 3709 = MASI p. 475, no. 218

On a *puphagahani*.

himalaya asabh(ū)t(i)n(o) m(ā)t(ū)(y).[

“... of the mother of Assabhūti (Aśvabhūti) from the Himālaya (?).”

Commentary:

Although no trace of an *-ā-* is visible in *himalaya*, the interpretation as *himālaya* can hardly be doubted; cf. the doubtful long *-ā-* and *-ū-* in *mātūyā*. On the name Assabhūtin, cf. Hilka, 26, 119, 133 and inscription II.7,10. In spite of the reading ... *mātūyā dāna* given in MASI, the inscription breaks off in the middle of the *akṣara* *ya*. There is no genitive ending °-sa following *himālaya*, as erroneously read in MASI.

37. N 2873-2874

On a *puphagahani*.

khat(i)yasa iṭhasa ////

“... of the Kṣatriya Iṭṭha (Iṣṭa).”

Commentary:

The initial *i-* in *iṭhasa* is written like the *akṣara ra* with one dot at either side, which, in later scripts, would indicate a long *ī-*. As no geminates are indicated, both interpretations as *iṭṭha* or *īṭha* with a *metathesis quantitatis* are possible.

In the Kanaganahalli inscriptions this character stands isolated. A similar problem arises if the initial *i-* is indicated by four dots arranged as a square, which are used in the same way as three dots to indicate a short initial *i-*, because this character is found in the words *isi* and *idha*, where a long *ī-* (or *i-* + *anusvāra*, cf. *imdagopiya*, II.6,9 written with three dots forming a triangle and a fourth dot on top) is unwarranted, cf. II.4,1 (MASI no. 16); II.4,14 (MASI no. 13); II.3,8; III.2,15 (N 4206) and introduction, note 12. The *akṣara i-* written with four dots is discussed by D. C. Sircar: Two Early Inscriptions. *Indian Museum Bulletin* 16. 1981, p. 7-15, particularly p. 9.

Most likely, both characters do indeed express a long initial *ī-*. However, no distinction is made between long and short *i* : *ī* and *u* : *ū* in the initial position or within a word, with long vowels being indicated occasionally and unsystematically.

The end of the inscription, most likely *dāna*, is rubbed off.

Although the name Iṭṭha / Iṣṭa does not seem to occur elsewhere, it can be compared typologically to names such as Bhadra, cf. Hilka, p. 133.

38. N 3682

On a *puphagahani*.

ḷsa dāna (symbol: *śrīvatsa*)

“The gift of the [.”

Commentary:

The first part of the fragmentary inscription is lost.

39. N 3708; MASI p. 475, no. 221

On a *puphagahani*.

ḷya dānaṃ

“The gift of (a lady) ...”

Commentary:

The name of the female donor is lost.

40. N 3573

On a *puphagahani*.

dā]naṃ

“The gift ...”

Commentary:

The right edge of the *puphagahani* N 3573 shows the end of a *puphagahani*, as if there was an opening to access the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*. The matching left edge is can be seen in II.2,18 (N 3534).

41. N 2857

On a *puphagahani*.

(*payahama*)

“...”

Commentary:

This end (?) of a weathered inscription is hardly legible. A reading *deyahama* and an interpretation as *deyadhama* seem to be ruled out.

42. N 2862

On a *puphagahani*.

//// + *dayasa* + ////

“...”

Commentary:

The inscription is damaged and illegible.

43. N 3681

On a *puphagahani*.

]da.(e)[

“...”

Commentary:

Only the first *akṣara* of the inscription is preserved on this tiny fragment.

44. N 2866

On a *puphagahani*.

“...”

Commentary:

The inscription is damaged and illegible.

45. N 3569

On a *puphagahani*.

“++++”

Commentary:

Traces of five *akṣaras* are faintly visible, but illegible, cf. plate 43 (N 3568) where this inscriptions is shown together with II.2,9.

46. N 3725

On a *puphagahani*.

](*sabhaya*]

“...”

Commentary:

The three *akṣaras* are hardly visible.

47. N 3787-3794 = L 35:42

On a *puphagahani*.

“...”

Commentary:

The long inscription is weathered and illegible. This *puphagahani* is situated above the inscription V.1,3 (N 3786).

II.3. PAṬṬAS

1. N 3757 = L 36:29/30 = MASI CXXXII.11 (p. 453, no. 32)

Above a fragmentary panel decorating the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

kag(ī)sa sabhayasa saputakasa (sa)[p](u)[ti](kasa) (d)[e]ya[dha](ma) paṭa

“The gift, a slab, of Kagi with his wife(s), with his son(s) with his ...”

Commentary:

No image of the slab, which decorated the western side of the southern *āyāga*-platform, is included in MASI. However, a side view and the back-side of the slab in its original position are provided on plates XIX, A and XXX, A. The image shows a Stūpa crowned by numerous *chattras*. On both sides, *cāmara*-bearers are standing (MASI p. 76).

The name Kagi or Kaṅgi resists interpretation. Although the stone is broken off, the end of the inscription seems to be extant. The gap should be filled with a word corresponding to *saputakasa*. The space available and the extant lower parts of *akṣaras* allow only *(sa)[p](u)[ti](kasa)* “with his daughters,” which is otherwise unknown to the inscriptions in Kanaganahalli, but cf. *(bhātu-)putiḥi* “with his brother’s daughters” in the Dhammasena inscription. The feminine form *saputikā* “with her sons” is used in V.2,13 (N 3816) and II.3,3 (N 3777).

Unless it is a writing mistake for *sabhariyasa*, the form *sa-bhayasa* = *sa-bhayyassa* from *sa-bhāryasya* is remarkable as a true western Middle Indic form, cf. II.7,9 (N 3893) *bhājāya* and in Amarāvatī *sabhayakasa* (Sivaramamurti, no. 48 = Tsukamoto, II Amar 120,2) and *bhayāya* = *bhāryāyāḥ* (Lüders, List 1248 = Tsukamoto, II Amar 12,2); Mittelindisch § 153.

On the inscriptions above the *cāmara*-bearers flanking the Stūpa on both sides see II.8,3 (MASI no. 43) and II.8,5, (MASI no. 41).

2. N 3761+3766

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

(p)[o]kuḍurakasa māh(i)s[eka]sa va (+ +)la[sa deyadhama] paṭo

“The gift, a slab, of Va[...]la from Pokuḍura in the Mahisa country.”

Commentary:

The beginning is lost, but can be reconstructed by the help of V.2,17 (N 2848), where the same place name is mentioned. The gap between the *akṣaras va* and *la* could perhaps accommodate 2 *akṣaras*. The gap between the *akṣara la* and the word *paṭa* could be filled by the genitive ending and the word *deyadhama*; on *māhiseka* cf. inscription II.2,24 (N 3799) (commentary).

3. N 3777 = MASI CXXXIV.9 (p. 455, no. 56)

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

sāpuḍiyā sirikasabodhiyā sapuṭigāya paṭo dāna(m)

“The gift, a slab, of Sirikasa(m)bodhi (Śṛikasambodhi) from Sapuḍi (?) with her son(s).”

Commentary:

The word *sāpuḍi* occurs again in inscription II.3,5 + II.5,2 and may be the adjective to a place name.

4. MASI CXXXIV.1 (p. 455, no. 47)

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

ther[...] (ja)tisa atevāsikasa aya ju + + + [sa]bhaginikasa paṭo dāna

“The gift, a slab, of the pupil of the Elder]jati, the Venerable Ju[with his sister(s).”

Commentary:

The names of teacher and pupil are lost, cf. however Juṭa, (Tsukamoto, IV Sanc 498,1), which may be a possible reconstruction.

5. MASI CXXXIV.5 (p. 455, no. 51, 52)

Above a panel decorating the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* and showing a Dharmacakra on a column.

1. *pekuṇirakasa yakhasa dhamaca[ka dā]na*

2. *māhisekasa sāpuḍiyasa + + siḍasa paṭ(o) dānam*

“The gift (?) of the Dharmacakra of the Yakṣa Pekuṇiraka.

The gift of a slab by]siḍa from Sapuḍi in the Mahisa country.”

Commentary:

These lines contain two separate inscriptions, which may have been written by different hands, cf. II.5,2.

The name of the Yakṣa, which is read erroneously Pökōtūraka in MASI, does not seem to be known from other sources; for the peculiar shape of the *-e-* in *peku*^o cf. III.2,15 [N 4206], (commentary). The end of line 1 can be reconstructed as *dhamaca[ka dā]na*. If this is correct, two *akṣaras* are lost in line 2.

The name of the donor resists interpretation. The place name Mahisa is discussed under II.2,24 (N 3799) ; on *sāpuḍiya* cf. II.3,3 (N 3777). Reading and interpretation of line 2 in MASI do not match the text of the inscription: *Mahisekasa sapuli(ti)yasa sabhāriyasa ... silasa paṭō dānam* “Pious gift of (drum) slab by ...]sila from Mahiseka

along with his wife and daughter.”

6. N 3687 = MASI CXXXIV.7 [6] (p. 455, no. 54)

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

cūla(.u)(t.)mātuya + + + + d(ā)naṃ paṭo

“The gift of the mother of Cūla[, a slab.”

Commentary:

The length of the gap is uncertain.

7. N 3750

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

Idānaṃ paṭo

“The gift a slab.”

Commentary:

The beginning of the inscription is lost.

8. N 4027

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

Jmat(u)yā isa.[ā]ya dānaṃ paṭo

“The gift, a slab, of Isa.ā, die Mutter von ...”

Commentary:

The second consonant in the name of the donatrix is damaged and illegible. The initial *i*-seems to be indicated by four dots, cf. II.2,37 (commentary). The first word should probably be interpreted as *mātuyā*.

[I.14

2. + (*de*)*va vāñjaputasa hāgāna kaṇhasirisa samāt[u]kasa [sabhā](tu)kasa saputakasa dejadhama (ce)ti(ya)paṭo sava(l)[oka*

“... the pious gift, a slab (showing) a Caitya, of the son of the merchant Dhava.i[...]deva from the Sādaka mountain, Kanhasiri (Kṛṣṇasrī) of the Hāga family, with his mother, with his brother(s), with his son(s) ... of the whole world.”]

[I. 8

4. ... *bhikhuniya dhamasiriyāya akhara(o) paṭasa*

5. *tharo ca deyadhama ...*

“An *agaraka* and a covering with slabs are the pious gift of the nun ... Dhammasiri (Dharmaśrī), ...”]

II.4. PĀYAKAS (WITH SŪCIS), ĀLAMBANA, UṢṆĪṢAS AND KAṆCUKAS

The following inscriptions are listed by MASI under “Railing: T(!)abha (Pāyaka) (Uprights),” p. 450 without any reference to the exact find spot. Nor are there plates of the individual uprights (and coping stones?), on which these inscriptions are found, cf. plate XLII. The total number of uprights is given as 130. Their measurements are: height

195 cm, width 36-40 cm, thickness 17-20 cm (p. 101). The *sūcis* are 50 cm long, 40 cm wide and 20 cm thick (p. 169)

The technical term *pāyaka* (*pādaka*) is understood in MASI as “upright” without further comment (p. 169). While *pāda* “column” is well attested, *pāyaka* (*pādaka*) “small column,” i. e. “upright of the *vedikā*,” does not seem to occur elsewhere as yet. It is an interesting observation made in MASI that there are no inscriptions on crossbars (*sūci*) (p. 452).

Besides the inscriptions expressly mentioning a *pāyaka* as the object of the donation, those found on uprights are also listed here.

II.4, A. PĀYAKAS (WITH SŪCIS)

1. MASI CXXXI. 6 (p. 452, no. 16)

On an upright of the railing.

1. [bh](o)gavadhanikasa bodhigahapatino
2. [va]ṅ[ika]sa isimitasa *pāyako sa*
3. [s](u)ciko *saālabano deyadhama*

“The pious gift, an upright together with (upper) crossbars (and) a lower crossbar, of the banker and merchant Isimitta (Rṣimitra) from Bhogavaddhana (Bhogavardhana).”

Commentary:

One *akṣara* is lost at the beginning of all lines. As suggested in MASI, *bhoga*-^o is a possible guess for the first word. The place name Bhogavardhana is known to the Purāṇas and occurs also once in the Bhārhut inscriptions, cf. M. R. Singh: *Geographical Data in the Early Purāṇas. A Critical Study*. Calcutta 1972, p. 289, D. C. Sircar: *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*. Delhi ²1971, p. 39 foll. and Paramanand Gupta: *Geography in Ancient Indian Inscriptions (up to 650 A.D.)*. Delhi 1973, p. 41 foll.

The reading [va]ṅ[ika]sa at the beginning of line 2 is highly conjectural.

Again the initial *i*- of Isimitta is written with four dots. This character is discussed in II.2,37 [N 2873-287] (commentary). On the name Rṣimitra cf. Hilka, p. 104.

The last *akṣara* in *saālabano*, which is *saālaṃbano*, is a slightly miswritten *no*, cf. the *akṣara* -*no* in *gahapatino*. MASI takes *ālaṃbana* without further explanation to mean “coping stone,” cf. p. 169, 471. However, “coping stone” is usually designated by *uṣṇīṣa*, and it is not clear, why *ālaṃbana* should have a meaning here different from common usage “base, plinth,” in this particular case “lower crossbar” as shown by an inscription from Sārnāth, which is written on a crossbar called *ālaṃbana*, S. Konow, Archaeological Survey of India. *Annual Report 1906-7*, p. 95, inscription no. I = Lüders, List 921a. The word occurs again in the undocumented inscription no. 169, where *dānam ālaṃbanaṃ* is read by MASI.

2. MASI CXXX.4 (p. 450, no. 4)

On an upright of the railing.

1. *udā(rāna) (ā)yuvadhanika c(u)l[i]yāya*

2. *deyadhama pāyako sasuciko (no)maṃ* [

“The pious gift of Culiya (Cūlikā / Cullikā), an upright together with crossbars, to prolong the life of high persons.”

Commentary:

The inscription runs parallel to II.4,3. No superscript *-i-* in *culiyāya* is visible, probably because the stone is damaged. The name Cūlikā (Cullikā) might correspond to the Pāli name Cūlaka, feminine *Cūlikā or *Cullaka / *Cullikā, cf. Culiya in the undocumented inscriptions MASI p. 470, nos. 151 and 155 (cf. MASI p. 169), and Culāya, MASI p. 473, no. 193, see also Appendix.

Reading and meaning of *(no)maṃ* is unclear. Following only the photo the word *(i)maṃ* read in MASI can be excluded, cf. *imām*, MASI p. 470, no. 155, cf. Appendix. The meaning of these two *akṣaras* is not clear. There is no visible trace of a *(pi)* on the photo as read at the very end by MASI.

The meaning of *uḍāra*, which occurs again in the next inscription and in inscription II.10,1 (MASI CXXX.2, p. 450, no. 2), is obviously the same as in the Aśokan inscriptions, Minor Rock Edict 1F *khudakā uḍārā*; on this wording cf. D. C. Sircar: *Aśokan Studies*. Calcutta 1979, p. 68. However, it is not clear, who these persons of rank might be. They could be the ruler, members of the Saṃgha or elder members of the family of the donor.

On Aśokan vocabulary in Kanaganahalli cf. Introduction 2. Content and Language, p. 17.

3. MASI CXXX.10 (p. 451, no. 10)

On an upright of the railing.

1. *uḍ(ā)rānaṃ āyuvadhanikaṃ cul(i)yā*

2. *(ya) deyadhammaṃ payako sasujiko*

“The pious gift of Culiya (Cūlikā / Cullikā?), an upright together with crossbars, to prolong the life of high persons.”

Commentary:

The beginning of line 2 is damaged. There may be a faint trace of a superscript *-i-* in *culiyāya*, as expected in the feminine suffix $^{\circ}iyā < ^{\circ}ikā$, cf. previous inscription. There is no space for *dāna* as read in MASI. The word *payako* (for *pāyako*) is written with a short *-a-* in the first syllable.

The meaning of *uḍāra* is discussed in II.4,2, commentary

[I. 10

... *utarāhakena sathavāh(e)na sama(l)[e]ṇa u(d)uk(o)pat(o) catāri ca pāyaka (de)ya(dhama)...*

“This is the pious gift by Samala, a caravan leader from the north, a coping stone (???) and four uprights.”]

[II.10,1

On an upright of the railing.

1. *aṭhāsata kāhapaṇani dinani (m)[a]*

2. *diya saudaṛāna ayavadhanika*

3. *gāyanasa dhamilayasa deyadhamā*

“Eight hundred *kahāpaṇas* are given to prolong my life together with that of high persons. The pious gift of Dhamilaya from (?) Gāyana”]

4. MASI plate CXXX.1 (p. 450, no. 1)

On an upright of the railing.

1. *[na]vakam[i]kasa vimalaya[sasa]*

2. *ga(tha)sisi(d)imavinasa*

3. *(d)e(yadhama)*

“The pious gift of the Navakammika Vimalayasa (Vimalayaśas) ...”

Commentary:

The reading *vimalaya*, not *himalaya* as in MASI, is likely. The name could be reconstructed, e.g. as *Vimala-yaśas*. The sequence of *akṣaras* in line 2 is unclear. The reading of line 3 is certain, although the lower part of the *akṣaras* is cut off (on the photo only?).

5. MASI, plate CXXXI.4 (p. 451, no. 14)

On an upright of the railing.

pavay(i)tasa ...

“Of the mendicant ...”

Commentary:

Only the beginning of the inscription is preserved. The superscript *-i-* in *pavayitasa* is faintly visible.

MASI, p. 451 takes this to be the beginning of the undocumented inscription MASI no. 160 *[Ma]lasa dānam*.

6. MASI, plate CXXX.8 (p. 451, no. 8)

On an upright of the railing.

1. *therasa aya (i)sirakhitasa a[tevā]siniya*

2. *bhikhuniya nāguyāya deyadhama*

“The pious gift of the nun Nāguyā (Nāgukā), the pupil of the venerable Elder Isirakkhita (Ṛṣirakṣita).”

Commentary:

The suffix ^o-*uka* occasionally replaces ^o-*ika*, also in personal names as in the name of the nun Nāguyā (Nāgukā), cf. Pischel § 118; on the name Ṛṣirakṣita cf. Hilka, p. 104.

7. MASI, CXXXI.2 (p. 451, no. 12)

On an upright of the railing.

1. *himarakhitāya atevā*

2. *[s]iniyā vidhiyā dānaṃ*

“The pious gift of Vidhi, the pupil of Himarakkhitā (Himarakṣitā).”

Commentary:

The name Vidhi also occurs in II.6,5, in Amarāvātī and in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Tsukamoto, Index). On names with Hima-° cf. Hilka 115.

8. MASI, CXXX.9 (p. 451, no. 9)

On an upright of the railing.

1. [pa]yayitasa bhūtilasa

2. [de]yadhama(m)

“The pious gift of the mendicant Bhūtila.”

Commentary:

Only the first *akṣara* is lost in both lines. A rare subscript -ū- is written in Bhūtila; on the formation of the name cf. Hilka, p. 26, 69.

9. MASI, CXXX.5 (p. 450, no. 5)

On an upright of the railing.

1. m(ā)(h)ī(sa)kasa to(ḍu)pāsa

2. kasa dānaṃ

“Gift of Toḍupāsaka from the Mahisa country.”

Commentary:

The reading of the first *akṣara* as *mā* (not *mo*) is guaranteed by the word *māhisakasa* cf. II.2,24 (N 3799). There is a faint trace of the right part of an *akṣara* visible just before *ka* in line 1, which are the remains of an *akṣara sa*.

The *akṣara* following *to* is read tentatively as -ḍu- (perhaps *ḍa* is written), and the -u- could be a scratch in the stone, cf. Toḍa, III.1,12 (N 3245); Toḍakula, II.4,23 (N 2670). Reading this *akṣara* as *u-*, which results in a text to *upāsaka*, seems to be ruled out, unless the scribe left out the better part of a name beginning with To[. This, however, seems to be rather unlikely.

10. MASI, CXXX.6 (p. 450, no. 6)

On an upright of the railing.

baḍīvārakasa ghosakayasa dānaṃ

“Gift of Ghosakaya (Ghoṣakaka) from (or: the) Baḍī-vāraka.”

Commentary:

Baḍī-vāraka most likely is a place name, if not an office or a profession, if °-vāraka can be equated with °-vārika, cf. O. v. Hinüber: Buddhistische Mönche als Verwalter ihrer Klöster. Die Entstehung des Begriffs „vārika“ in der Tradition der Theravādins. *ZDMG* 162. 2012, p. 373-389. A **baḍīvāraka*, however, is so far unattested and no meaning suggests itself.

As second suffix °-ya (°-ka) seems to have been added to the name Ghosaka, on double suffixes in names cf. Hilka, p. 70.

11. MASI, CXXX. 7 (p. 450, no. 7)

On an upright of the railing.

Jmit(ā)nakasa dā(naṃ)

“Gift of JMitānaka.”

Commentary:

It is not certain whether or not the beginning of the name of the donor is preserved; on names ending in *-ṇaka / -ṇikā* cf. Hilka, p. 70.

12. MASI, CXXXI.1 (p. 451, no. 11)

On an upright of the railing.

Jinayasa deydharma

“The pious gift of Jinaya.”

Commentary:

The beginning of the inscription is lost.

13. MASI, CXXX.3 (p. 450, no. 3)

On an upright of the railing.

1. *mahāgāmilasa nāgaṇakasa*

2. *koḍubiniya rāma(ṇ)ikāya dānaṃ*

“The gift of Rāmaṇikā, the wife (of a rich man) Nāgaṇaka from Mahāgāma.”

Commentary:

On the derivation of names ending in *-ṇaka / -ṇikā* cf. Hilka, p. 70. The derivation of the place of origin ending in *-ila*, i.e. *-illa*, cf. Pischel § 595, p. 403; on Mahāgāma cf. also MASI p. 447 and Paramanand Gupta: *Geography in Ancient Indian Inscriptions (up to 650 A.D.)*. Delhi 1973, p. 184.

A *koḍubini* (*kuṭumbinī*) is more than simply a “house-wife.” This title is used for wives of well-off men such as a *negama* “member of a merchant guild” a *sārthavāha* “caravan leader” or a *hemakāra* “gold smith” or of well-to-do farmers such as the *hālakiya* “ploughman” and *kuṭumbin* in inscriptions from western (Nāsik, Kanheri) and central (Mathurā) India.

The meaning of *kuṭumbika* is not entirely clear. In the following enumeration proceeding from top to bottom it seems, *gaṇaka-mahāmatta-seṭṭhi-kuṭumbika-vāṇija*, Spk I 151,16 a *kuṭumbika* appears between a “banker” and a simple “merchant.” Perhaps this is, if referring to a merchant, the southern equivalent to the northern *negama*, which is explained as *negamo ti kuṭumbiyagaṇo*, Sp 1114,13 “member of a guild of merchants (?)” Otherwise, a *kuṭumbika* is also involved in agriculture as the *hālayika* “ploughman” and *kuṭumbika* (Lüders, List 1121 = Tsukamoto III Sail 1.2) or as a *samaṇa-kuṭumbika*, IJ 47. 2004, p. 312 (Spk III 33,15), a monk who at the same time is running a farm.

The word *kuṭumbini* occurs in central Indian inscriptions, where *gharani*, which is preferred in the southern inscriptions, is rare. Only in Kanheri and Kanaganahalli both words are used. A *gharaṇi* is, like a *kuṭumbini*, not simply a housewife, but the wife of a rich man, cf. Introduction 2. Content and Language, p. 16.

14. MASI CXXXI.3 (p. 451, no. 13)

On an upright of the railing.

1. *seḍ(i)vayikāya is[i]*

2. *lanikāya dānaṃ*

“The gift of Isilanikā (Rṣīlanikā) from Seḍivaya.”

Commentary:

A reading *seḍovayikāya* cannot be excluded here. However, Seḍivayikā, which is derived from a place name Seḍivaya, seems to be confirmed by two undocumented inscriptions MASI p. 450, no. 151 *Sētivayikāya bhikhuniya Chuliyā ya dēya dhamam pāyakō sasūjikō* and p. 473, no. 193 *Sē(ṭi)vāyikāya Chulāya bhikhuniya dāna[m]*.

Two suffixes are combined in the name Isi-la-nikā, cf. Hilka, p. 69 foll., and on names beginning with Rṣi-°, cf. Hilka, p. 104.

The *akṣra i-* consists of four instead of three dots as in II.2,37 (N 2873). The archaic shape of the *akṣara la* is also remarkable.

II.4, B. UṢŪṢAS

15. MASI CXXXI.7 (p. 452, no. 17)

On a coping stone of the railing.

bhikhuniyā p(u)sayāya deyadhammaṃ

“The pious gift of the nun Pusayā (Puṣyakā).”

Commentary:

The first vowel in the name of the nun is not entirely clear; for names containing the element Pusa° cf. II.2,11 (N 3703).

16. MASI CXXXII. 1 (p. 452, no. 22)

On a coping stone of the railing.

amacasa budhiṇakasa dāna:

“Gift of the minister Buddhiṇaka.”

Commentary:

On the derivation of the name cf. Hilka, p. 70.

17. MASI CXXXI. 12 (p. 452, no. 21)

On a coping stone of the railing.

nāgiyanāguta

“Nāgiyanāguta (?).”

Commentary:

Only the beginning of the inscription is preserved. It breaks off within a place (?) name.

18. MASI CXXXI.8 (p. 452, no. 18) and CXXXII.2 (p. 452, no. 23)

On a coping stone of the railing.

bhūtanikāya bhū(yi)mabhaḡ(i)niya deya dhama

“The pious gift of Bhūtanikā, the sister of Bhuyimā.”

Commentary:

Fragments CXXXI.8 and CXXXII.2 are parts of the same inscription, as clearly seen on plate CXXXII.2. There is no superscript *-i-* above the first *akṣara* in *bhaḡ(i)niya*, which rules out an interpretation as *bhikhuniya* as suggested in MASI. Fragment CXXXI.10 (II.4,21), erroneously connected to CXXXI.8 by MASI, preserves the end of a different inscription.

19. MASI CXXXI.9 (p. 452, no. 19)

On a coping stone of the railing.

dhamutaray(ā)ya dānaṃ

“The pious gift of Dhammottarakā (Dharmottarakā).”

Commentary:

The ending °-*ayāya* points to a word formation with the suffix °-*kā*, cf. Hilka, p. 67.

20. MASI CXXXI.11 (p. 452, no. 20)

On a coping stone of the railing.

](r)akhitānikāya duhutuya s(ā)manikāya deya dhamam

“The pious gift of Sāmanikā (Śyāmanikā?), the daughter of]Rakkhitānikā (]Rakṣitanikā).”

Commentary:

It is likely that the beginning of the first name is lost. On the derivation of both names ending in *-naka* / *-nikā* cf. Hilka, p. 70. The form *duhutā* < *duhitā* is common in South Indian inscriptions, cf. Tsukamoto, Index and Mittelindisch § 157.

21. MASI, CXXXI.10 (p. 452, no. 18)

On a coping stone of the railing.

](ā)ya deya dhammam

“The gift on (lady)]ā.”

Commentary:

See II.4,18.

II.4. C. KAṆCUKA

22. N 2112 = L 37:32/33; ASI 13; AN p. 69; MASI CXXXIX.9d (p. 464, no. 101), plate XCIII, A, cf. plate VII, B ; IAR 1994-95, plate XIII,B

Above a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing the veneration of the (empty) *bhadrāsana* with the presence of the Buddha being indicated by his feet; the lower showing mount Khalita, cf. IV.5 (N 3461).

kacūkā deya dhamadāna

“The pious gift and donation of Ka(m)cūkas (or a Ka(m)cūkā).”

Commentary:

It is assumed in MASI that other fragments may be part of this inscription, but cf. I.3, (commentary). The image is discussed in MASI p. 278 foll.

At the beginning, the name of the donor seems to be lost, although no traces of *akṣaras* can be seen before *kacūkā*. The word *kacūkā* interpreted as *kañcūkā*, the object of the donation is understood most likely correctly as an architectural term “encasement slab” by MASI by referring to *kañcuka-cetiya*, Mahāvamsa I 42 “mantle *cetiya*” (W. Geiger), cf. CPD s.v. *kañcuka-cetiya* and *kañcuka-thūpa*. Most likely *kacūkāni(cā)tāna*, II.4,23 is to be compared. It is possible that *kañcūkā* is either fem. singular or masc. plural. The word cannot refer to the scene seen on the panel below the inscription, which is described by a separate label below the image, cf. IV.5 (N 3461) for the respective inscription.

The expression *deyadhamadāna* might occur once again in a damaged inscription at Amarāvātī (Tsukamoto, II Amar 15.4, Lüders, List 1208): ... *deyadhamad[ānaṃ?] thabho*. It is not listed in G. Bhattacharya, Dāna-Deyadharma: Donation in Early Buddhist Records (in Brāhmī), in: *Investigating Indian Art*. Berlin 1987, pp. 31-60 = G. Bhattacharya: *Essays on Buddhist Hindu Jain Iconography & Epigraphy*. Dhaka 2000, pp. 385-406, cf. the equally rare *deyadāna* at Amarāvātī (Tsukamoto, II Amar 30, Lüders, List 1224), perhaps a mistake for *deya[dhama]dāna*?

23. N 2670; ASI 14/19; AN p. 70; MASI CXLI.4 (p. 467, no. 138), plate CII

Below a two-tiered panel, the lower one showing a group of four women with three children, the upper one the veneration of two preaching monks by four men and two children.

t(o)ḍakulasa kacūkā ni(cā)tāna

“The perpetual gift of (??) encasement slabs by the Toḍa family.”

Commentary:

The reading of this very unusual hand is partly difficult. The first *akṣara* is most likely *to*, without *tā* being ruled out altogether. The second one is *ḍa*, cf. IV.1 (N 3495) *mudaka*-°; then follows most likely *ku*, cf. ARIRIAB16. 2013, plate 13, figure 2, line 5 *kuḍo*; for the subsequent *la* cf. III.1,5 (N 2616) *velāmiya* (?). This yields a reading *toḍakulasa* and a family name of the donor, cf. the inscription II.5,1 (N 3354 = L 39:28): *maṇi](kā)rasa mahāmaritino ca toḍakāḍā ca dāna cediya*, which contains the feminine name Toḍakāḍā, and furthermore the name *toḍa gahapati* in III.1,12 (N 3245). The reading suggested in MASI *toḍakāḍasa* seems less likely, because the shapes of the supposed *akṣaras* -*ḍa*- differ widely from each other.

Moreover, the images seem to show the Toḍa family with four men (upper panel) and their sons and four women, their wives and three daughters (lower panel). They are or have been making a donation: note the *bhr̥ṅgāra* in the upper panel. The hand gesture of the monk in the background is identical with that of the monk in the background of the image of the donation of silver-lotus flowers (plate CIX, A). The image is interpreted by

MASI, p. 290 foll. as the preaching of Dundubhissara, which is hardly possible. Moreover, the *bhṛṅgāra* pointing to a donation, is not taken into account.

The reading of the following *akṣara* is comparatively easy. The objects of the donation are *kañcukas*, “encasement slabs,” cf. inscription II.4,22 (N 2112).

Only the reading of the *akṣara vā* or *cā* is problematic. It seems that originally a different character was written by mistake, possibly *yā*, and corrected into what seems to be *vā* or *cā*. However, the interpretation of *kacūkā nivā*(or: *cā*)*tāna* or *kacūkāni vā*(or: *cā*)*tāna* remains difficult. Following the event shown in the image the meaning of the word should be “donation,” “handing over” or the like.

Still, it is hardly possible to interpret *tāna* as *dāna*, as MASI has it, because *dāna* occurs frequently otherwise and only in this form, if *d-* is in the initial position. The change °-*dāna* > °-*tāna* would be possible within a compound. The compound *nicātāna* would correspond approximately to canonical Pāli *nicca-dāna* “perpetual gift” (this technical term is not listed in NPED). This, however, remains highly conjectural.

II.5. CAITYA, DHARMAKAKRA, PADMA, CHATTRA, (STAMBHA) AND STARA

1. N 3354 = L 39:28 = MASI CXXXII.10 (p. 453, no. 31), plate L, A, figures 47f, 57b, 59f

Above a panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* and showing a **Cetiya** with Nāgas.

mani](*kā*)*rasa mahāmaritino ca toḍakāḍā ca dāna cediya*

“The gift, (the image of) a Caitya, of the jeweller Mahāmariti(n) and Toḍakāḍā.”

Commentary:

The beginning of the inscription is lost. The double *ca ... ca* points to two donors. The second one is the lady Toḍakāḍā, whose name may be connected to the Toḍa family, cf. II.4,23 (N 2670). The nominative ending is puzzling; most likely the *akṣara -ya* is missing and Toḍakāḍā[ya] should be reconstructed, cf. Golā for Golā[ya], II.5,4; for a possible confusion of the *akṣaras ya* and *ca* cf. inscription II.7,8 (N 3916). Neither name can be explained at present.

The same donor also donated a *puphagahani* II.2,7 (N 3728-2735), which may have been standing above this panel. However, the original location of the *puphagahani* is unknown at present. It is highly doubtful whether the donor Mahāmariti(n) and Toḍakāḍā, who should be his wife (*sabhāriyasa*) mentioned in inscription II.2,7 (N 3728), can be seen on a half column besides the left side of his Cetiya, which is venerated on the right side by a Nāga. According to MASI p. 165 referring to fig. 47c, this is Aśoka venerating the Stūpa at Rāmagāma, which is shown on plate L, A (left side). It seems that the lady holds the shaft of an umbrella, which is lost. If so, this is the image of a king.

The name Mahāmariti(n) occurs again as the name of a Thera in the undocumented inscription MASI p. 475, no. 222.

[I.14

2. + (*de*)*va vāṇijaputasa hāgāna kaṇhasirisa samāt[u]kasa [sabhā](tu)kasa saputakasa dejadhama (ce)ti(ya)paṭo sava(l)oka*

“... the pious gift, a slab (showing) a Caitya, of the son of the merchant Dhava.i[...]deva from the Sādaka mountain, Kanhasiri (Kṛṣṇaśrī) of the Hāga family, with his mother, with his brother(s), with his son(s) ... of the whole world.”]

2. MASI CXXXIV.5

1. *pekuṇīrakasa yakhasa dhamaca[ka dā]na*
2. *māhisekasa sāpuḍiyasa + + siḍasa paṭ(o) dānaṃ*

Commentary:

The inscription, which consists of two separate texts, is discussed above under II.3,5.

3. N 3390

Above a panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* and showing a **Dharmacakra**.

](ga)hapati[

“... the banker...”

Commentary:

Beginning and end of the inscription are lost.

[I.7

rāyā sātakaṇ[i mahāce](t)[i]yasa r(u)pāmayāni payumāni oṇ(o)yeti

“King Sātakarṇi donates silver lotus flowers to the Great Caitya.”]

4. MASI CXLI.10 (p. 467, no. 144)

On the shaft of an umbrella (**Chattra**).

1. *sidha || namo bhagavato budhasa bhikhusa budhikayasa chata deyadhama*
2. *sahā mātāpitūhi*
3. *saha ca bhaginīhi golā ca bodhia ca savakahitāya*
4. *lo*

“Success! Homage to Lord Buddha. The pious gift, an umbrella, of the monk Buddhikaya together with his parents and with his sisters Golā and Bodhi for the wellbeing of the whole world.”

Commentary:

Neither reading nor interpretation poses any problem. A long *-ū-* seems to be indicated in *pitūhi* and a long *-ī-* in *bhaginīhi*, because the *-ī-* here turns to the right in contrast to all other vowel signs *-i-* turning the other way. Both long vowels are phonetically correct, cf. Mittelindisch § 189.

The names of the sisters are Golā and Bodhia (with short *-a*), written for Bodhi(y)ā, cf. *paṭimāe* etc. The ungrammatical *golā ca* is perhaps a mistake for *golāya*, cf. Toḍakādā, II.5,1. The *akṣara lo*, which was forgotten, is added below line 3.

5. MASI, plate CXLI.11 (p. 468, no. 145)

On the shaft of an umbrella (**Chattra**).

1. *sa]vachare 10 gimhāna*
2. *deya]dhama sahā bhayāya*

3. *chat(e)dhayo mātāpi*

4. *tuna hitasughāya*

“In the year 10, in summer ... the pious gift together with his wife, a banner on the umbrella for the wellbeing and happiness of his parents.”

Commentary:

The overall meaning of the inscription can be understood, although only the ends of the lines are preserved. As line 1 begins with [*sa*]vachare, the name of a king or at least about 10 *akṣaras* are lost. In line 2 the name of the donor or about 5 *akṣaras* are missing before [*deya*]dhamma. Line 3 is most likely and line 4 is certainly complete.

It is not entirely clear, what exactly is meant by *chatedhayo* “banner / emblem on the umbrella,” i.e. some decoration (??). Once *dhayo* is to be understood as *dhvaja* “banner” or “emblem” rather, the similar compound *śakkyakuleddhva(j)ena*, Rudrapuruṣadatta inscription, verse 2 can be compared, cf. P. Skilling and O. v. Hinüber: An Epigraphic Buddhist Poem from Phanigiri (Andhrapradesh) from the Time of Rudrapuruṣadatta. *ARIRIAB* 14. 2011, p. 7-12; cf. also *deyadhama*, II.9,1 and *bhayeta*, II.6,1.

6. MASI, plate CXLI.12 (p. 468, no. 146)

On the shaft of an umbrella (**Chattra**).

1. *(bhi)mhaṇakasa duhu*

2. *(tu)ya v(i)ranikāya*

3. *deyadhama chata*

“The pious gift, an umbrella, of Vīranikā, the daughter of Bhimhaṇaka (Bhīṣmaṇaka).”

Commentary:

The inscription seems to be complete. Comparing the damaged *akṣara tu* in *duhutuya* to the first *akṣara* of the inscription, a reading *bhi* is palaeographically and semantically likely. Both names, of father and daughter, are derived from *bhīṣma* and *vīra* (Hilka, p. 137) respectively by the suffix *-ṇaka / -ṇikā* cf. Hilka, p. 70. The name Vīranikā also occurs in inscription II.5,8 (MASI no. 148).

7. MASI, plate CXLII.1 (p. 468, no. 147)

On the shaft of an umbrella (**Chattra**).

1. *(na)mo bhaga[va]to budha(sa)*

2. *](to)dathuḥhibadama[+] .i[*

3. *][kārapiṭaṃ sa(m)gha[*

4. *](kena) m(ā)hisa(kasa)[*

“Homage to Lord Buddha. ... was ordered to be made Saṃgha[... from the Mahisa country ...”

Commentary:

The reading of line 2 of this fragmentary inscription is doubtful and does not yield any sense. A clear distinction between the *akṣaras -ḥha-* and *-tha-* is impossible on the photo. It is, however, certain, that the word *thūpa* read by MASI does not occur in this sequence. It is not very likely that *saṃgha+kena* can be put together to form the name Saṃghaka.

Reading *māhisak[e]na* does not seem to be possible.

The highly conjectural reading and the fragmentary state of preservation do not allow a complete translation of the inscription; on Mahisaka cf. II.2,24 (N 3799)

[VI. 8

On a detached fragment, perhaps of a *chattradaṇḍa*.

1. *adhālakamahāce(t)i*]

“The great Caitya (named) Adhālaka ...”]

8. MASI, plate CXLII.2 (p. 468, no. 148)

On the fragment of a pillar (**Stambha**).

1. +

+

2. *Ṣatikena mahāsenadatena k[u]māradatena (bodhi)kāya ca v[i]ranik[āya]*

3. *savalokahitas[ughāya]*

“... by Mahāsenadatta from Ṣata, Kumāradatta and Bodhikā, Vīranikā ... for the wellbeing and happiness of the whole world.”

Commentary:

The first line is lost except for lower parts of two *akṣaras*, which might be traces of the *akṣaras ra* or *ka*. The beginning of line 1 is also lost. The extant *akṣaras* might be the end of a place name. The reading *viranikāya* and the interpretation as Vīranikā are likely (Vikramnikā, as suggested in AMSI, is, of course, impossible) and corroborated by the name Vīranikā also occurring in inscription II.5,6.

Both names, Mahāsenadatta and Kumāradatta, refer to Skanda, cf. Hilka, p. 104, and on Mahāsenā introduction, inscription D (MASI plate II,A).

The inscribed pillar was found in “Structure (STR) V” shown on the photo plate XLVI, A and on the plan fig. 41, p. 119 (cf. also fig. 11, p. 44). This structure is described as “pillared platform” (because of this one pillar?) (p. 120). There were, besides this pillar, a votive *stūpa* and fragments of a Buddhapāda on this platform. It is, however, not possible to identify the Buddhapāda with any of those mentioned in the report. Neither the Buddhapāda nor the votive *stūpa* can be discerned on plate XLVI, A, while the slanting shaft of the pillar is perhaps seen *in situ* at the right side of the platform. The function of this pillar, which may have served as the shaft of an umbrella, cannot be inferred from the report.

9. N 4075

On the fragment of an octagonal pillar (**Stambha**).

mahāvinase(pa).i]

“Of the great ...”

Commentary:

Neither is the find spot of this stump of a pillar known nor is this inscription recorded in MASI. However, one of the two undocumented inscriptions MASI p. 479, nos. 264 and 265 written on “Dwarf pillar shafts found near STR-V” (p. 479) is remotely similar to this inscription: 1. *Āvesanisa bali ... 2. ... mahānivasa bali ...* (no. 264) (Appendix).

According to MASI they belong to a set of pillars, which was allegedly found near structure V, which is described as a pillared platform (p. 120), however with only one large pillar, which was inscribed (figure 41, cf. inscription II.5.8). No small pillars are mentioned here nor are any pillars in the vicinity of this structure marked on the plan. Perhaps they form rather part of the “promenade” shown on the plan figure 11 and described p. 53b as “the structure has only 6 pillar-stumps *in situ*” and inscription II.5.9 (N 4075) is written on one of them. As this clue is perhaps misleading, function and location of the pillar remain unclear at present.

The sequence of *akṣaras* preserved does not yield any sense.

[I.12

2. ... *bhikhusa dhamakadhikasa bodhikayasa*

3. *chata deyadhama sahā mātāpitūhi* ...

“The umbrella of the monk (and) preacher Bodhikaya is a pious gift together with (his) parents ...”]

10. N 2976 = MASI p. 477, no. 250

On a detached fragment (**Stara**).

+ (*rakhitasa*) *dānaṃ tharo*

“The gift, a covering, by]rakṣita.”

Commentary:

The first member of the name is lost, on *tharo* cf. I.8. According to MASI p. 477, no. 250 the inscription is found on “Aṇḍa Slabs.” However, as the photo N 2976 shows, the text is written on the front side of a rather large slab, which must have been lying flat and used as a pedestal (?). Unfortunately, neither original find spot nor function of the slab are known at present.

[I.8

4. ... *bhikhuniya dhamasiriyāya agaraka(o) paṭasa-*

5. *tharo ca deyadhama* ...

“An *agaraka* and a covering with slabs are the pious gift of the nun ... Dhamasiri (Dharmaśrī), ...”]

II.6. BUDDHAPĀDAS

According to the description of the Buddhapādas in MASI (p. 324 foll.), altogether 12 complete Buddhapādas were excavated, 9 of them with inscriptions. Only four are explicitly mentioned and described in MASI (p. 324b). Altogether 7 inscriptions can be verified: 6 of them are edited here, the seventh is the undocumented inscription MASI p. 476, no. 237, cf. Appendix.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify the Buddhapāda, on which the inscription *271 (Appendix) is written according to *IAR* 2000-01, p. 77.

In addition to these seven, four partly fragmentary Buddhapādas are documented on

L 40:08; 41:25; 42:03 = 42:48. The fragment shown on MASI plate XXXI, A, C might be the twelfth Buddhapāda, if uninscribed.

It seems that two sets of four Buddhapādas were put up on the *āyāga*-platforms (p. 66), and again four on the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* between two entrances. This set is perhaps represented in the first four donations (II.6,1-4), which were made by the same person named Sīha(kassapa), cf. II.6,3 (commentary). The “Bōdhika vihāra” and the donor “Bhavajīvaka” mentioned by MASI (p. 324b) do not exist. They are not found in the inscriptions nos. 88, 89, 91, 238 discussed by MASI nor elsewhere.

1. N 2838 = MASI CXXXVIII.5 (p. 462, no. 91) = L 42:49

On the pedestal of a Buddhapāda.

1. (s)[i]dha therāna bhayata budhatātāna(ṃ) a[te](vāsisa bha)yata sihasa deya-dhama pa[yapaṭo]

2. [ma]hāceti [sa]ha ā[ca]riya-upajhāehi saha [ca] mātāpitahi saha va a(te)[vā]

3. sikehi l(o) +(kh)āva(h)[āya]

“Success! The pious gift, a slab with foot prints, of the Venerable Sīha (Siṃha), the pupil of the Venerable Elder Buddhatāta (Buddhatrāta) with his teachers (*ācārya* and *upādhyāya*) and with (his) parents and with (other) pupils at the Great Caitya (to bring happiness of the world?).”

Commentary:

The original find spot of this Buddhapāda is unclear.

The inscription is damaged and difficult to read. Some details can be restored by the help of the parallel inscription II.6,2 (N 2876). After *sidha* (*siddham*), there seems to be an unusually long gap perhaps due to a damaged stone. The rest of line 1 can be read or restored safely. After the *akṣara pa* the text breaks off. As the parallel inscription shows, this is the beginning of the word *pa[yapaṭa]*.

The end of line 2 can also be filled in by the help of the parallel inscription. Because of the accidental dot in the centre of the *akṣara -e* in *upajhāehi* the shape of this *akṣara* is very similar to that of the *akṣara tha*.

In front of the word *atevāsikehi* the *akṣara va* is written by mistake for *ca*. However, the *akṣaras va* and *ca* can be very similar, cf. the next inscription.

This inscription has *mātāpitahi* instead of *mātāpituhi*, probably by mistake.

The end of line 3 is badly damaged and partly lost. Visible traces point to a word beginning with the *akṣara lo*. However, the following traces seem to rule out *loka*, because the long downward stroke of the *akṣara ka* is missing. The hole in the stone after the *akṣara lo* might have accommodated the *akṣara su*. Perhaps *losukhāvahāya* was written by mistake for *lo<ka>sukhāvahāya*. The following *akṣara* read tentatively as *khā* is shaped in an unusual way. Moreover, *sugha* common for *sukha* in Kanaganahalli, should have been written here. *Non liquet*.

2. N 2876 = MASI CXXXVIII.2 (p. 462, no. 88); plate XXI, A = L 41:41-43; fig. 78 = fig. 16

On the pedestal of a Buddhapāda.

1. *therānaṃ bhayata budhatātānaṃ atevāsisa bhayata sihasa deyadhama(m) payapaṭo mahāceti saha (aca)[ri]*

2. *ya-upajh(ā)[eh]i [sa](ha) mātāpit(u)hi saha ca savehi atevāsinehi savasatāna hitasugh(ā)vāhāya ||*

“The pious gift, a slab with foot prints, of the Venerable Siha (Siṃha), the pupil of the Venerable Elder Buddhatāta (Buddhatrāta) with his teachers (*ācārya* and *upādhyāya*) and with his parents and with all pupils at the Great Caitya to bring well-being and happiness to all beings.”

Commentary:

This foot print was found at the northern entrance (p. 66, 68, 324). The quadrangular platform measures approximately 0,95 m, the equally quadrangular layout of the foot print itself is about 0,37 m according to fig. 16 (p. 69).

Instead of *bhayata* here *bhayeta* seems to have been written in line 1. However, if the end of the name *budhatātānaṃ* is compared, the *akṣara naṃ* also looks like *neṃ*, which, of course does not occur in this Prakrit. Therefore, this way of writing the *akṣaras ya* and *naṃ* seems to be due to the peculiar style of the scribe, cf. II.5,5 (commentary).

It is impossible to decide, whether *upājhaehi* as in the parallel inscription or *upajhāyehi* is intended by the scribe. The wording at the end of this inscription differs from the otherwise almost exact parallel. The reading *sughāvāhāya* (Skt. *sukhāva[!]*hāya) is very likely.

Here, the *akṣaras ca* and *va* are very similar in *saha ca* and *savehi*, while the shape of the *akṣara ca* in *mahāceti* is clearly distinct from *va*, cf. also the parallel inscription II.6,1.

3. N 3889 = MASI p. 476, no. 238 = L 37:29-31

On the pedestal of a Buddhapāda.

the(rā)[na] [bhata] b[u]dha[tātā](na) atevas(i)sa (bhata) s(i)hakasapa+ dāya(ka)sa (d)eyadha(ma) paya(paṭo)

“The pious gift, a slab with foot prints, of the Venerable Sihakassapa (Siṃhakāśyapa) as the donor, a pupil of the Venerable Elder Buddhatāta (Buddhatrāta).”

Commentary:

The sequence of the photos seem to indicate that L 37:29-31 show the south western part of the *pradakṣiṇapatha* (L 37:28 shows the Buddha Maitreya, cf. II.78 [N 3916]), and perhaps this Buddhapāda was found here.

The inscriptions N 3889 and II.6,4 (N 3892) run parallel, which helps to understand these badly damaged texts. At the beginning of the text of N 3889, which is partly destroyed, there seem to be unusually long gaps between the individual *akṣaras*. In both inscriptions only faint traces of the vowel *-i-* above *antevas(i)sa* and *s(i)hakasapa* are visible. The last *akṣara* in *s(i)hakasapa+* is not clear. Instead of the expected *sa* it seems to be *ni*, which does not make sense. Probably the stone is damaged. The word *dāyaka* “donor” occurs only in these inscriptions.

4. N 3892 = MASI CXXXVIII.3 (p. 462, no. 89) = L 41:22-24; IAR 1996-97, plate XVII, B

On the pedestal of a Buddhapāda.

therāna bhata budhatātāna [a]tevās[i]sa bhata s[i]hakasapasa dāyakasa (deya)dhamapaya [paṭo]

“The pious gift, a slab with foot prints, of the Venerable Sihakassapa (Siṃhakāśyapa) as the donor, a pupil of the Venerable Elder Buddhatāta (Buddhatrāta).”

Commentary:

The find spot of this Buddhapāda is not known at present.

See commentary on II.6,3 (N 3889). Here, no traces of any *-i-*vowels above *atevāsasa* and *sahakasapasa* are recognizable.

5. MASI, plate CXXXVIII. 4 (p. 462, no. 90)

On the pedestal of a Buddhapāda.

vidhiya (ca) samudi[

“Of Vidhi and Samudi[kā].”

Commentary:

Information on the find spot or an image of this Buddhapāda is not available at present.

The name Vidhi also occurs in II.4,7 (MASI, no. 12). The second name might be reconstructed as Samudrikā, cf. Hilka, p. 114 .

6. MASI, plate CXXXVIII.6 (p. 463, no. 92 = p. 476, no. 239?)

On the pedestal of a Buddhapāda.

1. *sidha || namo bha(ga)[vato ...] deyadhama*

2. *J +yāya*

“Success! Homage to the Lord ... pious gift of (lady)]ā.”

Commentary:

The find spot of the Buddhapāda is not known at present. It is impossible to determine the exact length and the structure of this fragmentary inscription. Most likely, this inscription is listed again as in MASI p. 476, no. 239.

II.7. BUDDHAS AND BODHISATVAS

According to the excavation report, 10 seated Buddha images were found placed originally either at the four entrances or on the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* (p. 51, 97, 328) in the “intra-cardinal” directions (p. 328).

A complete set of the six predecessors of Śākyamuni including himself and Maitreya, altogether 8 images, was donated by the Upāsika Viśākha of the Vāgāḍhica family. This family name is erroneously explained as “Vākāṭaka Vishaya (Vidarbha region of the present Maharashtra)” by MASI (p. 97, 446).

Even the sculptors of this magnificent donation are named as Bodhigupta (Vipaśyin and Viśvabhū) and his brother Nāgabuddhi (Śikhin), on Bodhigupta cf. inscription V.2,3. Four Buddhas are made by Kṛṣṇiṇa, perhaps the sub-set Krakucchanda, Koṇāgamana, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni. If this is correct, it is uncertain, who was the sculptor of Ajita / Maitreya. Only Kṛṣṇiṇa would be excluded.

The family name of Viśākha is spelled *vāgādhica* by the two brothers and *vākāṭica* / *vākād(h)ica* by Kṛṣṇiṇa.

The inscriptions are arranged here according to the succession of the former Buddhas and Maitreya: Vipassin (Vipaśyin), Sikhin (Śikhin), Vessabhū (Viśvabhū), Kakusandha (Krakucchanda), Koṇāgamana (Kanakamuni), Kassapa (Kāśyapa), Gotama (Gautama) / Sakkamuni (Śākyamuni), Metteyya (Maitreya), cf. *Mahāpadāna-s*, DN II 2,15-28; 51,25-28.

The series of the Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa appears occasionally in Indian art, for the first time in Bhārhut, for references cf. O. v. Hinüber: Three new Bronzes from Gilgit. *ARIRIAB* 10. 2007, p. 39-43, particularly p. 40, note 8; for further references: *IIIJ* 54. 2011, p. 94, note 13 (rev. of Doris Meth Srinivasan (ed.), *On the Cusp of an Era*. 2007); for epigraphical evidence from Ajañṭā, cave 22, see Richard C. Cohen in Walter Spink: *Ajanta: History and Development*. Volume Two: Arguments about Ajanta. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Section Two: Indien, Volume 18/2, p. 331, inscription 91, and on evidence from Buddhist literature: Richard Gombrich: The Significance of the Former Buddhas in the Theravāda Tradition, in: *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula*. London 1980, p. 62-72, André Bareau: The Place of the Buddha Gautama in the Buddhist Religion During the Reign of Asoka, *ibidem* p. 1-9; Peter Skilling: Note on the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*. *ARIRIAB* 13. 2010, p. 195-229 and *ARIRIAB* 14. 2011, p. 59-72; Georges-Jean Pinault: The Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon in Old Turkic and Tocharian texts, *ibidem*, p. 73-80; further Duan Qing: *Das Khotanische Aparimitāyuhṣūtra*. Ausgabe, Kommentar, Übersetzung und Glossar. Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik. Dissertationen Band 3. Reinbek [no year: 1992], p. 137 § 64.

II.7, A. BUDDHAS

1. N 3913+3915 = L 37:19-21; MASI CXXXVII.3 (p. 459, no. 80), plate CXXXVIII, A
On the pedestal of a sitting Buddha; hands and head are lost.

1. *bhagavā budho vivasi upāsakena vāgādhicānaṃ visāghena kārapito saputakena seladhaki(sa)*

2. *āsadevasa panatukena samināgasa nātukena māḍhasa putena rayāmacena bodhigutena ka[to]*

“Lord Buddha Vivasi (Vipaśyin) was ordered to be made by the lay practitioner (*upāsaka*) Viśākha (Viśākha) from the Vāgādhica family with his son(s). It was made by Bodhigutta (Bodhigupta), a member of the king’s household, the son of Māḍha, the grandson of Samināga, the great grandson of Āsadeva, the sculptor.”

Commentary:

This Buddha image was located in the south western part of the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* (MASI, p. 331b). The original position (?) can be seen on plate 70 in *IAR* 1997-98.

As usual in this set of inscriptions, little attention is paid to the difference between the vowels short *-a-* and long *-ā-*. Moreover, there are an astonishing number of obvious mistakes. Even the name of the Buddha {Ka}Kosadho, II,74 is misspelled. Furthermore, the word *seladhikasa* is a mistake for *selavadhakisa*. If this Bodhigutta is identical with the person mentioned in the undocumented inscription MASI p. 472, no. 175, he had a son named Bodhiyanaka (Bodhi-yaśa[s]-naka).

The name of the donor, Viśākha written variously as Visāka, Visākha, Visagha, Visāgha (Visaghanena is another mistake) is one of the *nakṣatra*-names, cf. Hilka, p. 33. The correct form of the family name most likely is Vākāṭīca, which excludes the tempting connection to Vākāṭaka.

The name Āsadeva can be understood perhaps as Āśā-deva in spite of the short *-a-* in *āsa-*, cf. Hilka, p. 132. The interpretation of the names Samināga (Sami-nāga?) and Mādha is not clear. Bodhigupta and his brother Nāgabuddhi bear Buddhist names.

The meaning of *rāyamaca* is discussed by D. N. Lielukhine: “Administrative” terminology in early epigraphy and evolution of ancient Indian state structure (I-V sec. A.D.), *IT* 29. 2003, pp. 197-203, who, in spite of the title, only investigates the word (*rāy*)*amacca*.

2. N 2833 = L 42:07/08; MASI CXXXVII.4 (p. 460, no. 81), plate CXXVII, C; IAR 1996-97, plate XVII, D

On the pedestal of a sitting Buddha with the hands lost.

1. *bhagavā samasabudho sīghi vāgādhina visāghena saputakena kārīto selavadhakisa ādevasa panatuna*

2. *saminagasa natukena māḍhasa putena nāgabudhinā kato*

“The perfectly enlightened Buddha Lord Sighi (Śikhin) was ordered to be made by Visāgha (Viśākha) from the Vāgādhī<ca> family with his son(s). It was made by Nāgabuddhi, the son of Mādha, the grandson of Samināga, the great grandson of Āsadeva, the sculptor.”

Commentary:

This Buddha image was located slightly to the north of the western *āyāga*-platform (MASI, p. 330a).

This inscription is also faulty: In *vāgādhina*, *ādevasa* and *panatuna* the *akṣaras cā*, *sa* and *ka* are missing. The sculptors Nāgabuddhi and Bodhigupta are brothers; the name Nāgabuddhi confirms the reconstruction Nā<ga>buddhi in the Dhammasena-inscription, *ARIRIAB* 16. 2013, p. 3-12, and inscription II.2,19 (N 3580).

3. N 3910; MASI CXXXVII.5 (p. 460, no. 82), plates CXXVIII, B; XX, B

Written on the pedestal of a sitting Buddha with head and hands lost.

1. *bhagavā budho vesabhū vāgādhicana(m) visāghena saputakena kārītā selavadhak(i)sa*

āsadev(i)sa

2. *panatukena samināgasa nātukena māḍhasa putena rāyāmacena bodhigutena*

3. *kato*

“Lord Buddha Vesabhū (Viśvabhū) was ordered to be made by Viśākha from the Vāgāḍhica family with his son(s). It was made by Bodhigupta, a member of the king’s household, the son of Māḍha, the grandson of Samināga, the great grandson of Āsadev(in), the sculptor.”

Commentary:

This Buddha image was located in the south eastern part of the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* (MASI, p. 332a).

It is not certain that the beginning inscription is preserved. The name of the common ancestor of the brothers, the sculptors Bodhigupta and Nāgabuddhi, seems to be spelled here *āsadevisa*, gen. of Āsadevin (?) by mistake (?).

4. N 3904; MASI CXXXVII.1 (p. 459, no.78), plate CXXVIII, C

Written on the pedestal of a sitting Buddha with head and arms lost.

sidha bhagavā samasabudho kosadho upāsakena vākā(ṭ)icāna visākhena saputakena k(ā)ripito

“Success! The perfectly enlightened Buddha Lord Kosa(ṃ)dha (Krakucchanda) was ordered to be made by the lay practitioner (*upāsaka*) Viśākha (Viśākha) from the Vākāḍhica family with his son(s).”

Commentary:

This Buddha image was located in the north eastern part of the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* (MASI, p. 332b).

The form *kosa(ṃ)dho*, obviously meant to designate the Buddha Krakucchanda, is remarkable and perhaps simply one of the many mistakes in the inscriptions of this donation for <ka>*kosadho*, for -s- replacing -c(h)- cf. Chimuka, I,3 and Sa(ṃ)ḍa-satakani, I,13, and for the different forms of the name Krakucchanda O. v. Hinüber, *Kleine Schriften*. Wiesbaden 2009, p. 55.

In the word *vāk(!)āṭicāna* a -ṭ- is written almost certainly instead of -dh-, cf. II.7,6 on the pedestal of the Buddha Kassapa. Perhaps *vākāṭica* is the correct form of the name. The correct form *visākhena* is used only in this inscription. An obvious mistake is *kā(or)ka)ripito*.

5. N 3899 = L 35:13; MASI CXXXVI.2 (p. 459, no. 79), plates II, B; XX, A; CXXVIII, D

Written on the pedestal of a sitting Buddha. The upper part of the body with hands and head is lost.

sidha bhagavā samasabudho konāgamuni upāsakena vākāḍicāna visagghena saputakena karit(o)

“Success! The perfectly enlightened Buddha Lord Konāgamuni (Konāgamana) was ordered to be made by the lay practitioner (*upāsaka*) Visagha (Viśākha) from the

Vākāḍhica family with his son(s).”

Commentary:

This Buddha image was located to the north of the eastern *āyāga*-platform (MASI, p. 332b).

The ending *°-muni* is based on popular etymology connecting the name to Śākyamuni. The name of this Buddha occurs as Konākamana in the Aśokan inscriptions.

6. N 3884 = L 35:40/41; MASI CXXXVII.6 (p. 460, no. 83), plate CXXVII, A

Written on the pedestal of a sitting Buddha with head and hands lost.

sidha bhagava samasabudho kasapā vākāṭicāna visākena saputakena kār(i)[to]

“Success! The perfectly enlightened Buddha Lord Kassapa (Kāśyapa) was ordered to be made by Visāka (Viśākha) from the Vākāṭhica family with his son(s).”

Commentary:

This Buddha image was located south of the eastern *āyāga*-platform (MASI, p. 329a).

The form *visāka* (sic!) is remarkable. Again *vākāṭicāna* is written, cf. II.7.5.

7. N 3883 = L36:17-19; MASI CXXXVII.7 (p. 460, no. 84), plates XL, C; CXXVII, B

Written on the pedestal of a sitting Buddha with head and hands lost.

1. *sidha namo bhagavato samasabudho sakamuni sidhatha [vākāṭicāna] visāgha(n)ena saputakena kārīto*

2. *kanhilena katā paṭimāe catāri*

“Success! Homage to the Lord! The perfectly enlightened Buddha Sakamuni (Śākyamuni) Siddhattha (Siddhārtha) was ordered to be made by Viśāghana(!) (Viśākha) from the Vāgāḍhica family with his son(s). Four images were made by Kanhila (Kṛṣṇila).”

Commentary:

This Buddha image was located in the south eastern part of the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* (MASI, p. 329b).

The family-name is lost because of damage in the stone. Perhaps Kṛṣṇila created the Buddha images Krakucchanda, Koṇāgamana, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni

8. N 3916 = L 37:24-28; MASI CXXXVII.8 (p. 461, no. 85), plate CXXVII, D

Written on the pedestal of a sitting Buddha; hands and head are lost.

1. *sidha bhagavā bodhisato ayīto anāgato budho upāsakena vākāḍ(h)icāna[m]*

2. *visāghena saputakena kārīto savalokasa hitasughā ca*

“Success! The Lord Bodhisatva Ayita (Ajita), the future Buddha, was ordered to be made by the lay practitioner (*upāsaka*) Visāgha (Viśākha) from the Vākāḍhica family with his son(s) for the well-being and happiness of the whole world.”

Commentary:

This Buddha image was located in the south western part of the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* (MASI, p. 330b).

In *hitasughā* the *akṣara ya* is missing, and the *akṣara ca* at the end of the inscription

is most likely a mistake for the *akṣara ya*, because *ca* “and” does not make much sense here; for a confusion of the *akṣaras ca* and *ya* cf. inscription II.5,1 (N 3354).

Ajita is another name for Maitreya, which occurs in Pāli only (?) in the *Anāgatavaṃsa*, cf. BHSD s.v. Ajita; bibliographies on Maitreya are provided by Haruko Tsuchiya: The Darel Valley: Fa-hsien and a Colossal Statue of the Maitreya ..., in: *Art et archéologie des monastères gréco-bouddhiques du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde et de l'Asie centrale*, éd. par Zmaryalai Tarzi et Denyse Vaillancourt. Paris 2005, p. 187-208 and Elsa I. Legittimo: Reopening the Maitreya-files ... *JIABS* 31. 2008 [2010], p. 251-293.

9. N 3893 = L35:08-12; MASI CXXXVII.9 (p. 461, no. 86); plate XXVI, B

On the pedestal of a sitting Buddha with head and hands lost.

sidha | namo bhagavato budhasa sakam(u)nisa paḍimā thāvitā mathakumār(asa)

vertical inscription 1 (from left to right N 3893): *bhājāya radhāya*

vertical inscription 2: N 3893-1: *sunhāya (i)ṃdagopiya*

vertical inscription 3: N 3893-2: *(du)hasenakumārāsa ku(dha) ///*

vertical inscription 4: N 3893-3: *kañā[ya] + + + (hatasāya)*

“Success! Homage to the Lord! The image of the Buddha Sakkamuṇi (Śākyamuni) was erected by Mathakumāra’s wife Rādhā, daughter-in-law Indagopi (Indragopī), of the boy Duhasena... of the girl ...”

Commentary:

This Buddha image was located at the eastern *āyāga*-platform (MASI, p. 71b foll.).

This gift by different donors does not belong to the set donated by Viśākha. The vertical inscriptions begin to the right side of the Buddha. The first two inscriptions are clearly legible in MASI (though partly misread by MASI). The reading of the vertical inscriptions 3 and 4 is very hypothetical. The first *akṣara* in vertical inscription 3 is most likely *du* without *bhu/dhu/cu* being ruled out. Neither results in an obvious meaning. At the end, *kuḍha* is fairly certain though of unknown meaning.

The last vertical line is hardly readable. The first word might be *kañā (kanyā)* “girl.” Her name cannot be deciphered from the photo alone. Perhaps some of the vertical lines continue on the pedestal.

The persons named in the last two vertical inscriptions could be the children of both the donors. The name of the daughter-in-law Indragopī can be classified as a name of an animal used as a personal name. It is neither listed by Hilka, p. 117 nor by Jacob Antoon van Velze: *Names of Persons in Early Sanscrit Literature*. PhD thesis Utrecht 1938, p. 95-98. The meaning of the word *indragopa* is established by Siegfried Lienhard: *On the Meaning and Use of the Word indragopa*. 1978, *Kleine Schriften*. Wiesbaden 2007, p. 373-384 as “rain-mite.”

10. MASI CXXXVIII. 1a, 1b (p. 461, no. 87) = L 36:16, fig. 46

On the pedestal of a Buddha image.

1a. */// (sabhū)tina upajhāyena natukena ve(nena) upajh(āy)[e]na*

1b. *p(u)tena nādikeṇa kato*

2a. *dāraghāḍ(hi)kehi bhagavato*

2b. *budhasa paḍimā karit(ā)*

(1a, 2a) “...made by]sabhūtin, the master, by his grandson, by Vena, the master, by his son Nādika.”

(1b, 2b) “By people from Dāraghāḍ(h)a an image of Lord Buddha was ordered to be made.”

Commentary:

The broken Buddha image (MASI, plates XXIX, A and CXXVI, A) and the pedestal were found at the southern *āyāga*-platform (p. 326; 65 foll.). The original position of both, image and pedestal, are shown on plates XIX, A, XXIX, B and XXX, A, and on figures 19 (p. 78) and 22 (p. 84), cf. also L 35:15.

The lines 1b and 2b are found only in MASI CXXXVII.1a, 1b and not in L 36:16. As Plate XXIX, B shows, both inscriptions are written on different sides of the pedestal. Here, only lines 2a,b are visible on a well preserved part of the pedestal. These lines are, consequently, complete. Lines 1a and 1b are written on the opposite (?) damaged side of the pedestal, cf. also Plate XXX, A.

The first inscription names the sculptor and his ancestors. Only the beginning of line 1a of the first inscription is lost, while line 1b is most likely completely preserved. If the structure is to be understood as indicted by the translation, the first part of the name of the grandfather is missing. The name is read hesitatingly in MASI as Asabhūti (cf. II.2,36) or Pasabhūti. Neither can be verified on the plate.

It is syntactically strange that the names of grandfather and father are all in the instrumental case and not in the genitive case as expected. Still, the intended meaning of this ungrammatical wording seems to be beyond doubt. Although *kato* is clearly written in line 1b, the verb should refer to *paḍimā*. It is not entirely clear, whether or not *karitā* or *karitō* is intended by the scribe.

Obviously, *upajjhāya* (*upādhyāya*) is not a monastic title here, meaning “master” rather as in *caṃmakārasa Nāga-upajjhāyaputasa Vidhikasa* in Amarāvati (Tsukamoto, II Amar 70 = Lüders, List 1273).

The second inscription mentions the donors, a group of people from Dāraghāḍ(h)a, which might be a place name. If so, this dedication is typologically similar to much later ones from northern Thailand, where “numerous inhabitants of Meiy” make a joint, but anonymous donation, cf. O. v. Hinüber: *Die Pāli-Handschriften des Klosters Lai Hin bei Lampang in Nordthailand*. Wiesbaden 2013, p. XLVII.

It is uncertain if *-ḍa-* or *-dha-* is intended by the scribe, cf. the very similar *-ḍa-* in *paḍimā*.

II.7, B. BODHISATVAS

11. N 2770 = MASI CXXXIX.1 (p. 463, no. 93), plate CIV, B

Below a two tiered panel at the northern entrance to the *pradakṣiṇapatha* of the Stūpa, the lower one showing a Bodhisatva, the upper one showing Aśoka, cf. I.1.

[*bo*]dhisato *somarāto*

“The Bodhisatva Somarāta.”

Commentary:

This Bodhisatva does not seem to be known from other sources. There is no basis for the assumption that “King” Somarāta could figure in a *Jātaka* (MASI, p. 294).

12. N 2923; ASI 38/23; AN p. 80 = MASI p. 477, no. 245, plate CXIX

Written on a two-tiered panel, the upper one showing a king in his harem (?), the lower one a rider on an elephant and horses with grooms.

bodhisato kusarāyā

“The Bodhisatva Kusarāja.”

Commentary:

The inscription refers the *Kusajātaka* (Ja no. 531, Ja V 278-312), cf. Pāli *Kusarājā*. The name is misread in MASI p. 309 as *kasarāyā* and interpreted as Kāsirāya. However, contrary to MASI p. 446, Kāśī does not occur in the inscriptions.

II.8. NĀGARĀJAS AND YAKṢAS

1. N 2928; ASI 37/24; AN p. 80; MASI CXL.25 (p. 466, no. 133), plates LVII, B; CXVIII

Below a two-tiered panel, the upper one showing a Stūpa, the lower one a Nāgarāja.

nāgarāyā paḍarako

“The Nāgarāja Paḍaraka (Paṇḍaraka).”

Commentary:

The Nāgarāja Paṇḍara or Paṇḍaraka is a former incarnation of Sāriputta and his story is told in the *Paṇḍara-jātaka* (Ja no. 518, Ja V 75-88), cf. *Mahāvvyutpatti* 3281. The interpretation as “Nāgarāya Bhaṭṭāraka,” MASI (p. 309, cf. p. 173) is, of course, impossible.

2. N 3231b; ASI 58; AN p. 90; MASI CXXXIX.4 (p. 463, no. 96), plate CVIII, B

On a two-tiered panel the upper one showing King Simuka, cf. I.4.

Date: 1st century BC or later.

nāgarāyā sakhavā(lo)

“The Nāgarāja Sa(m)khavāla (Śaṅkhapāla).”

Commentary:

The original position of the panel is described under I.4 (N 3231a) (commentary). The inscription follows after the one mentioning Chimuka. However, both are clearly written by very different hands.

This Nāgarāja is the Bodhisatva in the *Śaṅkhapāla-jātaka* (Ja no. 524, Ja V 161-177), cf. *Mahāvvyutpatti* 3227. The name of the Nāgarāja is misread in MASI p. 298 as *sakhāvāvi(pi)* and, after the clearly separate inscriptions are joined together, the text is

misunderstood as “Chimuka ... and his friend serpent king.”

3. MASI CXXXIII. 10 (p. 454, no. 43), L 36:29/30

Above the Nāga, who acts as a *cāmara*-bearer standing to the left side of a Stūpa.

nākarāya mahākālo

“The Nāgarāja Mahākāla.”

Commentary:

The panel with the inscription decorated the southern *āyāga*-platform. The slab is visible on plate XXX, A (left side, in the front) from an oblique angle. The image is described by MASI p. 76 no. 5, however without any reference to this plate. Faint traces of this inscription, which is written vertically above the head of the Nāga, are clearly visible on the image L 36:29; for the Yakṣa standing to the right side of the Stūpa cf. II.8,5, and for the donor of the image cf. II.3,1 (N 3757).

The Nāgarāja Mahākāla collects the bowls in which the last food is offered to the Bodhisatvas immediately before enlightenment (Ja I 70,14-23), cf. on the Sujātā story III.2,9 (3336).

The image is discussed in MASI p. 76 foll.

[III.2,9

suḥ[ātā senāpa](ti)kaduhu[tā mahākā](!)o ca nāgarāyā

“Sujātā, the daughter of a general, and the Nāgarāja Mahākāla.”]

[III.2,11

nāgarāyā mu(ju)lido

“The Nāgarāja Mucalinda.”]

4. N 3522; ASI 22; AN p. 74 = MASI CXL.11 (p. 465, no. 119), plate CI, cf. L 38:24

Written on a two-tiered panel both showing Nāgas and Yakṣas.

hemavatā yakhā nāgā pi

“Yakṣas and Nāgas from the Himālaya.”

Commentary:

The image is discussed in MASI, p. 290.

5. MASI CXXXIII. 8 (p. 454, no. 41), L 36:29

Above the Yakṣa, who acts as a *cāmara*-bearer standing to the right side of a Stūpa.

ḥkh(o) sādāgiro

“[kh(o) Sādāgira (Sātāgira).”

Commentary:

On the panel and the inscription, which decorated the southern *āyāga*-platform, see II.9,3. The image is discussed by MASI p. 76 no. 5, where the inscription is read almost correctly, however without reference to a plate. This inscription is untraceable on the image L 36:29; for details see II.9,3 (commentary).

The Yakṣa Sātāgira (*yakkhā ti* [Ja VI 439,28*] *Sātāgirādayo*, VI 440,8') is usually

associated with the Yakṣa Hemavata: *Sātāgiro Hemavato, Āṭānāṭṭiya-s*, DN III 204,31*; *hemavate pabbate nibbatti Hemavato yakkho ti nāmena, dutiyācariyo Majjhimadesse Sātapabbate Sātāgiro ti nāmena*, Pj II 197,3-5, cf. BHSD s. vv. Sātāgiri and Haimavata. Probably the mountain Sāta is mentioned as Sādaka in I.14.

[II.3,5 + II.5,2

1. *pekuṇirakasa yakhasa dhamaca[ka dā]na*

2. *māhāsekasa sāpuḍiyasa + + siḍasa paṭā dānaṃ]*

“The gift (?) of the Dharmacakra of the Yakṣa Pekuṇiraka ...]

[V.2,11

Above the image of a Nāga crowned by an umbrella.

](mā)ya dāna utaram(ita)sa ///

“The gift of]mā (and) Uttaramitta (Uttaramitra).”]

II.9. KOḶAMBA / BOWLS

1. MASI CXLII.3 (p. 468, no. 149)

On the fragment of a stone bowl.

](sa) deyedhama koḷamba dhā

“... The pious gift, a bowl, of ...”

Commentary:

Neither measurements nor find spot of the fragment can be ascertained, although the find spots of various pieces for offerings are described in MASI, p. 53a without, however, noting the position of the individual bowls. This fragment does not seem to be visible on any plate. Two different uninscribed vessels for donations offered by laity (?) were found near the southern and western entrances respectively, cf. plates XVIII, B, cf. XXIX, C (square vessel), and XVIII C (bowl, described MASI p. 100). No such vessels are mentioned in the description of the eastern and northern entrances. There are, however, four undocumented inscriptions (nos. 257-261, cf. Appendix) which are written on fragments of “Stone bowl of offerings” (p. 478).

The name of the donor is lost. *deyedhama* instead of *deyadhama* seems to be a mistake, but cf. *chatedhayo*, II.5,5. The object of the donation is the stone bowl, which is called *koḷamba*, cf. Turner 3502 **kōḍamba*- “pot” referring to Pāli *koḷamba* “large pot, vessel” and to Pkt. *koḍamba* as Dravidian loanwords. The meaning of the last *akṣara dhā* is unclear. The fragment breaks off after *dhā* without any trace of a following *akṣara* being visible. Perhaps the inscription was written around the rim of the bowl and began with *dhā*. If so, this is most likely the first *akṣara* of the name of the donor, of his family or of his place of origin.

2. MASI, plate CLI, D, fig. 100 A, p. 545

On the fragment of a “deep basin of red ware (p. 543a).”

pakhalako

“Pakkhalaka (Pakṣalaka).”

Commentary:

The only inscription noticed so far on a clay vessel found at Kanaganahalli seems to contain a name. The name Pakkha occurs in Pāli (DPPN s.v.), and Pakṣa is one of the names of Śiva; on the suffix *-la* cf. Hilka, p. 68.

II.10. KĀHĀPAṆAS

1. MASI CXXX.2 (p. 450, no. 2)

On an upright of the railing.

1. *aṭhāsata kāhapaṇani dinani (m)[a]*

2. *diya sauḍarāna ayavadhanika*

3. *gāyanasa dhamilayasa deyadhamā*

“Eight hundred *kāhāpaṇas* are pious gifts of Dhammilaya (Dharmilaka) from (?) Gāyana given to prolong my life together with that of high persons.”

Commentary:

The end of the inscription is preserved, if the transition from line 1 to line 2 is to be interpreted as *madiya* “mine.” Clearly, no long *-ā-* is written in *sa-uḍarāna* (in contrast to *uḍārānaṃ* in II.4,2 and II.4,3) and the case endings of the words in *kāhapaṇani* (cf. CPD s.v. *kāhāpaṇa* with addenda p. 474 for the different forms of the word) and *dinani*; neither long *ā-* nor subscript *-u-* are visible in *ayavadhanika*, which is written with a dental *-dha-*, although *āyuvadhanika* is certainly meant. Both, the word *madiya* “mine” and *sa-uḍarāna* (to be taken together thus) should refer to *āyuvadhanika*. A genitive *madiyasa* would not make much sense.

The name Dharmila (written Tharmila) is attested in an unedited inscription from the Upper Indus (Thor I, 132:2); on the formation of the name Dhammilaka, cf. Hilka, p. 69. The meaning of *uḍāra* is discussed under II.4,2.

III. INSCRIPTIONS REFERRING TO BUDDHIST LITERATURE

III.1. TITLES OF JĀTAKAS

The Jātakas are arranged according to the numbers in the *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā* of the Theravāda tradition and according to the form of the title. The titles ending in *-iya* are listed at the beginning. This form, which is very rarely found also in the Theravāda tradition, was abandoned when the *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā* was created: O. v. Hinüber: *Entstehung und Aufbau der Jātaka-Sammlung*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jg 1998, Nr. 7, p. 11 note 32.

The titles used at Kanaganahalli do not always conform to Theravāda usage. Consequently, not all identifications should be considered as final.

In most cases it is difficult or impossible at present to establish the original position of the slabs. Therefore, a series of panels can be traced only rarely (cf. III.1,10 and III.1,11).

1. N 3194; ASI 51, AN p. 87; MASI CXL.7 (p. 465, no. 115), plate LXXIV, A = L 40:30/31

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing scenes from the *Sattubhastā-jātaka*; for the lower one see III.1,18 (N 3193).

jātakaṃ senakiyaṃ upari

“Above: Senaka-jātaka (Sattubhastā-jātaka).”

Commentary:

This is no. 402 *Sattubhastā-jātaka* (Ja III 341-351) in the Theravāda *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*, which is called *Senaka-jātaka* in Southeast Asia, cf. Ginette Martini: Les titres des jātaka dans les manuscrits pāli de la Bibliothèque nationale à Paris, *BEFEO* 51. 1963, p. 86, cf. also MASI p. 248-250.

2. N 3077; ASI 45; AN p. 84; MASI CXL.6 (p. 465, 114), plate LXX = L 41:16

Below a two-tiered panel showing scenes from the *Arindama-jātaka* (?).

jātaka aridamiya

“Arindama-jātaka.”

Commentary:

The images are referred to no. 407 *Mahākapi-Jātaka* (Ja III 369-375) by MASI p. 243 foll. The content of this Jātaka corresponds indeed to the images, although the name Arindama does not occur in the text of this version. The *Arindama-jātaka*, which concludes the *Mahāvastu* (Mvu III 449-461), and no. 516 *Mahākapi-jātaka* (*Vevaṭṭiyakapi-jātaka*, Ja V 67-74) cannot be related to these images.

3. N 3296 = L 34:39-42; ASI 54; AN p. 88 = MASI CXXXIX.16 (p. 464, no. 108), plate LXXV

Below a two-tiered panel, the upper one showing a king (?) travelling in a chariot, the lower one showing five persons; one of the three men in front is pouring water from a *bhr̥ṅgāra*.

jātakaṃ sadiniyaṃ

“Sadina-jātaka (Sādhīna-jātaka).”

Commentary:

The original find spot near the eastern *āyāga*-platform is shown on the image L 34:40, cf. plate XXVI, C.

Most likely, this title refers to Jātaka no. 494 *Sādhīna-jātaka* (Ja IV 355-360) in the Theravāda collection, which mentions King Sādhīna making donations and Śakra travelling accompanied by his charioteer Mātali. If so, *sadiniya* could correspond to Sādhīna with the long *-ā-* not written and with a loss of aspiration, cf. *padana*-^o perhaps

< *pradhāna*-°, inscription A,2 (introduction, p. 15).

This panel and the following one are interpreted in MASI p. 252-256 as scenes from the *Sutasoma-jātaka*, which, however, does not fit the images.

As usual, it is doubtful whether or not *anuvāras* are written. The different shapes of the *akṣara ta* could indicate that the inscriptions III.1,3 (N 3296) and III.1,4 (N 3346) were written by different hands in spite of the almost identical *akṣaras jā*.

4. N 3346; ASI 55, AN p. 89; MASI plate LXXVI

Below a two-tiered panel; the lower one showing a group of six men, the upper one a king making a donation.

jātakaṃ sadiniyaṃ

“Sadina-jātaka (Sādhīna-jātaka).”

Commentary:

Here, *anuvāras* are written, cf. commentary on the previous inscription.

5. N 2616; ASI 23/16; AN p. 75; MASI CXL.8 (p. 465, no. 116), plate LXII

Above a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing a donation; the lower, fragmentary one two women, a cow with a calf and an elephant.

jātaka velāmiya

“Velāma-jātaka.”

Commentary:

The inscription is written probably by the same hand as III.1,15 (N 2696). The *Velāma-jātaka* existed once in the Theravāda tradition probably as **no. *497**, cf. O. v. Hinüber: *Entstehung und Aufbau*, p. 117 foll. In MASI p. 232-234 the images are referred to the *Khadiraṅgāra-jātaka* (no. 40, Ja I, 226-234), because the *Velāma-s* is mentioned in the *paccuppannavatthu* (Ja I 228,24, cf. AN IV 392-396). However, the content of the Jātaka and the images do not match.

6. N 3022 = L 41:17; ASI 41; AN p. 82; MASI CXXXIX.11 (p. 464, no. 103), plate LXVI

Below a two-tiered panel showing scenes from the *Chaddanta-jātaka*.

jātaka(ṃ) chadatiya(ṃ)

“Chaddanta-jātaka.”

Commentary:

The title corresponds to **no. 514** *Chaddanta-jātaka* (Ja V 36-57) in the Theravāda *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*. The inscriptions III.1,6 (N 3022), III.1,7 (N 3062) and III.1,8 (N 3010) are written by different hands as seen best by comparing the *akṣaras cha* and *jā*.

A panel showing a scene from the *Chaddanta-jātaka* without inscription is L 40:20-22. The panels showing the *Chaddanta-jātaka* are discussed in MASI p. 238-242.

7. N 3062; ASI 42; AN p. 82; MASI CXXXIX.12 (p. 464, no. 104), plate LXVII

Below a fragmentary two-tiered panel showing scenes from the *Chaddanta-jātaka*.

jātaka(m) chadatiya

“Chaddanta-jātaka.”

Commentary:

See previous inscription III.1,6 (N 3022), MASI p. 240 foll.

8. N 3010; ASI 43; AN p. 83; MASI CXXXIX.13 (p. 464, no. 105), plate LXVIII

Below a two-tiered panel showing scenes from the *Chaddanta-jātaka*.

jātaka(m) chada(m)tiya(m)

“Chaddanta-jātaka.”

Commentary:

See inscription III.1,6 (N 3022), MASI p. 241 foll.

9. N 3038; ASI 44; AN p. 83; MASI CXXXIX.14 (p. 464, no.106), plate LXIX

Below a two-tiered panel, only the upper one showing a king (?) in conversation with a Buddhist nun (?); the lower one a monkey drinking water with the help of lotus-stalks.

jātaka da(ga)rakhas[iya

“Dakarakkhasa-jātaka (Jātaka of the Rākṣasa Daka).”

Commentary:

The title corresponds to Jātaka no. 517 *Dakarakkhasa-jātaka* (Ja V 75,1-4) in the Theravāda *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*, which is part of no. 546 *Mahāummagga-jātaka* (Ja VI 466-478), cf. *Entstehung und Aufbau*, p. 102. If the upper panel refers to this Jātaka, the nun Bherī (and not a monk) would be shown in conversation with the king, which, however, takes place at the king’s court in the Jātaka. The lower image of clearly refers to no. 20 *Naḷapāna-jātaka* (Ja I 170-172), MASI p. 242 foll., where the inscription is misread as *jagarakhasa* and translated “of an alert (monkey?).” Perhaps the inscription should be reconstructed as *jātaka da(ga)rakhas[iya upari]* followed by a second lost title.

10. N 2718; ASI 52/22; AN p. 87; MASI CXL.2 (p. 465, no. 110 = 477, no. 243?, cf. III.1,11), plate LXXVIII, cf. L 35:19-21; 35:32

Below a two-tiered panel showing scenes from the *Mahā-Sutasoma-jātaka* (?).

jātakaṃ sudasomīyaṃ

“Sutasoma-jātaka.”

Commentary:

The original find spot of both panels next to each other adorning the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* south to the eastern *āyāga*-platform is shown on L 35:19-21, cf. MASI plate XXVI, C.

This is most likely no. 537 *Mahāsutasoma-jātaka* (Ja V 456-511) in the Theravāda *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*, cf. MASI p. 257 foll. and the next inscription III.1,11 (N 3308).

11. N 3308 = L 35:31; ASI 53; AN p. 88; MASI p. 477, no. 243 (? cf. III.1.10); plate LXXVII, cf. L 35:30-32; 35:34; 35:35; 35:37

Below a two-tiered panel showing scenes from the *Mahā-Sutasoma-jātaka*.

jātakaṃ sudasomiyam

“Sutasoma-jātaka.”

Commentary:

The original position of this next to III.1,10 (N 2718) is shown on L 35:30-32 and 35:35, cf. III.1,10 (commentary).

The panel is discussed in MASI p. 256.

12. N 3245 = L 34:35; ASI 56; AN p. 89; MASI CXL.1 (p. 465, no. 109), plate LXXIX, cf. L 36:02/03; 41:26

Below a two-tiered panel showing scenes from the *Vidura-jātaka*.

jātaka(ṃ) vidurapuṇakiyam toḍagahapatino deyadhama sava

“The Vidurapuṇaka-jātaka is the pious gift of the banker (of the) Toḍa (family?). All.”

Commentary:

Here as elsewhere it is not certain if dots read as *anusvāra* are accidental or not. Vidurapuṇakiya is an alternative title of Jātaka no. 546 *Mahāummaga-jātaka* (*Mahosatha-jātaka*, Ja VI 329-478) in the Theravāda *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*; on the structure of the *Mahāummaga-jātaka* cf. *Entstehung und Aufbau*, p. 100 foll. A corresponding title is used in the late part of the *Milindapañha* (*Vidurapuṇaka-jātaka*, Mil 372,21), cf. *Entstehung und Aufbau*, p. 10, note 28 and *Puṇnakajātaka*, Ja IV 14,24, 182,19 referring to the *Mahāummaga-jātaka*. The panel is discussed in MASI p. 258-260.

Donors from the Toḍa family are mentioned elsewhere, cf. inscriptions II.4,23 (N 2670), II.5,1 (N 3354) and IV.9 (N 2064). The meaning of *sava* “all”(?) at the end is not clear. It might indicate, as assumed in MASI, p. 465, no. 109, that the banker donated “all” panels showing scenes from this Jātaka. Alternatively, this could be an unfinished inscription, if *sava[lokaḥitasughāya]* or the like was intended, cf. I.14.

13. N 3279; ASI 57; AN p. 90; MASI CXXXIX.15 (p. 464, no. 107), plate LXXX; L 35:33, 35:36

Below a two-tiered panel showing scenes from the *Vidura-jātaka*.

jātaka(ṃ) vidurapuṇakiya(ṃ)

“Vidurapuṇaka-jātaka.”

Commentary:

Originally, this panel seems to have been positioned near to the *Sutasoma-jātaka* (III.1,11) according to L 35:31/32; cf. commentary on III.1.11. This panel is discussed in MASI p. 261 foll.

14. N 2599; ASI 24/15; AN p. 75; MASI CXL.3 (p. 465, no. 111), plate LXIII; L 42:36/37

Below a two-tiered panel showing scenes from the *Vessantara-jātaka*.

jātaka vesatariya

“Vessantara-jātaka.”

Commentary:

The title corresponds to Jātaka **no. 547** *Vessantara-jātaka* (Ja VI 479-593) in the Theravāda *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*, cf. MASI p. 234 foll.

The unusual form of the akṣara *jā* is similar to the one used in inscription I.8. The inscription is written by a hand different from III.1,15 (N 2696).

15. N 2696; ASI 20; AN p. 73; MASI CXL.9 (p. 465, no. 117), plate LXIV

Below a two-tiered panel showing scenes from the *Vessantara-jātaka*.

j(ā)taka vesatar(i)ya

“Vessantara-jātaka.”

Commentary:

The title corresponds to Jātaka **no. 547** *Vessantara-jātaka* (Ja VI 479-593) in the Theravāda *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*, cf. MASI p. 235 foll.

The inscription is written probably by the same hand as III.1,5 (N 2616), but different from III.1,14 (N 2599), which see for further comments.

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16. N 2705a = L 39:40; ASI 21/29; AN p. 74; MASI CXL.5 (p. 465, no. 113), plate LXV, B

Below a two-tiered panel, only the lower one showing scenes from the *Suka-jātaka*.

sukajātaka

“Suka-jātaka.”

Commentary:

It is not yet clear to which Jātaka the scene depicted refers. The *Suka-jātaka* is **no. 255** (Ja II 291-294) in the Theravāda *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*. However, the image does not correspond to the content of the story. In MASI p. 237 foll. this image is referred to **no. 281** *Abbhantara-Jātaka* (Ja II 392-400).

The inscription III.1,16 is positioned to the left of inscription III.1,17 (N 2705b).

17. N 2705b = L 39:40; ASI 21/29; AN p. 74; MASI CXL.4 (p. 465, no. 112), plate LXV, A

Below a two-tiered panel, the upper one showing scenes from the *Haṃsa-jātaka*.

hasajātaka upari

“Above: Haṃsa-jātaka.”

Commentary:

The *Haṃsa-jātaka* is **no. 502** (Ja IV 423-430) in the Theravāda *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*. The scene depicted might refer to this Jātaka or to **no. 533** *Culla-haṃsa-jātaka* (Ja V 333-354) or to **no. 534** *Mahāhaṃsa-jātaka* (Ja V 354-382).

The inscription III.1,16 is positioned to the right is inscription III.1,16 (N 2705a).

18. N 3193; MSI 51, AN p. 87 = MASI p. 477, no. 242, plate LXXIV, B = CVII; L 34:37/38; 39:21/22

Below a two-tiered panel; the lower one showing a prince accompanied by a *cāmara* bearer; for the upper one see III.1,1 (N 3194).

kumār[o] (a)[

“Prince A[rindama].”

Commentary:

The original position of this panel near the eastern *āyāga*-platform is shown on L 34:34 and 34:39. If the reconstruction is correct, the inscription probably refers to **no. 529** *Sonaka-jātaka* (Ja V 247-261) in the Theravāda *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*, cf. MASI p. 250-252.

III.2. THE LAST LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

1. N 3953 = L 42:12-16 + 42:9-11 = MASI CXXXVI.3 (p. 457, no. 70), plates XXXIV, B; CXXV, A-C

Above a panel showing a series of scenes before the birth of the Bodhisatva: Māyā’s dream, the interpretation of the dream and a third event, cf. MASI p. 82.

pava[jīta](sa) kanhasirisa bhaginiya nāṇ(a)kāya deyadhama

“The pious gift of Nāṇakā, the sister of the novice Kanhasiri (Kṛṣṇaśrī).”

Commentary:

The original position of this panel was at the western *āyāga*-platform, MASI p. 321b.

One or more novices named Kanhasiri made various donations, cf. also inscriptions I.13 (N 2802) and III.2,2. The name of his sister is not entirely clear; the superscript vowel *-i-* read by MASI above the *akṣara ṇa* is not very likely.

2. N 2808-2810 = L 42:17-32 = MASI CXXXVI.2 (p. 457, no. 69), plates XXXIV, A; CXXV, D-F

Above a serial of panels showing the birth of the Buddha, Māra’s attack, the Bodhi, and the first sermon.

[siddha] (ba)ḍ(h)i(la)vihā(ra)kāna therā(ṇ)a bhayata haghāna atevā[si](sa) kanhasirisa salohitāe ca (sa)b[u]dhajāya (de)yadhama amā(p)i[...] tā(na)////

“Success! The pious gift by the pupil Kanhasiri (Kṛṣṇaśrī) of the Venerable Elder Ha(m)gha (Saṃgha) of the Baḍ(h)ila monastery and of his relative Sa(m)b[u]ddhajā (and) of their parents.”

Commentary:

The reading follows the images L 42:17-32. According to MASI p. 320-322 this panel originally adorned the western *āyāga*-platform, cf. MASI plate XXXII, A and *IAR* 1996-97, plate XVI.

The beginning of the inscription is damaged, and there is space for *siddham*. The name of the monastery is not entirely clear. A reading *baḍ(h)ayivihāra* cannot be ruled

out; *badha*-° is more likely than *baḍa*-°. This is the only name of a monastery identifiable in the inscriptions from Kanaganahalli. The “*bodhikavihāra*” (MASI p. 324b) does not exist (cf. I.6, introduction).

The name of the Elder corresponds to Sanskrit Saṃgha. The names of this Elder and of the donor Kanhasiri occur again side by side in the dated inscription I.13 (N 2802), while the merchant Kaṃhasiri (I.14) clearly is a different person living probably a century earlier. It is not clear, whether or not Kanhasiri mentioned in the previous inscription III.2,1 is the same person. If so, he had two sisters.

The name of the second donor is Saṃbuddhajā, cf. inscription I.13 (N 2802) and perhaps Dharmajā (or Dharmakā), inscription III.2,8. Within her name there is an unusually long gap between the *akṣaras sa* and *b[u]*.

The end of the inscription is damaged and lost. The last *akṣaras amā(p)i[...]**tā(na) ...* allow perhaps a reconstruction *amāpitāna*, if again an unusually long gap is assumed between the *akṣaras pi* and *tā*; for the assumed *amāpitāna* cf. I.8 *amāpitūhi*. However, here and at the end of the inscription a substantial part of the text might have been lost.

[I.13

(s)[i]dha) namo [bha]gavato raño vās(i)ṭhiputasa saḍasatakanisa sava 10 1 vā pa 1 di 1 pavabātaṣa kanhasir(i)sa bhātuṇo saghakasa deyaḍha(ma)

“Success! Homage to the Lord. In the year 11 of King Vāsiṭṭhiputta Sa(m)ḍasatakanni (Vāsiṭṭhiputra Caṇḍasātakarṇi), in the 1st half month of the rainy season, on the 1st day. The pious gift of Saṃghaka, the brother of the monk Kanhasiri (Kṛṣṇasrī).”]

3. N 3409 = L 38:06; ASI 15; AN p. 70 = MASI CXL.12 (p. 465, no. 120), plate LXXXV, A, B = L 36:20-23

Below a panel showing the birth of the Bodhisatva. The imprints of his first seven steps are seen immediately above the inscription.

bhakavato j(ā)[ti]

“The birth of the Lord.”

Commentary:

This panel, which is described in MASI p. 267 foll., was originally adorning the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* behind the southern *āyāga*-platform according to plates XIX, A and L 36:29-30. There is a *pūrṇaghaṭa* in front of the inscription and at the end a fly-wisk (*cāmara*) and an umbrella, both symbols of royalty.

The unvoiced form *bhakavato* for *bhagavato* is noteworthy. There seem to be only faint traces of a long vowel in *jā*. If this is a deception by the photo, the word *ja[mana]* could be reconstructed, cf. *jammanan ti* (Sn 1018) ... *jātiṃ*, Pj II 584,27 where *jammanan* (Skt. *janman-*) is explained by *jāti*.

4. N 3376; ASI 07; AN p. 66; MASI CXL.13 (p. 466, no. 121), plate LXXXVII, A

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing the Bodhisatva being presented to the family deity of the Śākya; for the lower panel see III.2,12 (N 3375).

sākiyavaḍhana(m) ce{ra}ṭtiya(m)

“The Caitya Śākyavardhana.”

Commentary:

The second word contains a mistake committed by the scribe, and it seems, as if an attempt was made to erase the *akṣara ra*. The panel is discussed in MASI p. 270.

The same event is depicted without a label inscription on the cornices of the northern and southern *āyāga*-platforms: MASI plates CXXII, E; CXXIV, B.

5. N 3414 = L 37:05-07; ASI 08; AN p. 66; MASI CXL.15 (p. 466, no. 123), plate LXXXVIII, A, B

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing the Bodhisatva departing through the city gate, the lower one the return of the Bodhisatva's charioteer together with his horse.

abhinikhama

“The going forth.”

Commentary:

The original position of this slab immediately to the west of the southern *āyāga*-platform and near to III.2.6 is shown on MASI plates XIX,A, XXIX, C, on L 37:12 and *IAR* 1997-98, plate 70.

The slightly slanting form clearly distinguishes the *akṣara kha* from *ga* (read in MASI). The horse (Pāli/Sanskrit Kanthaka/Kaṅṭhaka) and the charioteer (Channa) accompanying the Bodhisatva when he leaves his home, are two of the seven persons and things being born or appearing together with the Bodhisatva, cf. Ja I 54,5-10 on the seven *sahajātas*.

The panel is discussed in MASI p. 271 foll.

A second image of the same episode without inscription is shown on L 37:35.

6. N 3447 = L 37:03-04; ASI 09/05; AN p. 67; MASI CXL.16 (p. 466, no. 124) = plate LXXXIX, A, B

Below a two-tiered panel showing the gods lifting and receiving the Bodhisatva's hair-knot.

cuḍāharana(m)

“The lifting of the hair-knot.”

Commentary:

The original position of this slab immediately to the west of the southern *āyāga*-platform and near to III.2,5 is shown on MASI plates XIX, A, XXIX, C and *IAR* 1997-98, plate 70.

When the Bodhisatva throws his cut off hair-knot into the air, it is received by Indra and enclosed in a Stūpa in heaven, cf. Ja I 65,1-9, cf. MASI p. 273 and subsequent inscription.

Different images of the same topic, but without inscription are MASI, plate CXXIII, E (L 34:43/4; 35:03), cf. MASI p. 317, plate XXV, C. The image shown on L 41:08-12 = 41:14 is not found in MASI, cf. inscription III.2,8 (N 3693).

7. N 2969; ASI 32; AN p. 78, MASI plate CXIV = L 40:17-19; 40:23

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing the *cūḍā*.

cūḍāha(r)[ana]

“The lifting of the hair-knot.”

Commentary:

This inscription is not listed in MASI; cf. previous inscription and MASI p. 306.

8. N 3693 = L 41:08-12 , 41:14 ; MASI CXXXII.6 (p. 453, no. 27)

Above a panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* and showing a building on stilts, in which the *uṣṇīṣa* is enshrined.

goḷamulāyāna dhamayāya dā(na)

“The gift of the Dhammayā (Dharmakā) of the Goḷamulāya family.”

Commentary:

The original position of this slab adorning the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* can be seen on MASI, plate XI, B and plate XV (the right one in a series of three panels), cf. L 41:02, cf. inscription III.3,1 (N 3118). There is no full scale image of this building in MASI.

Goḷamulāyana seems to be a family name. The name Dhamayā can be interpreted as Dhammakā or perhaps as Dhammajā, cf. Saṃbuddhajā, III.2,2.

Following an image from Bhārhut, the *uṣṇīṣa* is kept in the Sudhammā hall in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, where the *cūḍāmaha* “festival of the Cūḍā” is held, cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy: *La sculpture de Bhārhut*. Paris 1956, planche XII, Fig. 32 (H. Lüders: *Bharhut inscriptions*. Ootacamund 1963, p. 93, B 21): *adyāpi ca trāyastriṃśatsu deveṣu cūḍāmaho vartate*, *Lalitavistara* (ed. S. Lefmann 1902) 225,18 = II, 74,18 foll. (ed. K. Hokazono 1997), cf. O. v. Hinüber: *Mitteilungen aus einer vergangenen Welt. Frühe Buddhisten und ihre Inschriften*. *ZDMG* 144. 2014 (in press).

The image (L 41:02, cf. Meister, *Architecture*, fig. 5) shows the *cūḍā* enshrined in heaven in a house standing on stilts; the first floor is accessed only by stairs visible in the image. Such a building is mentioned as having been erected in the Jetavana in the commentary to the *Dīghanikāya*: *bhagavā anāthapiṇḍikena gahapatinā thambhānaṃ upari kārītāya devavimānakappāya karerikuṭikāya viharati*, Sv 407,12-14, for an image of a similar building cf. III.2,31 (N 3088).

9. N 3336 = L 42:44; ASI 10; AN p. 67; MASI CXLI.7 (p. 467, no. 141), plate XC = L 42:42-44

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing a Nāgarāja venerating the Buddha, the lower one a lady offering food to the Buddha (or Bodhisatva).

suj[ātā senāpa](ti)kaduhu[tā mahākā](l)o ca nāgarāyā

“Sujātā, the daughter of a general, and the Nāgarāja Mahākāla.”

Commentary:

The reconstruction is slightly conjectural, because only few traces survive. Following a suggestion by M. Nakanishi the lower panel could represent Sujātā offering the last food to the Bodhisatva before his enlightenment. A reconstruction as indicated above by help

of the fragment attached to this inscription (upside down on all plates) could support this suggestion.

The traces of the *akṣara* at the end of the gap could be interpreted as *ḷo* the last syllable of the name Mahākāla, the Nāga, who received the tray, on which Sujātā offered her food to the Bodhisatva, cf. inscription II.8,3 (commentary) and plate CXXIII, C, where Mahākāla receiving the bowl is shown (not a *cūḍāharaṇa*).

The panel (plate XC) is discussed in MASI p. 274.

10. N 3454; ASI 11/08; AN p. 68; MASI CXL.17 (p. 466, no. 125), plate XCI

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper showing Māra's daughters, the lower Māra and his army.

mārabhago

“The frustration of Māra.”

Commentary:

The text can be interpreted as *māra-bhaṃgo*. The panel is discussed MASI p. 275 foll.

11. N 2682; ASI 27/18; AN p. 76; MASI p. 477, no. 244; plate LVII, A; CVI = L 39:36/37

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing the Nāga Mucalinda, the lower one Mahāgovinda, cf. III.3,4 (N 2683).

nāgarāyā mu(ju)lido

“The Nāgarāja Mucalinda.”

Commentary:

The Nāga king Mucalinda protects the Buddha from heavy rain after enlightenment, cf. e.g., *Vinayapiṭaka* I 3,11-31. The image is discussed in MASI p. 296. Besides Mucalinda and Mucalinda, a third form Mujulinda is written here. In Pauni the name occurs as *mucarido nāgo* (S. B. Deo, J. P. Joshi: *Pauni Excavation (1969-1970)*. Nagpur 1972, p. 39, plate XXXVI, 10).

12. N 3375; ASI 07; AN p. 66; MASI CXL.10 (p. 465, no. 118), plate LXXXVII, B

Below a two-tiered panel; the lower one showing the Buddha before a cave, Indra and Pañcaśikha; for the upper panel see III.2,4 (N 3376).

idasālaguhā

“The Indasāla Cave.”

Commentary:

The Buddha is staying in the Indasālaguhā, which is situated in the eastern vicinity of Rājagṛha, when he is approached and visited by Indra and Pañcaśikha as described in the *Sakkapañhasuttanta*, Sūtra no. XXI of the *Dīghanikāya* (DN II 263-289). The description of this event is part of a very old tradition, cf. O. v. Hinüber, Hoary Past and Hazy Memory. On the History of Early Buddhist Texts. *JIAS* 29/2. 2006 [2008 (2009)], pp. 193-210. Strangely, in spite of the inscription the image is interpreted as the Asita episode in MASI p. 270 foll.

13. N 3316; ASI 04; AN p. 64; MASI CXL.8 (p. 467, no. 142), plate LXXXIV, B

Below a two-tiered panel; the lower one showing the entrance to a cave, the upper one a king in his harem.

satipaṇaguhā

“The Sattapaṇṇi Cave.”

Commentary:

Obviously, the scribe placed the vowel sign *-i-* above the wrong *akṣara* instead of writing correctly *satapaṇiguhā*. For, the Sattapaṇṇi cave in the slopes of the Vebhāra mountain is well known from canonical sources as one of the beautiful spots at Rājagṛha, a residence of the Buddha (DN II 116,21.32; Vin II 76,15 = III 159,37) and from later sources as the place of the first council (Dīp IV 14; Mhv III 19; Sp 10,18). MASI p. 266 foll. refers the image to the Asita episode (!?).

14. N 2636; ASI 26/17; AN p. 76; MASI CXL.18 (p. 466, no.126), plate CIII

Below a panel not divided into tiers, and, therefore, of exceptional height showing the descent from the Tāvātīṃsa heaven.

dev(o)har(o)ṇa

“Descending from the gods.”

Commentary:

The word *dev(o)har(o)ṇa* as written in the inscription does not yield any meaningful interpretation. It is almost certainly a mistake for *devorohaṇa* as suggested by S. Karashima. The word *devorohaṇa* is commonly used to describe the descent from the Tāvātīṃsa heaven in post-canonical Pāli. The panel is discussed in MASI p. 291 foll.

15. N 4206

On a detached fragment showing the roof of a *kuṭi*.

1. *bhagavatā idha u[yā*

2. *n(e) paḍichitā jet(ā)*

“Here in the park the Jetavana(?) was accepted by the Lord.”

Commentary:

It is not unlikely, though impossible to ascertain at present, that the fragments III.2,15 (N 4206), III.2,16 (N 4208) and VI.5 (N 4204) are broken off from the Jetavana image MASI, plate XXXV, C (MASI, p. 82) = LV, B = L 41:02-03, cf. III.2,25.

The context hardly allows any other interpretation than *idha*, because of the *akṣara* (initial) *u-* following *idha* and marking the beginning of the next word. Four dots are written to indicate a short initial *akṣara i-*, cf. II.2,37 (N 2873) for parallels from Kanaganahalli.

If the very hypothetical reconstruction *u[yā]ne* or perhaps *u[pava]ne* should be correct, only one, perhaps two, if any *akṣaras* could be missing in line 2. The unusual *-e-* in *je* anticipates the shape later used in Iḅṣvāku inscriptions. It is similar to the super-script *-e-* in *pekuṇirakasa*, II.3,5.

The referent of the feminine *paḍichitā* is not clear.

The acquisition and subsequent donation of the Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika is told in the Senāsanakkhandhaka of the *Cullavagga* of the *Theravādinaya* (Vin II 158,31-159,3), where the park is called *Jetassa kumārassa uyyānaṃ*, Vin II 158,31. The transfer of the Jetavana to the Buddha is told at the end of the *Nidānakathā*: (*Anāthapiṇḍiko*) *suvanṇabhikkāraṃ ādāya dasabalassa hatthe udakaṃ pātetvā “imaṃ Jetavanavihāraṃ ... buddhapamukhassa saṃghassa dammīti adāsi. satthā vihāraṃ paṭiggahetvā anumodanaṃ karonto ...*, Ja I 93,13-16, cf. *Papañcasūdanī* I 60,26. There does not seem to be any reference to the exact place, where the Buddha accepted the Jetavana.

16. N 4208

On a detached fragment showing a *kuṭi*.

ayasa mahāmogallānasa vihāro

“The Vihāra of the Venerable Mahāmoggallāna.”

Commentary:

It is not unlikely, though impossible to ascertain at present, that the fragments III.2,15 (N 4206), III.2,16 (N 4208) and VI.5 (N 4204) are broken off from the Jetavana image MASI, plate XXXV, C (MASI, p. 82) = LV, B, cf. III.2,25; the undocumented inscription MASI 472, no. 176: *Āyasa Subūtinō Vihāro* “Vihāra of Ārya Subhūti (probably Buddha)” [sic!] also might belong here.

17. N 3431+3433 = L 37:45; MASI plate LV, A

Above an image of the Jetavana.

Jdhama (+ + + +) [ate]vāsiniyā bhikkuniyā (c)[a]

“... of the pupil and nun ...”

Commentary:

All names are lost. The inscription is written above a panel in which the subsequent inscriptions III.2,18 (N 3434) – III.2,24 (N 3438) are found. The image is discussed without reference to this inscription in MASI p. 186 foll.

18. N 3434 = L 37:45-38:03; MASI CXXXIII.4 (p. 454, no. 37), plate LV, A

On the roof of a *kuṭi*.

ayasa ānadasa

“Of the Venerable Ānanda.”

Commentary:

The *kuṭi* of Ānanda is shown below the Kosambakuṭi in the Jetavana, cf. III.2,17 (N 3431+3433), cf. Meister, Architecture, fig. 8.

19. N 3436 = L 37:45-38:03; MASI CXXXIII.2 (p. 453, no. 35), plate LV, A

On the roof of a *kuṭi* next to the subsequent one.

kosabakuṭi

“The Kosambakuṭi.”

Commentary:

The Kosambakuṭi is one of the four residences of the Buddha in the Jetavana at Sāvatti as described at *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* II 407, cf. also the undocumented inscription MASI p. 472, no. 178: *Bhagavato vihāro Kōsabh(!)akuṭī*, and Meister, Architecture, fig. 8.

20. N 3430 = L 37:45-38:03; MASI CXXXIII.1 (p. 453, no. 34), plate LV, A

To the right of the Kosambakuṭi.

caka(mo)

“Walking path (of the Buddha).”

Commentary:

The word is to be interpreted as *ca(m)kamo* (*caṅkrama*) Cf. III.2,17 (N 3431+3433).

21. N 3435 = L 37:45-38:03 = MASI CXXXIII.3 (p. 453, no. 36), plate LV, A

On the roof of a building to the right of the Kosambakuṭi, III.2,19.

utupāno

“Well.”

Commentary:

Following a suggestion by S. Karashima, the label corresponds to Pāli *udapāna*, one of the types of buildings erected by Anāthapiṇḍika in the Jetavana besides *udapānasālās* (Vin II 159,19 foll.), cf. Meister, Architecture, fig. 8. In contrast to Pāli *udapāna*, the form *udupāna* is used by Aśoka in his edicts composed in the administrative language of the Maurya empire: *udupānāni*, Kalsi RE II D, but *kūpā*, Girnar RE II D. Consequently, *utupāna* for *udupāna* is an eastern word and could have been borrowed from the language of the canonical texts, cf. *udupāna* in the language of the Mahāsāṃghika-lokottaravādin, *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* (ed. S. Karashima 2012) § 31.9.25. In Kanaganahalli, however, very likely Aśokan vocabulary is used, cf. *uḍāra*, II.4,2; II.10,1, *āṇapayati* in the inscription of Śiva Śrī Pulumāvi, MASI Plate II (introduction, inscription D,2), because usually, *-jñā-* develops into *-ññ-*, cf. *yañasatakaṇisa*, and finally *dadho* also in inscription D,3 (*dadhabhatitā* [*diḍha*° Erraguḍi], Aśoka, RE VII E) against *dalhaghāro* (IV.4) < *dṛdhaghāra*, cf. Pāli *dalha*.

According to the post-canonical tradition of the Theravādins the following *kuṭis* mostly named after trees are found in the Jetavana: *karerikuṭi kosambakuṭi gandhakuṭi salalaghāran* (B°, Sv-ṭ *salalāgāran*) *ti cattāri mahāgehāni*, Sv 407,8 foll.

This inscription is briefly mentioned and taken to indicate the presence of women in M. Meister: Palaces, Kings and Sages: World Rulers and World Renouncers in Early Buddhism, in: *From Turfan to Ajanta. Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*. Lumbini 2010, pp. 651-670, particularly p. 652, cf. MASI p. 453, no. 36, cf. p. 187 “Ṛitupaksha. Female retreat or apartment (for nuns)” (!? reading *utupākhō* and following M. Meister?). These explanations are based a premature tentative (and wrong) reading and interpretation of *utupāno*.

A similar shape of the *akṣara no* is found in *sādavāhano*, I.4 (N 3231).

22. N 3430 = L 37:45-38:03 = MASI CXXXIII.7 (p. 454, no. 40), plate LV, A

On the roof of a larger building in the lower right corner of an image of the Jetavana.

1. *ayasa rāhula*

2. *sa*

“Of the Venerable Rāhula.”

Commentary:

See previous inscriptions, cf. MASI 472, no. 177: *Rāhulasa vihāro* and MASI p. 472, no. 184: *Rāhulasa* (= p. 454, no. 40?).

23. N 3437 = L 37:08/09 = MASI CXXXIII.5 (p. 454, no. 38), plate LV, A

On the roof of a *vihāra* in the Jetavana.

bhagavato

“(The *vihāra*) of the Lord”

Commentary:

The *kuṭi* is seen next to the image of the Yakṣī of III.2,24 (N 3438).

24. N 3438 = L 37:08, 37:45-38:03; MASI CXXXIII.6 (p. 454, no. 39), plate LV, A

On the roof of a house in the Jetavana.

yakhi piyekaramātā

“The Yakṣī, the mother of Piyekara.”

Commentary:

The original position of this slab is shown on MASI plate VII, B, cf. Meister, Architecture, fig. 10. The story of the mother of Piyekara (Pāli Piyaṅkara, BHS Priyaṅkara) is set in the Jetavana and told in SN I 209,11-29 (Spk I 308,26-309,25); it is not mentioned MASI, p. 187.

25. MASI CXXXII.5 (p. 453, no. 26) = L 41:03, 41:05-07; plates XXXV, C and LV, B

On the roof of a house below the Caṅkama in the Jetavana, cf. L 41:03 for the image.

piyeka<ra>m(ā)tu bhavana

“The house of the mother of Piyekara.”

Commentary:

The original position of the image is shown in L 41:02, cf. also III.2,15-16 and Meister, Architecture, fig. 9. The inscriptions III.2,25-27 are found on the same image.

The *akṣara ra* is left out by mistake; on the story of Piyekara cf. III.2,24 (commentary). The story of Piyekara is not mentioned MASI, p. 82.

26. MASI CXXXII.4 (p. 453, no. 25) = L 41:03; plates XXXV, C and LV, B

On the roof of a house to the left of Piyekaramātā’s house.

ayasa sārīputasa vihāro

“The Vihāra of the Venerable Sārīputta.”

Commentary:

For details see commentary on III.2,25. Note the mason’s mark (?) to the left of the

Jetavana besides the image, cf. R. Salomon: Kharoṣṭhī Syllables Used as Location Markers, see II.2,2 (commentary).

27. MASI CXXXII.3 (p. 453, no. 24) = L 41:03; 41:05; plates XXXV, C and LV, B

On the roof of a house to the left of Piyekaramātā's house and below Sāriputta's Vihāra.

ayasa ānadasa vihāro

“The Vihāra of the Venerable Ānanda.”

Commentary:

For details see commentary on III.2,25.

28. N 3104 = L 34:35/36; ASI 47; AN p. 85; MASI CXL. 26 (p. 466, no. 134), plate CXXI

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing riders, the lower one a group of four women, one being a dwarf.

su(d)arasākiyāni

“The beautiful Śākya woman.”

Commentary:

The original position of this panel near the eastern *āyāga*-platform between the inscriptions III.1,12 (N 3245) and III.1,18 (N 3193) is shown on L 34:34-36 and 34:39.

The shape of the *akṣara da* is unusual, cf. however *deti* in inscription I.9 (N 2949).

The inscription seems to refer only to the lower panel, although the story illustrated is not yet identified. The suggestion in MASI p. 311 is based on the wrong reading *suvara*.

29. N 3427; ASI 04; AN p. 65; MASI CXL.14 (p. 466, no. 122), plate XCV = L 37:37

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing the veneration of the relics, the lower one the festivities after the Nirvāṇa.

sariravibhago

“Distribution of the relics.”

Commentary:

The image is discussed in MASI p. 282. Distribution (*sarīravibhāgo* [*śarīravibhāga*]) and transport of the relics is described in the various recensions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*: André Bareau: *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapīṭaka et les Vinayapīṭaka anciens*, II. Les derniers mois, le parinirvāṇa et les funérailles, part 1 (1970), part 2 (1971). Paris, PEFEO LII, LXXVII, pp. 288-208.

The same events are also shown on an uninscribed image MASI CXXIV, E-F (MASI p. 320) = L 36:39 and 36:41. A further image showing the transport of the relics was donated by Saṃghaka, inscription I.13 (N 2802), cf. the presumed transport of the relics of Kassapagotta, Dundubhissara and Majjhima, inscription III.3,2 (3469).

30. N 3480; ASI 17/09, AN p. 71; MASI CXL.21 (p. 466, no. 129), plate XCVI = 38:20, 38:22

Below a two-tiered panel showing elephants carrying the relics.

sariravibhago

“Distribution of the relics.”

Commentary:

This is a second inscription by a different hand referring to the same event as the previous inscription, cf. III.2,29 (N 3427) (commentary).

The image is discussed in MASI p. 283 foll.

31. N 3088 = L 41:01; ASI 46; AN p. 84; MASI CXL.24 (p. 467, no. 132), plates L, B and CXX = L 40:42/43, 41:29

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing a Stūpa built by the Nāgas to enshrine the relics from Rāmagāma, the lower one a building on stilts.

rāmagānilo aṭhabhāga thuvo upari

“Above: The Stūpa of Rāmagāma (enclosing) the eighth part (of the relics distributed after the Nirvāṇa).”

Commentary:

The original position of the panel is shown on L 41:02 next to III.3,1 (N 3118).

After the distribution of the relics one Stūpa was built at Rāmagāma, cf. *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*, DN II 167,7 foll. (*aṭṭh'assa sarīrathūpā*, DN II 167,19). Standing near the bank of the Gaṅgā it was washed away by floods. The relics were preserved by Nāgas, who refused to hand them over to Aśoka. Later, they were enshrined in the Great Stūpa (Mahāthūpa, Ruvanvāli-dagoba etc.) in Anurādhapura (Mhv XXXI) according to the Theravāda tradition, cf. John S. Strong: *Relics of the Buddha*. Princeton 2004, p. 126 foll., 160 foll.

The Stūpa in the image is covered by Nāgas. The building on the lower panel can be compared to the one in which the *uṣṇīṣa* is enshrined, cf. III.2,8 (N 3693) (commentary).

The image is discussed in MASI p. 310 foll.; on the place name Rāmagāma cf. MASI, p. 446. The location of Rāmagāma is discussed by Cunningham: *Geography*, p. 483 foll., cf. p. 611 foll. and Bimala Churn Law: *Historical Geography of Ancient India*. Paris 1968, p. 141; on excavations at the alleged site of Rāmagāma: Sukra Sagar Shrestha: *Ramagrama Excavation II*. Ancient Nepal, no. 148. 2001, p. 1-29.

III.3. EVENTS MENTIONED IN VARIOUS BUDDHIST TEXTS

1. N 3118; ASI 48; AN p. 85; MASI CXXXIX.6 (p. 463, no. 98), plate LXXI = L 40:36-38

On a two-tiered panel showing the Cakravartin and his jewels.

rāyā cakavaṭṭi sataradano

“The King who rules the World surrounded by his seven jewels.”

Commentary:

The original position of this panel is shown in L 41:02 above inscription III.2,8 (N 3693). The inscription describes both panels: The Cakravartin is shown as described in

Dīghanikāya XVII. *Mahāsudassana-suttanta* (DN II 169-199) with his three “human jewels” (*itthi*, *gahapati*, *parināyaka*) on the upper panel, the others are seen on the lower one (*maṇi* [?], *hatthi*, *assa*; *cakka* is lost), DN II 174,10-174,14. The popularity of the *cakravartin* in South Indian art is pointed out by Monika Zin: *Māndhātār, the Universal Monarch, and the Meaning of Representations of the Cakravartin in the Amaravati School, and of the Kings on the Kanaganahalli Stūpa*, in: Peter Skilling and Justin McDaniel (eds.): *Buddhist Narrative in Asia and Beyond*, Volume I. Bangkok 2012, p. 149-166.

Because of the form °*radano* the word *sataradano* (*sattaratano* / *saptaratnaḥ*) is to be interpreted as a compound. The image is interpreted as referring to the *Mandhātu-jātaka* in MASI p. 245, because the inscription is misread (?).

2. N 3469; ASI 16; AN p. 71; MASI CXLI.5 (p. 467, no. 139), plate XCVII = L 37:38; 38:21

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing two riders on elephants carrying reliquaries, the lower one only one rider with a reliquary.

aya majhimo sacanāmo aya ca dudubhisaro

“The Venerable Majjhima Saccanāma and the Venerable Dundubhissara.”

Commentary:

The position of the word *ca* shows that only two persons are referred to in the inscription in spite of the fact that there is a third person depicted in the lower tier. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that *ayasa* occurs only twice. Moreover, *saccanāma* is used in Pāli only as an adjective “the true Majjhima,” cf. *nāgo ... saccanāmo anuttaro*, Th 692 with the explanation *saccanāmo ti saccen’ eva nāganāmo*, Th-a III 10,6.

The names mentioned in the inscription are well known from Buddhist literature. For, these *theras* went to the Himālayas after the third council. Dundubhissara (Sp 68,2; Mhv-ṭ 317,22; Dīp VIII 10, variant Durabhisaro), who accompanied Kassapagotta and Majjhima, seems to be known only to the Theravāda tradition, cf. the discussion of the Buddhist missions in E. Frauwallner: *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*. Serie Orientale Roma VIII. Rome 1956, p. 13.

However, the persons carrying reliquaries shown on these two panels are not monks. Furthermore, there is no reference in the Theravāda tradition or elsewhere that the missionaries brought relics with them. And of course monks are supposed to travel on foot, and not to ride on elephants. Consequently, the inscription can only refer to the relics of these three *theras* being brought back to be enshrined in the Stūpa at Sonāri near Sāñcī, where they still are, cf. Michael Willis: *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India*. London 2000, p. 74 foll. (or even at Kanaganahalli??).

If this is correct, the upper panel most likely shows the reliquaries with the remains of Majjhima and Dundubhissara, the lower one Kassapagotta, cf. III.3,3 (N 3505).

The panel is discussed in MASI p. 285.

3. N 3505; ASI 21; AN p. 73; MASI CXL.20 (p. 466, no. 128), plate C

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing Kassapagotta travelling in his palanquin carried by six men, of whom four are shown on the panel; the lower one showing riders on mythical animals, cf. I.3 (N 3514).

ayasa kasapagotasa sivikapayāna(m)

“The Venerable Kassapagotta’s (Kāśyapagotra’s) travel in a palanquin.”

Commentary:

The image shows Kassapagotta travelling. The royal umbrella carried in front of the palanquin points to a king. One of his attendants carries a vessel, which might be a reliquary or a *bhr̥ṅgāra* (?).

It is not unlikely that this Kassapagotta is different from the other persons known under this name and listed in DPPN and CPD, among them the monk who accompanied Majjhima and Dundubhissara to bring Buddhism to the Himālayas, cf. III.3,2 (N 3469).

The panel is discussed in MASI p. 289b.

4. N 2683; ASI 27/18, AN p. 76; MASI p. 477, no. 241, plate CVI

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper showing the Nāgarāja Mucalinda, cf. III.2,11 (N 2682), the lower one Mahāgovinda in conversation sitting on a throne.

rāyā mahāgovido

“King Mahāgovinda.”

Commentary:

King Mahāgovinda is, together with Māndhātā, a mythical king ruling Rājagrha. The *Mahāgovinda-jātaka*, which existed once as no. *498 in the Theravāda tradition, is lost: O. v. Hinüber: *Entstehung und Aufbau*. 1998, p. 117.

The panel is discussed in MASI p. 296 foll.

5. N 3186 = L 34:29/30; ASI 49; AN p. 86; MASI CXXXIX.8 (p. 463, 100), plate LXXII = L 40:34

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing armed men and dwarfs, the lower one a royal (?) archer shooting.

rāyā uy(e)ne

“King Udayana(?)”

Commentary:

The reading *uyene* is likely with only the vowel above the *akṣara ya* being doubtful. Although the ending *-e* is difficult to explain, *uyene* seems to be a later Middle Indic form of Pāli Udena < Udayana. Consequently, a scene from the Udayana legends should be shown here, cf. MASI p. 246 foll. This inscription is found next to III.3,6 (N 3176) mentioning the wife of Udayana. The original position of the image is shown on L 34:29/30.

6. N 3176 = L 34:29/30, 34:36; ASI 50; AN p. 86; MASI CXLI.6 (p. 467, no. 140); plate LXXIII = L 38:04/05

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing a man and three women visiting the Buddha, the lower one Sāmavatī with attendants among them Khujjuttarā (?).

devi sāmivati

“Queen Sāmivatī.”

Commentary:

Although the name of the queen of Udayana is usually Sāmavatī, it is clearly written Sāmivati here. Like the previous inscription III.3,5 (N 3186) this one also should refer to the Udayana legend. The panel is discussed in MASI p. 247 foll.

IV. INSCRIPTIONS REFERRING TO NOT YET IDENTIFIED SCENES

1. N 3495 = L 38:23 (lower half); ASI 18/10; AN p. 72; MASI CXLI.3 (p. 467, no. 137), plate XCVIII B = L 37:34 (upper half)

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing a king holding a child and travelling in a palanquin carried by four men (three of them are visible in the image), the lower one a king and his charioteer travelling in a chariot drawn by two camels together with three men accompanying him, cf. inscription IV.2.

aya ce(dana)vaniyo muḍakasat̥hikumārā ca

“The honorable Cedanavaniyo, and the boy Mu(ṃ)ḍakasat̥hi (Muṇḍakaṣat̥hi?).”

Commentary:

The original position of the panel is shown on plate XXI, B.

The inscription is damaged and difficult to read. Instead of *ce(dana)vaniyo*, a reading *ce(dana)viniyo* cannot be ruled out. MASI suggests *-set̥hi-* instead of *-sat̥hi-*, which is hardly possible. Here, *aya* does not refer to a Buddhist monk.

In spite of the ending in *°-kumārā*, a plural form, which points to an interpretation “the boys/princes Muṇḍaka and Saṣṭhi,” *°-kumāro* should be read rather, because only one child is seen on the upper panel.

Neither the name Cedanavaniyo (or *°-viniyo*) / Jetanavaniyo (or: *°-viniyo*) nor the boy (Muṇḍaka)Saṣṭhi have been traced and no convincing interpretation of the inscription suggests itself so far, cf. also the place name *mūḍaka* (inscription A,1).

The panel is discussed in MASI p. 286 foll., cf. also Meister, Architecture, fig. 1.

2. N 3486 = L 37:13-37:16; ASI 18/10; AN p. 72; MASI CXXXIX.9c (p. 464, no. 101), plate XCVIII, A

Above the panel described under IV.1.

Jsaputasa sajāmātusa sasunhasa sagotasa saduhu[takasa

“ ... together with his son(s), with his son(s)-in-law, with his daughter(s)-in-law, with his clan, with his daughter(s) ...”

Commentary:

The fragmentary donative inscription, which in MASI is assumed to be part of fragment I.3 (for details see inscription I.3 [commentary]), mentions the male family-members

interestingly giving preference to the wives of his son(s) before his (unmarried?) daughters. The so far isolated reference to the clan or joint family is remarkable, because here *sagotra* (*sāgotra*) does not seem to mean “of the same *gotra*.” The son and daughter-in-law is also mentioned in II.2,7 (N 3728).

There is a crack in the stone below the word *sasunhasa*, which is not a subscript *-u-*; on *sunhā* cf. Mittelindisch § 239.

The panel is discussed in MASI p. 286 foll.

3. N 3398; ASI 14; AN p. 69; MASI CXL.22 (p. 466, 130), plate XXXVII, A; XCIV = L 41:28

Below a two-tiered panel, both images showing scenes of war.

upayāna

“Approach” or “Attack.”

Commentary:

The original position of the panel is shown on MASI plate XXI, B.

The meaning of the inscription is not clear, because the story referred to is not yet identified. According to MASI p. 280 this is the war on relics, cf. also MASI p. 86.

4. N 2910 = L 39:41; ASI 33; AN p. 78; MASI CXL. 23 (p. 466, no. 131), plate CXV

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing a Stūpa decorated by garlands, the lower one a building that encloses a Stūpa or a relic casket.

dalhaghāro

“Solid house.”

Commentary:

The story of the “solid house” has not been identified so far; on the form *dalha*, cf. III.2,21 (commentary). The panel is discussed and the inscription misread in MASI p. 306 foll., cf. Meister, *Archaeology*, fig. 4.

5. N 3461; ASI 13; AN p. 69; MASI CXL.19 (p. 466, 127), plate XCIII, B = L 37:32/33

Below a two-tiered panel; the upper one showing the veneration of the (empty) *bhadrāsana* with the presence of the Buddha being indicated by his feet, cf. II.4,22 (N 2112); the lower one showing mount Khalatika.

khalatiko pavato

“The mountain Khalatika.”

Commentary:

This mountain is mentioned as an example by Kātyāyana, *Vārttika* 4 on Pāṇini 1.2.52: *khalatikādīṣu*. The identification of this mountain with the Barābar Hills in the Gayā District is guaranteed by Aśoka’s donation of a cave in this mountain to the Ājīvikas, cf. Bimala Churn Law: *Historical Geography of Ancient India*. Paris ²1967, p. 271.

The panel is discussed in MASI p. 278 foll., cf. p. 447.

6. N 3269; ASI 06; AN p. 65; MASI CXLI.1 (p. 466, no. 135), plate LXXXVI = L 35:27-29

Below two-tiered panel; the upper one showing acrobats and musicians, the lower one dancers with bells in hand, cf. next inscription IV.7.

lakhako m(e)yakathālikā

“The acrobat (and musicians beating the rhythm?).”

Commentary:

Segmentation and interpretation of this sequence is not entirely clear. The first word could be *la(m)khako* corresponding to *la(m)ghako* “acrobat.” A paragraph from the *Dhammapad-aṭṭhakathā* almost describes the upper panel: *ekā laṅghikadhītā vaṃsam abhiruyha tassa upari parivattitvā ākāse caṅkamānā naccati c’eva gāyati ca*, Dh-p-a IV 59, 21-23 “a certain female tumbler climbed a pole, turned somersaults thereon, and balanced herself on the tip of the pole, danced and sang” (E. W. Burlingame), cf. also *naṭakā nāma ye naccanti. laṅghakā nāma ye vaṃsavarattādīsu laṅghanakammaṃ karonti*, Sp 931,1-3.

The next word seems to be *meyaka-thālikā*, which might refer to the players of the musical instruments shown on the lower panel. Their instruments are perhaps a kind of gong (? *thālikā*) to beat the rhythm (?); on *meyatva = tāla* in music cf. N. Simonson: Some philological problems in Indian musicological literature, *AO* 37. 1976, pp. 127-163, particularly p. 128; *thālikā* (Skt. *sthālikā* “flat plate”) is also, though extremely rarely, it seems, used of a musical instrument as in Śrutadevasūri’s commentary on Somadevasūri’s *Yaśastilaka*. Bombay 1901 (Kāvya-mālā 70), I 582,10: *jayaghaṅṅāsu sthālikāsu kaṃsapātrīṣu*. This interpretation is, of course, highly conjectural.

The panel is discussed in MASI, p. 268 foll. and interpreted as festivals after the birth of the Bodhisatva.

7. N 3268; ASI 06; AN p. 65; MASI CXLI.2 (p. 466, no. 136), plate LXXXVI

Written to the right side of the previous inscription IV.6.

isaradah(i)ko gh(u)madhaputo[

“Issaradahika (Īśvaradahika?), the son of Ghuma(m)ḍha.”

Commentary:

A reading *dahako* seems less likely, and the stroke beneath the *akṣara gha* might be accidental. Only the first member of the first name can be interpreted, cf. Hilka, p. 96. The reference of the name is not clear.

The panel is discussed in MASI, p. 269.

8. N 3419 = L 38:12-17; MASI CXXXIV.6 (p. 455, no. 53), plate LV, C = XXXV, B, figure 59, a-c

Above the image of a “labyrith” on a panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

dhaññakaḍikāya pavayitāya aya mitāya duhutuya ca sa [

“Of the novice, the Venerable Mittā (Mitrā) from Dhaññakaṭa, and of the daughter Sa[...”

Commentary:

The end of the inscription is lost. The term *pavayitā / pravrajitā* seems to designate a female novice. The panel is discussed in MASI p. 188 and interpreted as a “typical monastic complex” (!?), cf. Meister, Architecture, fig. 11 and 12. The inscription is translated erroneously “... Āryamitra, a monk ...” in spite of the feminine ending.

9. N 2064; ASI 19; AN p. 72; MASI CXXXIX.9b (p. 464, no. 101), plate XCIX = L 37:02

On a two-tiered panel, the upper one showing a king on a chariot accompanied by drummers, the lower one riders on an elephant.

]sa gahapatinā toḍ(e)sa ca na gahapatiput(e)sa sabhāriyesa sa[

“] by the banker]sa, the son of the banker Toḍesacana (or: Sacana of the Toḍa family?), with his wife, with...”

Commentary:

The original position of the image is shown on L 37:02.

The grammatical structure and the segmentation of this fragmentary donative inscription, which may or may not be part of fragment I.3 (N 3514), is unusual, but not unique: The instrumental *gahapatinā* is followed by a form, which originates from a (con)fusion of instrumental and genitive (-ena × -asa). Similar forms and constructions occur occasionally in formulas, cf. *Palola Śāhis*, p. 145 and in addition *devadharmo yaṃ sinhoṭesya*, Chilas-Brücke 20:2; *kṛtaṃ mayā sinhoṭesya*, Chilas-Brücke 20:15 (D. Bandini-König: *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan I. Kataloge Chilas-Brücke und Thalpan [Steine 1-30]. MANP 6. Mainz 2003*) and *ṣeriyesya* Thalpan 516:1 (D. Bandini-König: *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan IV. Katalog Thalpan [Steine 451-811]. MANP 9. Mainz 2009*), cf. I.3 (commentary).

The sequence *toḍesacanagahapatiputesa* could be segmented either as *toḍesacana-gahapatiputesa toḍe-sacana-gahapatiputesa* or as *toḍesa ca {na} gahapatiputesa*, if the *akṣara na* is written by mistake. If *toḍesacana* is meant and taken as a compound this recalls *śākkyakule-ddhvajena* in the Rudrapuruṣadatta inscription, verse 2, *ARIRIAB* 14. 2011, p. 9. The obviously fabulously rich Toḍa family made more than one donation at the Adhālaka-Caitya, cf. III.1,12 (N 3245).

The panel is discussed in MASI p. 288.

10. N 3153 = L 40:24-29; MASI, p. 472, no. 180, plates XXVII = LII

Above a scene showing naked demons (?) on a panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

]yasanak(i)sa//// (yā)ko

“...”

Commentary:

The original find spot (?) is shown in L 40:15. According MASI p. 74b this was the central panel of the eastern *āyāga*-platform.

Beginning and end of the fragmentary inscription are lost and the reading is only

conjectural. On the photos taken by Ch. Luczanits there is a detached fragment, which might have been originally situated in the gap between the extant parts of the inscription: (ṇ.)*tāgām(i)*.

The panel is discussed in MASI p. 191 foll., where a fanciful reconstruction and interpretation is given.

11. N 3362; ASI 02; AN p. 63; MASI p. 477, no. 247, plate LXXXII

Below a fragmentary panel showing a lady with attendants making her toilet(?).

J+yano māyā ca

“Jyana and Māyā.”

Commentary:

The bottom of the last *akṣara* is destroyed, which would allow for an unlikely interpretation as *bha*. The name of the first person is not clear nor is any possible connection to Mahāmāyā, cf. MASI p. 264 foll.

V. INSCRIPTIONS NAMING DONORS OF VOID OR FRAGMENTARY PANELS

V.1. MEMBERS OF THE SAṂGHA

1. MASI CXXXIV.10 (p. 456, no. 57)

Above a void panel a panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

1. *sutatikasa aya golasa (a)tevāsisa sa(ma)[*

2. *dāna*

“Gift of Sama[the pupil of the Suttantika, the Venerable Gola.”

Commentary:

The end of the inscription is lost. The expression *sutatika* (Skt. *sautrāntika*) might point to a school affiliation or rather to a monk well versed in the Sūtras, cf., e.g., Tsukamoto, IV Sanc 689. A second *sutaṃtika* is mentioned in the undocumented inscription MASI p. 472, no. 173. On *sutaṃtikas* and even a *sutātikinī* at Bhārhut and Sāñcī see H. Lüders: *Bharhut Inscriptions*. CII II.2. Ootacamund 1963, no. A 51 and Lüders, List 352.

2. MASI, plate CXXXIV. 4 (p. 455, no. 50)

On a *vedikā* slab.

samanasa yakhasa dāna

“The gift of the Śramaṇa Yakkha (Yakṣa).”

Commentary:

The image, to which this inscription refers, is not indicated in MASI.

3. N 3786 = L 37:17/18 = L 35:42; MASI CXXXIII.9 (p. 454, no. 42)

Above a void panel decorating the lower *pradakṣiṇapatha* flanked by two Caityas one with Nāgas.

(symbol: *nandyāvarta*) **navakamikasa** aya malasa mātuyā aya hadāya kamāya ca dāna(ṃ)
(symbol: *svastika*)

“The gift of the mother of the Navakammika, the Venerable Malla, the Venerable Hadā and of Kammā (Kāmyā).”

Commentary:

The original position of the inscription, which is written below the *puphagahani* II.2,47 (N 3787) can be seen in MASI plates VII, B (L 37:29) = XL, A, LIX, A, cf. MASI p. 192, to the left of a Dharmacakra.

The name Mala most likely corresponds to Malla. As a *navakammika* he should be a member of the Saṃgha, which concurs with his title *aya*.

Because of the word *ca* before the word *dānaṃ*, two persons are mentioned, which suggests a segmentation *hadāya* + *kamāya* in spite of the fact that the interpretation of the first name is uncertain: Hadā < Hṛdā (?); on Kamā < Kāmyā cf. *kammā*, Amarāvati (Lüders, List 1260).

4. N 3251 = MASI p. 472, no. 181

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

(bh)ikhuniya budha(ra)khitāya kanhāya ca dāna golāya ca

“Gift of the nun Buddharakkhitā (Buddharakṣitā) and of Kanhā (Kṛṣṇā) and of Golā.”

Commentary:

The last name *golāya ca* is written by a different hand and a secondary addition as can be seen by comparing the different shapes of the *akṣaras ya* and *ca*. The name Golā occurs again in the undocumented inscription *golāya dāna*, MASI p. 474, no. 208, which is translated as “pious gift of dome (*aṇḍa*) slab” (?!).

[IV.8

dhañṇakaḍikāya pavayitāya aya mitāya duhutuya ca sa [

“Of the novice, the Venerable Mittā (Mitrā) from Dhañṇakaṭa, and of the daughter Sa[...”]

V.2. LAYMEN AND LAYWOMEN

1. N 2983-2987

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

gahapatino viniganāgilasa putasa gahapatino upāsaka(sa) paya + tasa

“Of the banker, the lay practitioner (*upāsaka*) Paya + ta (Pada-??), the son of the banker Viniga-Nāgila.”

Commentary:

The meaning of *viniga* is unclear and most likely a place name, cf. inscription V.2,4 and *vāniga*], V.2,18 (N 3223), which may be written by the same hand. The name of the donor is partly lost, cf. the following inscription V.2,2 (N 3199). A connection, if any, with *payavatām(i)tāya* II.2,3 remains unclear.

2. N 3199 = L 40:44/45; MASI CXXXIV.2 (p. 455, no. 48)

Above a void panel limited by a Caitya decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

[ga]hapatino *upāsakasa paya*///

“Of the banker, the lay practitioner (*upāsaka*) Paya[.]”

Commentary:

The end of the inscription and the name of the donor is lost, cf. V.2,1 (N 2983-2987). It is conceivable that the inscription is incomplete. The last *akṣara* is certainly not *to* as read in MASI, but most likely *ya*.

3. MASI CXXXIII.12 (p. 455, no. 45)

On a *vedikā* slab.

(*u*)*pāsakasa bodhigūta* *dāna*

“The pious gift of the lay practitioner (*upāsaka*) Bodhigūta (Bodhigupta).”

Commentary:

The image is not indicated, to which this inscription refers. The rare long *-ū-* in *°-gūta* may be accidental or, if not, due to an unlikely metathesis of vowel quantity. If this Bodhigupta should be identical with one of the sculptors of the Buddhas Vipaśyin and Viśvabhū, he would be the brother of Nāgabuddhi, cf. II.7 (introduction).

4. L 42:02

On a detached fragment in an image showing miscellaneous fragments.

gahapatino viniganāgilaputa(sa)]

“Of the son of the banker and merchant (?) Nāgila.”

Commentary:

Cf. inscription V.2,1.

5. MASI CXXXVI.10 (p. 459, no. 77)

On a detached fragment found at the “South-western corner.”

tisāya upāsikāya dāna(m)

“Gift of the lay practitioner (*upāsikā*) Tissā (Tiṣyā).”

Commentary:

The *Upāsikā* is named after a *nakṣatra*, cf. Hilka, p. 33.

6. L 35:16 = MASI p. 475, no. 229

On a detached fragment.

[s[a]māya *upāsikāya d[ānaṃ]*

“... gift of the lay practitioner (*upāsikā*)]s.mā.”

Commentary:

The inscription may be complete, but both ends and the heads of the first *akṣaras* are cut off on the photo, cf. II.2,4 (N 3651).

7. MASI, plate CXXXIV.11 (p. 456, no. 58)

On a *vedikā* slab.

sabhaḍākārikasa mak(o)samasa dāna

“Gift of Makosama from Sabhaḍākāra.”

Commentary:

It is not certain, but likely that the beginning of the inscription is preserved. Sabhaḍākāra might be a place name. The name Makosama or Makāsama resists interpretation at present. MASI suspects on undisclosed reasons in a brief comment on this inscription: “The personal name Makasmas (sic!) appears to be of Greco-Roman origin.” The image, to which this inscription refers, is not indicated.

8. MASI, plate CXXXII.12 (p. 453, no. 33)

On a *vedikā* slab.

(pa)ramakanhasa bhariyāya sivāsinikāya dānaṃ

“Gift of the wife of Paramakanha (Paramakṛṣṇa), Sivāsinikā.”

Commentary:

The heads of the first three *akṣaras* are lost; on the derivation of names ending in *-ṇaka/ -nikā* cf. Hilka, p. 70.

9. MASI CXXXVI.9 (p. 459, no. 76)

On a detached fragment found “near eastern Āyaka.”

budhāya (dāna)

“The gift of Buddhā.”

Commentary:

On names like Buddhā cf. inscription I.13 [N 2802-2806] (commentary).

10. N 4136

On a detached fragment.

](na senarakhi)tasa deyadha[ma

“The gift of Senarakkhita (Senarakṣita) ...”

Commentary:

The reconstruction of the name is slightly conjectural.

11. L 38:34 = MASI CXXXIII.13 (p. 455, no. 46)

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha* and above the image of a Nāga crowned by an umbrella.

](mā)ya dāna utaram(i)tasa

“The gift of]mā (and) Uttaramitta (Uttaramitra).”

Commentary:

The beginning of the inscription is lost, but the end is probably preserved. This Nāga is not mentioned in MASI p. 173, 182.

12. N 3697 = MASI p. 472, no. 179

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

koṭurakasa cadamughasa sabhāt[u]kasa dāna

“The gift of Ca(m)damukha (Candramukha) of Koṭṭura with his brother(s).”

Commentary:

The name is to be read *caṃda-mugha* < *caṃdamukha* (Hilka, p. 128), cf. *sugha* < *sukha*; cf. the undocumented inscriptions MASI 473, no. 190: *Kōtūrakasa Utikasa mātūya [dānam]* and MASI p. 475, no. 230: *Chidumughamātūya dānam*. Koṭṭura is a place name frequently occurring in South India, cf. MASI, p. 109b and *kauṭṭūraka* in the Allahabad-Praśasti of Samudragupta (J. F. Fleet: *Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings and their successors*. CII vol. III. Calcutta 1888, p. 7 note 2).

13. N 3816 = MASI CXXXII.9 (p. 453, no. 30)

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

[(si)rikāya saputikāya saduhutūkāya dāna

“The gift, of]śrīkā with her son(s) with her daughter(s).”

Commentary:

The first part of the name of the donatrix is lost. The reading *Jsirikāya* is likely; *saputikaya* is the correct feminine suffix *-ikā* besides masculine *-aka*, cf. also II.3,1 (N 3757). The rare long *-ū-* in *duhutūkāya* is unexpected.

14. N 2886

Above the fragment of a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

/// paghalasa dāna

“The gift of]Paghala.”

Commentary:

It is uncertain whether or not the beginning of the inscription is preserved. The interpretation of the name is unclear.

15. N 3878

On a detached fragment written vertically on a drawing between two columns.

banikasa rayana[sa

“Of the merchant Rayana.”

Commentary:

A safe reconstruction of the name is not possible.

16. N 2854 = MASI p. 472, no. 187

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

aya isipāl(i)tasa sabhagi[nikasa

“Of the Venerable Isipālita (Ṛṣipālita) together with his sister(s) ...”

Commentary:

It is uncertain, whether or not a super-script *-i-* is written above *°pālitasā*.

17. N 2848 = MASI p. 472, no. 174

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

pokuḍ(u)r(a)kasa ba ///

“Ba[from Pokuḍura (?).”

Commentary:

The interpretation of this unfinished (?) inscription is not clear. However, the same place name is mentioned in the equally fragmentary inscription II.3, 2 (N 3761+376). The vowel of the *akṣara ra* is not entirely clear, because there is an accidental (?) stroke which looks like a subscript *-u-*.

It is not unlikely that the undocumented inscription MASI p. 472, no. 174 is identical with V.2,17.

18. N 3223 = MASI CXXXIV.3 (p. 455, no. 49)

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

gahapatino vāniga[sa

“Of the banker, the merchant ...”

Commentary:

The end of the inscription and the name of the donor is lost, cf. the inscription V.2,1 (N 2983-2987), which may be written by the same hand.

VI. VARIOUS FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS

1. N 2820 (= MASI p. 476, no. 235?)

On a detached fragment

kupanaraṭhakasa aya[

“Of the Venerable from Kupanaraṭha ...”

Commentary:

Cf. the personal name Kupana in the inscriptions II.2,24 (N 3799) and II.2,25 (N 3804). Here, *kupanaraṭha* (Skt. *kupanarāṣṭra*?) seems to a place name rather, cf. the undocumented inscriptions MASI p. 476, no. 235 *Kūpana rathikasa dāna* and p. 477, no. 249 *Kūpana Rathikasa dēya dha (ma)*, which may be identical with N 2820. In MASI p. 109b and p. 447 *Kūpaṇa* is connected to Koppal.

If *aya* refers to a monk, the genitive singular is remarkable.

2. N 3874

On a fragment below a lost scene.

mahānasukav(o)

“The great ...”

Commentary:

The sequence, which is difficult to read, does not yield any sense. It is unusual that the

text is written on the empty space of a slab.

3. N 3876

Above a mostly destroyed scene showing a man.

aesani(sa)[

“Aesanisa[”

Commentary:

Segmentation and interpretation of this sequence of *akṣaras* is unclear; perhaps *ae* < *aye* for *aya* (?) followed by a personal name Sanisa[(?). A reading *sani(ya)* cannot be ruled out.

4. N 3881

On a detached fragment.

1. *](kapa)yasa[*

2. */////////(ja)*

“...”

Commentary:

The sequence of *akṣaras* does not yield any sense. The isolated *akṣara ja* is strange, if not accidental.

5. N 4204

On a detached fragment.

]sakasace[

“...”

Commentary:

It is not unlikely, though impossible to ascertain at present, that the fragments III.2,15 (N 4206), III.2,16 (N 4208) and VI.5 (N 4204) are broken off from the Jetavana image MASI, plate XXXV, C (MASI, p. 82) = LV, B.

The sequence *akṣaras* does not yield any meaningful interpretation.

6. N 2912

Above a void panel decorating the upper *pradakṣiṇapatha*.

dhañaka[

“From Dhaññakaṭa”

Commentary:

The name of the donor is lost; cf. the undocumented inscription MASI p. 475, no. 220: Dhānyakaṭakāya (?).

7. MASI, plate CXXXIV.8 (p. 455, no. 55)

On a *vedikā* slab.

dhañakaḍikā]ya

“Of (the lady) from Dhaññakaṭa ...”

Commentary:

This inscription is not identical with VI.6; cf. the undocumented inscription MASI p. 475, no. 220: Dhānyakaṭākāya (?). The image, to which this inscription refers, is not indicated.

8. N 4203-2 = MASI p. 478, no. 252

On a detached fragment, perhaps of a *chattradaṇḍa*, *IAR* 2000-01, p. 77.

1. *adhālakamahāce(t)i*

2. (flourishes)

“The great Caitya (named) Adhālaka ...”

Commentary:

The find spot of this inscription is not known at present. It is mentioned in *IAR* 2000-01, p. 77 with plate 60. Only here, the name of the Caitya can be read correctly, because the *akṣara dhā* is damaged in both inscriptions, I.8 and II.1,3 (N 3130-3132) with the long *-ā-* being lost. The different flourishes at the lower edge of the fragment are traces of a second line.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

UNDOCUMENTED INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions nos. 151-270 collected in MASI “Part-B“ (p. 470-479) without being documented by a photo are listed here as they are printed in MASI for sake of the completeness of the material. Even obvious mistakes and the strange word division stand uncorrected. However, the letter *ē* and *ō* are simplified to *e* and *o*; capital letters used in MASI are not marked. Following the usage in *Epigraphia Indica*, *ca* is transcribed as *cha* and *cha* as *chha* in MASI. These have been normalized to *ca* and *cha*.

Parallel inscriptions or inscriptions from “Part-B” quoted in the edition are added in brackets []. If there is reason to assume that the inscriptions are identical this is indicated by =.

The following find spots or objects, into which the inscriptions of “Part-B” are engraved, are indicated in MASI:

- nos. 151-164: object not indicated (partly written on uprights, cf. MASI p. 169b)
- nos. 165-173: on *uṣṇīṣa* / *ālambana*
- nos. 174-197: on *vedikā* slabs
- nos. 198-230: on *puphagahanis*
- nos. 231-232: north of eastern *āyaka*
- no. 233: south-west corner
- no. 234: kept near Durgā temple
- nos. 235-236: north of western *āyaka*
- nos. 237-239: on Buddhapādās (along the front edge)
- nos. 240-241: inscriptions mentioning names of royal personalities
- nos. 242-247: Jātakas
- nos. 248-250: on *aṇḍa* slabs
- nos. 251-256 *chattradaṇḍas*
- nos. 257-261: stone bowl of offerings
- no. 262: on votive *stūpa* (either STR-II [p. 115] or STR-VII [p. 122], both described as circular votive *stūpas* without mentioning an inscription)
- no. 263: on tenon of *thambha*
- nos. 264-265: on dwarf pillar shafts found near STR-V (cf. p. 120: square pillared platform, cf. fig. 11)
- nos. 265-270: on coping member

- 151. setivayikāya bhikhuniya culiyā ya deya dhammam **pāyako** sasūjjiko [cf. II.4,3; II.4,14, cf. p. 473, no. 193]
- 152. bhikhunīya madibhika ... mayā dānam
- 153. ... [bhi]khuni utaya dānam
- 154. ... ya samāya ... sa sūciko dānam
- 155. setivayikāya bhikhunīya culiyāya deya dhama **pāyako** sasūjjiko imām [cf. II.4,2]
- 156. patigaliḡāya bhikhunīya cetiya yāya **pāyako** sasūjjiko deya dhamma
- 157. patumāyaya duhūtūya budha rakhitanikāya deya dhama
- 158. mahāḡāmilasa pa ... suliyasa **pāyako** (sa) ...
- 159. bhikhuniya samikā(yā) deya **pāyako** dānam
- 160. [ma] lasa dānam

161. ... yasa atevā ... ghinikāya deya ...
 162. pavayitasa nāgaturāya sa deya dhama
 163. ... la isidinayasa atevā ... bhikhuniya budhāya deya ...
 164. navakamikasa āya himālayasa atevāsiniya malagi liya jaliyāya deya dhama
 165. variyāya bhaginīya samanikayā deya dhamam
 166. dhamarakhitāya misina . bhagi (ni) ...
 167. ... nikāya dānam
 168. bhikhuni (ya)
 169. 1. pisācakoraṃ yiyānoṃ gopaṃṇakasa saputasa
 2. sa purisa yatonakasa dānam **ālamḃanam**
 170. deya dhama (da)
 171. māgatukasa ca ...
 172. isirakhitā
 173. sutatikasa mitasatino bhaginīyā bhikhunīyā dātīya dānam
 174. pokotūrakasa pa (da) . [V.2,17]
 175. gahapatino upāsaka [sa] [bo]dhigūtasa putasa bodhiyasanakasa dāna [II.71]
 176. āyasa subhūtino vihāro [III.2,16]
 177. rāhulasa vihāro [III.2,22]
 178. bhagavato vihāro kosabh(!)akuṭi [III.2,19]
 179. kotūrakasa cadumughusa sabhā[tu]kasa dānam [= V.2,12]
 180. yasanakasa ... [ā]yako [= IV.10]
 181. bhikhuniyā budharakhitāya kanhāya ca dāna golāya ca [= V.1,4]
 182. ka[nhila] ... putasa bodhiyasanakasa dāna
 183. ... [ate]vāsiniya bhikhuniyā ...
 184. rāhulasa [III.2,22]
 185. ... kudūrakasa mahisekasa ca dānam pato [II.2,24]
 186. (ha)likani (no)
 187. aya isipālitasa sabhagi ... [= V.2,16]
 188. [u]pāsakasa kadāti yakhasa dānam
 189. pusagutasa samātukasa sabhātukasa dāna [II.2,11]
 190. kotūrakasa utikasa mātūya [dānam] [V.2,12]
 191. bo ... kana u (ta) ... sa ... to
 192. vanavāsikā(ya) ...
 193. se(ti)vayikāya culāya bhikhuniya dāna[m] [II.4,14, cf. p. 470, no. 151]
 194. gahapatino chaṇd(!)aga putasa ...
 195. upāsakasa sama(na)kasa dāna
 196. ... [da] mātuya isilāya dānam pato
 197. dānam pato
 198. puphagr(!)ahaṇi pato dānam
 199. dhamakadhikasa ... saha bhātū ... nāgabudhino [= II.2,19]
 200. na ...
 201. kalathibakasa sa ...
 202. ... budhino ...
 203. puphagahana dāna
 204. kanhasirikāya puphagahaṇi dāna
 205. keka ... kaya pu... [= II.2,8]
 206. sidham || dhamakadhikasa janagopi(sa) pa (to) dā (na) [= II.2,18]
 207. utaramitāya dāna puphagahani visaya [= II.2,2]
 208. golāya dāna [V.1,4]
 209. ... ralasa saputakasa dāna
 210. pavayita(sa) jitoya dā(na) puphagahani dasahi [= II.2,3]
 211. vedakasa upāsakasa

212. samaya puphagahani dāna [= II.2,4]
 213. ghurikāya la dāya sapu ...
 214. jethasa samanakasa sabhaginīkasa sabhāriya ...
 215. [atevā]sinīya bodhisamaya deya dhama mahāceti bhikhunīya culaka dārika ca
 216. ...dasa dāna
 217. dhānyakatikāya harapusa sa paṭo dāna [= II.2,11]
 218. himālayasa asabhūtino mātūya dāna [= II.2,36]
 219. ...keya dāna
 220. dhānyakaṭakāya [= VI.6; VI.7?]
 221. ya dāna [= II.2,39]
 222. therāna bhayata mahāmarītino antevāsiniya ālakanhikāya piyasutāya ca mahācetiyyāya deya dhama
 [cf. II.5,1]
 223. dhamakadhikasa āya kanha
 224. pupha ... budhirakhitā
 225. lohasakasa upāsakasa
 226. maya mahācetiya ... va (dā) na
 227. ta(ya) puphagahani dānam
 228. dhānakaṭikāya yakha ... [= II.2,29 = p. 479, no. 270?]
 229. samāya upāsikāya dānam [= V.2,6]
 230. cidumughamātūya dānam [V.2,12]
 231. himasiriya dāna
 232. bhitinakamātūya ghariyā dāna
 233. yakha mātūya pato dānam
 234. ... nasa dānam
 235. kūpana rathikasa dāna [= VI.1?]
 236. nadasa u[pā]sakasa dānam
 237. upāsakasa (ku)linakasa deya dhamma pāya (pa) ṭo
 238. therāna (bhaya)ta budhatātāna (a) tevāsisa bha(ya) sihaka pana(va)deyakasa deya dhama pāya
 paṭ(o) [= II.6,3]
 239. sidham [] namobhaga ...deyadhama [= II.6,6?]
 240. rāya sudara sātakamni [I.6]
 241. rāya mahā govīdo[= III.3,4]
 242. kumāra a... [= III.1,18]
 243. jātakam sudasomiyam [= III.1,10 or III.1,11]
 244. nāgarāyā mujulido [= III.2,11]
 245. bodhisato kasarāya [II.7,12]
 246. ranamdo (sic!)
 247. ... yano māyā ca [= IV.11]
 248. nāgarakhitāya samayāya ca tharo ...
 249. kūpaṇa rathikasa deya dha (ma) [VI.1, cf. p. 476, no. 235]
 250. raghitasa dāna tharo [= II.5,10]
 251. sidham [] namo bhagavato deya dhama chatā
 252. adholoka mahāceti ... i ... i... i [= VI.8]
 253. amaciya velinikā[ya] deya dhama chata [cf. IAR 2000-01, p. 77]
 254. 1. ... gimha pakha 5 ...
 2. ... ta mahācetiye [I.11]
 255. ... siri-yana sātakaṇi ... ni mehadatasa [I.11]
 256. ... gimhāna... dānam chata ...a ...
 257. ... sakāsa ca ... [II.9,1 commentary]
 258. ... da thūba ...
 [259. this number is missing]
 260. [bh]ikhuniyā culāya

261. yiyāna tā(pa)
 262. halibhicāna gatinokasa bhayā je ... upāsikāya gātiniya cetia kārītam
 263. kamalalakhīyāya
 264. 1. āvesanisa bali ... [II.6,9]
 2. mahānīvasa bali
 265. ...mahisekasa upāsakasa [cf. II.2,24]
 266. ... dānam ...
 267. ... patāniyāya sudhamāya sapatikā tadāba upāsa (si) ... [= II.2,26?]
 268. dhamasiriya paṭa dānam
 269. nāgaṇuga mātūya
 270. dhāñakadākāya yakha ... [= II.2,29, cf. p. 475, no. 228?]
 *271. na bodhi parigra(!)hakasa vaniyasa budhilasa payasa pato deya dhamma [published in IAR 2000-01, p. 77, cf. II.6, introduction]

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The readings as given in MASI are cautiously normalized here to allow easier access to the vocabulary, e.g. *dhānyakataka* etc. is found under *dhāñakaṭaka*. The parentheses and brackets are those used in MASI. Whenever wrong readings could be detected these *voces nihili* are pointed out by numbers in brackets with a reference to the edition (e.g. [210, cf. II.2,3]).

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sasūjiko	151; 155; 156; [158]		

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

AMS	Ajay Mitra Shastri (Introduction note 26)
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
ARIRIAB	<i>Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology</i>
AWL	Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der sozial- und geisteswissenschaftlichen Klasse
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
BHSG/D	Franklin Edgerton: <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> . 2 volumes. New Haven 1953 (repr. Delhi 1970)
CII	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
CPD	Vilhelm Trenckner: <i>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> . Vol. I. Copenhagen 1924-1948.; Vol. II. 1960-1990; Vol. III. Bristol and Copenhagen 1992-2011 (last entry: <i>kāretukāma</i>)
Cunningham, Geography	Alexander Cunningham: <i>The Ancient Geography of India</i> ed. with introduction and notes by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri. Calcutta 1924 (repr. Delhi 2002)
DPPN	Gunapala Piyasena Malalasekera: <i>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i> . London 1937
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
Hilka	Alfons Hilka: <i>Beiträge zur Kenntnis der indischen Namengebung, Die altindischen Personennamen</i> , Breslau 1910
IAR	<i>Indian Archaeology. A Review</i>
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IT	<i>Indologica Taurinensia</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JIABS	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>
Lüders, List	Heinrich Lüders: <i>A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about AD 400 with the Exception of those of Asoka</i> . Appendix to <i>EI</i> 10. 1909/10. Calcutta 1912 [reprints Calcutta 1959, Delhi 1973]
MANP	<i>Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans</i>
MASI	<i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India</i>
Meister, Architecture	Michael W. Meister: <i>Early Architecture and its Transformations: New Evidence for Vernacular Origins for the Indian Temple</i> , in: Adam Hardy (ed.): <i>The Temple in South Asia. Proceedings of the 18th Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists</i> , London 2005. Vol. II. London 2007, p. 1-19.
Mittelindisch	O. v. Hinüber: <i>Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick</i> . Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 467. Band. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens, Heft 20. Wien 2001
NPED	“New Pāli-English Dictionary”: Margaret Cone: <i>A Dictionary of Pāli</i> . Part I: a — kha (2001); Part II: ga — na, Oxford / Bristol 2001 / 2010.
Palola Śāhis	O. v. Hinüber: <i>Die Palola Śāhis. Ihre Steininschriften, Inschriften auf Bronzen, Handschriftenkolophone und Schutzzauber</i> . (Antiquities of Northern Pakistan 5). Mainz 2004
Pargiter	Frederick Eden Pargiter: <i>The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age</i> . London 1913
PD	“Poona Dictionary”: <i>An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles</i> . I (1976) – IX (2011). Poona (last entry: <i>apī</i>)
PEFEO	<i>Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
Pischel	Richard Pischel: <i>Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen</i> . Straßburg 1900 (Nachdr. Osnabrück 1973) [English translation by Subhadra Jha together with the index by Don M. de Silva Wickremasinghe. Delhi 1965]
SB	Shailendra Bhandare (Introduction note 27)
Sivaramamurti	Calembur Sivaramamurti: <i>Amarāvātī sculptures in the Madras Government Museum</i> . (<i>Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum</i> . New Series. General Section Vol. IV). Madras 1942 (repr. 1998)

Tsukamoto, Index

Keisho Tsukamoto: *A Comprehensive Study of the Indian Buddhist Inscriptions*. Part I. Texts, Notes and Japanese Translation. Kyoto 1996. Part II Indices, Maps and Illustrations. Kyoto 1998

Turner

Ralph Lilley Turner: *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. Vol. 1. 1968; Vol. 2: Indexes Compiled by Dorothy Rivers Turner. 1969; Vol. 3: Phonetic Analysis by R. L. Turner and D. R. Turner. 1971 — Addenda et Corrigenda ed. by John Clifford Wright. 1985. London

Abbreviations of texts follow the system as laid down in the CPD (Epilegomena to Volume I) and the additions in the Consolidated List of Abbreviations in Vol. III.

Symbols

- () damaged characters
- [] lost and reconstructed characters
- { } characters that should be deleted
- < > characters that should be added
- + missing characters

CONCORDANCES

CONCORDANCE I

Numbers and plates of the inscriptions in MASI — edition of the inscriptions

The inscriptions nos. 51 and 52 are the two lines on plate CXXXIV.5. However, by mistake the two lines are split and listed as no. 51, plate CXXXIV.5 and as no. 52, plate CXXXIV.6. Consequently inscriptions no. 53 foll. are shown on plate CXXXIV.6 foll. (not 7 foll. as in MASI).

Part A

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3	CXXX.3	II.4,13	42	CXXXIII.9	VI.3
4	CXXX.4	II.4,2	43	CXXXIII.10	II.8,3
5	CXXX.5	II.4,9	44	CXXXIII.11	II.1,5
6	CXXX.6	II.4,10	45	CXXXIII.12	V.2,3
7	CXXX.7	II.4,11	46	CXXXIII.13	V.2,11
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10	CXXX.10	II.4,3	49	CXXXIV.3	V.2,18
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14	CXXXI.4	II.4,5	53	CXXXIV.7 [6]	IV.8
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34	CXXXIII.1	III.2,20	73	CXXXVI.6	II.1,1
35	CXXXIII.2	III.2,19	74	CXXXVI.7	II.1,2
36	CXXXIII.3	III.2,21	75	CXXXVI.8	I.8
37	CXXXIII.4	III.2,18		CXLIV, A	
38	CXXXIII.5	III.2,23	76	CXXXVI.9	V.2,9
39	CXXXIII.6	III.2,24	77	CXXXVI.10	V.2,5

MASI, no	plate	Edition	MASI, no	plate	Edition
78	CXXXVII.1	II.74	117	CXL.9	III.1,15
79	CXXXVII.2	II.75	118	CXL.10	III.2,12
80	CXXXVII.3	II.71	119	CXL.11	II.8,4
81	CXXXVII.4	II.72	120	CXL.12	III.2,3
82	CXXXVII.5	II.73	121	CXL.13	III.2,4
83	CXXXVII.6	II.76	122	CXL.14	III.2,29
84	CXXXVII.7	II.77	123	CXL.15	III.2,5
85	CXXXVII.8	II.78	124	CXL.16	III.2,6
86	CXXXVII.9	II.79	125	CXL.17	III.2,10
87	CXXXVIII.1	II.710	126	CXL.18	III.2,14
88	CXXXVIII.2	II.6,2	127	CXL.19	IV.5
89	CXXXVIII.3	II.6,4	128	CXL.20	III.3,3
90	CXXXVIII.4	II.6,5	129	CXL.21	III.2,30
91	CXXXVIII.5	II.6,1	130	CXL.22	IV.3
92	CXXXVIII.6	II.6,6	131	CXL.23	IV.4
93	CXXXIX.1	II.7,11	132	CXL.24	III.2,31
94	CXXXIX.2	I.5	133	CXL.25	II.8,1
95	CXXXIX.3	I.1	134	CXL.26	II.2,28
96	CXXXIX.4	I.4; II.8,2	135	CXLI.1	IV.6
97	CXXXIX.5	I.2	136	CXLI.2	IV.7
98	CXXXIX.6	III.3,1	137	CXLI.3	IV.1
99	CXXXIX.7	I.9	138	CXLI.4	II.4,23
100	CXXXIX.8	III.3,5	139	CXLI.5	III.3,2
101	CXXXIX.9	I.3; II.4,22; IV.2; IV.9	140	CXLI.6	III.3,6
	CXLIII		141	CXLI.7	III.2,9
102	CXXXIX.10	I.7	142	CXLI.8	III.2,13
103	CXXXIX.11	III.1,6	143	CXLI.9	I.12
104	CXXXIX.12	III.1,7		CXLIV, B	
105	CXXXIX.13	III.1,8	144	CXLI.10	II.5,4
106	CXXXIX.14	III.1,9	145	CXLI.11	II.5,5
107	CXXXIX.15	III.1,13	146	CXLI.12	II.5,6
108	CXXXIX.16	III.1,3	147	CXLII.1	II.5,7
109	CXL.1	III.1,12	148	CXLII.2	II.5,8
110	CXL.2	III.1,10	149	CXLII.3	II.9,1
111	CXL.3	III.1,14	150	CXLVII, A, B	I.14
112	CXL.4	III.1,17		without number	
113	CXL.5	III.1,16		CLI, D	II.9,2
114	CXL.6	III.1,2			
115	CXL.7	III.1,1			
116	CXL.8	III.1,5			

For nos. 151-270 see Appendix: Undocumented inscriptions.

CONCORDANCE II

Images taken by M. Nakanishi ("N") — edition of the inscriptions

N	Edition	N	Edition
2064	IV.9	3077	III.1,2
2112	II.4,22	3088	III.2,31
2599	III.1,14	3104	III.2,28
2616	III.1,5	3118	III.3,1
2636	III.2,14	3130-3132	II.1,3
2670	II.4,23	3134-3135	II.1,4
2682	III.2,11	3153	IV.10
2683	III.3,4	3176	III.3,6
2696	III.1,15	3186	III.3,5
2705a	III.1,16	3193	III.1,18
2705b	III.1,17	3194	III.1,1
2718	III.1,10	3199	V.2,2
2732	I.6	3212	II.1,1
2768	I.1	3219	II.1,2
2770	II.7,11	3223	V.2,18
2773	I.2	3231a	I.4
2802-2806	I.13	3231b	II.8,2
2808-2810	III.2,2	3245	III.1,12
2820	VI.1	3251	VI.4
2826-2832	I.12	3257	II.2,14
2833	II.7,2	3268	IV.7
2838	II.6,1	3269	IV.6
2848	V.2,17	3279	III.1,13
2854	V.2,16	3296	III.1,3
2857	II.2,41	3308	III.1,11
2859-2861	II.2,30	3316	III.2,13
2862	II.2,42	3326	I.7
2866	II.2,44	3336	III.2,9
2873-2874	II.2,37	3346	III.1,4
2876	II.6,2	3354	II.5,1
2886	V.2,14	3362	IV.11
2910	IV.4	3375	III.2,12
2912	VI.6	3376	III.2,4
2923	II.7,12	3390	II.5,3
2928	II.8,1	3398	IV.3
2949	I.9	3409	III.2,3
2969	III.2,7	3414	III.2,5
2976	II.5,10	3419	IV.8
2983-2987	V.2,1	3427	III.2,29
3002	I.5	3430	III.2,20; III.2,22
3010	III.1,8	3431+3433	III.2,17
3022	III.1,6	3434	III.2,18
3038	III.1,9	3435	III.2,21
3062	III.1,7	3436	III.2,19

N	Edition	N	Edition
3437	III.2,23	3728-3735	II.2,7
3438	III.2,24	3739	II.2,29
3447	III.2,6	3750	II.3,7
3454	III.2,10	3757	II.3,1
3461	IV.5	3761+3766	II.3,2
3469	III.3,2	3777	II.3,3
3480	III.2,30	3786	VI.3
3486	IV.2	3787-3794	II.2,47
3495	IV.1	3797	II.2,23
3505	III.3,3	3799	II.2,24
3514	I.3	3804	II.2,25
3522	II.8,4	3816	V.2,13
3534b	II.2,18	3831	II.2,3
3541	II.2,8	3837-3839	II.2,18
3547	II.2,10	3842-3843	II.2,12
3554	II.2,1	3845	II.2,6
3568	Plate 43	3846	II.2,26
3569	II.2,45	3857	II.2,28
3572	II.2,9	3874	VI.2
3573	II.2,40	3876	VI.3
3580	II.2,19	3878	V.2,15
3629-3631	II.2,2	3881	VI.4
3635	II.2,34	3883	II.7,7
3636-3637	II.2,31	3884	II.7,6
3640	II.2,3	3889	II.6,3
3645-3647	II.2,17	3892	II.6,4
3648	II.2,23; Plate 43	3893	II.7,9
3651	II.2,4	3899	II.7,5
3653	II.2,6	3904	II.7,4
3659	II.2,26	3910	II.7,3
3660	II.2,5	3913+3915	II.7,1
3667	II.2,28	3916	II.7,8
3670	II.2,32	3953	III.2,1
3675	II.2,16	4006	II.2,12
3681	II.2,43	4018	II.2,20
3682	II.2,38	4020	II.2,15
3687	II.3,6	4027	II.3,8
3689	II.2,33	4075	II.5,9
3691	II.2,35	4136	V.2,10
3693	III.2,8	4200	I.11
3697	V.2,12	4203-01	I.11
3703	II.2,11	4203-02	VI.8
3708	II.2,39	4204	VI.5
3709	II.2,35	4206	III.2,15
3725	II.2,46	4208	III.2,16
3727	II.2,21		

CONCORDANCE III

Images in MASI — edition of the inscriptions

(The images with inscriptions only are excluded, see concordance I)

II,A	D (introd.)	XLV	Intro., note 3; I.11
II,B	II.75	XLVI,A	II.5,8
VII,B	I.3; I.8; I.10; II.2 (introd.); II.4.22; III.2,24; VI.3	L	I.14; II.2,7; II.5,1
XI,B	III.2,8	L,B	III.2,31
XV	III.2,8	LII	I.14; IV.10
XVI,B	II.1,1	LIII	II.1,3
XVIII,B	II.9,1	LV,A	III.2,17-24
XIX,A	I.4; II.3,1; II.7,10; III.2,3; III.2,5; III.2,6	LV,B	III.2,15; III.2,16; III.2,25-27; VI.5
XX,A	II.75	LV,C	IV.8
XX,B	II.73	LVII,A	III.2,11
XXI,A	II.6,2	LVII,B	II.8,1
XXI,B	IV.1; IV.3	LIX,A	VI.3
XXII,B	I.9; II.1,3	LIX,A+B	II.2 (introd.)
XXIII	II.1,3	LX,A	I.4
XXIV	II.1,3	LX,B	I.7
XXV	II.1,3; II.1,4	LXI,A	I.5
XXV,C	III.2,6	LXI,B	I.6
XXVI,A	I.14	LXI,C	I.9
XXVI,B	II.79	LXII	III.1,5
XXVI,C	II.1,1; III.1,3; III.1,10	LXIII	III.1,14
XXVII	I.14; IV.10	LXIV	III.1,15
XXVIII	I.14	LXV,A	III.1,17
XXIX,A	II.7,10	LXV,B	III.1,16
XXIX,B	II.7,10	LXVI	III.1,6
XXIX,C	[= XIX,A]; II.9,1; III.2,5; III.2,6	LXVII	III.1,7
XXX,A	[= XXIX,C]; II.3,1; II.7,10; II.8,3	LXVIII	III.1,8
XXXI,A,C	II.6 (introd.)	LXIX	III.1,9
XXXII,A	III.2,2	LXX	III.1,2
XXXIII	II.1,5	LXXI	III.3,1
XXXIV	I.13	LXXII	III.3,5
XXXIV,A	III.2,2	LXXIII	III.3,6
XXXIV,B	III.2,1	LXXIV,A	III.1,1
XXXV,B	IV.8	LXXIV,B	III.1,18
XXXV,C	III.2,15; III.2,16; III.2,25-27; VI.5	LXXV	III.1,3
XXXVI	II.2 (introd.)	LXXVI	III.1,4
XXXVI,C	II.2,5	LXXVII	III.1,11
XXXVII	IV.3	LXXVIII	III.1,10
XXXVIII,B	I.12	LXXIX	III.1,12
XXXIX,A	I.12	LXXX	III.1,13
XL,A	VI.3	LXXXII	IV.11
XL,C	II.77	LXXXIV,B	III.2,13
XLII	II.4 (introd.)	LXXXV,A,B	III.2,3
XLIV,B	I.12	LXXXVI	IV.6; IV.7
		LXXXVII,A	III.2,4
		LXXXVII,B	III.2,12

LXXXVIII,A,B	III.2,5
LXXXIX,A,B	III.2,6
XC	III.2,9
XCI	III.2,10
XCIII,A	II.4,22
XCIII,B	IV.5
XCIV	IV.3
XCV	III.2,29
XCVI	III.2,30
XCVII	III.3,2
XCVIII,A	IV.2
XCVIII,B	IV.1
XCIX	IV.9
C	I.3; III.3,3
CI	II.8,4
CII	II.4,23
CIII	III.2,14
CIV,A	I.1
CIV,B	II.7,11
CV	I.2
CVI	III.2,11; III.3,4
CVII	III.1,18
CVIII,A	I.4
CVIII,B	II.8,2
CIX	I.7; II.4,23
CX	I.5
CXI	I.6
CXII	I.9

CXIV	III.2,7
CXV	IV.4
CXVIII	II.8,1
CXIX	II.7,12
CXX	III.2,31
CXXI	III.2,28
CXXII	II.1,3
CXXII,E	III.2,4
CXXIII	I.14
CXXIII,C	III.2,9
CXXIII,E	III.2,6
CCXXIV,B	III.2,4
CXXIV,E-F	III.2,29
CXXV,A-C	III.1,2
CXXV,D-F	III.2,2
CXXV,G	I.13
CXXVI,A	II.7,10
CXXVII,A	II.7,6
CXXVII,B	II.7,7
CXXVII,C	II.7,2
CXXVII,D	II.7,8
CXXVIII,A	II.7,1
CXXVIII,B	II.7,3
CXXVIII,C	II.7,4
CXXVIII,D	II.7,5
CXLV	I.13
CXLVII,A	I.14

CONCORDANCE IV

Images Ch. Luczanits (“L”) — edition of the inscriptions

34:29/30	III.3,5; III.3,6	37:29	VI.3
34:34	III.1,18	37:29-31	II.6,3
34:35	III.1,12	37:32/33	II.4,22; IV.5
34:35/36	III.2,28	37:34	IV.1
34:36	III.3,6	37:35	III.2,5 (ct.)
34:37-39	III.1,18	37:37	III.2,29
34:39	I.14; III.2,18; III.2,28	37:38	III.3,2
34:39-42	III.1,3	37:40-44	I.5
34:43/44	III.2,6	37:45-38:03	III.2,17-22; III.2,24
35:03	III.2,6	38:04/05	III.3,6
35:08-12	II.7,9	38:06	III.2,3
35:13	II.7,5	38:12-38:17	IV.8
35:15	II.7,10	38:18	I.4
35:16	II.2,4; V.2,6	38:20	III.2,30
35:17	II.1,1	38:21	III.3,2
35:18	II.1,1	38:22	III.2,30
35:19-21	III.1,10	38:23	IV.1
35:27-29	IV.6	38:24	II.8,4
35:30-35	III.1,10; III.1,11	38:32/33	II.1,5
35:33	III.1,13	38:34	V.2,11
35:34	III.1,11	38:35-37	II.1,5
35:35	III.1,11; III.1,12	38:38-42	II.1 (introd.)
35:36	III.1,13	39:08-12	II.1,3
35:37	III.1,11	39:21/22	III.1,18
35:38	II.2,20	39:27	I.3
35:40/41	II.7,6	39:28	II.4,23; II.5,1
35:42	II.2 (introd.); II.2,47; VI.3	39:36/37	III.2,11
36:01	II.2,7	39:38	I.2
36:02/03	III.1,12	39:39/40	I.9
36:09	I.4	39:40	III.1,16; III.1,17
36:16	II.7,10	39:41	IV.4
36:17-19	II.7,7	39:44-40:07	II.1,4
36:20-23	III.2,3	40:08	II.6 (introd.)
36:29/30	II.3,1; II.8,3; II.8,5; III.2,3	40:15	IV.10
36:39	III.2,29	40:17-19	III.2,7
36:41	III.2,29	40:20-22	III.1,6
37:02	III.2,5; IV.9	40:23	III.2,7
37:03/04	III.2,6	40:24-29	IV.10
37:05-07	III.2,5	40:30/31	III.1,1
37:08/09	III.2,23; III.2,24	40:34	III.3,5
37:10	II.2 (introd.)	40:36-38	III.3,1
37:12	III.2,5 (ct.)	40:42/3	III.2,31
37:13-16	IV.2	40:44/45	V.2,2
37:17/18	VI.3	41:01	III.2,31
37:19-21	II.7,1	41:02	II.2 (introd.); III.2,8 (ct.); III.2,15; III.2,25; III.2,31; III.3,1
37:24-28	II.7,8		

41:03	III.2,25; III.2,26; III.2,27	41:46	I.8
41:05-07	III.2,25; III.2,27	42:02	V.2,4
41:08-12	III.2,6 (ct.); III.2,8	42:03	II.6 (introd.)
41:14	III.2,6 (ct.); III.2,8	42:07/8	II.7,2
41:16	III.1,2	42:09-42:16	III.2,1
41:17	III.1,6	42:17-42:32	III.2,2
41:22-24	II.6,4	42:33-42:35	I.13
41:25	II.6 (introd.)	42:42-42:44	III.2,9
41:26	III.1,12	42:36/37	III.1,14
41:28	IV.3	42:48	II.6 (introd.)
41:29	III.2,31	42:49	II.6,1
41:38-40	II.2 (introd.)		
41:41-43	II.6,2		

INDEX VERBORUM

INDEX VERBORUM

References in parentheses refer to the commentary. The letters A - F refer to inscriptions edited in the introduction: 3. History and chronology (for the Sanskrit inscription F see introduction, note 13).

aesani(sa)[	VI.3	a[ridama]	III.1,18
°akusasa	A,2	aridamiya	III.1,2
agarak(o)	I.8	°asaka°	A,1
ajayatasa	I.9	(asabhutinā)	(II.7,10)
aṭhabhāga	III.2,31	asabh(ū)tino	II.2,36
aṭhāsata	II.10,1	asilasa	II.1,1
atāpasena	C(2),1	asoko	I.1; I.2
atevāsikasa	II.3,4	(ā)cariāna	II.1,3; II.1,4
a(te)[vā]sikehi	II.6,1	ācariya-upajhāchi	II.6,1; II.6,2
atevāsina	II.2,15; II.2,16	ānapayati	D,2
atevāsiniya	II.1,3; II.1,4; II.4,6; II.4,7; B,2	°ādikesu	C,2
[ate]vāsiniyā	III.2,17	ādevasa	II.7,2
atevāsinehi	II.6,2	ānadasa	III.2,18; III.2,27
atevāsisa	II.6,1; II.6,2; II.6,3; II.6,4; III.2,2; VI.1,1	jāya	II.4,20
°atha	I.8	[ā]yatanavāsisa	E,2
adhālakamahācet(i)[	VI.8	āyākapatā	II.1,3; II.1,4
adh[ā]lakacetiya-		āyāko	II.1,5
dhamarajak(e)	II.1,3	āyāgathabhā	II.1,1; II.1,2
adh(ā)lakamahā-		āyuvadhānika	II.1,1; II.1,2; (II.10,1)
cetiya-		āyuvadhānika	II.4,2; II.4,3
amācasiya	I.8	°ālabano	II.4,1
anāgato	II.7,8	°āvāhāya	II.6,1; II.6,2
anekarājamathaka-		āsadevasa	II.7,1
patigahitasa	A,2	āsadevisa	II.7,3
anekasa(m)gāmavijita-		°āharana	III.2,6; II.2,7
vijayasa	A,2	iṭhasa	II.2,37
°apar(ā)ta°	A,1	(i)ti	E,4
abhagavāhanasa	A,1	idasālaguhā	III.2,12
abhinikhama	III.2,5	idha	III.2,15
amacasa	II.4,16	jīnayasa	II.4,12
°amacena	II.7,1; II.7,3	(i)ṃdagopiya	II.7,9
amā(p)i[	III.2,2	isa.[ā]ya	II.3,8
a(mā)pitūhi	I.8	isaradah(i)ko	IV.7
aya	II.2,13; II.2,14; II.2,17; II.3,4; II.4,6; III.3,2; IV.1; IV.8; VI.1,1; VI.3; V.2,16	isimitasa	II.4,1
aya[	VI.1	isipāl(i)tasa	V.2,16
ayavadhanika	II.10,1	(i)sirakhitasa	II.4,6
ayasa	II.2,20; II.2,21; III.2,16; III.2,18; III.2,22; III.2,26; III.2,27; III.3,3	is[i]llanikāya	II.4,14
ayito	II.7,8	°uka	II.4,6
ayu° see āyu°		ujeni	I.9
ayo	IV.1	ujjayinī	F,1
°aramṇe	D,2	°uḍarāna	II.10,1
		uḍarāna(m)	II.4,2; II.4,3
		utaram(i)tasa	V.2,11
		utaramitāya	II.2,2
		utaraya	II.2,28
		°utaray(ā)ya	II.4,19
		utarāhakena	I.10

utikaputasa	II.1,1	°kārasa	II.2,7; II.5,1
utupāno	III.2,21	kāritaṃ	Ḥ2
u(d)uk(o)pat(o)	I.10	kāritā	II.7,3
upajāchi	I.8	kārito	II.7,2; II.7,6; II.7,7; II.7,8
°upajhāchi	II.6,1; II.6,2	kāripito	II.7,4
upajhāyena	II.7,10	°kālo	II.8,3; III.2,9
upaṭhāyakasa	II.2,14	kāhapaṇani	II.10,1
upayāna	IV.3	°kuṭi	III.2,19
upari	III.1,1; (III.1,9); III.1,17; III.2,3,1	kuḍha	II.7,9
uparigir(i)	A,1	kupanaraṭhakasa	VI.1
u[pava]ne	(III.2,15)	kupanasa	II.2,24; II.2,25
upasikāya	V.2,6	k[u]māradatena	II.5,8
upāsakasa	II.2,23; II.4,9; V.2,1; V.2,2; V.2,3	°kumārasa	II.7,9
upāsakena	II.7,1; II.7,4; II.7,5; II.7,8; Ḥ1	°kumārā	IV.1
upāsikāya	II.2,22; V.2,5; V.2,6 (upa-°)	kumāro	III.1,18
u[yā]n(e)	III.2,15	°kulaghātakasa	A,2
uy(e)ne	III.3,5	°ku(la)na	I.8
ekakusasa	A,2	°kulasa	II.4,23
ekadhan(u)dha[rasa]	A,2	kusarāyā	II.7,12
ekarati-parivuthe[na]	C(2),2]kena	II.5,7
oṅ(o)yeti	I.7	koka[II.2,8
°oroḥaṇa	(III.2,14)	koṭurakasa	V.2,12
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kacūkā	(I.3) = II.4,22; II.4,23	konāgamuni	II.7,5
kañā	II.7,9	korukulana	I.8
kaṇakasa[ti]	D,1	korugālākāna	(II.1,3); II.1,4
kaṇhasirisa	I.14	koḷaṃba	II.9,1
katā	II.7,7	kosadho	II.7,4
kato	II.7,1; II.7,2; II.7,3; II.7,10; E,4	kosabakuṭi	III.2,19
°kathālikā (?)	IV.6	khakharatakula- ghātakasa	A,2
kadamūla[phala]	C,2	khajan(ā)karasa	II.2,24; II.2,25
°kadhikasa, <i>see</i> dhammakadhikasa		khatiyasa	II.2,37
ka(m)damulaphaḷanivāro	D,3	khalatiko	IV.5
kanha[	II.2,20; II.2,21	]khasa	II.2,30
°kanhasa	V.2,8	ga(tha)sisi(d)imavinasa	II.4,4
kanhasirisa	I.13; III.2,1; III.2,2	°gahani <i>see</i> puphagahani	
kanhāya	VI.4	°gahanika <i>see</i> puphagahanika	
kanhilena	II.7,7	]ga)hapati[	II.5,3
](kapa)yasa[	VI.4	gahapatinā	(I.3) = IV.9
kamāya	VI.3	gahapatino	II.1,1; II.4,1; V.2,1; V.2,2; V.2,4; V.2,18
°kamikasa	II.4,4; VI.3	°gahapatino	III.1,12
]k(a)ya	II.2,8	(°)gahapatiput(e)sa	(I.3); IV.9
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karito	II.7,5	°gāmilo	III.2,31
karetena	C,4	gāyanasa	II.10,1
kasapagotasa	III.3,3	gimhāna	I.8; I.10; II.5,5
°kasapasa	II.6,3; II.6,4	°guta	II.4,17
kasapā	II.7,6	°gutena	II.7,1; II.7,3
]kācaya[II.2,15	°guhā	III.2,12; III.2,13
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		gotamipu[trasya]	Ḥ1
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golāya	VI.4	°(jā)mātukasa	II.2,7
°govido	III.3,4	°jāmātusa	(I.3) = IV.2
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°gharo	IV.4	jet(ā)[III.2,15
°ghātakasa	A.2	(°ḍatasa	I.11)
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ghosakayasa	II.4,10	(ṇ.)tāgām(i)	(IV.10)
ca	I.8; I.10; I.12; II.5,1; II.5,4; II.5,8; II.6,1; II.6,2; II.6,5; II.7,8; III.2,2; III.2,9; III.3,2; IV.1; IV.8; IV.9; IV.11; VI.3; VI.4; D.4]tak(ā)na	I.11
(c)[a	III.2,17]tapāna	C.4
°caka	II.3,5 = II.5,2]taya[II.2,15
caka(mo)	III.2,20]tavo	C(2),2
cakavaṭi	III.3,1	°tātāna(ṃ)	II.6,1-4
°cakora°	A.1	°tāna	II.4,23
*camḍasatakani <i>see</i> saḍasatakanisa]tāna	III.2,2
ca(ṃ)ḍasiva	E.2	tāpasasa	D.4
(cata)nikāya	II.2,1	°tāpasena	C(2),1
catāri	I.10; II.1,1; II.1,2; II.7,7	ti (iti)	E.4
cadamughasa	V.2,12	tisāya	V.2,5
cu(pana)[II.2,22]tena	D.3
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cūḍāharana	III.2,6; III.2,7	toḍakāḍā	II.5,1
cūla(.u)(t.)mātuya	II.3,6	t(o)ḍakulasa	II.4,23
°ceti[I.11; V.8	toḍagahapatino	III.1,12
°cetrie	II.6,1; II.6,2	to(ḍu)pāsakasa	II.4,9
°cetiya°	II.1,3; F.3	toḍ(e)	(I.3) = IV.9
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°cetiayasa	I.7; I.8	°tharo	I.8
°cetiye	II.2,15; F.2	thavitā	II.7,9
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]ja[VI.4	°datena	II.5,8
](ja)tisa	II.3,4]dayasa	II.2,42
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jayilena	F.2	dasahi	II.2,3
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		dāna(ṃ)	II.2,1; II.2,2; II.2,3;

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°dāna	(I.3) = II.4,22; II.2,11; II.2,12; II.4,9; II.4,22; (II.4,23)	dhan[y]akatacetiya °dhan(u)dha[r]asa °dhama <i>see</i> deyadhama	Ṛ3 A,2
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°duhutā	III.2,9	°dha[r]asa	A,2
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°duhutūkāya	V.2,13	dhā[II.9,1
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deyadhamā	II.10,1	°nasukav(o)	VI.2
deyedhama	II.9,1	(na)sukinādikesu	C,2
](de)va	I.14	°n(ā)karasa	II.2,24; II.2,25
°devasa	II.7,1; II.7,2; E,2	nākarāya	II.8,3
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		n(ā)gas[i]r[i]sa	II.2,19
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		nāgiyanāguta	II.4,17
		°nāgilaputasa	V.2,4
		°nāgilasa	V.2,1
		nāgilāya	II.2,27
		nāguyāya	II.4,6
		nāṇ(a)kāya	III.2,1
		nātukena	II.7,1
		nādikena	II.7,10
		°nāmo	III.3,2
		ni(cā)tāna	II.4,23
		°nidi(t)ho	D,4

°niyātakasa	A,2	°pitahi	II.6,1
°nivār(o)	D,3	°pituna	I.10; II.5,5
(no)maṃ	II.4,2	pitusatu°	A,2
pakhalako	II.9,2	°pitūhi	I.8; I.12; II.5,4
pakhe / pa	I.8; I.10; I.12; I.13; F1	piyekaramātā	III.2,24
]paghalasa	V.2,14	piyeka<ra>mātu	III.2,25
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°paṭa	II.2,9	puḍu[māvi	C,1
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°paṭo	I.14; II.6,1-3; II.6,4	°putasa	(I.3) = IV.2; I.12-14; II.1,1; III.2,26; V.2,1; A.1; B.1; E.1
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paḍimā	II.7,9; II.7,10	°putigāya	II.3,3
°paṇa°	(III.2,13)	putena	II.7,1; II.7,2; II.7,3; II.7,10
°paṇi°	III.2,13	°putesa	(I.3) = IV.9
°pati	I.3 = IV.9; III.2,9	°puto	IV.7; C.1; D.2
°patigahitasa	A,2	°pu[trasya]	F1
patiḥhāpit(ā)	II.1,3	punavasuno	II.2,17
°patino	II.1,1; III.1,12; V.2,1; V.2,2; V.2,4; V.2,18	puphagahani	II.2,1-6; II.2,8; II.2,9
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panatuna	II.7,2	puphagahanipaṭa	II.2,9
panāsa	II.2,26	puphagahapaṭa	II.2,10
]pamāno	D4	puyāya	I.10; II.2,17
paya[V.2,2	pulumāvisa	I.8; I.14
paya + tasa	V.2,1	puḷumāvi	I.9; D.2
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(payahama)	II.2,41	pekuṇirakasa	II.3,5 = II.5,2
°payāna(ṃ)	III.3,3	pokuḍurakasa	II.3,2; V.2,17
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°parivuthe[na	C(2),2	baṭaniyāya	II.2,26
]pa]vajit(ā)ya	II.1,3	baḍivārakasa	II.4,10
pavajitena	B,2	(ba)ḍ(h)i(la)vihā(ra) kāna	III.2,2
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pavato	IV.5	°balavāhanasa	A,1
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]pavo	II.1,5	budharakhitasa	II.2,14
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°pāno	III.2,21	budhasa	I.14; II.5,4; II.5,7; II.7,9; II.7,10
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°pāl(i)tasa	V.2,16	budhāya	V.2,9
pi	II.9,4; D,4	budhikayasa	II.5,4
		budhiṇakasa	II.4,16

°budhinā	II.2,19; II.7,2; B,2	majhimo	III.3,2
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°budho	II.7,2; II.7,4-7	(matā)sakasa	II.2,23
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°bhaginikasa	II.2,30; II.3,4; V.2,16	mahācetiye	II.6,1; II.6,2
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°bhaginiya	II.4,18	mahādevasa	E,2
°bhaginihi	I.12	mahānasukav(o)	VI.2
°bhaginihi	II.5,4	mahāmaritino	II.2,7; II.5,1
°bhago	III.2,10	mahāmogalānasa	III.2,16
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°bhayasa	II.3,1	mahāseno	D,1
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°bhariya	II.1,1	māḍhasa	II.7,1; II.7,2; II.7,3
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°bhāriyasa	II.2,7; II.2,32] (mā)ya	V.2,11
°bhāriyasa	(I.3) = IV.9	māyā	IV.11
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°bhūtino	II.2,36	muḍakasatthikumārā	IV.1
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[bh](o)gavadhanikasa	II.4,1	°muni	II.7,5; II.7,7
mak(o)samasa	V.2,7	°mulāyana	III.2,8
		°mūḍaka°	A,1
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]yano	IV.11	vā	C(2),1
]yaya[C,3	vā (vārṣa)	I.13
]yasanak(i)sa	IV.10	vākāticāna	II.7,4; II.7,6 [II.7,7]
°ya[sasa	II.4,4	vākādicāna	II.7,5
] (yā)ko	IV.10	vāgādhicāna(m)	II.7,1; II.7,3; II.7,8
]yāya	II.6,6	vāgādhina	II.7,2
yo	D,4	vāñijaputasa	I.14
°rakhas[iya	III.1,9	vāñiga[sa]	V.2,18
] (r)akhitaniakāya	II.4,20	°vārakasa	II.4,10
°rakhitasa	II.2,14; II.4,6; II.5,10; V.2,10	°vā(lo)	II.9,2
°rakhitāna	II.2,15; II.2,16	vāsa	Ḥ1
°rakhitāya	II.1,3; II.1,4; II.4,7; V.1,4	°vāsikena	C(2),2
°rajaka	II.1,3	vāsiṭhiputasa	I.10; I.13; E,1
raño	I.3; I.8; I.10; I.12-14; B,1; E,1; Ḥ1	°vāsisa	E,1
°raṭha°	A,1	vāseṭhi(p)uta	I.8
°raṭhakasa	VI.1	vāseṭhiputasa	I.11; I.13; A,1; B,1
°rati°	C(2),2	vaseṭhiputo	C,1; D,2
°radano	III.3,1	°vāhanasa	A,1
rayana[sa	V.2,15	°vāhena	I.10
rayāmacena	II.7,1	°vijayasa	A,2
°rājamathaka°	A,2	°vijitavijayasa	A,2
rājā	I.4	°vidabha°	A,1
rādhāya	II.7,9	vidurapuṇakiya(m)	III.1,12; III.1,13
rāmagāmilo	III.2,31	vidhiyā	II.4,7; II.6,5
rāmaṇikāya	II.4,13	vinase(pa).i[	II.5,9
rāya	I,5; II.8,3	viniganāgilaputasa	V.2,4
rāyā	I,1; I,2; I.5-7; III.2,11; III.3,1; III.3,4; III.3,5; D,2	viniganāgilasa	V.2,1
°rāyā	II.7,12; II.8,1; II.8,2; III.2,9; III.2,11	°viniyo	(IV.1)
rāyāmacena	(II.7,1); II.7,3	°vibhago	III.2,29; III.2,30
rāhulasa	III.2,22	vimalaya[sasa	II.4,4
r(u)pāmayāni	I.7	viranikāya	II.5,6; II.5,8
lakhako	IV.6	vivasi	II.7,1
]lasa	II.2,31	v[i]s[a]y[i]	II.2,2
l(o) +(kh)āva(h)[āya]	II.6,1	visākena	II.7,6
°loka°	I.10; I.12; I.14; II.5,4; II.5,8	visākkena	II.7,4
°lokasa	II.7,8	visagha(n)ena	II.7,7
°lohitae	III.2,2	visaghena	II.7,3; II.7,5
°vaḍhakisa	II.7,2; II.7,3; E,3	visāghena	II.7,1; II.7,2; II.7,8
		°vihārakāna	III.2,2
		vihāro	III.2,16; (III.2,22); III.2,26; III.2,27
		ve(nena)	II.7,10
		°vera°	A,2
		velāmiya	III.1,5

vesatariya	III.1,14; III.1,15	sabhaḍākārikasa	V.2,7
vesabhu	II.7,3	](sabhaya)[	II.2,46
śrī	Ḥ1	sabhayasa	II.3,1
sa[	(I.3) = IV.9; II.9,1; IV.8	sabhariyasa	II.1,1
]sa	(I.3) = IV.9; II.2,38	sabhātukasa	I.14; V.2,12
sa-ālabano	II.4,1	sabhāriyasa	II.2,7; II.2,32
sa-uḍarāna	II.10,1	sabhāriyasa	(I.3) = IV.9
saṃvachare	I.11	](sabhū)(tina	II.7,10
saṃvatsare	Ḥ1	sama[	V.1,1
sakamuṇ(i)sa	II.7,9	samanasa	V.1,2
sakamuni	II.7,7	sama(l)[e]ṇa	I.10
]sakasa	II.2,23	samasabudhasa	I.8
]sakasace[	VI.5	samasabudho	II.7,2; II.7,4-7
sakhavā(lo)	II.9,2	samātukasa	I.14; II.1,1; II.2,30
sagahapatinā	(I.3) = IV.9	samāya	II.2,4; V.2,6
sagotasa	(I.3) = IV.2	saminagasa	II.7,2
saghakasa	I.13	samināgasa	II.7,1; II.7,3
°sa(m)gāma°	A.2	samudī[kā]	II.6,5
sa(m)gha[	II.5,7	samuditabalavāhanasa	A.1
sacana	(I.3) = IV.9	sariravibhago	III.2,29; III.2,30
sacanāmo	III.3,2	°saro	III.3,2
°sajayavi°	A.1	(sarparāja	E.4)
sajāmātukasa	II.2,7	salohitāe	III.2,2
sajāmātusa	(I.3) = IV.2	sava “all”	III.1,12
°saṭhikumārā	IV.1	sava “year”	I.12; I.13
saḍasatakan(i)sa	I.13	savachare	I.3; I.8; I.10; I.14; II.5,5
°sata	II.10,1	savabudhapu(cā)ya	I.10
°satakan(i)sa	I.13	savabudhapuyāya	II.2,17
satakāna	II.1,4	sava(l)[oka	I.14;
satapaṇiguhā	(III.2,13)	savalokasa	II.7,8
sataradano	III.3,1	savalokahitasughāya	I.10; II.5,8
°satāna	I.8; II.6,2	savalokahitāya	II.12; I.5,4
°sati	D.1	savasatāna	I.8; II.6,2
sat(ikana)	II.1,3	savehi	II.6,2
]satikena	II.5,8	sasamu[	D.3
satipaṇaguhā	III.2,13	sasuciko	II.4,1; II.4,2;
°satu°	A.2	sasujiko	II.4,3
°satharo	I.8	sasunhusa	(I.3) = IV.2
sathavāh(e)na	I.11	saha	I.8; II.2,18; II.2,19;
sadakan(i)sa	I.10	sahā	II.5,4; II.6,1; II.6,2
sadiniyaṃ	III.1,3; III.1,4	sākiyavaḍhana(m)	I.12; II.5,4; II.5,5
saduhu[	(I.3) = IV.2; II.2,7	°sākiyāni	III.2,4
saduhutūkāya	V.2,13	sātakaṇi	III.2,28
sani(sa)[	VI.3	sātakaṇisa	I.7; (I.10); I.11
saputakasa	I.14; II.1,1; II.2,7;	sātakani	I.12; A.1; B.1; Ḥ1
	II.2,31; II.3,1	sātavāhanasa	I.6
saputakāya	II.2,26	°sātavāhanasa	A.1
saputakena	II.7,1-8	(sā)dakapavatakasa	I.3
saputasa	(I.3) = IV.2	sādavāhano	I.14
saputikaya	V.2,13	sādāgiro	I.4
(sa)[p](u)[ti](kasa)	II.3,1	sāpuḍiyasa	II.8,5
saputigāya	II.3,3	sāpuḍiyā	II.3,5 = II.5,2
sapuphagahanika	II.2,13; II.2,14	s(ā)manikāya	II.3,3
(sa)b[u]dhajāya	III.2,2	sāmivati	II.4,20
°sabodhiyā	II.3,3	sāriputasa	III.3,6
sabhaginikasa	II.2,30; II.3,4; V.2,16		III.2,26

°sāla°	III.2,12	sudasomiyam	III.1,10; III.1,11
°sāsanasa	A,2	sudhamāya	II.2,26
sighi	II.7,2	sudhavāsikena	C(2),2
]siḍasa	II.3,5 = II.5,2	sunhāya	II.7,9
sidha	I.8; I.13; II.1,3; II.1,4; II.5,4; II.6,1; II.6,6; II.7,4-8; II.7,9; III.2,2	°sunhusa	(I.3) = IV.2
sidham	(I.10); I.12; B,1; F1	subhūti	(III.2,16)
sidham	II.2,18,	su]sūsakasa	A,2
sidhatha	II.7,7	seḍ(i)vayikāya	II.4,14
siri	I.3; I.4; I.8; I.11; I.12; I.14; A,1; B,1; C,1; D,2; E,1	°sena°	II.5,8; II.7,9
sirikasabodhiyā	II.3,3	senakiyam	III.1,1
](si)rikāya	V.2,13	senarakhitasa	V.2,10
°siriya	II.2,12	[senāpa](ti)kaduhu[tā	III.2,9
°siriya	I.8	°seno	D,1
°sirisa	I.13; I.14; (II.18); II.2,19; III.2,1; III.2,2	seladḥaki(sa)	II.7,1
siva	C,1; D,2	selavaḍhakisa	II.7,2; II.7,3; E,3
°sivasa	E,2	soḍe	I.3
sivāsīnikāya	V.2,8	somarāto	II.7,11
sivikapayāna(m)	III.3,3	°somiyaṃ	III.1,10; III.1,11
sihakasapasa	II.6,3; II.6,4	haghāna	III.2,2
sihasa	II.6,1; II.6,2	](hatasāya)	II.7,9
(s)ihēhi	I.8	hadāya	VI,3
sukajātaka	III.1,16	°harana	III.2,6; III.2,7
°sugha°	II.6,2	harapusasa	II.2,11
°sughatha	I.8	hasajātaka	III.1,17
°sughā	II.7,8	hāgāna	I.14; III.2,2
°sughāya	I.10; II.5,5; II.5,8	hitasughatha	I.8
°suciko	II.4,1; II.4,2	hitasughā	II.7,8
°sujiko	II.4,3	hitasughāya	II.5,5
suj[ātā]	III.2,9	°hitasughāya	I.8; II.5,8
sutatikasa	VI,1	hitasughāvāhāya	II.6,2
sudara	I.6	°hitāya	I.12; II.5,4
su(d)arasākiyāni	III.2,28	himarakhitāya	II.4,7
		himalaya	II.2,36
		hematāna	I.12
		hemavatā	II.9,4

