CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM.

Vol. III.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GUPTA KINGS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS.

By

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET, C.I.E.,

OF H. M.'S BOMBAY COVENANTED CIVIL SERVICE;
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;
MEMBER OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY;
MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY;
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF SCIENCE, GOTTINGEN;
FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY.

"In the scarcity of authentic materials for the ancient, and even for the modern, history of the Hindu race, importance is justly attached to all genuine monuments, and especially inscriptions on stone and metal."—Coleridge's Essay, Vol. II. p. 213.

CALCUTTA:
PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA.
1888.

Price Rs. 5 without plates.
Presented by Sri N. L. Mallick
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gupta Era</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table I.—Genealogy of the Early Gupta Kings</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nomenclature of the Era</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberuni's Statements, as rendered by M. Reinaud</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberuni's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Sachau</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Results of the above Renderings</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberuni's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Wright</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Theories based on M. Reinaud's rendering of Alberuni's Statements</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examination of the previous Theories</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table II.—Genealogy of the Kings of Valabhi</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mandador Inscription of Mhava-Sainvat 520</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Determination of the Exact Epoch of the Era</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Scheme of the Gupta-Valabhi Year</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table III.—Comparative Table of the Vikrama, Saka, and Gupta-Valabhi Years</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Calculation of Recorded Dates</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Era Inscription of the year 165</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Verawal Inscription of Valabhi-Sainvat 945</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Verawal Inscription of Valabhi-Sainvat 927</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kaira Grant of the year 330</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nepal Inscription of the year 386</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mard Grant of the year 586</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in Records of the Early Gupta Period</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.—The Khoh Grant of the year 156</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table IV.—The Sainvatasaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.—The Khoh Grant of the year 163</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.—The Majhagwan Grant of the year 104</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.—The Khoh Grant of the year 209</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.—The Bhumart Pillar Inscription</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of Results</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Origin of the Era</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix I.—A Note on the Epoch and Reckoning of the Saka Era</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix II.—A Method of Calculating the Week-Days of Hindu Tithis and the corresponding English Dates By Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit; Bombay Educational Department</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation of Technical Terms</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To find the Week-Day of a given Tithi</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table V.—Calculation of the Week-Day of a given Tithi</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table VI.—The Times, after Sunrise, of the ending of a given Tithi</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table VII.—Calculation of the English Date of a given Tithi</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To find the English Date for a given Tithi</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS.

Appendix III.—The Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. By Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit; Bombay Educational Department... 161
Table VIII.—Regulation of the Names of the Samvatsaras from the Nakshatras... 163
Table IX.—Longitudes of the Ending-points of the Nakshatras... 165
Table X.—Details of two Twelve-Year Cycles of Jupiter... 167

Appendix IV.—The Chronology of the Early Rulers of Népâl... 177
Table XI.—List of the Early Rulers of Népâl... 189

Appendix V.—System of Transliteration... 193

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

THE EARLY GUPTA KINGS.

No. 1 Plate i ... Allahâdhd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta... 1
... 2 ... ii A ... Erân inscription of Samudragupta... 18
... 3 ... ii B ... Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II.—The year 82... 21
... 4 ... iii A ... Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II... 25
... 5 ... iii B ... Sâkîchi inscription of Chandragupta II.—The year 93... 29
... 6 ... iv A ... Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II... 34
... 7 ... iv B ... Gadhâ inscription of Chandragupta II.—The year 88... 36
... 8 ... iv C ... Gadhâ pillar inscription of Kumragupta... 39
... 9 ... iv D ... Gadhâ inscription of Kumragupta.—The year 98... 40
... 10 ... v ... Bibas pillar inscription of Kumragupta.—The year 96... 42
... 11 ... vi A ... Mankâwâr image inscription of Kumragupta.—The year 129... 45
... 12 ... vi B ... Bhâr pillar inscription of Skandagupta... 47
... 13 ... vii ... Bhâtâr pillar inscription of Skandagupta... 52
... 14 ... viii ... Jundâuli rock inscription of Skandagupta.—The years 136, 137, and 138... 56
... 15 ... ix A ... Kâhînâ pillar inscription of Skandagupta.—The year 141... 65
... 16 ... ix B ... Indôr plate of Skandagupta.—The year 146... 68

THE RULERS OF MALAVA.

... 17 ... x ... Ganghârâr inscription of Vîsâvarman.—The year 480... 72
... 18 ... xi ... Mandaôr inscription of Kumragupta and Bandhuvarman.—The Malava years 493 and 529... 79

BUDHAGUPTA AND BHANUGUPTA.

... 19 ... xii A ... Erân pillar inscription of Budhagupta.—The year 165... 88
... 20 ... xii B ... Erân posthumous pillar inscription of Gôparâja.—The year 191... 91

THE PARIVRAJAKA MAHARAJAS.

... 21 ... xiii ... Khôb plates of the Mahârâja Hastin.—The year 156... 93
... 22 ... xiii ... Khôb plates of the Mahârâja Hastin.—The year 163... 100
... 23 ... xiv ... Mahârajâins plates of the Mahârâja Hastin.—The year 191... 106
... 24 ... xv A ... Bhûmarâ pillar inscription of the Mahârajâins Hastin and Sarvanâtha... 110
... 25 ... xv B ... Khôb plates of the Mahârajâins Hastin.—The year 209... 112
THE MAHARAJAS OF UCHCHAKALPA.

No. 26 Plate xvi ... Kãhitâlã plates of the Maharãja Jyanâtha.—The year 174 ... Page 117
27 ... xvi ... Kõh plates of the Maharãja Jyanâtha.—The year 177 ... 121
28 ... xviii ... Kõh plates of the Maharãja Sarvanâtha.—The year 193 ... 125
29 ... xix A ... Kõh plate of the Maharãja Sarvanâtha ... ... ... 129
30 ... xix B ... Kõh plate of the Maharãja Sarvanâtha.—The year 197 ... 131
31 ... xx ... Kõh plates of the Maharãja Sarvanâtha.—The year 214 ... 135

CHANDRA.

... 32 ... xxi A ... Mõharaulis posthumous pillar inscription of Chandra ... ... ... 136

YASODHARMAN AND VISHNUVARDHANA.

... 33 ... xxi B ... Mandãsãr pillar inscription of Yasõdharmãn ... ... ... ... ... 142
... 34 ... xxi C ... Mandãsãr duplicate pillar inscription of Yasõdharmãn ... ... ... 149
... 35 ... xxii ... Mandãsãr inscription of Yasõdharmãn and Vishnuvärðhana.—The Mõlaõâ year 589 ... ... ... ... ... 150

TORAMANA AND MIHIRAKULA.

... 36 ... xxiii A ... Éran boar inscription of Tõramana ... ... ... ... ... 158
... 37 ... xxiii B ... Gwâlîor inscription of Mõhirakula ... ... ... ... ... 161

THE KINGS OF VALABHI.

... 38 ... xxiv ... Mâlîyâ plates of the Maharãja Dharmãn II.—The year 252 ... 164
... 39 ... xxv ... Aûõ plates of Shâhitya VII.—The year 447 ... ... ... 171

THE RAJAS OF SARABHPURA.

... 40 ... xxvi ... Aûaõ plates of the Râja Mahã-Jayarâja ... ... ... ... ... 191
... 41 ... xxvii ... Râûpur plates of the Râja Mahã-Sudãvarâja ... ... ... 196

THE GUPTAS OF MAGADHA.

... 42 ... xxviii ... Aõpsaõl inscription of Ðêityaõena ... ... ... ... ... ... 200
... 43 ... xxix A ... Shâhpur image inscription of Ðêityaõena ... ... ... 208
... 44 ... Nil ... Mandãr Hill inscriptions of Ðêityaõena ... ... ... ... 211
... 45 ... xxix B ... Dõõ-Barãqûrõd inscription of Jõvîgupta II. ... ... ... 213

THE MAUKharis.

... 47 ... xxx A ... Ashgãjõh seal of Ñaravarman ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 219
... 48 ... xxx B ... Barbâr Hill cave inscription of Anantavarman ... ... 221
... 49 ... xxxi A ... Nãgârjuni Hill cave inscription of Anantavarman ... ... ... ... 223
... 50 ... xxx B ... Nãgârjuni Hill cave inscription of Anantavarman ... ... ... 226
... 51 ... xxxii A ... Jaunpur inscription of Ñaravarman ... ... ... ... ... ... 228

THE KINGS OF KANAŬJ.

... 52 ... xxxii B ... Sonpât seal of Harshavarðhana ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 231

THE VAKATAKA MAHARAJAS.

... 53 ... xxxiii A ... Nachõ-nâlõmõ inscription of the Maharãja Põthivishãna ... ... ... 233
... 54 ... xxxiii B ... Chãmãkõ plates of the Maharãja Prãvarasãna II.—(For the seal, see Plate xxxiii C.) ... ... ... ... 235
... 56 ... xxxi ... Siwãi plates of the Maharãja Prãvarasãna II.—(For the seal, see Plate xxxiii D.) ... ... ... ... ... ... 243
CONTENTS.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS.

10, 57 Plate xxxvi A ... Pahlâqpur pillar inscription ... ... ... ... Page 249
18, 58 ... xxxvi B ... Bijayagarh inscription of the Vaudhêyas ... ... ... ... ... 251
59 ... xxxvi C ... Bijayagarh pillar inscription of Vishnuvardhana.—The year 428 ... 252
60 ... xxxvii ... Spurious Gàya plate of Samudragupta ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 254
61 ... xxxviii A ... Udayarâri cave inscription.—The year 166 ... ... ... ... ... 258
62 ... xxxviii B ... Sâh-bhi inscription.—The year 131 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 260
63 ... xxxix A ... Mathura image inscription.—The year 135 ... ... ... ... ... 262
64 ... xxxix B ... Gajîwâ inscription ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 264
65 ... xxxix C ... Kôsam image inscription of the Mahârâja Bhûmavarman.—The year 139 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 266
66 ... xxxix D ... Gajîwâ inscription.—The year 148 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 267
67 ... xli A ... Tušâm rock inscription ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 268
68 ... xli B ... Dêdriya image inscription ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 271
69 ... xli C ... Kâsiâ image inscription ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 272
70 ... xli D ... Mathura image inscription.—The year 230 ... ... ... ... ... 273
71 ... xlii A ... Bôdli-Gayâ inscription of Mahadhanman.—The year 269 ... ... ... 274
72 ... xlii B ... Bôdli-Gayâ image inscription of Mahadhanman ... ... ... ... 278
73 ... xlii A ... Sâñchi pillar inscription ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 279
74 ... xlii B ... Calcutta Museum image inscription ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 280
75 ... xlii C ... Sarîth inscription ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 281
76 ... xlii D ... Bôdli-Gayâ image inscription ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 281
77 ... xlii A ... Lâdor seal of the Mahârâja Mahêsvarânga ... ... ... ... ... 282
78 ... xlii B ... Rohâgadh seal-matrix of the Mahâdvanma Sañjakadêwa ... ... ... 283
79 ... xlii C ... Sarîth inscription of Prakatâditya ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 284
80 ... xlv ... Nirmanâ plate of the Mahâdvanma and Mahârâja Samudrasêna ... ... 286
81 ... xlv ... Râjim plates of the Râja Tîvaradeva ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 291

Index ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 301

Errata ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 349
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>a folding Plate between</td>
<td>8, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>to face</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv.</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii.</td>
<td>a folding Plate between</td>
<td>60, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix.</td>
<td>to face</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x.</td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi.</td>
<td>a folding Plate between</td>
<td>82, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii.</td>
<td>to face</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv.</td>
<td></td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv.</td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xviii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xix.</td>
<td></td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xx.</td>
<td></td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi.</td>
<td>A &amp; B. a folding Plate between</td>
<td>142, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi.</td>
<td>C. to face</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiv.</td>
<td></td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxv.</td>
<td></td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxviii.</td>
<td>a folding Plate between</td>
<td>204, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxix.</td>
<td>to face</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxx.</td>
<td></td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxiii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxiv.</td>
<td></td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxv.</td>
<td></td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxvi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxvii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxviii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxix.</td>
<td></td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xli.</td>
<td></td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xlii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xliii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xlv.</td>
<td></td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xlv.</td>
<td></td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
JUST half a century ago, in 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 663, Mr. James Prinsep, by whom the study of Indian archaeology was first placed on a sound and critical basis, indicated the necessity of systematically arranging the epigraphical materials for the study of the ancient history of India, which were then being gradually found to exist in considerable numbers; and also suggested the name which the collective publication of them should bear, viz. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

For nearly forty years, however, owing to the manner in which the collection and publication of these epigraphical materials was left almost entirely to private enterprise, the scheme lay dormant; until it was revived, about ten years ago, by General Sir Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I., K.C.I.E., who in 1870 was selected by the Government of India for the newly-created post of Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and who, in 1877, brought out the first volume of this series, under the title of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume I., containing the Inscriptions of Asoka.

At the same time, he announced that, in the continuation of the series, Volume II. would contain the Inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians and of the Satraps of Saurashtra, and Vol. III. the Inscriptions of the Guptas and of other contemporary dynasties of Northern India. And, with the special sanction of the Secretary of State for India, in 1882 I was selected for the newly-created post of Epigraphist to the Government of India, with the primary duty of preparing the volume that was to contain the Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings. I joined that appointment on the 17th January, 1883; and held it up to the 4th June, 1886, when it was abolished.

At first sight, the principal task that lay before me seemed neither lengthy nor laborious; it being understood that the necessary materials had already been fully collected, and merely required to be critically examined and published. And the only practical difficulty that then appeared to lie in my way, was, that, as the intended volume of Indo-Scythian inscriptions, which had been entrusted to other hands and ought, for the proper consideration in due chronological order of all the questions concerned, to have appeared first, had not been previously published,—and, in fact, it has not even yet been issued,—and their dates had not been determined beyond dispute, the all-important question of the exact historical period to which the Early Gupta dynasty must be referred, would probably still be left undecided, save by historical and other inferences and arguments which might at any future time be proved, by further discoveries, to be unsound and erroneous.
My task, however, quickly assumed more ample proportions; for I found at once that hardly any of the materials previously collected, in the shape of ink-impressions of the original records on stone and copper, could be relied on for purposes of critical editing; and much less for the reproduction in facsimile Plates, which must always be an inseparable part of such researches, in order that scholars who cannot examine the original records themselves, may nevertheless be in a position to check the published results that are submitted to them. I found, in fact, that, with only eleven or twelve exceptions, it was unavoidable that I should have fresh impressions prepared of all the materials throughout; and also that, as far as might be practicable, I should examine the original stone-records in situ, and the original copper-records by collecting them together again from the various owners of them. The arrangements entailed much correspondence, and a great deal of travelling, than which nothing is more obstructive of continuous and successful literary work. And it was not until April, 1885, that I found myself in possession of the last of the materials required by me, viz. an ink-impression and estampage of the Gāndhār inscription of Viśavārman, No. 17, page 72.

Meanwhile, of course, a certain amount of progress had been made in the preparation of the Texts and Translations, and in the arrangement of the Plates and other subsidiary work; subject always to the fact that no division of the work could be actually finished off, until it should be known that there were no more materials to come in. And the delay that was entailed by the necessity of collecting all the previously known materials afresh, has proved to be no matter for regret; if only for the reason that it enabled me to obtain, amongst other perfectly new materials, the invaluable Mandasör inscription, No. 18, page 79, which furnished the information that was required, to set at rest the long-disputed question of the epoch of the Gupta era. This inscription was only discovered, under my direction, in March, 1884; and even then the full value of it was not apparent, in consequence of some serious imperfections in the ink-impressions that were first brought to me. I myself visited Mandasör at the end of February, 1885; and was then able to examine this record in situ, and to have proper ink-impressions of it made; and thus to ascertain its full and conclusive bearing. And it was on this journey that, for the first time, by visiting Ujjain, I became aware of the almost equally important inscription of Yaśodharman and Vishnuvardhana, No. 35, page 150, which gave the key to the whole history of the period, by supplying a definite date for Yaśodharman, who was known, from the Mandasör inscription, No. 33, page 142, discovered under my direction in March, 1884, to have overthrown the well-known foreign invader and conqueror, Mihirakula, who, again, I had previously determined, must have effected the final downfall of the Early Gupta dynasty. Without these discoveries, the period of the Early Gupta supremacy would have still remained the subject of argument and doubt. Whereas, with them, I have been able now to set this question at rest, and thus to establish a starting-point from which we can work back in developing the Indo-Scythian history; and, also, through fixing, for the first time,
the date of Mihirakula,—who, as we learn from the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, played a most leading and important part in early Indian history,—to furnish the means of adjusting the chronology, before and after him, of the early history of Kaśmir, as recorded in the Rājatarangini, and also of testing the accuracy of the Chinese accounts of the same early period.

The collection of the required materials having been at length completed, the next step was the preparation of the photo-lithographic facsimile Plates. And this was one of the most special divisions of the work. My object throughout has been, to place before my readers, in these Plates, as good substitutes, as can possibly be provided, for the original records; in order that they may be in a position to satisfy themselves as to the correctness or otherwise of my readings, and, on any doubtful points, to adopt any improvements which future researches may indicate. Any lithographs prepared from hand-tracings, eye-copies, or any similar materials, or even from mechanical impressions subsequently worked up by hand, are, of course, of absolutely no value whatever for critical purposes; for the reason that, no matter what amount of personal learning, skill, and care, may be brought to the work, the results are, not facsimiles of the original records as they really stand, but only facsimiles of those records as they have presented themselves to the eye of the individual reader of them; and, as long as such pseudo-facsimiles are the only substitutes available, so long there cannot cease to be varieties of opinion, and doubts and speculation, as to what the readings might be found to be, if the originals could be examined again in situ. To avoid anything of this kind, such of the ink-impressions as have been prepared under my own direction, i.e. all save eleven or twelve in the whole series, have been made with the most particular care, by purely mechanical means, by a man whom I have for a long time employed on such work, and who has attained considerable proficiency in it. And, by special sanction, the reproduction of them was made over to the well-known Photo-lithographic Establishment of Mr. W. Griggs, at Peckham, in which a good deal of work of the same kind had been previously turned out; and I was allowed to proceed to England, in order to superintend this part of the work in person. My own share here has simply been to see that the photo-lithographic reproduction was a faithful and mechanical process throughout; but this, of course, entailed the minute examination of two or three Proofs of each Plate, up to the final printing, in order to guard against the occasional distortion and blocking-up of letters, which is always liable to occur in reproducing such materials; and anyone, who has had practical experience, will know that careful supervision of such work takes up no little time. The results, however, have fully compensated for all the time and trouble that were spent in attaining them. And, with the valuable co-operation given by Mr. Griggs himself, through the personal interest which he takes in the reproduction of inscriptions, I am now able to submit to my readers a series of as absolutely faithful reduced facsimiles, as could possibly be prepared, of the original inscriptions and all their surroundings.
This part of the work was finished in December, 1885. I then returned to India, to complete the volume; and the Texts and Translations were ready for the Press at the end of May, 1886; though not quite in the same form throughout, in which they now appear. It was, however, then found that a number of accented types had to be prepared specially for this volume; and, owing to this and other causes, the first proofs were not fairly in hand till the following November. That they were so far started then, and that the work has progressed so quickly since then, is due to the friendly and earnest personal co-operation of Messrs. E. J. Dean and A. Sanderson, the Superintendent and Deputy-Superintendent of Government Printing, India, in whose office the volume has been printed; and I think I may fairly say that the volume gives a most excellent specimen of the style in which, under intelligent direction, the printing of large and important books can be done in India. I would also acknowledge here much assistance given by my friend, Mr. W. Rees Philipps, in reading the final proofs; as, since the commencement of the printing, I have never been less than five days distant from the Press by post, and have been part of the time in England, the assistance given by him on the spot, in Calcutta, has been most valuable in saving time. The printing of the Texts and Translations was completed in July, 1887. And the delay since then is due to the large amount of important matter, which, while they were being taken through the Press, I found myself in a position to include in the Introduction.

It will doubtless be remarked that, in the notes to my Texts, I have but seldom referred to the readings given in previously published versions of the same inscriptions. It soon became apparent to me that, to make any such references throughout, would increase the bulk of the book to at least twice what it now is, and encumber the pages of it with hundreds of footnotes of not the slightest practical value. I therefore abandoned, almost at starting, any idea of such a course; considering that the point was one which could interest only a very limited class of readers, and that, by giving in the introduction to each Text every reference that I could find to previous versions of it by other hands, I should afford those few special readers every facility for making any comparisons that might be necessary; and I have confined myself to noting previous misapplications, only when they have had a bearing upon some historical name or other point of special importance. I offer my present versions of the Texts, not as absolutely final ones throughout, but as the most reliable ones that have as yet been produced; and as rendering possible now, for the first time, a thoroughly critical start in all the lines of research connected with the epigraphical materials of the period with which I have dealt. To take one special line as an instance,—it is only now that we are beginning to know properly the correct processes by which Hindu dates may be converted into their English equivalents. Much, in connection with this, still remains to be made known. And, as our knowledge advances, many improvements will undoubtedly be made in the interpretation, for instance, of numerical symbols, and of the other particular details of recorded dates. As an apposite instance, I would refer to note 2 on page 274. In this line, as in any other, I shall be only
too thankful for any suggestions that may be made to me, with a view to improvements in
any future edition.

A scrupulous obstacle, hitherto, in the prosecution of epigraphical researches, has been
the want of full and systematic indexes. To the Index of the present volume, special
attention has been given; in order that it shall include an easy reference to anything
in this series of inscriptions that can bear on any of the lines of research connected with
epigraphy. And, to this point, I trust that full attention will be paid, in future volumes of
this series by other hands.

The original sanction for this volume, limited by the heavy cost of the Plates, was for
two hundred and fifty copies. Towards the end of my work, however, many gratifying
intimations came from England, the Continent, and India, that the book was likely to be
far more popular, and a far more general subject of study, than even I myself had ever
anticipated. Under these circumstances, there has now been printed an additional issue
of two hundred and fifty copies, without Plates, and thus procurable at a moderate price.
The copies of this issue, of course, contain everything that is essential for general readers.
And the complete copy, with Plates, in the nearest Public Library, Society's Rooms, or
College, will always furnish special students with the means of prosecuting inquiries on
particular points of interpretation of the original texts.

As I have indicated above, the volume does not appear in quite the form in which it
was originally prepared for the Press. It will not be thoroughly complete, without the
Historical Chapters that should form the second part of it. These, however, could not
be even drafted to any considerable extent, until the Texts and Translations were
all in print, in order to facilitate constant reference and quotation. And the writing
of the Historical Chapters will entail so enormous an amount of miscellaneous reading and
annotation, for the purpose of tracing to their origin, in order to explain and completely
refute, all the erroneous theories, in every connected line of inquiry, which have been
started during the last fifty years in order to support any epoch rather than the correct
one, that, having now again to give all my principal attention and energy to the ordinary
duties of official life in the Revenue Department, I doubt much whether those chapters
will ever be written by me. It has, in fact, been difficult enough for me to finish, to my
satisfaction, even the present part of the volume. I have, therefore, taken advantage of
the delay in printing, to incorporate in this part of the volume a variety of notes and
remarks which I should have preferred keeping back for the Historical Chapters. They
will, however, I think, be found to be not altogether misplaced; even if I may subsequently
have to modify the views expressed in some of them.

Another point in which the delay in publication has been turned to even greater
advantage, is in respect of the valuable matter which I have been able to include in
the Introduction through the kind co-operation of Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit...
the Bombay Educational Department. It was only at the end of December, 1886, that I made his acquaintance. But, since then, he has been most assiduous in making all the astronomical calculations, which were suggested by me to him as each new point developed itself in the special inquiries that, through his assistance, became possible. Two of his papers will be given in full in Appendices II. and III.; and the first of them will be found to explain thoroughly the process by which, with the late Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre’s Tables, anyone may now be able to calculate correctly the week-day, and the corresponding English date, for any given Hindu titki or lunar day. The second point to which he has given his attention, is the elucidation of the system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years of which form so important a part in some of the records of the Early Gupta period. I find it impossible to over-estimate the work which he has done for me during the short period of our acquaintance. His assistance has been simply invaluable. Without it, I must have left all these subsidiary points for future determination; and must, of course, have left the all-important subject of the epoch of the Gupta era still open, within the limits of one year before and after the true date, to doubt and argument. With it, I am now able to prove everything that I have sought to establish, from the time when I first became aware of the full purport of the Mandasör inscription that gives the date of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman; and to present my case, as will be seen, in a thoroughly complete and satisfactory form.

J. F. FLEET.
INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE entering on the leading subject of this Introduction,—the determination of the epoch of the so-called Gupta era,—I would give a brief account of the scope of the book, and the arrangement of its contents.

The leading records are, of course, those of the Early Guptas themselves; from No. 1, the Allahabad posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, down to No. 16, page 68, the Indor copper-plate grant of Skandagupta, who, as far as we know at present, was the last of the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty. The actual dates of these records extend from A.D. 401 to A.D. 466.

To the same period belong the two inscriptions of the Rulers of Mālava; No. 17, page 72, the Gangdhar inscription of Viśvavarman, dated in A.D. 424; and No. 18, page 79, the Mandasor inscription, dated in A.D. 474, which gives us the date of A.D. 437 for Kumāragupta and his feudatory, Bandhuvarman; and, in doing so, has supplied what was always felt to be the most urgent desideratum, viz. a date, for any one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in a standard era, capable of identification, other than the era which was habitually used by the Early Guptas themselves. With the exception of a few among the Miscellaneous Inscriptions, to be noticed hereafter, No. 17 is the last record that belongs specifically to the Early Gupta dynasty.

But, shortly after the time of Skandagupta, we meet with the two names of Budhagupta and Bhānu Gupta, with the dates of respectively A.D. 484, in No. 19, page 88, and A.D. 510, in No. 20, page 91. And, coupled with the fact that, in the inscriptions of the Parivṛjaka Mahārājas, the Gupta sovereignty is distinctly stated to have continued down to A.D. 528, the termination of these names raises at least a presumption that these two kings were of the Early Gupta lineage, though possibly not connected by direct descent with Skandagupta. Budhagupta comes, chronologically, immediately after Skandagupta. Bhānu Gupta comes somewhat later; after Tārānāna, whose power meanwhile succeeded that of Budhagupta in Eastern Mālwa. But, under all the circumstances,

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1 I call the members of this family the "Early Guptas," by way of easily distinguishing them from the later Guptas of Magadh, whose genealogy is given in the Aphsaṅ inscription, No. 42, page 200, and in the Dēb-Bālagār inscription, No. 46, page 213.

2 In respect of these three dates, I follow here the equivalents that I have given in my introductory remarks to the two inscriptions. But, when the proper value of expired years of the Mālava or Vikrama era can be determined, perhaps it may be found that these three dates, and any others of the same series, are each one year earlier than as at present given by me.
the most convenient arrangement has been, to place the record which mentions him, next after that of Budhagupta.

In No. 21, page 93, down to No. 25, page 112, we have some inscriptions, ranging from A.D. 473 to A.D. 528, which overlap, on one side, the time of Budhagupta, and on the other, the periods of Tôaramâna, Bhânu Gupta, and Mihrakula. They are the records of a feudatory family, to the members of which it is convenient to give the name of the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas.1 And the extreme importance of them lies in the fact that they expressly show that, though the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty itself may have become extinct, the Gupta dominion still continued, and the name of the Gupta kings was still recognised as a power, down to A.D. 528. Another very special feature in them, as will be seen, is the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, in the records of the dates. As will now be shown for the first time, this point really furnishes most valuable corroboration, if not actually independent and conclusive proof, of my general results as to the exact year from which the dates of the Early Guptas and their successors run.

Closely connected with the preceding, both chronologically and territorially, was another family, that of the Mahârâjas of Uchchakalpa, whose records we have in No. 26, page 117, to No. 31, page 135; with also a mention of one member of this family, the Mahârâja Šarvanâtha, in No. 24, page 110, which proves that, at the date therein referred to, he was the contemporary of the Parivrâjaka Mahârâja Hastin. And the recorded dates of this family, if referred to the Gupta era, range from A.D. 493 to 533-34. That this is the proper interpretation of the dates, was assumed by General Cunningham who first brought all the Uchchakalpa grants, save one, to notice.2 And my own view has been the same. But a later consideration of the question shewed that there are a few points in the inscriptions, which, if the existence of the Kalachuri or Chêdi era, as a separate era, could be satisfactorily established, render it possible that these dates are recorded, not in the Gupta era, but in the Kalachuri era; which, even with General Cunningham’s proposed epoch of A.D. 240-50, would suit all the requirements almost as well as the Gupta era, and, with an epoch about twenty-five or thirty years later, would suit them much better. Thus, in particular, the understanding that, while the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas were feudatories of later members of the Early Gupta dynasty, the Mahârâjas of Uchchakalpa, whose territories evidently lay more to the east and south-east, were feudatories of Kalachuri kings, would explain at once why no era is quoted in the Bhumaratâ pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110; the reason being that the feudatories of the two rival dynasties could not agree as to which of the two rival eras should be used. Again, this same record shews that the Mahârâjas Hastin and Šarvanâtha were contemporaneous in the Mahâ-Mâgha sanvatsara that is mentioned in it. Now, for Hastin we have the extreme dates

of Gupta-Saṅvat (156 and 101) and for Sarvanātha, the extreme dates of the years 193 and 214 with the year 177 as the latest known date for his father Jayanātha. And, as it is unlikely that, Hastin continued alive and in power for any length of time after Gupta-Saṅvat 191, it seemed, on the supposition that both the series of dates were to be referred to the Gupta era, that the Māhā-Magha saṃvatsara in question was the one commencing in Gupta-Saṅvat 186 rather than that commencing in Gupta-Saṅvat 26; since, the former was easily obtained by adding only four years at the commencement of the period for Sarvanātha; whereas, to obtain the latter, we should have to add on ten years at the end of Hastin’s already long enough period of thirty-six years. On the other hand, the Māhā-Magha saṃvatsara occurred previously, in Hastin’s period, in Gupta-Saṅvat 165 and 177. If the Uchchakalpa dates were referred to the Kalachuri era, with General Cunningham’s epoch of A.D. 245-50, Sarvanātha’s latest date, the year 214, would be equivalent to A.D. 463-64, or Gupta-Saṅvat 144; and we should have to add on twenty-one years at the end of his known period, in order to make him the contemporary of Hastin in Gupta-Saṅvat 165. Whereas, if an epoch could be found for the Kalachuri era about twenty-five years later than that proposed by General Cunningham, the two Mahārājas would be naturally contemporaneous in Gupta-Saṅvat 165 or A.D. 484-85. By calculation, however, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit found that, though General Cunningham’s proposed epoch might be very close to the real truth, yet it was certainly not the absolutely correct one. Also, though he found that nearly all of the ten Kalachuri or Chédī dates, given by General Cunningham, would work out correctly with an epoch of A.D. 238-39, or just one year earlier than that proposed by General Cunningham, yet both he and I felt that the available data, in the shape of the published readings and lithographs of the dates, were not sufficiently reliable for any definite theory to be built up on the results obtained by him. Again, if the Kalachuri era really existed in that early time,—in which case, of course, there were then actually kings of the Kalachuri dynasty,—it seemed strange that no distinct reference should be made to the dynasty in the Allahabad pillar inscription, which, with much minuteness of detail, claims for Samudragupta the conquest of the whole earth, especially since the Mahākāt pillar inscription of the Early Chalukya king

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3 Indian Eras, p. 61.
4 I do not overlook the ‘Pardi’ grant of the Traikūtaka Mahārāja Dahrasena (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 346 ff.), which is dated in the year 207 of an unspecified era; or the Kañheri plate (see No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 57 ff.), which is dated “in two centuries of years, increased by forty-five, of the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūtakas.” But it still has to be proved, either, on general grounds, that the era of these two records, is the Kalachuri era; or that the Traikūtaka whence these Traikūtakas derived their name, is identical with Tripura or Tripuri, the capital of the Kalachuris of Central India.

5 Prinsep, indeed (see, for instance, Prinsep’s Essays, Vol. I. p. 237), found the possible mention of a Tripura in the Karttripura which is spoken of in line 22 of this inscription. But he would have identified it with the modern ‘Tipperah.’ And the immediate connection of Karttripura, in the inscription, with Samataja or Lower Bengal, Dašvaka (? ‘Darca,’ if the correct spelling really is Dākkha), Kamarupa or Assam, and Nāḍī, shows that the place was indeed very far away from Central India.
Maṅgalīśa shows that the dynastic name was very well established in at least the sixth century A.D., and mentions it under the Sanskritised form of Kalatsūri. As, however, the Kalachuris, in their later records, represent themselves as descendants of Saśārā-Saśārā or Saśārabāhu-Saśārā, the required reference to them in the Allahābād inscription might be found in the Arjunāyanas, who are mentioned in line 22; and no special objection need be taken on that ground. The real difficulty was to prove that the Kalachuri era, and, with that, sovereigns of the Kalachuri dynasty, really existed in early times; and that the era was not merely one of somewhat later invention, fitted to an early epoch. But, since the time when I first drafted the preceding remarks, Prof. Kielhorn has determined, quite recently, that, if we only take three of the ten dates in question as denoting expired years, all the dates will work out correctly with the epoch of A.D. 248-49. It is, therefore, really a question for consideration whether the Mahāraḍājas of Uchchakalpa were not indeed feudatories of early kings of the Kalachuri dynasty; and whether the dates of their records do not furnish the earliest instances of the use of the Kalachuri era. Unfortunately, these Uchchakalpa dates do not contain details for computation; and the question, accordingly, cannot at present be decided in that way.

The inscriptions contain various hints as to the causes which led to the downfall of the Early Gupta sovereignty. But, looking round on all these intimations, with the help of extraneous information, the person who accomplished their final extinction seems undoubtedly to have been the great king Mihirakula, of Śakala in the Pañjab, and subsequently of Kaśmir, whose career in India is so graphically described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang. Among epigraphical records, his name had long been extant, though it had not been recognised, in an inscription at Gwalior, No. 37, page 161, where it occurs as the name of a son of Tōramāṇa. I myself, when I first recognised the word as a proper name, took it to be the appellation of a second Mihirakula, given in memory of his father Tōramāṇa’s former lord and master. The first discovery that militated against this view, was, my finding that the great Mihirakula himself is mentioned in the Mandasōr duplicate pillar inscriptions, No. 33, page 142, and No. 34, page 149, as having been overthrown by a powerful king of Northern India named Yaśōdharman; shortly after which I obtained for Yaśōdharman the date of A.D. 533-34, in the Mandasōr inscription, No. 35, page 150. From certain details in their Ērān inscriptions, it was evident that Tōramāṇa came, in Eastern Mālwa, very shortly after Buddagupta; the proof of this is that Buddagupta’s inscription mentions a certain Mahāraḍāja named Mātrivishṇu, and his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu, as being both then alive; whereas Tōramāṇa’s inscription mentions Dhanyavishṇu as still alive, but Mātrivishṇu as deceased; and these statements shew that Tōramāṇa followed Buddagupta, in Eastern Mālwa, within the remnant of the generation.

1 See my Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, pp. 22, 58.
4 See the Academy of the 10th December, 1887, p. 394 f.
to which the brothers Mātrivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu belonged. Putting everything together, in writing my paper on "The History and Date of Mihirakula," it soon became perfectly clear that the king who is mentioned in the Gwalior inscription, is the great Mihirakula himself; that he was the son of Tūramāna; and that his downfall was accomplished by Yasōdharman within a very few years on either side of A.D. 533-34. In proper chronological order, therefore, Tūramāna and Mihirakula come next after Budhagupta; and Tūramāna certainly, and probably Mihirakula also, so far as Eastern Malwa is concerned, before Bhānugupta. Plate xxiii A. and B. should, therefore, properly have been placed next after Plate xx. To my present brief notice of these two kings,—who belonged to a foreign race, which, whether best and most properly known as Indo-Scythians, Śakas, Hūpas, Turushkas, Shāhīs, Shāhānushāhīs, or Daivaputras, had established itself in the Paśjāb at an early date, and continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta,—I will only add that, the first year of Tūramāna, which is recorded in his inscription, and which fell for certain after A.D. 484, which is Budhagupta's inscriptive date, and before A.D. 510, which is Bhānugupta's inscriptive date, is evidently only the first year of his possession of Eastern Malwa. Coming down, as he did, from the extreme north-west corner of India, it is impossible that we should suddenly find him, fully established as the first of a new dynasty, in the very heart of the Gupta country, in absolutely the first year of his reign. His own dynastic date, which must correspond to just about the same year, is given in his silver coins, which follow the Early Gupta silver coins in general style, but differ from them in certain marked peculiarities that were evidently introduced for the express purpose of shewing that his power was hostile to theirs, and had superseded it. There are two excellent specimens of his coins, which I have examined, in the British Museum; and the date on them is the year 52 or 82, in numerical symbols. General Cunningham has read the dates as 52 and 53; but the second symbol in each case is certainly 2; as regards the first symbol, I will not at present give a final opinion as to whether it is 50 or 80; since, though probably a 50, it is possibly an 80, turned half round on the die, so as to lie vertically, instead of horizontally, in order that it might not fall chiefly beyond the edge of the coin. Without doubt, it would make the case very simple indeed, if we could read the date as 182, as Mr. Thomas did,—or even read it as 82, and, on the theory of "omitted hundreds," interpret it as 182,—and refer it to the Gupta era, with the result, now, of A.D. 501-502. But the date is either 52 or 82, and nothing else; without the slightest grounds for supposing that the symbol for 100 was stamped, but has now become obliterated, or was engraved on the die, but, in the stamping, fell beyond the edge of the coin; and, if it has to be interpreted as 152, on the theory of "omitted hundreds," then at any rate it cannot possibly be referred

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to the Gupta era. I have shown elsewhere\textsuperscript{1} that Mihirakula's fifteenth year, which is reported in his Gwalior inscription, must fall somewhere very close to A.D. 533-34, which is the recorded date of Yasodharman; and in all probability a year or two before it; so that we shall be very near the mark, if we select A.D. 515 for the commencement of his career. If, then, the date on Tormana's coins is 53, and if we apply it as his regnal date, about which there need be felt no special difficulty, Tormana's reign must have commenced, roughly, about A.D. 460. This falls very near the latest date, A.D. 466, that we have for Skandagupta, who, up to A.D. 457-58, held the whole of Northern India, below the Panjab, from Kathiawad to the frontier of Nepal. And it was doubtless the death of Skandagupta, that enabled the Hunas, who had been repulsed by him, to assume the aggressive again, under the leadership of Tormana; and, on this occasion, with such success as to hold even Central India for a short time. This view is also in perfect accordance with the statement of the Valabhi inscriptions,\textsuperscript{2} that it was the founder of their family, the Shudpata Bhataraka, with the date of about A.D. 500, who successfully fought, in Kathiawad, against the Maitrakas, i.e. the Mihiras, i.e. the particular family or clan, among the Hunas, to which Toramana and Mihirakula belonged. If, on the other hand, the date on Toramana's coins is 82, then it cannot be applied as a regnal date; and, though it must then run from the period at which his own branch of the Hunas rose to power, it cannot be used to fix the commencement of his own accession. The general outline of the history of the period, which I have briefly indicated above, would, however, remain much the same.

To some time or other in this early period belongs the mysterious emperor Chandragupta, of whom we have a posthumous record in the iron pillar inscription at Meharauli, No. 32, page 139. I call him mysterious, because, though the inscription speaks of him as a powerful supreme monarch, who conquered the whole of Northern India, from beyond the river Indus down to the plains of Bengal, yet it makes no mention of his lineage, and gives no clue by which we can determine exactly his period and surroundings. All that we know for certain, is, that his inscription belongs, on palaeographical grounds, to a fairly early date. In the palaeography of it, there is, in fact, no real obstacle to our allotting it to Chandragupta I., the first paramount sovereign in the Early Gupta family; and the only objection that I can see, is, that it contains no reference to the Indo-Scythian kings, unless they are here called Vabhikas, by overthowing whom Chandragupta I. must have established the power of his own family. But there is an interesting point in the fact that the name of the village at which this inscription stands, viz. Meharauli or Meharaull, is an evident corruption of Mihirapur, 'the city of the Sun, or of the Mihiras.' Mihira, as a proper name, is a Sanskritised form of the name of the family, clan, or tribe among the Hunas, to which belonged Mihirakula and his father Toramana. And it is hot

\textsuperscript{1} Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 252.
\textsuperscript{2} See page 167, and note 11.
impossible that this inscription may be shewn hereafter to be a record of the younger brother of Mihirakula, who, when Mihirakula was defeated by Baladitya of Magadha, usurped his throne in the Punjáb, and whose own name is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

As has been indicated above, the Mandasör duplicate pillar inscriptions, No. 33, page 142, and No. 34, page 149, which are brand-new discoveries, introduce us to a powerful king of Northern India, named Yasodharmar, who is of extreme interest from being mentioned in them as the conqueror of Mihirakula. And the remaining Mandasör inscription, No. 35, page 150,—again a brand-new discovery,—is another record of this same Yasodharmar, coupled in this case with a king named Vishnuvardhana; and it is of extreme value from the fact that, by supplying for Yasodharmar a specific date, A.D. 533-34, it has completed the clue to the whole history of the period. Who Vishnuvardhana was, cannot at present be determined; but he is at any rate not the feudatory Vishnuvardhana, the Varika, who is mentioned in No. 59, page 252.

Next in chronological sequence, but slightly overlapping some of the preceding records, come the inscriptions of the Kings of Valabhi, ranging, so far as absolutely definite dates are concerned, from A.D. 426 to A.D. 766. Of the numerous copper-plate inscriptions of this family that have been discovered, I have given two, as specimens; No. 38, page 164, and No. 39, page 171. Apart from the full genealogical tree which they give, including twelve generations, they are of interest chiefly because they make known the historical fact that the Sindhupati Bhatarka, the founder of the family, successfully waged war against, and overthrew, a dynasty, tribe, or clan, called Maitrakas, which has already been the subject of comment; and because they shew that the Gupta era continued in use, in Kathiawad and some neighbouring parts of Gujarát, at least as late as A.D. 766, and thus explain, through its special connection with their own family, how it came to have, in later times, the name, in the same part of the country, of the Valabhi era. Otherwise, the inscriptions of this family contain but little of historical importance; though a full examination of them would throw much light on the ancient geography of the localities from which they come. It is a curious fact that no stone-inscriptions of this family,—at least, none that can be definitely attributed to them,—have as yet been discovered. Last year, it is true, Colonel J. W. Watson obtained at Walâ, which is the modern representative of the ancient Valabhi, part of a stone-inscription, now in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the characters of which shewed me that it belonged to the earlier part of the Valabhi period. But it is the merest fragment; with no historical clue in it. It is, however, of interest, in shewing that the excavations at Walâ are now reaching the level of stone-remains. When that level can be properly explored, discoveries of importance ought to follow; since, for some reason or other, inscriptions on stone nearly always contain much more historical information than copper-plate grants do.
In the Ėraṅ posthumous pillar inscription of Gōparāja, No. 20, page 91, mention is made of the family of the Śarabha kings. Two inscriptions of the Rājas of Śarabhapura are given in No. 40, page 191, and No. 41, page 196. There is nothing to shew the exact period to which they belong; much less to identify either of the Rājas mentioned in them with Gōparāja's maternal grandfather. But the characters indicate that they may perhaps be attributed to a period not far distant from that of Gōparāja; and the present place has been found a convenient one for introducing them. At the same time, they may possibly be found hereafter to belong to a period later by a couple of centuries than the time of Gōparāja. Another inscription of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēvarāja has been published by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXV. page 195 ff.; but the original plates have disappeared, with several other valuable copper-plate grants that were presented to the Bengal Asiatic Society; and the published version is not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced. I have, therefore, not been able to include that inscription in this collection.

In No. 42, page 200, to No. 46, page 213, we have some inscriptions of the Guptas of Magadh, a family of which one member at least, the great Ādityasena, played an important part in the history of the seventh century A.D., when the Kanauj kingdom was broken up on the death of Harshavardhana. From the way in which, through the eleven generations of this family that are recorded, every name, except that of Ādityasena, has the termination gupta, there can be little doubt that the family is an offshoot of the original Gupta stock. And, reckoning back from the time of Ādityasena, for whom the date of A.D. 672-73 is supplied by the Shāhpur inscription, No. 43, page 208, Krishnagupta, from whom the descent is traced, has to be placed between A.D. 475 and 500. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Budhagupta or Bhānugupta, or of both of them, and came very shortly after Skandagupta. His exact connection, however, with any of these three kings, still remains to be determined.

The Aphsaṅ inscription of Ādityasena, No. 42, page 200, introduces us to two important contemporaneous families. The first of these is that of the Maukharis, or Mukharas, of whom we have inscriptions in No. 47, page 219, to No. 51, page 228. The great antiquity of this family is shewn by a clay seal in General Cunningham's possession, obtained at Gayā, which has on it, in Aśoka characters, the Pāli legend Mokhaliṇam, "of the Mokhalis, Maukhalis, or Maukharis." No. 47, page 219, gives us the names of three feudatory Mahārājas, followed by two paramount sovereigns, of one branch of this family; and it is probably the Mahārāja Iśvaravarman, of this branch, of whom we have a record in No. 51, page 228. A connecting link between these Maukharis and the Guptas of Magadha seems to be established in Ādityavarman's wife, Harshagupta, who was probably the sister of Harshagupta of Magadha. Subsequently, the relations between the two families were less friendly. Thus, it can hardly be doubted that the king Iśānavarman of this family is the one who, as recorded in line 6 f. of the Aphsaṅ inscription, was conquered in battle by
Harshagupta's grandson, Kumāragupta. Dāmodaragupta, again, in the same inscription, is mentioned as breaking-up the forces of the Maukhari king, which had previously overcome the army of the Hūnas. And the Sushitavarma who was conquered in battle by Mahāsenagupta, doubtless belonged to the same lineage. Other, references to the Maukharis are to be found in the Harshacharita of Bāva, and in the Nēpāl inscriptions. Nos. 48, 49, and 50, give us another minor branch of the Maukharı lineage, of evidently much less importance, belonging to the neighbourhood of Gaya.

The second of the contemporaneous families introduced by the Aphaśā inscription, is that of the Kings of Kanauj, to which belonged the great Harshadēva or Harshavardhana. Of this king I am able to give a brand-new inscription, in the Sōnpat seal, No. 52, page 231. This is the first epigraphical record of this family that has ever been obtained; and it is of extreme interest in carrying back the genealogy to two generations before Harshavardhana's well-known father, Prahhākaravardhana; and in shewing that the latter was the first paramount sovereign in the family. The verse in the Aphaśā inscription which mentions Harshavardhana, under the name of Harshadēva, is partly obliterated; but it refers to Mahāvagupta either as a feudatory of the Kanauj king, or as seeking an alliance with him. A connection between the two families appears to be established in Mahāsenagupta, the wife of the Mahārāja Ādityavardhana, who was the grandfather of Harshavardhana; it can hardly be doubted that she was a sister of Mahāsenagupta of Magadh, the father of Mahāvagupta. Another point of importance in this Sōnpat seal, is, that it shews that the father of Prahhākaravardhana was neither Pushpabhūti or Pushyabhūti, who is mentioned by Bāva, in his Harshacharita, in connection with this family; nor king Śīlādiya of Mālava, who is spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang, but the feudatory Mahārāja Ādityavardhana. That Śīlādiya of Mālava was the father of Prahhākaravardhana, was assumed by Mr. Fergusson. And Prof. Max Müller has asserted the same relationship in respect of Pushpabhūti; but Dr. F. E. Hall only speaks of Pushpabhūti as an ancestor, more or less remote, of Harshavardhana; and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, who writes the name Pushyabhūti, only speaks of Harshavardhana as belonging to the Pushyabhūti dynasty.

No. 53, page 233, to No. 56, page 243, are inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka Mahārājas. Their date is determined by the marriage of Rudrasēna II. with Prahhavatigupta, the daughter of the paramount sovereign Devagupta, who, it can hardly be doubted, was Devagupta of Magadha, the son of Ādityasēna, mentioned in the Deō-Baranārk inscription, No. 46, page 213, and belonging to the period of about A.D. 680 to 700. This brings

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.
* See page 232, note 3.
* India; What can it teach us?, p. 288.
* Vṛśavadattā, Preface, p. 51; in his analysis of the Harshacharita.
* See page 215, note 7.

the Vācātaka Mahārājās to a period later by fully two centuries than has hitherto been allotted to them; but there is nothing in the palaeography of their grants to oppose this result, even if it does not actually prove it. A clear instance of the comparatively long preservation of antique characters for official purposes, is furnished by the Rājim grant of the Rājā Tivaradēva, No. 81, page 291, which is undoubtedly almost, if not quite, the latest record in this volume, though at first sight its characters would seem to refer it to a much earlier period.

In No. 57, page 249, to No. 81, page 291, I have given a variety of Miscellaneous Inscriptions, which, either from their not mentioning the name of any particular king, or for other reasons, it was not convenient to introduce in other places in accordance with the chronological order that has been the chief basis of the arrangement of the volume. Of these, the most interesting are No. 60, page 254, which is a spurious grant purporting to have been issued by the Early Gupta king Samudragupta; No. 61, page 258, which, apart from its recorded date, expressly refers itself to the Early Gupta period, and which also, like No. 15, page 65, furnishes interesting proof of the existence of the Jain sect in the fourth century, A.D.; and No. 71, page 274, the Bódh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, dated in A.D. 588. This is another brand-new discovery, made by General Cunningham. And its extreme interest lies in the fact that, as the Mahānāman, whose record it is, can hardly be any other than the well-known person of that name who wrote the more ancient part of the Pāli Mahāvamsa or History of Ceylon, its date shews either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology, as hitherto accepted, are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be, or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working out those details; and it furnishes a definite point from which the chronology may now be adjusted backwards.

THE GUPTA ERA.

We come now to the question which, for the last forty years, has been at issue among all scholars who have been interested in the ancient history of India, and which, from the impossibility, until the discovery of the Mandaśor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, of arriving at any sound and final settlement of it, has created the almost inextricable confusion that now prevails in every line of research connected with the Early Gupta period; viz. the determination of the exact chronological point to which we must refer the commencement of the era that was used, for the purpose of dating their records and coins, by the Early Gupta kings and some of their successors.

For reference in the following discussion, I give, in Table I. page 17 below, a genealogy of the dynasty, with the official titles and recorded dates of the members of it. And, below the unbroken succession, I insert the names of Budhagupta and Bhānugupta;
**TABLE I.**

**Genealogy of the Early Gupta Kings.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gupta</th>
<th>Mahārāja.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghāṭotkacha</td>
<td>Mahārāja.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandragupta I.</td>
<td>(Vikrama I., or Vikramāditya I.), Mahārājādhirāja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married to Kumāradēvī, of the Lichchhavi family.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samudragupta</td>
<td>(Kācha), Mahārājādhirāja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married to Dattādevī.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandragupta II.</td>
<td>Vikrama (II.), Vikramāditya (II.), or Vikramāṅka, Paramabhattāraka, and Mahārājādhirāja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married to Dhruvādevī.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Gupta-Saṅvatsa 82, 88, 93, and 94 or 95.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumāragupta</td>
<td>Mahāntra, or Mahāntrāditya, Mahārājādhirāja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[G. S. 96, 98, 129, and 130 odd.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandagupta</td>
<td>Kramāditya, Paramabhattāraka, and Mahārājādhirāja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[G. S. 136, 137, 138, 141, 144, 145, 146, 148, and 147 or 149.]</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bodhagupta</th>
<th>[G. S. 165, 175, and (?) 180 odd.]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhānagupta</td>
<td>[G. S. 191.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
because there is at least a strong possibility that they were descended from the same stock, though their connection with each other, and with Skandagupta, has not as yet been made clear; and because the date of Budhagupta, at least, has always been accepted as bearing on the chronological question. The dates are taken partly from the inscriptions, and partly from the silver coins, on which I have published a note in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 65 ff. Thus, the coins supply the dates of Gupta-Sanvat 94 or 95, for Chandragupta II.; 130 odd, for Kumāragupta; 1 144, 145, 148, and 147 or 149, for Skandagupta: and 175, and possibly also 180 odd, for Budhagupta. The secondary names of the kings are taken partly from the silver coins, and partly from the gold coins, on which a very exhaustive and valuable treatise has been published by Mr. V. A. Smith, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 119 ff., noticed by me in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 92 ff. The names of Vikramādiya, Mahendrādiya, and Kramādiya, for respectively Chandragupta II., Kumāragupta, and Skandagupta, are supplied by the silver coins; and the first two, in the abbreviated forms of Vikrama and Mahendra, occur also on some of the gold coins; as, also, perhaps does the full name Kramādiya, for Skandagupta. And Vikramānka, which is of constant occurrence as a synonym for Vikrama and Vikramādiya, occurs on a silver coin which seems undoubtedly to belong to Chandragupta II. As regards Chandragupta I., it is still a moot point whether certain gold coins, which bear the name of Vikrama and Vikramādiya, are to be allotted to him, or to his grandson; but I myself do not see any difficulty about allotting them to him, and in understanding, therefore, that he also had these same secondary names; I have, however, inserted them in brackets, as being open to the possibility of doubt. Kācha, as a possible second name of Samudragupta, is taken from some gold coins on which I have commented at page 27, note 4; this, however, is also bracketed, as being not yet quite certain. The coins, both gold and silver, present many other points of considerable interest, some of which I have briefly alluded to in my notes to the Texts and Translations; but the full consideration of them belongs to the Historical Chapters.

The genealogy, as given by Mr. Thomas in his edition of Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I. p. 245, includes the name of Devi, a daughter of Mahādaiya, as one of the queens of Samudragupta; and, as a son of Skandagupta, a young prince, whose name is suggested to be Mahendragupta. The entry of Devi and Mahādaiya, appears also in the same list as republished by Mr. Thomas in the Archael. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 19, and again in the Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 533; in each of which places we also find, as another wife of Samudragupta, a queen, name unknown, the daughter of an independent princess 'Sanhārika.' The second list repeats the name of Mahendragupta; but, in the third, there are substituted the words 'royal issue expected at the date of this inscription,' i.e. of the Bhita pillar inscription of Skandagupta. The existence of the supposed

Mahendragupta, however, as pointed out by me on page 56, note 2, is due to nothing but Dr. Mill’s original mislocation of the Bhitarl inscription, coupled with the real name of Mahendrāṇīya on Kumāragupta’s coins. And the existence of the independent princess ‘Sanhārīkā,’ with her unnamed daughter, and of Mahādaitiya, and his daughter Dēvi, is equally imaginary; being due, as indicated on page 1, only to early mislocations of the Allahābād pillar inscription. In his first list, Mr. Thomas entered the Mahārājā Gupt, and his descendants, as belonging to the Solar lineage; and this mistake, though not repeated in his second and third lists, has not even yet been completely eradicated; but, as shown on page 1, the statement rests on nothing but Dr. Mill’s mislocation of a passage in the Allahābād inscription.

The Nomenclature of the Era.

Before proceeding further, however, it is desirable now to draw attention pointedly to the fact that, though it is convenient to speak of the era in question as the Gupta era, yet we have no ancient authority whatever for connecting the name of the Gupta with it, as the establishers of it, and much less for accepting the early existence of any such technical appellation for it, as Gupta-kāla.

It is true that this term is used by Alberūnī, who speaks of the Gāhī-kāl or Gāhita-kāl, i.e., Gupta-kāla. But, in just the same manner, he uses also the expression Šaka-kāla for the Śaka era. In each instance, his use of the word kāla is in perfect consonance with its meaning, ‘time, or a space of time,’ and with the application of it in the sense of ‘an era.’ And the Hindus who furnished him with the information that he recorded, but who can have known nothing certain about the origin of the era, save only that it had come down to them through the Gupta kings, would naturally speak of it as the Gupta-kāla. But Alberūnī’s statements belong to the eleventh century A.D., and furnish no real authority, on such a point as this, for early times. 

It is true, also, that the words Guptaśya kīlād, “from the era of Gupta,” were supposed by Dr. Bhaū Daji1 to exist in line 15 of the Junāgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta. But the real reading there, as is quite clear even in the lithograph from which Dr. Bhaū Daji worked, is not Guptaśya kīlā[.] ganāndin vihēya, “counting from the era of Gupta,” but Gupta-prakīlā ganāndin vihēya, “making the calculation in the reckoning of the Gupta.” And there can be little doubt that Dr. Bhaū Daji’s reading, and his translation, which was more or less unavoidable after the adoption of the reading, were suggested by M. Reinaud’s previously published translation of the extract from Alberūnī, in which, though translating Šaka-kāla by “the era of Śaka,” he transliterated the original Arabic by Gupta-kāla, with the words “era of the Guptas” added in brackets.2 Dr. Bhaū Daji’s

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2 Fragments Arabes et Persans, p. 143.
reading was unfortunately accepted without further investigation; and has stood up to the present time. And, in particular, it was most emphatically endorsed by Mr. Thomas, who, in 1876, and again in 1881, stated that he had previously had doubts as to the correctness of the reading and translation, but had then become quite satisfied concerning it, from a personal comparison of Dr. Bhau Daji's materials with others. It is undoubtedly only to this erroneous opinion, that we must attribute Mr. Thomas' later belief that on certain coins of 'Syalapati,' he could read the syllables Gu and Gupta, with possible indications of even Guptaśa, shewing, it was supposed, that the dates on these coins referred to an era of Gupta, or the era of the Guptas. These, however, are purely imaginary readings. And the fact remains that, in the Junagadh inscription, the expression Guptaśa kāla does not occur. And, apart from the obvious meaning of the words; and from the fact, which will be insisted on more fully farther on, that the Mahārāja Gupta, the founder of the family, being only a feudatory Mahārāja, had not the power of establishing an era at all,—that, in the real reading Gupta-prakāśā, we are to interpret the first member of the compound as representing the genitive plural, not singular, is expressly indicated by the use of the full genitive plural, Guptaṁ, governed by kāla, in another date in line 27 of the same inscription. Of course, both these passages connect the era with the Guptas, as belonging to them, and as being used by them; which had then been the case, so far as their epigraphical records go, for at least three generations. But not either of them suffices to shew that it had been established by them; or even that it had, at that time, acquired the technical name of the "Gupta era." And what the first expression really shews, is, simply that the date was being recorded in an era which was new to Kāthiawād, and was not the customary era of that part of the country.

In dated records, the genitive plural, Guptaṁ, occurs again in line 2 of the Kahāum pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15, page 65. But there it is governed by vamśa, in vamśa-jasya; "of Skandagupta, who is born in the lineage of the Guptas." So, also, we have Gupta-ānuyānāṭā in line 1 of the Udayagiri cave inscription of the year 106, No. 61, page 258. But it is governed by kulasya; "in the augmenting sovereignty of the family of those who belong to the lineage of the Guptas." These two passages, therefore, do not bear on the question at all.

Again, in the grants of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas Hastin and Samkhbhbha, No. 21, page 93, to No. 23, page 106, and No. 25, page 112, we have the expression Gupta-priya-raja-bhuktau, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." And this...

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expression is of importance, in shewing clearly that the Gupta dynasty and sway were still continuing, and that the dates of these records are to be referred to the same era with the dates of the Early Guptas themselves. But there is nothing at all in the expression, tending to give the era the name of the "Gupta era."

In the Mārā grant of Jāṅka, again, as read by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar,¹ we are supposed to have a very clear intimation indeed, that the era was then known as the Gupta era; his reading and translation being,—pari-chātṛyā yute-tāde samāndhrā saha-parichakē Gaupē dādāv-adō nripab s-oparāgē rka-mandālē,—of which a more literal translation than that given by him, would be "the Gupta fifth century of years, together with eighty-five (years), having elapsed, the king gave this, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed."

There is a difficulty in disposing finally of the whole bearing of this inscription; for the reason that the first plate had been lost sight of, before the grant was obtained for examination at all; as the result of which, the genealogy of Jāṅka is not known; and the second plate contains no name of a place, unless we are to find it in the verse that I have quoted. And now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid, and is not forthcoming. That the date refers in all probability to the Gupta era, I do not dispute. But the above reading of it, takes no notice of the fact that the real word, in line 17, is not gaupē at all, but gōptē; the au being arrived at only by applying again, as a component of the vowel, a perfectly distinct and separate sign, which is in reality nothing but the single mark of punctuation after parichakē, at the end of the half-verse, and which had already been properly interpreted as such. It is only by the deliberate correction of à into au,⁴ that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into this passage; but even then the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, parichaka, which it qualifies. We might, with just as much reason, correct gōptē into gōptrē,⁴ to the protector, i.e. the local governor; and this would be even more sustainable; for the word stands immediately before dadau, 'he gave,' in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative, or some other case. Or, again, without any correction at all, we might translate "the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gōptē." And this, I expect, will be found to be the real meaning, if ever the first plate, which is said to be now at Gaṅgāsāgar in Bengal, can be obtained for examination. As matters stand, there is at least nothing in this passage that compels us to connect the name of the Guptas with the date. And, at the best, even if a future discovery of the first plate should force us to adopt the reading of Gaupē in the date, the grant belongs to rather a late period, when, in Kāthīāwād and Gujarāt, any knowledge of the real origin of the era must have been lost, and all that remained was that it was the Gupta kings who had introduced the era into those parts.

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 258, line 161, w
² The mistake of à for au does occur in the word svabhāhā, for svabhāhānau, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word paṟvarō, the au is formed quite correctly and completely.
And, finally, in a curious passage from the Achāratikā, which I give in full at page 32 below, note 3, we have the date "when there have gone by seven centuries of years of the Guptas, increased by seventy-two," in which there is used again the genitive plural, Ġuptāndu. But the passage contains, as will be seen, a remarkable confusion, which cannot at present be cleared up, between the Gupta and the Śaka eras. And, like the Mūrbi grant, this record belongs to a late period, and furnishes no authority for early times.

In the records of the Early Guptas themselves, the date is always expressed simply by the word saṅvatsara, 'a year,' as in the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II., of the year 82, No. 3, page 25, line 2; or by the abbreviation saṁ, as in the Sāñchi inscription of the same king, of the year 93, No. 5, page 32, line 11; or by the fuller abbreviation saṁvat, as in the Mankuwar image inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 11, page 47, line 2. And such of their coins as are dated at all, give simply the numerical symbols, without the accompaniment of any word meaning 'year,' and much less of any dynastic qualification of it. For a reason which I indicate in Appendix I. below, these methods of expression, which are exactly analogous to the usages of other dynasties also, do not necessarily prove that the era was not established by the Guptas. At the same time, they contain no proof that it was established by them; and nothing to connect their name with it.

The fact remains, therefore, that in no early record can we find any indication that the era was founded by the Guptas; and much less that there ever existed any technical expressions analogous to Śaka-sāra-kāla, "the time or era of the Śaka king or kings," Śaka-sāra-saṅvatsara, "the years of the Śaka king," Śaka-kāla, "the Śaka era;" Vikrama-kāla, "the Vikrama era;" Vikramāditya-otpādita-saṅvatsara, "the years established by Vikramāditya," &c.; or even analogous to the terms Valabhi-saṁ and Valabhi-saṁvat, which are of actual occurrence in later times. This fact will become of more importance, when we come to deal with the question of the probable origin of the era. Meanwhile, I have drawn attention to it, because it is a point that must be borne in mind throughout the whole discussion. It is necessary, however, in order to avoid periphrasis, to have some convenient name for the era; and therefore, as a simple matter

1 See my notes "On the Nomenclature of the principal Hindu Eras, and the use of the word Saṅvatsara and its Abbreviations," in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. pp. 207 ff., 291 ff.; where, of course, owing to our advance in knowledge, my remarks on the Kaira grants (p. 208), and on the Kāvī grants, (p. 291 ff.) now require to be entirely recast.—I have shewn there that, as is now generally recognised, the use of the abbreviation saṁvat is in no way restricted, as was formerly held to be the case, to the Vikrama era; see also a pointed instance supplied by Dr. Bühler in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 63.

It is simply an abbreviation of the base saṅvatsara, 'a year,' or of any decennial case of it that can be used in expressing a date (see No. 5, page 30, note 3). And, bearing this in mind, such expressions as Gupta-Saṁvat, Śaka-Saṁvat, Vikrama-Saṁvat, &c., of which the two latter actually occur in original records (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. pp. 213, 293), give a uniform, convenient, and unobjectionable method of quoting the years of the different eras.
of convenience, I follow the custom of the last forty years, and speak of it as "the Gupta era." Also, as the era did certainly in later times, in Kāṭhāwād, acquire the name of "the Valabhi era," I shall, according to the convenience of the moment, speak of it indifferently as "the Gupta era," "the Valabhi era," and "the Gupta-Valabhi era." Subject to the remarks that I have made above, this nomenclature needs no further apology, if I point out that, even by those who maintain that the Early Guptas were themselves anterior to A.D. 319, it is admitted that the Gupta era which has come down to us in the writings of Albérùnî, had the same epoch with the Valabhi era; they only maintain that the Early Guptas used a Gupta era which was not this Gupta era.

Albérûnî's Statements, as rendered by M. Reinaud.

Until the discovery of the Mandašr inscription, No. 18, page 79, the only direct information available as to the epoch of the Gupta era, was the statement of Albérûnî, who, writing in the period between the 30th April and the 30th September, A.D. 1039, left on record the following notes, as taken from M. Reinaud's French translation in his Fragments Arabes et Persans, page 138 ff:—

"People employ ordinarily the eras of Śrī-Harsha, of Vikramādiyā, of Śaka, of Ballabha, and of the Guptas. Ballabha, who also has given his name to an era, was the prince of the town of Ballabha, to the south of Anhilwārā, at a distance of about thirty yōjanas. The era of Ballabha is subsequent to that of Śaka by 241 years. In order to make use of it, we set down the era of Śaka, and deduct at

1 See Sachau's Albérûnî's India, Preface, p. x.
2 As is shewn by Albérûnî's statement further on, this is not the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing A.D. 606 or 607, of which we have an instance in this volume, in No. 43, page 208; but an earlier era, commencing B.C. 457, of which we have no epigraphical record, and, in fact, no information of its existence beyond Albérûnî's statement, which is accompanied by the remark that, in a Kaśmīr almanac, he had read that Śrī-Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramādiyā, and that he could obtain no explanation of the discrepancy (Sachau's Albérûnî's India, Translation Vol. II. p. 5).
3 Reinaud's Arabic text contains no authority for his use of the double l throughout, and of the aspirated bh in the name of the town. So, also, Sachau's text contains no authority for his use, once of the form Ballabha, and once of Balabha. These forms can only be attributed to some fancied connection between the name of the city of Valabhi and the Sanskrit word vallabha, 'lover, husband, favourite,' which was very often used as a proper name, but not in the case of any of the rulers of Valabhi. The word valabha itself means 'the wooden frame of a thatch, a roof; a turret or temporary building on the roof of a house.' It occurs in No. 18, line 6, page 81; and, in the form sālabha, in No. 66, line 2, page 268.—Albérûnî himself, in treating the name as that of a person, as well as of a town, possibly wrote under some similar misconception. But, setting aside any such mistake as this, which is rather like that of his treating Śaka as the name of an individual, instead of a tribe, he is of course speaking of the era that was used by the well-known Kings of Valabhi.
4 The yōjana, a measure of distance, seems to have varied from 2½ to 9, or even 18, English miles; but with an average length of between 4 and 5 miles.—Walā, the modern representative of the ancient Valabhi, is about one hundred and thirty-five miles almost due south of Anhilwārā.
"the same time the cube of 6 (216) and the square of 5 (25). The remainder is the era of Ballabā. This era will be discussed in its place. As to the Guptaka (the era of the Guptas), we understand by the word gupta certain people who, it is said, were wicked and powerful; and the era which bears their name, is the epoch of their extermination. Apparently Ballabā followed the Guptas immediately; for, the era of the Guptas also commences the year 241 of the era of Śaka. The era of the astronomers commences the year 587 of the era of Śaka. It is to this era that the Kandakakītaka "Tables of Brahmagupta are referred. This work has among us the title of Arkaṇḍa. Accordingly, placing ourselves in the year 400 of the era of Yazdajird, we find ourselves in the year 1488 of the era of Śrī-Harsha; the year 1088 of the era of Vikramādiyā; the year 953 of the era of Śaka; the year 712 of the era of Ballabā and of that of the Guptas."

Alberūnī's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Sachau.

And to this we have now to add Prof. Sachau's English rendering of the same passages, in his Alberūnī's India, Translation, Vol. II. page 5 ff.:

"For this reason, people have given up using them, and have adopted instead the eras of—(1) Śrī Harsha; (2) Vikramādiyā; (3) Śaka; (4) Ballabā; and (5) Guptā. The era of Balabā is called so from Balabā, the ruler of the town Balabā, nearly 30 vijanas south of Anhilvāra. The epoch of this era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era. People use it in this way. They first put down the year of the Śakakāla, and then subtract from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5 (216 + 25 = 241). The remainder is the year of the Balabā era. The history of Balabā is given in its proper place. As regards the Guptakāla, people say that the Guptas were wicked powerful people, and that, when they ceased to exist, this date was used as the epoch of an era. It seems that Balabā was the last of them, because the epoch of the era of the Guptas falls, like that of the Balabā era, 241 years later than the Śakakāla. The era of the astronomers begins 587"

This era dates from the accession of Yazdajird III., a Sassanian king of Persia, in A.D. 632 (see Prinsep's Essays, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 302 and note). The "gauge-year," 400, selected by Alberūnī for the comparison of dates, is one year ahead of that in which he was writing.

It is not certain whether Prof. Sachau's Translation will have been actually published before the issue of this volume. But, as it will be the standard translation, he has kindly allowed me to make the necessary references to it, from advanced proofs.

i.e. the era of the Bharata war and of the Kaliyuga, and certain other methods of reckoning time, just previously detailed by Alberūnī, who states that they had been abandoned because of the very large numbers involved in the use of them.

and See page 23 above, note 3.

The reference appears to be to the story of the fruit-seller Ranka and the king Vallabha; Translation, Vol. I. p. 192 f., in Chapter XVII., "on Hindu Sciences which prey on the Ignorance of People."
years later than the Sakakāla. On this era is based the canon Khandakāhādyaka by Brahmagupta, which among Muhammadians is known as Al-arkand. Now, the year 400 of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of the Indian eras:—(1) to the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harsha; (2) to the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya; (3) to the year 953 of the Sakakāla; (4) to the year 712 of the Balaba era, which is identical with the Guptakāla.

The Results of the above Renderings.

The passages given above mention an era, connected with the names both of the Guptas and of the Valabhi family, in respect of which we have to notice the following leading points.

In the first place, Albérûni calls this era, both "the Gupta era," and "the Valabhi era". As regards its connection with the Guptas, he tells us, according to the above renderings, that it commenced at the time of the cessation of the Gupta sway, and seems to imply that, as a matter of fact, it was that event which led to the establishment of it; and, of course, the result of this would be, that the dates recorded in the inscriptions of the Guptas themselves, could not be referred to this Gupta era, but must belong to some era with a considerably earlier starting-point. And, as regards its connection with the Valabhi family, from the fact that their era had the same starting-point with this Gupta era, he infers that the members of this family came after the Guptas in chronological sequence; but he does not indicate any connection between them and the establishment of the era.

And secondly, in respect of the initial point, he seems first to state, very clearly, that the epoch of the era, under either name, was when Śaka-Samvat 216 + 25 = 241 had expired; which, taking the expired Śaka year in the way in which it has to be used for the purposes of the present Tables, gives us A.D. 319-20 current for the epoch or year 0 of the era, and A.D. 320-21 current for its commencement or first current year. This is shewn, first by the rule for subtracting 241 complete Śaka years; and secondly by Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 712 being quoted as equivalent to Śaka-Samvat 953, which is known to be intended as an expired year, since Albérûni gives it as the equivalent of the year 400 of Yazdajird, which is A.D. 1931-32 current. In his next mention, however, as rendered by M. Reinaud, he apparently speaks of the era as commencing with, i.e. as having for its first current year, Śaka-Samvat 241, which must be understood as an expired year; according

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1 e.g. those in Gen. Cunningham's Book of Indian Eras, and Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Graha-siddhanāthin Kōṣṭhakēṃ, or "Tables for calculating the Places of the Planets."

**Or, more accurately, the period from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320. It is, perhaps, desirable to point out, for general readers, that the quotation of two years of the Christian era in this way, "A.D. 319-20," does not denote the whole period of the two years, but only the period from the commencement of the Śaka year in the first of them, to the end of it in the second.
to which its epoch would be when 240 years had expired. While, in a third passage, a little further on in the book, in mentioning the “roundabout way” in which the Hindus computed the date (in January, A.D. 1026) of the destruction of Sōmānathapātaṇ in Mahāmd of Ghaznī, which event took place “in the year of the Hijra 416, or 947 Śaka-kalā,” he tells us that they first wrote down 242, then 606 under it, and then, again, 99; with the result, by addition of the figures, of Śaka-Saṅvat 947, which, as an expired year, brings us to the period A.D. 1025-26 current, inclusive of the month of January, A.D. 1026. And here the first figures would seem, at first sight, to indicate that, in this calculation, the epoch of the era was treated as being when Śaka-Saṅvat 242 had expired.

1 Alberdi’s India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 9.

2 This last passage is introduced by Alberdi in connection with his remarks on the Lōkakāla or popular reckoning by cycles of a hundred years. And he expresses himself as being inclined to think that the number 242 indicates the years which preceded the time when the Hindus commenced to use the cycle of a hundred years, and that they adopted this cycle together with the Gupta era; also that the number 606 represents the completed cycles, viz., six, “each of which they must reckon as 101 years,” and that the number 99 gives the expired years of the current cycle. He goes on to say that the rule, as found by him in the writings of Durlabhā of Multān, was, to write down 848, and add the Lōkakāla; the sum of which would give the Śaka year. But, in proceeding to apply this rule to Śaka-Saṅvat 933 (expired), as corresponding to the year of Yaradajīr which he had already used as a “gauge-year,” he points out that, subtracting 848, there remained 105 for the Lōkakāla, while the destruction of Sōmānathapātaṇ would fall in the 98th year of the cycle.—There are subsidiary difficulties here, which cannot at present be fully cleared up. One of them is, the reference of the destruction of Sōmānathapātaṇ to both the ninety-eighth and the ninety-ninth years of a Lōkakāla cycle; with the addition, moreover, that the ninety-eighth year is indicated as current, and the ninety-ninth is inferred to be expired.—Another is, that, according to the only Lōkakāla reckoning the nature of which has been fully explained (Indian Eras, p. 6 ff., viz., that used in Kaśmir,—which, Alberdi tells us, had been adopted by the people of Multān a few years before his own time,—the event in question would fall in the first current year of a cycle. Thus, Kalaṇa, in the Rāja-tarangini, l. 52 (Calcutta edition, p. 3), makes a very explicit statement regarding the equation between the Śaka era and the Lōkakāla of Kaśmir. His words are—lauki-kāō bāde chatur-viśe śaka-kālsya saptatātyādiḥ kṣatram sahasraḥ parivatsarāh, “at this present moment, in the twenty-fourth lauki-kā (or popular) year, there have been one thousand years, increased by seventy, of the Śaka era.” In this passage, he quotes the Śaka year as expired, in accordance with the practice of astronomers; but the Lōkakāla year as current, as would naturally be the case in using a popular reckoning of that kind. He was writing, therefore, in Lōkakāla 24 current, and when Śaka-Saṅvat 1070 had expired; which is equivalent to A.D. 1148-49 current. And this gives Lōkakāla 1 current of the same cycle, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṅvat 1047 expired; which is equivalent to A.D. 1025-26 current. Now, that the scheme of each year of the Kaśmir Lōkakāla cycle was identical with the scheme of the Śaka years of Northern India, commencing with the first day of the month Chaitra (March-April), is shewn by Alberdi’s statements, and by the notes put together by Gen. Cunningham in his exposition of this reckoning. And it follows that the first year, current, of each Kaśmir Lōkakāla cycle coincides exactly with the forty-seventh year expired, and the forty-eighth current, of each century of the Śaka era, and with part of the twenty-fifth and part of the twenty-sixth years, current, of each century of the Christian era. The month of January, A.D. 1026, therefore, fell in Lōkakāla 1 current, of Kaśmir, which coincided with Śaka-Saṅvat 947 expired, and extended (see Indian Eras, p. 171) from the 3rd March, A.D. 1025, to the 21st March, A.D. 1026. And it is difficult to see how, in the
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

Albërûni’s Statements, as rendered by Prof. Wright.

The leading historical item of Albërûni’s information, as rendered by M. Reinaud,—vis. that the Gupta era commemorated the epoch of the extermination of the Gupta dynasty,—naturally at once attracted special attention; because of the primáfacie improbability of such a fact. And, as will be seen further on, various attempts were made, to find an explanation for it; and with very conflicting results.

Application of a Lôkakâla reckoning introduced from Kasmîr, an event occurring in that month can be correctly referred even to Lôkakâla 99 expired; and, much more so, to Lôkakâla 98 current. To suit the former case, we require a cycle commencing one year later than the Kasmîrî cycle; and to suit the latter case, a cycle commencing three years later than the same. And, that there were varying starting-points of this kind, as well as a want of uniformity in respect of the scheme of the years, is indicated by Albërûni’s remark that the totally different accounts of the Lôkakâla reckonings, given to him, rendered him unable to make out the truth about it.—One point, however, seems clear. As to the number 606, given by Albërûni in his first illustration, it is impossible that a centenary cycle can consist of a hundred and one years. And Albërûni himself had previously said distinctly (Albërûni’s India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8) “if a centennium is finished, they drop it, and simply begin to date by a new one.” It is plain, in fact, that the odd six years do not belong to the cycles of the Lôkakâla. To that reckoning, only the six even centuries belong. I shall shew hereafter that the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi era really was A.D. 319-20 current; which might be quoted either as Śaka-Śaṅhavat 241 expired or 242 current. If we add the odd six years to Śaka-Śaṅhavat 241 expired, we obtain Śaka-Śaṅhavat 247 expired, or 248 current, equivalent to A.D. 325-26 current; and this, as we have just seen, would coincide with the first current year of a Lôkakâla cycle, reckoned in Kasmîr. But it is one year too early for the first current year of any cycle of a reckoning, in a subsequent cycle of which the event in question belonged to the ninety-ninth year expired and the hundredth year current. Now, I suppose that we must assume that Albërûni has quoted Durlabhâ correctly. And, if so, then the first current year of each cycle in the Multân reckoning really was one year later than in the Kasmîrî reckoning; and coincided with the forty-eighth year expired, and the forty-ninth current, of each century of the Śaka era, and with part of the twenty-sixth and part of the twenty-seventh years, current, of ca.-h century of the Christian era. And, if the introduction of the reckoning, at Multân, could be carried back so far, it commenced with Śaka-Śaṅhavat 248 expired, and 249 current. This year might have been obtained by adding seven to Śaka-Śaṅhavat 241 expired. But, as will be seen hereafter, the real use of Śaka-Śaṅhavat 241 expired is only for obtaining the basis with which Gupta-Valabhi dates have to be calculated; and it only brings us to the beginning of the Gupta epoch, The difference between Gupta-Valabhi and Śaka years, both treated as current for purposes of comparison, is 242. And Śaka-Śaṅhavat 242 expired brings us to the beginning of the first current Gupta year. This is the starting point that was really wanted for a process of the kind shewn to Albërûni. And this is why that year was selected as the apparent basis of the computation; the true basis being Śaka-Śaṅhavat 84 expired.—It is evident, therefore, that the process illustrated by the figures given to Albërûni does involve a method of adapting the Lôkakâla reckoning to the Gupta-era; or, more properly, of converting Lôkakâla dates into Śaka dates through the Gupta reckoning. So far, however, from the figures tending to support any inference that the Lôkakâla reckoning was introduced by, or in the time of, the Early Gupta, the fact that Durlabhâ of Multân would deduct 848, with a remainder, in the particular instance, of 105, or one complete Lôkakâla cycle and five years over, seems to indicate very clearly that the use of this reckoning in that part of the country commenced with Śaka-Śaṅhavat 848 expired, equivalent to A.D. 926-27 current; had it been otherwise, Durlabhâ’s rule would surely have been worded in such a way
That the true solution was to be found, not in wrong information given to Albērönt or in a mistake made by him in reporting correct information, but in an erroneous interpretation of his meaning, was first indicated to me by Mr. Rehatsek, who, in December, 1886, gave me, from M. Reinaud's published text, the following literal rendering of the crucial passage,—"and (as regards) the Gupta era, it was, as is said, a nation wicked (and) strong; and when they perished, dating was made according to them."¹ Such a rendering as this would enable us to give to Albērönt's words a meaning perfectly clear and consistent with the usual order of things; viz. that the Guptas, though wicked and inferentially unpopular, yet had exercised so powerful a sway that, even when their dynasty came to an end, the era, that had been used by them, still continued to be used.

So also, somewhat later, Mr. H. C. Kay, translating the words by "dating was made by (or, according to) them," added the following remarks on the interpretation of them:

"The author's meaning is not clear. But, taking the words as they stand, I think they "can most consistently be understood as signifying an adoption or continuation of the "method of dating that had been used by the Guptas. The preceding words 'when they "came to an end' suggest the possible meaning that the dating ran from that event. But "it seems to me that this construction can be properly preferred, only if there be something "else in the context, or in the known facts of the case, that would make it obligatory; or, "at least, that clearly points to it."

I had the hope that, before it came to my own turn to write finally on the subject, Prof. Sachau's translation of the Arabic text would have removed all doubt as to Albērönt's real meaning on this point. This, however, has not been the case; because of the introduction in his translation as in M. Reinaud's, of the word 'epoch,' which does not exist in the original text, and the use of which gives the translation a fixed obligatory meaning that, at any rate, a literal rendering of the original does not compel us to adopt.

that, in the particular instance, 948 must be deducted, with a remainder of only 5 years over.—Gen. Cunningham, in giving a somewhat similar explanation of the figures 606 (Indian Eras, p. 16), has assumed that in this process Šaka-Saṅvat 242 is a mistake for 241. But this, as I have now shown, is not the case. And I do not agree with the manner in which he deals with the figures as a whole. Šaka-Saṅvat 241 expired or completed brings us to the end of A.D. 318-19 and the beginning of A.D. 319-20. If to this we add 6 and 600 and 99 complete years, it only brings us to Šaka-Saṅvat 946 expired, or to the end of A.D. 1023-24 and the beginning of A.D. 1024-25; and leaves us still one year short of that in which the event in question occurred.

¹ Similarly, some thirteen years ago, Mr. Blochmann (see the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XLIII. Part 1. p. 368) proposed to translate—"as regards the Guptakāl, they were, as is related, a people wicked and powerful; and when they were cut off, it was dated in them (the era commenced?)."—This translator, however, is spoilt by the bracketed words "(the era commenced?)"; the use of which shews why Mr. Blochmann, though giving a translation capable of a totally different meaning, expressed himself as not able to see any fault in Reinaud's translation.
'I am, therefore, glad to be able now to publish the following transliteration, with interlinear word-for-word rendering, and translation, which Prof. William Wright, of Cambridge, has recently been kind enough to give me, from Prof. Sachau's published text, of the original of the whole passages of which M. Reinaud's and Prof. Sachau's renderings have been printed above:—

**Text and Literal Rendering.**

{Wa-li-dhālikā  
\[\text{’a’raḍū} \quad \text{‘an-ḥā} \quad \text{wa-jā’ū} \quad \text{’ilā}\]
\(\text{And for this they have turned away from them and have come to}\)
\{tawārīkh  
\(\text{Shrī-Hrish} \quad \text{wa-Bigarmādita} \quad \text{wa-Shāka} \quad \text{wa-Bilaba}\)
\(\text{the eras of} \quad \text{[Śṛ-Ḥarṣa]} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{[Vikramāditya]} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{[Śaka]} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{[Valabhi]}\)
\{wa-Kūbita.  
\(\text{……………} \quad \text{Wa-’amām} \quad \text{ta’rīkh} \quad \text{Balba}\)
\(\text{and} \quad \text{[Gupta].} \quad \text{……………} \quad \text{And as regards the era of} \quad \text{[Valabhi]}\)
\(\text{wa-huwa} \quad \text{ṣāḥib} \quad \text{madīnāt} \quad \text{Balbah} \quad \text{wa-hiya} \quad \text{janūblyah} \quad \text{‘an}\)
\(\text{and he lord of the city of} \quad \text{[Valabhi]} \quad \text{and it south from}\)
\(\text{madīnāt} \quad \text{‘Anhlwārah} \quad \text{bi-kařib} \quad \text{min thalāthīn} \quad \text{jōzhan} \quad \text{fa-’inna}\)
\(\text{the city of} \quad \text{[Anhilvāda]} \quad \text{by near to thirty} \quad \text{[yōjāna]} \quad \text{behold}\)
\(\text{‘auwala-hu} \quad \text{muta’akkhīr} \quad \text{‘an} \quad \text{ta’rīkh} \quad \text{Shk} \quad \text{bi-mi’atāin}\)
\(\text{the first of it posterior to the era of} \quad \text{[Śaka]} \quad \text{by two hundred}\)
\(\text{wa-iḥdā} \quad \text{wa-’arba’ān} \quad \text{sanah.} \quad \text{Wa-mustā’al-hu} \quad \text{yaḏa’tūn} \quad \text{Shg-kāl}\)
\(\text{and one and forty years. And the users of it put down} \quad \text{[Śaka]-era}\)
\(\text{wa-yankūsōn} \quad \text{min-hu} \quad \text{majmū’} \quad \text{mukā’āb} \quad \text{‘as-sittah} \quad \text{wa-murabbā’}\)
\(\text{and lessen from it the sum of the cube of six and the square of}\)
\(\text{‘al-khamsah} \quad \text{fa-yakbā} \quad \text{ta’rīkh} \quad \text{Balba.} \quad \text{Wa-khabaru-hu} \quad \text{‘atīn}\)
\(\text{five and remains the era of} \quad \text{[Valabhi].} \quad \text{And his history is coming}\)
\(\text{fī maudī’ī-hi.} \quad \text{Wa-’amām} \quad \text{Gūbt-kāl} \quad \text{fa-kānā} \quad \text{kamā} \quad \text{kīla}\)
\(\text{in its place. And as regards} \quad \text{[Gupta]-era} \quad \text{they were as} \quad \text{is said}\)
\(\text{kauman} \quad \text{’ashtārān} \quad \text{aḵwiya’ā} \quad \text{fa-lamām} \quad \text{’inkāraḍū} \quad \text{urrikha}\)
\(\text{a people wicked strong and so after they perished it was dated}\)
\(\text{bi-him.} \quad \text{Wa-ka’anna} \quad \text{Bbl} \quad \text{kān} \quad \text{’akhlra-hum.} \quad \text{Fa’innna}\)
\(\text{by them. And as if that} \quad \text{[Valabhi]} \quad \text{was the last of them. And behold}\)
\(\text{‘auwala} \quad \text{ta’rīkhi-him} \quad \text{’aḍān} \quad \text{muta’akkhīr} \quad \text{‘an} \quad \text{Shg-kāl}\)
\(\text{the first of their era also posterior to} \quad \text{[Śaka]-era}\)
241. Wa-ta’rīkh al-munajjamīn yata’akhkhar ‘an Shg-kāl
241. And the era of the astronomers is posterior to [Śaka]-era

587 wa-’alai-hi buniya zj Knādātak li-Bṛhma-gupt
587 and it is built the canon [Khandakātaka] by [Brahmagupta]

( )

(wa-huwa ) 'al-ma’ruf 'inda-nā bi’t-Arknd.
and it the known with us (ches nous) by (the name of) Al-Arkand.

( )

(Fa’idhan ) sinū ta’rīkh Shṛl-Harish li-sanati-nā
And so then the years of the era of [Śrī-Harsha] to our year

( )

('al-mumaththal ) bi-hā 1488 wa-ta’rīkh Bṛkmaṭd 1088
that is used as an example 1488 and the era of [Vikramadītya] 1088

( )

(wa-Shg-kāl ) 953 wa-ta’rīkh Balba 'alladhi huwa 'aḍān
and [Śaka]-era 953 and the era of [Valabhi] which it also

( )

( )

Gābita-kāl 712.
[Gupta]-era 712.

Translation.

"And for this reason they have given them up, and have adopted the eras of Śrī-Harsha, Vikramāditya, Śaka, Valabhi, and the Guptas. And as regards the era of Valabhi,—who was the ruler of the city of Valabhi, which was south of the city of Aṇhilvāḍa by nearly thirty yōjanas,—its beginning was later than the Śaka era by two hundred and forty-one years. Those who use it put down (the year of) the Śaka era, and subtract from it the sum of the cube of six and the square of five; and there remains (the year of) the era of Valabhi. His history is coming in its proper place.1 And as regards the Gupta era,—(the members of this dynasty) were, it is said, a race wicked (and) strong; and so, after they became extinct, people dated by them. And it seems as if Valabhi was the last of them. And so the beginning of their era also is later than the Śaka era (by) 241 (years). And the era of the astronomers is later than the Śaka era (by) 587 (years); and on it is based the astronomical canon (named) Khandakātaka, by Brahmagupta, which among us is known by (the name of) Al-Arkand. So, then, 1488 years of the era of Śrī-Harsha are in correspondence with the year (of Yasodājīrā) that we have taken as a gauge; and 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya; and 953 of the Śaka era; and 712 of the era of Valabhi, which is also the Gupta era."

1 See, however, page 24 above, note 6.
Prof. Wright states that, in the original, we have a vague impersonal passive, meaning "it was dated by them," "there was a dating by them," or "people dated by them," but that this certainly does not expressly imply that this dating took place from the year of the extinction of the Gupta power, and in consequence of that event. That such an interpretation might, if found on other grounds to be justifiable, be given to this expression, may be admitted. But it is at the least equally open to us to interpret the expression as meaning that the Guptas had been so powerful that, even when they were dead and gone, people still used their era to date by. And we shall have to determine hereafter, from an examination of the details of the recorded Gupta and Valabhi dates, which of these two possible interpretations is the one that must be adopted.

There is also one other point in the revised translations, to which special attention should be paid. Prof. Wright's rendering, "(the year) 712 of the era of Valabhi, which is also the Gupta era,"—and Prof. Sachau's, "the year 712 of the Balaba era, which is identical with the Gupta era,"—are essentially different, in their ultimate bearing, from M. Reinaud's, "the year 712 of the era of Ballaba and of that of the Guptas." They shew very clearly that Albérûni was speaking of absolutely one and the same era, under two names; not of two different eras, with the same, or almost the same, epoch.

The Theories based on M. Reinaud's rendering of Albérûni's Statements.

Up to the present time, however, the only rendering of Albérûni's statements that has been available, is that given by M. Reinaud. His translation has been taken as the basis of argument by all writers on the subject. And, for a full comprehension of the whole question, it will be necessary now to consider the matter from the light that was given by him.

According to his rendering, we had three years to choose between, for the epoch of the era, Śaka-Saṅvat 240, 241, or 242, expired; involving a question, especially in respect of the exact determination of the corresponding date in the Christian era, that could only be settled by accurate calculations of the data available from the inscriptions, explained in detail, so that general readers might see that the processes were satisfactory.

But, whatever might be the final settlement of this point, the fact remained that Albérûni had information given to him of the existence of an era, coupled with the name of the Guptas and of the city of Valabhi, which began at some point in A.D. 319, or within a year on either side of that date, and which it is convenient to speak of as the Gupta, the Valabhi, or the Gupta-Valabhi era. And, that this era was actually used in connection with the name of Valabhi, at any rate, was proved by the Verawal inscription of the 'Chau'uvya king Arjunadēva of Anhilwād,1 in which the leading record of the year is

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1 Originally brought to notice, many years ago, by Tod, in his Annals of Rājasthāna; but critically edited, for the first time, by Hultsch, in 1882, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 241 ff.
Valabhi-Saññvat 945, together with Vikrama-Saññvat 1320, which is equivalent to A.D. 1263-64, and with the Hijra year 662, which ran¹ from the 4th November, A.D. 1263, to the 23rd October, A.D. 1264.

So much was certain. But it was felt to be highly improbable that the Gupta era should date from the extermination of the Guptas. And students of the subject divided themselves, almost at once, into two schools.

The first, represented most publicly and with undeviating tenacity up to the last by the late Mr. J. Ferguson, accepted Alberanti's statement as to the period of the commencement of the era, but,—on the analogy of the statement which, on the authority of Hindu tradition, he also makes, that the Śaka era, too, dated from the overthrow of the Śakas; a statement which is certainly wrong,—rejected the addition that it dated from the downfall of the Guptas; and took A.D. 318 for the date of the rise of the dynasty, as well as the establishment of the era; selecting this particular year on the theory that the era did not date from the accession of a king, or from any particular historical event, but, for convenience of comparison, was simply regulated by the completion of four of the Sixty-Year Cycles of Jupiter from the commencement of the Śaka era.

¹. The other school accepted A.D. 318, or thereabouts, for the downfall of the Guptas, and took the Valabhi era of Arjunadēva's inscription, which indisputably began at that period, as being separate altogether from the real Gupta era, and as having been established in commemoration of the overthrow of the Gupta power; and began then to look about for an earlier date for the rise of the Gupta dynasty, and for the starting-point of the era used by the Gupta kings, and also,—as was maintained, with some inconsistency, by the majority,—by the Kings of Valabhi, in preference to their own Valabhi era. The chief exponents of this school have been,—the late Mr. E. Thomas, who held that the era was identical with that of the Śakas,² with the epoch of A.D. 77-78;—General Sir Alexander

¹ See Indian Eras, p. 126. ² See Appendix I. below.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

Cunningham, who finally fixed on A.D. 166-67 as the epoch;—and the late Sir E. Clive Bayley, who selected A.D. 190-91.

Examination of the previous Theories.

Mr. Fergusson's theory of A.D. 318-19 for the epoch of the era, and A.D. 319-20 for its commencement, is easily disposed of. It was wrong; but by one year only. The reason is, that, as has been said, his assumption,—based apparently on a suggestion thrown out by Dr. Bhau Daji in 1864,—was, that the commencement of it was regulated only by the completion of four of Jupiter's Sixty-Year Cycles from the commencement of the Śaka era, in order that there might be always an even and convenient difference of two hundred and forty years between the Śaka and Gupta dates. This, however, could be arranged only by applying the Sixty-Year Cycle as used now in Southern India, where it is not in reality an astronomical cycle at all; since there the cyclic years run on in regular succession, without any adjustment of them to the motion of the planet, with reference to his sign-passing or his heliacal rising, by the omission of a year on certain occasions, and are taken as commencing and ending with the luni-solar years. According to the present southern system, Śaka-Saṁvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79) was the Bahudhānya saṁvatsara; and Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19) was again the same cyclic year, Bahudhānya; and, by this means, some justification might be found for Mr. Fergusson's view. But I shall shew hereafter that the real epoch of the Gupta era was A.D. 319-20, which does not correspond to Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current; so that there was, in reality, a completion of four cycles and one year, even by the southern system; and this, alone, is fatal to they stand, that Śīlāchārya treated the Gupta and Śaka eras as identical, contain a mistake of some kind or another, which must be attributed to a pedantic desire on his part to introduce a mention of an era,—whether the Gupta or the Śaka, as the case may be,—with which he was only imperfectly acquainted. And the mistake cannot be cleared away, unless we can obtain some independent record of the real date of Śīlāchārya, sufficient to shew whether the Āchāratkāda was written during Gupta-Saṁvat 772 to 798 expired (A.D. 1092 to 1118), or during Śaka-Saṁvat 772 to 798 expired (A.D. 850 to 876). As to this, I can only say that the Śaka era was used so rarely, if at all, in Gujarāt and Kāthañāvāl, except by the Gujarāt branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, that probably the Gupta era gives the real date for Śīlāchārya. And I would throw out a suggestion that possibly some mistake of the same kind may account for the dates, Śaka-Saṁvat 400 and 417, of the apparently spurious Umāt and Iñā grants of Dadda II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 61 ff.; and Vol. XIII. p. 115 ff.).—The passages, however, are of some interest, in shewing that, in Śīlāchārya's time, there was still a recollection of the fact that the era,—which must have been known best from its use by the rulers of Valabhi, and which came eventually, in Kāthañāvāl, to be called the Valabhi era,—was connected originally and specially with the Gupta kings, by whom it was introduced into Kāthañāvāl and the neighbouring parts.—After writing this note, which appeared originally in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 188, I found an allusion by Dr. Bhau Daji, in 1864, to what is evidently the same manuscript, though he quoted only the Gupta date. He wrote (Journ. Bu. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 246) "I have a Jain manuscript which is dated in the 72nd year of the Guptaakāla; but unfortunately the corresponding Vikrama or Śāli-vāhana's year is not given; nor is it possible at present to ascertain the exact date of the author from other sources."
the proposed epoch of A.D. 318-19. And, in addition to this, amongst other inscriptions, the Wañi grant of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Gōvinda III., which records⁴ that in Śaka-Saṅvat 730 the Vyaya saṁvatsara was current on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśākha (April-May), and the Rādhanpur grant of the same king, which records⁵ that the Sarvajit saṁvatsara, the next in the cycle, was current on the new-moon day of the month Śrāvana (July-August) in the same year, shew very plainly that the present arrangement was not the original one, even in Southern India.

If the Sixty-Year Cycle was in use at all at the time of the commencement of the Gupta era, then, in Northern India, and in connection with a northern era,—which the Gupta era emphatically was,—the only system that can have been followed, is the regular northern system, according to which the cycle is truly an astronomical cycle, and the saṁvatsaras are regulated entirely and only by the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac into another. By Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, from the Śrīyā-Siddhānta, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṅvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the saṁvatsara was Śukla, the third in the cycle; and it was followed by Pramāda, the fourth, on the full-moon day of the month Pausha, in December, A.D. 78. And, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṅvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the saṁvatsara was Aṅgiras, the sixth in the cycle; which was followed by Śrīmukha, the seventh, on the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phālagna, in February, A.D. 319. Thus, four complete cycles and three saṁvatsaras over passed between Śaka-Saṅvat 1 and 241; and the epoch of the Gupta era, unless it were placed three years earlier, in A.D. 315-16, could not be determined by any consideration of this kind.

Nor can it have been determined by the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years of which may be regulated either by the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac to another; or, as was the more ancient custom, by his heliacal rising in a particular lunar mansion.⁶ Taking first the sign-passing system, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṅvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the saṁvatsara was Mahā-Āśvayuja, the twelfth in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Kārttika, the first of the next cycle, on, as before, the full-moon day of the month Pausha, in December, A.D. 78. While, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṅvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the saṁvatsara was Mahā-Pausha, the third in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Māgha, the fourth, on, as before, the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phālagna, in February, A.D. 319. And, by the heliacal-rising system, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṅvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the saṁvatsara was Mahā-Ādārapada, the eleventh in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Āśvayuja, the twelfth, on the twelfth lunar day of

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¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 159, line 46 f.
³ For an explanation of the systems of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, see Appendix III. below.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

the bright fortnight of the month Vaisakha, in April, A.D. 78, soon after the commence-
ment of the year. While, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current (A.D.
318-19), the saṁvatsara was Mahā-Pausha, the third in the cycle; which was followed by
Mahā-Māgha, the fourth, on the sixth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month
Śāvana, in July, A.D. 318. Thus, between Śaka-Saṁvat 1 and Śaka-Saṁvat 241, there
had expired twenty complete cycles and three saṁvatsaras over, by the sign-passing sys-
tem, and twenty cycles and four saṁvatsaras over, by the heliacal-rising system; and the
epoch of the Gupta era could not be determined by any consideration connected with this
cycle, unless it should be placed in A.D. 315-16 or A.D. 314-15.

The other three theories, however, are more complicated; and, in order to under-
stand them properly, and estimate them at their right value, it will be necessary to run
briefly through the facts and supposed discoveries on which they are based, and the
arguments by which they have been built up, so far as those facts, discoveries, and
arguments relate to the recorded dates themselves, and the interpretation of them. Our
object is not now to enter into a lengthy discussion of extraneous questions of paleo-
graphy, numismatics, architecture, contemporary history, &c., which, if a rational process
is to be followed, have to be settled by the dates, instead of the dates by them; and which
must be left for treatment at some future time, after the proper settlement of the Early
Gupta chronology.

The first reference to the Gupta era that I can trace,—or, at any rate, the first sug-
gestion of the existence of an era connected with the Guptas, apart from any general
reference to the chronological period to which they might be referred,—is in Mr. James
Prinsep's treatment of the Kahānum pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15, page 65,
in 1838, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 36 ff. By his rendering of this record,
it was dated (id. p. 37) "in the year one hundred and thirty-three after the decease of
Skandagupta;" on which he remarked (id. p. 38) "the death of this prince is here
employed as an epoch in a somewhat enigmatical way." The supposed enigma refers to
the actual manner in which the total of 133,—or, more properly, 141,—is arrived at. As
regards the other point, the reference of the years to the death of Skandagupta is due
only to a mislection of the last word in line 2 of the text. The real reading there is śāntē,
the locative singular of śānta, in apposition with rājye in the same line; "in the tranquil
reign (of Skandagupta)." Mr. Prinsep, however, read śāntēḥ, the ablative or genitive
singular of śānti, 'quiet, tranquillity, calmness, rest, repose;' and, with this reading, it
was, of course, hardly possible to do otherwise than translate it by "after the decease,"
"of the repose, i.e. death," and "after the death," of Skandagupta, and to make the years
that were recorded run from that event. No discussion of the question was then entered
into. But Skandagupta then was, and still is, the last known king of the direct succes-
sion of the Early Gupta dynasty. And it is evidently the above rendering which first
suggested the idea of an era dating from the extermination of the Gupta power at the
death of Skandagupta. All else, serviceable for our present inquiry, that I can find in Mr. Prinsep's writings, is his statement in the same volume (p. 354), that the dates recorded in the Valabhi charters must be referred to the Vikrama era.

In 1845, M. Reinaud republished collectively, under the title of *Fragmenta Arabes et Persaues*, certain extracts, with French translations, from works relating to India, which he had previously published separately in the *Journal Asiatique*, in September and October, 1844, and February-March, 1845. In this book, as we have already seen, he renders Alberunt (id. p. 143) as stating that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas. I do not find that he makes any reference to Prinsep on this specific point. But he shews, throughout, so good an acquaintance with Prinsep's writings, as also with those of other English scholars, that he must certainly have read Prinsep's translation of, and comments on, the Kāhānum inscription. And, though he may not have intentionally allowed himself to be guided by Prinsep's views, it can hardly be doubted that he had a reminiscence of the purport of them, when he was translating Alberunt's remarks. In fact, in the face of Mr. Blochmann's, Mr. Rehatsek's, and Prof. Wright's versions, it is difficult to see how M. Reinaud can have arrived at the exact words used in his translation, except under some such predisposing influence.

After this, in a paper read on the 15th April, 1848, and published in 1850 in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* F. S. Vol. XII. p. 1 ff., Mr. Thomas entered into an extensive disquisition on the history connected with the dynasty of the so-called 'Śāh' kings of Saurāshtra or Kāthiawād; in the course of which, it became incumbent on him to consider the Early Gupta dates. Accepting it as proved by M. Reinaud's rendering

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1 As I have had occasion to remark elsewhere (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. pp. 65, 325), this name of 'Śāh,'—and, with it, also an idea that these princes were Śākas or Indo-Scythians,—owes its origin to nothing but the fact that, on the silver coins of this series, as also on the silver coins, and even some of the gold coins, of the Early Guptas, it was the custom, as a rule, not to cut on the dies such vowels as, if engraved, would fall on or above the top line of the writing of the marginal legend. The reason, of course, was, want of sufficient space. This custom was observed uniformly in the Gupta silver coins; and hence such legends as (id. p. 65 f.) *paramabhadgavata-maharajadharaja-srav-Chandragupta-Vakramaditya*, which represents *paramabhadgavata-maharajādhiraja-srav-Chandragupta-Vikramaditya*; "the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Maharajādhiraja, the glorious Chandragupta-Vikramaditya." On the Saurāshtra coins, the custom was observed almost uniformly, but not quite so; and hence, to select an instance of its partial observance, such legends as (id. p. 325) *rajād mahakshatrapsa Rudradamna putrasa rajād mahakshatrapsa Rudrashasā*, in which the superscript vowel ə is exceptionally introduced in the last word, and which represents *rājād mahākṣatrapsa Rudradāmanṇa putrasa rājād mahākṣatrapsa Rudrashasā*; "of the Rāja, the Mahākṣatrapsa Rudrashā, the son of the Rāja, the Mahākṣatrapsa Rudrashāman." The word *śhā*, i.e. *simha*, 'a lion,' is the termination of the names of several of the Kṣatrapas or Mahākṣatraps. And, because the long vowel ə, or the short vowel ə with a following anuvṛtra, is usually omitted in the coins, thus giving the readings of *saha* and *saḥasya*, these princes came to be invested with the imaginary family or dynastic name of 'Śāh' or 'Śhāh.' Owing to the same fact, also, the termination of some of the names in the list has occasionally been read as *śhāna*. 
of Albërûnî's statements, and by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhl-Sânvat 945, that the Valabhl era commenced A.D. 319 (id. p. 4) or A.D. 318-19 (id. p. 4, note 1), and, by Albërûnî's statements, that a family of Guptas reigned as paramount sovereigns in Gujarât shortly before that date, and were then exterminated, he arrived at the conclusions—(1) that this Valabhl era, commencing A.D. 319, may have been established by the Mahârâja Guhasena of Valabhl, and may have dated from his accession, or from some striking event of his reign; (2) that there could scarcely be a doubt that these Guptas, who had reigned shortly before A.D. 319, were identical with the Guptas of the Allahâbâd, Junâgadh, and Bhitarî inscriptions; (3) that the Guptas were the immediate successors of the Indo-Scythians in Saurâshtra, though traces of the latter might be found, west of the Indus, down to the end of the fourth century A.D.; and (4) that the so-called Sâh kings preceded the Indo-Scythians. His chronological results are tabulated on p. 48 of the same volume. Anterior to B.C. 157 he placed "one or more Sâh kings," who are represented on p. 49 by "Īsvaradatta, son of Varsha." ¹ He is followed by thirteen Sâh kings, whose coin-dates are interpreted as being all dated in the fourth century of an era which was assumed to be Albërûnî's era of Harsha commencing B.C. 457; and the result for the thirteen kings was from B.C. 157 to B.C. 57. Then comes the Indo-Scythic conquest; to which is allotted the date of B.C. 26. Then the Guptas. And then the Valabhl era, commencing A.D. 319. In this Table, curiously enough, no date is entered opposite the Guptas. But this was probably a printer's omission. For, referring to the note commencing on p. 4, we find it distinctly stated (id. p. 5) that the dates in the Gupta inscriptions, and in the Valabhl charters, are to be referred to the Śaka era. These results contained the first intimation that the rulers of Valabhl acted with such inconsistency as to invent an era of their own, dating from the extermination of the Guptas, and yet to continue to use the Gupta era in preference to their own; and also the first intimation of the exact epoch, anterior to A.D. 319, to which the Gupta dates were to be referred. One point on which Mr. Thomas was evidently inclined to lay some stress (id. p. 13 fl.), is Albërûnî's statement,—based on, but in its application different from, Hindu tradition,—that the Śaka era commemorated the defeat and slaughter of a Śaka or Scythian king by a king named Vikramâditya, who, as Albërûnî points out, is evidently not identical with the supposed founder of the Vikrama era; coupled with the occurrence of this last name, Vikramâditya, as a secondary title, on some of the Early Gupta coins.²

¹ i.e., literally, "Īsvaradatta, son of a year"!!! The legend on his coin is given, on id. p. 50, as ending with Varsha putha, in which putha is taken (id. p. 51) as a Zend substitute for the Sanskrit pura, "a son"!!! The two aksaras are in reality the first two syllables of the Sanskrit word pratham,—varadh pratham, "in the first year;" see Newton, in Jour. Be. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 8, and Plate, No. 8; see also Plate i. No. 1, accompanying Thomas' paper, where the legend is almost equally clear.

² I myself think it not at all improbable that, hereafter, it may be shewn that the name of Vikrama, or Vikramâditya, came to be connected with the Mâlava era of B.C. 57, in consequence of some confused reminiscence of a conquest of the Indo-Scythians by Chandragupta I. or II. But the establishment of the Śaka era is not concerned in this question at all.
And, in general corroboration of his views, he (id. p. 12, note 4) quoted some remarks by Major Kittoe to Colonel Sykes, that the grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 163; No. 22, page 100, shewed,—on the supposed identity of this Mahārāja with the Hastivaran, king of Veṅgi in the south, who is mentioned in line 20 of the Allahābad pillar inscription,—that one hundred and sixty-three years of the Gupta dynasty had passed in the time of Samudragupta, and thus proved that the Guptas reigned from the second to the fifth century A.D. This, however, hardly fits in with Mr. Thomas' reference to A.D. 172 (id. p. 5, note) of a Chandragupta whose date in the Gupta era is the year 93, and who could only be the father or the son of Samudragupta.

In 1854, General Cunningham published his Bhīlā Topes, in which, on p. 138 ff., he drew particular attention to the fact that Alberuni three times mentions the Gupta and Valabhi eras, and identifies them with each other; and on each occasion specifies them as starting from the same date, A.D. 319. He proceeded to remark—"but it appears to me that the most important of these passages must be either corrupt or obscure; for the translation given by M. Reinaud makes the epoch of the Guptas commence from the date of their extermination! If this is a correct translation, there can be little doubt that the text of Abu Rihān must be erroneous; for we know positively that the Guptas were reigning during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. ............

"The statement made in M. Reinaud's version is so extraordinary, that, even without any direct proofs of its inaccuracy, I would have set it aside as erroneous. The era of the Selukidae began with the foundation of the Syrian empire by Seleukos; the Chris-
tian era is dated from the establishment of Christianity; and the era of the Guptas without doubt commenced with the settlement of their own dynasty. For the Guptas, as I have mentioned before, date their inscriptions in an era of their own; which, though not so named by them, was actually a Guptā-Kāl, and must, therefore, have been called such by the people." And he suggested a different translation of Alberūni's statement; to the effect that the Gupta era became extinct with the Gupta dynasty, instead of dating from the extermination of it; and throughout the rest of his book, he applied the epoch of A.D. 319 to the Gupta dates. If General Cunningham, our leader in Indian archaeology since the death of Prinsep, had continued to hold these views, and had worked out his other researches in accordance with them, we should probably have heard but little more of any theory assigning to the Guptas an earlier period. But, as we shall see, he soon adopted other opinions.

In 1855, in his paper "On the Epoch of the Gupta Dynasty," published in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXIV. p. 371 ff., Mr. Thomas made a special reply to General Cunningham's views and arguments as set forth in Bhīlā Topes. This paper, however, contains nothing at all worth quoting. And we pass on to 1858, when, under his own editing, he published a collection of the works of Mr. James Prinsep, then deceased, under the title of Essays on Indian Antiquities. Prinsep, in his account of
Hindu eras, had mentioned the Valabhi era (id. Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 158), to which, on the authority of the Somnathpata or Veraval inscription of Valabhi-Sanvrat 945, he allotted the epoch of A.D. 318. But he had made no mention of a Gupta era. Mr. Thomas, however (id. Vol. I. p. 270 ff.), introduced his own previously expressed opinion that the Gupta dates had to be referred to the Saka era; and supplied some further facts which seemed to give additional corroboration to this view. And, on this occasion, he wound up with the general conclusions (id. Vol. I. p. 276) that the dates in the Valabhi grants, if applied to the Valabhi era of A.D. 318-19, would give far too modern a period; that these dates did not appear to belong to the same consecutive series with the numbers employed by the Guptas themselves; and that, while still applying the Saka era to the Gupta dates, the Vikrama era was probably the one which, "in spite of any apparent inconsistency involved," should apply preferentially to the Valabhi grants. Curiously enough he quoted (id. Vol. I. p. 271, note 1) a modification of meaning which one portion of Albérunt's original words would bear; viz. "again, the Kūbat-Kāl (Gupta era), "that was, as is said, a wicked and powerful family; when it ceased, it was dated from; "and, as it were (it would seem that), Balab was the last of them, for the first of their era "also is 241 years after the Saka-Kāl." But, he still had not arrived at the absolutely literal translation of the words which he rendered by "when it ceased, it was dated from;" and, partly through this, partly through having his attention directed principally to the connection between the Kings of Valabhi and the Guptas, as described in the words italised by him, he still failed to see the real bearing of this passage on the epoch of both the Gupta and the Valabhi eras. In this treatment of the question, he quoted Prof. Lassen's views (Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. II.), to the effect that the rise of the Guptas took place between A.D. 150 to 160; but I have not had the opportunity of examining that theory.

Meanwhile, in 1853, 1857, and 1858, there had been published M. Stanislas Julien's French translation of the Life and Travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, in which there is contained the important statement that, when the pilgrim visited Valabhi,—which was in or about A.D. 640,—the reigning king there, a nephew of Śūlāditya of Mālava, a son-in-law of Śūlāditya of Kanauj, and a member of the Kshatriya caste, was named Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o (id. Vol. I. p. 206), Tou-lou-p'o-pa-tch'a (id. Vol. I. p. 254), or T'ou-lou-p'o-po-tou (id. Vol. III. p. 163). Such were M. Julien's renderings of the Chinese transliteration of the original Sanskrit name; which latter he restored as *Dhrouvapatau,* i.e. Dhrouvapaṭu. And it had already been suggested that this name represented that of one of the Dhruvasenās of the Valabhi family. Mr. Thomas himself (Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I. p. 267, note 4) had attached no value to this supposed identification. But Hiuen Tsiang's statement had begun to be looked on, and very properly, as an important factor in the
general inquiry. And I, therefore, now give, for ready reference, in Table II. on page 41 below, a complete genealogy of the Valabhi family, with the official titles of the members of it, and their dates as far as I have been able to verify them. Here, however, in connection with Hiuen Tsiang's statements, I have to draw attention to one or two points which still remain to be cleared up. In his general account of the Life and Travels of the Chinese pilgrim, M. Julien (id. Vol. I. p. 206) represents him as telling us, in respect of the kingdom of Valabhi, that "the present king is of the race of the Kshatriyas (Tsam-ti-li); he is the son-in-law of Śilāditya (Chili-lo-tie-to), king of Kanyakubja (Kie-jo-kio-che); his name is Dhruvapaṭu (Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o)." Whereas, in the more detailed account of the Travels, M. Julien renders the pilgrim as speaking, in the same connection, of not one king only, but more than one, and as saying (id. Vol. III. p. 163) "the kings of "the present period are of the race of the Kshatriyas (Tsam-ti-li); they all are nephews of "king Śilāditya (Chili-lo-tie-to), of the kingdom of Mālava (Mo-la-p'o). Now the son of "king Śilāditya (Chili-lo-tie-to), of the kingdom of Kanyakubja (Kie-jo-kio-che), has "a son-in-law named Dhruvapaṭu (Tou-lou-p'o-po-tou)." While, in Mr. Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, published in 1884, Vol. II. p. 267, this latter passage appears in the singular again,—"the present king is of the Kshatriya caste, as they all "are. He is the nephew of Śilādityarāja of Mālava, and son-in-law of the son of Śilāditya, "the present king of Kanyakubja. His name is Dhruvapaṭa (T 'n-lu-h'o-po-tu);"—without any comment explaining the important difference between his rendering and that given by M. Julien. And again, according to M. Julien (id. Vol. I. pp. 254 f., 260), the pilgrim speaks of a Dhruvapaṭu (Tou-lou-pa-tche'a, and also simply Pa-tche'a), king of Southern India; but the kingdom of Valabhi can hardly be included in, and much less can it include, Southern India; and the statement is inconsistent with the fact that, at that time, the king of the greater part, if not of the whole, of Southern India, was Pulikēśin II., of the Western Chalukya dynasty, for whom we have on record no title that at all resembles the Chinese transliteration, unless it can be found in the second component of the name of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarma, the supreme lord or governor of four viṣhayas and mandalas, stationed or resident at Rēvatdvipa, who is mentioned in line 4 f. of the Goa grant of Maṅgallā,1 the uncle of Pulikēśin II., and the wielder of sovereignty during the minority of the latter. These passages present points which must be carefully considered, before any final opinion is arrived at in respect of the identity of the person, or persons, intended by Hiuen Tsiang; the more especially because the dates render it impossible that he should be Śilāditya VII. of Valabhi, the only one in the family for whom as yet we have obtained the second name of Dhruvabhaṭa; and because M. Julien tells us (id. Vol. III. p. 163, note) that the Chinese translation of the name of Dhruvapaṭu of Valabhi was Tch'ang-joūi, 'constantly intelligent,' which of course supports the supposition that

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1 Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365.—This person, however, may be a son of Maṅgallā; see my Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 22.
TABLE II.
Genealogy of the Kings of Valabhi.

Bhāṭraka, Śēndpati.

Dharasena I., Śēndpati.

Drōgasinha, Mahārāja.

Dharasena II., Śamaṇa, Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja, and Mahāārāja.

G. S. 240 (7237), 246, 248.

Dharapattā, Mahārāja.

G. S. 259, 269, 270.

Guhāsena, Mahārāja.

Dharasena II., Śamaṇa, Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja, and Mahāārāja.

Kharagraha I. X

Śāditya I., or Dhrāmaditya.

G. S. 286, 290.

Dhara bhāṣa.

Śāditya II.

Śāditya III., Paramahastāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēivara.

G. S. 352.

Śāditya IV., Paramahastāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēivara.

G. S. 372.

Śāditya V., Paramahastāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēivara.

G. S. 403.

Śāditya VI., Paramahastāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēivara.

G. S. 441.

Śāditya VII., or Dhrābhāṣa (Dhruvabhaṭa).

Paramahastāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēivara.

G. S. 447.

Dhruvasena III., or Bāladitya.

G. S. 310.

Dharasena III., Paramahastāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, Paramēivara and Chakrapavītin.

G. S. 326, 330.
the termination of the Sanskrit name, the first part of which, dhruva, means 'constant,' really was patu, 'smart, dexterous, intellectual,' rather than bhala, 'a warrior.' It is to be hoped that some light will be thrown on these points by Mr. Beal's forthcoming translation of the Life of Hsiuen Tsang, corresponding to the first of M. Julien's three volumes.

In 1861 the question was taken up by the late Dr. Bhau Daji, in connection with his paper "On the Sanskrit poet Kalidasa," published in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. pp. 19 ff., 207 ff. As regards the Gupta era, he here only expressed his opinion that it commenced, with the Valabhl era, in A.D. 319. But he brought to notice an important point (id. p. 207, note), in the fact that the Kahurm pillar inscription, of which he seems to have then had the opportunity of examining a more reliable version prepared for him by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, was dated in the 141st year of the Gupta dynasty, and in the reign of Skandagupta; not after his death, as rendered by Prinsep. And he also announced his opinion (id. p. 208, note) that the Tōu-lou-p’o-p’o to Tū-loc’h’o-p’o-tu of Hsiuen Tsang was to be identified with the Mahârâja Dharapatta, the fourth and youngest son of the Sândpati Bhaṭārka who founded the Valabhl family.

Also in 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 1 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall edited the two grants of the Parivrâjaka Mahârâja Hastin, dated in the years 156 and 163, No. 21, page 93, and No. 22, page 100, which, now that the *samvatāras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter that are quoted in them can be calculated with certainty, are of such extreme importance, because the records also state that they are dated "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." They had been previously brought to notice, in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251 ff., by Prof. H. H. Wilson's combined translation of the two inscriptions from Mr. Thomas' reading of the texts; but they were first published in full by Dr. Hall. The crucial expression in them is Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktau, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings," which had been read correctly by Mr. Thomas, and had been suitably rendered by Prof. Wilson in the words "(in the 163rd year) of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta kings." The same reading was adopted by Dr. Hall. But, without quoting any authority in support, he laid down the dictum (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. p. 3 ff., note) that bhukti, which means literally 'the act of enjoying or eating; enjoyment, eating; fruition, possession, usufruct,' "if unqualified by a temporal particle, denotes 'possession' or 'fruition' only as a thing of the past;" and he translated the phrase (id. p. 7) by "(in the year one hundred and fifty-six) of the extinction of the sovereignty of the Gupta kings," and, again (id. p. 12), "(one hundred and sixty-three years) after the domination of the "Guptas had been laid to rest;" thus producing apparently conclusive evidence of an era that dated from the extermination of the Gupta kings; in support of which he quoted (id. p. 5, note) the Hindu tradition referred to by Albârâbû, now completely refuted, that the Śaka era dates from the discomfiture of the Śakas. In the course of his remarks, he introduced his reading and revised translation of the first verse of the Kahurm pillar
inscription, in which, though he adopted the correct reading, śautē, at the end of line 2, he followed the general tenor of Prinsep’s translation, and rendered the date (id. p. 3, note) by “the empire of Skandagupta being extinct for the hundred and forty-first year.” To this he appended the remark, “in supersession of a proposal formerly put forth, and from which my present state of information would have withheld me, I now accede to the view that the Kahāra inscription is dated from the overthrow of the Guptas, of whom “Skanda must have been virtually the last.” These words referred to his previous treatment of the verse in 1859, in the *Four. Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 530, when he had rendered the date by “in the one hundred and forty-first year; the empire of Skandagupta being quiescent;” with the remark “there is, then, nothing here recorded concerning the death of Skandagupta, as Mr. Prinsep supposes. Being neither the first ruler of the Gupta dynasty, nor the last, nor of special note, it would be extraordinary indeed, if time had been computed from his decease.” As regards the expression in the grants of the Mahārāja Hastin, it seems almost needless to comment further on its meaning; because any unbiased Sanskrit scholar will see at once what the real purpose of it is. But it is curious what vitality some mistakes possess. The suggestion has been made to me, quite recently, that possibly even Alberdini’s own apparent statement, as to the Gupta era dating from the extermination of the Gupta kings, may have originated in a misunderstanding, by the Hindus who supplied him with information, of this same expression Gupta-nripa-ṛṣiya-bhaktau. I can only say that it is absolutely and utterly impossible that any Hindu, acquainted with Sanskrit, could interpret this expression as meaning anything except that, at the date connected with it, the sovereignty of the Guptas was still continuing. And it is equally impossible for any European Sanskritist to give it any other meaning; unless, as I have said elsewhere, under the influence of a preconceived bias, so strong as to preclude entirely the critical consideration which would at once shew the error.—In the same volume, page 14 ff., Dr. Hall published his own versions of the Ėrap inscriptions of Budhagupta and Tōramāṇa, No. 19, page 88, and No. 20, page 91; and, in the course of his remarks, announced (id. p. 15, note) that the details of the date of Budhagupta’s record were correct if referred to the Vikrama era, the English equivalent being Thursday, the 7th June, A.D. 108, New Style.—And the general question was taken up by him again in his “Note on Budhagupta,” published in the same volume (p. 139 ff.); with the conclusion (id. p. 148 ff.) that Budhagupta was probably the first sovereign of a more ancient branch of the Gupta family which ended with himself; and that the dates in the records of Skandagupta and his ancestors possibly ran from an epoch in A.D. 278, which Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri of Benares had found, by actual calculation, to suit the details of the Bhēra Ghaut inscription of the Kalachuri king Narasiṃhadēva, dated in the year 907 (of the era used by his dynasty), and the Tēwar inscription of the same king, dated in the year 928.

and Gujarat," based on their coins, which, in respect at any rate of the so-called Sāh coins, were then properly examined for the first time. And his conclusions were (id. p. 39) that the dates on the Sāh coins were to be referred to the Vikrama era, with the result that the kings of this dynasty extended from A.D. 30 or 40 to A.D. 240 or 250; (id. p. 36) that they were immediately succeeded, in Gujarat, by Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, without any intervention of the Indo-Scythians there; and that these two were followed by the Valabhi dynasty, in A.D. 319. His conclusions, however, were chiefly founded on the basis (id. p. 31) that "Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Thomas, and Prof. Wilson, agree that the "Sāhs preceded the Gupta; and it seems clear that the Gupta preceded the Valabhi dynasty;" coupled with his acceptance of the fact that the Valabhi era,—and with it I conclude, the rise of the family after the last of the Gupta,—had been satisfactorily fixed at A.D. 319; though he also held the opinion (id. p. 30) that the dates in the Valabhi grants were probably to be referred to the Vikrama era.

In the same volume, p. 113 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published his readings and translations of the Junāghāḍ rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14, page 56, and of the so-called Sāh inscription of the Mahākṣhatripa Rudrādāman on the same boulder. For our present purpose, this paper is chiefly of importance because, in line 15 of Skandagupta's inscription, instead of Gupta-prakāśa gananāṁ vidhāya, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Gupta," Dr. Bhau Daji read (id. pp. 123, 129) Guptasya kāla[9]-gananāṁ vidhāya, "counting from the era of Gupta." It is upon this mislocation that we are entirely dependent in any supposition that the era dates from the time of the Mahārāṇa Gupta, who is given in the inscriptions as the founder of the family; and it is to this mislocation alone that we have to attribute the supposition that the era had the technical name of Guptasya kāla, "the era of Gupta." Attached to Dr. Bhau Daji's rendering of these two inscriptions, there are a few general observations, promising a more ample inquiry afterwards; from which we learn that his views then were (id. p. 115) that the Gupta dates were evidently dated in the Gupta era and should be referred to the Valabhi epoch, which was known, from the Verawal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945, to be A.D. 318; that accordingly, with his revised translation of the Kālaṁ inscription, Skandagupta must be placed in the period A.D. 448 to 459, with a margin of five or ten years on either side; that the dates in the Valabhi grants themselves were to be referred to the Śaka era, with the result that such of them as were then known, belonged to the period A.D. 388 to 443; and that, accordingly, the Valabhi family, founded by the Śenāpati Bhāṭārka, had its rise shortly before Skandagupta.

In 1864, in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 236 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji took the matter up again, in his "Brief Survey of Indian Chronology, from the first century of the Christian era to the fifth;" giving, on this occasion, the more ample inquiry that he had previously promised. In this paper he brought to notice the spurious grant of the Mahārāṇa Dharasena II. of Valabhi, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 400, which has now been edited by Dr. Bühler in the Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 277 ff. Dr. Bhau Daji fully recognised the spuri-
ous nature of the grant. But, treating the date as being in the fourth century of the Śaka era,—not in specifically the Śaka year 400,—and expressing his belief that the grant though a forgery, was an ancient one, and was forged within fifty years of the latest of the Valabhi grants discovered up to that time, he recorded his opinion (id. p. 244) that "whether the grant be genuine or not, the evidence in regard to the name of the era does not materially lose its value; as the forger has been careful not to give the exact year, "but simply to state the century of the era, which we must accept as correct, as this "forger may naturally be expected to avoid an error in date, which would vitiate the "document more than any other single error." His general conclusions were much the same as those arrived at on the previous occasion; viz. (id. p. 247) that the dates in the Valabhi grants refer to the Śaka era, which, he held (id. p. 238), was the era "of Naha- pāpā, in all likelihood a Parthian monarch, and a descendant of Phrañates;" (id. p. 246) that the Gupta era commenced A.D. 318, and Kumāragupta and Skandagupta succeeded the last of the kings of Valabhi; and consequently (id. p. 247 f.) that the Valabhi era of Albērūnī, if identical with the Gupta era, was certainly not the era used by the Kings of Valabhi themselves, but was the Gupta era, introduced into Kāthiawād by Kumāragupta and Skandagupta. His results led him also to the conclusion (id. p. 249 ff.) that Hiuen Tsiang's visit to India, must really be placed about sixty years earlier than the accepted and well-established period, about A.D. 630 to 643; a proposition which in itself almost ought to have shewn him that there was some radical error in his deductions. And on this occasion (id. p. 246) he put forward the suggestion, afterwards accepted and endorsed by Mr. Fergusson,—or at least he drew pointed attention to the apparent fact,—that the Gupta era commenced on the completion of four of the Sixty-Year Cycles of Jupiter after the commencement of the Śaka era; to suit this suggestion, however, he had to distinctly put aside Albērūnī's statement that the difference between the two eras is two-hundred and forty-one years, which, of course, by any arrangement, is one year over and above four cycles of sixty years each. These conclusions are, of course, about as good a sample as could well be sought, of the general state of confusion into which the question had then fallen.

Meanwhile, in 1863, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXII. pp. ii. to cxix., General Cunningham had published his Archæological Report for 1861-62, which was subsequently reprinted in 1871 in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 1 to 130, and which I shall notice again further on. In this, he laid aside his original opinion of A.D. 319 for the commencement of the Gupta era; and adopted, instead of it, the view that this year was really the date of the extermination of the dynasty, and that their recorded dates should be referred, as proposed by Mr. Thomas, to the Śaka era. Again, in 1865, in his paper on the "Coins of the pine Nāgas," in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 115 ff., he stated that, from a comparison of the Gupta gold coins with their Indo-Scythian prototypes, and of the Gupta silver coins with the Śāh coins of Saurāshṭra, he had seen (id. p. 118) "that the first Guptas must certainly have been contemporary with the earlier princes of the
"Kushân Scythians, and consequently that their date could not possibly be later than the "first century of the Christian era." And, on the grounds that the only scheme, as far as he could see, that would suit all the known dates and other conditions of the dynasty, was to make Chandragupta I. the founder of the era; that Alberdôn's information was that the Śaka era was established by a king named Vikramâditya, after a victory over the Śakas; that the name of Vikramâditya was found on coins which were properly assigned to Chandragupta I.; and that the Allahâbâd pillar inscription mentions Samudragupta, the son of Chandragupta I., as receiving tribute from the Śakas,—he expressed himself (id. p. 119) as "inclined to adopt the Śaka era, which began in A.D. 79, "as the actual era of the Gupta dynasty and to attribute its establishment to Chandra-" gupta I."

In 1870, in the Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. IV. p. 81 ff., Mr. Fergusson published his paper "On Indian Chronology," which had been read before the Society two years earlier, in February, 1869. In this paper, the facts were dealt with in considerable detail, and with a good deal of soundness, except for one serious and radical error, viz. that the Early and Western Chalukyas and the Kings of Valabhi belonged to one and the same family, of which the Chalukyas were the southern branch (id. pp. 89, 91); the grounds for this assumption seem to be nothing except the supposition that (id. p. 94) it was Dharasêna IV., the first paramount sovereign in the Valabhi family,1 who overthrew the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya II., the son of Pulikêśin II.; but this, again, is a purely mistaken supposition, in support of which there is not the slightest evidence whatever, and against which there is plenty, of the most conclusive kind. Setting aside this, and other important mistakes,—such as his endorsement of Dr. Bhau Daji's reading of Guptasya kâldi in the Junâgadh inscription of Skandagupta, but his variation of the translation, so as to make it mean, not "from the era of Gupta," but (id. p. 112) "from the era of the Guptas;" such as his assumption (id. pp. 108, 126) that the Udayagiri cave inscription of the year 82, and the Sâñchi inscription of the year 93, belong to the time of Chandragupta I., with the result that his son Samudragupta could not have ascended the throne before A.D. 411; and such as (id. p. 118) his identification of the Budhagupta of the Éran pillar inscription with the Budhagupta of Magadha, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang,2—there is a good deal that is sound in the arguments employed and the results

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1 Mr. Fergusson says Dharasêna III.; but this is an evident mistake.

2 On this point, Mr. Fergusson wrote—"I do not think the difference of spelling here indicated, of any importance. Hiuen Tsiang's name was translated first from Sanskrit into Chinese, and from Chinese into French; and might easily have been more changed in the process."—The same mistake has been made in more recent times. And I will, therefore, now point out that the two names are utterly distinct, and belong to totally different persons. In respect of the king mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang (Beal's Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. II. p. 168 ff.; Julien's Hiuen Thsang, Vol. I. p. 294 f., Vol. III. p. 41 ff.), we are not dependent on the correctness of the restoration in the French or English translation. Hiuen Tsiang gives, as the first component of this name, the well-known Fo-po, which he uses so habitually for Buddha, the teacher, the holy Śâkyo-Tathâgata, and in respect of which he could not possibly be
arrived at; but, of course, they were established only as matters of argument, and not by means of any definite proof. On the grounds that (id. p. 90) it was inconceivable that the Valabhl era should not have been used by the Kings of Valabhl themselves; that (id. p. 89 f.), by applying the Valabhl dates to A.D. 318, we obtained a Dhruvvasastra, who would answer to the Dhruvapatu who was on the throne at the time of Huen Tsiang's visit to India; that (id. p. 104), in addition to the inherent improbability in Alberdue's statement about the Gupta era dating from the extermination of the dynasty, there was no battle, massacre, or other important event that could be placed in A.D. 318; that (id. p. 104), the latest date of the Guptas themselves being that of Budhagupta in the year 165, this, if referred to the Saka era, with the result of A.D. 243, still left a gap of seventy-five years, with no names to fill it, before we arrived at the last of the Guptas in A.D. 318, and (id. p. 107) a still longer interval if referred to the Vikrama era; on the general admission that (id. p. 121) the order of succession was, first the so-called SAs, then the Guptas, and then the Kings of Valabhl; and on architectural grounds, and general historical and numismatic arguments which are not within the scope of my present remarks, Mr. Fergusson arrived at the conclusions that (id. p. 128 ff.) the Vikrama era of B.C. 57 was founded by the so-called SAs dynasty; that this dynasty continued down to A.D. 235; that there then rose the Andhra dynasty, in which Gotamiputra was the king of Western India in A.D. 318-19; that the Valabhl era was established then, probably on the building of the city of Valabhl; that the Mahdrja Guptas, the founder of the Gupta family, must have been the viceroy of one of the Andhra kings, but not necessarily at the time of the building of Valabhl; and that the Early Guptas and the Kings of Valabhl thus derived the era which afterwards came to be known by the names of both of them. And, in the course of this paper, Mr. Fergusson first broached the theory (id. p. 131 ff.) that no such person as Vikramaditya, the traditional enemy of the Sakas and founder of the Vikrama era, existed anterior to the Christian era, or within some centuries of that time; but that, "some time after Vikramaditya of Malwa," whom he placed (id. p. 90) about A.D. 490 to 530, "had rendered the name so celebrated, the Hindus, on the revival of Brhamagasm, wished to "possess an era which should, at least, be older than the Buddhist era of Salivahan", i.e. he Saka era. "At that time, the SAs era, established by Nahapa, was vacant, having "fallen into disuse on the destruction of that dynasty and its supersession by the era of "Valabhl; and that the Hindus then appropriated it, by attaching to it the name that it "now bears, and inventing the history requisite to render its adoption feasible." This adaptation of the era was then allotted by him either to the time of Bhoga of Dhara, about A.D. 993, or to the restoration of the Western Chalukya dynasty, in A.D. 973. mistaken. Whereas, in respect of the king mentioned in the Erap inscription, the metre, as well as the perfect clearness of the reading, shews as conclusively that the first component of that name is Budha, the planet Mercury. Sanskrit scholars will recognise at once the thorough difference between the two names.—For my own remarks on the date of Buddhagupta of Magadha, see the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 251 f.
In 1871, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 193 ff., General Cunningham attached a note to Professor Dowson's paper on "Ancient Inscriptions from Mathurā," in which (*id.* p. 196), on the grounds that both Kanishka and Huvishka must have preceded the establishment of the Śaka era, he referred the dates of their inscriptions to the Vikrama era; and he quoted the reference, in the Allahābād pillar inscription, to the Daiva-putras and Śāhānushāhis, "who must have been the Turushka kings of the Pañjāb," as shewing that Samudragupta was "a contemporary of the Turushka kings, whose domi-
"nion, according to the Chinese authorities, had already passed away in the beginning of the "third century after Christ." As to this last point, I will only say that what we have in reality, in the Allahābād inscription, is, not the means of fixing the date of Samudragupta through the Chinese accounts, but the means of correcting the Chinese accounts by the date of Samudragupta.

In the same year, 1871, General Cunningham published his *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., containing, in the first part of it, his Archæological Report for the season 1861-62, which, as already noted, had appeared originally in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXII. pp. iii to cix. In this (*id.* p. 94), he expressed the opinion that the Śaka era, for the Early Gupta dates, would accord best with the then general acceptance of the fact that the Gupta dynasty was overthrown in A.D. 319; and he consequently now interpreted the date of the year 141, in the Kahānum pillar inscription of Skandagupta, as equivalent to A.D. 219. And, incidentally, (*id.* p. 139 f.) in connection with the question of the Vikrama and Śaka eras, he identified the Vikramādiyā, mentioned by Albīrūnl,—in commemoration of whose victory over the Śakas at Karṣu, between Multān and Lōṅl, one hundred and thirty-five years after the establishment of the Vikrama era of B.C. 57, the Śaka era was supposed to have been founded,—with the Śālivāhana, whose name came subsequently to be connected by the Hindus with the Śaka era, as the founder of it. The same opinion, as to the dominion of the Guptas having probably commenced about A.D. 78, was also expressed by him in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 4; in which volume he also (*id.* p. 41 ff.) referred the dates of Kanishka and Huvishka to the Vikrama era; proposed to take the three kings Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, of the Rājataranginī, i. 168-73, as being represented by the Vikramādiyā who, according to Mērutūṅga, reigned for sixty years; and fixed the Indo-Scythian rule, in India, as commencing B.C. 57 and ending A.D. 79, "at which latter date, according to Hindu belief, the dynasty of "Vikramādiyā was finally overthrown by Śālivāhana,"

In 1872, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 72 ff., Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar threw in his adherence to the opinion held by Mr. Thomas and Dr. Bhau Daji, that the era to which the dates in the Valabhl grants refer, is the Śaka era, as affording "an in-
"telligible starting-point for the Valabhl era, ascertained by Colonel Tod to have com-
"menced in A.D. 319;" his own opinion as to the establishment of this Valabhl era

being that it commemorated the coronation, as Mahārāja, of Drōṇasiriḥha, the second son of the Śṛndpati Bhaṭārka, by a sovereign who, in the Valabḥī grants, e.g. No. 38, line 5, page 168, is described as "the paramount master, the sole lord of the circumference of the "territory of the whole earth," from the date of this event, he held, the members of the Valabḥī family were independent kings. In 1874, however, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. III. p. 303 f., on the grounds that the alphabet used in the Valabḥī grants resembles very much that used in the Western Chalukya grants belonging to the early part of the eighth century, and for other reasons not fully specified, he modified this opinion, so far as "to think "that the Valabḥī dates must be referred to an era other than the Śaka;" and he proceeded to join Mr. Fergusson in referring them to an era commencing A.D. 318. But he still maintained a verbal difference with Mr. Fergusson, to the effect that, since in the Valabḥī family there was no individual named 'Ballaba,' or Valabḥī, "it is doubtful whether the "era was really of Bhaṭārka's family. If the era was not the era of the dynasty, but was "in use in Suraṣṭra before the foundation of the dynasty, the Valabḥī dates may be referred "to it. Or, more likely, since the Gupṭas, who preceded that dynasty, introduced their "era into the country, the grants must have been dated in that era. But there is no difference "in effect; since the initial dates of both are the same."

In 1873, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 313, Col. J. W. Watson published the following tradition, attributed to the bards of Kāṭhiāwād:—"The bards relate that Vala Rāma "Rājā, son of Vaḷa Warṣiṅgji, reigned at Junāgaḍh and Vantallā. He was famed for his "munificence; and it is told of him that, when his beard was shaved for the first time, he "gave in charity twenty-one villages, and distributed fifty lakhs of rupces¹ as alms to the "poor. Rāma Rājā was of the Vaḷa race. It is said in Saurāṣṭra that, previous to the "rise of the kingdom of Junāgaḍh-Vantallā, Valabḥīnagara was the capital of Gujarāt. "The rise of Valabḥī is thus told by the bards. The Gupta kings reigned between the "Ganges and Jammā rivers. One of these kings sent his son, Kumārapalagupta, to "conquer Saurāṣṭra; and placed his viceroy Chakrapāṇi, son of Prāṇadatta, one of his "Amīra, to reign as a provincial Governor in the city of Wāmanasthali (the modern Van-"thali). Kumārapalā now returned to his father's kingdom. His father reigned twenty- "three years after the conquest of Saurāṣṭra, and then died; and Kumārapalā ascended "the throne. Kumārapalagupta reigned twenty years, and then died, and was succeeded "by Skandagupta; but this king was of weak intellect. His Śṛndpati Bhaṭṭāraka, who "was of the Gehlot race, taking a strong army, came into Saurāṣṭra, and made his rule "firm there. Two years after this, Skandagupta died. The Śṛndpati now assumed the "title of King of Saurāṣṭra; and, having placed a Governor at Wāmanasthali, founded "the city of Valabḥīnagara. At this time, the Gupta race were dethroned by foreign in-"vaders. The Śṛndpati was a Gehlot, and his forefathers reigned at Ayōḍhyānagarī, "until displaced by the Gupṭa dynasty. After founding Valabḥī, he established his rule

¹ Nominally, half a million pounds sterling.
in Saurashtra, Kachchh, Lāṭādēsā, and Mālava. The Vālās were a branch of the Geh-
lots. After the fall of Valabhi, the Vālā governor of Wāmanasthāli became indepen-
dent. Rāma Rāja had no son; but his sister was married to the Rāja of Nagar Thātha," &c. This story was criticised by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in the Ind. Ant. Vol. III. p. 302; his opinion being that "the tradition itself, though interesting, as giving the truth gene-
 rally, cannot be considered to be true in the particulars; ............... it simply gives "us what was known before, that the Valabhis succeeded the Guptas." In reply to this, and in defence of the supposed tradition, Mr. Thomas said that it "may be imperfect, as "such old-world tales are liable to become; but there is an instructive confirmation of "one obscure portion of the earlier history given by the Muhammadan inquirer," and a "clear explanation of the causes of the local transfer of power, combined with an impor-
tant reference to the conventional imperial delegation of authority to a son, as well as an "indication of the length of the reigns of two kings, to be found nowhere else; and, to "complete the tale, we trace in its details, a fully reasonable accord with the more precise "data furnished by inscriptions and coins." Of course, this supposed tradition is of that half-perfect kind which carries its own confirmation with it; if we could but accept it. Nothing is more natural, for instance, than the introduction of the termination pāṭa into the middle of the name of Kumāragupta; and than the substitution of Prāṇadatta and Chakrapāṇi for the Parṇadatta, and his son Chakrapālita, of the Junāgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, and of Bhāttāraka for Bhaṭṭārka, as the name of the upstart Śenāpatai. But no further attention need be paid to the matter; since I have it on the best possible authority,—that of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī himself,—that the supposed tradition has only sprung into existence within the last fifteen or twenty years, and owes its origin only to certain speculations of his, which found their way to the bards through an educational treatise! It simply furnishes an instance of the extreme suspicion with which we must view every Hindu historical legend.

In 1874, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 363 ff., the question was considered by Dr. Rajendrala Mitra, in then bringing to notice the Indor grant of Skandagupta, No. 16, page 68. He introduced (id. p. 369 ff.) a new, and perfectly gra-
tuitous, point in the Kālāum pillar inscription, by connecting the word śantā, in line 3, with varshā, in line 4; and, hankering after the meanings given by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Hall, to the word śanta in particular, though he aimed also at giving to the whole verse a purport which should be more correct than that made out by them, and should be an im-
provement even on Dr. Bhau Daji's translation, he translated (id. p. 371) "in the empire "of Skandagupta; the year one hundred and forty-one having passed away." The paper adds nothing of any value to the general discussion; beyond (id. p. 371) following, in con-
tradiction to Dr. F. E. Hall, Prof. H. H. Wilson's rendering of the expression in the Māhā-

2 i.e. Alberani.
rāja Hastin’s grants as shewing that the supremacy of the Gupta kings was still continuing in his time; and beyond introducing (id. p. 368) Mr. Blochmann’s proposed emendation of the translation of Albérūni’s statement, which I have quoted at page 28 above, note 1. But Dr. R. Mitra failed to see the interpretation that might be put upon the emended rendering; and he expressed his own conviction (id. p. 372) that the Early Gupta dates, and those of Budhagupta and of the Mahārāja Hastin, are recorded in the Śaka era; and that Albérūni’s Gupta era commemorates the expulsion of the Guptas from Gujarāt by the Kings of Valabhi.

In 1876, in the Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 18 ff., Mr. Thomas published a chapter on the “Sāh and Guptā Coins, &c.,” in which, as already noted, he included some strong remarks in support of the authenticity of the supposed bardic tradition from Kāthiāwaḍ, that had been brought to notice by Col. Watson. In his tabular statement of the Early Gupta dynasty (id. p. 79), he referred the Gupta dates, as before, to the Śaka era, and, with them, the date on Tōrāmāṇa’s coin, which he interpreted (id. p. 66) as 182; on the authority of the supposed tradition, he placed the Śrīnāpata Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhi family, specifically two years before the death of Skandagupta; and he added a remark indicating apparently that his opinion was, that the Valabhi era, commencing A.D. 319, was established by the Mahārāja Dharāsena II., “who seems to have been the earliest monarch of any real pretensions.”

In 1878, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 79 ff., Dr. Bühler brought to notice the newly discovered Allā grant of Śīlāditya VII. of Valabhi, No. 39, page 171, which gives for him the date of Gupta-Saṅvat 447 (A.D. 766-67), and the bīruda, or title or second name, of Dhṛūbhaṭa or Dhruvabhaṭa. Drawing attention (id. p. 80) to the pointed similarity of this name with the T‘un-lup‘o-po-tu of Hiuen Tsiang’s account, and suggesting that Hiuen Tsiang’s translation of the name by ‘constantly intelligent’ might be due to incorrect information, or to some confusion between bhaṭa, ‘a warrior,’ and bhaṭṭa, ‘a learned man,’ Dr. Bühler expressed himself as inclined to believe that Śīlāditya VII. was Hiuen Tsiang’s contemporary; the result of which would be that the era used in the Valabhi grants must have commenced either shortly before or shortly after A.D. 200. He pointed out, however, (id. p. 81) that the occurrence of the title of Dhṛūbhaṭa or Dhruvabhaṭa in this grant, was in reality only one point among many, requiring careful consideration, in connection with a question that was by no means a simple one.

In 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 9 ff., General Cunningham brought to notice the grant of the Mahārāja Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106; the Bhumārā pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110; the Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha’s grant, of the year 209, No. 25, page 119; and, with the exception of No. 28, page 125, the grants of the Mahārājās of Uchchakalpa, No. 26, page 117, to No. 31, page 135, ranging from the year 174 to the year 214. And, in the grants of Hastin and Saṁkṣobha, he followed Prof. Wilson in giving to the expression Guptā-nriṇa-rājya-bhūtān interpretations which, though
not grammatically, were substantially correct, in shewing that it indicated that the Gupta sovereignty was still continuing when the grants in question were issued. To his notice of these inscriptions he annexed some remarks (id. p. 16 fl.) on the "Date of the Guptas," in which he arrived at the conclusion that the probable epoch of the Gupta era was A.D. 194-95, and its commencement A.D. 195-96. Starting with accepting it to be almost certain that Śilāditya VII. was the king of Valabhi who was reigning at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit in A.D. 640, he pointed out (id. p. 17) that, as the year 447 of the grant might fall twenty-five or thirty years either earlier or later than the pilgrim's visit, the initial point of the Gupta era might lie anywhere between A.D. 163 and 223. Within this period, he found, the only year which would suit the conditions of the record in the Ērāṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta and the Mōrbīl grant of Jāṅkakāvēa, was A.D. 194-95 as the epoch of the era. Applying this epoch to the Ērāṇ date, the result (id. p. 18) was A.D. 359; in which year the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, according to his calculation, was, as required, a Thursday; viz. the 24th June. And applying it to the solar eclipse mentioned in the Mōrbīl grant, which he assumed to have occurred on the new-moon day of the month Māgha, five days before the writing of the grant, the result was the 10th February, A.D. 780, "on which very day there was an eclipse of the sun, "visible in Eastern Asia." The fourth test, which, he indicated, should be applied, was the mention of some of the saṃvatsaras of Jupiter's Twelve-Year Cycle in the grants of the Mahārājās Hastin and Saṅkshōbha. Exact information about this cycle, however, was not then forthcoming; and, in making the Mahā-Vaisākhā saṃvatsara correspond (id. p. 19) with A.D. 350, which, with the epoch of A.D. 194-95, would be the equivalent of Gupta-Saṅvat 156, recorded in the Mahārājā Hastin's grant, No. 21, page 93, he seems to have acted on pure assumption; while, in order to make the Mahā-Āśayuja saṃvatsara, recorded in the same Mahārājā's grant of Gupta-Saṅvat 163, No. 22, page 100, fit in with his view of the cycle, he had to alter* the original date from 163 to 173, with the result of A.D. 367. On this occasion, General Cunningham (id. p. 21) again referred the establishment of the Gupta era to Chandragupta I.; and he placed the foundation of the Valabhi era of A.D. 319 in the twentieth year of the reign of Kumāragupta. And, in connection with this Valabhi era, he expressed the opinion (id. p. 20) that it could have no connection whatever with the downfall of the Gupta dynasty; for the reason that, applied to the epoch of A.D. 194-95, the dates of 138 and 139 in the Junāgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14, page 56, shewed that the Gupta dominion was still intact, in Saurāsh-tra or Kāṭhiāwād, up to* A.D. 333. And he expressed the opinion that the apparent inco-

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1 For the full details of this eclipse, see Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 308.

* See page 102, note 1, below my introductory remarks to this inscription, where I have shewn that a very material obstacle exists in the way of this alteration of the text. Also, as will be seen further on, from the correct point of view as regards the Gupta era, any alteration is quite unnecessary.

* This is with the supposed date of 139. But the recal dates in the record are 136, 137, and 138; they do not include 139.
sistencies in Albèrdnl's statements arose from his finding that the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhl had actually used one and the same era, and from his taking it for granted that that era must have been the era which he found to be called the Valabhl era, and to have commenced in A.D. 319. He placed the Sêndpâti Bhatârka of Valabhl in A.D. 339 (id. p. 21), twenty years after the establishment of the Valabhl era of 319. And, interpreting the coin-dates of Tôramâna as 52 and 53 (id. p. 27), he referred them (id. p. 21) to the Valabhl era of A.D. 319.

The subject was taken up again by General Cunningham in 1880, in the Archœol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 111 ff., in his Appendix on "The Guptâ Era;" and on this occasion he arrived at the final conclusion, that (id. p. 126) the commencement of the era was probably in A.D. 167 and, therefore, its epoch was A.D. 166-67. Of the leading general facts on which he relied (id. p. 116), the first was that Samudragupta's date seemed to be fixed approximately, within rather narrow limits, by two facts; viz.—(1) "his own mention" (in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription) "of the tribute received from the Daivaputra, Shâhi, Shâhânushâhî, which we now know to be the titles of the Yue-chi Indo-Scythians, Kanishka, Huvishtka, and Vâsudeva, and their successors, shews him to have been a contemporary of some prince of this race;" and (2) "according to Chinese authority, the Yue-chi, during the period between A.D. 220-80, put their kings to death, and established military chiefs." From a comparison of these two statements, General Cunningham inferred that Samudragupta must have reigned before the time when the Yue-chi put their kings to death, or not later than some time between A.D. 200 and 250; and that his father, Chandragupta I., must be placed towards the end of the second century A.D. But, with regard to this, I have only to repeat a remark which I have already had occasion to make; viz. that what we really have, is, not the means of fixing the period of Samudragupta through the Chinese accounts, but the means of correcting the Chinese accounts through the Early Guptâ chronology. The second leading point was that, as already indicated by him, the Alõñâ grant of Silâditya VII. shewed that the initial point of the Guptâ era must fall between A.D. 164 and 224. Putting these two approximate results together, he inferred that the beginning of the Guptâ era must have been not very far from A.D. 180 to 200. Meanwhile, he had obtained certain information regarding the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, from Bapu Deva Shastri, Professor of Mathematics in the Benares College, which enabled him now to take this test also into consideration; with the result that, subject to the approximate limits which he had already arrived at on general grounds, and having regard also to the week-day recorded in the Érap pillar inscription of Budhagupta, the only years that would meet all the requirements of the case were A.D. 166-67 as the epoch, and A.D. 167-68 as the commencement, of the Guptâ era. In order, however, to make all the samâvâtrasus of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, mentioned in the grants of the Mahârâjas Hastin and Samkshôbbha, tally with this epoch, he had still to maintain the alteration of the date of
Gupta-Saṃvat 163 into 173. Accepting this alteration, his theory and arrangement of the saṃvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle, and his general results, have seemed sound, consistent, and reliable. But it is now known that his process for determining the saṃvatsaras is wrong, and cannot give satisfactory results. This part of the subject will be explained fully further on. Meanwhile I will only state here that General Cunningham's theory of the Twelve-Year Cycle is based on the assumption, the incorrectness of which can now be proved, that the saṃvatsaras of it begin and end with the luni-solar years; and that his process for determining the saṃvatsaras (id. pp. vi. 114 f., and Indian Eras, p. 27 f.) only gives the saṃvatsara that is current, according to the sign-passing system, at the commencement of any given luni-solar year; it does not provide for the really essential point, even of this system, which is the determination of the saṃvatsara that is current on any given date in a given year after the commencement of it. On this occasion (id. p. 112) General Cunningham fully accepted Alberâni's apparent statement regarding the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty, in the Valabhi country, in A.D. 319, in which year he now placed the Śrīdēva Bhaṭṭārka of Valabhi. And he recorded the opinion (id. p.126) that the foundation of the Valabhi era of A.D. 319 might very probably have been brought about by the opportunity afforded by the death of Skandagupta, for whom the latest recorded date, supplied by a coin of the year 149, would be, according to his new theory, A.D. 315. In general support of his results, he also quoted certain numismatic facts, such as (id. p. 112) that a comparison of the gold coins of the Guptas with those of the Indo-Scythian king Vāsudēva, shewed that they must have followed him very closely; while a comparison of their silver coins with those of the Satraps of Saurāshtra,—formerly called the Sāh kings,—and those of the Valabhi family, proved distinctly that the Guptas must have followed the Satraps of Saurāshṭra and preceded the Valabhi family; but this is a line of study with which we are not concerned in the present inquiry.

In the same year, in the Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XII. p. 259 ff., Mr. Fergusson issued his paper "On the Śaka, Saṃvat, and Gupta Eras," as a supplement to his original paper "On Indian Chronology," which has been noticed at page 46 f. above. In his previous paper, he had adopted General Cunningham's view that Kanishka died A.D. 24. Now, however, on arguments based (id. p. 264) on the comparative state of decay exhibited by coins of Kanishka and by some belonging to the Roman Consular period, found in Kanishka's Stūpa at ' Manikya;' on the understanding (id. p. 265) that the legend of St. Thomas having visited the East in the reign of a certain king Gondophares,—which visit, if it really occurred, must have been after A.D. 33 and probably before A.D. 50,—is at any rate admissible so far as to shew that the inventors of the legend must have known that the king of 'Taxila' at that time was Gondophares, whose name occurs, on coins, among a series of kings "who reigned in the north-west of India, certainly subsequent to the fall of the Greek dynasties, and as certainly anterior to Kanishka;" and
on similar grounds, he arrived at the conclusion (id. p. 261) that the Śaka era was established by Kanishka, and took the name of the Śālivāhana era from having been introduced into India in the reign of Śatakarni II. of the Andhra dynasty, the "chief of the Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana race." As regards the Gupta era, Mr. Fergusson took this opportunity of recording his impression (id. p. 285) that his view of it "would never have been considered doubtful, had it not been that the chronology of that period had hitherto been based almost exclusively on numismatic researches." And, in repeating his conviction (id. p. 281) that the commencement of the era was in A.D. 319, and (id. p. 270) that it was established in the reign of the Andhra king Gōtāmiputra, he also now maintained (id. p. 271) that the era did not necessarily date from the accession of the king, or from his death, or from any specific event in his reign, but that, in order that dates in the new era might be easily convertible into the old era, the commencement of the new era was simply fixed by the expiration of four of Jupiter's Sixty-Year Cycles from the commencement of the Śaka era. In respect of his theory that the Śaka era was established by Kanishka, and of some others of his general results, I see no reason, at present, to dispute them, apart from the arguments on which they were based. But a few words seem necessary in connection with the key-note to his whole paper, which is plainly to be recognised in his desire to find for the Vikrama era some origin other than its actual establishment in B.C. 57, and, according to tradition, by a king Vikrama or Vikramāditya, actually reigning at that time. He had already thrown out this suggestion in his previous paper. And now he claimed that, granting the correctness of his other conclusions, there could be found (id. p. 271) no direct evidence for the existence of a Vikrama era in the first century B.C., nor for a very long time afterwards; for so long, in fact, that it was impossible to establish any connection between a king Vikrama and the original establishment of the era. Referring to two passages in the Rājaṭaram-gini, one of which speaks of Pratapāditya, who was brought from another country to be crowned king of Kaśmīr, as a kinsman of a king Vikramāditya who, the book states, was wrongly thought by some to be the Śakārī or 'enemy of the Śakas,' and the other of which states that, at the time of the death of Hiranya of Kaśmīr, there reigned at Ujjain a powerful king Vikramāditya, who had the second name of Harsha, and who also had destroyed the Śakas; and quoting also Albérout's explanation that the Vikramāditya who, according to the tradition given to him, conquered the Śakas a hundred and thirty-five years after the establishment of the Vikrama era, could not be identical with the founder of that era,—the conclusions at which he arrived were (id. p. 274) that the Vikramāditya who conquered the Śakas at the battle of Karūr, was Harsha-Vikramāditya of Ujjain; that his death took place about A.D. 550, and the battle of Karūr, in A.D. 544; that, about or before A.D. 1000, when "the struggle with the Buddhists was over, and a new era was opening for the "Hindu religion," the Hindus sought to establish some new method of marking time, to

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1 Calcutta edition, ii. line 6; page 15.  
2 Calcutta edition, iii. lines 125, 128; page 26.
supersede the Buddhist Śāka era of Kanishka; that, the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi having then passed away, and having also been insignificant and of doubtful orthodoxy, in looking back for some name and event of sufficient importance to mark the commencement of a new era; they hit on the name of Vikramāditya, as the most illustrious known to them, and his victory at Karūr as the most important event of his reign; and that then, since the date of that victory, A.D. 544, was too recent to be adopted, they antedated the epoch by ten cycles of sixty years, thus arriving at B.C. 56 for their Vikrama era, and also, not content with this, devised another era, which they called the Harsha era, from the other part of his name, and the epoch of which was fixed in B.C. 456, by placing it ten even centuries before the date of the battle of Karūr. It is an actual fact, that the name of Vikrama does not occur in connection with the era of B.C. 57 until a comparatively late date. 1 But Mr. Fergusson's arguments are vitiated throughout by the undue reliance which he placed on the quasi-historical records of the Rājaśtarāmaṇgiṇī. The early chronology of Kaśmīr has still to be fixed; and the means of adjusting it are to be found in A.D. 533 as the date of Mihirakula, who, according to the book itself, reigned in the eighth century B.C. And, if the date of Harsha-Vikramāditya of Ujjain is really dependent on the date of Hiranya of Kaśmīr, it certainly cannot be placed as early as the sixth century A.D.

In 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 213 ff., Dr. Oldenberg published his paper "On the Dates of ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins," the whole of which well deserves careful study. Holding (id. p. 214) as the result of Herr von Sallet's numismatic researches, that Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva, cannot be placed earlier than the first century A.D., and must be placed before A.D. 200; quoting the Bādami cave inscription of the Western Chalukya king Maṅgallasa,2 dated Śaka-Saṅvat 500 expired, as proving conclusively that the Śāka era ran from the coronation, not the defeat or death, of a Śāka king (or kings); finding (id. p. 214 f.), from the coins, that Kanishka belonged undoubtedly to the Śāka tribe; and finding also (id. p. 215) that, at the time to which Kanishka must be referred, there was no Indian king who at all equalled him in power and fame, he arrived at the primary conclusion that the era used in the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva, is the Śāka era, and that the event from which it dates, is the accession of Kanishka. Working from this starting-point, after indicating very correctly (id. p. 217) that the fundamental mistake which vitiates the researches of Mr. Thomas and others "consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct "and very clear ancient tradition," preserved by Albérōn, "which we possess regarding "the Gupta era, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground, and of "systematically discussing the question whether any serious objections can be opposed

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1 I am not prepared at present to specify the exact date. But the 'Gyāraspur' or 'Gyārispur' inscription (*Archivul. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 33, and Plate xi.) shews that the era was still known as the Mālava era, in Central India, down to about A.D. 880.

"to it," he arrived, by a series of historical, numismatic, and palæographical arguments, at the conclusion that the rise of the Early Guptas must be placed in A.D. 319, and their downfall about A.D. 480. In the course of the paper, he suggested (id. p. 219) that the T'uu-ropo-tu of Hiuen Tsang may be Dérabhāta of Valabhl, or may indicate one of the Dharasēnas or one of the earlier Śilādityas of that family; and that, at any rate, the occurrence of the title Dhrōbhāta in the Alnā grant, as only a secondary title, furnishes no conclusive evidence against the commencement of the era in A.D. 319. He announced (id. p. 220) that, with the epoch of A.D. 319, the record of the Ėran pillar inscription of Budhagupta, that the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Asāḍha of Gupta-Saṁvat歵 165 was a Thursday, was quite correct by the Tables and formulae in Warren's Kāla-Sankalika. And (id. p. 222), referring to the supposed tradition of the bards of Kāṭhāwād, he gave perfectly good reasons for holding, even without further proof, that it was nothing but "a very poor compilation, pieced up of what those "‘bards’ knew by hearsay of the results of modern epigraphical and numismatical investigation."

In the same year, the general question was taken up again by Mr. Thomas, in his paper on "The Epoch of the Guptas," published in the Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 524 ff. On this occasion (id. p. 524) he abandoned the opinion that the dates on the Śāh coins were to be referred to the supposed Harsha era commencing B.C. 456; and expressed himself as inclined to accept Mr. Newton's theory that they are recorded in the Vikrama era of B.C. 57. But, as regards the Gupta era, he still (id. p. 549) adhered to the view that it was identical with the Śaka era, or, at any rate, that the Gupta dates were to be referred to the Śaka epoch. In this paper (id. p. 529 f.) he introduced some other passages from Alberdhānī, shewing that eras had been established from the death of 'Alexander the Founder' and of 'Yazdaâjir ben Shahâryâr,' which were used by him as indicating that Alberdhānī must have exercised due deliberation before making the (supposed) statement that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas; and he brought forward a discovery (id. p. 545) that certain signs in front of the horse's head on the reverse of some coins of 'Syalapati,' Śamantadēva, 'Khadayayaka,' and Bhlmēdēva, of Kâbul, represented, in various degrees of legibility, the syllables Gu, Gup, and Gupta, which were consequently held to refer to the Gupta era the conventional date, 617, which these signs introduced. He had previously suggested A.D. 935 for the accession of Śamantadēva. 2 And, pointing out that the conventional

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1 Or, rather, of Gupta-Saṁvat 166; since he treated the record as meaning the year 165 expired and 166 current. But the epoch would then be A.D. 318, not 319. It was probably through an oversight that Dr. Oldenberg spoke in this connection of A.D. 319 as the epoch. Elsewhere (id. pp. 215, 227) he distinctly specifies A.D. 319 as the beginning of the Gupta era; according to which, A.D. 318 would be the epoch selected by him.

date of 617, if added to A.D. 319, gave A.D. 936,—within one year of his date for Sāmantadēva,—he quoted these coins (id. p. 544) as proof of "the practical survival of "the method of dating from the extinction of the Gupta rule."

Closely connected with the preceding, is Sir E. Clive Bayley's paper "On certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hindu kings of Kābūl, expressed in the Gupta Era and in Arabic (or quasi-Arabic) numerals," published in 1882, in the Numismatic Chronicle, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff. This paper was issued in support of his theory of A.D. 189-(90) or 190-(91) for the epoch of the Gupta era; which was based to a great extent on the apparent deduction from the Allnâ grant of Sīlāditya VII., noted at page 51 above, that the era cannot have commenced later than A.D. 200; coupled with his reading of "698 Gupta" on the earliest of the coins of 'Syalapati,' which, as he placed 'Syalapati' between A.D. 887 and 916, would shew that the Gupta era commenced after A.D. 180. As regards the era of A.D. 319, his suggestion, based on the weakness attributed to Skandagupta in the supposed tradition of the Kāṭhāwađ bards, was (id. p. 155 f.) that it might date from the death of Kumāragupta, and might memorise a rebellion against Skandagupta by the members of the Valabhi family. The latter dynasty, he held, still continued, in spite of any such circumstances, to use the Gupta era. The key-note to the whole theory is to be found in Sir E. Clive Bayley's agreement with Mr. Thomas, that the specified abbreviations of a full legend, which must be taken as 'Guptasya Kāl,' were really to be found in the dates on the Kābūl coins. But in details he differed widely from Mr. Thomas. Thus (id. p. 145) he read the signs in the opposite way to that in which Mr. Thomas would read them; and, instead of accepting the conventional date of 617, he found in the figures various values, to suit the period, A.D. 887 to 916, which he assigned to 'Syalapati.' The question of the true interpretation of the dates on the coins in question, depends chiefly on the real period, still to be proved, that is to be assigned to 'Syalapati' and the other kings in ques-

1 In connection with this, I would draw special attention to the coin of 'Syalapati' figured in Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I. p. 301, Pl. xxx. No. 2, which, as now explained by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, gives the unmistakable date of 814, traces of which are also discernible in No. 1 on the same Plate. This No. 2 has behind the horseman the same monogram, u u, (not f.) as Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 have; also, as explained by No. 1, it has in the upper corner, in front of the horseman, the same symbol (interpreted by Sir E. Clive Bayley on his No. 20 as a rude imitation of adar, 'just [weight or value]') that appears in the same position on others of these coins, and resembles a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle. These points of similarity suggest that possibly Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 (and others) belong really to 'Syalapati,' though his name is not on the obverse. And the unmistakable date of 814 on any rate Prinsep's Essays, Pl. xxxv. No. 2, further suggests that the figures on Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, should not be read as 707 and 727.—Sir E. Clive Bayley placed 'Syalapati' in A.D. 887 to 916; which would agree very satisfactorily with the date of 814 on Prinsep's coin, if we might refer it to the Ākara era, with the result of A.D. 891-92. Mr. Thomas (Jour. R. As. Soc. F. S Vol. IX. p. 179) placed him about the same time; viz. "early in the tenth century." On the other hand, General Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XIV. p. 45) has placed him rather earlier, about A.D. 800; but he quoted no authority for this. I have not been able to find any other information as to the probable date of 'Syalapati.'
tion. And, without attempting any full discussion of the matter here, where it would be out of place, I will only bring forward a few points to shew that, at any rate, Sir E. Clive Bayley’s interpretation of the dates is quite untenable. Of the coins in question, those that have the clearest dates on them (id. Plate vii. Nos. 24 to 27), belong to some unnamed king. They are not attributed to ‘Syalapati’; but are considered to be rather more recent. It is admitted, however, that they belong to the same series; and I take them first, because they are so very clear. If we examine them with the help of Sir E. Clive Bayley’s Table of Numerals (id. Plate vii.), it is evident at once that No. 24 reads, not “802 Gu,” but simply “804,” with nothing after it; and that Nos. 25, 26, and 27 read, not “812 Gu,” but simply “814,” again with nothing after it; the figures being, in fact, absolutely identical with those which Sir E. Clive Bayley himself read as simply “814” on Nos. 19 to 23, 29 to 31, and 34. In these instances, the supposed Gu is nothing but the sign that makes the difference in these numerals between a 2 and a 4. And Sir E. Clive Bayley’s reading further involves the peculiar anomaly that the figures have to be read in one direction, from the rim of the coin, and the supposed Gu in the opposite direction, from the inside of the coin; which results in the curious arrangement of “802 নো” and “812 নো.” We have here to note that Sir E. Clive Bayley reported (id. p. 145 f.) that Mr. Thomas, reading the signs that were supposed to mean Gu, Gup, and Gupta, in the opposite way to that in which he himself read them, read the whole date in one direction, from the inside of the coins, and interpreted all the figures as giving only one uniform and conventional date, viz. “Gu 617,” denoting the initial date of Sāmanṭa’s dynasty according to the Gupta era. Allowing for the possibility of the first sign being capable of meaning Gu, this way of interpreting the figures seems to be equally well borne out by Sir E. Clive Bayley’s Table. But the first sign cannot mean Gu, and does not mean Gu. And a reference to the Table will shew immediately that the figures have to be read, as Sir E. Clive Bayley read them, from the rims of the coins; and that the dates are in reality nothing but 804 and 814, as I have pointed out above. Of the coins of ‘Syalapati’ himself (Plate i. Nos. 3 to 5, and 7 to 10), No. 7 is read as “707,” and Nos. 8, 9, and 10 as “727,” without any supposed reference at all to the Gupta era; and these readings are in accordance with the Table of Numerals, if the dates are read from the rim of the coins, like the dates of Nos. 19 to 27, 29 to 31, and 34, referred to above. On the other hand, if we might read the figures on these seven coins from the inside, there appears no particular objection to interpreting them as respectively “808” and “868.” There remain Nos. 3, 4, and 5, which are read respectively as “Gupta” with two doubtful figures, “98 Gu,” and “99 Gu;” meaning (6)98 and (6)99, on the principle of “omitted hundreds.” And these, unfortunately, are not so easy to deal with; since—though the signs that are supposed to mean Gupta must be in reality numerals of some kind or another,—there is nothing in Sir E. Clive Bayley’s Table, and I can obtain nothing elsewhere, to explain their value as numerals. But, in attempting to find a proper reading of them, we must in the first place notice that the sign which,
on Nos. 4 and 5, Sir E. Clive Bayley interpreted as the figure 9, and entered as such in his Table, occupies exactly the position which is filled in Prinsep's coin No. 1, referred to on page 58 above, note 1, by a symbol resembling a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle; and this suggests that the sign in question is not a figure at all. I give here a reproduction of Sir E. Clive Bayley's representation (id. Plate vi. No. 6) of the signs in question, which were supposed by him, and by Mr. Thomas, to represent the word Guptā, and were claimed by him (id. p. 127) to be "a fair rendering of the usual form of the word." What they really mean, I will not attempt to decide; beyond pointing out that, as I have said above, they must be numerals of some kind or another. But it will be admitted at once, by any qualified palaeographer, that they answer in no way whatever to the usual form of the word Guptā, and cannot be so interpreted in accordance with any known alphabet; even though we should follow Mr. Thomas (id. p. 128) in looking upon them as "a degraded and contracted form of the word," or Sir E. Clive Bayley (id. p. 145) in holding them to be "a gross corruption of it." And to these remarks I will only add that, as I have shewn at page 19 ff. above, the very expression Guptasya kāla or Guptaka kāla is a purely imaginary one, without any real epigraphical existence; and, therefore, abbreviations of it cannot possibly exist on the Kābul coins, or on any others. As a Postscript to his paper, Sir E. Clive Bayley shortly afterwards issued some remarks on the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, as used in the grants of the Mahārdjas Hastin and Saṅkhshōbha. His views on this point, however, were radically vitiated, in the first place, by his following General Cunningham's mistaken assumption that the saṁvatsaras of this cycle always begin and end with the lunisolar years; and, further, by a series of mistakes which it is really difficult to know how to criticise properly. He took the saṁvatsara that is mentioned in the Bhumārā pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110, to be Mahā-Mārgaśira, instead of Mahā-Māgha; a mistake which threw this record out by two saṁvatsaras. He proved General Cunningham's results to be right only in one instance out of the five, viz., in the case of this supposed Mahā-Mārgaśira saṁvatsara of the Bhumārā record, by himself making them gratuitously wrong, in assuming that General Cunningham's epoch for the era was A.D. 167-68, instead of A.D. 166-67. And he entirely overlooked the fact that, as there are ordinarily twelve years in each cycle, and as his own proposed epoch was exactly twenty-four years later than that proposed by General Cunningham, his own results could be neither any more nor any less correct than General Cunningham's under ordinary circumstances; but would, in the particular case, be less correct than General Cunningham's, because, by General Cunningham's Table, which he accepted as correct, there was an expunction of a saṁvatsara between A.D. 394 and 395, which, while it did not affect General Cunningham's results, did affect his own, in making Gupta-Saṁvat 209 coincide with the Mahā-Kārttika saṁvatsara, instead of Mahā-Āśvayuja (for which, by the way, Sir E. Clive Bayley again wrote Mahā-Mārgaśira) as recorded in the grant itself, No. 25, page 112. In fact, a full examination of the original
paper and its Postscript, will shew that, for the proposed epoch of A.D. 190, there are absolutely no grounds whatever; and that the theory has no importance at all, except in introducing one of the side-issues which, endorsed by a name that carries authority, have to be disposed of, before any settlement of the main question will be accepted as final by general readers.

In 1883, General Cunningham published his Book of Indian Eras, in which he recast, with some additions, his treatise on the Gupta era and the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, that had appeared in the Archeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 111 ff.; and with the same results as on the former occasion. He admitted (id. p. x.) that the question of the Gupta era had still not been quite finally settled. But, of the two dates, A.D. 167-68 and 262-63, to which his investigations seemed to limit him for the commencement of the era, he still (id. p. 57) much preferred the earlier date, both as contrasted specially with A.D. 262, and also as having (id. p. 58) "a better claim for acceptance than any other that has yet been proposed." And, accordingly, in the column for the Gupta era in his Table XVII., we find (id. p. 142) the epoch entered as A.D. 166-67, and the commencement as A.D. 167-68. The samvatasaras of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter are shown in another column of the same Table; and, from his detailed remarks on this cycle (id. p. 26 ff.), we find that his method of determining the samvatasaras was the same as that applied on the previous occasion. In respect of the Valabhi era, he still held (id. pp. 53, 63) that the Veraval inscription of Valabhi-Sanjñvat 945 proves that A.D. 319 was its commencement; not its epoch. And he also (id. p. 50) seems to indicate very clearly that, in his opinion, the scheme of the years of this era was identical with that of the years of the southern Vikrama era, commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Karttika (October-November). He also held (id. p. 57) "that the era used by the Valabhi kings "was that of the Guptas, seems to be almost certain; as the Sendapati Bhataérica, the founder "of the Valabhi dynasty, is said," in the supposed tradition of the bards of Kathiavár, "to have been the governor of Suraśhtra during the last two years of Skandagupta's reign." And he suggested (id. p. 53) that it is to this use by the Valabhi family, of the Gupta era of A.D. 166-67, instead of the Valabhi era itself, that we must attribute all the existing confusion. Of the new points brought forward on this occasion, the most important is (id. pp. x f., 47 ff., 58) the reference to the Dhiniki copper-plate grant of king Jáikadeva of Sauráshtra, published by Dr. Bühler in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 151. This grant is dated in Vikrama-Sanvat 794, equivalent to A.D. 736-37; and, on the assumption that it is genuine, and that this Jáikadeva is identical with the Jáînka of the Môrbi grant, the date of which, (Gupta)-Sanvat 585 expired, by General Cunningham's view would represent A.D. 751-52, the synchronism established by the two grants would, of course, lend strong support to his theory. Upon a full examination, however, of the details of the date, which from the first evidently contained elements of doubt, I think that this Dhiniki
grant must certainly be rejected as spurious. If not so, then it can only be held that Jáïnka and Jáïkadêva were distinct and separate persons. Under any circumstances, this grant is of no use in connection with the question of the Gupta era.

1 In this grant, the date (from the published lithograph; Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 155, and Plate, line 1 fl.) runs—Vikrama-samvatsara-satēshu saptas chatur-natvey-adhitēśa-ānkalab 974 Kārttiyakāsā-parsa-paksha-amāyaśyadāh Apīravā-anvīraved Yēshūhā-nakshatrā ravigraha-parvani asyān samvatsara-māsa-paksha-dīvāsa-pūruryān titiḥu-adyāvā-sāthēmābhālikāyān &c.— in seven centuries, increased by ninety-four, of the years of Vikrama, (or) in figures, 974 (the interpretation of the figures, however, with the exception of the 4, depends purely on the preceding expression in words; the first two of them present anything but the appearance of 7 and 9); in the latter fortnight of the month Kārttiyakā; on the new-moon tithi; on Sunday; under the Jyēśhāhā nakṣatrā; on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun; on this lunar day, (specified) as above by the year, and month, and fortnight, and (solar) day; to-day; here, at Bāhāmikē," &c.—This gives us for calculation, Vikrama-Samvats 794, current according to the literal meaning of the text; the month Kārttiyakā (October-November); the second, and as shown by the following mention of the new-moon day and a solar eclipse, the dark fortnight; the new-moon tithi; Sunday; an eclipse of the sun; and the Jyēśhāhā nakṣatrā or lunar mansion. And, as the details of the inscription connect it specifically with Saurashtra or Kāṭhiāwār, we have to understand that the Vikrama year quoted is the southern Vikrama year, commencing with Kārttiyakā śukla 1, and having the Amūnta southern arrangement of the months (see Table III., page 71 below), in which the second fortnight of each month is the dark fortnight. This is, in fact, proved by the record itself, in allotting to the second fortnight of the month the new-moon tithi, which of course belongs to the dark fortnight. And, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit tells me, it is also shown by the mention of the Jyēśhāhā nakṣatrā, which can never occur on the new-moon tithi of the Pūrṇimānta northern Kārttiyakā.—As belonging to southern Vikrama-Samvats 794, the given tithi belonged, according to the Tables, to Śaka-Samvats 659, expired; and, if it belonged to southern Vikrama-Samvats 795, it would belong to Śaka-Samvats 660, expired. With the basis of these two Śaka years, taken as expired, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit gives me the following English equivalents of the recorded date,—for Vikrama-Samvats 794, Monday, the 28th October, A.D. 737, when there was the Anurādhāhā nakṣatrā, and most probably no eclipse of the sun (none, at least, is recorded in Indian Eras, p. 211);—and for Vikrama-Samvats 795, Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738, when there was the Jyēśhāhā nakṣatrā; but there cannot have been an eclipse of the sun, since there was one on the preceding new-moon tithi, on Friday, the 17th October, A.D. 738, or, by the English Tables (Indian Eras, p. 211) Saturday, the 18th October (the difference in the day is because the conjunction of the sun and the moon occurred late towards sunrise; and, for the same reason, the eclipse was not visible in India). This, of course, was the new-moon tithi of the Pūrṇimānta northern Kārttiyakā that fell in A.D. 738; but the supposition that this is the day intended, is barred by the facts that I have mentioned above, which prevent our understanding that the month recorded is the Pūrṇimānta northern month at all; and also by the fact, ascertained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, that on the 17th October, A.D. 738, the nakṣatras were Svāti and Viśādī. To complete the details, I would add that he finds that the English equivalent of the new-moon tithi of the Pūrṇimānta northern Kārttiyakā, which fell in A.D. 737, was Saturday, the 28th September, A.D. 737, when the nakṣatras were Chitrā and Svāti, and there was no solar eclipse.—The only English date, therefore, which at all answers to the record, is Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738; and this is the date that was accepted by Dr. Bühler, in publishing the inscription, on calculations made by Prof. Jacobii. In order to arrive at it, however, he translated the record as meaning Vikrama-Samvats 794 expired and 795 current. And in dealing with the eclipse, which, according to the same Amūnta reckoning, occurred one lunation earlier, on the new-moon tithi of the preceding month Āśvina, he arrived at the conclusions, that the
In 1884, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar issued a note on the question in his *Early History of the Dekkan*, Appendix A. p. 97 ff.; and announced his acceptance of the theory of A.D. 738. The grant was actually made on the new-moon *tithi* of Åsvina, because, though the eclipse was not visible, yet the occurrence of it was known, and therefore the occasion was one of special merit; but that the actual drafting of the charter was done a month later, on the new-moon *tithi* of Kârttika, and the person who drafted it was careless, and omitted to draw a distinction between the two occasions.—This date has also been discussed by Gen. Cunningham, in his *Indian Eras*, p. 48 I. His conclusions were, that the date belongs to Vikrama-Sâvat 794, not 795; but that the eclipse intended really is that of the (17th or) 18th October, A.D. 738. In order, however, to arrive at these conflicting results, he assumed that the year commenced, not with the month Kârttika, but with the month Mârgasîrsha (November-December), in accordance with a custom which Alberând tells us, was current among the people of Sind and Kanaúj and other localities, and had been followed at Mâlân up to a few years before his own time.* By this arrangement, of course, the month Kârttika of Vikrama-Sâvat 794 would belong to the end of the year, and would therefore fall in A.D. 738, not 737. But, by the southern reckoning, the new-moon day of Kârttika in A.D. 738 would be the 16th November, which was not the day of the eclipse. Accordingly, there remained something still to be explained; and Gen. Cunningham proposed to complete the arrangement by reading Åsvina, instead of Kârttiка; which would agree with the real eclipse-day, viz. the (17th or) 18th October, A.D. 738.

"But, as that day was a Saturday, a very inauspicious day, the writing of the grant was probably made on the following day, or Sunday, which was the first day of Kârttiка; and this might have led to the substitution of the name of Kârttiка, for that of Åsvina, as the actual day of the eclipse."

There was, really, no reason at all for proposing this alteration of the text; for, from the localities mentioned by Alberând, a year commencing with Mârgasîrsha could only be coupled with the *Pûrânmâtâ* northern arrangement of the months; and, by that arrangement, the 17th October, A.D. 738, on which day, as we have seen, the eclipse occurred for India, actually was the new-moon day of Kârttiка. The *Pûrânmâtâ* northern arrangement, however, is barred in the present case by the points to which I have drawn attention above.—Gen. Cunningham’s proposals, therefore, will not do, Nor will Dr. Böhler’s interpretation of the date. For, though it remains to be finally decided whether the given date in the southern Vikrama-Sâvat 794, current, or expired, belongs to Šâka-Sâvat 659 expired, or to 660 expired, yet the eclipse selected by him, as by General Cunningham, was not visible in India; and the assumption that it is the one referred to, also entails a greater variation between the facts and the recorded statements than could possibly occur in a genuine charter.—I confess that from the first, I have thought that the Dhinkit grant is not genuine; partly from the type of the Dévanâgarî characters used in it, which, though they present some apparently antique characteristic, are much inferior to those used in certain early palm-leaf MSS., and are also rude, even as compared with the characters of the Sâmânga grant of the Kâshrâkâta king Dantidurga, of Šâka-Sâvat 675 expired (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XI. p. 108 ff. and Plate), which belongs to just about the alleged period; and partly from its giving so much earlier an instance than can be found anywhere else, of the use of the name of Vikrama in connection with the era. My impression has been that the grant was made spurious by substituting the word Vikrama for Valabhî. This view, I find, cannot be upheld; as the recorded details are not correct for Valabhî-Sâvat 794 (A.D. 1113-14), or a year before or after. But, that the grant really is spurious, is, I think, now certain, from all the results that I have recited above. And judging by the characters, I should be inclined to refer the fabrication of it to about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. As the *Jâshîkâ naâshatra* appears to occur always on, or within two days after, the new-moon *tithi* of Kârttika, this detail was probably selected as a fairly safe one; the others being purely fictitious.
318-19 for the epoch of the Gupta era. He held (id. p. 97) that Albêront's statement regarding the era dating from the extermination of the Gupta, was to be attributed to nothing but the fact that, as in the case also of the Śaka era, the Hindus had repeated to him a mistaken tradition; and that the only reasonable course was, while accepting his initial date for the era, to reject his explanation of the circumstances under which it was established; and he held (id. p. 98) that the fact that this era came to be known in later times by the name of the Valabhī era, was due only to its having been introduced into Saurāśṭra by the Valabhī family, who were originally dependents of the Gupta, and the dates in whose grants could, at any rate, plainly not be referred to the rise of the family under the Śudāpati Bhaṭarka. The principal tests applied by him were, the record of the week-day in the Ėrāṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta; and the names of the samvatsaras of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, as recorded in the grants of the Mahādrājas Hastin and Samkshōbha. In respect of the Ėrāṇ record, he announced (id. p. 99) that Prof. K. L. Chhatre had found that it was correct for Śaka-Saṁvat 406, as an expired year, and equivalent to A.D. 484-85, i.e. for the Saka year for which it should be correct according to the initial date given by Albêront; and his grounds so far were correct. In respect, however, of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter (id. p. 99) he went quite astray; partly through accepting the view that the samvatsaras of the cycle begin and end with the lunisolar years; partly through assuming, evidently in order to apply General Cunningham's Tables of the samvatsaras, that the Gupta dates denoted expired years, with current samvatsaras, which led to the result that Gupta-Saṁvat 156 should be the Mahā-Chaitra samvatsara, instead of Mahā-Vaiśākha as recorded; and partly through his acceptance of General Cunningham's alteration of the date of No. 22, page 100, from Gupta-Saṁvat 163 to 173. In the course of the arguments which occupy the rest of his paper, he suggested that the T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu of Huien Tsiang was Dhruvāśena II. of Valabhī. But on this point it is hardly possible to endorse any part of his statement (id. p. 100) that "nothing "important is involved in the suffix bhāta. It was a mere title or honorific termination, "as pant and ṛdv are among us, the Marāṭhās. Śēna, simka, and bhāta were the Vala- "bhihonorific endings; and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in "the plates as Dhruvāsimha, may have been called Dhrubabhāta by ordinary people, from "whom Huien Tsiang must have got the name." But the name of Dhruvāsimha does not

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1 He seems to quote A.D. 319-20 as the epoch (e.g. p. 99, line 15). But, since he treated the Gupta years as expired years, the epoch that he apparently proved is A.D. 318-19.

2 It was from this that he inferred that the Gupta-Saṁvat 165 of the record, was itself an expired year. But this does not follow at all. The equation between the Gupta date and the corresponding English date, is not intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all; only, in using Hindu Tables, we have to arrive at it through a Śaka year, and to use as the basis of the calculation, the last Śaka year expired before the current Śaka year corresponding to Gupta-Saṁvat 165 current.—A most curious confusion between current and expired years of the Śaka era runs through his remarks. Thus, though quite rightly taking Śaka Saṁvat 406 expired to be equivalent to A.D. 484-85, with a difference of 78-79, he also, with the same difference, took, e.g., A.D. 511-12 as the equivalent of Śaka-Saṁvat 433 current.
occur at all in any of the numerous Valabhi grants that have come to light; nor does any one of them furnish the slightest grounds for the assertion that there was ever any confusion between the terminations śena, simha, and bhāsa. And, though Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar pointed out that Hiuen Tsiang seems to be referring to more than one king of Valabhi, whom he held to be the two brothers Dharasena III. and Dhrusasena II., yet I cannot find any authority, either in M. Stanislas Julien's translation, or in Mr. Beal's, for his assertion that Hiuen Tsiang was speaking of only two kings, and that it was the younger of them whom he denoted by the name of T'u-lu-p'o-po-lu. This, however, as I have indicated at page 40f. above, is a point which cannot be finally cleared up, until we have some more explicit and reliable exposition of the words actually used by Hiuen Tsiang.

And finally, in 1885, in the Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1784 to 1883, Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, after a brief résumé of the results of the work of preceding investigators, arrived at the opinion (id. Part II. p. 111) that "the terminal " date," A.D. 319, "of the Gupta empire, as determined by Mr. Thomas, may now be considered as one of those great historical landmarks, the truth of which is admittedly no "more open to question;" and (id. 113) that General Cunningham's theory of A.D. 166-67 for the epoch of the Gupta era, "has every prospect of ultimately meeting with universal assent, and being the final verdict of the historic researches regarding the Gupta "dynasty."

The Mandasor Inscription of Mālava-Saṃvat 529.

The summary that I have given above will shew sufficiently well the curious ingenuity that was displayed from time to time, in aiming at any settlement of the question rather than the correct one; and also the insufficiency of the arguments used in support of the true solution, even by those who perceived it.

But of course it may be claimed that, as long as M. Reinaud's translation of the statement regarding the circumstances under which the era of A.D. 319-20 or thereabouts was established, remained without correction, there was something to be said from the point of view that we had to deal with a mistake made by Albârini, lying in a confusion between a true Gupta era, anterior to A.D. 319, used by the Early Gupta kings themselves, and another Gupta era, or more properly a Valabhi era, with an epoch of A.D. 319-20 or thereabouts, established, whether used or not, by some member of the Valabhi family; and that he was right in respect of the historical event, from which, as he appeared to assert, this latter era took its origin. And, in default of definite evidence, settling the question one way or the other, perhaps the strongest argument against the views held by Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, was to be found in the fol-

1 Dr. Hoernle called A.D. 166 the initial year of the era; but this is not an exact representation of Gen. Cunningham's results.
lowing anomalous position, which had occasionally been noticed more or less directly, but had never been disposed of. It was held by all that the Valabhi family came immediately after the Guptas. It was also held that in A.D. 318 or 319, some member of this family founded the city of Valabhi; and, in commemoration partly of that event, and partly of the Gupta rule having then ceased and the power having passed into his own hands, established the Valabhi era dating from then. And yet,—as is proved by, amongst other things, the fact that Bhaṭṭārka, the founder of the family, came only one generation before the year 207, the earliest date that we have in the era used in their own charters, —the founder of this era, and his successors, did not allow this era of their own, established under such memorable circumstances, to supersede the Gupta era; but continued the use of the Gupta era for, in accordance with the three earlier starting-points given on page 32 f. above, respectively 205, 294, and 318 years at least, (as is shewn by the Alnā grant of Śilāditya VIII., dated in the year 447), after the establishment of their own era! This surely involves an improbability far greater than any other, of whatever kind, that can be imagined in connection with the whole subject.

In order to arrive at any prospect of a final settlement of the question, what was wanted was a date for one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in some era, capable of identification, other than that which was specially used by them in their own inscriptions. This has now, at length, been found in my new Mandasōr inscription, which, composed and engraved when the year 529 had expired from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, gives us, through his feudatory Bandhuvarman, the date of the year 493, expired of the same era, for Kumāragupta.

This was not the first instance that had been obtained of the use of this era, which may for convenience be called the Mālava era. For, it is obviously identical with the era which is alluded to in the Kaṇasa inscription dated when the 79th year of the Mālava lords had expired; and is also mentioned, under the specific name of the Mālava-kāla, i.e. 'the Mālava era,' or 'the time of the Mālavas,' in a fragmentary inscription at 'Gyāraspur' or 'Gyārispur' in Central India, dated when the 936th year had expired.  

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1 Edited by Dr. Kielhorn, in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 163 ff. The date (from the published text; p. 164 f.; line 14 f.) runs—sāṁvētavāra-itäir-vyāsha-sa-pañcha-na-pratya-saptakha=Maḷavā-śidhāk mandiraṁ Dhurjarāk kritam.— (in the year that is denoted by seven expired centuries of 'years, coupled with ninety-five, of the Mālava lords, (this) temple of (the god) Dhurjaṭi has been made.”

2 Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 33 f., and Plate xi. The date, part of which is broken away, (from the Plate) runs — Mālavā-kālāc cāharaṇa = chatri-sa-marṣa-sa-samvatā = atshaṇa navasa nāteku.—"when nine centuries of autumns, joined with thirty-six, have gone by, from (the complete) remembrance of the Mālava era (or, from the time of the Mālavas)."—The counting of the era by autumns is followed also in line 21 of the Mandasōr inscription of Yaśādharman and Vīshṇupārdhana, of Mālava-Sāṅvat 599 expired, No. 35, page 150. And it is worth noting, as being one of the points which identify the Mālava era with the Vikrama era. It can hardly be doubted, that the
though, in commenting on this latter inscription, General Cunningham expressed the opinion\(^1\) that this Mālava era must be the same as the era of Vikramāditya of Ujjain, commencing in B.C. 57, this point has not hitherto been capable of proof; for the reason that neither of these two dates gave sufficient details for actual computation, or any other available grounds for historical identification. Nor does the Mandaśor inscription, now brought to notice, furnish any details for calculation. But, in its mention of Kumāra-gupta, it answers the purpose equally well.

Turning to the Gupta inscriptions and coins, the earliest and latest dates that we have for Kumāra-gupta are, respectively, Gupta-Saṁvat 96 and 130 odd. The first is established by his well-known Bilsād pillar inscription, No. 10, page 42; and the latter, by one of General Cunningham's coins.\(^2\) Least, however, the coin-date should be looked upon as at all doubtful, we must note also his Mankuwār inscription, No. 11, page 45, dated Gupta-Saṁvat 120. And, of these extreme dates, we may take Gupta-Saṁvat 113 as the mean.

Applying this mean year to the various theories regarding the epoch of the Gupta era, it represents — (1) according to Mr. Thomas, A.D. 190-91; (2) according to General Cunningham, A.D. 279-80; (3) according to Sir E. Clive Bayley, A.D. 303-304; and (4) according to my own view, A.D. 432-33.

Next, applying to these figures the date of Mālava-Saṁvat 493 expired, recorded for Kumāra-gupta in the inscription under notice, we find that the initial point of the Mālava era must lie within a few years on either side of— (1) B.C. 301; (2) B.C. 214; (3) B.C. 190; and (4) B.C. 61-60.

The first three results, however, each entail the supposition of a brand-new era, hitherto unheard-of, and entirely unexpected. At the same time, as regards the second possible result of about B.C. 214, we must not overlook the existence of certain coins, found in large numbers at Nāgar in the north of Mālwa, about forty-five miles north of Kōṭā, and originally brought to notice by Mr. Carleyle,\(^3\) which have on them the legend Mālavān Śrī jayaḥ, "the victory of the Mālavas," in characters ranging, in General Cunningham's opinion, "from perhaps B.C. 250 to A.D. 250." These coins shew that the Mālavas existed, as a recognised and important clan, long before the time when, as I consider, their "tribal

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\(^1\) *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 34.

\(^2\) *ibid.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Plate v. No. 7.

\(^3\) *ibid.* Vol. VI. pp. 165 i., and 174 ii.; see also *ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 149 ii., and Pl. xxxi. Nos. 19 to 25.
constitution," which led to the establishment of their era, took place; and so also, in the other direction, does the mention of them in the Allahabád pillar inscription, among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta, shew that, down to his time at least, they maintained their tribal constitution and importance. And, if we were compelled to have recourse to a new era, these coins might justifiably induce us to select, as its epoch, B.C. 323, the date fixed by General Cunningham for the death of Aśoka;¹ which would make the date of Málava-Saṁvat 493 correspond with A.D. 270, or well on into the first decade of Kumáragupta’s reign according to General Cunningham’s theory. But this entails, as I have said, the supposition of the existence of an era, of which not the slightest indication has ever yet been afforded by the very numerous inscriptions that have now been examined from all parts of the country; and this is an expedient that must by all possible means be avoided.

And, further, it forces the Kaṇaswa inscription of Málava-Saṁvat 795, and the ‘Gyāraspur’ inscription of Málava-Saṁvat 936, back to respectively A.D. 572 and 713; periods to which, from their alphabets, they cannot possibly belong. And thus,—since, within certain limits, palæographical evidence must be followed,—it creates a palæographical difficulty that is insuperable. So also does the third result, to practically the same extent; and the first, to a still more marked degree.

The fourth result, on the contrary, satisfies all the palæographical requirements of the case. And it brings us so very close to B.C. 57, the commencement of the well-known Vikrama era,—which, by the tradition of later times, is closely connected with the country of the Málavas, through the name of its supposed founder, king Vikramáditya, whose capital, Ujjain, was the principal city in Málva,—that we are compelled to find in it the solution of the question, and to adjust the equation of the dates thus,—Gupta-Saṁvat 113 (the mean date for Kumáragupta) + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 432-33; and Málava-Saṁvat 493 — B.C. 57-56 = A.D. 436-37; which, of course, falls well within the seventeen years of Kumáragupta’s reign, remaining after his mean date.

My new Mandasöör inscription, therefore, proves — (1) that any statement by Albérünli that the Early Gupta power came to an end in or about A.D. 319, must certainly be wrong;—(2) that, on the contrary, Kumáragupta’s dynastic dates,—and, with them, those of his father Chandragupta II., and his son Skandagupta, which belong undeniabley to the same series; and also any others which can be shewn to run uniformly with them,—must be referred to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, or therabouts, brought to notice by Albérünli and substantiated by the Verâval inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945;—and (3) incidentally, that, under another name, connecting it with the Málava tribe, the Vikrama era did undoubtedly exist anterior to A.D. 544, which, as we have seen, at page 55 above, was held by Mr. Fergusson to be the year in which it was invented. These results are, of course, independent of the question whether the Early Guptas established an era of their own, with the above-mentioned epoch, or whether they only adopted the era of some other dynasty.

The Determination of the Exact Epoch of the Era.

I have shewn, so far, that the Early Gupta dates, and, with them, any others that can be proved to belong to the same uniform series, are to be referred to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, or thereabouts, brought to notice by Albērūnī and substantiated by the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Shahvat 945.

It now remains to be shewn why, out of the three possible epochs of A.D. 318-19, 319-20, and 320-21, current, which appear, at first sight, to be deducible from Albērūnī’s statements, we have to select, as the true and exact epoch, that of A.D. 319-20, equivalent to Śaka-Shahvat 241 expired.

This point is one that can be settled only by accurate calculations of the recorded dates, explained in detail, so that it may be seen that the process applied is satisfactory, and that the inferences drawn are correct. And, as a preliminary matter, we must determine what was the nature of the years of the Gupta-Valabhi era.

The Scheme of the Gupta-Valabhi Year.

Bearing in mind that, in all cases in which the notation and computation of tithis or lunar days are concerned, as also of solar days connected with lunar months, the years of the Kaliyuga era¹ and of the northern Vikrama era have to be treated as commencing, like the years of the Śaka era, with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April); and also that the decision as to the order of the dark and bright lunar fortnights of the months must of necessity go with the decision as to the general northern or southern nature of the era and its years, since we cannot have a northern year coupled with the southern arrangement of the fortnights, or a southern year coupled with the northern arrangement,—the question now before us is, whether the years of the Gupta-Valabhi era had a distinct scheme and initial day of their own, or whether they followed the scheme and initial day of the years of the Śaka era, according to either the northern or the southern arrangement, or the scheme and initial day of the years of the southern Vikrama era.

¹This era is also of extremely exceptional use in epigraphical records. The only instances that I can quote are (1) the Aihole inscription of the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff.), which is dated when three thousand seven hundred and thirty-five years had elapsed from the Bhārata war, supplemented by the statement that, at the same time, five hundred and fifty-six years of the Śaka kings also had gone by, in (their own era as a sub-division of) the Kali age, the figures of which are marked by those of the Bhārata war; and (2) some of the inscriptions of the Kāṇḍambas of Goa, ranging from A.D. 1167 to 1247 (Jour. Br. Br. As. Soc. Vol. IX. pp. 241 ff., 262 ff., and Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 288 ff.), which, for some capricious reason, are dated in the Kaliyuga, without any reference to the Śaka era at all, though other records of the same family (see my Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 90 ff.) are dated in the Śaka era, and in that alone.
A reference to Table III. on page 71 below, will explain at once the difference in the schemes of these years, and the necessity for determining the question that we have under consideration.¹

The Śaka years of both Northern and Southern India commence with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, immediately after the new-moon conjunction. But, in the scheme of the year, there is the important difference that, in the northern arrangement, the dark fortnight of each month precedes the bright;² whereas in the southern year, it is the bright fortnight that stands first. Popularly, and in Pañchāṅgo or Hindu almanacs, the northern arrangement is called Pārṇimānta, or 'ending with the full-moon;' and the southern arrangement is called Amānta, or 'ending with the conjunction (of the sun and the moon), i.e. with the new-moon;' and these terms will be found very convenient for practical use. The result of this difference of arrangement, is, that, in the northern year, the dark fortnight of Chaitra stands at the end of the year, instead of in the place of the second fortnight, which it occupies in the southern year; and that the dark half of the southern Chaitra is the same lunar period as the dark half of the northern Vaiśākha; and so on all through the year. For dates in the bright fortnights of Śaka years, it obviously is immaterial whether we follow the northern or the southern scheme. But, for dates in the dark fortnights, it is as obviously essential, in order to compute them correctly, that we should know exactly which scheme they conform to; since, for instance, the thirteenth lunar or solar day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month Āshāṅgha represents, if treated as a southern date, an English day later by one complete lunation, or practically a month, than the English equivalent of it as a northern date.

In the southern Vikrama year, the arrangement of the fortnights is the regular Amānta southern arrangement. But the year commences seven lunations later than the equivalent Śaka year, and corresponding northern Vikrama year;³ viz. with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). Here, again, for purposes of computation, any date in a southern Vikrama year has to be treated as the same date in the equivalent Śaka year. And a reference to the right-hand columns in Table III. on page 71, will shew at once the way in which the years overlap; and will explain fully the

¹ Contrary to the hitherto prevalent custom, I enter the current Hindu years in the Table. It is, under any circumstances, quite illogical to speak of, for instance, "Chaitra śukla 1 of, in, or belonging to, Śaka-Saṁvat 500," when the Śaka year is intended as an expired year. And it is particularly necessary to use the current Hindu years, when the object is to compare them with years of the Christian era, of which the current years are always quoted; leaving it to any one who has to calculate a date by Hindu Tables, to take the preceding expired year as the basis of the calculation.

² See Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 71, where Hiuen Tsang's account shows that the arrangement was just the same twelve centuries ago.

³ This is the customary way of putting it. But the more correct statement would be, that the Vikrama year of Northern India now commences, with the equivalent Śaka year, seven lunations earlier than the corresponding southern Vikrama year (see page 66 above, note 2.)
### TABLE III.
Comparative Table of the Vikrama, Śaka, and Gupta-Valabhi Years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern India, Pūrṇimānta.</th>
<th>Months and Fortnights.</th>
<th>Southern India, Aṃūnta.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaitra</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyēṣṭha</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āshāḍha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāvaṇa</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhādrapada</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśvina</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārttika</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārgaśīrsha</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māgha</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phālguṇa</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Śaka-Saṅvat 1186.**
Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321.
Gupta-Valabhi-Saṅvat 545.
A.D. 1264-65.

(Vepaulal Inscription, Ashāḍha; the dark fortnight; the 1st solar day; Sunday.)

| Chaitra                      | bright                 |                           |
| Vaiśākha                     | dark                   |                           |
| Jyēṣṭha                      | dark                   |                           |
| Āshāḍha                      | bright                 |                           |
| Śrāvaṇa                      | dark                   |                           |
| Bhādrapada                   | bright                 |                           |
| Āśvina                       | dark                   |                           |
| Kārttika                     | bright                 |                           |
| Mārgaśīrsha                  | dark                   |                           |
| Pausha                       | bright                 |                           |
| Māgha                        | dark                   |                           |
| Phālguṇa                     | bright                 |                           |

**Śaka-Saṅvat 1187.**
Vikrama-Saṅvat 1322.
Gupta-Valabhi-Saṅvat 545.
A.D. 1264-65.

| Chaitra                      | dark                   |                           |
| Vaiśākha                     |                         |                           |
| Jyēṣṭha                      |                         |                           |
| Āshāḍha                      |                         |                           |
| Śrāvaṇa                      |                         |                           |
| Bhādrapada                   |                         |                           |
| Āśvina                       |                         |                           |
| Kārttika                     |                         |                           |
| Mārgaśīrsha                  |                         |                           |
| Pausha                       |                         |                           |
| Māgha                        |                         |                           |
| Phālguṇa                     |                         |                           |

Vikrama-Saṅvat 1320.
A.D. 1262-63.

Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321.
A.D. 1262-64.

Vikrama-Saṅvat 1320.
A.D. 1264-65.

Vikrama-Saṅvat 1322.
A.D. 1264-65.
necessity of determining the question with which we are concerned. By the epochs of the two eras, the nearest equivalent of, for instance, southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 current is Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 current; and this is also its actual equivalent for any date from Kārttika śukla 1 up to Phālguna krishṇa 15, both included; but, for any date from the following Chaitra śukla 1 up to Aśvina krishṇa 15, both included, the actual equivalent of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 current is the following Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 current. Consequently, if the Gupta-Valabhl year is to be treated as a southern Vikrama year, any such date as Gupta-Valabhl-Saṃvat 944, Chaitra śukla 1, up to Aśvina krishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent later by twelve complete lunations, or practically a year, or else any such date as Gupta-Valabhl-Saṃvat 944, Kārttika śukla 1, up to Phālguna krishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent earlier by twelve complete lunations, than the English equivalents if the year is to be treated as a Śaka year.

The question, whether by any chance we can be concerned, in the Gupta-Valabhl era, at any period, with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, is, if possible, still more an essential point, because the dates that we have in the era, under its later name of the Valabhl era, come from Kāṭhīawāḍ, where, as in the neighbouring provinces of Gujarāt and the Northern Konkāṇ, the national era is the Vikrama era, in the southern arrangement. In those parts there would of course be a tendency, sooner or later, to adapt the original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhl year to the scheme of the years of the local national era. And a distinct instance of this adaptation having been actually made in Gujarāt, is furnished by the Kaira (Khēḍā) grant of Dharasēna IV. of Valabhl, published by Dr. Bühler in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 335 ff. Its date is the year 330; the "second" month Mārgaśīra (November-December); the bright fortnight; and the second tīkhi or lunar day. And the interest and importance of it result from its shewing that, in that year, there was an intercalation of a month, which, according to this record, was Mārgaśīra or Mārgaśīrsha. Now, allowing for the moment, what I shall shortly prove, as closely as absolute certainty can be obtained, viz. that the true original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhl year is the scheme of the northern Śaka year, the month Mārgaśīrsha of this record should belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 572 current, and should fall in A.D. 649. The detailed consideration of this date, however, at page 93 ff. below, shews that the intercalation in question can only have occurred in A.D. 648, and belonged to Śaka-Saṃvat 571 current, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarāt, to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706 current. And, since the localities mentioned in the charter connect it absolutely with a district in Gujarāt, the year 330 of this record must have commenced, like the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706, with the month Kārttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṃvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 572 current, according to the original scheme of the years of the era. Bearing in mind, however, that this record belongs to Gujarāt, we have

1 Or, in the case of certain intercalations, later here, and in the other case earlier, by thirteen lunations, or practically a year and a month.
not to seek far for the explanation of this discrepancy. When once the Gupta-Valabhl era had been fairly introduced in Gujarât, the natural tendency, as I have said, would soon be to disregard the original scheme of its years, and to substitute for it the scheme of the southern Vikrama years. Let us assume that this substitution took place in Gupta-Valabhl-Saṁvat\(^1\) 303, which commenced, approximately, on the 19th March, A.D. 622, about half-way through southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 679 current. Then, if the change of scheme was effected in the first seven lunations of the Gupta-Valabhl year, the Gujarâtls would make the new year, Gupta-Valabhl-Saṁvat 304, commence with their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 680, on the next Kârttika śukla 1, or approximately the 12th October, A.D. 622; and Gupta-Valabhl-Saṁvat 303, as thus adapted and shortened by them, would contain only seven lunations, from Chaitra śukla 1 up to Āsvina krishna 15. If, on the other hand, the change was effected in the last five lunations of the Gupta-Valabhl year, when southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 680 current had already commenced, then the Gujarâtls would defer the commencement of the new year, Gupta-Valabhl-Saṁvat 304, until the commencement of their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat'681, on again the next Kârttika śukla 1, or approximately the 1st October, A.D. 623; and Gupta-Valabhl-Saṁvat 303, as thus adapted and prolonged, would contain nineteen lunations. The years of the era would, for the future, always commence, in Gujarât, with the years of the southern Vikrama era, on the first day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika. Under the second condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence seven lunations later than it would in Kâṭhâwâd, as long as the true original reckoning was preserved in the latter country; which was the case up to at least Gupta-Valabhl-Saṁvat 945. Under the first condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence five lunations earlier than in Kâṭhâwâd. And the grant of Dharasena IV., now under notice, shews that this latter was the manner in which the change of scheme, which had already been accomplished, was effected; since this is the only method by which the intercalary Mârgaśîrśa of this record can be made to belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 330, instead of to 329.

The Verâwal inscription, however, of the Chanûkya king Arjunadêva, dated Valabhl-Saṁvat 945, which I have mentioned at page 31 f. above, and the surroundings and full bearings of which will be explained in detail further on, contains such particulars, in the record of its date, as show that, in it at all events, there is no reference to the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, or even of the southern Śaka year.

But, apart from any particular instances which supply proof by means of the circumstances under which the recorded week-days are found to be correct, there is, as I have said, the general fact that we cannot have either a southern year coupled with

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\(^1\) I do not mean to assert that the change took place in this particular year; or even within a few years on either side of it. All that is certain, is, that it took place before Gupta-Valabhl-Saṁvat 330. And I have used the year 303, instead of 300 in round numbers, for purposes of illustration, only in order to avoid a year with an intercalary month.
the Pârśimânta northern arrangement of the fortnights of the months, or a northern year coupled with the Âmûnta southern arrangement. And, in proof of this position, I will here adduce some very instructive information gathered from the Nêpâl inscriptions, which were published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.

The earliest eras used in these inscriptions, are the Gupta era, and the era of Harsha-vardhana of Kanauj. And the recorded dates in them range, respectively, from A.D. 635 to 854, and from A.D. 639 to 758. Soon after that time, these eras were supplanted, in Nêpâl, by the Nêwâr era, the epoch of which, according to Mr. Prinsep's statement that the year 951 ended in A.D. 1831, is A.D. 879-80; and the commencement, A.D. 880-81. Mr. Prinsep also recorded that each year of the era began in October; which is in accordance, broadly, with the information obtained by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, when travelling in Nêpâl, that the initial day of each year is the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November).

As regards the origin of the era, the Nêpâl Vamśâvali, or List of Kings, states that it was established by Jayadêvamalla, of the second Thâkuri dynasty of Amûsavarma. But a more important indication of the truth is given by its immediately following statement, that, on the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrâvana, in the ninth year of the era, coupled with Śaka-Samvat 811 which as an expired year is equivalent to A.D. 889-90, during the joint reign of Jayadêvamalla and his younger brother Ânandamalla, there came from the south a certain Nânyadêva, who conquered the whole of Nêpâl, and established the Kârâtaka Dynasty. The truth probably is that Nânyadêva was a minister of Jayadêvamalla, and eventually usurped the sovereignty, which, according to the Vamśâvali, remained with his descendants for five generations after him. Whether Nânyadêva really came from the south, it is of course difficult to say. That statement, and the name of his dynasty, may perhaps be only inventions, to account for the nature of the year that was coupled with the new era, which was evidently introduced by him, and not by Jayadêvamalla. But it is plain that, in addition to the establishment of a new era, there was made an important change in the calendar, consisting of the substitution of a foreign Kârâtaka year for the year that had hitherto been used in Nêpâl. The available dates do not furnish absolute proof that the initial day of the new year was Kârttika śukla 1. But the Vamśâvali gives the following two equations,—under Nânyadêva, as already noted, Nêpâla-Samvat 9 = Śaka-Samvat 811 (expired), with the date of Śrâvana śukla 7; and under Harisinhidêva, No. 1 in the Sûryavamshi Dynasty of Bhâtgâm, Nêpâla-Samvat 444.

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1 Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji tells me that this word, Nêwâr, is a local corruption of 'Nêpâl.'—In the inscriptions, this era, when it is not simply referred to in the usual way by the word samvat, is spoken of by the terms Nêpâla-vorsha (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 185, line 13 from the bottom), Nêpâla-samvata (id. p. 191, line 4 from the top), and Nêpâla-abda (id. p. 192, line 2 from the top).

2 Prinsep's Essays, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 166; see also Indian Eras, p. 74.

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

—Saka-Saṁvat 1245 (expired),—which, as the difference in the first case is 802 years, and in the second, 801, shew that the scheme of the year differed from that of the Saka years. And, taking this in connection with the information obtained by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and with the fact that all such dates as have been examined tend to support the result, it seems certain that the initial day of each year was Kārttika Śukla 1; and it is evident that the year was borrowed from the southern Vikrama year. The question remains as regards the arrangement of the fortnights of the months; and here, though we might most reasonably expect that, so far north as Népāl, even a year borrowed from the southern Vikrama year, would be coupled with the Pūrṇimaśa northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights, yet we find that this distinctly was not the case, but the Amāanta southern arrangement was preserved. This is proved, in the first instance, by the mention in the inscription of Śiddhīhinisinhā, dated Nēpāla-Saṁvat 757, of Śrāvana kṛṣṇa 8 after Śrāvana Śukla 12; and still more explicitly by the provision, in the same passage, for performing the jaṁdakṣham-pūjā, or 'worship on the eighth lunar day which is (the anniversary of) the birth (of Kṛṣṇa), on the eighth tīthi of the dark fortnight of Śrāvana; for, a comparison of any Paśchāts will shew that the festival in question occurs in the dark fortnight of Śrāvana only according to the Amāanta southern reckoning, but, according to the Pūrṇimaśa northern reckoning, on the same tīthi in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada. Further, the inscription of Riddhilakshmi gives a date in a dark fortnight, available for calculation. The details are Nēpāla-Saṁvat 810 current; the month Kārttika; the dark fortnight; the second lunar day; and Sunday. With the epoch of A.D. 879-80, the given tīthi should fall in A.D. 1689; and, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, by the Amāanta southern arrangement, it did end on a Sunday, viz. the 20th October, A.D. 1689; while, by the Pūrṇimaśa northern arrangement, it ended on a Friday, viz. the 20th September. Also, in connection with the question of the epoch itself being A.D. 879-80, he finds that the given tīthi did not end on a Sunday in either A.D. 1688 or 1690, by either the Amāanta or the Pūrṇimaśa arrangement. It is absolutely certain, that the year which was used in connection with the Nēwār era of Nēpāl, and which had Kārttika Śukla 1 for its initial day, was a southern

1 See Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 186, last two lines.

2 Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 192.—Nēpāl-dēbā gāgana-dharini-nāga-yuktā kil-ōrjē māśe pakhē vidhau-virahitē su-duvītē-dē śitau udālayam-api Rāvan Riddhilakshmī prasannu chaikrē dēv śu-viḍhi-viṣṭām Śāṅkaraśa pratishṭham.—'in the Nēpāl year possessed of the sky (=o), the earth (=1), and the (8) Nāgas; in (the month) Urja (i.e. Kārttika); in the fortnight which is deprived of the moon; on the excellent second lunar day; on Sunday; having made (this) temple, she, the gracious (and) majestic Riddhilakshmī, made an installation, according to all the proper rites, of (the god) Śāṅkara.'—The name of the week-day is overlooked in the published version.

3 The English equivalents for those years, are, by the Amāanta arrangement, Tuesday, the 30th October, A.D. 1688, and Saturday, the 8th November, A.D. 1690; and, by the Pūrṇimaśa arrangement, Monday, the 1st October, A.D. 1688, and Thursday, the 9th October, A.D. 1690.
year. On the other hand, when the Nêpâlese abandoned this offshoot of the southern Vikrama era, and introduced the Vikrama era itself from the neighbouring parts of Northern India, they adopted it in its northern variety, with Chaitra ūṣā, as its initial day, and with the Pârśimânta northern arrangement of the fortnights; as is proved by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations of the dates in dark fortnights, recorded in the inscription of queen Lalitatripurasundari. The dates are, Vikrama-Saṅvat 1874, Bhādrapada krishṇa 9, Sukravāra or Friday; Vikrama-Saṅvat 1875, Mārgaśīrsha krishṇa 5, Budhavāra or Wednesday; and Vikrama-Saṅvat 1877, Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 10, Ravivāra or Sunday. By the Aṃruta southern arrangement, the week-days do not come out right at all. While by the Pârśimânta northern arrangement, the English equivalents are, as required, Friday, the 5th September, A.D. 1817; Wednesday, the 18th November, A.D. 1818; and Sunday, the 7th May, A.D. 1820.

These facts amply establish my position that we cannot have either the Pârśimânta northern arrangement of the fortnights coupled with a southern year and era, or the Aṃruta southern arrangement of the fortnights coupled with a northern year and era. And now I shall bring forward some perfectly conclusive evidence, to prove that the scheme of the months of the Gupta-Valabhīl year proper was the regular Pârśimânta northern scheme; and that, therefore, in this era, in its original constitution, we cannot be concerned with any southern reckoning at all.

The Khôh copper-plate grant of the Parivrājaka Mahârāja Sanmshôbha, of the year 209 (A.D. 528-29), No. 25, page 112, is dated "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Aśvayuja saṅvatasara;" and, as regards other details, in fortunately a double manner. In line 2 f. we have—Chaitra-māsa-ūṣā-paksha-trayōdaśyām (where, in apposition with trayōdaśyām, we have to supply tīthau),—"on the thirteenth tithi, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra." And at the end, in line 24, in numerical symbols, this date is repeated as—Chaitra di 2 20 7 (where the abbreviation di stands for dīna, dīnel, divasa, or divasē),—"(the month) Chaitra; the (solar) day 20 (and) 7." This double record is explicable only on the understanding that, in the scheme of the months of the Gupta year, the dark fortnights stood first, according

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 193 f.
2 The published text has śukīl, which is obviously a mistake for śukrē.
3 In my printed version of this inscription, the second numerical symbol is given as 9, with a reference (page 112, note 4) to a note that it might possibly be 7, 8, or 9. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit having found by calculation that this tithi was the twenty-seventh solar day in the month, I now substitute 7 for 9 (see page 274, note 2).—The point that is proved by this double record had been missed, until I brought it to notice in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 145; because Gen. Cunningham, who first brought the inscription to notice, read the first symbol in line 24 as 10, instead of 20, and overlooked the second symbol altogether. He thus obtained "Chaitra, day 10;" and added the remark "this figure should be 13, to agree with the written date given above" [in line 2 f.] (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. 14. 15). There are, however, distinctly two symbols, meaning 20 and 7; or, together, 27.
to the regular Pùrṇimānta northern scheme. By this means only can the thirteenth titi, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight answer to the twenty-seventh solar day of the whole month. A double record of precisely the same kind is given in the Majhagawām grant of the Parivṛājaka Mahādrāja Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106, in which we have, in line 2,—Māgha-māsa-bahula-paksha-trītyāyām,—"on the third titi, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha;" and, in line 21,—Māgha di 3, —"Māgha, the (solar) day 3." But, the number of the solar day in this instance being under sixteen, this record is not in itself sufficient to prove the case, one way or the other.¹

What we require is a double date, in which the titi of the fortnight, the number of which cannot exceed fifteen is connected with a solar day, the number of which, exceeding sixteen, shews itself to be referred to the whole month, and not to the fortnight. This we have in the grant of the Mahādrāja Saṅkshobha. And the record proves absolutely that, in the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year, it is the Pūrṇimânta northern system that is concerned; and, consequently, the general scheme of the years of the era was not that of any southern year at all.

At present, the Verāwal inscription of Arjunadēva, dated Valabhi-Sānvat 945, is the only instance in which the equation of the Gupta-Valabhi era and another era is accompanied by the full details of a month, fortnight, and day.² And the thirteenth solar day in the dark fortnight of Ashadha, which is mentioned in it, might be the last or the first day of the Gupta-Valabhi year. As a single instance, therefore, it does not help us in any way to fix the initial day of the year.

Consequently, the remaining point,—whether the years of the Gupta-Valabhi era followed in all respects the scheme of the northern Śaka year, or whether they had some distinct initial day of their own,—is one which cannot be absolutely settled, until we obtain, either some more double records like that of the Verāwal inscription, which will

¹ There seemed to be also a double record of the same kind in the Ērān pillar inscription of Gopārāja, of the year 191, No. 20, page 91, in which we have, in line 2, Śrāvana ba di 7, "(the month) Śrāvana; the dark fortnight; the (solar) day 7;" and, in line 1, apparently Śrāvana-bahula-paksha-sap[t]am[y]d[ım] (or sap[t]am[y]d[ım]), "on the seventh titi, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of the month Śrāvana." Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, finds that, in Gupta-Sānvat 191, the seventh titi or lunar day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvana, ended on Monday, the 14th June, A.D. 510; and that this was the sixth solar day in the fortnight or month; since, the preceding new-moon titi ended on Tuesday, the 8th June. Accordingly, at the end of line 1, we should perhaps read sap[t]am[ə], sap[t]am[ɛ-kn], or sap[t]am[ɛ- dink.]

² The only other instance in which the Gupta-Valabhi era is mentioned in direct connection with another era, is Albhēṇa's statement (page 30 above), in which Gupta-Valabhi-Sānvat 712 is given as equivalent to Vikrama-Sānvat 1088, and Śaka-Sānvat 953. It cannot be turned to any practical use, in determining the scheme of the year, because he does not give any details of a month, &c.; and because we do not know for certain whether he is referring to the northern or to the southern Vikrama year.
enable us to gradually decrease the limits within which the commencement of the Gupta-Valabhl year is to be placed on the sliding scale of the twelve months; or the entry of an early date, approximating closely to Chaitra śukla 1, followed, in the same record, by a late date, approximating closely to the new-moon of Chaitra, both of them referred to one and the same Gupta-Valabhl year, and the latter of them distinctly connected with an event or ceremony which is specifically said to follow after the event or ceremony with which the former is connected; or the entry of a late date, approximating closely to the new-moon of Chaitra, followed, in the same record, by an early date approximating closely to Chaitra śukla 1, the two of them referred to two consecutive Gupta-Valabhl years, and, in the same way, the latter of them distinctly connected with an event or ceremony which is specifically said to follow the event or ceremony with which the former is connected.

And these conditions, of course, are rather difficult of fulfilment.

Meanwhile, I have now made it clear that the original Gupta year was a northern year, with the Pārśvanāta northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights; as was, in fact, to be expected in the case of a year used by so essentially a Northern India dynasty as the Early Guptas were. And, further on, I shall shew that the saṁvatsaras of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, which are quoted in the grants of the Mahārājas Hastin and Saṁkshōbha, not only confirm the above results by proving that the details of them cannot be referred to a year commencing with the month Kārttiika, but also prove that we cannot be concerned even with a year commencing with the new-moon of the month Mārgaśīrṣha (November-December), which is mentioned by Albērōnt as having been in use, at any rate in connection with the Lōkakāla reckoning, by the people of Sindh, Multān, Kanauj, and other parts, and as having been abandoned at Multān only shortly before his own time. As a matter of fact, a year commencing with Mārgaśīrṣha, and having the Pārśvanāta northern arrangement of the fortnights, would suit the details of every Gupta-Valabhl date,—including even the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330 mentioned above, and a Verāwal inscription of Valabhl-Saṁvat 927 which will be fully exhibited further on,—except one, vis. the Majhgawān grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, which has been referred to above. This being the sole exception, the calculations which determine the commencement and end of the saṁvatsara that is quoted in it, were gone through again and tested with very great care. But the result is that they distinctly bar the use of a year commencing with Mārgaśīrṣha. And thus,—having no other

1 Albērōnt's Indiā, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8 f.—He also, in the same place, mentions a year commencing with the month Bhādrapada (August-September). But, from his statement, it seems to have been confined to the vicinity of Kasmīr. And, under any circumstances, as Bhādrapada is earlier than Kārttiika in the Śaka year, the circumstances which bar a year commencing with Kārttiika, still more emphatically bar one commencing with Bhādrapada.
known year of general use to fall back on, except the Śaka year; and giving due consideration to the explicit manner in which Albērubānī connects the years of the Gupta-Valabhī era with those of the Śaka era by an even number, without any fractions; and having regard also to the fact that any Hindu date has to be converted, for purposes of calculation, into its equivalent Śaka date,—we may accept it as almost certain that, whatever may have been the real historical initial point of the Gupta-Valabhī era, after no great lapse of time the scheme of its years became in all respects identical with the scheme of the Śaka year, with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra as the initial day of each year, and with the Pūrṇimāṇa northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights, in accordance, in both respects, with what seems to have been always the custom of Northern India.

1 I have heard from Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar that, in the west of Kāṭhiāwaḍ, there is current a year commencing with the Āśādhāra sukla 1 that precedes the Kārttika sukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. This year is called the Hāḷārī year, as belonging to the Hāḷār Prānt or Sub-Division of Kāṭhiāwaḍ. I do not know whether it is coupled with the Amānta or with the Pūrṇimāṇa arrangement of the lunar fortnights. But it appears to be of purely local usage; it does not help to reconcile the discrepancy in the results for the dates of the Kārī grant of Dharāśena IV. of the year 330 and the Verāval inscription of Valabhī-Saṅvat 927, as compared with the results for all the other dates; and, in order to suit the dates in the Āryan pillar inscription of Budhaagupta and other records, it ought to commence with the Āśādhāra sukla 1 following, not preceding, the Kārttika sukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. There appear, therefore, no grounds for supposing that this Hāḷārī year is any remnant of the Gupta reckoning.

2 Evidence is, in fact accumulating that, even in Southern India, or at least in some parts of it, the Amānta southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights was not coupled with the Śaka years until a comparatively late period.—One point in favour of this is the Haidarābd (Dekkan) grant of the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II., in which the details for computation (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 73, line 11 ff.) are Śaka-Saṅvat 534 expired, the month Bhaḍrapada (August-September), the new-moon tithi, and an eclipse of the sun. I have noticed this date in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 109 ff.; and I arrived then at the conclusion that the solar eclipse in question is that of the 23rd July, A.D. 613. This, however, was in consequence of a mistake as to the English equivalent of the indicated current Śaka year, due to the manner in which the Tables are arranged for expired years without any distinct intimation to that effect, and (see Appendix I. below) by no means confined to myself. Śaka-Saṅvat 534 expired, and 535 current, is really equivalent to A.D. 612-13. In this period there was an eclipse of the sun (see Indian Eras, p. 210) on the 2nd August, A.D. 612; which was the new-moon tithi of Bhāḍrapada according to the Pūrṇimāṇa northern arrangement. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, however, by the Sārya-Siddhānta, that the tithi ended at 35 āsatis, 46 pālas; and consequently that the eclipse, occurring in the night, was not visible in India. Accordingly, there being no eclipse of the sun on the given tithi in the preceding year, it is doubtful whether the record really refers to the eclipse of the 2nd August, A.D. 612; or whether we have here a genuine instance of a mistake in the year that is quoted, and the eclipse that is really intended is that which occurred, fully visible under very impressive circumstances at the locality, Bādami, to which the record refers itself, on the 23rd July, A.D. 613, which date again answers to the new-noon tithi of Bhaḍrapada according to the Pūrṇimāṇa northern arrangement. But the point to which I have to draw attention here, is, that, whichever of these two eclipses we select, the Pūrṇimāṇa northern arrangement of the lunar fort-
The Calculation of Recorded Dates.

Our next step, therefore, will be, to see how far the available Gupta-Valabhl dates, converted into Śaka dates by the addition of two hundred and forty-one years in accordance with Albèrdni’s most specific statement regarding the equation of the two eras, and treated as northern dates, with the Pṛṛnimānta arrangement of the lunar fortnights, and with Chaitra śukla 1 as the initial day of the year, give satisfactory results; and what uniform equations can be established between, on the one hand, the years of the Gupta-Valabhl era, and, on the other, those of the Śaka and the Christian eras.

The Ēraṇ Inscription of the year 165.

The earliest record that furnishes the easy test which is provided by the mention of the name of a week-day, combined with the other necessary details, and the first that was tested for me by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, is that given in the Ēraṇ pillar inscription nights has to be applied.—Again, in a grant of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III, from the Kanarese country, we have for calculation (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 126, line 1 ff.) Śaka-Saṅvat 726, the Subhānu saṁvatsara of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the month Vaiśākha (April-May), the dark fortnight, the fifth tithi, and Bṛhaspativāra or Thursday. Whether a literal translation of the text indicates the given Śaka year as current, or as expired, is not quite certain. But correct results can be obtained only by taking it as an expired year. With the basis of Śaka-Saṅvat 726 expired, the given tithi, belonging to Śaka-Saṅvat 727 current, ended, by the Amānta arrangement, on Friday, the 3rd May, A.D. 804; but, by the Pṛṛnimānta arrangement, on Thursday, the 4th April, as required. And this is in accordance with the Northern System of the Sixty-Year Cycle, by which the Subhānu saṁvatsara commenced in Śaka-Saṅvat 726 current, on the 17th June, A.D. 803, and was followed by the Tāraṇa saṁvatsara in Śaka-Saṅvat 727 current, on the 12th June, A.D. 804; so that it was current, as recorded, on the given date. By the Southern System of the cycle, the Subhānu saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṅvat 726 current (A.D. 803-804). And for this year, with the basis of Śaka-Saṅvat 725 expired, the equivalents of the given tithi are, by the Amānta arrangement, Saturday, the 15th April, A.D. 803, and, by the Pṛṛnimānta arrangement, Friday, the 17th March.—On the other hand, the Śūrār (Dhārāvād District) inscription of the Rāshtrakūta king Amoghavarsha I. gives us for calculation (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 219, line 15 ff.) Śaka-Saṅvat 788, the Vyaya saṁvatsara, the month Jyēṣṭha (May-June), the new-moon tithi, Ādiyavāra or Sunday, and an eclipse of the sun. Here, again, it is not quite certain whether a literal translation of the text indicates the given Śaka year as current, or as expired. But correct results can be obtained only by taking it as an expired year. In Śaka-Saṅvat 788 current (A.D. 865-66), there was no eclipse of the sun on the given tithi. Also, by the Southern System of the Sixty-Year Cycle the Vyaya saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṅvat 789 current (A.D. 866-67); and by the Northern System it commenced in Śaka-Saṅvat 788 current, on the 23rd September, A.D. 865, and was followed by the Svārajit saṁvatsara in Śaka-Saṅvat 789 current, on the 20th September, A.D. 866. With the basis of Śaka-Saṅvat 788 expired, the given tithi ended, by the Pṛṛnimānta arrangement, on Saturday, the 18th May, A.D. 866, when there was no solar eclipse; but, by the Amānta arrangement, on Sunday, the 16th June, as required, when there was an eclipse of the sun (see Indian Eras, p. 212), which, as the tithi ended at 20’ P.M. (for Bombay), would, ceteris paribus, be visible in India.—It would appear, therefore, that the Amānta southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights was applied to the Śaka years, in Southern India, at some point between A.D. 804 and 866.
of Budhagupta, from the Sāgar District in the central Provinces, No. 19, page 88; in which the date (line 2 f.) runs — śatē pāñcha-shaṣṭhi-adhikē varṣāḥpān bhūpatau cha Budhaguptē t Āśādhā-māsa-śukla-dvādaśyām Suragurūr-divasaḥ II Sanī 100 60 5,—" in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (is) king; on the twelfth tithi, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Āśādhā; on the day of Suraguru; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5."

As the palaeography of this record shows that the year quoted in it belongs to the same uniform series with the years quoted in the Early Gupta records,—a point, in fact, that has never been disputed,—this gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṅvat 165, current; the month Āśādhā (June-July); the bright fortnight; the twelfth tithi; and the day of Suraguru, which, — Suraguru, 'the preceptor of the gods,' being another name of Brihaspati, the regent of the planet Jupiter, — is Brihaspativāra or Guruvāra, i.e. Thursday.

This date has been constantly the subject of calculation and controversy. Thus, in 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 15, note, Dr. F. E. Hall announced, on the authority of Bapu Deva Shastri of Benares, that, as applied to the epoch of the Vikrama era, it represented Thursday, the 7th June, A.D. 108, New Style.

Again, in 1879, in the *Archaol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 17 f., General Cunningham,—whose theory then was that the epoch should be A.D. 194-(95),—announced as the result, Thursday, the 24th June, A.D. 359, Old Style.1 The basis of this calculation was Tuesday, the 16th March, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṅvat 165 + A.D. 194-95 = A.D. 359-60 = Śaka-Saṅvat 281 expired; and the result was derived from the assumption that the given tithi fell on its theoretical normal place on the 101st solar day of the year.2 And, in the same place, he intimated that, with the epoch of A.D. 318-(19), the result would be Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483. The basis

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1 It will be understood that the English equivalents of all Hindu dates anterior to the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar or New Style, given by me and I believe by Gen. Cunningham, are given according to the Julian Calendar or Old Style. It is not necessary to complicate matters by using the New Style for a period anterior to its introduction in England.

2 This is on the assumption that the lunar months of the Hindu luni-solar years contain thirty and twenty-nine solar days alternately, in regular succession; see, for instance, Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology*, p. 66 ff., Tables III. to XIII., and Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 66, Table X. The arrangement given in those Tables, is convenient enough for obtaining approximate results. But, apart from the principles involved, an examination of any Paśchādās, for any series of years, will shew that the assumption is not in accordance with facts; and that no definite rule of this kind can be laid down, to determine, more closely than within one and occasionally two days, the exact running solar day, from the commencement of the year, on which a given tithi will fall. As a matter of fact, in the ten years Śaka-Saṅvat 1809 to 1808 inclusive, the position of the end of the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āśādhā, varied from the 100th to the 102nd solar day of the year; and there is a chance of the tithi in question ending on a Thursday, in any year of which the initial day is a Monday, a Tuesday, or a Wednesday. —The theoretical arrangement in question also involves a peculiar anomaly. The first month of the year is supposed to consist of thirty days; and the result is that, in a Śaka year,
of this latter calculation was Wednesday, the 23rd February, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvatsara 165 + A.D. 318-19 = A.D. 483-84 = Śaka- Saṁvatsara 405 expired; and the result was derived from the same assumption as regards the position of the titih.

In 1880, in the *Archaic Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 115 ff., General Cunningham,—who had then modified his theory, so as to select A.D. 166-67 as the epoch,—announced that the result obtained by Bapu Deva Shastri from the reckoning of the Sārya-Siddhānta, was a Friday in A.D. 331; but that his own result, obtained from the Ārya-Siddhānta, was a Thursday in the same year. He did not then give any further details. But, from the fuller particulars given in his recapitulation of these statements in 1883, in his *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 55 ff., we learn that the dates intended were respectively Friday, the 4th June, and Thursday, the 3rd June, A.D. 331; and that his own result was arrived at, in the same way, with the basis of Tuesday, the 23rd February, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvatsara 165 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 331-32 = Śaka-Saṁvatsara 253 expired, and with the same assumption as regards the position of the titih. In the former reference, he repeated the same result of Friday (the 3rd June), A.D. 483, for the epoch of A.D. 318-19.

In 1883, in the Postscript to his paper on the "Dates on Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kābul" which was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff., Sir E. Clive Bayley,—whose theory was that the epoch should be A.D. 190-91,—announced that the result was a Thursday in A.D. 355, and that it seemed to be Thursday, the 17th May, in that year. But he gave no indication of the way in which this result was obtained; beyond a general reference to Prinsep's Tables in Thomas' Edition of his *Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, pp. 180, 181. And, as a matter of fact, this result was altogether wrong. The 17th May, A.D. 355, was a Wednesday, not a Thursday; and, as closely as can be ascertained by General Cunningham's Tables, it represents Ashādha krishṇa 5 of the northern year. Sir E. Clive Bayley seems to have very soon become aware of the mistake; since, at the end of the copy of the Postscript which, with a copy of the principal article, reached me from him in May, 1883, there is added, in manuscript, the remark,—"this date is erroneous; but the real date, as calculated by Professor Jacobi, comes out a Thursday." The real date of Ashādha śukla 12 of Gupta-Saṁvatsara 165 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 355-56 = Śaka-Saṁvatsara 277 expired, is Thursday, the 8th June, A.D. 355; as obtained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, from Prof. Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables.

When there is no intervening intercalation of a month, the month Kārttika, as the eighth month, is to contain twenty-nine solar days (see *Chronology*, Tables IV. and XIII., and *Indian Eras*, Table X.) But, as standing first in the southern Vikrama year, the same month Kārttika is to contain thirty solar days (see *Chronology*, Table III.) This is an obvious impossibility.
And in 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 220, Dr. Oldenberg announced, from the Tables in Warren’s *Kala-Sankalita*, the correct result; viz. Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484.

Now, the results given by Dr. Hall, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, whether right or wrong, and any similar coincidences, may be accepted without hesitation. And I would only point out, as regards General Cunningham’s results for the epoch of A.D. 166-67, that Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, by actual calculation from all the authorities, including the *Ārya-Siddhānta* on which General Cunningham specially relied, finds that, in A.D. 331, the given *tithi*, belonging to Śaka-Saṃvats 254 current, and calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṃvats 253 expired, ended on Friday, the 4th June, and at such an hour that there is no possibility whatever of Thursday, the 3rd June; and, incidentally, that the initial day of the same Śaka year was Wednesday, the 24th February, A.D. 331, not Tuesday, the 23rd February.

The essential point with which we are concerned, is, whether the week-day of Āśāḍha śūkla 12 was a Thursday, if, following Alberuni’s most specific statement regarding an even difference of two hundred and forty-one years between the Gupta-Valabhi and the Śaka eras, we make the calculation for Gupta-Saṃvats 165 + 341 = Śaka-Saṃvats 406; or, if the result fails for that year, for the immediately preceding or following Śaka year.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has made the necessary calculations, by Prof. K. L. Chhatter’s Tables, with these three Śaka years as expired years. And his results are— with Śaka-Saṃvats 405 expired, Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483; with Śaka-Saṃvats 406 expired, Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484; and with Śaka-Saṃvats 407 expired, Tuesday, the 11th June, A.D. 485. The process by which these results are obtained, is exhibited in detail, for the second result, in Appendix II. below.

1 It will be sufficient to quote the four principal authorities. The times for the ending of the given *tithi* on Friday, the 4th June, A.D. 331, reckoned (1) from mean sunrise at Bombay, (2) from mean sunrise at Ujjain, (3) from mean sunrise at Āraṇ, and (4) from apparent sunrise at Āraṇ, arc—by Prof. K. L. Chhatter’s Tables, (1) 5 ghatis, 46 palas; (2) 6 gh. 15 p.; (3) 6 gh. 40 p.; (4) 8 gh. 30 p.;—by the *Sārya-Siddhānta*, (1) 7 gh. 0 p.; (2) 7 gh. 29 p.; (3) 7 gh. 54 p.; (4) 9 gh. 54 p.;—by the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, (1) 8 gh. 14 p.; (2) 8 gh. 43 p.; (3) 9 gh. 8 p.; (4) 11 gh. 8 p.—and by the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, (1) 9 gh. 16 p.; (2) 9 gh. 45 p.; (3) 10 gh. 10 p.; (4) 12 gh. 10 p. The times are not absolutely accurate; but the results obtained by absolute accuracy would differ by only a few palas.

2 The results are put in this way for the sake of brevity. The more absolutely accurate method of expressing them, would be to say, in this instance, that the given *tithi*, belonging to Śaka-Saṃvats 407 current, and as calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṃvats 406 expired, ended on a Hindu Thursday, and at such a time that it ended also during the English Thursday, which was the 21st June, A.D. 484, Old Style.—The hours at which the *tithi* ended, according to the different authorities, and as reckoned from mean or from apparent sunrise at Bombay, Ujjain, and Āraṇ, are given in Appendix II. Table VI.
The second result, Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484, is the only one that answers to the week-day mentioned in the record. And a reference to Appendix II. Table VI. will shew that it so answers, not only by Prof. K. L. Chhatré’s Tables, but also by the Ṭīrtha-Siddhānta, and by all the other leading authorities. It answers, as is required, to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year; though it does not, in itself, prove conclusively either the exact epoch of the era, or the scheme of the year; for the reason that, being a date in a bright fortnight, this Ashādha śukla 12 was the same tīthi, and fell on the same solar day, represented by the 21st June, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, and in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 541 current, as well as in northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 543 current. It gives Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current (A.D. 484-85), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year. And finally, as it is obtained by applying the resulting year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406, as an expired year, so that the given tīthi really belongs to Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, it shews that, in following Alberuni’s statement and adding two hundred and forty-one, what is really accomplished is the conversion of a given current Gupta-Valabhi year into an expired Śaka year, by which we obtain precisely the basis that is wanted for working out results by Hindu Tables, viz. the last Śaka year expired before the commencement of the current Śaka year corresponding to a given current Gupta-Valabhi year; and that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhi and current Śaka years, is two hundred and forty-two.¹

The Verāwal Inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945.

In this connection, I will notice next the Verāwal inscription of the Chaulukya king Arjunadēva, on a stone at the temple of Harṣaṭādevi at Verāwal, the modern representative of the ancient Sōmnāth-pātaṇ, in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. This date furnishes a specially crucial test; partly because it is a date in a dark fortnight; and partly because, coming from Kāṭhiāwāḍ, and belonging to a comparatively late period, and being mentioned in the same record with a Vikrama year, there was a special chance of finding that its details had been confused with, or rather had been subordinated to, the reckoning of the southern Vikrama era, which was, and is, the original national era in Kāṭhiāwāḍ and the neighbouring country of Gujarāt. It will be seen, however, that this has not happened.

The details of this date (from Dr. Hultsch’s published text; Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 242, line 2 ff.) are — śrī-Viśvanātha-pratibaddha-naujanānaḥ bōdhaka-rasōla-Mahārnāmadha-saṁvat 662 tathā śrī-nripa-Vikrama-saṁvat 1320 tathā śrīmad-Valabhi-saṁ 945 tathā

¹ Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar arrived at the conclusion (Early History of the Dekkan, p. 99) that the addition of 241 would turn a past Gupta year into a past Śaka year; and the addition of 242, a past Gupta year into a current Śaka year. This result is due to the general mistake as regards the epoch of the Śaka era (see page 64 above, note 2). For an instance of the actual use by Hindus of the additive quantity 242, see page 26 above, note 2.
This gives us, for calculation, Valabhi-Samvat 945, current; the month Ashadhā (June-July); the dark fortnight; the thirteenth solar day of the fortnight, with whatever tithi, presumably the thirteenth, fell on it; and Ravivara, or Sunday. And, as the mention of the year 1320 of the Vikrama era, and of the year 662 of the prophet Muhammad, which is the year 662 of the well-known Hijra era, and commenced on Sunday, the 4th November, A.D. 1263, and ended on Saturday, the 23rd October, A.D. 1264, shows that the Valabhi era quoted in this record must have had its starting-point in or about A.D. 319, and must of necessity be the Valabhi era that is mentioned by Albârunî, in accordance with the results obtained for the date in the Ėraṇ inscription, the given tithi should belong to Valabhi-Samvat 945 + 242 = Șaka-Samvat 1187 current (A.D. 1264-65); and, in using Hindu Tables, the calculation should be made with the basis of Șaka-Samvat 1186 expired.

Before proceeding to the results, however, there are some preliminary points to be noted. The first is, that, as the inscription is specifically connected with a locality in Kathiawād, the presumption is that the Vikrama year quoted in it, is a southern Vikrama year, commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month

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1 The syllable va, in the original, either is an abbreviation of vadas, whether alone or in composition with pakhā or paksī, or stands for ba, the abbreviation of bahula, similarly either alone or in composition with pakhā or paksī. As regards the point that ba, or va, or and su, di, are separate technical abbreviations, not words in themselves, see page 92 (Text and Translations), note 1. Just as di is sometimes used with ba or va and su, and sometimes is omitted, so in the Neplī inscriptions (see Appendix IV, below) the indeclinable died, ‘by day,’ is sometimes used, and sometimes not, in connection with the number of the tithi. So also sometimes di, or one of its full forms, dina, dined, divisas, or divasī, is used without any specification of the fortnight. The exact meaning of the differences of practice in this respect, is not quite certain; and could only be settled by a large number of calculations. But it seems evident that, when di is used, or any of its full forms, the reference is to the solar day, in conformity with what would naturally be the most ancient reckoning; not to the lunar tithi. If, at a subsequent period, the solar days became subject to expunction and repetition, with the lunar tithi, then the running number in the fortnight will always be the same for both the lunar tithi and the solar day. If not, then the thirteenth tithi, for instance, might fall at any time on the twelfth or the fourteenth solar day, as counted without repetition or expunction from the commencement of the fortnight. And, in the differences of expression, there may perhaps be a reference to some such difference in the notation.

2 See Indian Eras, p. 126.
Kārttika (October-November). This, however, apart from the natural presumption, is rendered absolutely certain by the concomitant mention of the Hijra year; from which, since the month Āshādha answers ordinarily to June-July, it is plain,—as was pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch in editing the inscription,1 and by General Cunningham in commenting on the date,2—that the English date which we have to look for lies in or about June or July, A.D. 1264. This at once removes the possibility of any reference to the northern Vikrama year; since the month Āshādha of the northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321 current,3 is represented by June-July of the preceding English year, A.D. 1263. Also, since the period June-July, A.D. 1264, fell in Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 current, it removes any real necessity of making calculations for Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 current and 1188 current; the results, however, for these two years will be given, in order to help in setting the general question entirely at rest.

So much, as regards the English equivalent of the given date lying in A.D. 1264, had been clearly pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch and General Cunningham. But nothing further, that I can find, was said about the details of the English equivalent, until just before the time when I first had occasion to consider this date;4 when, in a letter dated the 3rd December, 1885, General Cunningham announced to me that the equivalent English date is Sunday, the 25th May,5 A.D. 1264.

This result, Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264, is, as will be seen below, the correct one. But, in order to explain its full bearing, more is requisite, than simply to state it; especially because it is necessary to shew clearly, in the face of what has elsewhere been written about this date, that this result is not obtained from the mention of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320, though it does answer the requirements of that mention; i.e. that it is not the result for a year commencing on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika which fell in A.D. 1263; and, consequently, that, even apart from what I have already established, this record proves that Valabhl-Saṁvat 945 commenced at any rate not with that day.6 And here I would remark incidentally, that no argument, of identity between

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3According to the present Tables, the given Vikrama year 1320 must be interpreted as an expired year; and the indicated current year is, therefore, 1321. This, however, does not make the given Valabhl year an expired year; just as it does not, and can not, convert the given Hijra year into an expired year.  
5The ordinary equivalent of Āshādha is June-July. But the dark fortnight of the northern Āshādha corresponds to the dark fortnight of the southern Jyeshtha, which month is ordinarily May-June. And this, with the fact that Śaka-Saṁvat 1187, current, commenced rather early, on Saturday, the 1st March, or Friday, the 29th February, A.D. 1264, is the reason why this dark fortnight of Āshādha fell entirely in May.  
6As opposed to these results. Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, p. 53) has quoted this record as proving absolutely that Valabhl-Saṁvat = A.D. 319 (20); which could only be by taking the epoch as
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

the two years, can be based on the mere fact that the record mentions both a Valabhl year and a southern Vikrama year. It might just as well be asserted that the mention also of the Hijra year 662, shews that the scheme of the years of that era, too, is identical with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year; whereas,—even apart from the fact that the Hijra year 662 commenced, as stated above, on Sunday, the 4th November, A.D. 1263, while the southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1320, as an expired year, i.e., more properly, southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321 current, commenced on Friday, the 5th October of that same year,1—everyone knows that these two eras have absolutely nothing in common at all; the Hijra era being a purely Musalmān era. The Verāwal record is simply analogous exactly to scores of documents that are still being turned out in India, in which the date is expressed according to the English and also one or other of the Indian systems; and in which the principal record depends entirely upon the person by whom, and the circumstances under which, it is drawn up. Sometimes it will be the English date; sometimes the Indian. We shall see immediately that, in this Verāwal inscription, the principal record is the Valabhl date; and that the Vikrama date accidentally, as well as the Hijra date naturally, was entirely subordinated to it. Possibly, we may hereafter obtain instances, in which the reverse of this will be found to have been the case. But they will not avail to disprove any of the pointed and unavoidable conclusions, regarding the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhl era and the scheme of its years, which are absolutely forced on us by the circumstances of the present Verāwal date.

The second point to be noted is, that the month Ashadhā that fell in A.D. 1264,—i.e., both the Ashadhā of northern Śaka-Saṅvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1322, and the slightly different Ashadhā of southern Śaka-Saṅvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321,—was an intercalary month.2 The effect of the intercalation was as follows:—The initial day of Śaka-Saṅvat 1187, both northern and southern, and of the

A.D. 318-19, and by treating the years as commencing, from the beginning, on Karttiika śukla 1.—Also (id. pp. 50, 63) he treats Vikrama-Saṅvat 1320 as the leading record of the date; and very clearly implies throughout, though he does not actually state, the identity of the scheme of the Valabhl and southern Vikrama years.

Cowardice Patell's Chronology, p. 150.

See Indian Eras, p. 179.—The fact is also proved by K. L. Chhatre's Tables. In C. Patell's Chronology, p. 150, the intercalation is entered opposite Śaka-Saṅvat 1186 (expired) and southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321 (expired). This is in accordance with a mistake that runs all through his Table I. pp. 94 to 183. The intercalations are placed by him correctly for the Śaka years. But he has omitted to point out that, in applying them to the Vikrama years, which, throughout his Table, are the southern Vikrama years, they must, in consequence of the way in which the years of the two eras overlap, be read off as far as the months Chaitra to Āśvina, both inclusive, are concerned, for the Vikrama year preceding that opposite to which they are entered; at least, I can find no note in his book to that effect.—A reference to Table III. at page 71 above, will shew at once that an intercalation of any month from Chaitra to Āśvina inclusive, for Śaka-Saṅvat 1186 expired, northern or southern, did occur for northern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321 expired, but southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1320 expired.
northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1322, was Saturday, the 1st March, A.D. 1264, according to General Cunningham,1 and Friday, the 29th February (the English year being a Leap-year), according to Mr. C. Patell.2 With General Cunningham’s own initial day, and by his own theory and process,—viz. that Āśāḍha krishna 13 fell on the 87th solar day of the year, from and inclusive of the initial day,—the resulting English date would be Monday, the 26th May, A.D. 1264. Therefore, in arriving at Sunday, the 25th May, he has adopted Mr. C. Patell’s initial day, in preference to his own. And I will follow the same course, for the rough purposes for which the initial day may here be utilised. The double Āśāḍha included four lunar fortinights. In northern Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1322, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 75th and 133rd solar days of the year,3 i.e. on respectively the 13th May and the 10th July. And, according to the regular northern system, of the four fortinights, the first (dark) belonged to the natural month; the second (bright), and the third (dark), to the intercalated month; and the fourth (bright), to the natural month. But, in southern Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 90th and 148th solar days of the Śaka year; i.e. on respectively the 28th May and the 25th July. And, of the four fortinights, if we adopt the present regular southern system, the first (bright), and the second (dark), belonged to the intercalated month; and the third (bright), and the fourth (dark), to the natural month.4 It is evident, therefore, that, if we treat the Āśāḍha of this

1 Indian Eras, p. 179.
2 Chronology, p. 150.
4 Chronology, p. 71.

A verse that is given by Bapu Deva Shastri, in his edition of the Siddhānta-Siromaṇi of Bhāskarāchārya, p. 49, note, as belonging to the Brahma-Siddhānta, indicates a more ancient custom, according to which the first (bright) and the second (dark) fortinights would belong to the natural month; and the third (bright) and the fourth (dark), to the intercalated month. The verse runs—Māṣṭu-asti śveta savitar yā yā māṣah prapūryaḥ chādraḥ Chait-ayah sa jñayah pārśvadeviśvāḥ dhimāsāḥ nityah,—“whatever lunar month is completed when the sun is standing in Aries and the following (signs), that month is to be known as Chaitra, &c.; when there are two completions, (there is) an intercalated month, (and it is) the latter (of the two).”—Now, intercalated months are held to be inauspicious, and the performance of ceremonies in them is prohibited. Only if, in one and the same year, there are two intercalary months (which are always accompanied by the expunction of a month, which may be one of the two, or a third month), then the first intercalated month is paścāstā, or ‘stamped as excellent or approved of,’ the second being, as usual, nindya, or ‘to be looked on as under prohibition.’ And the rule attributed to the Brahma-Siddhānta would make the intercalated fortinights different, in different parts of India, according to the northern or southern scheme of the year. It must, obviously, have been highly inconvenient, especially on the border-land of the dividing-line between Northern and Southern India, that the prohibition should not be applicable to exactly the same lunar periods. And a change, in accordance with the necessities of the case, was eventually made,—and must have been made long before the period of the present inscription; though, apparently, after the time of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV., of Gupta-Saṃvat 330, the “second Mārgasira” of which is undoubtedly the intercalated month,—by which the intercalated fortinights of
record as the natural month, the English equivalent, for the given date as referred to the northern year, will be about a month earlier than the English equivalent for the given date as referred to the southern year; and that an English equivalent, answering to the given date as referred indifferently to either the northern or the southern year, can be obtained only by treating the Āśāḍha of the record as the intercalated month. That we have, however, to look on the given date as belonging to the dark fortnight of the natural Āśāḍha, is at least to be assumed primum facie; partly because the record contains no qualificatory term, indicative of the intercalated month; and partly because of the prohibition of official, ceremonial, and religious acts in an intercalated month.¹

The results, worked out by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, for the natural Āśāḍha, are—with northern Śaka-Saṅvat 1186 expired, Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264, for both the thirteenth titihi and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṅvat 1186 expired, Tuesday, the 22nd July, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth titihi, but Wednesday, the 23rd July, for the thirteenth solar day;² and the result for the intercalated Āśāḍha is Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth titihi, but Tuesday, the 24th June, for the thirteenth solar day, by both the northern and the southern reckoning, according to the present custom in both parts of the country. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has also given me full results, according to both the Pārṇimānta northern system, and the Amānta southern system, with Śaka-Saṅvat 1185 and 1187 expired; in order to present at once all the possible surroundings of the date. These results are—with northern Śaka-Saṅvat 1185 expired, Tuesday, the 5th June, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth titihi, but Wednesday, the 6th June, for the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṅvat 1185 expired, either ¹Wed-

¹See the preceding note. ṢThe titihi ended 13 ghāṭi, 30 palas, after mean sunrise at Bombay.
²i.e. the thirteenth solar day counted from the commencement of the fortnight, without omitting a solar day with the lunar titihi that was expunged (see page 85 above, note 1.)

The doubt here is because of the interesting discovery that the dark fortnight of the southern Āśāḍha, and northern Śravaca, of Śaka-Saṅvat 1186 current, was a fortnight which, "except, perhaps in some parts far off in the east of India," contained only thirteen solar days; see my general note on this subject, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 81 ff. The full-moon titihi of Āśāḍha, northern and southern, was on Saturday, the 23rd June; and the following new-moon titihi of the southern Āśāḍha, and the northern Śravaca, was on Friday, the 6th July; which gives thirteen solar days for this dark fortnight. There was an expunction of two titihi, and no repetition of a titihi to make up for the loss. The authorities differ as to which were the two expunged titihi. One of them was early in the fortnight; and Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has not worked this out, because it does not directly bear upon the date under discussion. The other was either the twelfth, or the thirteenth, or the fourteenth titihi; and upon this will depend the question whether the thirteenth titihi, if not itself expunged, was Wednesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July. Under any circumstances, the thirteenth and last solar day of this dark fortnight, was Friday, the 6th July.
nesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth tiṣṭhi, but, in either case, Friday, the 6th July, for the thirteenth solar day; with northern Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 expired, Saturday, the 13th June, A.D. 1265, for both the thirteenth tiṣṭhi and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 expired, Sunday, the 12th July, A.D. 1265, for the thirteenth tiṣṭhi, but Monday, the 13th July, for the thirteenth solar day. The last is the only other case in which the result includes a Sunday at all. But it is of no practical value; because it is obtained by the treatment of the Śaka year as a southern year, whereas I have already shown that this is not the treatment which is to be applied; and, still more conclusively, because it would have to be allotted to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 expired, whereas the record specifically refers to the preceding year, 1320 (expired).

The true English equivalent of the given date, therefore, really is Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264. This result, and this alone, answers all the requirements of the record. It is the equivalent of a date which falls, as recorded, within the limits of southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1320 (expired); though it is not the equivalent of any day in the month Ashāḍha as referred to that year; for, if it is treated as the equivalent of a date referred to that year (and to southern Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 expired), then, of course, it represents the thirteenth tiṣṭhi and solar day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyeṣṭha, preceding Ashāḍha. It answers to the specified day of the natural, not the intercalated, month; as is expressly required, partly by the absence, in the record, of any specification of the intercalated month, and partly by the general prohibition regarding intercalated months. Also, as is seen from the particulars given above, it is obtainable only by treating the expired Śaka year, which is the basis of the calculation, as a northern year. Accordingly, it not only bears out in all respects the results obtained from the date in the Ēraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, but also goes beyond them. It definitely proves the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhl and current Śaka years. It also proves that the true original scheme of the years of the Gupta-Valabhl era,—viz. the regular Pūraṇimantya northern scheme, as established at page 76 f. above,—was preserved, in Kāthiawād, up to at any rate A.D. 1264. It gives Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 current (A.D. 1264-65), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta-Valabhl year. And it definitely proves that the exact epoch of the era was Śaka-Saṃvat 241 expired, or 242 current, corresponding to A.D. 319-20.

This result, therefore, will now be taken, in the place of the result obtained from the date of the Ēraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta-Saṃvat 165, as furnishing the definite standard, on the analogy of which we must calculate all the remaining dates in the Gupta-Valabhl era that supply details for computation.

The Verāwal Inscription of Valabhl-Saṃvat 927.

The third and last date, with the mention of a week-day, that I have to comment on, is contained in an inscription which has not as yet been published, but has been placed at
my disposal, for present purposes, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrají, the discoverer of it. The inscription is on the pedestal of an old image, which is now built into the wall of the modern temple of the goddess Harṣatadēvī at Verāwal. The date, with some important words in the context, (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrají's cloth-rubbing) runs — (l. 1) śrīmad-Valabhl-sa[m]vat 927 varṣhē Phālguna śu di 2 Saumē II Ady-ēha śrī-Dēvapattanē ................................ (l. 4) śrī-Gōvardhana-mūrtti[ḥ] ................................ (l. 5) kārāpītā; — in which, unfortunately, there is some doubt as to the proper rendering of the first syllable of the word that gives the name of the week-day. The vowel an was undoubtedly formed; though, in the rubbing, the top-stroke is partially filled up, in consequence either of want of depth in the engraving, or of want of care in making the rubbing. And, the consonant presenting the appearance in the rubbing of being bh, the natural inclination is to read Bhaumē, “on Tuesday.” Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrají, however, tells me that, in the original, the consonant is certainly s; and the appearance of bh, therefore, is due to an imperfection in the rubbing. The reading of the original, accordingly, is to be taken as Saumē. But this is not a real word; and it requires to be corrected into either Sōmē, “on Monday;” Bhaumē, “on Tuesday;” or Saunyē, “on Wednesday.” It is unfortunate that we should have to make any correction at all, in a point of such importance; especially when so very free a choice is open. But it has to be done. And the calculated results favour the supposition that the reading intended was Sōmē, “on Monday.” Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrají was of opinion that the intended reading was Bhaumē, “on Tuesday;” which, of course, might be supported by assuming carelessness on the part of the engraver, in letting his tool slip in such a way as to give the bh a more or less complete appearance of s. But, from the appearance of the rubbing, the reading Sōmē is equally justifiable, on the assumption that the partial appearance of bh in the rubbing, instead of s, is due only to a fault in the rubbing, and that the mistake in forming an instead of ā was discovered before the stroke which turns ā into an was completed; this would account for this stroke being so shallow as to cause the blur which almost entirely conceals it in the rubbing. Adopting the reading or correction of Sōmē, the translation will be —“the year 927 of the famous (city of) Valabhl; in (this) year; (the month) Phālguna; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 2; on Monday; to-day; here, in the famous (city of) Dēvapattanē ................. (this) image of the holy Gōvardhana ............. has been caused to be made.”

This gives us, for calculation, Valabhl-Sāṁvat 927, current; the month Phālguna (February-March); the bright fortnight; the second solar day of the fortnight, and presumably the second tilhi; and Sōmavāra, or Monday. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhl-Sāṁvat 945, the given tilhi should belong to Valabhl-Sāṁvat 927 + 242 = Śaka-Sāṁvat 1169 current (A.D. 1246-47); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Sāṁvat 1168 expired.
Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit’s calculations, however, made, as before, for a year before and a year after the resulting year, as well as for that year itself, give the following results, in each case for both the second solar day and the second tihti, both by Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables and by the Sārya-Siddhānta; viz. with Śaka-Saṅvat 1167 expired, Monday, the 19th February, A.D. 1246; with Śaka-Saṅvat 1168 expired, Saturday, the 9th February, A.D. 1247; and with Śaka-Saṅvat 1169 expired, Wednesday, the 29th January, A.D. 1248.

The result for Śaka-Saṅvat 1169, which is the year in which the week-day should presumably prove correct, does not answer at all. If we could understand that the reading intended was Saumyē, “on Wednesday,” then the result for Śaka-Saṅvat 1170 might be accepted; subject only to the considerations that Saumyāvāda, though perfectly allowable, is not often used as a synonym for Budhavāda, ‘Wednesday;’ and that the result is later by a year than what it ought to be, and can be arrived at only through accepting an alteration in the reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhl era, precisely the opposite of the alteration which, as shewn at page 72 f. above, was certainly made, in Gujarāt, before the date of the Kaira grant of Dharāsena IV. of the year 330. If, on the other hand, we take Sōmē, “on Monday;” as the intended reading, then the result for Śaka-Saṅvat 1168 may be accepted, subject only to the consideration that it is earlier by a year than what it ought to be. This result would be quite intelligible, if we could refer the given date to a year commencing with Mārgaśīrṣa; for then, belonging to Valabhl-Saṅvat 927, it would belong quite regularly to Śaka-Saṅvat 1168, and its English equivalent would fall quite regularly in A.D. 1246. This, however, as I have stated at page 78 above, is distinctly prevented by a perfectly conclusive obstacle. The only resource that remains, is to hold that, for some reason or other, the date given in this record, like the date in the Kaira grant of Dharāsena IV. of the year 330, was taken from a Gujarāt almanac, and belongs to a year the initial day of which was the Kārttiaka śūkla i preceding the true commencement of Gupta-Valabhl-Saṅvat 927. This, again, would be perfectly intelligible, if we could only assume that the image, which is probably portable enough, was fashioned, together with the engraving of the inscription, at some place in Gujarāt; and was then transported by a pilgrim to Verāwal. But the objection to this is, that the inscription seems to record distinctly that the image was made at Dēvappattana; and Dēvappattana is well known as another name of Sōmnāthpātan, i.e. the modern Verāwal itself; and it is difficult to understand how the corrupt Gujarāt reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhl era can have been introduced at Verāwal in A.D. 1246, when, as we have already seen from the other Verāwal inscription, of Valabhl-Saṅvat 945, the true original reckoning was used there up to at

1 The tihti ended, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, 29 ghāfts, 59 palas, and by the Sārya-Siddhānta, 30 ghāfts, 2 palas, after mean sunrise at Bombay.
2 Here the times are respectively 8 ghāfts, 33 palas, and 9 ghāfts, 25 palas.
3 Here the times are respectively 31 ghāfts, 57 palas, and 34 ghāfts, 43 palas.
least eighteen years later. The explanation, however, is perhaps to be found in the sup-
position that the inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from
Gujarat, who had brought a Gujarat almanac with him.

On the whole, be the explanation what it may, there seems no doubt that the proper
result is **Monday, the 19th February, A.D. 1246.** This, however, does not support
the running difference of exactly two hundred and forty-two years between current
Gupta-Valabhl and current Šaka years; nor, as the given date belongs to a bright fort-
night, does it prove anything as to the northern or southern nature of the Gupta-Valabhl
year. If it is taken as the result for a date belonging to a year the scheme of which was
identical with the scheme of the Šaka year, northern or southern,—*i.e.* as the result for
a date in a year which commenced with the Chaitra skula 1 belonging to Šaka-Saṁvat
1168 current,—it requires a running difference of two hundred and forty-one years only.
While, if it is taken as the result for a date belonging to a year the scheme of which was
identical with the scheme of the southern Vikrama years,—*i.e.* as the result, obtained
through Šaka-Saṁvat 1167 expired, for a date in a year which, with the southern
Vikrama-Saṁvat 1303 current, commenced with the following Kārttika skula 1, still
belonging to Šaka-Saṁvat 1168 current, and falling five months before the true com-
 mencement of Gupta-Valabhl-Saṁvat 927,—then it requires a running difference lying
between two hundred and forty-one and two hundred and forty-two. As in the case of the
Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 330, which has been referred to at page 72 above
and is now to be explained in detail, the latter is the way in which I apply the result.
And it gives, therefore, the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1303 current (A.D. 1245-46), as the
nominal equivalent of the given current Valabhl year. But I have to point out distinctly
that the date is not a satisfactory one, since an important correction of some kind or
another has to be made, in order to interpret it intelligibly at all; and that in no way
does it give a conclusive result, like that of the other Verawal inscription, of Valabhl-
Saṁvat 945.

**The Kaira Grant of the year 330.**

The preceding is the last instance, as yet obtained, of the mention of a week-day in a
record dated in the Gupta-Valabhl era. There are, however, three inscriptions, containing
other interesting details for computation, which will now be noticed, before dealing with the
question of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter.

. The first of them is a **Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. of Valabhl;** in which the
date (from Dr. Bühler’s published text; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 339, line 57) runs —
saṁ 300 30 dvi-Mārggaśira 2a,—“the year 300 *(and)* 30; the second *(month)* Mārggaśira;
the bright fortnight; *(the lunar day)* 2.

This gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṁvat 330, current; **an intercalation of the
month Mārggaśira or Mārggaśirsha** *(November-December)*, as shewn by the reference
in the text to two months of that name; the bright fortnight of the second Mārgaśīrṣha, and the second tīthi or lunar day. And, on the analogy of the Vērāval inscription of Valabhi-Saṃvat 945, the given intercalated month should belong to Gupta-Saṃvat 330 + 44 = Śaka-Saṃvat 572 current (A.D. 649-50); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Saṃvat 571 expired.

General Cunningham, however,1 shows no intercalation in that year; but, in the preceding year, Śaka-Saṃvat 571, an intercalation of the month Kārttika, which would fall in A.D. 648; and this appears to be quite correct, in accordance with the regulation of intercalations by the actual place of the sun. Looking further into the matter, Dr. Schram, as reported by Dr. Bühler,2 found that in A.D. 648 there certainly was an intercalated month, which, according to the present method would be Kārttika, but according to the rule for mean intercalations, would be Mārgaśīrṣha. So, also, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, by actual calculation from the Sārya-Siddhānta, that, by mean intercalation, in A.D. 648 there was an intercalated month between the natural Mārgaśīrṣha and the natural Pausha, which would be named Mārgaśīrṣha according to the verse Mēsh-dhi-sthē savitarī etc., that is quoted as belonging to the Brahma-Siddhānta;3 though it would be named Pausha according to the present practice. In either case, the two intercalated fortnights are, of course, the same lunar period; the only difference is in respect of the name by which that period should be called. And, in finding that period coupled with the name of Mārgaśīrṣha, there is the fact, which must be admitted, that, in contravention of the usual rule, the grant recorded in this inscription was made in the intercalated month; a deviation for which I cannot find any reason in the record itself. Having regard to this and other points, I asked Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit to also make the necessary calculations on the possibility of the abbreviation dvi for dviṭṭya, ‘the second,’ qualifying, not only the word Mārgaśīrṣha, but the whole expression Mārgaśīrṣha dvi 2; i.e. on the possibility of the intercalation or repetition referring to the tīthi or lunar day, not to the month; in which case the date might have been referred, quite regularly, to Śaka-Saṃvat 572. He finds, however, that the second tīthi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣha of Śaka-Saṃvat 572, falling in A.D. 649, was not a repeated tīthi, either by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Table, or by the Sārya-Siddhānta; and that, on the contrary, by the Sārya-Siddhānta, there is the possibility of this tīthi having been expunged, in the far eastern parts of India. It is certain, therefore, that the intercalation refers to the month; not to the tīthi. And it is equally certain that in Śaka-Saṃvat 571 there was an intercalated month, falling in A.D. 648, which might be named Mārgaśīrṣha or Mārgaśīrṣha, and which evidently was actually so named in the almanac that was consulted by the drafter of this record. This being the case, there cannot have been an intercalation of the same month, or in fact of any month at all, in the following year, Śaka-Saṃvat 572. Therefore, the Mārgaśīrṣha of this record

1 Indian Eras, p. 158.
2 See page 88 above, note 5.

undoubtedly fell, not in A.D. 649, as should be the case according to the true Gupta Valabhl reckoning, but in A.D. 648; and belonged, for astronomical purposes, to Śaka-Saṅvat 571, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarāt, to the southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 706. And, since the localities mentioned in the charter connect it absolutely with a province of Gujarāt, the year 330 of this record must have commenced, like the southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 706, with the month Kārttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṅvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṅvat 572, according to the original scheme of the years of the era.

The result, therefore, gives the southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 706 current (A.D. 648-49), as the nominal equivalent of the given current Gupta year. And this date, with that of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhl-Saṅvat 927, must be allotted to a class of cases, in which the running difference of exactly two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhl and current Śaka years was not maintained, in consequence of a local adaptation of the Gupta-Valabhl year to the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, made in such a way that, as pointed out at page 73 above, each subsequent Gupta-Valabhl year, where this adaptation was applied, commenced five lunations before the true commencement of the year according to the original scheme. The anomaly, however, is natural enough in the present instance, because of the locality to which the record refers itself.

The Nēpāl Inscription of the year 386.

The next inscription that I have to notice, is the Nēpāl inscription of Mānadēva, of the Sūryavarmā or Lichchhavi family of Mānagriha, on the lower part of a broken pillar placed to the left of the door of the temple of the god Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa, about five miles to the north-east of Khātmāṇḍu; in which the date (from Dr. Bhagwanal Indrajī's published text and lithograph; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163, line 1 f.) runs — saṅvat 300 80 6 Jyēśṭhā-m[a]ṣa-śukla-paskē pratipadi 1 [Rōḥiṇī-nakshatra-yukti[*] chandramasi m[u]hārttē praśastē-Bhijiti,—" the year 300 (and) 80 (and) 6; in the bright fortnight of the month Jyēśṭhā, on the first tīli or lunar day, (or in figures) 1; the moon being in conjunction with the Rōḥiṇī nakshatra; in the excellent muhārtta (named) Abhijit."

The Nēpāl inscriptions were first brought to notice by Dr. Bhagwanal Indrajī, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.; and his view of the historical results of them was given in the same Journal, Vol. XIII. p. 411 ff. My own view, originally published in the same Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 342 ff., will be found explained in detail in Appendix IV. below. And all that it is necessary to state here, is, that the earliest inscriptions disclose the use of two eras; viz. the so-called Gupta era, and the Harsha era. At the time, however, when Dr. Bhagwanal Indrajī wrote, the fact that the Gupta era was used in some of these

1The charter was issued from the victorious camp at Bharuskachhha, i.e. the modern Broach (Bharuch); and it records the grant of some lands in the Khētaka dhāra, or the territorial division of which the chief town was Khētaka. i.e. the modern Kaira (Khēål).
records, was not apparent. And it only became clear on Mr. Bendall's discovery of the Gölmdhitōl inscription of the Mahārāja Śīvādeva I. of Mānagriha, which he published originally in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and has given again, with a slight correction in the reading of the date, in his Journey in Nēpāl and Northern India, p. 72, and Plate viii. This inscription is dated in the year 316, without any specification of the era. But the clue to the interpretation of the date is given by its mention of the Mahāśāṃanta Aṃśuvarman, as the contemporary 1 of Śīvādeva I. Aṃśuvarman's approximate date, viz. about A.D. 637, was very well known from Hiuen Tsiang's mention of him. 2 And, as the Nēpāl series included three inscriptions of Aṃśuvarman himself, dated in the years 34, 39, and 44 or 45 of an unspecified era, and another, of Jishnugupta, dated in the year 48, and mentioning Aṃśuvarman, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī very properly referred these dates to the era running from the accession of Harshavardhanā of Kanauj, and commencing 3 in A.D. 606. This much being quite certain, it follows that the date of the year 316 for Śīvādeva I., the contemporary of Aṃśuvarman, must of necessity be referred to a starting-point just about three hundred years before the Harsha era. And the era which exactly meets the requirements of the case is the Gupta era; for, 316 + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 635-36; which is in due accordance with the recorded dates that we have for Aṃśuvarman in the Harsha era, representing from A.D. 639 to 649 or 650.

As regards the present inscription of Mānadeva, its palæography, as well as a general consideration of the historical results, shews that the year 386, quoted in it, belongs to the same series with the year 316 that is quoted in the Gölmdhitōl inscription of Śīvādeva I. And, accordingly, this record gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Samvat 386, current; the month Jyēṣthha (May-June); the bright fortnight; the first tithi or lunar day; the Rōhiṇi nakshatra or lunar mansion; and the Abhijit mūhūrtā or thirtieth part of the day and night. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhī-Samvat 945, the given tithi should belong to Gupta-Samvat 386 + 242 = Śaka-Samvat 628 current (A.D. 705-706); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Samvat 627 expired.

Making the calculations by the Sārṣya-Siddhānta, and applying the results to the longitude of Khāṃṭāru, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, with the basis of Śaka-Samvat 627 expired, the given tithi, belonging to Śaka-Samvat 628 current, ended on Tuesday,

1 This is also recorded in the other inscription of Śīvādeva I., No. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī’s Nēpāl series, Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 168 ff. But, unfortunately for the general chronological results arrived at by him from those inscriptions,—which involved the application of the Vikrama era for the interpretation of such of the Nēpāl dates as belong really to the Gupta era,—the date of Śīvādeva I. is there broken away and lost.


3 On this point see a note in Appendix IV. below.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

the 28th April,¹ A.D. 705, at 57 ghatis, 12 palas, after sunrise; that there was the Krittika nakshatra up to 11 ghatis, 3 palas, after sunrise, and then the Rāhpiṇa nakshatra, which continued up to 11 ghatis, 18 palas, after sunrise on the next day, Wednesday; and that, consequently, the Abhijit muhūrtā, being the eighth in order among the muhūrtas, and beginning after the expiration of fourteen ghatis after sunrise, occurred, as required by the record, while the Rāhpiṇa nakshatra was current. He also finds that the same conditions of the nakshatra and the muhūrtā did not occur, if the given tihti is treated as belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 627 or 629 current.

Moreover, therefore, answers, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhi and current Śaka years; and to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year. And it gives Śaka-Saṃvat 628 current (A.D. 705-706), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year. But, like the result for the date in the Ėraṅ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, it does not, in itself, prove conclusively either the exact epoch of the era, or the scheme of the year; for the reason that, being a date in a bright fortnight, this Jyēṣṭha śukla 1 was the same tihti, and ended on the same solar day, represented by the 28th April, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Saṃvat 628, and in southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 762, as well as in northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 763.

The Mörbi Grant of the year 586.

The last date that I have to notice from the present point of view, is contained in the Mörbi grant of Jāṅika, from Kāṭhiawād, published by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in the Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 257 f. The record includes two dates. In line 16 f., in connection with the making of the grant, we have (from the published lithograph)—paṁch-āṣṭyā yute-thā samāṇāṁ śaṭa-paṁchakā le Gopē ṣaḍv-addō nripāḥ s-ōparāgē-rkka-maṇḍalē II,—“five centuries of years, together with eighty-five (years), having passed by, the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gopē, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed;” in which the year is expressly coupled with a word meaning “expired.” And in line 19 f., in connection with the writing of the charter, we have—saṃvat 585 Phālguna suṣu di 5,—“the year 585; the month Phālguna; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 5;” without any indication whether the year is an expired one, or current. The eclipse is also mentioned in line 3, in the words—maṁtaṇḍa-manḍal-āśrayini Svabhāṅgā (read Svarbhāṅgā),—“while Svarbhāṅgā (i.e. Rāhu, the personified ascending node) is resting on the disc of the sun.”

There is some difficulty in disposing finally of the whole bearing of this record; owing to the fact that the first plate was lost sight of, without being procured for

¹Śaka-Saṃvat 628 current commenced rather early, on, approximately, Sunday, the 1st March, A.D. 705. And hence the reason why the month Jyēṣṭha, which ordinarily answers to May-June, commenced on the 28th April, and of course ended before the end of May.
examination at all; and now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid and is not forthcoming. And I have to point out that, in the second part of the verse, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar read Gaṇṭḍa, instead of Gopṭa; and translated “five hundred and eighty-five years of the Gupta having elapsed.” The lithograph, however, shows distinctly that the original has Gopṭa; and it is only by the correction of ɔ into au that the name of the Gupta can be introduced into the passage. But, even then, the adjective Gaṇṭḍa occupies an irregularly detached place, which any skilful composer would have avoided, from the noun, sata-panchakṣ, which it qualifies. While, on the other hand, I have shewn, in my remarks on the nomenclature of the era, at page 19f. above, that we have no reason at all to look for the use of such an adjective as Gaṇṭḍa, ‘belonging to the Gupta;’ and, if we maintain the original reading of Gopṭa, we have a locative case, which we have every reason to expect in immediate connection with the verb dadu, “he gave,” and which will then give us the name of the village at which the grant was made. And, until the original first plate of the grant is produced, to prove that Gopṭa was not the name of the village, or otherwise to explain the passage, this is the reading and interpretation that I adopt.

In accordance, however, with the palæography of the grant, I see no reason for referring the date to any except the Gupta-Valabhl era; irrespective of the question whether the era is mentioned by name, or not. This record, therefore, gives us, for calculation, an eclipse of the sun, which took place on some unspecified date in Gupta-Saṅvat 586 current, as the original text specifies that the year 585 had expired. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhl-Saṅvat 945, the eclipse should be found in Gupta-Saṅvat 586 + 242 = Śaka-Saṅvat 828 current, somewhere between the 10th March, A.D. 905, and the 27th February, A.D. 906. Also, it should, presumably, be visible at the place at which the grant was made on the occasion of it. And, though there is nothing, in the existing remnant of the record, to indicate with certainty the exact locality to which it belongs, still there is nothing against the supposition that it really belongs to Mörbl itself, or to that neighbourhood. We have, therefore, to look for a solar eclipse, occurring in Śaka-Saṅvat 828 current, and visible at Mörbl, or near that town, in the north of Kāṭhīawād.

1 The mistake of ɔ for au does occur in the word svabhāṇḍa, for svabhāṇau, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word paunavu, the au is formed quite correctly and completely.

2 We might easily find its present representative in the modern name of Gop, which occurs in the case of a village, in Kāṭhīawād, about seventy-five miles south-west of Mörbl; twenty-five miles south of Nawālāgor or Jāmner; and fifty miles east of Dhiniki, where there was found the copper-plate grant of Jākada, which purports to be dated in Vikrama-Saṅvat 794 (see page 62 above, note 1).

3 Of course, as it could only take place at a new-moon conjunction, it did not occur on the given solar day for the writing of the charter. — The limits within which we must look for it, are the first and the last days of Śaka-Saṅvat 828 current, as given in Indian Eras, p. 167.
General Cunningham's Table mentions no solar eclipse, as having occurred during the period defined above. But, by calculations from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that there was an eclipse of the sun, on Tuesday, the 7th May, A.D. 905, corresponding to the new-moon tithi of the Pāṃśūlī of Šaka-Saṃvat 828 current, which fully answers the required conditions. It was visible at Mōrbī; over almost the whole of Southern India; and in Ceylon. The magnitude, at Mōrbī, was one ninth of the sun's disc; and, in the southern parts of India, greater than this. And the middle of the eclipse, at Mōrbī, was at 12.9 midday of the Mōrbī mean civil time. This eclipse, accordingly, was very distinctly visible at Mōrbī; even if it was not known beforehand, from calculations.

This result, therefore, fully answers to the conditions of the record. It does not, in itself, furnish conclusive proof, either as to the exact epoch of the era, or as to the scheme of the year; for the reason that, if treated as a southern date, the day of the eclipse, represented in that case by the new-moon tithi of the Amānta southern Vaiśākha, belonged to the southern Šaka-Saṃvat 828, and to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 962, as well as to the northern Šaka-Saṃvat 828 and Vikrama-Saṃvat 963. But it answers, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhi and current Šaka years; and to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Šaka year. And it gives Šaka-Saṃvat 828 current (A.D. 905-906), as the equivalent of the indicated current Gupta year.

In respect of the given solar day for the writing of the charter, viz. the fifth solar day in the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna (February-March), as the name of the weekday is not given, the only test that we can apply is the presumption that the running number of the lunar tithi is the same as that of the solar day; i.e. that the fifth lunar tithi ended on the fifth solar day of the fortnight. If the year 586, connected with this solar day, is to be taken as expired, as in connection with the eclipse, this should be the case in Šaka-Saṃvat 828. And, by calculations for that year from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon tithi, which was that of the Pāṃśūlī northern Phālguna, or the Amānta southern Māgha, ended on Monday, the 27th January, A.D. 906; and that the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended

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1 See *Indian Eras*, p. 213.
2 For his calculations, which are based on the apparent longitudes of the sun and the moon, he has taken the latitude and longitude of Mōrbī, which I was not then able to supply to him, as 22° 45' N. and 70° 51' E. I now find that, in Thornton's Gazetteer of India, the figures are 22° 49' N. and 70° 53' E. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit states, however, that the difference will not palpably affect his results.
3 So also Prof. K. L. Chhatre himself obtained the same eclipse; see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 99, where, with a slight difference of phraseology, the eclipse is given as occurring "on the 30th of Vaiśākha, Šaka 827;" the reference being to the Amānta southern month and the expired Šaka year.

* See page 85 above, note 1.
on Saturday, the 1st February, which was the fifth successive solar day. If this date is accepted, then the charter was written nine months after the making of the grant. On the other hand, if the year 585 is here to be taken as current, there should be the same agreement of the hindu tithi and the solar day in Śaka-Saṅvat 827. And, for this year, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon tithi ended on Thursday, the 7th February, A.D. 925; and that the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended on Tuesday, the 12th February, which was again the fifth successive solar day. If this date is accepted, then the charter was prepared two months before the actual making of the grant.

It may perhaps be argued, hereafter, in opposition to my results for the exact epoch of the era, that all the Gupta-Valabhl dates are recorded in expired years, whether the fact is distinctly stated or not; and, consequently, that it is as an expired year, not current, that the year 165 of the Ėran pillar inscription is equivalent to A.D. 484-85 current, and that the year 585 expired, of the present record, is equivalent to A.D. 904-905 current. In that case, the solar eclipse would have to be found in Gupta-Saṅvat 585+242 = Śaka-Saṅvat 827 current, somewhere between the 21st March, A.D. 904, and the 9th March, A.D. 905. During this period, there were two eclipses of the sun; on Saturday, the 16th June, A.D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon tithi of the Pārśvaśānta northern Āśāda of Śaka-Saṅvat 827 current; and on Saturday, the 10th November, A.D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon tithi of the Pārśvaśānta northern Mārgaśīrsha of the same Śaka year. In respect of the first of them, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that it was not visible anywhere in India; but only in the more northern parts of the earth. This, therefore, cannot be the eclipse intended. In respect of the second of them, he finds that it was visible at Mōrbi; over more than half the northern part of Kāthiawād; and, to the south, along the coast, as far as Surat, one hundred and seventy miles south-east of Mōrbi, and in the interior, a little further still. And, at Mōrbi, the middle of the eclipse was at 11.54 A.M. of the Mōrbi mean civil time. At Ahmadābād, one hundred and twenty miles east by north from Mōrbi, one twelfth of the sun's disc was eclipsed; and, in the more northern parts of India, a considerably greater surface. But, at Mōrbi itself, the magnitude of the eclipse was very small; extending there to only one twenty-fifth part.

1 There is nothing in the record itself, to indicate whether the writing of the charter preceded, or followed, the making of the grant. The Rājim grant of Thvaradēva, No. 81, page 291, furnishes another similar instance. In that instance, the grant was made on the eleventh tithi of Jyēśṭha (May-June); while the charter was written, or assigned, on the eighth solar day of Kārttika (October-November); and there is nothing to shew specifically whether it was the following, or the preceding, Kārttika. That charter may have been written, or assigned, either five months after, or seven months before, the making of the grant recorded in it.


3 See Indian Eras, p. 213.
of the disc. This eclipse, therefore, setting aside all other considerations, is not in any way as satisfactory as that of the 7th May, A.D. 905.

The use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in Records of the Early Gupta period.

I now come to a still more interesting and important part of my inquiry; **viz.** to the **use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter** in the dates of some of the records of the Early Gupta period.

- These dates are found in the inscriptions of the Parivrajaka *Maharajas* Hastin and Saṃkshōbha, No. 21, page 93, to No. 25, page 112. And the extreme value of the records, from the present point of view, is due to the fact that in each instance, except in No. 24, page 110, the date is directly connected with an expression which shows explicitly that, at the time mentioned, the Gupta sovereignty was still enduring; and consequently,—since the figures of the years are naturally referable to the same uniform series with the years quoted in the records of the Early Tupatas themselves; and since the palaeography of the inscriptions is entirely in favour of such a reference,—which shows also that the dates are recorded in the identical era that was used by the Early Gupta kings.

The evidence derivable from these records has hitherto been completely misapplied; in consequence of the adoption of the view, that the duration of any *sahovatsara* or year of this cycle, is the same with that of the years of the Śaka era, from Chaitra Śukla 1 to Chaitra krishṇa 15; and that the means of exactly determining the *sahovatsaras* of this cycle, are provided by the last remainder obtained from certain rules given by Varāhamihira and others, which in reality only shews what *sahovatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle of the same planet according to the Northern System, and of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the mean-sign system, is current at the commencement of any given Śaka or Kaliyuga year, and which does not provide for the determination of the *sahovatsara* on any other given date in the year.¹

¹ Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has not made actual calculations for the village of Gōp (see page 98 above, note 2); but is able to state that both the eclipses, of the 7th May, A.D. 905, and of the 10th November, A.D. 904, were visible there; the circumstances of the former eclipse, in respect of visibility, being more favourable, and those of the latter being less so, at Gōp than at Mōchti.

² For the possible explanation of the omission in this instance, see page 8 above.

³ See, for instance, *Indian Eras*, p. 26 ff.—This interpretation of the rules in question leaves unutilized, and unexplained, the first remainder, obtained from the division by 3750 according to Varāhamihira's rule, and by 1875 according to the rule of the *Jyotisheśwara*. In connection with the *Jyotish-ṭara* rule, however, Warren has shewn (*Kala-Sankalita*, p. 202) how this remainder gives the means of determining the actual commencement of each *sahovatsara*.—From the use of some Tables drawn up by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, for determining the actual commencement of each *sahovatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and of each *sahovatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle.
The correct theory of the cycle, according to the requirements of the system actually applied in the records now under consideration, with the proper method of determining each of the *samvatsaras*, has now been demonstrated by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, in his paper which is published as Appendix III. below. And, by calculations based on the *Śrīva-Siddhānta*, he has worked out all the results required for a full treatment of the dates in question; giving the full English and Hindu dates throughout, in order that both European and Hindu astronomers may be in a position to easily check his results. In publishing his results, I am confident that no essential errors can be established in them; even though it should be shewn, by more exhaustive calculations, that his longitudes for the heliacal risings of Jupiter are capable of slight corrections.1 And, as will be seen, his results corroborate, in the most emphatic manner, all that has been established in the preceding pages; first, approximately, from the statements of Alberuni, the Māndasūr inscription of Mālava-Saṃvat 539 expired, and the Ēriṇ pillar inscription of Buddhagupta of Gupta-Saṃvat 165; and then, exactly, by the Vērāval inscription of Valabhi-Saṃvat 945.

It is not essential, for the most part, to enquire whether any of the dates, which give correct results with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, also give, by coincidence, correct results with any of the suggested earlier epochs. And, indeed, to make any such inquiry systematic and thorough, it would be obligatory to make the calculations, throughout, for at least a dozen years or so before and after the proposed epochs. Such inquiries are certainly unnecessary in respect of any epoch as early as that proposed by Mr. Thomas. It seemed worth while, however, to calculate the dates now under consideration, and to give the results, for the epochs proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley; both of whom have dealt with the whole subject on the clear understanding that these dates are recorded in the era that was actually used by the Early Guptas themselves. And it will be seen

according to the mean-sign system, I find that, for the purposes of such rules as that given by Varāhamihira in the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, viii. 20, 21, the Śaka years must be treated as commencing with the *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti* or entrance of the Sun into Aries, and not with Chaitra śukla 1; though the latter is the initial day that is required for the notation of *tīthīs*. For instance, by Varāhamihira’s rule, the Viṣṇuvasu *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle was current at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 748 current (A.D. 825-26); and, by Gen. Cunningham’s extension of the rule (Indian Eras, p. 27), the Mahā-Aśvayujā *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle was current on the same date. In Śaka-Saṃvat 748, the *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti* occurred on the 21st March, A.D. 825; and Chaitra śukla 1 ended on the 22nd February. The Viṣṇuvasu *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and, with it, the Mahā-Aśvayujā *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, actually commenced on the 15th March; and thus they were current at the *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti*, but not on Chaitra śukla 1. And the same will often happen when the *samvatsaras* are commencing shortly before the *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti*. This application of such rules as that given by Varāhamihira, is, in fact, the natural one; though it may not be apparent at first sight. For, the *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti* is a very definite point in the year; whereas, Chaitra śukla 1 is always shifting backwards and forwards by about eleven and nineteen days at a time, and its circumstances could not be met by any such hard-and-fast rules.

1See, e.g., page 110 below, note 1.
that; with the same heliacal-rising system that is applied to prove the epoch of A.D. 319-20, the results, as a whole, emphatically fail. In calculating the details with these two epochs, as with the epoch that I am proving, the Gupta year has been treated as a Śaka year, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, and with the Pārśvanātha northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights. In some of the cases in which, by this treatment, and with these two epochs, the results fail, more favourable results might be obtained by adopting a year commencing with, either the preceding, or the following, Kārttiṅka śukla 1; and by slightly varying the proposed epochs accordingly. But a full consideration of the details will shew that, with neither of these two epochs, as they stand, and probably with no epochs in any way approximating to them, is there any method of bringing out perfectly uniform results throughout.

It might, however, be claimed that General Cunningham's epoch, or Sir E. Clive Bayley's, or even both of them, could be proved, for the present records, by the other system of the Twelve-Year Cycle; according to which the śāmaitāsaras are determined by the passage of Jupiter among the signs of the zodiac; and which is, in fact, the system that they have sought to apply in support of their theories. The results, therefore, according to this system also, will be given. It will be seen that it is not the system which applies to the epoch that I am proving; inasmuch as it gives correct results in only two cases out of the four by which any absolute proof can be established;¹ viz. in the case of the grant B. dated in Gupta-Śāṃvat 163, and in the case of the grant C. dated in Gupta-Śāṃvat 191. As regards General Cunningham's and Sir E. Clive Bayley's epochs, it has always been recognised that this system fails in the case of the grant B. dated in Gupta-Śāṃvat 163, unless the given year is deliberately altered from 163 to 173. As there is really no justification for this alteration of the original text,² the failure of the system even in this instance alone, is enough to shew that the proposed epochs are not sustainable by means of it. But further, though the fact has not hitherto been recognised, the system fails also in respect of another of the records. Thus, in the case of the grant C. dated in Gupta-Śāṃvat 191, the given śāmaitāsara really was current at the commencement of the given year, in accordance with the rules applied by General Cunningham, and accepted by Sir E. Clive Bayley, from which, however, it was not properly to be inferred that it was current through the whole of the same year; but it came to an end, and was followed by the next śāmaitāsara, with General Cunningham's epoch, nearly three and a half months, and with Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch, nearly seven months, before the sub-

¹ The date in the Bhumarā pillar inscription, E. below, furnishes no definite proof in itself; because the current Gupta year is not mentioned in it; and consequently the given śāmaitāsara could not have proved equally well for epochs differing by a year or more, on either side, from the exact epochs that are being considered. We can only test it, in so far as to see whether, under any particular circumstances, the system fails through an omission of the given śāmaitāsara.

² See Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1.
sequent given date in that year. In fact, out of the four leading dates on which any arguments can be based, with these two epochs this system gives correct results only in respect of the grant A. dated in Gupta-Saṅvat 156, and the grant D. dated in Gupta-Saṅvat 209. And, as with the heliacal-rising system, so with this system also, a full consideration of the details will shew that, even by adopting a scheme for the Gupta year other than the scheme of the northern Śaka year, with neither of these two epochs is there any method of bringing out uniform results throughout.

A.—The Khôh Grant of the year 156.

The first inscription is one of the Khôh grants of the Mahârâja Hastin, No. 21, page 93; in which the date (line 1 fl.) is—shatâpañchâś-ottare-bda-satâ Gupta-nirpa-râjya-bhuktau Mahâ-Vaiśâkha-saṁvatsare Kârttika-mâsa-śukla-paksha-trityâyâm, —“in a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (year); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha saṁvatsara; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika.”

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha saṁvatsara, as current on the third tithi or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November) in Gupta-Saṅvat 156 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabht-Saṅvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṅvat 156 + 242 = Śaka-Saṅvat 398 current; 1 in which year the given tithi corresponds to Sunday, the 19th October, A.D. 475.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV, page 105 below, Col. A.) that Jupiter’s rising, 2 next before the given date, took place on Kârttika śukla 1 of the same year, Śaka-Saṅvat 398 current, corresponding to Friday, the 17th October, A.D. 475; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 18th October. 3 His longitude then was

1 Here, and throughout, the year is treated as a northern year. But the details of these dates do not furnish any actual proof as to the Pûrṇimâdata or Aṃdata arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

2 i.e., throughout, his heliacal rising. But the actual calculation is for his first daily rising after his becoming capable of rising heliacally.

3 Jupiter’s daily rising, next after his becoming capable of rising heliacally, takes place about forty-four minutes before sunrise, and therefore in the period during which the Hindu and the English week-days are not identical (see a note in Appendix II. below). In the present case, it took place at the time in question before sunrise on the English Saturday, the 18th October. Kârttika śukla 2 did not end till after sunrise on that day. Consequently, as current tithis are not quoted, unless under certain very exceptional conditions not applicable to such occurrences as this, the tithi on which he rose was Kârttika śukla 1. And this tithi, ending after sunrise on the Friday (and before sunrise on the Saturday), has to be coupled with Friday, the 17th October, as its week-day. Hence the apparent, but not actual, difference of a day, according as we take the Hindu or the English calendar. And a similar difference runs through all the dates of the heliacal risings given below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gupta year, current</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
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<td>156</td>
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<td>405</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>443</td>
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**The given samvat**
- Mahā-Vaśākha

**The given date**
- Karttiika śukla 3
- 19th October, A.D. 475

**Corresponding to**
- Mahā-Āsvayuja
- Chaitra śukla 2
- 7th March, A.D. 482

**Jupiter’s preceding rising**
- Karttiika śukla 1 of Saka 398
- 17th October, A.D. 475

**corresponding to**
- Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 6 of Saka 404
- 5th April, A.D. 481

**English date**
- 6th April
- 4º 21’
- Ashvinī

**And the samvatvāsra, which then began, was**
- Mahā-Vaśākha

**Jupiter’s following rising**
- Mārgasīrṣha śukla 13 of Saka 399
- 15th November, A.D. 476

**corresponding to**
- Jyēṣṭha śukla 8 of Saka 405
- 12th May, A.D. 482

**English date**
- 13th May
- 40º 34’
- Ṛohini

**And the samvatvāsra, which then began, was**
- Mahā-Jyēṣṭha

**TABLE IV. THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.**

106
195° 24'. By both the systems of unequal spaces for the longitudes of the ending-points of the nakshatras (see Appendix III. Table IX.), he was then in Viśākhā; and the saṃvatsara which then began (see Appendix III. Table VIII.), must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha:¹ Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mārgaśīrsha sukla 13 of Śaka-Saṃvat 399, corresponding to Monday, the 15th November, A.D. 476; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 16th November. His longitude then was 295° 35'. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyēśṭhā; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēśthā. While, by the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Anurādhā; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have again been named Mahā-Vaiśākha; which shews that, by this system, there was at this period a repetition of a saṃvatsara. This difference as to the following saṃvatsara, however, does not affect the given date. By both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṃvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saṃvat 398 current (A.D. 475-76), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In connection with the results for this record, the following points have to be noted. In the first place, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has described three systems of fixing the ending-points of the nakshatras; one of equal spaces; and two of unequal spaces. An examination of Jupiter's longitudes, as given in Table IV., page 105 above, for each rising next before the given dates, will shew that, in all the remaining instances, the current saṃvatsara is proved by all three systems; the only variation is that, in the case of E1, Jupiter's position, at his rising next before the given date, was, by the system of equal spaces, in Aśīṣhā; but, even then, the current saṃvatsara would be named Mahā-Māgha, as also by the two systems of unequal spaces. So, also, it may be seen that, by all three systems, we have almost the same results in respect of the following saṃvatsaras; the only variation is that, in the case of D1, Jupiter's position, at his rising next after the given date, was, by the system of equal spaces, in Bharata; and, accordingly, the saṃvatsara which then began, would again be named Mahā-Āśayuja; which shews that, by this system, there was a repetition of a saṃvatsara at this period; but this does not affect the saṃvatsara current on the given date. So far, therefore, as those dates are concerned, the correctness of the records might be proved by any of the three systems. The same, however, is not the case in respect of the present record. By the system of equal spaces, Jupiter's position, at his rising next before the given date, was in Svāti; the saṃvatsara which then began, would

¹I have not been able to obtain the original authority for the use of the prefix mahā (mahā), 'great.' And it does not occur in connection with the two saṃvatsaras mentioned in the Hālsī grants of the Kādamba chiefstain Mrigaśāvanman; viz. the Pausha saṃvatsara, in line 8 of the grant dated in his third year (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 35), and the Vaiśākha saṃvatsara, in line 10 of the grant dated in his eighth year (id. Vol. VI. p. 24). I use the prefix, however, throughout, in accordance with the custom of the original records now under examination.
be named Mahā-Chaitra; and the Mahā-Vaiśākha sanvatsara would not begin till Jupiter's rising next after the given date, when, by the same system, his position was in Anurādhā. Accordingly, the system of equal spaces could be applied to the present record, only with a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years; which would be in contradiction with the fact that, to prove the sanvatsaras of all the remaining records, it must be applied with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. It is evident, therefore, that, in dealing with these records, the system of equal spaces is not the correct one; and that we have to apply one or other of the systems of unequal spaces. This, however, is only natural; for they are both more ancient than the system of equal spaces; and, the older the system, the greater the certainty that it is the one in use in the Early Guptan period. Also, the Devagāḍh inscription of king Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, dated Śaka-Samvat 784, indicates very plainly that one or other of the systems of unequal spaces, if not both of them, continued in use, in what had formed a part of the Early Guptan territory, down to at least the last half of the ninth century A.D.¹ Of the two systems of unequal spaces, whether we are to apply the Brahman-Siddhānta system, or the still more ancient Garga system, cannot at present be decided;
since, the only variation between them is in respect of the *saṃvatsara* following the *saṃvatsara* which was current on the given date of the present record.

Another point is, that, as the following *saṃvatsara* did not commence till Mārgaśīrśha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṅvat 399, the Mahā-Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara* was still current on the given date, Kārttika śukla 3, in Śaka-Saṅvat 399, as well as in 398, which is the real equivalent for the Gupta year. So, also, it will be seen that, in the case of D., the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* was still current on the given date, Chaitra śukla 13, in Śaka-Saṅvat 452, as well as in 451, which is the true equivalent for the Gupta year of that record. Consequently, these two dates, A. and D., might be used to support a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, as well as the true running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. But, apart from the fact that we have not obtained anything else to support such a result, there is no such alternative in respect of B. and C.; the *saṃvatsaras* of those records are proved only with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. All the four cases together, therefore, not only answer to, but also prove the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.

A final point is, that, on the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV., of the year 330, and with a year beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Kārttika śukla 3, in Gupta-Saṅvat 156, would belong to Śaka-Saṅvat 397 current. But it would then fall a year, all but two days, anterior to the commencement of the recorded *saṃvatsara* on Kārttika śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṅvat 398. This record, therefore, also disproves the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

On the analogy of the same grant, and with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśīrśha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year,† the given date would still belong to Śaka-Saṅvat 398. The possibility, however, of our being concerned with such a year as this, is disproved by the results for the date of C. below, in Gupta-Saṅvat 191.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara* did not commence till Vaiśākha śukla 5 of Śaka-Saṅvat 399 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 14th April, A.D. 476; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *saṃvatsara* then current was Mahā-Chaitra, which commenced on Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 13 of Śaka-Saṅvat 398, corresponding to Saturday, the 19th April, A.D. 475.

With General Cunningham’s epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṅvat 245 current; and its English equivalent would be Sunday, the 30th Septem-

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† See page 78 above.
ber, A.D. 322. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Kārttiка śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 244, corresponding to Friday, the 20th October, A.D. 321; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 21st October. His longitude then was 200° 54’. By all three systems, he was then in Viśākhā; and the saṁvatsāra which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Pausha krishṇa 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 245, corresponding to Tuesday, the 20th November, A.D. 322; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 21st November. His longitude then was 231° 33’. By the system of equal spaces, and the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyēṣṭhā; and, by the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, in Mūla; and, by all three systems, the saṁvatsāra which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēṣṭha. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṁvatsāra was current on the given date. This, however, is a mere coincidence. There is the same coincidence in respect of the date of D.; but not in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṁvatsāra commenced on Phālguna krishṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 244 current, corresponding to Friday, the 2nd February, A.D. 322; and it was followed by Mahā-Jyēṣṭha on Phālguna śukla 6 of Śaka-Saṁvat 245, corresponding to Tuesday, the 29th January, A.D. 323. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṁvatsāra was current on the given date.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley’s epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 269 current; and its English equivalent would be Saturday, the 4th October, A.D. 346. Here, Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Margsāśira krishṇa 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 268, corresponding to Tuesday, the 29th October, A.D. 345; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 30th October. His longitude then was 209° 22’. By all three systems, he was then in Viśākhā; and the saṁvatsāra which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Pausha krishṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 269, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th November, A.D. 346; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th November. His longitude then was 240° 17’. By all three systems, he was then in Mūla; and the saṁvatsāra which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēṣṭha. Accordingly, with this epoch also, the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṁvatsāra was current on the given date. This again, however, is a mere coincidence. And again, though there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of D., it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṁvatsāra commenced on Kārttiка śukla 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 268 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 23rd October, A.D. 345; and it was followed by Mahā-Jyēṣṭha on Margsāśira krishṇa 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 269, corresponding to Sunday, the 19th October, A.D. 346. Accordingly, with
this epoch again, and by this system also, the Mahâ-Vaisâkha samvatsara was current on the given date.

B.—The Khôh Grant of the year 163.

The next inscription is the other Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Hastin, No. 22, page 100, in which the date (line 1 f.) is — tri-shashṭy-uttarâ-bda-saté Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau Mahâ-Âsvayuja-samvatsare Chaitra-mâsa-sukla-paksha-dvitiyâyâm,—"in a century of years, increased by sixty-three; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Âsvayuja samvatsara; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra."

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahâ-Âsvayuja samvatsara, as current on the second tithi or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Samvat 163 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Samvat 163 + 242 = Śaka-Samvat 405 current; in which year the given tithi corresponds to Sunday, the 7th March, A.D. 482.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV, page 105 above, Col. B) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place¹ on Vaiśâkha krishna 6 of the preceding year, Śaka-Samvat 404 current, corresponding to Sunday, the 5th April, A.D. 481; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 6th April. His longitude then was 4° 21'. By both the systems of unequal spaces,² he was then in Așvin; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Âsvayuja. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêśṭha sukla 8 of Śaka-Samvat 405, corresponding to Wednesday, the 12th May, A.D. 482; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 13th May. His longitude then was 40° 34'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rôhipt; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttiika. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahâ-Âsvayuja samvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Samvat 405 current (A.D. 489-83), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In this instance, the given samvatsara was not current on the given date in either the preceding year, Śaka-Samvat 404, or the following year, Śaka-Samvat 406. The result,

¹ These calculations are not absolutely accurate; but the margin is so wide, that there is no necessity for exact precision in this case. If there should be any difference at all between Jupiter's longitudes as found by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, and as capable of being determined with exact precision, it will amount only to a few minutes of arc; and the actual risings of Jupiter could differ from what he gives, only by one or two days; with the result that Jupiter may have risen, in this instance, on Vaiśâkha krishna 5 or 7.

² Also by the system of equal spaces; but see page 107 above. This point need not be noted in the following instances.
therefore, not only answers to, but also proves, the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.

On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 330, and with a year beginning either with the month Kārttika, or with the month Mārgaśīrṣha, next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Chaitra śukla 2, in Gupta-Saṁvat 163, would still belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 405. But, as noted at page 108 above, the results for the date of A. disprove the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year. And, as will be shown at page 115 below, the results for the date of C., in Gupta-Saṁvat 191, disprove the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśīrṣha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Chaitra śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 404 current, corresponding to Tuesday, the 24th March, A.D. 481; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Chaitra śukla 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 405, corresponding to Saturday, the 20th March, A.D. 482. Accordingly, by this system also, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.

With General Cunningham’s epoch of A.D. 166-67, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 252 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 17th February, A.D. 329. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Ashadhā krishna 6 of Śaka-Saṁvat 251, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th May, A.D. 328; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 17th May. His longitude then was 49° 25'. By all three systems, he was then in Rōhiṇi; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Ashadhā śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 252, corresponding to Sunday, the 22nd June, A.D. 329; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 23rd June. His longitude then was 82°12'. By all three systems, he was then in Purvaṅga; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha; the intervening saṁvatsara, Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara, we have to go back to Jupiter’s rising on Vaiśākha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 250, corresponding to Tuesday, the 11th April, A.D. 327, or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 12th April; when his longitude was 11°21', and, by all three systems, he was at Āśvin. And thus the given saṁvatsara was current on the same date in the preceding year.—With the same epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1) of Gupta-Saṁvat 173, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 262 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 27th Febru—
ary, A.D. 339. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 261, corresponding to Friday, the 10th March, A.D. 338; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 11th March. His longitude then was 339° 54'. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhādrapada. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyēshtha krishna 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 262, corresponding to Tuesday, the 17th April, A.D. 339; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 18th April. His longitude then was 16° 34'. By all three systems, he was then in BhaRaṇi; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Accordingly, with this epoch, even with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was not current on the given date; but only on the same date in the following year.

By the mean-sign system, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Māgha śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 249 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th January, A.D. 327; and was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Māgha śukla 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 250, corresponding to Monday, the 8th January, A.D. 328; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The saṁvatsara then current was Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, which commenced on Phālguna krishna 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 251 current, corresponding to Friday, the 3rd January, A.D. 339.—With the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 173, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Pausha krishna 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 261 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 22nd November, A.D. 338; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 262, corresponding to Sunday, the 18th November, A.D. 339. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system, with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date. The proposed alteration of the original text, however, cannot be justified.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 276 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 22nd February, A.D. 353. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Ashādha krishna 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 275, corresponding to Wednesday, the 27th May, A.D. 352; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 28th May. His longitude then was 57° 12'. By all three systems, he was then in Mṛiga; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Ashādha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 276, corresponding to Thursday, the 1st July, A.D. 353; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 2nd July. His longitude then was 91° 19'. By all three systems, he was then in Punarvasu; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was not current on the given date. As a matter of fact, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara of
this cycle may have been omitted. Thus, in Śaka-Saṅvat 273 current, Jupiter’s rising took place on Vaiśākha krīṣṇa 6, corresponding to Friday, the 16th March, A.D. 350; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 17th March. His longitude then was 345° 10’. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhādrapada. His next rising took place on Vaiśākha śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṅvat 274, corresponding to Monday, the 22nd April, A.D. 351; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 23rd April. His longitude then was 21° 35’. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bharaṇī; and the saṁvatsara which then began, would be named Mahā-ĀŚvayuja; and there would be an omission of the following saṁvatsara, Mahā-Kārttikeya. But, by the two systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛttikā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, would be named Mahā-Kārttikeya; with an omission of the intervening saṁvatsara, Mahā-ĀŚvayuja.—With the same epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Saṅvat 173 (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1), the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṅvat 286 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 4th March, A.D. 363. Here, Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 9 of Śaka-Saṅvat 285, corresponding to Thursday, the 21st March, A.D. 362; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 22nd March. His longitude then was 350° 11’. By all three systems, he was then in Rēvati; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-ĀŚvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyēṣṭha krīṣṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṅvat 286, corresponding to Sunday, the 27th April, A.D. 363; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 28th April. His longitude then was 26° 35’. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛttikā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttikeya. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bharaṇī; and, by this system, the saṁvatsara which then began, must have again been named Mahā-ĀŚvayuja; which shows that, by this system, there was at this period a repetition of a saṁvatsara. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-ĀŚvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date. This, however, is a mere coincidence. And the proposed correction of the original reading cannot be justified.

By the mean-sign system, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṅvat 163, the Mahā-ĀŚvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Kārttikeya krīṣṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṅvat 273 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd October, A.D. 359; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttikeya on Kārttikeya krīṣṇa 8 of Śaka-Saṅvat 274, corresponding to Sunday, the 29th September, A.D. 351; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The saṁvatsara then current was Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, which commenced on Kārttikeya krīṣṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṅvat 275 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 24th September, A.D. 352. —With the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Saṅvat 173, the Mahā-ĀŚvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Bhādrapada śukla 7 of Śaka-Saṅvat 285 current,
corresponding to Tuesday, the 13th August, A.D. 362; and it was followed by Mahâ-Kârtika on Bhâdrapada śukla 12 of Saka-Saṅvat 286, corresponding to Saturday, the 9th August, A.D. 363. Accordingly, with this epoch again, and by this system also, with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja saṅvatsara was current on the given date. But the proposed alteration of the original text cannot be justified.

C.—The Majhgawām Grant of the year 191.

The next inscription is the Majhgawām grant of the Mahârâja Hastin, No. 23, page 106, in which the date (line 1 f.) is — āka-navaty-uttarē-bda-satē Gupta-nripa-rāja-bhuktau ūrīmati pravardhamāna-Mahâ-Chaitra-saṅvatsarē Māgha-māsa-bahula-pâksha-tritiyâdham,—"in a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the prosperous augmenting Mahâ-Chaitra saṅvatsara; on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha." And at the end, in line 21, the date is repeated as—Mâgha di 3,— "(the month) Mâgha; (the solar) day 3."

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahâ-Chaitra saṅvatsara, as current on the third titki or lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha (January-February) in Gupta-Saṅvat 191 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṅvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṅvat 191 + 242 = Śaka-Saṅvat 433 current; in which year the given date corresponds to Monday, the 3rd January, A.D. 511.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV, page 105 above, Col. C.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Āśvina śukla 11 of the same year, Śaka-Saṅvat 433, corresponding to Wednesday, the 29th September, A.D. 510; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 30th September. His longitude then was 17° 47'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Chittra; and the saṅvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Chaitra. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mârgaśīrsha krishṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṅvat 434, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th October, A.D. 511; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th October. His longitude then was 20° 41'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Viśakhā; and the saṅvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Vaiśākha. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahâ-Chaitra saṅvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saṅvat 433 current (A.D. 510-11), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In this instance, again, as in B. above, the given saṅvatsara was not current on the given date in either the preceding year, Śaka-Saṅvat 432, or the following year, Śaka-Saṅvat 434. Here again, therefore, the result not only answers to, but also proves, the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.
On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV., of the year 330, and with a year beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Maṅgha krishṇa 3, in Gupta-Saṅvat 191, would belong to Śaka-Saṅvat 432. It would then fall about eight months and a half before the commencement of the recorded saṅvatsara on Āsvina śukla 11 of Śaka-Saṅvat 433. This record, therefore, like A. above, disproves the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

Again, on the analogy of the same grant, and with a year beginning with the month Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date would similarly belong to Śaka-Saṅvat 432; and would similarly fall about eight months and a half before the commencement of the recorded saṅvatsara. This record, therefore, also disproves the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Chaitra saṅvatsara commenced on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṅvat 433 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 18th November, A.D. 510; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṅvat 434, corresponding to Monday, the 14th November, A.D. 511. Accordingly, by this system also the Mahā-Chaitra saṅvatsara was current on the given date.

With General Cunningham’s epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṅvat 280 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 16th December, A.D. 357. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 4 of the same year, Śaka-Saṅvat 280, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd November, A.D. 357; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 3rd November. His longitude then was 213° 31’. By all three systems, he was then in Anurādhā; and the saṅvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Pausha krishṇa 2 of Śaka-Saṅvat 281, corresponding to Friday, the 4th December, A.D. 358; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 5th December. His longitude then was 244° 49’. By the system of equal spaces, and by the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Mūra; and the saṅvatsara which then began, must, according to these two systems, have been named Mahā-Jyeṣṭha. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Pūrva-Ashādha; and the saṅvatsara which then began, must, according to this system, have been named Mahā-Aśadhā; the intervening saṅvatsara, Mahā-Jyeṣṭha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahā-Chaitra saṅvatsara was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Chaitra saṅvatsara, we have to go back to Jupiter’s rising on Kārttika krishṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṅvat 279, corresponding to
Thursday, the 3rd October, A.D. 356, or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 4th October; when his longitude was 183° 33', and, by all three systems, he was in Chitrá. And thus the given samvatsara was current on the same date in the preceding year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Chaitra samvatsara commenced on Aśvina krishṇa 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 279 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 7th September, A.D. 356; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Aśvina sukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 280, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd September, A.D. 357; and this again was followed by Mahā-Jyeṣṭha on the intercalated Aśvina sukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 281, corresponding to Sunday, the 30th August, A.D. 358. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, the Mahā-Chaitra samvatsara was not current on the given date; and the samvatsara that was current, was Mahā-Vaiśākha.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 304 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 20th December, A.D. 381. Here Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Mārgaśirsha sukla 8 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 304, corresponding to Thursday, the 11th November, A.D. 381; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 12th November. His longitude then was 222° 8'. By all three systems, he was then in Anurādhā; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Māgha krishṇa 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 305, corresponding to Wednesday, the 14th December, A.D. 382; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 15th December. His longitude then was 254° 1'. By all three systems, he was then in Pūrva-Aśāḍhā; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśāḍhā; the intervening samvatsara, Mahā-Jyeṣṭha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch also, the Mahā-Chaitra samvatsara was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Chaitra samvatsara, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Kārttika krishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 303, corresponding to Sunday, the 11th October, A.D. 380; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 12th October; when his longitude was 191° 2', and, by all three systems, he was in Svātī. And thus the given samvatsara was current on the same date in the preceding year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Chaitra samvatsara commenced on the intercalated Āśāḍhā sukla 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 303 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 28th May, A.D. 380; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Jyeṣṭha sukla 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 304, corresponding to Monday, the 24th May, A.D. 381; and this again was followed by Mahā-Jyeṣṭha on Āśāḍhā krishṇa 6 of Śaka-Saṁvat 305, corresponding to Friday, the 20th May, A.D. 382. Accordingly, with this epoch also, and by this system again, the Mahā-Chaitra samvatsara was not current on the given date; and the samvatsara that was current, was Mahā-Vaiśākha.
D.—The Khōh Grant of the year 209.

The next inscription is the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Saṁkshōbha, No. 25, page 112, in which the date (line 1 ff.) is — navā-ṭatē-bda-sata-dvayē Gupta-nīpāra-yāva-bhuktau śrīmati pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājyē Mahā-Āśvayuja-saṁvatsarē Chaitra-māsa-sukla-paksha-trayōdaśyām,—"in two centuries of years increased by nine; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the glorious augmenting and victorious reign; in the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara; on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra." And at the end, in line 24, the date is repeated as — Chaitra di 20 7.—"(the month) Chaitra, the (solar) day 20 (and) 7."

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara, as current on the thirteenth titki or lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Saṁvat 209 current. And, on the analogy of the Verawal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṁvat 209 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 451 current; in which year the given titki corresponds to Sunday, the 19th March, A.D. 528.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. D.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra sukla 12 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 451, corresponding to Saturday, the 18th March, A.D. 528; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 19th March; i.e. at the dawn immediately before the making of the grant. His longitude then was 349° 45'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rēvatī; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyēshtha sukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 452, corresponding to Thursday, the 26th April, A.D. 529; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 27th April. His longitude then was 24° 36'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kritikā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 451 current (A.D. 528-29), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

As a matter of fact, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was still current on the given date, Chaitra sukla 13, in the following year, Śaka-Saṁvat 452; as well as in Śaka-Saṁvat 451, which is the real equivalent for the given Gupta year. Consequently, this record might be used to support a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years; as well as the true running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. But this possibility has been disposed of, in my remarks on the date of A., in Gupta-Saṁvat 156, at page 108 above.

1 For this same reason, probably, the given date was specially selected for making the grant; since, the commencement of a saṁvatsara is regarded by Hindus as a very auspicious occasion.
On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 330, and with a year beginning either with the month Kārttika, or with the month Mārgaśīrṣha, next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Chaithera sukla 13, in Gupta-Saṃvat 209, would still belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 451. But the results for the dates of both A. and C. above, at pages 108 and 115, disprove the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year. And the result for the date of C. also disproves the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśīrṣha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āsvayuja saṁvatsara did not commence till Āśina sukla 3 of Śaka-Saṃvat 451 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 2nd September, A.D. 528; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The saṁvatsara then current was Mahā-Bhādrapada, which commenced on Bhādrapada krishṇa 11 of Saka-Saṃvat 459, corresponding to Tuesday, the 7th September, A.D. 527.

With General Cunningham’s epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 298 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 2nd March, A.D. 375. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Vaśākha krishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 297, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th March, A.D. 374; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 27th March. His longitude then was 35° 11’4. By all three systems, he was then in Revaṭī; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āsvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyēśṭha krishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 298, corresponding to Sunday, the 3rd May, A.D. 375; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 4th May. His longitude then was 31° 49’. By all three systems, he was then in Krīttika; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahā-Āsvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date. This, however, is a mere coincidence. As we have seen at page 109 above, there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of A.; but it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āsvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Sravana krishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 297 current, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 374; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Ashādha sukla 4 of Śaka-Saṃvat 298, corresponding to Friday, the 19th June, A.D. 375. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, the Mahā-Āsvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley’s epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 322 current; and its English equivalent would be Sunday, the 6th March,
A.D. 399. Here Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Vaiṣākha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 321, corresponding to Tuesday, the 6th April, A.D. 398; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 7th April. His longitude then was 5° 28’. By all three systems, he was then in Aśvin; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Āshadhā krishna 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 322, corresponding to Friday, the 13th May, A.D. 399; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 14th May. His longitude then was 41° 42’. By all three systems, he was then in Rōbins; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Accordingly, with this epoch also, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date. This again, however, is a mere coincidence. And again, though there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of A., it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Chaitra śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 321 current, corresponding to Sunday, the 14th March, A.D. 398; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Vaiṣākha krishna 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 322, corresponding to Thursday, the 10th March, A.D. 399. Accordingly, with this epoch again, and by this system also, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.

E.—The Bhumarā Pillar Inscription.

The last inscription of this series is the Bhumarā pillar inscription of the Mahārājas Hastin and Śarvanātha, No. 24, page 110; in which the date (line 7 ff.) is — Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara Kārttika-māsa divasa 10 9,—”in the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara; the month Kārttika; the (solar) day 10 (and) 9.”

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara, as current on the nineteenth solar day of the month Kārttika (October-November); but the current year of the Gupta era is not given. The only guide, therefore, in determining the approximate Gupta year, for which the calculations should be made, is the fact that this inscription shows that the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin was, at the time of this record, contemporaneous with the Mahārāja Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa. For the Mahārāja Hastin, we have the extreme recorded dates of Gupta-Saṁvat 156 and 191; while, for the Mahārāja Śarvanātha, we have similarly the dates of the years 193 and 214; and for his father, Jayanātha, the latest date of the year 177, all of which may have to be referred to the Gupta era. If so, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara in question,—on the assumption that what should be its regular place in the series was not affected by any omissions and repetitions, subsequent to the Mahā-Vaiṣākha saṁvatsara which was current on Kārttika śukla 3 in Gupta-Saṁvat 156,—must be found in or about Gupta-Saṁvat 189 or 201; with a preference in favour of the year 189, because of the early date of the year 156 for the Mahārāja Hastin.
For Gupta-Saṅvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Saṅvat 431 current, the given date, viz. the nineteenth day of the month Kṛrttika, corresponds to Monday, the 13th October, A.D. 508. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. E1) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvaṇa śukla 15 of the same year, Śaka-Saṅvat 431, corresponding to Monday, the 28th July, A.D. 508; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 29th July. His longitude then was 117° 4'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Magha; and the saṅvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Aśvina kṛṣṇa 13 of Śaka-Saṅvat 432, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th August, A.D. 509; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th August. His longitude then was 141° 49'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Uttarā-Phalguni; and the saṅvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṅvat 189, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha saṅvatsara was current on the given date. And this result gives Śaka-Saṅvat 431 current (A.D. 508-509), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

Again, for Gupta-Saṅvat 201 + 242 = Śaka-Saṅvat 443 current, the given date, viz. the nineteenth day of the month Kṛrttika, corresponds to Friday, the 2nd October, A.D. 520. Here, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. Ez) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhādrapada śukla 3 of the same year, Śaka-Saṅvat 443, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd August, A.D. 520; or by the English calendar, on Monday, the 3rd August. His longitude then was 121° 30'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Magha; and the saṅvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Aśvina kṛṣṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṅvat 444, corresponding to Friday, the 3rd September, A.D. 521; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 4th September. His longitude then was 152° 17'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Uttarā-Phalguni; and the saṅvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṅvat 201 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha saṅvatsara was current on the given date. And this result gives Śaka-Saṅvat 443 current (A.D. 520-21), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

The results for these two years, Gupta-Saṅvat 189 and 201, answer, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years. But they do not, in themselves, prove it; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record. The important point is, that in neither of these two cycles was the Mahā-Māgha saṅvatsara omitted.
If the dates in the grants of the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa are to be referred to the Kalachuri era, then the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara of this record will be earlier by either one or two cycles than the first of the two years given above. Here, again, in respect of the actual epoch no absolute proof can be derived from this record; and the only important point is, to ascertain that the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara was not omitted in either of the two cycles in question. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, in Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, Jupiter’s rising took place on Śrāvana śukla 10, corresponding to Thursday, the 19th July, A.D. 484; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 20th July. His longitude then was 108° 19’. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Aślesha; and the saṁvatsara which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 419 current, Jupiter’s rising took place on Bhadrapada krishṇa 13, corresponding to Wednesday, the 24th July, A.D. 496; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 25th July. His longitude then was 112° 48’. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Magha, and by the Garga system, in Aślesha; and, by both systems, the saṁvatsara which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṁvat 165 and 177 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date, and was not omitted. And these results give either Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current (A.D. 484-85) or 419 current (A.D. 496-97), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṁvat 166 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 403 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara commenced on Chaitra śukla 5, corresponding to Thursday, the 7th March, A.D. 485; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Chaitra śukla 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 409, corresponding to Monday, the 3rd March, A.D. 486. Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 419 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara commenced on Phālguna krishṇa 12, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th January, A.D. 497; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in Gupta-Saṁvat 178; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Māgha śukla 4 of Śaka-Saṁvat 420, corresponding to Monday, the 12th January, A.D. 498. Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 431 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara commenced on Pausha krishṇa 3, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th November, A.D. 508; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in Gupta-Saṁvat 190; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Pausha krishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 432, corresponding to Sunday, the 22nd November.

1 See page 8 above.
A.D. 509. And thus, by this system also, in Gupta-Saṃvat 166, 178, and 190, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date. But this was not the case in the next cycle. In Gupta-Saṃvat 201 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 443 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara commenced on Kārttika Sukla 9, corresponding to Tuesday, the 6th October, A.D. 520, and falling four, five, or six days after the nineteenth day of the month; and it was followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Kārttika krishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 444, corresponding to Saturday, the 2nd October, A.D. 521, and falling seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen days before the nineteenth day of the month. And thus, though the given saṁvatsara was not omitted, the given day did not fall within the limits of its duration.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, for Gupta-Saṃvat 188 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 354-55 = Śaka-Saṃvat 277 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Saturday, 8th October, A.D. 354. Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhādrapada krishṇa 12 of the same year, Śaka-Saṃvat 277, corresponding to Tuesday; the 2nd August, A.D. 354; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 3rd August. His longitude then was 122° 59'. By all three systems, he was then in Magha; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina sukla 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 278, corresponding to Sunday, the 3rd September, A.D. 355; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 4th September. His longitude then was 153° 34'. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Phālgun; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with Gupta-Saṃvat 188 as the intended current year, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date. This result, however, does not help to prove the epoch, because the record does not specify the current Gupta year; and, by taking a different Gupta year, the same result can be obtained for a different epoch.

Again, for Gupta-Saṃvat 199 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 365-66 = Śaka-Saṃvat 288 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Wednesday, the 5th October, A.D. 365. Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvaṇa sukla 1 of the same year, Śaka-Saṃvat 288, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th July, A.D. 365; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 7th July. His longitude then was 95° 56'. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Bhādrapada sukla 15 of Śaka-Saṃvat 289, corresponding to Monday, the 7th August, A.D. 366; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 8th August. His longitude then was 127° 34'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pūrvā-Phālgun; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; the intervening Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was
then in Magha; and the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṅvat 200. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina krishna 12 of Śaka-Saṅvat 290, corresponding to Friday, the 7th September, A.D. 367; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 8th September. His longitude then was 157° 42'. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Phalguni; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; and it was a repeated saṁvatsara by the two systems of unequal spaces, but an ordinary saṁvatsara by the system of equal spaces.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṅvat 188 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 354-55 = Śaka-Saṅvat 277 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara commenced on Āśvina śukla 13, corresponding to Friday, the 16th September, A.D. 354; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Kārttika krishna 4 of Śaka-Saṅvat 278, corresponding to Tuesday, the 12th September, A.D. 355. And again, in Gupta-Saṅvat 200 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 366-67 = Śaka-Saṅvat 289 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara commenced on Bhādrapada śukla 3, corresponding to Thursday, the 27th July, A.D. 366; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Śrâvaṇa śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṅvat 290, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd July, A.D. 367. And thus, with this epoch, and by this system, the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṅvat 188 and 200. The results, however, do not in themselves prove anything definite as to the proposed epoch; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record; and, by taking different Gupta years, the same results would be obtained with a different epoch.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, for Gupta-Saṅvat 187 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 377-78 = Śaka-Saṅvat 300 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Sunday, the 22nd October, A.D. 377, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhādrapada krishna 4, of the same year, Śaka-Saṅvat 300, corresponding to Tuesday, the 11th July, A.D. 377; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 12th July. His longitude then was 100° 32'. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Bhādrapada śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṅvat 301, corresponding to Sunday, the 12th August, A.D. 378; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 13th August. His longitude then was 13° 50'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pûrvâ-Phalguni; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; the intervening Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was then in Magha; and the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṅvat 188. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina śukla 15 of Śaka-Saṅvat 302, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th September,
A.D. 379; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 13th September. His longitude then was 162° 0'. By all three systems, he was then in Hasta; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; and it was a repeated saṃvatsara by the two systems of unequal spaces, but an ordinary saṃvatsara by the system of equal spaces.

Again, in Gupta-Saṅvat 199 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 389-90 = Śaka-Saṅvat 312 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Wednesday, the 10th October, A.D. 389, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvaṇa śukla 6 of the same year, Śaka-Saṅvat 312, corresponding to Sunday, the 15th July, A.D. 389; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 16th July. His longitude then was 104° 51'. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āsvina kṛṣṇa 4 of Śaka-Saṅvat 313, corresponding to Friday, the 16th August, A.D. 390; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 17th August. His longitude then was 135° 57'. By all three systems, he was then in Pūrvā-Phālguni; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; the intervening Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara being omitted.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṅvat 188 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 378-79 = Śaka-Saṅvat 301 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara commenced on Āśāḍha kṛṣṇa 10, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th June, A.D. 378; and it was current through the whole month of Kāṛtтика in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Āśāḍha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṅvat 302, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd June, A.D. 379. Again, in Gupta-Saṅvat 200 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 390-91 = Śaka-Saṅvat 313 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara commenced on Jayesṭhā kṛṣṇa 2, corresponding to Wednesday, the 17th April, A.D. 390; and it was current through the whole month of Kāṛtтика in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Jayesṭhā kṛṣṇa 8 of Śaka-Saṅvat 314, corresponding to Sunday, the 13th April, A.D. 391.

And thus, with this epoch also, and by this system, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṅvat 188 and 200. But here, again, the results do not in themselves prove anything definite as to the proposed epoch; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record; and, by taking different Gupta years, the same results would be obtained with a different epoch.

Summary of Results.

I have now examined all the dates, at present known, referable to the Gupta-Valabhi era, that furnish details for computation. And it only remains to sum up the results established by the preceding inquiries.

Albėrűni tells us that there was an era, known both as the Gupta era and the Valabhi era, the years of which were to be converted into years of the Śaka era by
adding, according to his most explicit statement, two hundred and forty-one years to the Gupta-Valabhl dates. This fixes the starting-point of the era, approximately, as having occurred when Śaka-Saṅvat 241 had expired, and, by the epoch of the well-known Śaka era, when A.D. 319-20 was current; leaving only the determination of the exact epoch by the calculation of recorded dates. And, as regards a special point in his statements, of extreme importance, with the help of Prof. Wright, we have now obtained a translation which,—if it does not actually mean only that, the Early Gupta kings had exercised so powerful a sway that, even when their dynasty came to an end, the era that had been used by them still continued in use,—is yet fully capable of that interpretation. At any rate, this translation frees us from the obligation under which we lay, by reason of M. Reinaud’s rendering of the same passage, of connecting the establishment of an era with the extermination of the dynasty, and of placing the period of the Early Gupta supremacy anterior to A.D. 319, and the termination of it in that year. And the most that can be said against it, is, that it is the literal rendering of an ambiguous original, the real meaning of which must be determined by extraneous considerations.

The Mandasor inscription of Mālava-Saṅvat 529 expired shews that we must look to somewhere about A.D. 319 for the starting-point of the era in which are recorded the dynastic dates of Kumāragupta and the other kings of the Early Gupta dynasty, and any others that are to be referred to the same uniform series with them.

The dates in the records of the Early Guptas themselves, as far as the time of Skandagupta, do not afford details for computation. But, clearly belonging to the same uniform series of years, is the date contained in the Ēraṅgā pillar inscription of Budhagupta. And converting this date into a Śaka date, in the manner indicated by Albérūnt, we have found that, the resulting Śaka year being taken as an expired year, the details work out quite correctly.

Such dates, also, are those contained in the records of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas; which, moreover, include a specific declaration that the Gupta sovereignty was then still continuing. And, calculating them in precisely the manner that is indicated by the results for the date in the Ēraṅgā pillar inscription, we have obtained equally correct and uniform results. Also, the latest of these records, the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Saṃkshobha, No. 25, page 112, shews that the Gupta sovereignty continued for at least two hundred and nine years. And this fact is amply sufficient to explain why,—whatever may have been its historical origin,—the era used in all these records should eventually come to be popularly known as the Gupta era.

Such dates, again, are those contained in the inscriptions of Śivadēva I. and Mānadeva of Nēpāl. And, that the first of them is recorded in the era in question, is shewn by the dates, in the Harsha era, for Amśuvarman, the contemporary of Śivadēva I.; while, with the same treatment, the details of the second of them work out quite correctly.
Such another date is that contained in the Mórbi grant of Jáiníka. And the details of this, again, work out correctly with the same treatment.

Such a series of dates, too, is that contained in the records of the Válabhi family. And, with a slight modification, due to a change in the scheme of the year, easily explainable, the same treatment gives correct results for the date in the Kaira grant of Dharaséna IV. of this family, of the year 330; the only one, at present, that affords exact details for calculation. Also, these records give us a succession of twelve generations, commencing with the Sénápatis Bhúraká, and ending with king Śiláditya VII., with dates ranging from the year 207 to the year 447. For the first six or seven generations, the members of this family were only feudatory Sénápatis and Mahádrájas, without the authority to establish an era of their own. And, as a matter of fact, the date of the year 207 for the Mahádrája Dhrivaséna I., in the second generation, proves that the era did not run from the rise to power of his father Bhúraká, the founder of the family, but must have been adopted from some outside source. While, on the other hand, the long duration of this family, coupled with the fact that several of their charters were issued from the city of Válabhi itself, and all of them belong either to that vicinity or to the neighbouring parts of Gujarát, is amply sufficient to explain why the era used by them should eventually come to be popularly known, in those parts, as the Válabhi era.

And, finally, undeniable instances of the actual use of an era known as the Válabhi era, as late as the thirteenth century A.D., are furnished by the Veráwal inscriptions dated in Válabhi–Sáñvat 927 and 945. For the details of the earlier of these two dates, correct results can be obtained by applying the same slightly anomalous treatment that applies to the date in the Kaira grant of Dharaséna IV. of the year 330. The latter of them, however, goes far beyond this. Not only does it fix the epoch of the era approximately, and in accordance with Albérant’s statement, through the concomitant mention of the equivalent Vikrama and Hijra years; but also the details of it are such as to prove that the epoch of the era was exactly when Saka–Sáñvat 241 had expired, and A.D. 319–20 was current. And it has furnished, in fact, the exact analogy, in accordance with which all dates in the Gupta–Válabhi era, that follow the true and original northern scheme of its years, have to be tested.

All this uniform agreement of results cannot be attributed to mere coincidence. But we must take it now, as a settled matter, that all the dates in question belong to one and the same era, running from the epoch of A.D. 319–20. And, irrespective of the question

whether the era was actually established by the Early Gupta themselves, we must refer the rise of the Early Gupta power to somewhere about A.D. 319, instead of placing the period of their supremacy anterior to that year, and their downfall in it.

A few concluding words, however, seem necessary as to the exact years of the Christian era, which represent respectively the epoch or year o, and the commencement or first current year, of the Gupta-Valabhi era.

Taking the years quoted in the records without qualification, as current years, we have obtained the following results,*—by the Ėran pillar inscription of Budhagupta, Gupta-Sāṁvat 165 current = A.D. 484-85 current;* by the Parivrājaka grants, 156 current = A.D. 475-76 current;* 163 current = A.D. 482-83 current;* 191 current = A.D. 510-11 current,* and 209 current = A.D. 528-29 current;* by the Nēpāl inscription of Māṇadēva, 386 current = A.D. 705-06 current;* and by the Verāval inscription of Arjunadēva, 945 current = A.D. 1264-65 current.* And all these equations give the uniform result of Gupta-Valabhi-Sāṁvat 0 = A.D. 319-20 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period 9 from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320; and Gupta-Valabhi-Sāṁvat 1 current = A.D. 320-21 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period from the 26th February, A.D. 320, to the 15th March, A.D. 321.

The results obtained from the Kairā grant of the year 330 and the Verāval inscription of Valabhi-Sāṁvat 927, differ slightly from the above, and are—Gupta-Valabhi-Sāṁvat 330 current = A.D. 648-49 current, and Valabhi-Sāṁvat 927 current = A.D. 1245-46 current. 11

In these two instances the difference is due to a local alteration of the true and

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1 I exclude the Bhumārā pillar inscription, as proving nothing definite, because the Gupta year is not given in it.

* Or, more precisely, by the Śaka year, as commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, the period (see Indian Eras, p. 153) from the 14th March, A.D. 484, to the 2nd March, A.D. 485.—The dates given in these notes are quoted as approximately correct; they may, or may not, be the exact dates.

* Or, in the same way, the period from the 21st February, A.D. 475, to the 11th March, A.D. 476.

* Or, in the same way, the period from the 6th March, A.D. 482, to the 22nd February, A.D. 483.

* Or, in the same way, the period from the 25th February, A.D. 510, to the 15th March, A.D. 511.

* Or, in the same way, the period from the 8th March, A.D. 528, to the 24th February, A.D. 529.

* Or, in the same way, the period from the 1st March, A.D. 705, to the 20th March, A.D. 706.

* Or, in the same way, the period from the 1st March, A.D. 1264, to the 19th March, A.D. 1265.

* Here I owe the initial and ending dates, which it was desirable to have exactly, to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

10 Or, more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, as commencing with Kārttika śukla 1, the period (see C. Patell’s Chronology, p. 122) from the 24th September, A.D. 648, to the 12th October, A.D. 649.

11 Or, in the same way, the period from the 23rd October, A.D. 1245, to the 12th October, A.D. 1246.
original scheme of the Gupta year; made in such a way that each subsequent year commenced with the Karttika sukla 1 immediately preceding the true commencement of the year with Chaitra sukla 1. And for these two dates, and any that may be found hereafter to belong to the same class, we have to apply the equations of Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 318-319 current, or more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, the period 1 from the 12th October, A.D. 318, to the 30th September, A.D. 319; and Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 1 current = A.D. 319-20 current, or more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, the period from the 1st October, A.D. 319, to the 18th October, A.D. 320.

These two instances, however, are purely exceptional ones. And, in the case of all dates in the era referable to the true and original scheme of its years, we have to apply the epoch of A.D. 319-20; and to treat the years of the era as northern years, commencing with Chaitra sukla 1.

The equation between the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi era and the Christian era, is not intrinsically dependent on any reference to the Śaka era; and it could be established directly by European Tables. In this inquiry, however, it has been established through results that have been worked out from Hindu Tables which are arranged for the Śaka era according to expired years; and, in order to use those Tables, the given Gupta-Valabhi years had to be converted into expired Śaka years. The process, however, has not converted the given Gupta-Valabhi years themselves into expired years. But what has been done has simply been, first, by the addition of a uniform running difference, to obtain the current Śaka year corresponding to each given current Gupta-Valabhi year; and then, in the usual way, to take the immediately preceding Śaka year as the expired year that is required as the basis of the calculation. Thus, the details of the date in the Ēra pillar inscription of Budhagupta, which really belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, have been calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired; and the details of the other dates in the same way.

Now, in the case of an era used specially by astronomers for their technical processes, as the Śaka era was, since we have to work with expired years, it is natural enough that the Tables should be arranged accordingly. And possibly, after a certain period, and in certain parts of India, we may have to interpret any given year of such an era as an expired year, whether it is expressly denoted as such or not. 2 But the same rule does not hold good in the case of eras that are not actually used for astronomical processes, though they are quoted in connection with details fixed by such processes.

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1 Here, again, I owe the exact dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.
2 A clear instance of this is furnished by the date in the Dāñgañ inscription of Bhajadeva (see page 107 above, note 1). By the literal rules of translation, the given Śaka year, 784, has to be interpreted as a current year; but, for the calculation, it has to be applied as an expired year.
Such an era is the Vikrama era. And, though the expired years of this era might be quoted, as is shewn, for instance, by lines 19 and 21 of the Mandasor inscription of Malava-Sarnvats 529 expired, No. 18, page 79, and by line 21 of the Kaitsu grant of Jayantasinha of Vikrama-Sarnvats 1280 expired, yet, that, occasionally at least, the current years were used, is proved by the Gwalior Sasaibh temple inscription of Mahapala, in which we have first in words, the number of years expired, 1149, and then, partially in words and fully in figures, the number of the current year, 1150. Such an era, again, is the Gupta-Valabhl era; or, at least, we have not as yet obtained the slightest indication of its ever having been used by astronomers as the basis of calculations. And, in the absence of the use of any word meaning "expired" in connection with the year in a Gupta-Valabhl date, it is only reasonable that we should follow the ordinary rules of interpretation, and render the original passage as denoting a current year.

In one instance only, among the Gupta-Valabhl dates at present known, is a word meaning "expired" used in connection with the year. This exceptional instance is the Morbi grant of Janika, in which an eclipse of the sun is recorded as having occurred when the year 585 had passed by. Unfortunately, the month and titthi, in and on which the eclipse occurred, are not specified; nor even the week-day. And, as we have seen at page 100 above, it might be possible to identify the solar eclipse of this record with that of the 10th November, A.D. 904. In that case, the given year 585 expired, and the indicated year 586 current, would be equivalent to A.D. 904-905 current. It would then be as an expired year, not a current one, that the year 165 of the Era pillar inscription of Budhagupta is equivalent to A.D. 484-85 current; and so on with all the other dates. And we should have to apply, in the case of all dates in the era referable to the true and original scheme of its years, the epoch of A.D. 318-19 current, or more precisely, by the Saka year, the period from the 18th February, A.D. 318, to the 8th March, A.D. 319; and, in the case of dates belonging to the same class with those of the Kaira grant of the year 330 and the Veraval inscription of Valabhl-Sarnvats 927, the epoch of A.D. 317-18 current, or more precisely, by the Vikrama year, the period from the 23rd September, A.D. 317, to the 11th October, A.D. 318. But we have also seen that the solar eclipse in question can be far more satisfactorily identified with that which occurred on the 7th May, A.D. 905; to do which, we have to take the given year 585 expired, and the indicated year 586 current, as equivalent to A.D. 905-906 current. And this record, therefore, furnishes strong and instructive corroboration of my view that, in the absence of

1 The present Tables of this era, however, seem to be arranged, like those of the Saka era, according to expired years. And some of the almanacs quoted in Appendix I. below, give them in the same way.


3 For the full reading and translation of the date see Texts and Translations, page 22, note 5.

4 Here, again, I owe the exact initial and ending dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.
any distinct specification to the contrary, we must interpret the years in Gupta-Valabhi dates as current years.

The Origin of the Era.

I have shewn, at page 33 ff. above, that the so-called Gupta era is not one which, due originally to some event occurring only in approximation to A.D. 318, 319, or 320, had its exact epoch determined, for convenience of comparison with the Śaka era, by adopting the expiration of an even number of cycles of the planet Jupiter, either of the Twelve-Year or of the Sixty-Year System. And no other chronological or astronomical considerations suggest themselves, for the selection of the exact epoch that has been proved. Its origin, therefore, must be found in some historical event, which occurred actually in A.D. 320, or so closely to that time that, when the scheme of the northern Śaka year was applied, the reckoning of the era was not affected to any appreciable extent. And here, though the point is not conclusive either way, we must bear in mind that, as has been shewn at page 19 ff. above, in the epigraphical references to the era there is nothing at all, at any early period, to connect the name of the Early Guptas with it, especially as the founders of it; and nothing to connect the name of Valabhi with it, until at least nine centuries after its establishment.

We must also bear in mind that it is certain that the era cannot have been established by any member of the Valabhi family; the reasons for this being—(1) that, for the first six or seven generations, the members of this family were mere feudatory Śeṇḍapati and Mahārāja, without the authority to establish an era of their own; and (2) that the date of the year 207 for the Mahārāja Dhruvasena I., in the second generation, proves that the reckoning runs from long before the first rise to power of his father, the Śeṇḍapati Bhatarka, by whom the family was founded.

In the same way, the first two members of the Early Gupta family, Gupta and Ghatotkacha, held only the feudatory rank of Mahārāja, and had not the authority to establish an era. The first paramount sovereign in the family was Ghatotkacha's son, Chandragupta I. And, if a Gupta era, truly and properly so called, was devised in his time, then as its starting-point there would have been selected the commencement of his reign, not the date of the rise to power of his first recorded ancestor, the Mahārāja Gupta; as was done in the case of the Harsha era, which disregards, not only two generations of Mahārājas at the commencement of the genealogy, but even the reigns of two kings, Prabhākaravardhana and Rājyavardhana II., and runs from the commencement of the reign of the third paramount sovereign, Harshavardhana himself. So, also, when the Western Chālukya king Vikramādiyā VI. established a new era under the name of the Chālukya-Vikrama-Kāla, he disregarded the reigns of all his ancestors, and made the era date from his own accession.

to the throne. The dates in the Early Gupta records shew clearly that the Gupta era, cannot, under any circumstances, run from the accession of any member of the dynasty later than Chandragupta I. And there are essential difficulties, under any normal conditions, in the way of making the era date from the commencement of his reign; i.e. of taking A.D. 320-21 as his first current year. For his great-grandson, Kumāragupta, we have dates in the era, ranging from the year 96 to the year 130 odd, of which we may take, as the latest certain one, that of the year 129, recorded in the Mankuwar inscription, No. 11, page 45. And, as we ought to assume that Chandragupta I. was at least twenty years old when his reign commenced, this gives us a period of a hundred and forty-nine years, which, spread over four generations, gives to each a duration of thirty-seven years and a quarter, or nearly half as much again as the usually accepted average maximum rate of twenty-five years for a Hindu generation. This, too, is only dealing with the question of generations. If we take the period of a hundred and twenty-nine years only, from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I. to nearly the end of that of Kumāragupta,—which gives an average of thirty-two years and a quarter for each of the four reigns,—then, as compared with the average duration, twenty years at the outside, of a Hindu reign, the excess is still more remarkable. And almost exactly the same results are obtained, if, instead of considering four generations and reigns, down to the end of the time of Kumāragupta, we take the latest certain date of Chandragupta II., viz. the year 93 given in the Sāmchi inscription, No. 5, page 29, and spread the period of ninety-three years over three reigns, or, on the same assumption as regards the age of Chandragupta I., the period of a hundred and thirteen years over three generations. On the question of generations, I will not base any particularly special objection. An analogy for an abnormal average rate might be deduced from the Western Chālukya genealogy, in which we have Saka-Sāṃvat 930 for the commencement of the reign of Vikramādiya V., and Saka-Sāṃvat 1060 for the end of the reign, and it may safely be assumed the death, of Sōmēśvara III. in the third generation after him. If we take it that Vikramādiya V. was twenty years old in Saka-Sāṃvat 930, we have one hundred and fifty years for the four generations; or an average of thirty-seven years and a half for each. But, from Saka-Sāṃvat 930 to 1060, there were six reigns; with an average of twenty-five years, or seven less than we

1 See page 67 above.

2 And it must be very nearly his latest date; for, he had then been reigning for at least thirty-three full years, and we have the date of the year 136 for his son and successor, Skandagupta.—The selection of any later date would, of course, only intensify the force of the argument.

3 The silver coins (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 65 f.) seem to give the year 94 or 95; but the latest absolutely certain date is the one that I quote. Here again, the adoption of a later date would only strengthen the argument.

4 See my Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 18, Table.

5 The exact year was doubtful when I wrote the book referred to in the preceding note; but it has now been established by the Kauṭhēṇi grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 15 ff.)
should have to allot to each of the four Early Gupta kings in question. And even this
result is due chiefly to the extraordinarily long reign of Vikramāditya VI., for fifty-two
years, from Śaka-Saṅvat 997 to 1048. If we take the whole period of the Western
Chāluṣika dynasty, covering one hundred and ninety years, from Śaka-Saṅvat 895, the
first year of Taila II., down to Śaka-Saṅvat 1084, as the end of the reign and the death
of Taila III.,¹ we have ten reigns, with an average duration of just nineteen years each.
An average of thirty-two years for four successive reigns of Hindu fathers and sons, seems,
from every point of view, an impossibility. And this prevents our making the Gupta era
run from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I. We must, therefore,
accept it as certain that the Early Guptas only adopted the era of some other
dynasty. And we must look for its origin to some extraneous source.

Now, it is evident that the Early Guptas rose to power first as feudatory Ma-
hārājas, the third of whom, Chandragupta I., while holding that same rank, established his
independence; so that, his successors maintaining the same position, the paramount titles,
and not his original feudatory title, are always coupled with his name in the genealogical
passages in their records. And, from the Mahārāja Gupta down to Kumāragupta, we
have two feudatory governments and four reigns; which, at the average rate of twenty
years, almost fill up the period indicated by the latest certain date for Kumāragupta, and,
by a coincidence, place the commencement of the government of the Mahārāja Gupta
very near to A.D. 320. If, then, we could determine the paramount sovereign of whom
the Mahārāja Gupta was a feudatory, we should have in him the founder of the era; pro-
vided we could only shew that his successors also dated their records in it. And the only
difficulty then remaining, would be,—When Chandragupta I. and his descendants had
asserted themselves as independent sovereigns, by rebellion against their masters, why
should they continue to use a purely dynastic era, which had only been running for a short
time and had certainly not become an astronomical era, and which would always remind them
of the originally subordinate status of their ancestors; instead of establishing a new era
of their own, or instead of adopting some well-known era, of general use, which could
evoke no reminiscence of a humiliating kind?² The Early Gupta records, however, throw
no light on this point; nor can we expect any, unless we obtain inscriptions of the time of the
Mahārājas Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha, or of the early years of Chandragupta I. And at

¹ I exclude the short reign of Sōmēśvara IV., from Śaka-Saṅvat 1104 to about 1111, because there
had been meanwhile an interruption of the Western Chāluṣika power by the Kalachuris of the
Dekkan.

² An objection of this sort does not apply to the use of the Gupta era by the Valabhi family. The
Śnāpati Bhattaraka drove out the invaders who had overthrown the Gupta sovereignty in Western
India; and may possibly have been himself the feudatory of some descendant of the original Gupta
stock. And when Dharasena IV. became a paramount sovereign, it was on the disruption of the
Kanauj kingdom. At neither point was there any reason for the members of this family to feel any
aversion to the Gupta era.
present, in connection with India itself, we know of no king the commencement of whose reign can with any certainty be referred to A.D. 320; and of no historical event to which we can safely allot that date. Nor, while the Early Gupta sovereignty continued, is there any indication of the Gupta era having been used, in India, by any other independent dynasty. The nearest approximation to the year in question that we have, is in the case of the Kalachuri dynasty of Central India; in respect of which certain points in the records of the Parivräjaka Mahārājas and the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa do tend to support the actual existence, in the Early Gupta period, of a Kalachuri era, and, consequently, of Kalachuri kings under some earlier name. The Kalachuri dates, however, certainly cannot be referred to the Gupta epoch. And circumstances indicate that the dominion of the Kalachuri kings, at that time, was confined entirely to the more eastern parts of Central India; so that they were only contemporaries of the northern dynasty of which the Early Guptas were at first the servants. Mr. Fergusson's opinion, again, was in the direction of the era being established, with the foundation of Valabhl as a new capital of Western India, by the Andhra king Gôtamiputra, whom he placed between A.D. 312 and 333; the Mahārāja Gupta being a feudatory of him or of one of his immediate successors. But the chronology of the Andhras,—who, at the best, seem to have been too essentially a western and southern dynasty to be concerned in any leading way with the history of Northern India,—still remains to be finally determined. And Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who has given more consideration to the subject than any one else as yet, places Gôtamiputra about two centuries earlier, in the period A.D. 133 to 154; and, according to his view of the early chronology, we should have to refer the establishment of the Gupta era to some event connected with either the downfall of the Kshatrapas of Saurashtra or the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Dekkan. The Kshatrapas, however, certainly did not use the Gupta era. And there is not the slightest particle of evidence that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ever had an era of their own. There can be but little doubt that the real paramount lords of the Mahārājas Gupta and Ghatotkacha, and at first of Chandragupta I. himself, were some of the later Indo-Scythian kings of Northern India, whose duration is certain at any rate up to the time of Samudragupta. These Indo-Scythian kings must have used the Śaka era. But this era, again, had not then become an astronomical era; and there was, therefore, no special inducement for the Early Guptas to adopt it; but, on the contrary, there was an objection of the kind already indicated. Further, the Vikrama era was not an astronomical era; and the use of it, in those days, under the name of the Mālava era, was probably confined to the different sections of the Mālava tribe, and to territories of which no part was brought under the Early Gupta sway until the time of Samudragupta. And, finally, the Kaliyuga era in all probability was used only

1See page 8 ff. above.
3Early History of the Dekkan, p. 27.
4id. p. 122.
5See Appendix I. below.
by the astronomers of Ujjain, for purely technical purposes; and was not known at all in the territories in which the Early Guptas first rose to power. In fact, in India itself there was no already existing era which would recommend itself to the Early Guptas. And we have next to inquire whether there may have been any such era, beyond the limits of India proper.

By a comparison of the dates of Śivadēva I. and Aṁśuvarman, at page 95 f. above, I have already shewn, in a general way, that the Gupta era was in use beyond the north-eastern frontier of India, in Nēpāl; a fact which is duly corroborated by the results for the date in the inscription of Mānadēva, of the year 386. We must, therefore, now see what more particular information can be gathered from the epigraphical records of that country.1

1 And here we may note that the Kings of Valahē can have had nothing to do either with the introduction of an era into Nēpāl, or with the borrowing of an era from that country. As I have already had occasion to remark, the members of the Valahē family, for the first six or seven generations inclusive of Bhāṭārka, were mere feudatory Śeṇāpatis and Māhārājas; and these members of the family, at any rate, cannot possibly have conquered Nēpāl, or even have extended their territory up to the confines of that country. The first of the family who claimed to be a paramount sovereign is Dharasēna IV., with the dates of 326 and 330; and with the titles of Paramāḥattāraka, Māhārāja-dhīraja, and Paramēśvara, in common with all his successors, and also with that of Cakravrata, which, not being assumed by any of his successors, may perhaps indicate that his power was more extensive than theirs ever was. Now, in passing, if we refer his first date of 326 to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, the result, A.D. 645-46, brings us to a very suitable period indeed for him to assume the position and titles of a paramount sovereign; viz. to the commencement of the anarchy which, as Mātvan-lin tells us (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 20) attended the death of Harshavardhana, "the warlike lord of all the region of the north." It ended in the complete disruption, for the time, of the kingdom of Kanauj. Aṁśuvarman became paramount in Nēpāl, and Adityasēna in Magadhā; and the opportunity was of course taken advantage of by Dharasēna IV., to assert his independence in the west of India. But, to say nothing of the improbability of the thing on other grounds, the fact that Aṁśuvarman became king of Nēpāl, is in itself enough to prevent our admitting the possibility of a conquest of that country by Dharasēna IV. Referring the same date of 326 to the three earlier proposed epochs, we have respectively A.D. 403, 492, and 516. For these periods there is, perhaps, no particular objection to our assuming, for the sake of argument, that Dharasēna IV. may have extended his power over a considerable portion of Northern India, in the parts nearer to Kāthāwād and Gujārāt. But the Valahē charters, in which a conquest so extensive as that of the whole of Northern India up to Nēpāl, or inclusive of that country, would most certainly have been recorded, give not the slightest hint of any such event at any time in the history of the family. In fact, with the exception of the allusion to the overthrow of the Maitrakas by Bhāṭārka, they give absolutely no detailed information at all in connection with any of the successes claimed by the members of this family; which tends to shew very plainly that, from beginning to end, the Valahē power was purely local. And, in connection with the earlier proposed epochs, even if Dharasēna IV. did conquer Nēpāl, or Northern India up to the frontier of Nēpāl, and did introduce there the era of A.D. 319-20, the question still remains, and cannot be answered,—Why should he act with such extreme inconsistency as to introduce there this era, which, according to those who have sought to establish those epochs, was not brought into actual use in his own territory; instead of the Gupta era which he himself, and his successors, continued to employ for all the official purposes of their own kingdom?
In Appendix IV. below, I give an account of such of the inscriptions from Népál as have any bearing on the question now under consideration. The actual dates of them range from A.D. 535 to 854; and give a fairly clear idea of the history of the reigning families of the country during that period. They shew two separate houses, ruling contemporaneously, and mostly on equal terms; and each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own. One of them was a family, the name of which is not mentioned in the inscriptions, but which in the Vamsâvali is called the Thákurl family, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Kailásakâtabhavana, and uniformly using the Harsha era. The other was the Lichchhavi family, distinctly so named in the inscriptions, and in the Vamsâvali allotted to the Sûryavarmâ or solar lineage, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Mânagriha, and uniformly using an era with the Gupta epoch.

That the Lichchhavi clan or tribe was one of great antiquity and power, in the direction of Népál, is shewn by the writings of Fa-Hian and Huien-Tsiang, which connect them with events that preceded the nirvâna of Buddha. No exception, therefore, need be taken to the general outlines of the long account in one of the inscriptions, which, so far as the Népál branch of the tribe is concerned, gives us the first really historical member of it in the person of Jayadêva I., who, by the ordinary allowance of time for each Hindu generation, must be referred to the period A.D. 330 to 355.

Proof of friendly relations between the Early Guptas and the Lichchhavis, at an early time, is given by the marriage of Chandragupta I., with Kumâradêvi, the daughter of Lichchhavi or of a Lichchhavi king. And, that the Lichchhavis were then at least of equal rank and power with the Early Guptas, is shewn by the pride in this alliance manifested by the latter; exhibited in the careful record of the names of Kumâradêvi, and of her father or her family, on some of the gold coins of Chandragupta I., and by the uniform application of the epithet, "daughter's son of Lichchhavi or of a Lichchhavi," to Samudragupta in the genealogical inscriptions. Again, the Allahâbâd pillar inscription shews that, even if Samudragupta did not make Népál a tributary province, his kingdom extended up to the confines of that country.

There can be no doubt that the Early Gupta kings must have known the nature and origin of whatever era was being used by their Lichchhavi connections in Népál. And the period established for Jayadêva I. approximates so closely to A.D. 320-21, that it needs but little adjustment to place the commencement of his reign actually in that year. This arrangement would give a perfectly intelligible reason for the origin of the era, which was clung to so persistently by his descendants that they continued the use of it for at least two centuries after the introduction of the Harsha era into

Népál, and its acceptance by their immediate neighbours, the Ṭhākurī family of Kailāsa-
kūṭabhavana. And no objection could be taken by the Early Gupta kings to the adoption
of the era of a royal house, in their connection with which they took special pride. I think,
therefore, that in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Lichchhavi era,
dating either from a time when the republican or tribal constitution of the Lichchhavis was
abolished in favour of a monarchy; or from the commencement of the reign of Jayadēva I.,
as the founder of a royal house in a branch of the tribe that had settled in Népál. But
the question of the origin of the era is one, of course, on which further discoveries,
especially if any can be made in Népál, may be expected to throw more light.

4th November 1887.

J. F. FLEET.
APPENDIX I.

A Note on the Epoch and Reckoning of the Śaka Era.

Gen. Sir A. Cunningham’s Tables, and Ganpat Krishnaji’s and Kero Lakshman Chhatre’s almanacs, show the period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṅvat 1808. So, also, the Śāyana-Pañchānga shows the same period, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṅvat 1808, as the ordinary nirayana luni-solar year; the period covered by Śaka-Saṅvat 1808, as a śāyana year, being from the 6th March, A.D. 1886, to the 22nd February, A.D. 1887. For all purposes of calculation, however, this Śaka year has to be taken as “the year 1808, expired;” even if we were working out the very first day of it, Chaitra śukla 1. The Tables are intended for this application of the number; and there are, in fact, no grounds for doubting that the above period really is equivalent to Śaka-Saṅvat 1808 expired, and 1809 current. But it is quoted, for all ordinary purposes, simply as Śaka-Saṅvat 1808. And, if a Hindu were converting “Saturday, the 1st January, A.D. 1887,” into its corresponding Hindu date, he would write down, as the result, “Śakė 1808 Pausha śukla saptami Śāivāra;” in which, not only does he abstain from including any word meaning “expired,” but he actually uses, instead even of the crude form Śaka, the Sanskrit locative Śakē, which literally means “in Śaka (1808),” i.e. “while Śaka 1808 is current;” and this is the meaning which the mention of the year presents to any Hindu who is not an astronomer, and

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1 The proper method of applying his Tables may perhaps be inferred from his remarks (C. K. Indian Eras, pp. 5, 48, 52) that the numbers of the years in Hindu dates refer to years actually elapsed; and that the Hindus count only by completed years. But I am speaking of the meaning which the Tables present to a general reader, at first sight. Thus, anyone turning to his Table XVII, p. 199, —to which there is not attached a note that the Hindu years given therein are expired years,—in order to ascertain the Śaka equivalent of A.D. 1886-87, finds Śaka-Saṅvat 1808; and naturally takes it as a current year. So, also, with any similar Tables; e.g. those in Mr. C. Patell’s Chronology. Such Tables would be much more useful for general purposes, if they showed the current Hindu years opposite the current Christian years, as is done in the case of the samvatasras of the two cycles of Jupiter, leaving it to anyone who has to make a particular calculation, to take the preceding year as the basis of his work. And, in ordinary writing, the current Hindu years should certainly be quoted with the current Christian years.

2 Unless with Tables based on the Mśa-Saṅkrānti, or entrance of the sun into Aries, as Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables are; in which the Śaka year is practically treated as commencing with the day of the Mśa-Saṅkrānti. With such Tables, for any tithi connected with Śaka-Saṅvat (1809 current and) 1808 expired, up to the tithi that coincided with the solar day on which the Mśa-Saṅkrānti occurred, we must work with the basis of even one year still earlier, viz. Śaka-Saṅvat 1807 expired,
who is not acquainted with the technical application of the number of the year. So, also, the same expression is used in the almanacs themselves; thus, in the first two almanacs mentioned above, "Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsarē," on the title-page; and "Śakē 1808 Chaitra-śukla-pakshah," on the top of the page which exhibits the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra; and, in the Śāyana-Paṁchāṅg, "Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ," on the title-page; and elsewhere "amāntaḥ Chaitra-śukla-pakṣaḥ Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ." In the same way, I find, for the same period, "Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsarē" on the title-page of an almanac published at Pandit Umacharan Muhatmim's Press at Gwalior; and, for the period from the 17th March, A.D. 1885, to the 4th April, A.D. 1886, "Śālivāha-paṇḍit-Śakē 1807," on the title-page of the Jōdhpur Chaṇḍū-Paṁchāṅg for that year, and "Śrī-Saṁvata 1942 Śakē 1807 Chaitra-śukla-pakshah," in Bapū' Deva Shastri's almanac, prepared at Benares and published at Lakhnau.

Again, in the preliminary passages that introduce the saṁvatsara-phala or 'astrological' results for the year, and other similar matter, Gaṅpat Krishnajī's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs, contain the passage — atha gata-Kalih 4987, śēsha-Kalih 427013; Svasti; śrīman-nripa-Vikramārka-samay-ātita-sanvita 1942, Hēmālambha-nāma-saṁvatsarē; tathā śrīman-nripa-Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808, Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ; asmin varṣhe rāja chandraḥ,—"now the expired (portion of the) Kali (age) (is) 4987 (years); (and) the remainder of the Kali (age) (is) 427013 (years). Hail! In the year 1942 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramārka, (and) in the Hēmālambha saṁvatsara; so also in the Śaka (year) 1808 of the glorious king Śālivāhana, (and) in the Vyaya saṁvatsara; in this year, the king (is) the Moon." And, for the nīrayana year, the Śāyana-Paṁchāṅg for Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 has — Kaliyugasya gata-varshāṇi 4987; śrīman-nripa-Vikramārka-sanvita 1943 Vilambī-sanvatsaraḥ; śrīman-nripa-Śālivāhana-Śak-āhdaḥ 1808 Vyaya-nāma-sanvatsaraḥ; atha-asmin varṣhe rāja chandraḥ,—"the expired years of the Kaliyuga (are) 4987; in the year 1943 of the glorious king Vikramārka, (there is) the saṁvatsara named Vilambī; (and there is) the year 1808 of the Śaka of the glorious king Śālivāhana, (and) the saṁvatsara named Vyaya; now, in this year, the king (is) the Moon." In these passages, these three almanacs again treat the Śaka year,

1 i.e. saṁvatsarē, or saṁvatsarasēhu.
2 It is curious that here the Vikrama year should be distinctly specified as expired, while the Śaka year is not qualified in the same manner; as 'ı' a distinction were being made in the methods of reckoning the two eras.
3 i.e. saṁvatsarē, or saṁvatsarasēhu.—The figures here, and in the Gwalior almanac, 1943, differ from those in Gaṅpat Krishnajī's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs, 1942, because the latter quote the southern reckoning, by which each Vikrama year commences with the month Kārttika, seven lunations later than the same year in the northern reckoning; consequently, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 (expired), on the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, Vikrama-Saṁvat 1492 was still running, by the southern reckoning.
apparently, as a current year. **The Gwâlîor almanac**, however, which I have quoted above, has — gata-Kâlih 4987, śêsha-Kâlih 427013  ..........; tan-madhyê gata-Śakaḥ 1808, śêsha-Śakaḥ 16192  .......... Svasti; śrī-Vikramârka-râjya-samayâd atti sañvat¹ 1943, Śaka-gata-varshēshu 1808, chândra-mâñêna Vyaya-nâma-sañvat-sarê; Bârhaspatya-mâñêna, Śakê 1807 Āśvina-krishna-7 Śukre sâry-ôdayâd gata-ghati-shu 47 palēshu 24 tad-avadhī, Śakê 1808 Āśvina-krishna-14 Bhaumê ghati[shu*] 46 pâle[shu*] 3 tavat-paryantam, Vilambi-sañvat-sar-ôlêkhaḥ vidhêyâh, tad-agrê Vikârin-sañvat-sar-ôlêkhaḥ kâryâḥ; Chaitr-âdau râjâ chandraḥ,— "the expired (portion of the) Kali (age) (is) 4987 (years), (and) the remainder of the Kali (age) is 427013 (years) ..........; in it, the expired (portion of the) Śaka (era) (is) 1808 (years); and the remainder of the Śaka (era) (is) 16192 (years) .......... Hail! In the year 1943 expired from the time of the reign of the glorious Vikramârka, (and) in the expired Śaka year 1808, (and), by the lunar reckoning, in the (current) sañvat-sara named Vyaya,² —by the reckoning of Jupiter, the Vilambi sañvat-sara is to be used in writings from the expiration of 47 gañhts, 24 palas, from sunrise on Friday, the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina, in Śaka 1807, up to (the expiration of) 46 gañhts, 3 palas, (from sunrise) on Tuesday, the fourteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina, in Śaka 1808; after that, the Vikârin sañvat-sara is to be used in writings,—at the beginning of Chaitra, the king (is) the Moon." Passages of a similar kind with those quoted above, occur at the end of each almanac, in connection with the *Samkrânîtis*.

In the same passages for the sdyana year, Śaka-Saṅvat 1808, the Sâyana-Pâñchâṅg does not confine itself to any indefinite expression, but explicitly quotes the Śaka year as a current year; thus — Kaliyugasya sañdhyâyâ āditaḥ, Śâlivâhana-Śak-ârambhakâla-paryantam, Nand-âdr-Indu-gupa-(3179)-mitâni saurā-varshâny-aitâni; pravartamâna-Śâlivâhana-Śak-abdâh asht-ôttar-Ashtâdaśa-(1808)-mitâh; amuñ sañvat-saraḥ Narma-dayâ dakshina-bhâgâ Vyaya-nâmâ vyavaharânti, uttara-bhâgâ cha Vilambi-nâmâ; ath-âsmin varshê râjâ Śanîḥ,—"from the commencement of the *sañdhyâ*³ of the Kaliyuga, up to the time of the commencement of the Śâlivâhana-Śaka, there expired solar years which are measured by the (nine) Nandas, the (seven) mountains, the (one) moon, and the (three) qualities, (3179); (and) the current year of the Śâlivâhana-Śaka is measured by eighteen hundred, increased by eight, (1808); on the south side of the

¹ i.e. *attē sañvat-sarē*, or *attēshu sañvat-sarēshu*.
² The context is "at the beginning of Chaitra, the king (is) the moon," a little further on. The intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis.
³ *sañdhyâ*, which is usually translatable by 'morning or evening twilight,' means, as applied to any of the four ages, a long period that runs at the commencement of each, before the full development of the age itself. The *sañdhyâ* of the Kali age is one hundred divine years, equivalent to 36,000 years of men; so that we are still only in this period. The age itself will run for 360,000 years of men. And it will end with a *sañdhyânta* of 36,000 years of men. These figures make up the total of 432,000 years in the age.
Narmadâ, they distinguish this *samvatsara* by the name of Vyaya; and, on the north side, by the name of Vilambin; now, in this year, the king (is) Saturn.” But, in the corresponding passage in the same almanac for the preceding year, Śaka-Saṃvat 1807, after giving in the same words the number of the solar years that had expired from the commencement of the *samdhya* of the Kaliyuga up to the commencement of the Śaka era, the text runs — tātō vartamāna-vatsar-ārambhakāla-paryantaḥ sapta-ōttar-āśṭādaśaśata-(1807)-mitāni varshaḥ, gatāni; amum vartamāna-saṃvatsaram Narmadāyā dakshinē bhāgē Pārthiva-nāṃnā vyavaharanti, uttarē bhāgē cha Hēmalamba-nāṃnā; ath-āśmin varshē rājā Bhaumaḥ,—“from then, up to the commencement of the current year, there have expired years which are measured by eighteen hundred, increased by seven, (1807); on the south side of the Narmadā, they distinguish this current *samvatsara* by the name of Pārthiva; and, on the north side, by the name of Hēmalamba;” now, in this year, the king (is) Mars.” In passing, therefore, from Śaka-Saṃvat 1807 to 1808, a verbal distinction, at least, was made between expired and current years; and the phraseology adopted in the almanac for Śaka-Saṃvat 1808, has been repeated in the almanac for the next year, 1809. In one instance, A.D. 1885-86, the Pārthiva or Hēmalamba *saṃvatsara*, each current, was treated as equivalent to Śaka-Saṃvat 1807 expired; while, in the other, A.D. 1886-87, the Vyaya or Vilambin *saṃvatsara*, each current, and each the next in the cycle after respectively Pārthiva and Hēmalamba, is treated as equivalent to Śaka-Saṃvat 1808 current. What were the reasons for this change, I do not know; and I will leave it to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, one of the editors of the almanac, to explain them elsewhere. But, by the literal interpretation of the phraseology for A.D. 1885-86, and in accordance with the principles of the Tables, that period was equivalent to Śaka-Saṃvat 1807 expired, (and 1808 current); and A.D. 1886-87 should have been described as being represented by Śaka-Saṃvat 1808 expired, (and 1809 current).

I have now to quote the fact that, in Madras, the same English period, A.D. 1886-87, is actually called Śaka-Saṃvat 1809, with the same *saṃvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, Vyaya, attached to it. There are, it is true, two somewhat varying practices to be found in Southern India. Thus, the Telugu Siddhânta-Paṇchâṅgam, published, I think, in the Arcot District, gives the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as being the Vyaya *saṃvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat 1808 expired; and at the commencement, it quotes the expired years throughout; thus — “Kaliyuga-gat-ābdâh 4987; Śālivāhana-Śaka-gat-ābdâh 1808; Vikrama-Śaka-gat-ābdâh 1943.” But, on the other hand, the Telugu Calendar, published at Madras, gives the same luni-solar period, from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as being the Vyaya *saṃvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat

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3 Except for reading *amum vartamāna-vatsaram*, and omitting *atha* before *āśmin varshē*, the text is exactly the same in Bāpu Deva Shastri’s almanac for Śaka-Saṃvat 1807. I have not been able to obtain a copy of his almanac for the next year.
1809, Kaliyuga-Saṅvat 4988, and Vikrama-Saṅvat 1944, which are not specified as either current or expired, but can only be intended as current. And, in the same way, the Tamil Sīriya-Pāñchāṅgaḥ, for the following year, published at Madras, gives the solar period from the 12th April, A.D. 1887, to the 11th April, A.D. 1888, as being the Sarvajit samvatsara, and as corresponding to Šaka-Saṅvat 1810, Kaliyuga-Saṅvat 4989, and Vikrama-Saṅvat 1 1935, which, similarly, are not specified as either current or expired, but can only be intended as current. And, from other indications, there seems to be no doubt that, of these two practices of Southern India, thus illustrated, the popular and generally current one is the latter one, by which the period A.D. 1886-87 is quoted as Šaka-Saṅvat 1809; the reckoning, in this and the other eras, being thus, at first sight, one year in advance of the customary reckoning of Northern and Western India.

The difference, however, is only an apparent one; and is due to the evident fact that the Madras reckoning has preserved the system of current years, while the other is regulated by expired years. But it is almost always the reckoning of Northern and Western India that is now quoted. And the years of it, though really expired years, are not distinctly and habitually quoted as such. And hence there is a general understanding that, as between the Šaka and the Christian eras, the additive quantity, to be applied to the former, is 78-79, and that the epoch or year 0 of the Šaka era, is the period from the 3rd March, A.D. 78, to the 20th February, A.D. 79, both included; and its commencement, or first current year, the period from the 21st February, A.D. 79, to the 10th March, A.D. 80, both included. This, however, really gives current Christian years,

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1 Here the 3 in the tens place must be a mistake for 4.

2 It would appear that the Tamil Vākiya-Pāñchāṅgaḥ, published at Madras, gives the solar period from the 12th April A.D. 1887, to the 10th April, A.D. 1888, as being the Sarvajit samvatsara, and as corresponding to Šaka-Saṅvat 1809, Kaliyuga-Saṅvat 4988, and Vikrama-Saṅvat 1945; all of which are distinctively specified as current. But this cannot possibly be correct, in respect of the Šaka and Kaliyuga years.

3 Thus, even Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, through whose "Note on the Šaka Dates and the Years of the Bārhaspatya Cycle, occurring in the Inscriptions" (Early History of the Deśika, p. 105 ff.) my attention was first drawn to the desirability of examining the details of the almanac, has written (id. p. 99; the italics are his) "191 Gupta past + 242 = 433 Šaka current + 78 = 511 A.D. current; 209 Gupta past + 242 = 451 Šaka current + 78 = 529 A.D. current." I myself had the same view, till not very long ago. Other writers could easily be shewn to have lain under the same misconception. And Dr. Burnell even went so far as to say (South-Indian Palaeography, p. 72, note) "the rough equation for converting this era into the Christian date, is + 78." The beginning of the year being at the March equinox; if the Šaka atīla (i.e. expired) "year be mentioned, the equation is + 79."'
equivalent to expired Śaka years. It is evident from the details given above regarding Śaka-Sañvat 1808 and 1809, that, according to the reckoning of the era as fixed by the early astronomers, and as preserved to the present day, the true epoch is A.D. 77-78, and the period from the 3rd March, A.D. 78, to the 20th February, A.D. 79, is in reality the commencement, or first current year; and that, to obtain current Christian years, equivalent to current Śaka years, the true additive quantity is 77-78. But, of course, there is always the possibility that, if ever we obtain a date, with full details for calculation, in a very early Śaka year, or in one of the very earliest of the regnal or dynastic years which afterwards developed into the Śaka era, this exact equation may not hold good; in consequence of the date belonging to a period anterior to the adoption of the era by the astronomers.

The Śaka era is emphatically one of the eras that originated in an extension of regnal or dynastic years. The chief Hindu tradition about it, is, that it was founded in celebration of a defeat of the Śaka king by the king Vikrama or Vikramāditya who is also the supposed founder of the Vikrama era, commencing a hundred and thirty-five years earlier.¹ This tradition is mentioned by Albérânl,² but he saw through it so far as to remark “since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his.” And the tradition has now been quite exploded by the Badâmi cave inscription of the Chalukya king Maṅgaliśa,³ which is specifically dated “when there have expired five centuries of the years of the installation of the Śaka king (or kings) in the sovereignty.” It is certain, from this record, that the real historical starting-point of the era, is the commencement of the reign of some particular king, or kings, of the Śaka

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¹ Another tradition (e.g. Prinsep’s Essays, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 154) is that the era dates from the birth of Śālivāhana, king of Pratishṭāna, who opposed Vikramāditya, king of Ujjaini. But the introduction of the name of Śālivāhana in connection with the era, is of comparatively modern date, the earliest instance that I have succeeded in obtaining, being one of the thirteenth century A.D.; and the epigraphical instances speak of the year as having been “established, settled, or decided” (nirāgita) by Śālivāhana, but not as running from his birth (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 214 f.).—A passage to the latter effect has been quoted by Prof. Max Müller (India; What can it teach us? p. 300 f.) from the Muhurtabhuvandumārtanda of Nārāyaṇa, which means “in the year measured by three, the (nine) numerals, and the (fourteen) Indras, from the birth of Śālivāhana (i.e. in Śaka-Sañvat 1493), in (the month) Tapas (Māgha), this Mārtanda was composed.”—As Prof. Max Müller has pointed out, in his comments on this passage, it is not exactly wrong to speak of the era as the Śālivāhana-Śaka or Śālivāhana era; for there are ample instances in which the Hindus give it that name, in epigraphical records of authority and of some antiquity. At the same time, those instances shew that it was only in comparatively modern times that the name of Śālivāhana came to be connected with the era. And, in all discussions respecting early dates, it is an anachronism and a mistake, to call the era by his name.

² Albérânl’s India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 6.
tribe; and, therefore, that the years were originally regnal or dynastic years. Now, such years must run on for a considerable time, before they can develop into a recognised era; and this is undoubtedly the reason why we find the earlier years of every such Hindu era quoted simply by the term varsha or samvatsara, 'a year,' without any dynastic appellation. Again, such regnal or dynastic years can only come to be quoted as expired years, when they have actually developed into an era which has become recognised, or is sought to be applied, by astronomers for astronomical processes; up to that point, the years, being wanted only for quasi-private dynastic purposes, would certainly be quoted as current years. It is impossible to believe that the first Śaka king decreed, immediately after his coronation, that a new era had been established from that event; that it was to come at once into general use; and that, for the convenience of astronomers, the first year, then running, was to be quoted as an expired year, which, in fact, it would be rather difficult to do. If it were sought to fix the exact chronological position of any public act performed in that first year, it might be referred to the expired years of an earlier era; e.g. of that of the Kaliyuga. But, for any reference to the regnal year alone, that act would be recorded as being performed "in the year one," "in the first year," or "while the first year of the reign is current;" as, for instance, "in the first year; while the Mahāraja Śyāmśrīa, the glorious Tōrāmā, is governing the earth," in line 1 f. of the Ėraṅ inscription, No. 36, page 158. This custom would continue as long as the years were simply dynastic years; and perhaps, during the whole of that period, the years might remain purely dynastic years, each of them having for its initial day the anniversary of the original coronation from which they started, irrespective of the initial day of the years of the astronomical era still continuing in use. When, however, astronomers came to adopt them as an astronomical era, they would establish an exact epoch by reckoning back from the dynastic year then current to the last year of the Kaliyuga that had expired when the first current dynastic year commenced; in the course of which, they would simplify matters by allotting to the dynastic years the same scheme, as regards the starting-point of each year, and the arrangement of the fortnights of the months, which belonged to the Kaliyuga in their part of the country. Thus they would fix all the data necessary to enable them to use the new era for astronomical purposes. All that would remain, would be to use its expired years, in accordance with the custom and necessities of their science. The substitution of the Śaka era for the Kaliyuga, for astronomical purposes, seems to have taken place after the time of Āryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476),¹ who used the Kaliyuga, and in or just before the time of Vararāhamihira (died A.D. 587),² who used the Śaka era; and probably the apparent difference of one year in the reckonings of the Śaka era will be found to have originated not far from Śaka-Saṁvat 500. * Let us assume that this adoption of the Śaka era was made in Śaka-Saṁvat 500, equivalent to A.D. 577-78. The astronomers would take it, at starting, as "Śaka-

Saṃvat 499, expired;" and, in quoting it and several subsequent years, would probably be careful to connect with each year a word distinctly meaning "expired." In course of time, however, such precision of expression would come to seem superfluous to them; and, in issuing their almanacs, they would drop the word "expired," and would write, for instance, simply "Śakē 510 Chaitra-māsa-śukla-pakṣaḥ." It would cause no difference or inconvenience to them; because any initiate would know that this really designated the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of Śaka-Śaṃvat 511 current, after Śaka-Śaṃvat 510 had expired. The people at large, however, including persons who would use the almanacs for practical purposes without being properly initiated into the application of them, would be thrown back in their reckoning by a year; and doubtless at first a good deal of inconvenience and confusion might result. But this would soon be forgotten; or might, for the sake of convenience, be intentionally put aside. And thus they would very quickly arrive at the understanding, by which, in Northern and Western India, Śaka-Śaṃvat 1808 answers, popularly, as a current year, not as an expired year, to the period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887.

Postscript.

In connection with my remarks, on page 140 above, regarding the Śāyana-Paṇḍāṅg for Śaka-Śaṃvat 1807 and 1808, I would add that I had drawn Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's attention to the circumstances of the case; and I now find that, in their almanac for Śaka-Śaṃvat 1810 (expired) (A.D. 1888-89), the editors have reverted to the phraseology used in their almanac for Śaka-Śaṃvat 1807 (expired.)
APPENDIX II.

A Method of Calculating the Week-Days of Hindu Tithis and the corresponding English Dates.

By Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit; Bombay Educational Department.

In this paper I purpose to exhibit, according to the system laid down by the late Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre in his book entitled Graha-siddhastrhin Kshetakrin, or "Tables for Calculating the Places of the Planets," the correct method by which we may determine, for any given Hindu tithi or lunar day, the corresponding vrata or week-day, and the equivalent English date according to either the Julian or the Gregorian Calendar.

Before detailing, however, the steps of the process, I will explain the principal technical terms which will be used, and which, for the sake of brevity and conciseness, will be retained in their original Sanskrit forms.¹

Explanation of Technical Terms.

The abdapa, lit. 'lord of a year,' of any particular year, is the conventional term,—in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, and others; but not universally,—for the time of the Mśa-Samkrānti, or 'entrance of the Sun into Aries,' in that year. The abdapa adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is the time of the spashṭa or 'apparent,'—lit. 'clearly perceived, distinctly visible,'² —Mśa-Samkrānti, as ascertained by the method given in the Śrīya-Siddhānta;³ whereas, in other Hindu works of the same kind, the term abdapa

¹Most of these explanations are my own. Either to reduce the bulk of his book, or for some other reason, Prof. K. L. Chhatre has used the technical terms without explanation, except in the case of a few of the simpler ones; nor does he explain how he obtained certain figures for certain years or the variation for a year.

²English astronomers use the word 'apparent' in all cases in which we use spashṭa. 'Apparent,' therefore, is the proper translation of spashṭa.

³There are three schools of astronomers in India. One follows the Śrīya-Siddhānta, and is called Saurapaksha; another follows the Brahma-Siddhānta, and is named Brahmapaksha; while the third follows the Ārya-Siddhānta, and is called Āryapaksha. The main point on which they differ is the length of the year; but with differences, between each other, of only a few vipalas (a vipala is the sixtieth part of a pala). Another point of difference is, that the number of revolutions of the moon, planets, &c., in a certain period,—for instance in a Mahāyuga,—is generally different in each of them. Prof. K. L. Chhatre has adopted, from the Śrīya-Siddhānta, only the length of the year, and its starting-point, that is the Mśa-Samkrānti; in almost every other respect he follows none of these three authorities, but has based his Tables on European Tables of planets. As to his Tables relative to tithis, however, in the part of his work called Kala-siddhāna, see page 149 below, note 11, and the text above note 1 on page 155.
is used as meaning the time of the Sun's entrance into Aries with reference to his 

**mahyama** or 'mean' longitude. So, also, the length of the solar year adopted by him is that of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, which is accepted, in the present day, in most parts of India. It should, however, be borne in mind that the Tables of the sun and the moon, and those of the planets, given by him, are based on European Tables; and that the places of the sun and other heavenly bodies, obtained from his book, are reckoned from the equinoctial point. The starting-point adopted by Hindu astronomers, for reckoning the places of heavenly bodies, coincided, in their opinion, with the equinoctial point about Śaka-Sañvat 444 expired (A.D. 522-23). The interval in time between two successive returns of the sun to the vernal equinox,—called "the tropical year,"—amounts at present to 365 days, 14 ghatis, and 31'972 palas; while the length of the year, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, is 365 days, 15 ghatis, and 31'523 palas. During this time, the sun's motion amounts to one complete revolution from equinox to equinox, plus about 58'688 1/2 seconds of arc. The starting-point, therefore, of the Hindu astronomers is at present a little more than twenty-two degrees to the east of the vernal equinox. This difference is called **ayanditas**, lit. 'degrees of precession,' and the **ayanditas** for the present year, Śaka-Sañvat 1809 expired (A.D. 1887-88), are 22 degrees, 45 minutes, according to the *Graha-Laghava* of Ganēša Daivajñā.\(^1\) As the longitudes of heavenly bodies, reckoned from the equinox, include these **ayanditas**, they are called **śāyana**, lit. 'possessed of ayana or precession.' And the places of heavenly bodies obtained by the method given in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works, are called, for the sake of distinction, **nirayana**, lit. 'destroyer of precession.' The places obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables are **śāyana**. The **tīkhi**, however, obtained by either process, is the same; but this is not the case with the **nakshatra** or 'lunar mansion,' and the **yoga** or 'addition of the longitudes of the sun and the moon.'\(^2\)

The **figures for the abdapa** are given in Table I. on pp. 10, 11, of Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, and are expressed in **vāras**, **ghaṭīs**, and **palas**. Of these, the **vāra**, or week-day, sometimes also called **dīna** or **divasa**, or 'solar day (and night),' is counted in regular order from Sunday, as 1, up to Saturday, as 7 or 0; and it is always reckoned by

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\(^1\) The date of this work is Śaka-Sañvat 1442 expired (A.D. 1520-21). At present, all the *Pañcāṅgās* (Hindu calendars) in the Deccan, and in some other parts of India, are prepared from this authority, and from another small work, by the same author, entitled *Tīkhi-Chintāmaṇi*, containing the necessary Tables.

\(^2\) To calculate tīkhi, only the difference between the longitudes of the moon and of the sun is to be taken. Therefore it matters not whether these longitudes are **śāyana** or **nirayana**. To find a **nakshatra**, the **ayandīs** must be applied to the moon's longitude obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables. The **śāyana-Pañcāṅga**, annually published, from Śaka 1806, under the patronage of His Highness the Mahārāja Hōlkaj, by Mr. Visajī Raghunath Lele of Gāwlior, with the aid of Mr. Janardan B. Modak, B.A. of the Bombay University, of myself, and of Mr. Krishnarao Raghunath Bhide of Indīrē, is based on the **śāyana** system.
the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise. The *vāra* of the *abdapa* shows the week-day on which the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of the year fell. A *ghāti*, also *ghati* and *ghatikā*, is the sixtieth division of a mean solar day and night; and it is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English minutes. As a matter of convenience, the word *ghati* is also used for the sixtieth part of a *tithi*; but in that application it is not identical with the sixtieth division of a solar day and night. A *pala* is the sixtieth division of a *ghati*; and is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English seconds. And the *ghātis* and *palas* of the *abdapa* give the time after sunrise, on the particular *vāra*, at which the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* took place. Thus, the *abdapa* of Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, is given (opposite the entry *Mēsha-Samkrānti chi vē∫* or 'time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*'; p. 10) as 1 *dina*, 10 *ghātis*, 10 *palas*; which indicates that the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* then took place on Sunday, and 10 *ghātis* and 10 *palas*, or four hours and four minutes, after sunrise. The solar year adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is equal to 365 *days*, 15 *ghātis*, 31’52 *palas*. Dividing 365 by 7 (the number of days in a week), the remainder is 1. And so, if in one year the Sun enters Aries at the time of sunrise on a Sunday, then, in the following year, he will come to Aries on Monday, and 15 *ghātis*, 31’5 *palas*, after sunrise. Therefore, the *variation in the abdapa in one year* is given (p. 10, col. 3, under *vāra*) as 1 *day*, 15 *ghātis*, 31’5 *palas*; the decimals being supplied from column 2, in which is given the number of days, corresponding to the number of years in column 1.

The word *tithi* denotes the thirtieth part of a lunation or lunar month; that is, as applied to the ecliptic circle, it denotes exactly the one-thirtieth part of that circle, *viz.* twelve degrees; but, taken as an apparent *tithi*, and applied to the period of a lunation, it may be the exact thirtieth part of that period, or it may vary from fifty to sixty-six *ghātis* as subdivisions of a solar day. If the word *tithi* requires to be rendered into English, it is best represented by 'lunar day.' Of the thirty *tithis* of each month, fifteen belong to the bright fortnight, or period of the waxing moon, and fifteen to the dark fortnight, or period of the waning moon. The fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight is called *pārṇimā*, *pārṇamāsi*, or *paurṇamāsi*, *lit.* 'that which has the full-moon, or that on which the month is completed,' and the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight is called *amāvesyā*, *lit.* 'that on which there is the dwelling-together (of the sun and moon).' At the end of the *amāvesyā*, the sun and the moon are together; that is, they have the same longitude. When the moon, moving towards the east, leaves the sun behind by twelve degrees of longitude, then ends the first *tithi*, which is technically called *pratipad* or *pratipadda*. So, a *tithi* is the time which the moon takes to out-go the sun by twelve degrees. With the exception of the *pratipadda*, the *tithis* are denoted by the regular ordinal numerals, *dvitiyā*, *tritiyā*, &c., up to *chaturdvitiyā*, 'the fourteenth.' The *pārṇimā* and *amāvesyā* are called sometimes by their own special names, and sometimes *pañcādaśi*, 'the fifteenth;' but the *amāvesyā* is generally entered in *Pañcādāsya* as the thirtieth *tithi*,
even in Northern India, where the dark fortnight of the month precedes the bright. In Pańchāṅga, the ghātis and palas of tithis are given; and, by them, it is to be understood that the tithis end so many ghātis and palas after sun-rise. In general, the expression tithi means the end of a tithi; not its beginning, or its duration.

The term tithi-śuddhi, lit. 'the subtraction of tithis,' denotes the number of tithis that elapse from the beginning of the month Chaitra (March-April) up to the time of the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti. In Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, this term is used to shew the number of tithis, calculated from the difference between the moon's mean longitude and the sun's apparent longitude, that elapse from the beginning of Chaitra to the time of the sun's spashṭa or 'apparent' Mēsha-Saṁkrānti. Thus, for Śaka-Saṁvata o expired, at the time of the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti the sun's mean longitude was 11 signs, 20 degrees, 46' minutes (p. 46); and the apparent longitude obtained from it, according to the method given by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, is 11 signs, 22 degrees, 38'9 minutes. The moon's mean longitude at that time was 4 signs, 25 degrees, 42'4 minutes (p. 87). The difference between the longitudes of the sun and the moon,—the sun's longitude being subtracted from that of the moon,—is, therefore, 5 signs, 3 degrees (= 153 degrees), 3'5 minutes. Then 153° 3'5 + 12 = 12 + (9° 3'5 + 12) tithis; that is, 12 tithis, and about 45 ghātis and 14 palas, had elapsed. This, therefore, is given as the tithi-śuddhi for Śaka-Saṁvata o expired. In one solar year, the mean tithis are 371, and 3 ghātis, 53'4 palas. Dividing 371 by 360, the remainder, 11 tithis, 3 ghātis, 53'4 palas, is given as the variation in the tithi-śuddhi in one year (p. 10, col. 4).

The tithis obtained from the mean places and mean motions of both the sun and the moon, are madhyama or 'mean' tithis. So, also, those calculated from the apparent place and motion of the sun and the mean place and motion of the moon,—as in the case of the tithi-śuddhi and the mean solar equivalents of tithis given in Table III. pp. 13-19, col. 2,—may be called mean tithis and not apparent. But the tithis, &c., given in our Pańchāṅgas are always spashṭa or 'apparent'; that is, they are calculated from the apparent places and motions of the sun and the moon. The spashṭa-tithi differs from the madhyama-tithi sometimes by nearly twenty-five ghātis; and this is chiefly owing to the fact that the moon's apparent longitude differs from her mean longitude sometimes by about five degrees. Many corrections have to be applied to the mean place of the...

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1 In astronomical works, it is always the Amānta southern arrangement of the lunar fortinights that is actually taken for calculations.

2 In the Siddhānta-Sīrōmani and other works, the term tithi-śuddhi is used in the sense of the number of tithis, calculated from the mean places of the sun and the moon, that elapse from the beginning of Chaitra to the time of the sun's madhyama or 'mean' Mēsha-Saṁkrānti.

3 Though not always in the strictest sense. I say so, because, in practice, extreme accuracy is not, and cannot be, sought. But, in theory, they are required to be 'apparent' in the strictest sense.

4 According to European Tables, the difference is sometimes about eight degrees.
moon, in order to find her apparent place; but only one of these, called phala-samskāra, which is 'the equation of the centre,' is taken into account by Hindu astronomers; and this, as given by them, amounts to a little more than five degrees at the greatest. This correction varies according to the moon's kāndra or 'anomaly,' which is taken to be her distance from apogee. From this correction is calculated the correction in time to be applied to the mean tithi; it is named parākhyā; and it is given in Table IV., on p. 20, in the column headed parākhyā. It evidently varies according to the moon's kāndra. One revolution of the moon's kāndra is completed in 27 days, 33 ghaṭis, 16'56 palas. This period is called nīchōchcha-māsa; and is known to English astronomers by the name of the 'anomalistic month.' This period, converted into tithis, is equal to 27 tithis, 59 ghaṭis, 33'36 palas; that is, nearly and practically, 28 tithis. It is converted into tithis for the sake of convenience; since, the variation in the kāndra is one tithi of kāndra in one tithi of time; and it is called tithi-kāndra, or 'the anomaly of the tithi,' expressed in tithis. The moon's mean kāndra at the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti of Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, was 10 signs, 19 degrees, 58'8 minutes (p. 87). This, converted into tithis, is equal to 24 tithis, 53 ghaṭis, 50 palas; and this is given (p. 10) as the tithi-madhyama-kāndra, or 'mean anomaly of the tithi,' at the time of the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti of Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired. It shows that so many tithis and parts of a tithi had elapsed, up to that Mēsha-Saṁkrānti, from the moon's preceding arrival at her apogee. The variation in the moon's kāndra, in one solar year, is 3 signs, 2 degrees, 6'2 minutes (p. 87, col. 3). This, changed into tithis by the rule of three, viz.—360° : 90° 6'2 :: ti. 27, gh. 59, p. 33'36 : ti. 7, gh. 9, p. 42,—is given, therefore, as the variation in the tithi-kāndra in one year (p. 10, col. 5).

A few other points and terms will be explained, as we proceed with the following example.

To find the Week-Day of a given Tithi.

The process will be best illustrated, step by step, by actually working out an example. And, at Mr. Fleet's request, I take, as my example, the date of Śaka-Saṁvat 406

1 The amount of this correction, adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, in finding out tithis in his Kāla-sādhana Tables (pp. 1 to 30 of his book), is nearly the same as that adopted by ancient Hindu astronomers. Therefore, the tithis obtained by his method, as described above, should agree very closely with those obtained from the methods prescribed in Sanskrit works. But, in the abdapa and other elements, the Śṛṣṭya-Siddhānta and other authorities themselves slightly differ, one from the other. And, accordingly, the difference will be sometimes about five or six ghaṭis. There are, also, some other minute causes of difference.

2 In European astronomical works, the anomaly is reckoned from perigee or perihelion; but in Hindu works it is reckoned from apogee or aphelion.

3 In this term nīcha means 'perigee;' and nucha, 'apogee.' And nīchōchcha-māsa is the period in which the moon comes from perigee or apogee to the same point again.

4 One tithi is equal to 0°843329574 of a mean solar day.

5 360° : 319°58'8 :: ti. 27, gh. 59, p. 33'36 : ti. 24, gh. 52, p. 50.
expired (A.D. 484-85); the month Āshādha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the twelfth tithi.

From Table I. p. 10, write down (see Table V. on page 151 below), in three separate columns, three quantities, for Śaka-Saṃvat o expired, which are technically called the kshēpaka or 'additive quantities;' viz. in (a) the abada, enter vāras 1, ghāfis 10, palas 10; in (b) the tithi-suddhi, enter tithis 12, ghāfis 45, palas 14; and in (c) the tithi-madhya-ma-kendra, enter tithis 24, ghāfis 52, palas 50. Below each of them respectively, in its proper column, enter, from the same Table, the bheda or 'variation' for the component parts of the given Śaka year; viz. for 400, in (a) vāras 6, gh. 30, p. 9'3, in (b) tithis 15, gh. 55, p. 49'2, and in (c) tithis 9, gh. 24, p. 45; and for 6 years, in (a) vāras o, gh. 33, p. 9'1, in (b) tithis 6, gh. 23, p. 20'2, and in (c) tithis 14, gh. 58, p. 39.

Now, as the given year is anterior to Śaka-Saṃvat 1622 expired, a correction, to be arrived at from Table II. p. 12, is to be applied, and is always to be added, in respect of the tithi-suddhi and the tithi-madhya-ma-kendra. The reason for this correction, is this. As explained above, the tithi-suddhi and the tithi-madhya-ma-kendra depend respectively on the mean longitude and the mean anomaly of the moon. But the moon's mean motion is not always the same. Therefore, to her mean longitude and mean anomaly, obtained from the general Table of annual variation in them (Table III. p. 87 f., cols. 2, 3), a correction (Table IV. p. 89 f., cols. 2, 3) is to be applied. Thus, for Śaka-Saṃvat o expired, the correction in the moon's mean longitude is 44 seconds, and that in the kendra is 2 degrees, 55 seconds (p. 90). These, turned into tithis, are 3 ghafis, 40 palas, with regard to the tithi-suddhi; and 14 ghafis, with regard to the tithi-kendra. These figures, therefore, are given as the correction in respectively the tithi-suddhi and the tithi-kendra for Śaka-Saṃvat o expired. In the Table, this correction is given for intervals of 1000 years each. Taking first the tithi-suddhi, the correction for Śaka-Saṃvat o expired, is gh. 3, p. 49; and the correction for Śaka-Saṃvat 1000 expired, is p. 32. Therefore, deducting the latter from the former, the difference, gh. 3, p. 8, or 188 palas, is the variation of correction in 1000 years. Then, by the Rule of Three,—1000 years = 406 years: 188 palas: 76 palas. And 76 palas are gh. 1, p. 16. As the quantities are decreasing ones, this is to be subtracted from gh. 3, p. 40, for Śaka-Saṃvat o expired. And the remainder gives us, as the sufficiently approximate correction for Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired, gh. 2, p. 24, to be added in (b). Similarly, the correction for the tithi-madhya-ma-kendra, worked out in the same way, is gh. 9, p. 8, to be added in (c).

¹The decimals in the palas of (a) the abada are taken from the ahargana, or total number of solar days of the solar year, in col. 2.

²Properly speaking, this variation is for Śaka-Saṃvat 500 expired, midway between Śaka-Saṃvat o and 1000. It should be reduced first for the year midway between Śaka-Saṃvat o and the given year; in this instance 406. But there is no absolute necessity for such exact precision.
### TABLE V.
Calculation of the Week-day of a given Tithi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th></th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th></th>
<th>(c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abdasa.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tithi-suddhi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tithi-madyama-kendra.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 10</td>
<td></td>
<td>24 52 50</td>
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<td>10 10</td>
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<td>6 30 93</td>
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<td>9 24 45</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 33 91</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 58 39</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6 23 202</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 9 8</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 6 474</td>
<td></td>
<td>21 25 22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Week-day and time of the Māṃa-Samkrānti of Saka-Saṃvat 406 expired 1 13 28 4**

* ghaṭis and pālas only, from above 0 13 28
Add, from (b), the mean solar day 0 52 20

**tithi-bhoga** 1 5 48
Add =
- expired tithis:
  - Chaitra 15
  - Vaisākhā 30
  - Jyesthā 30
  - Ashādha 26
  - 101
- minus, from (b),
  - tithi-dhruva 5
- expired tithis from end of Chaitra 96
- solar equivalent of 96
tithis (p. 14) 94 17 36
  - 95 23 24

Add pardhyā, obtained from (c) tithi-spasha-kendra of Ashādha 96
  - 0 24 19

Days elapsed up to end of apparent Ashādha 95 47 43

Add week-day of Māṃa-Samkrānti of Saka-Saṃvat 406 expired 1 13
Reduce to weeks 7 90 91

Remainder, the 5th day, is Thursday 5

**Result:** Thursday.
Now add together the respective quantities in (a) (b) and (c), bearing in mind that, in doing so, when the varas in (a) the abdapa exceed 7, or any multiple of 7, only the remainder, above 7 or its multiple, is to be brought to account, because there are 7 varas or week-days in each week; and that, when the tithis in (b) the tithi-suddhi and in (c) the tithi-madhyama-kendra exceed 30 and 28 respectively, or any multiple of them, only the remainders above 30 and 28, or their multiple, are to be taken notice of, because there are 30 tithis in one lunar month, and, as nearly as possible, 28 tithis in one revolution of the tithi-kendra.

We thus obtain in (a) the abdapa, varas 1, gh. 13, p. 284. The first quantity, of the days, shows that the week-day on which occurred the Mesha-Samkranti of the given year, Saka-Saṃvat 406 expired, was Sunday. And the remaining quantities show that the Mesha-Samkranti took place at the end of gh. 13, p. 284, after sunrise on that Sunday. The small decimal which we have here, as also in (b) the tithi-suddhi, under the palas, may be disregarded in the following steps of the process.

In (b) the tithi-suddhi, we obtain tithis 5, gh. 6, p. 47.4. From this we learn that, when the Mesha-Samkranti of the given year, Saka-Saṃvat 406 expired, occurred, 5 mean tithis of the month Chaitra were completed, and also 6 ghasis and 47 palas of the 6th tithi had elapsed. The number of completed tithis, here 5, is technically called the tithi-dhruva or 'constant of the tithi,' because, when it has been determined for any given year, it remains uniform or constant in working out any example in that same year. And the remainder, here gh. 6, p. 47, is called the bhukta-tithi or 'elapsed portion of the (current) tithi.'

Subtracting the bhukta-tithi, gh. 6, p. 47, from 1 tithi of 60 ghasis, the remainder, gh. 53, p. 13, gives the portion of the 6th tithi that was still to run. This is technically called the bhogyā-tithi, lit.'(that portion of) the tithi which is still to be enjoyed.'

In (c), the tithi-madhyama-kendra, we obtain tithis 21, gh. 25, p. 22. This gives us the moon's kendra, reduced to tithis, at the time of the Mesha-Samkranti of the given year, Saka-Saṃvat 406 expired.

To this, the bhogyā-tithi, viz. gh. 53, p. 13, is to be added. And the result, tithis 22, gh. 18, p. 35, is the kendra at the end of the 6th tithi of Chaitra. This is called the tithi-spashta-kendra or 'apparent kendra of the tithi.'

Next, by subtracting from the bhogyā-tithi, viz. gh. 53, p. 13, as many palas, 53, as there are ghasis in it,1 we convert it into a mean solar day, with the result of gh. 52, p. 20.

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1 i.e. by subtracting the sixtieth part. This proportion is taken for the sake of easy calculation. Properly speaking, to convert a tithi into a solar day, the sixty-fourth part should be subtracted; because one mean tithi is equal to '98433 of a solar day, i.e., as nearly as possible, sixty-three sixty-fourths of a solar day. The difference, however, does not introduce any material error.
Add this gh. 52, p. 20, to the gahas and palas only of (a) the abadapa. The result, vdra 1, gh. 5, p. 48, shows that the 6th mean tithi of Chaitra ended with gh. 5, p. 48, after sunrise on the following day, Monday, after the day of the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti, Sunday. This quantity, vdra 1, gh. 5, p. 48, is called the tithi-bhōga, lit. 'the enjoyment or duration of the tithi;' and it is the end of the tithi-dhruva, increased by one tithi. It is, of course, a mean tithi. And it shews that days 1, gh. 5, p. 48, had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti, up to the end of Chaitra śukla 6 as a mean tithi.

We have now to bring into consideration the number of tithis elapsed up to the commencement of the given tithi. And, in doing this, we must of course take account of any intercalary month that there may be, preceding the given tithi, in the given year.

In our example, however, the result in (b) the tithi-suddhi, is less than nineteen tithis. And a reference to Table VI. p. 22,—which would enable us to determine the intercalary month approximately, if there were one,—shows us that there was, therefore, no intercalary month at all in the given year, Śaka-Saṁvats 406 expired. The explanation of this, is, that, when the tithi-suddhi is less than nineteen, it shews that the saṁkrānti in Chaitra occurred within the first nineteen tithis of that month. And, as, generally, the solar months are longer than the lunar months, the saṁkrāntis of the sun, i.e. his passage from one sign of the zodiac into the next, occur continuously later in each successive lunar month. But, when the saṁkrānti in Chaitra falls within the first nineteen tithis, no saṁkrānti, up to the end of the year, can go beyond the thirtieth tithi of any lunar month; and, therefore, no month will be intercalary.

Consequently, from the beginning of Chaitra, up to the commencement of the given tithi, Āśāḍha śukla 12, there had elapsed only the usual number of one hundred and one tithis; vis. in the bright fortnight of Chaitra, 15; in Vaiśākha, 30; in Jyēṣṭha, 30; and in Āśāḍha, 15 in the dark fortnight, and 11 in the bright. From this number of tithis, 101, we subtract the tithi-dhruva, 5. And the remainder, 96, is the number of tithis elapsed from the end of Chaitra śukla 5 up to the end of Āśāḍha śukla 11. But the tithi-bhōga, which we have already arrived at, is the end of Chaitra śukla 6; and the same number of tithis, 96, expire from the end of Chaitra śukla 6 up to the end of Āśāḍha śukla 12. Therefore, adding to the tithi-bhōga the solar equivalent, now to be introduced, the result will bring us to the end of the given tithi, Āśāḍha śukla 12.

Turning to Table III. p. 14, we find that the equivalent, in mean solar days, of 96 tithis, is days 94, gh. 17, p. 36. And, adding this to the tithi-bhōga, the result, days 95, gh. 23, p. 24, gives the interval that had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti up to the end of Āśāḍha śukla 12 as a mean tithi.

---

4 We are dealing with a northern date; and that is why the tithis are counted in this way. If we were dealing with a southern date, the enumeration would be, in Chaitra, 30; in Vaiśākha, 30; in Jyēṣṭha, 30; and in the bright fortnight of Āśāḍha, 11. The total is the same, 101, since a bright fortnight is concerned.
Now, however, we have to determine the spashta-tithi, or apparent tithi. For this purpose, we require the parakhya-correction, which is to be ascertained through the tithi-kendra.

Turning again to Table III. p. 14, we find that the variation in the tithi-kendra for 96 tithis is tithis 12, gh. 1, p. 20. Enter this in (e), below tithis 22, gh. 18, p. 35, which we have already arrived at as the tithi-kendra at the end of Chaitra sukla 6. Add the two quantities together; and the result,—excluding 28 tithis, as before,—is tithis 6, gh. 19, p. 55; which is the tithi-spashta-kendra at the end of the given tithi, Ashadhya sukla 12.

With this argument, we turn to Table IV. p. 20, for the parakhya-correction. In this Table, the correction is given for tithis and ghasits, at intervals of ten ghasits. Thus, for the tithi-spashta-kendra, tithis 6, gh. 10, the parakhya is gh. 24, p. 10; and for tithis 6, gh. 20, it is gh. 24, p. 19. The difference, 9 palas, is shown in the last column of the Table, and would serve to calculate the exact parakhya for the tithi-spashta-kendra. But here it is sufficiently close for our purposes to take the parakhya as gh. 24, p. 19.

Under (a) the abapara, enter this parakhya below the sum of the tithi-bhoga and the solar equivalent of 96 tithis, and,—as is indicated by the sign plus at the top of col. 1 in Table IV.—add it to that sum.

The result, adras 95, gh. 47, p. 43, gives the number of days, and parts of a day, that had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the Mesha-Samkranti, up to the end of the apparent Ashadhya sukla 12. To the days, 95, add 1, the week-day of the Mesha-Samkranti. Divide the sum, 96, by 7, and the result is 13 weeks, and 5 days over; which shews that the current week-day of Ashadhya sukla 12 was the fifth day in the week; that is Thursday. The remaining quantities, gh. 47, p. 43, shew the time after sunrise, on that Thursday, on which the given tithi, Ashadhya sukla 12, ended.

The Tables in Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s book, however, are adapted to the meridian of Bombay. The ghasits and palas, therefore, of a tithi worked out by the method exhibited above, are for Bombay; and are to be reckoned from mean sunrise at Bombay. When the tithi is required for any other particular place, the difference of longitude in time (one degree = ten palas) is to be added or subtracted, according as the place is east or west of Bombay. In the present instance, as I learned after first working it out, the above Saka date was selected in consequence of its being the equivalent of the date, in Gupta-Saivat 165, recorded in the pillar inscription of Budhagupta at Erañ in the Central Provinces. We have therefore now to determine the tithi for Erañ itself. The longitude of Bombay is 72° 51′; and that of Erañ is 78° 15′; both east of Greenwich. Erañ, therefore, is 5 degrees, 24 minutes, east from Bombay. Adding (5° 24′ × 10 =) 54 palas to 47 ghasits and 43 palas, which we have obtained above for Bombay, the tithi at Erañ is gh. 48, p. 37, reckoned from mean sunrise on the same day, Thursday.
The above result is sufficient for all practical purposes. But it is further to be noted that the *tithi* in our *Pañcāṅga* are intended to be given from apparent sunrise. In practice, however, so much minuteness is not always and everywhere attempted; at least, in the present day, in the Dekkan. For this reason, it seems, Prof. K. L. Chhatre has not noticed this point in his method exhibited above. But I will now give the *tithi* in question from apparent sunrise at Ērāṇ. Without going through the process, which is rather too complicated to be given in the present paper, I will state only the result, that the apparent sunrise at Ērāṇ, on the day in question, took place *gh.* 1, *p.* 56, before the mean sunrise; the latitude of Ērāṇ used in the process, being 24° 5'. Adding, therefore, *gh.* 1, *p.* 56, to the above result from mean sunrise, we get *gh.* 50, *p.* 33, reckoned from apparent sunrise, as the time at which the given *tithi*, Āshāḍha śukla 12, ended at Ērāṇ on the Thursday.

Before dismissing this part of the subject, I would point out that the calculation of a *tithi*, by the above method, is not of necessity absolutely accurate, according to the present absolutely accurate European Tables of the sun and the moon. Absolute accuracy, in this sense, could be ensured only by working from the actual places or longitudes of the sun and the moon, to be determined in strict accordance with the method prescribed for that purpose. The *tithi* obtained by the method exhibited above, will differ, sometimes by as much as ten *ghāṭis*, from that which would be obtained from the apparent places of the sun and the moon, actually calculated from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables for the sun and the moon. The difference, however, at full-moon and new-moon will be very small, one *ghāṭi* at the greatest; and it reaches its maximum on the eighth *tithi* of the bright and of the dark fortnight. But, in respect of this second possible method of Prof. K. L. Chhatre, it must be stated that we have nothing to do with it in dealing with Hindu *tithis*; for the reason that, with the exception of the *phala-saṁskāra*, the corrections introduced by him in finding the apparent longitude of the moon, were not taken into account by ancient Hindu astronomers.

And, on the other hand, the method exhibited above being in close agreement with Hindu works, it may be claimed that the *tithi* obtained by it will differ but very little from the *tithi* obtained by the method prescribed in the *Śūrya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works. The difference ¹ will amount to five or six *ghāṭis* at the utmost; and that in but very few cases.

In order, however, that no room may be left for doubt, I have also calculated the *tithi* in the present example actually by the *Āryabhaṭiya* or *Ārya-Siddhānta* of the first *Āryabhaṭa*, the *Brahma-Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta, the *Śūrya-Siddhānta*, the *Siddhānta-

¹ See page 149 above, note 1.
Sirōmāṇi, and the Arya-Siddhānta of the second Āryabhaṭa. 1 I calculated it first for Ujjain, i.e. for the Hindu meridian, reckoning from the mean sunrise there; and then turned it into the tithi for Ēraṇ. The longitude of Ujjain is 75° 43', east of Greenwich. I have also calculated the ghatis and palas from the apparent sunrise at Ēraṇ; and all the results are given in Table VI., on the upper part of page 157 below. From them we see that the tithi fell on a Thursday,2 according to all the authorities.

1 i.e. the work that is usually called the Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta.—There are two distinct and separate works, each bearing the name of Āryabhaṭa as its author. The one published by Dr. Kern contains one hundred and eighteen verses in the Ārya metre, and is called Āryabhāṣṭya in general and by the author himself; but it may, and justly so, be called Ārya-Siddhānta; and it is called so by many Hindu astronomers. The date of this work is Śaka-Saṅvat 427 expired (A.D. 499-500). The other, which, I believe, has not yet been printed, contains about six hundred and twenty-five verses in the Ārya metre, divided into eighteen chapters. The date of it is not given. But, from internal evidence, I find that it is later than the Brahma-Siddhānta of Brahmagupta (Śaka-Saṅvat 550 expired; A.D. 628-29); and there is a reference to it in the Siddhānta-Sirōmāṇi (Śaka-Saṅvat 1072 expired; A.D. 1390-91). Its date, therefore, lies somewhere between these two limits. In the first verse of it, the author calls himself Āryabhaṭa; and his work, a Siddhānta, without Laghu or any other epithet. In a manuscript copy of it, I find that it is named Mahā-Siddhānta at the end of some chapters, and Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta at the end of others. For the sake of distinction and convenience, it is better to call the authors of these two works, the first and the second Āryabhaṭa. The numbers of the revolutions of the planets &c. given, as belonging to the Ārya-Siddhānta, in the Rev. E. Burgess' Translation of the Śāra-Śiddhānta, and in some instances those given by Princep (Princep's Essays, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 153) as belonging to the same authority, belong really to the second Āryabhaṭa. Probably, when these gentlemen wrote, they had not themselves seen the Siddhānta of the first Āryabhaṭa. Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, also, was not, it seems, aware of the two different Āryabhaṭas, when he wrote: (Indian Eras, p. 88) "according to Warren the number of days assigned by Āryabhaṭa to a Mahāyuga of 4,320,000 years is 1,577,917,500 in the south of India and 42 more in the MSS. preserved in Bengal." Of these two numbers, the former belongs to the first, and the latter to the second, Āryabhaṭa.

2 [i.e. on a Hindu Thursday.---It must be borne in mind that the Hindu week-day is reckoned, with the solar day and night, from sunrise to sunrise, as stated at page 146 f. above; but the English week-day, and the civil date coupled with it, from midnight to midnight. In comparing Hindu and English dates, the only course is to take mean sunrise and mean midnight (6 o'clock A.M. and 12 o'clock P.M. respectively), and to give, as the English equivalent, that week-day, with its civil date, which is actually running during those eighteen hours, when of course the same week-day is running in India; i.e. the week-day which is identical for the greater part by both the English and the Hindu reckonings. And, if the difference in mean time between Greenwich and Ujjain, viz. 5 hours, 2 minutes, 52 seconds (using the same longitude for Ujjain, 75° 43', taken from Keith Johnston's Atlas, that is used by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit for his calculations in this paper and for the Śāyanā-Pahadag) be taken into consideration, of course the week-days of the two places are absolutely identical, except for the space of 57 minutes, 8 seconds, or 2 ghaṭis, 22 1/2 palas, at the end of the Hindu week-day; during that time, while at Ujjain a Hindu Thursday, for instance, is still running, at Greenwich the week-day will be Friday. Owing to this, there may sometimes be a nominal discrepancy in the resulting English week-day for a given tithi; but the instances will be few and far between, as very few tithis will be found to end so late after sunrise; and the discrepancy will be confined mostly to such occurrences as the heliacal rising of Jupiter (see, for instance, the double dates which it has been necessary to quote at page 104 ff. above). In the present case, not one of the ending-points of the given tithi falls within the debateable period; either for Ujjain, or for Ēraṇ, which is appreciably to the east of Ujjain.—J. F. F.]
## TABLE VI.

The Times, after Sunrise, of the ending of a given Tithi.

\[ \text{Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired} = \text{A.D. 484-85 current.} \]

\[ \text{Āśādha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvāra (Thursday).} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Time, after Sunrise, at which the Tithi ended.</th>
<th>By K. L. Chhate's method exhibited above.</th>
<th>By the Ārya-Siddhānta of the first Ārya-Siddhāṇā.</th>
<th>By the Brahman-Siddhānta of Brahmagupta.</th>
<th>By the Śrī-Siddhānta.</th>
<th>By the Śrī-Siddhānta-Nominal.</th>
<th>By the Ārya-Siddhānta of the second Ārya-Siddhāṇā.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reckoned from mean sunrise at Bombay ...</td>
<td>47 43</td>
<td>49 19</td>
<td>49 46</td>
<td>50 42</td>
<td>52 52</td>
<td>54 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; Ujjain ...</td>
<td>48 12</td>
<td>49 48</td>
<td>50 15</td>
<td>51 11</td>
<td>53 21</td>
<td>54 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; Ėraṇ ...</td>
<td>48 37</td>
<td>50 13</td>
<td>50 40</td>
<td>51 36</td>
<td>53 46</td>
<td>55 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; apparent sunrise at Ėraṇ ...</td>
<td>50 33</td>
<td>52 9</td>
<td>52 36</td>
<td>53 32</td>
<td>55 42</td>
<td>57 14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## TABLE VII.

Calculation of the English Date of a given Tithi.

\[ \text{Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired} = \text{A.D. 484-85 current.} \]

\[ \text{Āśādha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvāra (Thursday).} \]

| Date of the Mēsha-Samkrānti in March of A.D. 0 (p. 30) | 13 59 10 |
| Add variation for 400 years A.D. (p. 30)            | 3 30 9  |
| " 84 years A.D. (p. 27)                             | 0 44 7  |

| Date of the Mēsha-Samkrānti in March of A.D. 484     | 18 13 26 |
| Add days elapsed from the Mēsha-Samkrānti up to the given tithi, from col. (a) of the previous process | 95 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deduct number of days in completed months from the 1st March:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Remainder is the current day of the next month, and the current day of the given tithi 21 |

Result; 21st June, A.D. 484.
If, by the calculations detailed above, we find that a certain *tithi* ended nearly at the end of a Hindu day,—for instance, fifty-seven *ghatis* after sunrise on a Sunday; *i.e.* three *ghatis* before sunrise on Monday,—there may be the possibility that it really ended shortly after sunrise on the following day, Monday. And, on the other hand, if our results show that a certain *tithi* ended shortly after the commencement of a Hindu day,—for instance, three *ghatis* after sunrise on a Sunday,—there may be the possibility that it really ended shortly before the termination of the preceding day, Saturday.

In dealing with a particular record that, on a certain week-day, there was a certain *tithi*, we can only be sure of absolute accuracy in our results, if we can ascertain, so as to apply, the actual authority and method used by the author of the calendar which the drafter of that record consulted in preparing his statement. The method exhibited above, however, may be safely relied on for all practical purposes.

**To find the English Date for a given Tithi.**

The materials for this process are to be found in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, in Table IX. on page 27, and in Table XI. on page 30.

The English date answering to the given Hindu date in our present example, has obviously to be worked out according to the Julian Calendar, or Old Style; being long anterior to A.D. 1752, when the Gregorian Calendar, or New Style, was introduced.

From the heading of Table XI. p. 30, we find that, in A.D. 0, the Hindu *Mēsha-Samkranti* occurred on the 13th March, and *gh. 59, p. 10*, after sunrise (civil time). Enter these quantities (see Table VII. on the lower part of page 157 above). And below them, enter the *bheda* or variation for the component parts of the given current year A.D., in this instance A.D. 484-(85), which is always obtained by adding A.D. 78-(79) to the given expired Śaka year; *viz.* for 400, *days 3, gh. 30, p. 9*, from Table XI.; and for 84, *days 0, gh. 44, p. 7*, from Table IX.

Add these quantities together. The result, for A.D. 484, is *days 18, gh. 13, p. 26*. And this shews that, in A.D. 484, the Hindu *Mēsha-Samkranti* occurred on the 18th March, and *13 ghatis* and *26 palas* ¹ after sunrise.

Add 95, which we have already ascertained, in the previous process, under (a) the *abada*, to be the number of days that had elapsed from sunrise on the day of the *Mēsha-Samkranti*, up to sunrise on the day on which the given *tithi* ended. The sum, 113, gives the number of days up to, and inclusive of, the given *tithi*, from, and inclusive of, the 1st March.

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¹ The *ghatis* and *palas* ought to agree with the *ghatis* and *palas* of the *abada* of Śaka-Samvat 405 expired, in col. (a) of the previous process. Here there is a difference of 24 *palas*; which shews that there is a small mistake somewhere in the Tables.
From this sum subtract the number of days in as many entire months as were completed within the total of 113 days; *vis.* in the present instance, in March, 31 days; in April, 30; and in May, 31; total, 92.

The remainder, in this instance 21, gives the current day of the next month, corresponding to the given *tithi*. The result, therefore, in the present instance, is the 21st June, A.D. 484, Old Style. The identification of this date with the week-day previously obtained for the given *tithi*, may be verified by any of the ordinary means available. For instance, from General Sir A. Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, Table II. p. 98, we find that the 1st January, A.D. 484, Old Style, was a Sunday. And then, turning, as the given year was a Leap-year, to the right-hand side of his Table I. p. 97, we find that the 21st June of the same year was a Thursday, as required.
APPENDIX III.

The Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

By Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit; Bombay Educational Department.

The names of the samvatsaras, or years, of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, are determined in accordance with the following rule in the Brihat-Samhita of Varahamihira, adhyāya viii. verse 1, — nakshatrāṇa sah-ōdayam upagachchhati yena dēvapati-mantri1 tāt-sahājan vaktavyāṁ varshaṁ māsa-kramēn-aiva II, — "with whatever nakshatra (Jupiter) the counsellor of (Indra) the lord of the gods attains (his) rising, the year is to be spoken of (as) having the appellation of that (nakshatra), in accordance with the order of the months."

Here, by the word udaya, ‘rising,’ we have to understand, not the daily rising of Jupiter, but his heliacal rising. Jupiter becomes invisible for some days before and after his conjunction with the sun. The sun’s daily motion is faster than that of Jupiter. So, when the sun in its course comes near Jupiter, the latter becomes invisible, on the west side of the horizon; and he is then said to set. He remains from twenty-five to thirty-one days in this state of invisibility. And, when he is left behind by the sun, he again becomes visible, in the east; and then he is said to rise. Generally, in India, when the interval between the daily settings or risings of the sun and Jupiter amounts to forty-four minutes

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1 The reading that I give, is from an old manuscript in my possession. But the commentator, Utpala, explains the verse with the reading—nakshatrāṇa sah-ōdayam astaṁ vā yēna yāti sura-mantri,—"with whatever nakshatra (Jupiter) the counsellor of the gods attains (his) rising or setting." It is curious that the text, in my manuscript copy, stands as given above. The抄字ists, however far they might go wrong in ordinary transcribing, could not, unless intentionally, turn the letters mastaṁ vā yēna yāti sura, if they were original at all, into mupagachchhati yēna dēvapati. And Utpala himself gives the note—Rishiputra-ddhibhiḥ udaya-nakshatra-māsa-sahājan kramēna varshaṁ jōdayam ity-ūktam,—"it is said by Rishiputra and others, that the year is to be known according to the order of the name of the month of the nakshatra of the rising (of Jupiter)." Also, all the other authorities, which I find giving the rule of naming the years of the cycle according to the risings of Jupiter, make each year take its name from only the rising of the planet; not from its setting.—[The reading in the text above, is the one adopted by Kern, in his edition of the Brihat-Samhita, p. 47. His translation (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 45) is—"each year (during which Jupiter completes a twelfth part of his revolution) has to bear the name of the lunar mansion in which he rises: the years follow each other in the same order as the lunar months." Both in his Various Readings, p. 6, and in the note to his translation, he notices the reading sah-ōdayam astaṁ vā yēna yāti sura-mantri. But he points out that "the comparison of the MSS. leaves little doubt that this reading is a correction, suggested by the remark of Utpala, that, in case the planet should set in one and rise in another nakshatra, only that name must be taken which agrees with the order of the month.—J. F. F.]
(of time), then the so-called setting or rising of Jupiter, *i.e.* his heliacal setting or rising, takes place.

To such a system, as is taught in this verse of Varāhamihira, and by no less than eleven other authorities, as will be seen further on, of determining the commencement of a *sahvatara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle, and of naming it, from Jupiter's heliacal-rising, I would give the name of the **heliacal-rising system**, in order to distinguish it from the other system in which the duration and name of a *sahvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle are determined from the particular sign of the zodiac in which Jupiter stands with reference to his mean longitude, and which latter system, to be mentioned more fully further on, I would name the **mean-sign system**.

Now, the years of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter and of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the mean-sign system, are determined by his mean longitude,¹ which sometimes differs from his apparent longitude by as much as fifteen degrees. But, as the disappearance or reappearance of Jupiter is no imaginary thing, it is evident that it can be calculated, and is to be calculated, only according to Jupiter's actual place, that is, his apparent longitude (or right ascension), and not from his mean longitude. And, consequently, the beginning of each *sahvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the heliacal-rising system, depends on Jupiter's **apparent longitude** at the time of his heliacal rising.

One revolution of Jupiter, in the zodiac, is completed in about twelve years; and, in twelve years, there are twelve revolutions of the sun (that is, of the earth). So that, in this period of about twelve years, there are only eleven conjunctions of the sun and Jupiter. Therefore, in twelve years there are only eleven heliacal risings of Jupiter.² The interval between two risings is generally 399 days. And thus, in each cycle of the heliacal-rising system, **there are only eleven sahvataras in twelve years**; the duration of each being about 400 days, and one *sahvatsara*, determined by the circumstances of the particular cycle, being altogether omitted.

The **names of the lunar months** are used as the names of the *sahvataras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. And the names of these months are given to the *sahvataras*, in accordance with the particular *nakshatra* in which Jupiter's heliacal rising takes place. Of the twenty-seven *nakshatras*, two are assigned to each of nine of the twelve months; and three to each of the remaining three months. The rule for this is given in the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, viii. 2, — varshaṇī Kārttikā-ādnyā-āgniya bhā-dvaye-anuyogini kramaśās tri-bhām tu pañchamam upānyam antyaṁ cha yad varṣam II,—"the years Kārttika and others (that follow) combine two *nakshatras*, from (the *nakshatra*) belonging

¹ The mean longitude of a heavenly body is the longitude of an imaginary body, of the same name, conceived to move uniformly with the mean motion of the real body.

² In his note on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, xiv. 17 (see the Rev. E. Burgess' Translation, p 271), Prof. Whitney says that Jupiter "would set and rise heliacally twelve times in each revolution, and each time about a month later than before." But this is evidently a mistake.
### TABLE VIII.
Regulation of the Names of the Sāṁvatsaras from the Nakshatras.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names and Grouping of the Nakshatras</th>
<th>Names of the Months to be allotted to the Sāṁvatsaras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kṛttikā; Rōhiṇḍ</td>
<td>Kārttika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mriga; Ādṛā</td>
<td>Mārgaśīrsha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punarvasu; Pushya</td>
<td>Pausha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśādhā; Maghā</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrva-Phalgunī; Uttara-Phalgunī; Hasta</td>
<td>Pāhlaguna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitrā; Svātī</td>
<td>Chaitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśākhā; Anurādhā</td>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyēśṭhā; Mūla</td>
<td>Jyēśṭhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrva-Aśādhāḥ; Uttara-Aśādhāḥ; {Abhijit}</td>
<td>Āśādhāḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Abhijit); Śravaṇa; Dhanisṭhā</td>
<td>Śravaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śatāṭārakā; Pūrva-Bhādrapadā; Uttara-Bhādrapadā</td>
<td>Bhādrapada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvati; Āsvinī; Bharāṇ</td>
<td>Āśvina (Āśavyuja)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to Agni (as the starting-point), in regular succession; but that year which is the fifth, (or) the last but one, or the last, has three nakshatras. And, from this and similar authorities, we obtain the results exhibited in Table VIII. above, for the naming of the sāṁvatsaras from the nakshatras.

Now, the twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic circle is called a nakshatra. And 360 degrees, divided by 27, gives 13 degrees, 20 minutes (of arc). Therefore, according to such a division of the circle into equal parts, there is this much distance from the beginning of one nakshatra to the beginning of the next following. And, when the longitude of a heavenly body exceeds nil, but does not exceed 13 degrees, 20 minutes, it is said to be in Āśvinī; and so on. The longitudes of the ending-points of all the nakshatras, on this system of equal spaces, are given in the last column but two

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1 i.e. from Kṛttikā. Agni is the regent of the nakshatra Kṛttikā, which was, at one time, the first in order of the lunar mansions.

2 [Kern’s text is the same. His translation is—“the years Kārttika and following comprehend two lunar mansions beginning with Kṛttikā, and so on, in regular succession, except the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth years, to each of which appertain three asterisms.”—J. F. K.]

3 I should state, however, that there is a little difference of opinion on this point. Utpala, the commentator on the Brihat-Samhitā, has discussed it at length; and arrived at the conclusion which is exhibited in Table VIII. In the ancient and modern works that I have referred to, I find ten authorities,—and such ancient names as those of Vṛiddha-Garga and Kaśyapa among them,—giving the rule regulating the names of the sāṁvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the nakshatras. Out of these ten, Garga (not Vṛiddha-Garga), and Parāṣara, as quoted by Utpala,—but these two only,—hold that the tenth and eleventh months, Śravaṇa and Bhādrapada, have three nakshatras each; viz. Śravaṇa, Dhanisṭhā, and Śatāṭārakā, are assigned to Śravaṇa; and Pūrva-Bhādrapadā, Uttara-Bhādrapadā, and Rēvati, to Bhādrapada; and, consequently, Āśvina has only Āsvinī and Bharāṇ.
in Table IX. on page 165 below. And generally, whenever we meet with a nakṣatra spoken of with reference to the place of a heavenly body, that nakṣatra is to be taken in the above sense.

There is, however, a second method of determining the nakṣatras with reference to the places of heavenly bodies. And, though it has now gone almost out of use, yet it was undoubtedly prevalent to a great extent in early times, and was much made use of, on important religious occasions at least. The chief feature of it is, that the space on the ecliptic allotted to each nakṣatra is not equal. Fifteen nakṣatras are held to be of an equal average space; but six, of one and a half times the average; and six others, of only half the average.

One system of unequal spaces, according to this method, is referred to in some of the verses from the Garga-Samhitā, which are quoted by Upalṭa in his commentary on the Brihat-Samhitā. The commentary, with the passages quoted in it, runs — tathā cha Gargaḥ Uttarās cha tathā-Ādityaṁ Viṣākhaḥ chāiva Rōhiniḥ ētāṁ shat adhyārdha-

bhōgāṇi ṭ Pauṣhā-Āśvi-Krīttikā-Śoma-Tishya-Pitrā-Bhag-āhvayāḥ Sāvitra-Chitr-Ānūradhā Mūlaṁ Tōyaṁ cha Vaishṇavaṁ Dhanishtḥ-Ajākapāch chāiva sama-vargaḥ prakrītitaḥ ētāṁ paṅchadesaṁ sama-bhōgānī ṭ Yāmy-Aindra-Raudra-Vāyavya-Śaṅpa-Vārūpa-saṁjñitaḥ ētāṁ shat adha-bhōgāṇi ṭ, "and so Garga (says), 'the Uttarās (i.e. Uttarā-Phalgunī, Uttarā-Aśāṅḍhā, and Uttarā-Blḥdrapadā), and Āditya (Punrvaṇa), Viṣākhaḥ, and also Rōhiniḥ,' these six (are) of one-and-a-half times (the average) longitude. ' (The nakṣatras) of which the names are Pausha (Ṛevaṭī), Aśvi (Aśvinī), Krīttikā, Śoma (Mrīgā), Tishya (Pushya), Pitrā (Maghā), and Bhaga (Pūrvā-Phalgunī), (and also) Sāvitra (Hasta), Chitrā, Ānūradhā, Mūla, Tōya (Pūrvā-Aśāṅḍhā), and Vaishṇava (Śravaṇa), (and) Dhanishtā, and also Ajākapadā (Pūrvā-Blḥdrapadā); (this class of nakṣatras) is called the equal class;' these fifteen (are) of equal (average) longitude. ' (The nakṣatras) which have the appellations of Yāmya (Bharanī), Aindra (Jyeśthā), Raudra (Ārdra), Vāyavya (Svāti), Śaṅpa (Āśleṣha), and Vārūpa (Śatārakā);' these six (are) of half (the average) longitude." In this system, which I would name the Garga system of unequal spaces, the number of the nakṣatras is twenty-seven, as usual. The average space of a nakṣatra, therefore, is 13 degrees, 20 minutes; a one-and-a-half space is 20 degrees; and a half space is 6 degrees, 40 minutes. The longitudes of the ending-points of all the nakṣatras, according to this system, are given in the last column but one in Table IX. on page 165 below; and the entries of $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{2}$ in the sub-column, mark the spaces which differ from the average space. Nārada and Vasishṭha give this system in the same way as Garga. It seems to have originated in the fact that the distances between the chief stars, called yōga-ldrī, of the different nakṣatras, are not equal. The distance is naturally expected to be 13 degrees, 20 minutes. But, in some cases it is less than 7 degrees; while in others it is more than 20 degrees. However, be the reason of the system what it may, there is no doubt that it was extensively in use in ancient times. And, that either it,
### TABLE IX.

Longitudes of the Ending-points of the Nakshatras.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order of the Nakshatras</th>
<th>System of Equal Spaces</th>
<th>System of Unequal Spaces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deg. min. sec.</td>
<td>Garga System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aśvinī</td>
<td>13° 20' 0&quot;</td>
<td>13° 10' 35&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharanī</td>
<td>26 40 0</td>
<td>20 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṛṣṭikā</td>
<td>40 0 0</td>
<td>33 20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāhuīṣṇa</td>
<td>53 20 0</td>
<td>53 20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrīga</td>
<td>66 40 0</td>
<td>66 40 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādṛkā</td>
<td>80 0 0</td>
<td>73 20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punarvasu</td>
<td>93 20 0</td>
<td>93 20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushya</td>
<td>106 40 0</td>
<td>106 40 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādīśēṣā</td>
<td>120 0 0</td>
<td>113 20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maghā</td>
<td>133 20 0</td>
<td>126 40 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārva-Phalguni</td>
<td>146 40 0</td>
<td>140 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarā-Phalguni</td>
<td>160 0 0</td>
<td>160 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasta</td>
<td>173 20 0</td>
<td>173 20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitrā</td>
<td>186 40 0</td>
<td>186 40 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svātī</td>
<td>200 0 0</td>
<td>193 20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visākhā</td>
<td>213 20 0</td>
<td>213 20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anurādhā</td>
<td>226 40 0</td>
<td>226 40 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyēṣṭhā</td>
<td>240 0 0</td>
<td>233 20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūla</td>
<td>253 20 0</td>
<td>246 40 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārva-Aṣṭādṛgā</td>
<td>266 40 0</td>
<td>260 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarā-Aṣṭādṛgā</td>
<td>280 0 0</td>
<td>280 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Abhijit)</td>
<td>(Balance)</td>
<td>(Balance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śravaṇa</td>
<td>293 20 0</td>
<td>293 20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanishtā</td>
<td>306 40 0</td>
<td>306 40 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śatārākā</td>
<td>320 0 0</td>
<td>313 20 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārva-Bhadrāpadā</td>
<td>333 20 0</td>
<td>326 40 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarā-Bhadrāpadā</td>
<td>346 40 0</td>
<td>346 40 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvaṭi</td>
<td>360 0 0</td>
<td>360 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The very similar system of the Brahma-Siddhānta, explained below, was still in use, at least on important occasions, up to A.D. 862, is proved by the Deogadh inscription of Bhōjadeva of Kanauj; the results for which, calculated by me, have been exhibited by Mr. Fleet at page 107 above, note 1.

Another system of unequal spaces is given in the Brahma-Siddhānta,\(^1\) chapter xiv. verses 45 to 53. In its leading feature, it is the same with Garga's system; but it differs a little from Garga's, in introducing Abhijit, in addition to the twenty-seven nakshatras.\(^2\) The moon's daily mean motion,—13 degrees, 10 minutes, 35 seconds,—is taken as the average space of a nakshatra. And, as the total of the spaces thus allotted to the

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\(^1\) By this name, is to be understood, throughout this paper, the Siddhānta by Brahmagupta

\(^2\) The moon's daily mean motion,—13 degrees, 10 minutes, 35 seconds,—is taken as the average space of a nakshatra.
usual twenty-seven nakṣatras, on a similar arrangement of unequal spaces, amounts to only 355 degrees, 45 minutes, 45 seconds, the remainder,—4 degrees, 14 minutes, 15 seconds,—is allotted to Abhijit, as an additional nakṣatra, placed between Ṣūrār-Aṣādhā and Śravāna. This system, which I would name the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, is best explained by Bhāskarachārya,³ in his Siddhānta-Siromaṇi, Part iii., chapter 2 (Graha-apaṇtaspaṣṭādhikāra), verses 71 to 74. His text, and his own commentary on it, are as follows,— stūlām kriṭaṁ bhānayanaṁ yad ēṣṭa jyotirvidāṁ saṁvyahāraḥ-hētōḥ 71 II Saṁkṣaraṁ pravakṣhyaṁ tha mūnaiṇi-paṇṭaṁ vivāha-yātṛ-ādiphalaprasiddhyai adhyāyadha-bhoṅgai sa ṣa ṣa ṭa ṭa ābhaḥ prāchur Viṣākha-Aditibha-dhūrvarāni 72 II Shād artha-bhoṅgaṁ cha Bhūgī-Rudra-Vāṭ-Āntak-Enḍr-Āḍhīpa-Varuṇāni śeśāṇy-ataṁ paṁchadāsa-aika-bhoṅgaṁ-uktō bha-bhoṅgaṁ saṅsa-madhya-bhuktiṁ 73 II Sarv-arksha-bhoṅ-ণi-tāl-i Viṣvā-gratapāya śyād Abhijījīd-bha-bhoṅgaṁ 74 II Commentary.—Iha yān nakṣatratānayanaṁ kriṇaṁ tat stūlaṁ loka-vyayāhār-āttārānāṁ kriṇaṁ II Atha Puḷiśa-Vasīṣththa-Garg-Ādibhir yad vivāha-yātṛ-ddau saṁvyak-phalasiddhyarthāṁ kathitaṁ tat sāṁkṣaṁ iḍaṁ pravakṣhyey II Tatra sa ṣa ṭa adhyāyadha-bhoṅgaṁ Viṣākha Punarvasu Rōhīṇy-Uttarā-trayaṁ II atha sa ṣa ṭa adhā-bhoṅgaṁ Āḍhīś-Aṛdrā śvāt Bhāranī Jyēṣṭha Śatābhishakā bhaṁ bhāṁ śeṣaṁ paṁchadāsa-aika-bhoṅgaṁ II Bhūga-pramaṇaṁ tu saṁsa-madhyā-bhuktiṁ 790 351 adhyāyadha-bhoṅgaṁ 1185 524 II artha-bhoṅgaṁ 395 173 II Sarv-arksha-bhoṅgai uṇītāṇāṁ chakra-kalāṇāṁ yach chhēśāṁ sō-Bhūjīj-bhoṅgaṁ 254 15 II Translation.—"This bringing out of nakṣatras (i.e. the method of finding nakṣatras), with their gaḥfis and palas) which has been made (in the preceding verses), (is) rough, (and is only) for the practical purposes of astrologers. Now I will explain the accurate (method) taught by [Puḷiśa, Vasīṣththa, Garga, and other] sages, for the purpose of securing [good] results in the case of a marriage, a journey, &c. On this point, those who are versed in that (branch of the science) say, that six (nakṣatras) have (each) a space which is one-and-a-half (times of the average space); (viz.) Viṣākha, Aditibha (Punarvasu), and the dhūrvas (Rōhīṇ, Uttarā-Phalgun, Uttarā-Aṣādhā, and Uttarā-Bhā-drapadā). And six have a half space (each); (viz.) those the lords of which are Bhūgīn, Rudra, Vātā, Antaka, and Indra, and Varuṇa [Āḍhīś, Aṛdrā, śvāt, Bhāranī, Jyēṣṭha (and) Śatābhishaj (Śatārākā)]. The remaining fifteen (nakṣatras) have one space (each). The (average) space of a nakṣatra is declared to be the (daily) mean motion of the moon [790° 35" (=13° 10' 35")]. [A one-and-a-half space (is) 1185° 52½" (=19° 45' 52½")]. A half space (is) 395° 17½" (=6° 35' 17½")]. The space of the nakṣatra Abhijījī, (which comes) next after Viṣvā (Uttarā-Aṣādhā), is [the remainder, 254° 15" (=4° 14' 15")], of the minutes of the whole circle, diminished by the spaces of all the (other) nakṣatras." The longitudes of the ending-points of all the nakṣatras according to this system, are given in the last column of Table IX., on page 165 above. And, as before,

³The system explained by Bhāskarachārya, now given, is just the same as that in the Brahma-Siddhānta. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to give the verses from the Siddhānta itself.
### TABLE X.

**Details of two Twelve-Year Cycles of Jupiter.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śaka-Saṃvatsāra, expired</th>
<th>English Date</th>
<th>Longitude of Jupiter</th>
<th>Nakshatra.</th>
<th>Month and Name of the Svarāṣṭara.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1780</td>
<td>Adhika-Jyēṣṭha śukla 10</td>
<td>7th June, 1856</td>
<td>41° 47'</td>
<td>Rōhiṇī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td>Āśādaṇa śukla 14</td>
<td>13th July, 1859</td>
<td>77° 2</td>
<td>Puṇarvasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1782</td>
<td>Śrāvaṇa krishṇa 13</td>
<td>15th August, 1860</td>
<td>110° 20</td>
<td>Āśādrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>Bhadrapāda śukla 13</td>
<td>16th September, 1861</td>
<td>141° 58</td>
<td>Uttarā-Pālahuṇī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Āśvina krishṇa 9</td>
<td>17th October, 1862</td>
<td>171° 55</td>
<td>Chittā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td>Kārttika śukla 6</td>
<td>16th November, 1863</td>
<td>201° 32</td>
<td>Viśākha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>Mārgaśīrśa krishṇa 3</td>
<td>16th December, 1864</td>
<td>232° 3</td>
<td>Māla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Māgha śukla 2</td>
<td>18th January, 1866</td>
<td>263° 48</td>
<td>Uttarā-Aṣāḍhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1788</td>
<td>Māgha krishṇa 4</td>
<td>22nd February, 1867</td>
<td>298° 0</td>
<td>Dhanishtā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Chaītra śukla 5</td>
<td>20th March, 1868</td>
<td>334° 3</td>
<td>Uttarā-Bhadrapāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>Adhika-Vaiśākha krishṇa 10</td>
<td>6th May, 1869</td>
<td>10° 27</td>
<td>Asvina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792</td>
<td>Jyēṣṭha śukla 14</td>
<td>12th June, 1870</td>
<td>46° 39</td>
<td>Rōhiṇī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>Śrāvaṇa śukla 15</td>
<td>18th July, 1871</td>
<td>81° 47</td>
<td>Puṇarvasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>Śrāvaṇa krishṇa 1</td>
<td>19th August, 1872</td>
<td>114° 45</td>
<td>Maγhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>Bhadrapāda krishṇa 14</td>
<td>20th September, 1873</td>
<td>145° 53</td>
<td>Uttarā-Pālahuṇī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>Āśvina śukla 11</td>
<td>21st October, 1874</td>
<td>175° 53</td>
<td>Chittā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Kārttika krishṇa 8</td>
<td>20th November, 1875</td>
<td>205° 36</td>
<td>Viśākha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>Pausha śukla 1</td>
<td>10th December, 1876</td>
<td>235° 21</td>
<td>Māla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Pausha śukla 15</td>
<td>18th January, 1878</td>
<td>267° 22</td>
<td>Uttarā-Aṣāḍhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Phālguṇa śukla 6</td>
<td>27th February, 1879</td>
<td>302° 46</td>
<td>Dhanishtā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>Phālguṇa krishṇa 10</td>
<td>4th April, 1880</td>
<td>339° 0</td>
<td>Uttarā-Bhadrapāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Vaiśākha śukla 12</td>
<td>11th May, 1881</td>
<td>35° 39</td>
<td>Bhāraṇī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The entries of ½ and 1½ in the previous sub-column, mark the spaces which differ from the average space.

Now, the additional nakshatra Abhijit, introduced in this system, is not taken into account among the nakṣatras from which the names of the months are derived. The question, therefore, occurs,—What name is to be given to the saṃvatsara, when Jupiter rises in Abhijit? It can be solved thus. Abhijit is considered to be composed of the last quarter of Uttarā-Aṣāḍhā, and the first fifteenth part of Śrāvaṇa. This is stated in the following verse of Vasishtha, as quoted in the commentary, called Pīṭhādāhārā, on the Muhūrtā-Chintāmanī;— Abhijit-bha-bhokam ētad Viśvēdev-Antyapādam akhilam tat ādyā-chatastrō nādyā Haribhasya,—"this (is) the longitude of Abhijit; the whole last quarter of Viśvēdeva (Uttarā-Aṣāḍhā), (and) the first four āhaṭīs (i.e. the fifteenth part) of Haribha (Śrāvaṇa)." And other later authorities give the same rule. A quarter of a nakṣatra is 3 degrees, 20 minutes; and a fifteenth part is 53 minutes, 20 seconds; and the sum of the two amounts to 4 degrees, 13 minutes, 20 seconds. In other words, Abhijit consists of nineteen parts; of which, the first fifteen come from, and properly belong to, Uttarā-Aṣāḍhā; and the last four come from, and properly belong to, Śrāvaṇa. And the name of the saṃvatsara is to be determined as Aṣāḍhā or Śrāvaṇa, according to the particular part of Abhijit in which Jupiter rises.

As a practical illustration of the application of the rules, I give in Table X. above, a list, in which the dates of the heliacal risings of Jupiter are shown for twenty-

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1 See the verse varshādī Kārttik-delni, &c., at page 162 above.
four years, from Śaka-Saṁvat 1780 to 1803 (expired); with Jupiter’s apparent longitudes at the time, and his nakshatras determined from those longitudes. The dates of the risings of Jupiter are taken from ordinary Pañcāṅgās in my possession, printed in different Presses at various places. The lunar months in which the risings took place, are all given by the Amānta southern reckoning. The longitude of Jupiter at each rising, is calculated from his longitude, given in the Pañcāṅgās, at some stated interval; for instance, of seven or fifteen days. In naming the nakshatras, the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, in the last column of Table IX. on page 165 above, is the one that has been resorted to. In the last column, the months, that is, the names of the saṁvatsaras which then began, are given. It will be seen, that Mārgaśīrṣha is omitted in each of these two cycles. Other saṁvatsaras also may be omitted, in the same way, according to the circumstances of the particular cycle.

From this Table X. it will be seen that, from one rising of Jupiter to another, the motion of the planet amounts to from 30 to 36 degrees. By the systems of unequal spaces, some months, and the saṁvatsaras which are named from them, have the average space of one and a half nakshatras; that is, about 20 degrees only; they are Mārgaśīrṣha, Māgha, Chaitra, and Jyēṣṭha; and these are the saṁvatsaras that are most apt to be omitted. For example, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1780 expired, when Jupiter rose, he was in Rōhiṅ. The following rising took place in Puravasau; that is, from the first rising, he passed entirely through Mriga and Āḍrā, before the next rising occurred. And, therefore, Mārgaśīrṣha was omitted. Again, by these two systems, Śrāvaṇa contains the average space of two nakshatras; that is, about 26 degrees, 40 minutes; and, therefore, it also is liable to be omitted. Kārttika, Pausha, Vaiśākhā, Asāḍha, and Āśvina, contain the average space of two and a half nakshatras each; that is, about 33 degrees; and will but rarely be omitted. And Phālguna and Bhādrapada, containing not less than 40 degrees each, will never be omitted. So also, by the system of equal spaces, the nine months that contain two nakshatras each (excluding Abhijit), are sometimes likely to be omitted. But the remaining three, viz. Phālguna, Bhādrapada, and Āśvina, containing three nakshatras each, will never be omitted.

On the other hand, sometimes it is possible that a saṁvatsara may be repeated. By either system of unequal spaces, this may happen in respect of Kārttika, Pausha, Phālguna, Vaiśākhā, Āśāḍha, Bhādrapada, and Āśvina; but, by the system of equal spaces, only in respect of Phālguna, Bhādrapada, and Āśvina. And, whenever a saṁvatsara is repeated, then two saṁvatsaras will be omitted in the same cycle; one, under ordinary circumstances; and one, on account of the repetition.

1 Out of these years, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1789 expired, and again in 1802 expired, no heliacal rising took place.
2 See page 148 above, note 1.
In the preceding remarks, my object has been to explain concisely the system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter that is based on his heliacal risings; and the three methods for determining the nakshatra with which the heliacal rising takes place. I have now to make a few observations of a more general kind; and to introduce the eleven other authorities of which I have spoken at page 162 above. Before doing so, however, I must refer more fully to another system, which also has been incidentally mentioned, of naming the samvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to Jupiter's passage from one sign of the zodiac into another, with reference to his mean longitude.

The rule for that which I have named the mean-sign system, is thus given by Aryabhata in his Arya-Siddhanta or Aryabhatiya, Kalakriyapada, verse 4,—Guru-bhagana rasi-gunadas tv-Asvayuj-adya Guror abdah,—"the revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by the signs (twelve), (are) the years of Jupiter, the first of which is Asvayuja." And it is given, in very similar words, by Brahmagupta, in his Brahma-Siddhanta, adhyaya xii. verse 42,—Guru-varshany-Asvayujad dvadasa-gunita Guror bhaganah. In this rule, the revolutions (bhagana) are meant to be taken from the beginning of the Kalpa, or of a Mahayuga. But, for practical purposes, we need not go back so far. One Twelve-Year Cycle is completed in one revolution. And, therefore, we can determine the samvatsara for a given year, or for any given date in it, by taking Jupiter's signs, including the current sign, of the current revolution, and counting from Asvayuja. In this system, the signs are intended to be taken, and in practice are taken, according to Jupiter's mean longitude. Now, suppose that on a certain day Jupiter's mean longitude is 9 signs and 12 degrees; i.e. that he is in the tenth sign. Then, counting from Asvayuja, we have Ashadha, as the current samvatsara for the given day.1

The names of the samvatsaras of the Sixty-Year Cycle also,—according to that which is usually called the northern system, but which is, in reality, the only truly astrono-

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1 In his treatment of the Twelve-Year Cycle (Indian Eras, p. 26 ff.), Gen. Sir A. Cunningham opens the subject by quoting Kern's translation (see page 161 above, note 1) of the same verse in the Brihat-Samhita which I use for the same purpose. But, for the rest, he altogether ignores the force of the reference to Jupiter's rising, and treats the subject as if the heliacal-rising system, described by me above, did not exist at all. What he has deduced from the verse, is only the mean-sign system, which the verse does not really refer to at all; and in respect of which he is wrong in making the samvatsara of both the Twelve-Year and the Sixty-Year Cycle, begin and end with the luni-solar years. The rules that he applies give, at the best, only the samvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, and of the Sixty-Year Cycle, that are current at the commencement of a given solar year; they do not provide for the essential point in both the cycles, viz. the determination of the exact day on which a given samvatsara of either cycle commences.—I have not had an opportunity of seeing the writings of Davis and Warren on this subject. But, with all due deference, I may safely say that the Twelve-Year Cycle by the heliacal-rising system, has hitherto remained quite unknown to European scholars. I would take this opportunity of remarking that I can find no authority for the introduction, in Kern's translation, of the bracketed words "(during which Jupiter completes a twelfth part of his revolution)." Jupiter completes a twelfth part (rasti) of his revolution in about three hundred and sixty-one days; while the interval between two of his heliacal risings is about four hundred days.
mical system of it, and was current, as is shewn by many epigraphical quotations of it, in Southern India also,-are determined by Jupiter's mean place. And the rule is thus given in the Sārja-Siddhānta, i. 55,—dvādaśa-ghnā Gurūr yāta-bhagaḍa vartamānakaṁ l rāśibhiḥ sahāth śuddhāḥ shashtyā syur Vijayā-dayāḥ II,—" the expired revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by twelve, (then) increased by the current signs (of the current revolution), (and then) divided by sixty, are (i.e. the remainder is) (the saṁvatsaras counted from) Vijaya as the first." In fact, the Sixty-Year Cycle, and the Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, are quite identical with regard to the day of the commencement of each saṁvatsara; and, consequently, with regard also to its duration, which, according to Jupiter's mean motion as given in the Sārja-Siddhānta, is 361 days, 1 ghaṭi, 36 ṭālas. The Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, therefore, with regard to its other details, may be most properly described with the Sixty-Year Cycle, which I shall treat of fully on a separate occasion. And I have introduced the present brief mention of it, only because references to it are unavoidable in the following observations.

The eleven authorities for the heliacal-rising system, in addition to the Brihat-Saṁhitā, of which I have spoken, are as follows;—(1) Parāsara says—Krittikā-Roḥinīḥ-udītē kshuḥ-chhastr-agni-triṣṭi-vyādhi-prābalyaṁ .... Chitrā-Svātyōr udītē nṛpā-sasya-varśa-kshēm-ārūgya-karaḥ.—(2) Garga says—pravās-anātē saḥ-arḵheṇa hy-udītō yuga-paḥ charēt I tasmāt kālād riksha-pārtvō Gurūr abdaḥ pravartatē II.—(3) Kaśyapa says—saṁvatsara-yugē cha-iva shashty-abdē-śnītrvasasas suṭāḥ I yan-nakshatr-udayaṁ kuryāt tat-saṁjñāṁ vatsaraṁ viduḥ II.—(4) Rishiputra says—yasmīn tisṭhathī nakshatrē saha yena pravardhate I saṁvatsaras sa vijñeyas tan-nakshatr-ābhidhānakaḥ II.—(5) Also, in the following, Rishiputra quotes Vaisisṭha and Ṇtri, in addition to Parāsara, who is separately referred to above,—Tishy-ādika-yugam prāhur Vaisisṭh-Ati-Parāsaraḥ I Bṛhaspatēś tu Saumy-āntāṁ sadā dvādaśa-vārśhikam II Udēti yasmīn māśe tu pravās-ōpagato-śnītrīḥ I tasmāt saṁvatsaraḥ.—(6) In the Saṁsa-Śaṁhitā, a short work by Varāhāmihira, we have—Gurūr aṣṭavayaḥ nakshatre yasmin tat-saṁjñātīhi varśhanī.—(7) Bṛhaspati, as quoted in the Kirāṭa-li, a commentary by Dādabhāl on the Sārja-Siddhānta, says—yadhā Gurū-ādayo bhāṇor Gurūr abdas tad-āditaḥ.—(8) In the Nāraṇa-Śaṁhitā, Guruchārādhyāya, we have—yad-dhiṣṇy-ābhuyudītō Jivas tannakshatr-āvra-vaṭsaraḥ.—(9) In the Muhūrta-Tattva, Guruchāra, verse 7, we have—dvṛ-riṃkshō-Grēh Kārttikā try-rīkṣa ishu-ravi-Śīvō-buḍhō sa yēn-ōdiṭé-Éyāḥ.—(10) In the Jyōtishadarpaṇa, adhyāya v., we have—yasmīn abhyudītō Jivas tan-

1 From this, it appears that the saṁvatsaras of the Sixty-Year Cycle also, were originally determined by the heliacal risings of the planet. And corroboration of this is afforded by a verse of Varāhāmihira, quoted further on. The above verse of Kaśyapa, evidently applies to the Twelve-Year Cycle also.

* I have taken this, and the preceding five quotations, from Ṛtra's commentary on the Brihat-Saṁhitā.
nakshatrasya vatsaraḥ.—It is unnecessary to translate these ten quotations; as the general purport of all of them is the same; viz. that “a sāṃvatsara is to be named after that nakshatra in which Jupiter attains his rising.”—(11) In the remaining authority, the Sūrya-Siddhānta, the rule appears to be a little different from that of all the other authorities; though the general features are the same. And, for this reason, though the work is one of the earliest, I have quoted it last. The rule is given in the verse—Vaiśākha-ādīshu krishṇe cha yōgāḥ pañchadvāsṛ tathā i Kārttikāśadni varshāṇi Gurūr athādayāt tathā iti,—“and the years Kārttika and others (that follow) (are to be named) from the rising, after setting, of Jupiter, according to the occurrence (of Kṛttikā and other nakshatras).” on the fifteenth tithi in the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha and other (months that follow).” The application of this rule seems to be thus:—The years are to be named, according to Kṛttikā and other nakshatras,—evidently those in which the sun and the moon stand,—occur on the amāvāsyād of Vaiśākha and others, immediately preceding or following the day on which Jupiter rises; that is, on whatever day Jupiter may rise, the nakshatra on either the preceding, or the following, amāvāsyād, gives the name to the sāṃvatsara. This rule seems to have been alluded to, though not in the name of the Sūrya-Siddhānta, by Utpala; but it is rejected by him. It may perhaps have been occasionally in use; but it certainly does not apply to the Gupta records.

Now, all these quotations distinctly refer, in some form or another, to the rising of Jupiter; which it is impossible to understand as meaning anything but its heliocentric rising. And, if the rising referred to is the heliocentric rising, then no astronomer can deny that, in the period of about twelve solar years, there are only eleven conjunctions of Jupiter

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1 I should remark that Rāganātha, one of the best commentators on the Sūrya-Siddhānta, explains this verse with the understanding, into which he seems to have been led by Utpala’s comments on the Brīhat-Samhitā, viii. 1, that as-ādayāt means “from the setting or rising.” He adds, however,—iddhātm udaya-varṣha-svayamahārō gajakair gajyatē—“at the present time, the practice of (saming) the year by the rising, is taken into account by astronomers.” For the sake of consistency, it is justifiable to translate the expression as-ādayāt as I have translated it above; and the use of the compounded base in the singular, supports that translation. I also find that Dālākhitā, in his commentary on the Sūrya-Siddhānta, explains it in the same way; his words being—tathāstād udaya-kālād Gurūs tad-yuktā-nakshatra-sajñāṇo Gurūr uddō jāhīray,—“so the year of Jupiter is to be known as having the appellation of that nakshatra which he is joined at the time of (his) rising after setting.”[There can be no doubt that as-ādayāt is used here in the sense of “from the rising after setting,” compare such compounds as supt-āthkita, ‘having arisen from sleep,’ lit. ‘having slept and then having risen.’—J. F. F.]

2 These words, in connection with yōgāḥ, have to be supplied from the preceding verse, in which the result exhibited in Table VIII. page 163 above, is given.

3 Which of the two, cannot be determined from the context; and I can find no commentator who has explained the point properly. I myself think that the following amāvāsyād is intended. But seems that Utpala, in his allusion to this rule, takes the preceding amāvāsyād.
and the sun, and consequently eleven heliacal risings of the planet. And, this fact being established, the interval of about four hundred days between two successive risings,—the same period, for the duration of each samvatsara,—the omission of one samvatsara in each cycle of twelve years,—and all the other points described by me,—follow of necessity.

It will, doubtless, have been noticed that I have not been able to give any quotations from the first Āryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476) or Brahmagupta (born A.D. 598), in support of the heliacal-rising system. And it might be sought to base some argument against its existence, on the grounds that these two early authorities, who moreover may be said to be the originators of two of the three schools of astronomers in India, are silent about it, though they do give the mean-sign system. But the facts only prove the early existence and use of the mean-sign system; which I do not seek to deny. They do not prove, either that the heliacal-rising system did not exist; or that, having existed, it had gone out of use in their time. To take another instance, Āryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta give no rule for finding the samvatsaras of the Sixty-Year Cycle; but, to say that this cycle was not known to either of them, would hardly be sensible. The mean-sign system for the Twelve-Year Cycle is undoubtedly early. But the heliacal-rising system is earlier still. Among the authorities quoted above, the Śrīva-Siddhānta is as early a work as the Āryabhaṭīya, if not earlier. And, that Pārāśara, Garga, and Kaśyapa, are earlier than Āryabhaṭa, cannot be denied. Utpala quotes a verse of Garga, which, with some proposed emendations, I give as it stands in my manuscript copy,—ēvam Āśvyuṣyam chaiva Chaitraṁ chaiva Bṛhaspatib śa samvatsarāḥ (?ram) nāma (?ṣa)yatē saptaśatē (? saatasy-abda)-satḗ-dhikē II.2 This verse seems to refer to the mean-sign system; though I can say nothing definitely about it, without seeing the context; of which I have not the opportunity at present. But, supposing that it does refer to the mean-sign system, still it is not unfavourable to the heliacal-rising system; for the same Utpala also quotes a verse of the same Garga, given at page 170 above, in which Garga says—"when Jupiter, after dwelling together (with the sun)," rises and walks along with a nakṣatra, then commences the year of Jupiter, of which the first part (of the name) is the (name of that) nakṣatra."

Not only that the heliacal-rising system is very early, but that it alone is the original system of the Twelve-Year Cycle, is self-evident. The heliacal rising of Jupiter is a natural phenomenon. No scientific apparatus is needed for the observation of it; nor are

1 To say that the Śrīva-Siddhānta is a work of Varāhamihira, is simply a mistake; I cannot enter into this point at present; but would refer any who hold that view, to Varāhamihira's Pañcha-Siddhāntikā, and to Kern's Preface to his edition of the Brihat-Samhītā.

2 [Gen. Cunningham also has quoted this verse (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 114); and in such a way, his authority giving niyati, where Mr. Sh. B. Dikshīt's MS. gives nāmayati, as to shew that, in the second half of it, we certainly have to read nāmayati saptaś-abda-satḗ.—F. F.]

3 pradānāt may be translated by "after having completed his journey;" i.e. having completed a revolution of some kind or another.
any calculations required. But such is not the case with the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac into another. No kind of apparatus can determine Jupiter’s mean longitude. It is to be found only by calculations, the rules for which must have been established after observations carried on during a very long time; to lay down the means of determining Jupiter’s mean yearly or daily motion, is not a thing that can be accomplished in a few years. It seems, therefore, quite evident that the system of naming the saṃvatsaras after the nakṣatras in which Jupiter rises, i.e. the heliacal-rising system, is the only original one.

So much, as regards the antiquity of the heliacal-rising system. Let us now look into its somewhat later use. Varāhamihira is later than Aryabhata. And his verse with which I have opened my account of the Twelve-Year Cycle, undoubtedly refers to this system. So, also, another of his verses, in the Brihat-Samhitā, viii. 27, points to the same thing. It runs—adyaṁ Dhanishṭhāṁ samabhāprapannōḥ Māghe yad-āyaty-udayaṁ Surṣyāyaḥ

1 The phenomenon, moreover, is one to which much attention has always been paid in India. Even in the present day, almost all the Hindu Pañchāṅga give the dates of the heliacal rising and setting of Jupiter. This is for religious purposes; since, when Jupiter is invisible, some duties and ceremonies, such as investiture with the sacred thread, marriage, pilgrimages, &c., are not to be performed; and the dates in question are necessary, in order to know when he is visible, and when he ceases to be so. In Pañchāṅgaḥ printed in Mahārāṣṭra, the custom of naming the saṃvatsaras after the months is not in use; in fact, the Twelve-Year Cycle is now almost unknown to the people at large of the Dekkan. But in a Pañchāṅga prepared by Jvalāpati Siddhānti, and printed in the Jñānasūryādaya Press at Madras, I find that the author, in the saṃvatsara-phrase, after giving the two saṃvatsaras of the Sixty-Year Cycle, according to the northern and the southern reckoning, goes on to say—sarvatra Gur-ādaya-vaisat (Chaitra)-abdā grāhyah, “all over (India) a (certain) year (i.e. such saṃvatsaras as Chaitra, &c.), which depends on the rising of Jupiter, is to be taken;” from which it is evident that such some such rising-system, as that described above, is followed in this Pañchāṅga from Madras. Also, in the Chanda-Pañchāṅga, prepared for the meridian of Jōdhpur in Māraṇḍ, and used there and by Māraṇḍa in other parts of India, the saṃvatsaras are named as Chaitra-Varsha, Vaiśākha-Varsha, &c.; the system adopted in that Pañchāṅga, however, for naming the saṃvatsara, is the mean-sign system.

The reading that I give, is from my manuscript copy. But, 7 and 8 being very liable to confusion, the reading adyaṁ Dhanishṭhāṁ samabhāprapannōḥ, which is given in some printed copies, may also be of some authority. By calculation, however, I find that Jupiter does not always stand just at the beginning of Dhanishṭhā, at the time of his rising at the commencement of the Prabhava saṃvatsara. And I think, therefore, that the reading which I give, is the author’s original reading. I take adyaṁ to qualify the word nakṣatram understood. And Varāhamihira calls the nakṣatra in question “the first,” because his opinion was, I think, that Dhanishṭhā was the first nakṣatra of the Sixty-Year Cycle, as it was of the Five-Year Cycle of the Vedāṅga-Jyotisha [see its verse—sarvādramīḍā dhāvṛtā yadd sahaṁ sa-Vāsavaḥ syāt tād-dāli-yugam Māgheḥ, “when the moon and the sun, being in (the nakṣatra) Vāsava (Dhanishṭhā), go together in the heavens, then there is the beginning of the Yuga (and of the month) Māgha’], which two he intends to reconcile.—[Kern would seem to have known only the reading adyaṁ Dhanishṭhā-amiṁ. His translation (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 49 f.), which follows also the reading of pravartataḥ for praparδat, is—“when Jupiter, on reaching the first quarter of Dhanishṭhā, rises in the lunar month of Māghe, then begins the first year of the cycle of sixty, named Prabhava, a year salutary to all beings.” And he adds the
shashty-abda-pūrvaḥ Prabhavah sa namā prapadyate bhūta-hitās tad-ābdabh II.—
"when Jupiter, having come to the first (nakṣatra) Dhanishtā, attains (his) rising in
(the month) Māgha, then commences that year, beneficial to beings, which is named
Prabhava, the first of the sixty years." Now, in eighteen centuries from the beginning
of the Śaka era, the Prabhava saṁvatsara has occurred thirty times. And, by approxi-
mate calculations, I find that Varāhiṇiḥira’s assertion, though not quite correct, is
nearly so by the heliacal-rising system. Out of the thirty occasions, Jupiter rose, accord-
ing to the Āṃḍīṭa southern arrangement of the fortnights,1 twenty-six times in the month
of Māgha; three times early in Phālguna; and once in Pausha, nearly at the end of
it. And, on many occasions he rose in the Dhanishtā nakṣatra; and on some, in
Śrāvaṇa. The assertion, however, is not correct for the mean-sign system. According
to that system, at the commencement of the Prabhava saṁvatsara, which always begins
when Jupiter, by his mean longitude, enters Kumbha or Aquarius, he evidently always
stands in the middle of Dhanishtā.2 But the Prabhava saṁvatsara may begin, and
as a matter of fact I find by calculation that it has begun, in any of the twelve months;
as will be shown when I treat of the Sixty-Year Cycle. It is evident, therefore, that the
verse in question supports the heliacal-rising system. Moreover, the word udaya itself is
used in it. It might be argued that Varāhamihira’s rule (Brihat-Saṁhitā, viii. 22;
ēk-aikam abdēshu nav-āhateśhu, &c.) for finding the nakṣatra of Jupiter, has reference
to his mean longitude; and, consequently, that it gives the mean-sign system. But it
is absurd to suppose that so learned an astronomer as he, stating the rule that a saṁvatsara
is to be named from the nakṣatra in which Jupiter rises, did not know that the nak-
ṣatra, at the time of his rising, can be determined only from his apparent longitude.
The reason why he gives a rule for finding the mean longitude only, is, in my opinion,
this:—Anyone conversant with Hindu mathematical astronomy, knows how tedious a
task it is to find the mean longitude of a planet from the ahārgaṇa, or number of elapsed
days, counted from the beginning of the Kalpa or of a Yuga. But, when once it has been
found, it is much less tedious to calculate, from it, the apparent longitude by the general
rules. So, Varāhamihira, I think, gives a simple rule for finding the mean longitude of
Jupiter on a given day, and leaves to the astronomer the calculation of the apparent lon-
gitude. Or, it may also be said, as the difference between the mean and the apparent
longitudes of Jupiter, on the day of his heliacal-rising, is not very much,—sometimes about
five degrees, and sometimes nearly nil, as I have found from several calculations,—
Varāhamihira gives the simple rule for rough practical purposes only; leaving it to the

note—1 cf. Davis, Asutic Researches, Vol. III. p. 220. The word anśia also means ‘degree,’ but is
here rendered by ‘quarter,’ according to Utpala, who explains it by pddha.”—J. F. F.

1 See page 148 above, note 1.

2 The sign Kumbha commences in the middle of Dhanishtā, and ends at the end of the third
quarter of Pūrva-Bhādrapadā.
astronomer to make more detailed calculations, when absolute accuracy is required. But, even supposing that the said verse of Varahamihira implies the mean-sign system, it will only prove that he gives both systems.

Let us now turn to the more modern period. Of the authorities quoted above in support of the heliacal-rising system, the Muhûrta-Tattva and the Jyôtishadarpana are comparatively modern. The author of the first is the father of the well-known Gaṅgâ Daivajña, the author of the Grahadghava; and, therefore, its date is about Śaka-Saṅvat 1420 expired (A.D. 1498-99); and it was written at Nandgaum on the western coast, about forty-five miles south of Bombay. The date of the second, as I have determined from certain data in it, is Śaka-Saṅvat 1479 expired (A.D. 1557-58); and it was written at Koṇḍapalli, somewhere in the Koṇṭakata country. And, in addition to these two, a third reference to the heliacal-rising system has been given above, at page 171 note 1, from Raṅganatha's commentary on the Śârya-Siddhânta. The date of this commentary is Śaka-Saṅvat 1525 expired (A.D. 1603-1604); and it was written at Benares. These details suffice to show that the heliacal-rising system is referred to in works of a modern period, and belonging to different parts of the country.

It is true that the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle is rare. This is shown by the fact that some astronomical works do not refer to it, in either system, though it would not have been beyond their sphere to do so; and by the fact that, out of many hundreds of inscriptions, only seven have been found, mentioning the saṁvatsaras of it. But, if the use of the heliacal-rising system is rare, the use of the mean-sign system is still more so. The saṁvatsaras mentioned in the four records of the Early Gupta period, which give full details for calculation, are proved to belong to the heliacal-rising system. And, while I have been able to quote no less than eleven authorities referring to that system, a distinct reference to the mean-sign system is to be found in only two; viz. Arjubhata and Brahmagupta, as quoted above. If to these we add an interpolated verse in the Siddhânta-Sirîmâni, and also hold that Garga and Varahamihira give the system, even then the number comes to only five. And, in about eight of such works as would be expected to refer to the system, of a date later than A.D. 1478, which I have examined, I find a reference to it in none at all.

Looking to the present time, if the mean-sign system is used in one part of the country, the heliacal-rising system is used in another; while, in others, both systems are almost, if not quite, unknown. The mean-sign system is doubtless the more convenient.

1 viz. the five records of the Mahârâjas Hastin and Sanikshâhâ; and the two grants of the Kadamba chieftain Mrigâsavarma, referred to at page 106 above, note 1.
2 A verse containing a reference to the system, is given, as belonging to Śrîpati, in Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri's edition of the Siddhânta-Sirîmâni, p. 13, note; but I do not find it in the Rainamâlâ of Śrîpati.
3 See page 173 above, note 1.
of the two; since the duration of the *samvatsara*, roughly three hundred and sixty-one days, approaches so near to that of the solar year; and the omission of a *samvatsara* occurs only once in about eighty-five years. And this point of convenience seems to be the reason for which the system was invented by the astronomers. But, as both the systems are given in astronomical works, both of them must certainly have been actually used. And such will always be the case, as long as those works exist.
APPENDIX IV.  

The Chronology of the Early Rulers of Népál.

The inscriptions which give the matter for this Appendix all belong to Khátmándú and its vicinity, and consist of fifteen collected by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and published by him and Dr. Bühler in the Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.; and of four obtained by Mr. Bendall, of which the most important one was published originally in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and has been reprinted in his Journey in Népál and Northern India, p. 72 ff. and Plate viii., with the first publication of the other three, p. 74 ff. and Plates ix. x. and xi.

The historical results of the former set were discussed at length by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his paper entitled "Some Considerations on the History of Népál," edited by Dr. Bühler, and published in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 411 ff. His results, however, are unfortunately vitiating by a radical error; viz. the reference of one series of the dates to the Vikrama era, instead of to the Gupta era nearly four hundred years later. This was due, partly to the misinterpretation of an important verse in the inscription of Jayadéva II. of Harsha-Saṁvat 153; and partly to the want of the key-note supplied by Mr. Bendall's inscription of Gupta-Saṁvat 316. And it was, of course, the publication of this last inscription that led me to look carefully into the whole matter, and at length to hit upon the fundamental mistake, without a recognition of which it might still be argued that Mr. Bendall's date of 316, for Śivadéva I. and Aṁšuvarman, stands alone in belonging to the Gupta era, and that, in spite of it, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was right in referring the other larger dates to the Vikrama era.

Taking the inscriptions in question in regular chronological order, the dates and other important points are as follows:—

A.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 1; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and Journey in Népál, p. 72 ff. and Plate viii.—The charter recorded is issued from the house or palace called Mānagriha (line 1). The inscription is one of the Bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārāja, the illustrious Śivadéva I. (l. 2 f.), the banner or glory of the Lichchhāvikula.1 And it records a grant made by him on the advice, or at the request,2 of the Mahāsdāmanta Aṁśuvarman (l. 6 f.). The Dittaka is the Svāmin Bhogavarman (l. 15).3 The date

1 śrī.
2 Lichchhāvikula-kēṭu, line 2.
3 Mahāsdāmanta-Āṁśuvarmanā viṇāśāpyāta mayā; line 6-7.
4 This person would seem to be Aṁśuvarman's sister's son, who is mentioned in inscription E. below.—He must not be confused with Śivadéva II.'s father-in-law, the Maukhaṛi Bhogavarman, who is mentioned in inscription R. below, and was at least a full generation later.—See page 180 below, note 3, on another point.

\[y\]
(l. 15), in numerical symbols here and throughout the series, is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 316,
Jyaisthā-sukla-divā-daśamāyām; which, with the epoch of A.D. 319-20, answers, approxi-
mately, to the 3rd May, A.D. 635.

B.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit’s inscription No. 5; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 168 f.—The
charter is issued from Mānagriha (line 1). The inscription is one of the Bhatāraka
and Mahārāja, the illustrious Śīvādeva I. (l. 2 f.), the banner of the Lichchhavikula.
It recorded some act, the details of which are broken away and lost, done by him, as in
inscription A., on the advice, or at the request, of the Mahāśāmantā, the illustrious
Aṃśuvarman (l. 8 f.).1 The date, and the name of the Dītaka, are broken away and
lost in line 11 ff.

C.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit’s inscription No. 6; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 169 f.—The
charter is issued from the house or palace called Kailāsakūṭabhavana (line 1). The
inscription is one of the Mahāśāmantā, the illustrious Aṃśuvarman (l. 2). The
Dītaka is the Mahāśarva[danda]yaśa Vikrama[masena] (l. 14).8 The date (l. 14)
is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 34, Jyaisthā-sukla-daśamāyām; which, with the epoch1 of A.D.
605-606, answers, approximately, to the 18th May, A.D. 639.

1 As in page 177 above, note 3.

8 This is the name as completed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit. But, if we accept it as correct, we
must be careful not to confuse this person with the Rāja-patra Vikramaśena who was the Dītaka of
inscription S. below, more than two hundred years later.—I have not seen the original rubbing of
this inscription.

8 This epoch is taken from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit’s calculation of the date in the Dīgha-sūtras
grant of the Mahārāja Mahēndrapāla. At the end (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 113, line 14) we have, for
the assignment of the charter, the year 155, Māgha śū di 10; and from line 12 we learn that, when
making the grant, the Mahārāja had bathed on the occasion of the Kumbha-Saṁkrānti or entrance
of the Sun into Aquarius. The epoch of the era is fixed approximately by a statement of Albērūnī
(Albērūnī’s India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 5), to the effect that, in a Kasmīr almanac, he had read
that Harshavardhana was six hundred and sixty-four years later than Vikramaditya. Subject to some
doubt as to whether Albērūnī is speaking of the epoch of the era, or of its first current year, and as to
whether the Vikrama year indicated by him is to be taken as current or as expired, this statement
indicates, approximately, Śaka-Saṁvat 528 expired, and 539 current (A.D. 606-607), as the epoch or
year of the era. And this is the epoch selected by Gen. Cunningham (Indian Eras, pp. 64 f., 157 ff.),
on the authority of Albērūnī’s statement. By calculations based on the Śaṅga-Saṁkrānta, however,
Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that an epoch one year earlier than this is required, in order that the details
of the date in the Dīgha-sūtras grant may work out correctly. Thus, with the basis of Harāha-
Saṁvat 155 + Śaka-Saṁvat 528 expired = Śaka-Saṁvat 682 expired, the Kumbha-Saṁkrānta
occurred at 43 ghaṣṭs, 40 palas, on Monday, the 19th January, A.D. 761; and the ninth tithi of
the bright fortnight of Māgha ended about four hours later, at 53 ghaṣṭs, 15 palas, on the same day.
Or, by the Ārya-Saṅkrānta, the times were, for the Saṁkrānta, 42 ghaṣṭs, 30 palas; and for the tithi,
52 ghaṣṭs, 41 palas. In both cases, the ghaṣṭs and palas are from mean sunrise at Ujjain. And he adds
the note—that the punyakaṇḍa or meritorious time for performing religious duties in connection
with a saṁkrānta, is, according to some authorities, from sixteen ghaṣṭs before, to sixteen ghaṣṭs after,
the time of the saṁkrānta; and, according to others, in the case of some saṁkrānta, from ten to
D.—Mr. Bendall’s inscription No. 2; Journey in Népal, p. 74 f., and Plate ix.—The charter is issued from Kailásakūṭabhavana (line 1). The inscription is one of an illustrious Mahádámantra, whose name is effaced, but may with tolerable certainty be restored as Ámāsva[rman (l. 2). And it records the grant of two fields, for the purpose of providing for the repairs of some building. The Dántaka (l. 17) is the Mahábaladhyaksha Vindusvámin. The date (l. 16) is (Harsha)-Saivism 34, prathama-Pausha-sukla-du[ityāyām ; which should answer,1 approximately, to the 3rd December, A.D. 639.

E.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’s inscription No. 7; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 170 f.—The charter is issued from Kailásakūṭabhavana (line 1). The inscription is one of the illustrious Ámāsva[rpan (l. 5), to whom no formal titles are allotted here. It mentions

sixteen or even forty gha[fs before the saṁkrānti, up to the time of the saṁkrānti, and, in the case of the other saṁkrāntis, from the time of the saṁkrānti, up to from ten to sixteen or even forty gha[fs after it. But generally, when a saṁkrānti occurs at midnight,—as it did, roughly, in the present instance,—the punyādikā is held to be on the following day. And, in the present case, there is every probability of the bathing &c. having been performed on the following day; i.e. on Māgha sukla daśami.—With other years, the given saṁkrānti cannot be brought into accordance with the given day and titi. Thus, with Śaka-Saivism 680 expired, the saṁkrānti occurred six or seven days after the given titi, on the Pāruimānta Phāguna kṛishṇa 2; with 681 expired, on the Pāruimānta Phāguna kṛishṇa 13; with 683 expired, on the Pāruimānta Phāguna kṛishṇa 5; with 684 expired, on Māgha sukla 1; and with 685 expired, on Māgha sukla 12. It is certain, therefore, that the correct English equivalent is the one obtained with Śaka-Saivism 682 expired. And, taking the given Harsha year as a current year, and treating it as having the same scheme with the northern Śaka year, the epoch is Śaka-Saivism 527 expired, or A.D. 605-606 current; and 528 years have to be added, to convert current Harsha years into current Śaka years, and 527, to convert them into expired Śaka years as the basis of calculations. The commencement or first current year of the era, is A.D. 606-607 current.—I should remark, as I did when editing the grant, that a slight doubt may be felt as to the value of the third numerical symbol, in the units place, which I interpret as 5, and the exact epoch would be varied, by allotting a different value to this symbol. But the choice lies only between 4, 5, and 8, I do not think that any authority can be found for interpreting it as 4. And, if we were...
Aṁśuvarman’s sister Bhūgadēvī, who was the wife of the Rājaṭputra Sūrasēna, and the mother of the illustrious Bhūgavarman and Bhūgadēvī. It records certain orders addressed by Aṁśuvarman to the officials of the Western Province (paśchim-ādhirakana-vritthihuj, lines 5-6; and paśchim-ādhirakana, line 14), in connection with three līṅga forms of the god Iśvara or Śiva. The Dātaka is the Yuvardja Udayadēva. The date (l. 22) is (Harsha)-Saṅivat 39, Vaiśākha-śukla-diva-daśāmyām; answering, approximately, to the 24th April, A.D. 644.

F.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’s inscription No. 8; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 171.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records that, by the favour of the illustrious Aṁśuvarman (line 2), a prandli or ‘conduit’ was caused to be built by the Vārtta Vibhuvaraman, for the increase of his father’s religious merit. The date (l. 1) is (Harsha)-Saṅivat 44 or 45, Jyēṣṭha-śukla ...............; which has its equivalent in the month of May or June, A.D. 649, or May, A.D. 650.

G.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’s inscription No. 9; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 174 f.—The charter is issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana (line 3 f.). The inscription is one of the illustrious Jishnugupta (l. 4). It records that, at the request of the Sāmanta Chandravarman, a tilamaka or ‘water-course,’ which had been constructed by the Bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārāja-dhīrīja, the glorious Aṁśuvarman (l. 6 f.), was made over by Jishnugupta to Chandravarman, to be repaired; &c. The Dātaka (l. 21) is the Yuvardja, the illustrious Vishnugupta. The date (l. 21) is (Harsha)-Saṅivat 48, Kārttika-śukla-2; answering, approximately, to the 30th September, A.D. 653.—Lines 1 and 2 of this inscription mention Mānagriha, and, in connection with it, the Bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārāja Dhruvadēva; but the passage is much mutilated, and does not in itself suffice to explain the connection between Dhruvadēva and Jishnugupta.

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1 The original is somewhat damaged, but it has undoubtedly s in the first akshara of this name; not  in as given by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his text and translation. And the spelling is the same in line 3 of an inscription of the Sūrasēna family published by him in the Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 34 ff. But very probably  is the more correct spelling; especially as line 8 of the present inscription mentions the līṅga named Śrābhīdēṣvara.

2 See page 177 above, note 4.

3 The dates seem to prevent the identification of this person with the Udayadēva of the Tākurt family, mentioned in inscription R. below.—He was perhaps a Līchchhavi, as suggested by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. If so, in this Līchchhavi Dātaka of a Tākurt charter, we have an instance parallel to the Tākurt Dātaka of a Līchchhavi grant, suggested in page 177 above, note 4.

4 Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji took Vārta as a family or tribal name. It seems more likely, however, that, as suggested by himself, it is an official title, synonymous with the vritthihuj of inscription E above; and that the correct form is vṛtta (with the double  in svasti) from vṛtti.

5 The second symbol is doubtful; but it is either 4 or 5—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

6 The two syllables māna, immediately after svasti, are clear enough in the original rubbing, though they hardly show in the lithograph, and were not given by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his text.

7 The purport of it, however, must have been the same as in the next inscription H.
H.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 10; Ind. Ant., Vol. IX. p. 173 f.—The charter is issued from Kailásakūṭabhavana (line 6). The inscription is one of the illustrious Jishnugupta (l. 7). The details are much mutilated; but the subject is a tilamaka or 'water-course,' which had been constructed by the Mahāsāmanta, the illustrious... déva. The name of the Dūtaka, and the date, have peeled off and are lost.—Lines 3 and 4 of this inscription again mention Mānagriha, and, in connection with it, the Bhāṭṭarakā and Mahārāja, the illustrious Dhruvadeva, the banner of the Lichchhavikula. Between mānagriha and dīta-chitta in line 4, there are four (or perhaps five) akṣharas which are much damaged, and are quite uncertain even in the rubbing; but the ha (not hā) is distinct enough; and this, and the whole construction, shews that we have here,—not Mānagrihāt, the formal ablative of issue,—but the base Mānagriha, as the first member of a compound, ending with sānta, that qualifies sri-Dhruvadeva, and means something like 'who belonged to a lineage which had its thoughts [gladdened by residing] at Mānagriha.' As regards the connection between Dhruvadeva and Jishnugupta,—in line 5, after sri-Dhruvadeva, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read purassarē sakala, and interpreted the passage as shewing that Jishnugupta acknowledged Dhruvadeva as his lord paramount. The interpretation is possibly correct; though the text may equally well mean nothing more than a courteous reference by Jishnugupta to one whose position was equal to his own. Quot, from the rubbing, the proper reading is certainly purassara-sakala, in composition. The whole passage, in fact, from Mānagriha, line 4, down to mānasa, lines 5–6, is one continuous compound, meaning, in the latter part, that Jishnugupta's mind had been brought into a state of contentment by devising the means of freeing from calamity all the people headed by Dhruvadeva, &c. And the expression Dhruvadeva-purassara-sakalajana is analogous in its purport to the sa-nripatēr-jjugatō (hitāya), ' (for the welfare) of the world (i.e. of all the people), together with the king,' of line 2 of inscription M. below.

I.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 11; Ind. Ant., Vol. IX. p. 174.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records certain grants made in the augmenting victorious reign of the illustrious Jishnugupta (line 9). The era-date, if any was recorded, is lost with lines 27 ff.

J.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 3; Journey in Nēpāl, page 77 ff. and Plate x.—The charter is issued from Kailásakūṭabhavana (line 1). The king's name is lost, somewhere in lines 2 to 7. The inscription provides for the worship of the god Vajrēśvara (l. 17), and other religious matters. The Dūtaka (l. 28) is the Bhāṭṭarakā, the Yuddha Skandadeva. The date (l. 29) is (Harsha)-Sahvat 82, Bhāḍrapada-šukla-diva...... which has its equivalent in the month of August, A.D. 687.

In the original rubbing, srī is very distinct at the beginning of line 14. Two akṣharas are illegible between it and dēvāna.
K.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajii's inscription No. 1; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.—This furnishes the following short genealogy:—Vrishadèva (line 8);—his son Šankaradèva (l. 12), with a reference in lines 9 and 10 to other sons, who, however, are not mentioned by name;—Šankaras's son, Dharmadèva (l. 16), who with justice [governed] a great hereditary kingdom (kula-kram-āgataṃ ......... rājyaṁ mahat, line 17), and whose wife was Rājyavatī;—and Dharmadèva's son Mānadèva (l. 20), who was appointed to reign by his mother on his father's death. The inscription then records that Mānadèva made an expedition to the East, and reduced to obedience some "roguish," ill-behaved, or rebellious Śamaṇaśas there; and then went back to the West, where also he heard of misdoings on the part of a Śamaṇka. Here, unfortunately, the available part of the inscription terminates, the rest being buried underground. The date (l. 1 f.) is (Gupta)-Saññvat 386, Jyēṣṭha-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-pratipadi 1 Rāhiṇḍ-nakshatra-yuktē chandrāmasi muhūrtē praśastē-Śhrijñit; the exact equivalent of which, as we have seen at page 95 ff. above, is Tuesday, the 28th April, A.D. 705.

L.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajii's inscription No. 12; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 174 ff.—The charter is issued from Kaiśakūṭabhavana (line 1). The inscription is one of the Paramabhaṭṭkara and Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Śivadèva II. (l. 3). The Dātaka (l. 23) is the Rājaśapatra Jayadèva. The date (l. 23) is (Harsha)-Saññvat 119, Phālguna-śukla-divā-daśamīyam; answering, approximately, to the 20th February, A.D. 725.

M.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajii's inscription No. 2; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 166 f.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records that, by the favour of the illustrious 'king' Mānadèva (line 1), a certain Jayavarman erected a liṅga named Jayēṣvara, for the welfare of the world, (i.e. of all the people), together with the king; and endowed it with a permanent endowment. The date (l. 1) is (Gupta)-Saññvat 413, equivalent to A.D. 732-33, without any further details.

N.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajii's inscription No. 13; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 176 f.—This inscription is very much damaged. The name of the palace whence the charter was issued, is lost. And the king's name is illegible in line 3; but, as it is preceded by the titles of Paramabhaṭṭkara and Mahārājādhirāja, the name was probably that of Śivadèva II., as in inscription L. above; and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajii filled up the lacuna in that way. This is a Buddhist inscription. The Dātaka (line 36) is the Bhaṭṭkara, the illustrious, or perhaps the venerable, Śivadèva. The date (l. 37) is somewhat doubtful.

1 san-ṛipatē-jaṅgatē khitēva; line 2.  
2 akṣaya-nīṭ; line 2.  
3 I have not seen the rubbing of this inscription.  
4 In Śaka-Saññvat 672 current, or 671 expired, the month Jyēṣṭha was intercalary (see Indian Eran, p. 161, and Chronology, p. 126). And the absence of any hint of this in the present record, would, if the reading of the second numerical symbol as 40 could be established, be a point in favour of the year being Śaka-Saññvat 671 current, or 670 expired; which is in accordance with the epoch of A.D. 605-606.
Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit read it as (Harsha)-Saṁvata 143, Jyaishtha-śukla-divā-trayōdaśāyām; answering, approximately, to the 25th May, A.D. 748. There is, however, the possibility that the second numerical symbol is 20 or 30, instead of 40.

O.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit’s inscription No. 14; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 177 f.—All the introductory part of this inscription, recording the palace whence the charter was issued and the name of the king, is broken away and lost. The Dīṭaka (line 17) is the Yuvāraja Vijayadāva. The date (l. 17) is (Harsha)-Saṁvata 145, Paśaṇa-śukla-divā-tritīya-yāyām; answering, approximately, to the 6th December, A.D. 750.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit, taking Vijayadāva as a “vicarious” name of Jayadēva II, allotted the inscription, chiefly on this account, to Śivadēva II. As far as the date goes, the inscription may be one either of him, or of Jayadēva II. Occasional instances may be cited, in which the special terminations of names vary; thus, the Vasantasēna of inscription P. below, appears in R. line 10, and in the Vaināśvali, as Vasantadēva; and Jayadēva I. of R. line 8, perhaps appears in the Vaināśvali as Jayavarman. But even this is rare enough. And, apart from the substitution of birndas or secondary titles, the only epigraphical instance that I can quote, of any variation in the first and really distinctive part of a king’s name, is to be found in line 46 ff. of the Kauṭhēn grant of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya V., of Śaka-Saṁvata 930, where the Daśavarman of other inscriptions is called Yaśvarman. But that instance is not a very satisfactory one. And in the present case there is not any metrical exigency, as there is in the places where the name of Daśavarman occurs, to justify any variation. If the present inscription is one of Śivadēva II., then Vijayadēva was another son of his; if, as seems to me more probable, it is one of Jayadēva II., then Vijayadēva was a son of the last-mentioned person.

P.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit’s inscription No. 3; Ind. Ant. Vol IX. p. 167.—The charter is issued from Mānagriha (line 1). The inscription is one of the Mahāraja, the illustrious Vasantasēna. The Dīṭaka (l. 21) is the Sāravajjana-đāyaka and Mahāprajñāpāla Ravigupta. The date (l. 20 f.) is (Gupta)-Saṁvata 435, Aśvayuji śukla-diva-1; answering, approximately, to the 23rd September, A.D. 754.

Q.—Mr. Bendall’s inscription No. 4; Journey in Nīpāl, p. 79 f. and Plate xi.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place; nor does it give any king’s name. It only records a grant by a private person to a Pāṭēchaka or Committee. The date (line 1) is (Harsha)-Saṁvata 151, Vaiśākha-śukla-dvitiya-yāyām; answering, approximately, to the 8th April, A.D. 756.

R.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit’s inscription No. 15; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 178 ff.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. The inscription, which gives a

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 23.
2 See id. p. 19 f.
3 In inscription R. below, line 10, he is called Vasantadēva.
good deal of genealogical information, to be commented on below, is one of Jayadêva II. (line 14), who also had the second name or biruda of Parachakrakâma (l. 18). The object of it is to record that he caused a silver water-lily to be made, for the worship of Śiva under the name of Paśupati; and that it was worshipped and installed by his mother Vatsadëvi. The date (l. 35) is (Harsha)-Sanvat 153, Kārttika-sukla-navamyâm; answering, approximately, to the 16th October, A.D. 758.

S.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’s inscription No. 4; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX, p. 168.—The commencement of the inscription, recording the place whence the order was issued and the king’s name, is broken away and lost. And the inscription, therefore, is of importance only as indicating the period during which the era that is referred to in it, continued to be used. The Dîlaka (line 17) is the Râjaputra Vikramasena.¹ The date (l. 18) is (Gupta)-Sanvat 535, Śravâna-sukla-divâ-saptamyâm; answering, approximately, to the 1st July, A.D. 854.

When Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji summed up, according to his view of them, the historical results of his inscriptions, Mr. Bendall’s inscription No. 1, A. above, was not known; and the only available clue was the mention, in B. C. E. F. and G., of Anûsvarman, who was evidently to be identified with the king of that name who was reigning during, or shortly before, Hiuen Tsiang’s visit to Northern India, in or about A.D. 637. Acting on this identification, he very properly referred the dates of (C.) 34, (E.) 39, (F.) 44 or 45, (G.) 48, (L.) 119, (N.) 143 (?), (O.) 145, and (R.) 153, to the era dating from the commencement of the reign of Harshavardhana of Kanauj in A.D. 606 (or 607).

Mr. Bendall’s discovery of the Gölmádhitol inscription, furnished the key-note for the interpretation of the whole matter. For, mentioning Anûsvarman as the contemporary of Śivâdeva I., and giving for the latter the date of the year 316, it shews that this date, and all belonging to the same uniform series, must be referred to an era commencing just about three centuries before the Harsha era; i.e. to the so-called Gupta era, with the epoch of A.D. 319-20; for then the year 316 + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 639-55, which is in the closest possible accordance with the first recorded date of Anûsvarman, in A.D. 639.

But, when Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji wrote, nothing was certain about the other larger dates of (K.) 586, (M.) 413, (P.) 435, and (S.) 535; except that all the circumstances of the case shewed that they were not of the same series with the smaller dates belonging to the Harsha era. And, after examining the theory of the Śaka era, commencing A.D. 78, and rejecting it on the grounds that even this was not early enough, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji finally referred them to the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 58.

Curiously enough, the Nêpâl Vâmstvâli states that Vikramâditya came to Nêpâl, and established his era there. And, as we have seen at page 74 f. above, an offshoot of the Vikrama era certainly was introduced into Nêpâl in A.D. 880. But the statement of the Vâmstvâli refers to the time of the predecessor of Anûsvarman; i.e. to the end of the

¹ See page 178 above, note 2.
sixth, or the beginning of the seventh, century A.D. And Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji shewed¹ that the statement is certainly quite wrong as regards the name of the king and the particular era intended; and that what it probably contains, is a reminiscence of the conquest of the country by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and the adoption of the Harsha era as the result. This statement, therefore, can have influenced him but little, if at all, in his assignment of the above-mentioned dates to the Vikrama era.

The real grounds for his doing so,—grounds which, in spite of the existence of the date of (Gupta)-Saṁvat 316 for Śivadēva I. and Amśuvarman, still require to be cleared away, in order that we may properly adjust the whole of the early chronology of Nēpal,—are to be found in his erroneous treatment of R., the inscription of Jayadēva II. of (Harsha)-Saṁvat 153.

Starting with a mythological genealogy, this inscription carries the descent from the god Brahman (line 3), through Sūrya or the Sun,² Manu, Ikšvakū, and others, down to Rāghu, Aja, and Daśaratha (l. 6). After Daśaratha, there were eight kings, in lineal succession of sons and sons’ sons, who are passed over unnamed; and then there was the illustrious Lichchhavī (l. 6). Then comes verse 6, which records that “even still,” at the time of the writing of the inscription, “there exists a family which bears the pure second name of Lichchhavi;”—svācchhātha Lichchhavi-nāma vi(bh)bhṛd-aparaṁ vaiṅsah, (l. 7). Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his lithograph, text, and translation, gave aparād vaiṅsah “a new race . . . . . . . . . . which bears the pure name Lichchhavi.” But, on examining his original rubbing, I find that the real reading is aparain (nāma), “another name, a second name;” —not aparād (vaiṅsah), “another race, a new race.” This verse, therefore, is of some interest, in shewing that,—in addition to the appellation of Lichchhavīnāsa or Lichchhavīvikula, the latter of which actually occurs in inscriptions A. B. and H. above,—the family had another original name, which, however, is not recorded. After Lichchhavi there came some kings, who again are passed over unnamed, and the number of whom is illegible³ at the end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8; and then the illustrious king Supushpa (l. 8) was born at the city of Pushpapura.⁴ After him, “omitting in the interim (to mention the names of) twenty-three kings,” there was another⁵ king, the famous

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¹Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 421 f.
²In accordance with this, the Vamśāvali enters the historical Lichchhavis of this inscription as members of a Sūryavanśi family.
³But the number was probably twelve, as hitvā-dpa[svaṅ-pvatvā] seems to suit best the metre and such traces as are discernible in the rubbing.
⁴i.e. Pātaliputra, the modern Paṭna in Bihār; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 180, note 44.—This part of the inscription, therefore, relates to a period antecedent to the settlement of the Lichchhavis in Nēpāl.
⁵As no previous Jayadēva, with whom this one could be contrasted, is mentioned in the inscriptions, aparā seems to introduce another branch of the Lichchhavi family, not directly descended from Lichchhavi and Supushpa.
Jayadēva I. (l. 8), who was treated by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj as the first really historical member of the family, and the founder of the Nēpāl branch of it, and on the Vikrama-Saṅvat theory, was placed about A.D. 1. After this "victorious" Jayadēva I., and again "omitting in the interim (to mention the names of) eleven . . . . . . kings," the inscription gives the first unbroken succession of names that it contains; viz.—Vrishadēva (l. 9);—his son, Saṅkaradēva;—his son, Dharmadēva;—his son, Mānadēva (l. 10);—his son, Mahidēva;—and his son, Vasantadēva. The first four of these names have already been made known by inscription K. above; and the sixth, in the form of Vasantadēva, by inscription P. And these six kings plainly belong to the family, the genealogy of which forms the subject of all the preceding part of the inscription; viz. the Lichhāvikūla.

Then follows, in lines 10 and 11, the eleventh verse, which was entirely misunder-
stood by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj, and which, through that misunderstanding, led to the erroneous reference of the larger dates of his inscriptions to the Vikrama era. He read this verse—asāy-antarē-py-Udayadēva iti kṣitiśāj-jātās-trayōdaśa [tata]s-cha Nārendradēvah mān-ōmatō nata-samasta-nārendra-mauli-mālā-rajō-nikara-pāṇsula-pādaptāḥḥ; and translated—"afterwards came thirteen (rulers), sprung from king Udayadēva (l. 10), and then Nārendradēva (l. 11), who was proud, and whose footstool was covered with the dust from the row of diadems worn by numerous prostrated kings." With the exception that the original has pāṇsula, not pāṇsula, the reading and translation of the second half of the verse represent the original correctly. It is the first half that has not been properly treated. In the first place, asāy-antarē does not mean 'afterwards,' or 'after him.' The literal meaning of antara is 'an interval;' and in antarāram it helps to make up the equivalent of 'afterwards,' only from its meaning in the first place 'no interval after.' But, standing without the negative particle, antara can have only the meaning of 'interval;' and it is used twice before by the composer of this inscription, in lines 8 and 9, distinctly in that sense. Asy-antarē can only mean "in an interval of this;" and, supplying vantasya, from the vantah of line 7, in apposition with asya, we have "in an interval, i.e. at an intervening point, of this (lineage that has just been detailed)." The expression plainly introduces some names, in respect of which it is intended to be conveyed that they are of another family or branch; and that the last of them comes contemporaneously with or immediately after the name of Vasantadēva, the last mentioned of the immediately preceding succession, and the first comes at some unspecified point intervening between Vrishadēva and Vasantadēva. In the second place, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj's reading of kṣitiśāj-jātās cannot be maintained. In the two syllables jjātā, the rubbing shews distinctly the double j̣j̣, of which, in the lithograph, the lower one is only sketched in faintly, as if it were doubt-

2 Or, again, —"after him (Vasantadēva), followed thirteen, sprung from the lord of the earth called Udayadēva;" Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 425, note.
ful; but the second is as distinctly *ta*, not *td*, as is in fact shewn in the lithograph. There is a slight abrasion mark between the *ta* and the following *akshara*, which does not appear in the lithograph; but the rubbing shews most distinctly that this mark is no remnant of a half-obiterated *d*, and that the stroke for *d*, for which in fact there is no room, never was engraved here. The reading of the original, in short, is *jītas*, the nominative singular; not *jīdas*, the nominative plural. This is the first objection to the more serious error, the introduction of *trāyōḍaṣa*, 'thirteen,' immediately after *jītas*. The second is, that, of the six following *aksharas* which are read *s-trāyōḍaṣa *tata*, the only parts that can be pronounced on with any certainty, are *s*, as part of the first, and, at the beginning of line 11, *da*, the third, which is well preserved and unmistakable. The others are hopelessly injured and recognisable; and,—with the exception that the first probably had a *t* below the *s*; and that the second looks more like *ṭha* (*ṭathā*), or *ḍa* (*tadd*), or *pā* (*tapā*), than *yā*,—it is quite impossible, even from the rubbing, to say what they may be. But the culminating and final objection to the reading of *trāyōḍaṣa *tata*-ṣ-cha is, that, in the passage, as thus read, there is no such word as *vyatītya*, *vihiṇḍa*, *hitvā*, or *tyakvāḥ*, "having passed over or omitted (to mention the names of)," which we have in lines 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9, where, in each case, a specified number of kings is passed over; and that the metre does not allow of our introducing any such word. The *lacunae* at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 render it, as I said, impossible to decide what the original reading may have been. But the whole structure of the passage leaves no doubt whatever that the original contained nothing but an epithet, or perhaps two, of Narēndradēva; and that, so far from thirteen rulers having intervened between him and Udayadēva, he was the son of Udayadēva.

Narēndradēva's son was Śivadēva II. (line 12), who married Vatsadēvi, of the family of the Maukhari who abounded in strength of arm,1 the daughter of the illustrious Bhāgavaraman, and the daughter of the daughter of "the great" Ādityasēna, the lord of Magadha (l. 13). And their son was the Rāja, the illustrious Jayadēva II. (l. 14), also called Parachakrakāma (l. 18), whose wife was Rājyamati, of the family of king Bhagadatta or of the Bhagadatta kings (l. 16), the daughter of Harsha, king of Gauda, Ḫeta, &c., and Kalinga, and Kōsala (l. 15). The rest of the inscription details the beauty of the silver water-lily which Jayadēva II. caused to be made, and how it was worshipped and installed by his mother Vatsadēvi; and then concludes with the date.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's acceptance of Udayadēva as the successor of Vasantadēva, and insertion of thirteen rulers between him and Narēndradēva, led of necessity to the reference of the dates for Mānadēva of (K.) 386 and (M.) 413, and for Vasantadēva of (P.) 435, to the Vikrama era. It is unnecessary to repeat his calculations in full. But, starting with fifteen names between Vasantadēva and Śivadēva II., or nineteen from Mānā-

1 The original has *dvēl vai(ha)hu-na(ha)l-ēkhy-aMaukhari-kulā śrīvarma &c.; not *kula-śrī-
varma*, in composition, as in the published text.
dēva to Śivadēva II. (both included), all of which denote "generations of kings, not reigns of collaterals," 1 and taking twenty-one years as the smallest possible average for these generation-reigns, he found that no era later than the Vikrama era would meet the requirements of the case; and that era would meet them. For, on the Vikrama-Saṃvat theory, Mānadēva’s first date represented A.D. 329; the interval from this to A.D. 759, the date of Jayadēva II., was 430 years; and this, divided by nineteen, gave about twenty-two years and three-quarters as the average for each generation-reign. This was all right enough from his point of view.

But let us now take the matter from the correct point of view; viz. that Udayadēva did not come after Vasantadēva. This frees us at once from the necessity, under which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji laboured, of forcing Vasantadēva and his ancestors back to such early times; and leaves us at liberty to follow the analogy of inscription A., and to refer his date and Mānadēva’s to the Gupta era. The result is, that we have for Vasantasēna the date of (P.) A.D. 754, just synchronous with the dates of perhaps (O.) A.D. 750, and certainly (R.) A.D. 758, for Jayadēva II., exactly what inscription R. seeks to convey; and we have for Mānadēva, the grandfather of Vasantasēna, the dates of (K.) A.D. 705 and (M.) A.D. 732-33, just about one generation before Jayadēva II.’s father Śivadēva II., for whom we have the dates of (L.) A.D. 725 and probably (N.) A.D. 748 (?).

Here the question naturally suggests itself:—As Udayadēva and his descendants were not successors and descendants of Vasantasēna, who were they? I think the answer is perfectly plain:—That they were successors of Anḍuvaṭarman; and, though not his direct lineal descendants, belonged, like him, to the family which in the Vamsāvali is called the Thākuri family.

Inscription R., in fact, furnishes another instance of the double government of Nēpāl, to which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji drew attention in the case of Śivadēva I. and Anḍuvaṭarman; and which is illustrated in the most pointed way throughout these inscriptions. 2 We have two separate families, ruling contemporaneously and mostly on equal terms, but each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own.

On the one side (see Table XI. page 189 below), we have the Lichchhavikula of the inscriptions,—the Sūryavamsi family of the Vamsāvali,—issuing its charters from the house or palace called Mānagriha; and using the Gupta era. To this family belong inscriptions A. B. K. M. P. and S.; and it was represented in A.D. 635 by

2 So also in later times. See, for instance, the colophon of a manuscript of the Ashvasthasūryaśāstra, Prajñāpūrṇamātā (Bendall’s Catalogue of Buddhist MSS. p. 4), dated in Nēpāl-Saṃvat 128 (A.D. 1007), which speaks of the double rule of Nirbhaya and Rudradēva; and another manuscript bearing the same title (ib. p. 151), dated in Nēpāl-Saṃvat 135 (A.D. 1015), which speaks of the government being enjoyed, half by Bhōjadhēva and Rudradēva, and half by Lakṣmīkāmadēva,
TABLE XI.
List of the Early Rulers of Nēpāl.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Licchhāvi or Sūryavamśi Family of Mānagriha.</th>
<th>The Thākuri Family of Kailāsakūṭabhavana.</th>
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<td>6. Names not recorded in the A.D. 355-630. inscrip.</td>
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<td>Šivadēva I., Mahārājā.—A.D. 635.</td>
<td>Jishnugupta.—A.D. 653.</td>
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<td>Dhruvadēva, Mahārājā.—A.D. 653.</td>
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<td>17. Mahīdhēva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 733-753.</td>
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<td>18. Vasantasēna, or Vasantadēva, Mahārājā, son of preceding.—A.D. 754.</td>
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Ŝivadēva I., (in A.D. 653 by Dhruvadēva),¹ in A.D. 705 and 732-33 by Mānadhēva, and in A.D. 754 by Vasantasēna or Vasantadēva.

And, on the other side, we have a family, the name of which is not given in the inscriptions—hitherto brought to notice, but which in the Vanavādhi is called the Thākuri family; issuing its charters from the house or palace called Kailāsakūṭabhavana; and using the Harsha era. To this family belong inscriptions C. D. E. F. G. H. I. J. L. N. O. Q. and R.; and it was represented in A.D. (635),² 639, 644, and 649 or 650, by Aṃśuvarman, in A.D. 653 by Jishnugupta, in A.D. 725 and 748 (?) by Šivadēva II., and in A.D. 750 (?) and 758 by Jayadēva II.

From the fact that each of the two families issued its charters from a palace, not a town, and the fact that all the inscriptions are either at Khāṭmāndū itself, or close in the neighbourhood, the two palaces of Mānagriha and Kailāsakūṭabhavana appear to

¹ From Jishnugupta’s inscription, G. ² From inscription A of Šivadēva I.
have been in the immediate vicinity of each other, in different divisions of one and the same ancient capital. And, though the inscriptions give no specific information on this point, from the fact that the order of Anšuvarman, recorded in inscription E., is issued to the officials of the western province, and from the way in which, in inscription K., Mānadeva is described as marching to the east and reducing to obedience the rebellious Sāmanīs there, and then returning to the west, it seems pretty clear that the Lichchhavikula or Sūryavanshi family had the government of the territory to the east of the capital; and the Thākuri family, of the territory to the west of it.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji treated Anšuvarman as if he was at first the feudatory of Śivadeva I. There is, however, nothing in the inscriptions to support this. The inscriptions of Śivadeva I., it is true, record acts that were done by him "on the advice," or "at the request," of Anšuvarman; but this expression, though often used in respect of feudatories and officials, does not of necessity imply any state of subordination. And, whereas Śivadeva I. uses in respect of himself only the feudatory title of Mahārāja, in his own inscriptions he allots to Anšuvarman the equal title of Mahādāmantaka; not simply Sāmantaka, as represented almost throughout by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. Śivadeva I. and Anšuvarman were only co-ordinate feudatories of a paramount sovereign, viz. Harshavaradhana of Kanauj. During the time when Anšuvarman was a Mahārājādhirāja or paramount sovereign, as recorded in inscription G., the Lichchhavis must have been feudatory to him. This was after his inscription C. of A.D. 639. His other two inscriptions E. and F., which give him no titles except that of srt, "the illustrious, or the glorious," perhaps belong to a transitional period, when he hesitated about adopting the paramount title, and yet was unwilling to use a feudatory title any longer. He probably assumed the paramount rank and title, on the death of Harshavaradhana; when, as Matwani tells us,1 the kingdom of Kanauj fell into a state of anarchy, and the minister Naśo-ti-la-na-shun usurped the supreme power. And Anšuvarman is probably the king of Nēpāl, who came with seven thousand horsemen to help the Chinese general Wang-hiwen-tse who defeated the usurper. In the time of Dhruvadeva and Jishnugupta, it is possible that the Thākuri family may to a certain extent have acknowledged the Lichchhavis as superior to them. But Śivadeva II. again had the paramount title and rank; and the Lichchhavis were then, of course, again the feudatories of the Thākuri family. Finally, the fact that the Lichchhavi genealogy is given in the Thākuri inscription R., coupled with the use by Jayadeva II. in this inscription of no title but that of Rāja (line 14), with the epithet srt, 'the illustrious,' may perhaps indicate that at this latter time the Thākuris again acknowledged a certain amount of superiority on the part of the Lichchhavis. Or it may be nothing more than another expression of the mutual courtesy of the two families, already exhibited in the inscriptions of Śivadeva I. and Jishnugupta.

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 20.
In the Lichchhavi family, the earliest name for which we have as yet a definite date, is that of Śivadeva I., A.D. 635. And either Śivavṛddhivarman, No. 14 in the Vamsatvali list of the Suryavarnsī family, or Śivavarman, No. 16 in the same, seems to be intended for him. The next name is that of Dhruvadēva, A.D. 653, who is not given or represented in the Vamsatvali. The connection between Śivadeva I. and Dhruvadēva, is not as yet explained. But they probably belonged both to one branch of the family; though, from their not being mentioned in inscription R., certainly not to the same branch with Vasantadēva and his ancestors. Their contemporaries of the Thakuri family were respectively Aṃśuvārman and Jishnugupta. They were followed by another branch of the same family, introduced about A.D. 630 (not A.D. 260, as proposed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Inḍrajī) by Vṛshadeva, who was the contemporary of Śivadeva I.; and represented, as far as definite dates go, by Mānadēva in A.D. 705 and 732-33 (not A.D. 329 and 356), and by Vasantasēna or Vasantadēva in A.D. 754 (not A.D. 378). The six names from Vṛshadeva to Vasantasēna, are given correctly in the Vamsatvali, as Nos. 18 to 23 of the Suryavarnsī family. If inscription R. is to be accepted throughout, this branch of the family was founded by Jayadēva I. He is doubtless the person who is intended by Jayavarman, No. 3 in the Vamsatvali list of the Suryavarnsī family. And, calculating back fifteen generations, at the average rate of twenty-five years, from Mānadēva, whose generation is represented by his recorded dates, we have for Jayadēva I. the initial date of about A.D. 330 (not A.D. 1). But, if Vṛshadeva was a direct lineal descendant of Jayadēva I., it is rather peculiar that the composer of inscription R., writing only five generations after him, was unable to give the names of the persons, only eleven in number, who intervened before him and after Jayadēva I. It would seem, therefore, that, though the number of generations may be accepted, there was at this point a break in the direct succession.

In the Thakuri family, the earliest name is that of Aṃśuvārman, with the extreme dates of A.D. 635 and 649 or 650; and the next is that of Jishnugupta, A.D. 653. Aṃśuvārman is mentioned in the Vamsatvali, under exactly the same name, as the founder of the Thakuri family; but Jishnugupta's name is not given or represented. The connection between them is not as yet explained. They were followed by Udayadēva (about A.D. 675, not A.D. 400) and his descendants, who, from there being no mention of Aṃśuvārman and Jishnugupta in inscription R., plainly belonged to another branch of the family. Udayadēva was contemporaneous with Dhṛadēva of the Lichchhavi family; he is not mentioned in the Vamsatvali, being certainly not the Udayadēvavarman, No. 24 in the Vamsatvali list of the Suryavarnsī family. His son, Narēndradēva, is possibly the person intended by Narēndradēva, No. 7 in the Vamsatvali list of the Thakuri family. His son, Śivadeva II., A.D. 725 and 748 (?), is not mentioned in the Vamsatvali. His son, Jayadēva II., A.D. 750 (?) and 758, is possibly the person intended by Jayadēva, No. 11 in the Vamsatvali list of the Thakuri family.
APPENDIX V.

System of Transliteration.

The system of transliteration followed in this volume, except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, is this:—

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A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on
into the next line; intermediate necessities, have been made only when of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rule. If a double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. If it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the old stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the virāma attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the saṁdhi of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial a, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions, and does not occur at all in the present series. Where it does occur, I find it most convenient to represent it by its own Devanāgarī sign.

So also, practice has shown that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Devanāgarī marks of punctuation; than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets, than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn, attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and, in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each akṣhara or syllable.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

No. I; PLATE I.

ALLAHABAD POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SÁMUDEGAUPTA.

This inscription appears to have been first brought to the notice of the public in 1834, when, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III. p. 118 ff., Captain A. Troyer published his reading of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate vi.), which was reduced by Mr. James Prinsep from a copy commenced by a brother of Lieutenant T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, finished by a Munshi, and revised by Lieutenant Burt himself.—In the same volume, p. 257 ff., the Revd. Dr. W. H. Mill, working from the same lithograph, published a revised version of the text and translation; followed, at p. 339 ff., by a supplementary paper containing the first genealogical tree of the dynasty. His version, however, though it was an improvement on that of Captain Troyer, still fell very far short of exhibiting the original completely or accurately; especially in his failing, like Captain Troyer, to recognise that the inscription is a posthumous one; in his misreading lines 11 and 21, in such a way as to introduce into the translation and genealogical tree, without any foundation whatever in the original, the independent princess Samhâríktâ, with a daughter, name unknown, who was the wife of Samudragupta, other mothers-in-law of the same king, and a royal issue expected at the date of the inscription; and in his treatment of line 30, where, instead of आचक्ष्या वा भवो भद्धर-याम-ञोक्त्रिताः सम्भव्या, “this lofty column (is) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming (the fame of Samudragupta),” he read द्वारा-हरिमण्डः राव-भवो भद्धर- याम-ञोक्त्रिताः सम्भव्या, and translated “of this child of the Sun, though clothed in hairy flesh, this lofty pillar is the arm,” which led him to refer Samudragupta and his dynasty to the Solar Race, a mistake that sometimes seems to have been not even yet completely eradicated.—In 1877, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 969 ff., Mr. James Prinsep gave a fresh and much improved lithograph of the inscription and its alphabet (id. Plate lv.), reduced from impressions on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own version of the text and translation. His rendering of the inscription still failed to represent the original with any real approach to accuracy and completeness. But it was a very great improvement on the two versions that had preceded it; especially in avoiding the leading mistakes of Dr. Mill, pointed out above. And it has remained the standard version up to the present time; except that in 1872,

1 The translation is reprinted in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 233 ff.
in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. excvii ff., Dr. Bhuu Daji notified, from a copy on cloth made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, some corrections in the historical part, in the names of the kings and countries conquered by Samudragupta.¹

The round monolith sandstone column, thirty-five feet in height, on which this inscription is, dates from the third century B.C., as is shewn by the famous edicts of Asoka on it. It now stands in a conspicuous position inside the Fort at Allahabad (properly Ilahabad), the seat of Government of the North-West Provinces. It is doubtful, however, whether the column was originally erected at this place, or whether, as has been suggested by General Cunningham,² it was first set up at the ancient Kosambi, now represented by the village of Kōṣaṁi³ on the left bank of the Janná, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad; and, being still at that place when the present inscription was engraved, was afterwards moved from there to Allahabad by one of the early Musalmán kings of Dehli, just as the two Asoka columns now at Dehli were brought there from original positions at Mṛaṭh and in the Siwalik hills. The points in favour of the latter supposition are (1) that the column contains a short Asoka edict addressed to the rulers of Kosambi;⁴ and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang makes no mention of this column in his account of Po-lo-ye-kia, i.e. Prayāga or Allahabad.⁵

The writing, which covers a space of about 6' 8" broad by 5' 4" high, commences on the north of the column, towards the north-east, and in the longest part, line 30, runs all round the column, except for a space of about 1' 9". The bottom line is about 6' o" above the point where the column starts from its present pedestal. There is a large crack in the column, from above the first word of the first line, and extending down to the beginning of the fourteenth. And the upper part of the inscription has suffered very much, partly from some of the mediaeval inscriptions, which are so abundant on the column, being engraved on and between the original lines here, and partly from the peeling off of the surface of the stone in several places. But nothing of a historical nature appears to have been lost; except, perhaps, after the mention of Nagasena in line 13, and in connection with the mention of Pushapura in line 14. A few letters, again, have been damaged or destroyed by the peeling off of the stone near the beginning of line 23, and in the centre of lines 23, 24, 31, and 32; but, except in line 32, the letters can be supplied without any doubt. The really important part of the inscription, the historical and genealogical passages commencing with line 19 and ending in line 30, is fortunately in a state of

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¹ This notice was published in 1872; but it was read before the Society two years earlier, on the 11th August 1870. It records that Dr. Bhuu Daji submitted to the Society a revised facsimile, text, and translation, of the inscription; but they do not appear to have been ever published, or to be now forthcoming. His suggestions were perhaps more correct in his own notes, than in the form in which they stand printed in the Journal.


³ The 'Kosam and Kosim Kheraj' of maps; about eight miles to the south of Kark“ri, the chief town of the Kark“ri Pargana in the Manjhanpur or Manjhandpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahabad District. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 20' N.; Long. 81° 37' E.

⁴ Corpus Inschr. Indic. Vol. I. pp. 39, 126, 141, and Pl. xxii.; see also after the end of line 10 of the present inscription in the Plate now published.

⁵ Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. p. 295 ff.; Stanislas Julien's *Hien Thang*, Vol. II. p. 276 ff.—At the same time, it must be noted that Hien Thang also makes no mention of any such column in his immediately following account of Kieu-thang-mi or Kosambi.
excellent preservation, and is decipherable without the slightest doubt from beginning to end. — The size of the letters (by which I mean, here and throughout, the height of such letters as cha, da, pa, ma, ba, va, &c., which are formed entirely within the limits of, so to speak, the lines of writing, without any projections above or below) varies from $\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$.” As regards the paleography of this and the other inscriptions in the volume, this division of the subject is so extensive as to require a separate treatise to itself; and I cannot here do more than touch in a general way on such special points as call for particular notice. The characters of the present inscription belong to what it has been customary to call the Gupta Alphabet. This, however, like all other similar, dynastic appellations, is an unsatisfactory and misleading term. In the first place, these characters were not confined to the inscriptions of the Early Gupta dynasty; for they were used, with slight modifications, but not such as to affect their essential nature, on the coins of the later Indo-Scythian kings of the Punjab. Even in respect of a character of such leading importance as the letter $m$, — though some of these coins exhibit what is called the Indo-Scythic form, in distinction from the $m$ of the northern Gupta inscriptions, yet, on one coin which I had the advantage of examining in General Cunningham’s collection, and which has on it the name of Samudra, the $m$ that is used is the so-called Gupta $m$, somewhat later than the $m$ of the present inscription, but of exactly the same shape with the $m$ of maharaja in line 8 (to choose a clear example) of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 below, Plate iiiA. And in the second place, the inscriptions of the Early Guptas themselves were by no means written exclusively in this alphabet. To say nothing of the frequent use of the Indo-Scythic $m$ on Samudragupta’s coins, — illustrated, for

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1 Setting aside the few exceptional instances that we have of irregular usage, confined, I think, entirely to coins, this letter is in itself sufficient to shew, for the whole period covered by the inscriptions in this volume, whether the characters of a particular record belong to the northern or to the southern class of alphabets. The $m$ of the Indo-Scythic inscriptions, a good representation of which may be seen in the word maharajasya at the beginning of the Mathurā inscription of Huvishka of the year 39 (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. Pl. xiv. No. 1), is simply a stiff angular development of the $m$ of the Ashoka period. This particular form was not confined, however, to the Indo-Scythian records. We have it, in all its angularity, in the word svadhi in the Śāñchi pillar inscription, No. 73 below, Plate xliiA; and, with very little modification, in the early inscriptions from Nāsik and that neighbourhood published in the Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. Plates xiv. ff. And in the slightly modified form, with simply the angles rounded off, which it must have had in the earliest stages of development of the southern alphabets, we have it throughout the Śāñchi inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 5 below, Plate iiB., e.g. in mahavihari, line 1; the Gaṅghār inscription of Viśavarman, No. 17 below, Plate x., e.g. in apratimā, line 4; and the Mandaśār inscription of Kumrāngupta and Bandhavaran, No. 18 below, Plate xi., e.g. in bhavam=ṣam=udrā, line 23. While, in a more modified form, which must have been of later development, though the instances in this volume happen to be of earlier date, we have it throughout the Ārap inscription of Samudragupta, No. 2 below, Plate iiA, e.g. in samara, line 21; and throughout the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB., e.g. in maharājya, at the beginning of line 2. — The $m$ of the inscription now under notice must also be simply a development of the Ashoka $m$, arrived at by forming the left part of the letter in a different way, viz. by one unbroken movement, leading gradually to its being separated entirely from the right part, which then eventually assumed a straight form, instead of curved. And, though the instances in this volume happen to be of later date, undoubtedly the form that we have in, for instance, mahārājya, in line 8 of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 below, Plate iiiA, must have preceded the form used in the inscription now under notice.

2 The three components of the name are written one above the other, the inside the spear and under the left arm of the king, on the obverse; and they are practically identical with the components of the same name on the coin of Samudragupta given by Mr. V. A. Smith in Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. No. 6.
instance, by the coins given by Mr. V. A. Smith in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Plate ii. Nos. 3, 7, 9, 10, and 11,—we meet with at least two perfectly distinct alphabets in their inscriptions, in addition to the one now under notice. The Ėrañ inscription of Samudragupta, No. 2 below, Plate iiA, and the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II: of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB, are in a ‘box-headed’ and ‘nail-headed’ variety of the Central India alphabet, which has hitherto been called the Nerbudda Alphabet and the Vākātaka Alphabet, and which, in addition to the very distinctive form of \( m \), has all the leading characteristics of the southern alphabets. The Śāñchi inscription of Chandragupta II., again, No. 5 below, Plate iiiB, is distinctly in the characters of the southern alphabets. And the Junāghā rock inscription of Skandagupta is in a somewhat later modification of the Saurāśtri or Kāṭhāśāda alphabet, exhibited with all its leading characteristics in the inscription of Rudradāman, on the same rock, of which we have a lithograph in the *Archaeol. Sura. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128, Plate xiv. It is perfectly plain that the alphabets varied, not according to dynasties, but according to localities; and, in establishing any system of comparative palæography, we must select territorial, not dynastic, names. I would propose calling the alphabet of the inscription now under notice, the general North India Alphabet of the fourth century A.D. The characters include two letters which, after the Pāli period, lay for a long time in disuse in the southern alphabets, and were not revived for a considerable time after the present period; *viz.* the lingual \( d \), as distinct from the dental \( d \), exhibited in *kridātā*, line 14, *dāvāka*, line 22, and *vīrītā*, line 27; and the lingual \( dh \), exhibited in *vīrādha*, line 18. On the other hand, in the \( f \) which occurs in *vīṇātīta*, line 8, *kaurdāka* for *kairālaka*, line 19, *sainhālaka*, line 23, and *lajīta*, lines 27 and 30, they include a letter which properly belongs exclusively to the southern alphabets and languages; and its occurrence here seems to furnish an unconscious piece of evidence to the effect that some, at least, of the conquests attributed to Samudragupta in the south of India, were actual facts; in the other inscriptions in this volume, this letter occurs only in the word *aifi*, ‘a bee,’ in line 1 of the Tuśām rock inscription, No. 67 below, Plate x1A. In *sōhā*, line 18, *vishnugopā*, line 19, and *gob-sata*, line 25, the vowel \( a \) is formed in rather a peculiar way, which, so far as the right-hand stroke is concerned, is followed also in the vowel \( a \) as attached to the same consonants, *e.g.* in *tāsana*, lines 23 and 24, and *gāṁgam*, line 31. In respect of \( r \) in combination with a following \( y \), we have to notice that, as in the case of other consonants, the \( y \) is doubled, and the \( r \) is written above the line, *e.g.* in *vīyya*, line 13; whereas, in a somewhat later development of this alphabet in Central India, it became the custom, as in the case of \( y \) in conjunction with other letters, to write the \( r \) on the line, with a single \( y \) attached below it, *e.g.* in *māryddayd*, line 6-7, and *kuryd*, line 12, of the Majhgawāth plates of the *Māhrāلجa* Hastin, No. 23 below, Plate xiv. The characters also include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the *numerical symbols* for 3, 4, and 8; the intervening symbols are destroyed.—The *language* is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as the end of line 16, and the rest in prose.—In respect of *orthography*, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of \( k \), in conjunction with a following \( r \), *e.g.* in *parākkrama*, line 17, *kriyād*, lines 27 and 28, and *vikrama*, line 30; (2) the doubling of \( dh \) (by \( d \), as required by the rules), in conjunction with a following \( y \) and \( v \), in *ādhyātya*, line 16, and *sādho-asādhu*, line 25; and (3) the use of the southern \( f \), in the instances pointed out a few lines above.

The inscription is non-sectarian, being devoted entirely to a recital of the glory, conquests, and descent, of the *Early Gupta* king Samudragupta. It is not dated; but, as it describes Samudragupta as deceased, it belongs to the time of his son and
successor Chandragupta II., and must have been engraved soon after the accession of the latter. Its great value lies in the abundant information which, in the conquests attributed to Samudragupta, it gives us as to the divisions of India, its tribes, and its kings, about the middle of the fourth century A.D. This, however, is a subject for detailed treatment in the historical chapters which will form the second part of this volume.

In connection with Samudragupta, there is mentioned, in line 14, a city named Pushpapura, which is spoken of in such a way as to indicate apparently that it was his capital. Pushpapura, Pushpapuri, and Kusumapura, all meaning 'the town or city of flowers,' were names of Pātaliputra, which is now represented by the modern Patna in Bihar, on the Ganges; the original city, Pataliputra itself, stood on the opposite south bank of the river, at the place where, in ancient times, the Sone used to flow into it. The antiquity of the name Kusumapura is vouchsafed for by Huen Tsiang, who speaks of the city under both names,—K'wu-su-mo-pu-lo, or Keu-su-mo-pu-lo, which he also explains by the Chinese Hwa-kong or Hwa-kung, 'flower-palace,' and Hwang-hu-kong-shing, 'city or royal precinct of the scented flower;' and Po-ch'a-li-tsu-ch'ing, 'the city of Pataliputra.' He tells us that Kusumapura was the more ancient name of the two. And, though I cannot find any early authority for it apart from the present passage, there is no reason for declining to think that the synonym Pushpapura was in use in early days, quite as much as it was at the time when the Dataabumdarshaxin and other books, which give us this form and Pushapuri, were written. This passage, therefore, may furnish good grounds for locating Samudragupta's capital at Pātaliputra. At the same time, I have to draw attention to the following points, as requiring consideration in determining this question. (1) Until the time of Skandagupta, no inscriptions of this dynasty have been found anywhere in the neighbourhood of Pataliputra. (2) Though Pataliputra is mentioned, under its own proper name, in two of the inscriptions of Chandragupta II., yet neither of these passages connects the city with him, as his capital. And (3) Huen Tsiang mentions another ancient Kusumapura,—for which the synonym Pushpapura would be equally acceptable,—far distant, and quite distinct, from Pataliputra. He tells us that the old capital of Kanyakubja, or Kanauj, was originally called Kusumapura. And, though he is not absolutely specific on the point, yet the way in which he describes how the town came to be invested with the name of Kanyakubja, seems to indicate that he understood Kusumapura to be the ancient name of the very site which, in his time, was called Kanyakubja. A capital here, or anywhere in this neighbourhood, would be far more in accordance with the localities at which all the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty exist; and still more so with the selection of a column either at Allahabad or at Kauambhi, to contain the record of the conquests of Samudragupta, by whom the power of the family was brought to maturity and was placed on an extensive footing. It is a matter for regret that the last pada of the verse that mentions Pushpapura, is so hopelessly illegible; it evidently contained a reference to some river, which might have

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2 I exclude intentionally, of course, the spurious Gauda grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.
3 The Udayagiri cave inscription, No. 6 below, Plate ivA. l, 4; and the Gadhwā inscription of the year 86, No. 7, Plate ivB. l, 12.
made the point quite clear. As it is, we must look for the clue in the identification of the Kōta family, tribe, or dynasty, which is mentioned in the same verse. But, for this name, I have not as yet succeeded in obtaining any other reference.

TEXT: 1

1  [Yah'] kulyaih svai ... atasa

2  ya(?)-syai(?)

3  Pu(?)-nha

4  spah(?)-ra-dva(?)

5  Yasya² prajj-anushaṅ-gōchita-sukha-manasaḥ stātra-tattv-ārtīnaḥ-bhartuḥ [iie] [1]


7  [Ā] jyō² h-īty-upaghuya bhāva-piśuṇair-utkarṇitaṁ rōmabhī sabhyāsh-ōchhvaśitaśē su tulyakulajā-mān-ānan-ōdvikṣi[ta]ñā

8  sn[ā]ha-vayalūtēna bāśha-guruṇaḥ tattv-ēkṣhaṁ chakshushā yah pitar-ābhihitō ni[ṛ][kräsh[y]a ni[khir[l][m āpy-ēva]m-[u]-r[y][l]m-it[i] [iie] 4

9  [Dri] jīṣṭvā⁴ karmāṇya-anēkāny-amanaṇa-saḍrisāṇy-adh-bhuḥ-ōdβhinna-harsaḥ bha[ś][a] vair-āsvādaya[- ] [iie] [5]

10  vṛśy-ōttaptaḥ-cha kēcch-echaraṇam-ıpagataḥ yasya vṛttē prāṇmē-py-ah-[tir[c]k][k][i]- [iie] [5]

11  Sāṃgrāmṣaḥ⁵ sva-bhujā-vijjita nityaṁ-uchch-āpakārāḥ svah-śvō māna-pra[[- ] ]

12  tōṣ[ā]-ōttugaiḥ sphaṭa-bahu-rasa-srēma-phullair-ōmanōbhīḥ paśchāttapān va[- ] [iie] 5

13  Udveḷ-ōdita-bahu-vṛṣya-rabhāsā-ēkaṇa yēna kṣaṇād-umāyā-Āchyuta-Nāgasena-g[- ] [iie] 8

14  daṇḍar-grāhaya-āiva Kāṭa-kula-jāh Puṣyabh-āhvaye kṛṣṭata stūrye nē[[- ] ] [iie] [7]


16  addhyēyaḥ sōkta-mārggah kavi-mati-vibhav-ōtāranaṁ ch-āpi kāvyāṇaḥ kō nu syād-ōd-śya na syād-guṇa-mati-v[i] [dushaṁ dhyāna-patrāna ya ekāb [iie] [8]

17  Tasya vividha-samara-śat-āvataṇa-dakṣaṣya sva-bhuja-bala-parākkram-āikai-bandhaḥ parākkrama-āhkarṣya paraśu-śaśi-śaṅku-śakti-prāśa-āsti-tōmara-

1 From the original column.
² The first four lines, containing the first two verses, are almost entirely destroyed; and the few letters that remain of them do not suffice to show what the metres were.
³ Metre, Sragdhara.
⁴ Metre, Sragdhara.
⁵ Metre, Śṛaddhavikṛṣṭa.
⁶ Metre, Sragdhara.
⁷ Metre, Mālākṣaraṇa.
⁸ Metre, Sragdhara.
1 Read kairolaka, for the word in the text is obviously a mistake.—The text, as it stands, would give "the country, or city, of Kurala," but, though Kurda occurs in the sense of a light bay horse with black legs, it is not known as the name of a country or a city. Kera, on the other hand, is so well known as one of the countries in the south of India, that it would be strange if it were omitted in a passage like the present one; and it is easy to see how the engraver, or perhaps the writer from whose draft he engraved, formed kaurdala, by mistake for kairolaka, through a stroke on the right of the top of the k in kai and of the ra.

2 This is not altogether an easy passage to deal with. In the first instance,—coming immediately after the mention of the city of Pishṭapura, which is the modern Pittpuram (the 'Pittpooram' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17° 6'; Long. 89° 18'), the chief town of the Pittpuram Zamindar or Estate, twelve miles north by east of Cocanada in the Godavari District in the Madras Presidency,—the syllables mahendra-giri suggest at once a reference to the famous Mahendra-mountain in the Gañjam District, among the Eastern Ghats, the 'Mahendragiri' of maps (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108; Lat. 18° 38' N.; Long. 83° 36' E.), which is mentioned in other early inscriptions; for instance, as Mahendrachala, in lines 1 and 3 of the two 'Chicacole' grants of the Mahârâja Indravarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. pp. 120, 123). And this tempts us to divide the passage thus, Pishṭapura-Mahendragiri-Kauśṭhakaka-Svāmidatta, and to translate "Svāmidatta of Pishṭapura and of Kauśṭhaka on Mahendragiri."—Another rendering that might suggest itself is "Svāmidatta of Pishṭapura, Mahendragiri, and Kauśṭhaka," which, in fact, except in respect of his mistake of Kudura, for Koṭṭhara, was adopted by Dr. Bhan Daji (Jour. Bâ. Br. & As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. cxviii.). But this is not admissible, because it would require mahendragiri in the text, instead of mahendra-giri; and, though it is possible to find the final ka in the text as it stands, yet this would give us as the next word, instead of Koṭṭhara (Koṭṭhār), which is a Dravidian name of frequent occurrence, Oṭṭūr, for which I can find no authority at all, or Oṭṭhār (if we assume an omission of the initial a'), which occurs, but not in connection with any place of importance.—If Mahendragiri is to be taken as one word, and as denoting the mountain, the translation that I have noted above is the one that must be adopted. And it might be supported by the fact that we have a Koṭṭhār on almost the same range of hills as that to which the Mahendragiri belongs; vis. the 'Kailaska and Kylascottah' of the map (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 107; Lat. 19° 12'; Long. 83° 36' E.), which represents Kailasa-Koṭṭhā or Kailasa-Koṭṭhara, and seems to be a place of importance. But the objection to this interpretation is, that none of the other king's names, mentioned in this inscription, are coupled with more than one locality. This leads us to connect Svāmidatta with Koṭṭhara only, and to find the name of another king in connection with Pishṭapura.—The first inclination then might be, to divide the text thus, Pishṭapura-Mahendragiri-Kauśṭhakaka-Svāmidatta; and to translate, "Mahendragiri of Pishṭapura, and Svāmidatta of Koṭṭhara." But, though giri or gir is a very common termination of proper names in the present day, my experience is, that it was used only as a religious title, and is affixed only to the names of Gītāyas, and even among the Gāsthis (see H. H. Wilson, 'Buddhist Words,' Rost's edition, Vol. I. p. 202; Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary); s. v. gir; and Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. giri. I think, therefore, that, in the instance, it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suita-ble termination for a Mahendra-giri-Kauśṭhakaka-Svāmidatta; and translate, "Mahendra of Pishṭapura, and Svāmidatta of Koṭṭhara on the hill."
Samata-ta-Davaka- Kamaropa-Nepala-Karttrapur-adi-prayanta-nsi
Mmavu- Arjunayana-Yaudheya- Madrak-Abhira-Pranjuna-S
nika-Kaka-Kharaparik-adihiisha-cha sarvkaradhan-dhakaranapra-
gamana-
paritosha-prachanda-sasanasya aneka-bhrashta-raiyotsana-rajavanta-prathishtha-
pan-oddhita-nikila-bhi[vina]-vicha[ra]a-santa-yasasa Daivaputra-Shah-
Shahdushashi-Saka-Murudpah Saimahajak-adhishe-cha
sarva-dvipa-vasibhir-Atmanivedana-kanyakayavanadana-gurutmadbhi-svavishayahu-
pri(pr)thivyam-a-pratirathasya
sucharita-sat-adakriti-aneka-guna-gan-otskibhiisha-charapa-tala-pramrishi-
anya-nara-
pati-krtteh sadhhv-asadh-udaya-pralaya-hetu-purushasya-a-chintyasa bhakty-
avanata-matra-grahya-mridu-hridayasya-anukampavatit-neka-gosata-sahasra-
pradhyinah
kripana-dln-anath-atura-ja-adhara-asa(ama)ntradskar-adhy-upaga-
manasa sa-
midhhasya vighrabatot lok-anugrahasya Dhanada-Vanup-Endr-Antaka-
samasya sva-bhujabala-vijit-aneka-narapati-vyabh-pratyarpansa-nitya-vyaprit-
yayuktapurushasya
niyita-vaidyag-mati-gandharvavalaritv-tridaasapagiru-Tumburu-Narad-
advar-vividvaj-panjavy-anekakavyakriyabhi prathishthita-kaviraja-sadhasya
suchirastotavyanek-adbhut-adara-charitasya
lokasa-myvani-akrivadhina-matra-manushasya loka-dhannodevasya mahar-
raja-srgupta-praprapvayamaharaja-srg-Ghatottkacha-purvasya mahar-
rjadhiraja-srg-Chandragnupta-purvasya
Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya mahadevyam Kumarakadevyam-uptha(tpa)mnasya:
maharajadhiraja-srg-Samudraguptasya sarvaprihitvijaya-janit-adaya-
vypata-nikhil-avantialam krttivita-itas-tridasapati-

Kailasa-Kotua, mentioned by me above; or, Kotua (from Kotuapura) being a very common Dravidian
name, may be looked for in any Kotu of note, in a mountainous part of Southern India, e.g.
possibly Kotu in the 'Coimbatore' District, at the foot of one of the passes in the 'Anaimalai' Hills
(Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 61 or 62; Lat. 10° 32' N.; Long. 77° 2' E.).

1 In line 2 of the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II of the year 82, No. 3 below
Plate iiB, this name occurs with the short vowel i in the fourth syllable.

2 This vira is imperfect, the engraver having omitted the upper half of it.

3 Mr. V. A. Smith (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 119, and note) has suggested the
name was not simply Gupta, as it is usually accepted, but Srfgupta, which form he has used
throughout; i.e., that, in this instance, šṛ is an integral part of the name, not the honorific prasa.
His grounds for this opinion are that the past participle gupta, 'protected,' can hardly stand alone
for a proper name, whereas Srfgupta, 'protected' (by the goddess) Šrī or Lakshmi, would be a complete
name, giving a suitable meaning; and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (in India from about A.D. 67
to 693) speaks of a king or Mahärjä called Srfgupta, who preceded his time by about five hundred
years (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 351; Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 110), and who has been identified
with some of the founder of the Gupta family. In addition to the instance quoted just above, Srfgupta
occurs as the name of a persecutor of Buddha (Basil's Buddha, Rev. West. World, Vol. I.
p. 151 f.); as the name of a Jain saint (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 325); and as the name of a mer-
chant (Nepali inscription, No. 13, line 12: I. Vol. IX. p. 126). But, with regard to the present
passage, I have to point out (1) that, as it is now certain that the engr was by the Early Guptas
commenced A.D. 319-20, the Mahärjä Srfgupta, mentioned by I-tsing and referred to him by
about A.D. 175, cannot be identified with the founder of the Early Gupta family, who lived in
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 1, PLATE I.

bhavana-gam-āvāpta-lalita-sukha-vicharaṇām-achakṣhāpa iva bhuvō bāhu-
ayam-ucchhhritaḥ stambhak [10] yasya i pradāna-bhujavikramakram-
prāśa-śatravāky-ōdai-ār-purāṇy-puruṣa-śaṅchhay-ōcchhhratam-aneka-
mārggam

bhavana-trayaṁ Paṣupatār-śat-āntar-guhā-nirōdhā-parimōkṣha-śīgṛham-iva
Gāṅgaṁ p[ayah] [11] Ėtach-cha kāvyam-ēśham-ēvam bhāṭṭāraka-

The fourth century, in the well-known name of the Buddhist saint Upagupta (e.g.,
Buddh. Rec. West. 29, 189, Vol. II, pp. 88, 93, 273), we have a precisely similar
instance of a past participation, concealed, standing by itself as a proper name; and
also, in its feminine form, Upagupta, the Aśārāgāh seal of Sāravaran, No. 47 below, Plate
xxxA. (3) that when īṛi is an integral part of the proper name of importance, it was customary to
emphasise it and prevent the possibility of īṛi, by inserting the honorific prefix before it; thus: ī
maḥādēvaṁ īṛī-śrīmaṇaṁ-śīgṛhaṁ, “begotten on the Mahādev, the glorious Śrīmat,” in line 2
of the Dē-śāraṇāk inscription of Jitavāguppa II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.; īṛī-śrīpaṭhāyāṁ
purī, “at the famous city of Śrīpaṭhā,” in verse in line 6 of the Byāṇa inscription of Vikrama-
śāvat 1100 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 10); and īṛī-śrīpaṭhāyāṁ, “at the famous Śrīpaṭha,” in
prose in the Byāṇa inscription of Vikrama-śāvat 1503 (id. Vol. XV. p. 239). The analogy would
require here the reading of maḥādēvaṁ īṛī-śrīṣuṣṭaṁ, which, however, does not once
occur in the Early Gupta inscriptions. And (4) the word īṛiṣṭa does not appear at all in the name
of Ghaṭāṭkaccha in the next generation; it is only in the case of his son, Chandragupta I., and the
successors of the latter, that the word is of necessity only an integral part of a fuller name.—There is,
therefore, no objection, but on the contrary every reason, to read the present name as simply Īṛiṣṭa.

The possibility remains, however, of its being an abbreviation of some fuller original name, other than
Śrīṣuṣṭa. And on this point I will produce here a note with which Dr. Buhler has favoured me:—“1
should say the name of the founder of the family was Gupta, not Śrīṣuṣṭa in the sense of īṛiṣṭa gupta
(protected by the goddess Śrī). The name Raksita occurs repeatedly among Brāhmans and Buddhists;
and means the same thing. The origin of such names as Datta, Gupta, Raksita, &c.,” (the two first of
these are well-known surnames in Bengal in the present day) “must, I think, be sought for in the habit
of the Hindus of shortening their names by giving only the first part or the second. The former prac-
tice is alluded to by Kāvyakana, in a Vārttika on Paṇini, vii. 3. 45, where he teaches that, when the
second part of a compound is left out, the a is to remain unchanged before the feminine termination
a; thus, the feminine form of Dēvadattaṁ is Dēvadattikā; but, if Dēvaka is substituted for
Dēvadattaṁ, then the feminine is to be Dēvakā, not Dēvikā. The second shortening also is com-
mong; thus, we have nābhi for mṛigailīki, ‘musk;’ tāla for harita, a kind of tree; vālī for
khāṭīlī, ‘the post of a threshing-floor;’ and Bhārā for Satyabharā, a proper name. From
these facts it would seem that Datta, Gupta, &c., are abbreviations of longer names.”—The only
epigraphical instance that I can quote, of the omission of the first part of a proper name, is the use of
Śrīmar for Dhravārāma in line 11 of the Bilsā inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 below, Plate
V. But instances of the omission of the second part of a name are common enough. Thus, we have
the use of Samudra on some of Samudragupta’s gold coins, e.g., “Four. Beng. As. Soc” Vol. I, 1111. Part
I. Pl. ii. Nos. 3. 4, 5, and p. 172;—of Chandra and Kumāra, for Chandragupta II. and Kumāragupta,
in the same series;—of Vikrama and Mahāendra, for their full titles Vikramāditya and Mahāendra-
Ākṣa, illustrated partly in the same series, and partly in Kumāragupta’s silver coins (Ind. Ant. Vol.
p. 56);—of Sārdīla and Ananta, for Sārdīlawarman and Anantavarman, in the Barhār and
Nājījant Hill inscriptions, No. 48 below, Plate xxxB. Ii. 1, 1, 5, and No. 49, Plate xxxA. F. 1, 9; —of Kākṣita and Mṛigēśa for Kākṣithavarman and Mṛigēśavarman in one of the Hālī grants
(Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 28, 2, 4);—of Harsha, for Harshvardhana of Kanauj, e.g., in the Kaṭhakā
grant of Vikramāditya V. (id. Vol. XVI. p. 23, 1);—of Vikrama, for the Western Chālukya king
Vikramaditya VI., e.g., in one of the Narājāl inscriptions (“Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc” Vol. XI. p. 226,
I. 24) and of Padma and Śūrya, for Padmapāla and Śūryapāla, in the Gwālior inscription of
Mahāpāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 36 ff., 11. 1, 9, 12, 38.)

1 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
TRANSLATION.

(Line 29.)—This lofty column (is) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming the same,—which, having pervaded the entire surface of the earth with development that was caused by (his) conquest of the whole world (has departed) hence (and now) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (his) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,—of the Mahârâjâdhikirya, the glorious

1 By taking an alternative meaning of uchchhrîtaḥ, we might translate—"This column has been erected, as if it were an arm of the earth," &c. But this would include the assumption that the column had fallen, and was set up again in the time of Chandragupta II.; and in that case sthâpitaḥ would have been a better word to use than uchchhrîtaḥ, and the word would have stood better after, instead of before, stambhaḥ. It seems best to adopt a translation that does not bind us to either view.—Prinsep considered it to be proved that the column had fallen, and was set up again, expressly to display the present inscription. His grounds for this opinion (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 567 f.) are, that there are several names on it which he considered to be in characters of a type intermediate between those of the Aśoka and the Gupta inscriptions, and one of which, at least, it would have been exceedingly inconvenient, if not impossible, to have cut while the column was erect. But this particular name, with several of the others referred to by him, is in characters that are certainly of considerably later date than the Gupta inscription; and none of the names are in characters that are any earlier than the inscription.

2 I.e. on his death.—Compare the expression in line 23 f. of the Kârdâ grant of Kakka III. of Sâka-Saṅvat 894,—"and when (his) elder brother, the glorious Krishnârâjâdevâ, had ascended to the skies, as if from a desire to conquer the realm of Indra" (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. pp. 265, 268); compare also line 14, verse 30, of the Gâlavi inscription of Mahâpala of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1190 (id. Vol. XV. pp. 37, 43),—"Padmapâla, still a youth, through the adversity of fortune, obtained a seat [on the lap] of Saṃkrândana (Indra)"

3 Mahârâjâdhikirya, lit. 'supreme king of Mahârâjâs' (see page 15 below, note 4), is one of the titles indicative of supreme paramount sovereignty, and is the only expression that properly and fully answers to our idea of a 'king.' I use it and all other technical titles and terms, without translation, because, if only for the sake of uniformity and convenience of comparison, it is much better to use them in this way, than to attempt to render them into English by expressions which must always vary accordingly to the idiosyncracies of the translators, and which can never suffice to give exact and complete equivalents for the original titles.—The present title, Mahârâjâdhikirya, in somewhat later times, is almost always coupled with two others, Paramêśvara, 'supreme lord,' and Parama-bhâttaraka, 'most worshipful one,' e.g. in line 50 ff. of the Aśoka grant of Śâlabota VII., No. 39 below, Plate xxv. And the connection of the three titles was so constant, that a Râvâ grant (unpublished) of Trailokyamalla, dated Vikrama-Saṅvat 1297, considers it unnecessary to give all three titles in full, and contents itself with describing him as parama-bhâttaraka-âty-âdi-râjâvâdâ-traya-dipâ, "possessed of the three kingly titles (lit. succession) commencing with Parmahâttrâkasa." Other titles of paramount sovereignty, occurring in this series, are Râjâdhikirya and Chakravartin.

4 Irf, 'fortune, majesty, glory,' and Irmañ, 'possessed of fortune, majesty, glory,' are words of constant occurrence as honorific prefixes to the names of persons, gods, places, &c. I render them by 'glorious,' in the case of paramount sovereigns and their wives; 'illustrious,' of feudatories and other ordinary persons; 'saintly,' of priests, teachers, &c.; 'holy,' of gods; and 'famous,' of towns, &c.—The usual rule seems to have been, to use irf before a consonant, and irmañ before a vowel; thus irmañ-Indrabala-śûnu, &c., irmañ-Navadēnya samaya-prdhâpana, &c., irf-Mahâsiva-Tvârapa, &c., in the Râjim grant of the Râjâ Tvarâdeva, No. 82 below, Plate xlv. l. 16 ff. But instances of deviation from this occur; thus, without sañkâhi or the euphonic joining of vowels, irf-Adityaśnâdevâ, in the Shâhpur image inscription, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA. l. 2 f., and irf-Adityashnâdevas and irf-
Samudragupta, —

\( L. 1.\) — [Who] ....... by his own kinsmen .................

.................; — whose .................

(L. 3.) — [Who] .................

twanging (of the bow-string) ................. burst open and scattered ................. dishelved .................;

(L. 5.) — Whose happy mind was accustomed to associate with learned people; — who was the supporter of the real truth of the scriptures; ................. firmly fixed .................; — who, having overwhelmed, with the (force of the) commands of the collective merits of (his) learned men, those things which obstruct the beauty of excellent poetry, (still) enjoys, in the world of the wise, the sovereignty of the fame (produced) by much poetry, ................. and of clear meaning;

(L. 7.) — Who, being looked at (with envy) by the faces, melancholy (through the rejection of themselves), of others of equal birth, while the attendants of the court breathed forth deep sighs (of happiness), was hidden by (his) father, — who, exclaiming “Verily (he is) worthy,” embraced (him) with the hairs of (his) body standing erect (through pleasure) (and thus) indicative of (his) sentiments, and scanned (him) with an eye turning

Iṣṭiddēvāyam, in the Dēb-Baraṅgār inscription of Jīvagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxix B, lines 2 f. and 3 f; and, on the other hand, paramabhāṣṭraka-mahādījjhīrdaya-paramēśvara-īṣmat-Swarnavarsahadosa-prithivavallabhah-īṣmat-Valabhanvaradhodho, used in respect of the Rāṣṭrākūta king Gōvinda V. in his Sāṅgīta grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 251, l. 39 f.) ; and numerous other instances. — It has been suggested that only īṣmat, not īṣmat, is used in the case of paramount sovereignty. But this is not the case. In addition to the passage noted above in connection with Gōvinda V., we have paramēśvara-īṣmat-Āsantivarman, in the Dēb-Baraṅgār inscription, l. 15; īṣmat-Ādityavarman-prithivavallabhah-mahādījjhīrdaya-paramēśvara, applied to the Western Chāluṣka king Ādityavarman in his Kārṇūrl grant (Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 234, l. 12 f.); paramabhāṣṭraka-mahādījjhīrdaya-paramēśvara-īṣmat-Dhāravarsahadosa, applied to the Rāṣṭrākūta king Dhrūva, in the Wasi grant of Gōvinda III. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 33 f.); īṣmat-Āṃgāsavarsa-Nṛpatuṇga, used of king Amāghavarsha I. of the same dynasty, in his Śirīr inscription (id. Vol. XII. p. 219, l. 16); īṣmat-Vikramaśīra-īṣmat-Ṭhiruvanamallādova, used of the Western Chāluṣka king Vikramaśīra V., in his Kauṭhēc grant (id. Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 73); and many other examples of the same usage.

1 As regards the termination gupta, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Book iii. Chap. 10, verse 9, says—

“The termination sarman is prescribed for a Brāhmaṇ; varman belongs to a Kṣatriya; (and a name characterised by gupta or dāsa is approved of in the case of (respectively) a Vaiṣyā and a Śūdra.) The commentary in the Bombay edition gives, as examples, Sōmaśarṇa, Īndrarvarman, Chandragupta, and Śivadāsā. (See also P. E. Hall’s edition of H. H. Wilson’s Translation, Vol. III. p. 99 f.) — So also in the Mahāvaṇḍakarmādīṣṭra, ii. 31 (Burnell’s Translation, p. 20), a rule of the same tendency is laid down, though without specifying any particular terminations. — On this authority, it has been suggested that the Early Guptas were not of high rank, being at the beat of the Vaiṣyā caste; and that this is the reason why they felt such pride in their alliance with the Lichchhavis, as shewn by the record of the name of Kumāradēvi and of her family on some of the gold coins of Chandragupta I., and by the epithet, “daughter’s son of Lichchhavi (or of a Lichchhavi king),” that is always applied to Samudragupta in the genealogical passages. — No doubt some such rules as those prescribed by the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and Mahāvaṇḍakarmādīṣṭra, were followed more or less in early times. But, as instances of deviation from them, we have the name of the well-known astronomer Brahmagupta, who it can hardly be doubted was a Brāhmaṇ; and Dāsavarman occurs, as the name of a Brāhmaṇ, in line 28 of the Nerīr grant of Vijayakīrti, dated Saka-Samvat 627 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 131; Indian Inscriptions, No. 20); and doubtless numerous similar instances might be found, if proper indexes were available.
round and round in affection, (and) laden with tears (of joy), (and) perceptive of (his noble) nature,—[to govern of a surety] the whole world;—

(L. 9.)—Whose ........................ some people (were accustomed to) taste with affection, displaying exceeding great joy when they beheld (his) many actions that resembled nothing of a mortal nature; (and) whose protection other people, afflicted by (his) prowess, sought, performing obeisance, ...................... ;—

(L. 11.)—[Whose] ......................... doers of great wrong, always conquered by his arm in battle, ...... to-morrow and to-morrow .......... pride ...................... ............................ repentance, with minds filled with contentment (and) expanding with much clearly displayed pleasure and affection, .................... the spring (?) ;—

(L. 13.)—By whom,—having, unassisted, with the force of the prowess of (his) arm that rose up so as to pass all bounds, uprooted Achyuta and Nāgasena ........... ...
... (by whom), causing him who was born in the family of the Kōtas to be captured by (his) armies, (and) taking his pleasure at (the city) that had the name of Pushpa, while the sun ...... the banks ...... ;—

(L. 15.)—(Of whom it used to be said),—“The building of the pale of religion; fame as white as the rays of the moon, (and) spreading far and wide, wisdom that pierced the essential nature of things; ....... calmness ............... ; the path of the sacred hymns, that is worthy to be studied; and even poetry, which gives free vent to the power of the mind of poets; (all these are his); (in short) what (virtue) is there that does not belong to him, who alone is a worthy subject of contemplation for those who can recognise merit and intellect? ;”—

(L. 17.)—Who was skilful in engaging in a hundred battles of various kinds;—whose only ally was the prowess of the strength of his own arm;—who was noted for prowess;—whose most charming body was covered over with all the beauty of the marks of a hundred confused wounds, caused by the blows of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javelins for throwing, iron arrows, vātasthakas; and many other (weapons);—

(L. 19.)—Whose great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by (his) glory produced by the favour shewn in capturing and then liberating Mahendras of

1 This verse seems to indicate that Chandragupta I: specially selected Samudragupta, from among several brothers, to conquer the land and to succeed him on the throne. —A clear indication of some such custom of selection is afforded by the epithet latiyaravāla, “accepted (as his favourite son and chosen successor) by him (Samudragupta),” which is always applied to Chandragupta II. in the genealogical passages; e.g., in line 9-10 of his Mathurā inscription, No. 4 below, Plate iii. —And, that occasionally the widow of a deceased king selected his successor, is perhaps indicated by the way in which, in one of the Nāpāl inscriptions (Nd. Ant. Vol. IX. pp. 164, l. 18 ff. and 165, v. 8 ff.), Rājyavati, the widow of Dharmadēva, is described as bewailing the uselessness of her own life after her husband’s death, and as directing her son, Mānadhēva, to reign, that she may follow her deceased lord.

2 With this expression, compare the legend on some of Samudragupta’s gold coins, —Samavastā-viśvā-vijaya jīta ....... abhā jayati; see, for instance, Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5.

3 With this expression and the preceding, compare the word parākrama, ‘prowess;’ compare, reverse of the coins referred to in the preceding note.

4 This word is not explained in the dictionaries. It must be a derivative from viśasti, ‘a long span, measured by the extended thumb and little finger.’
Kósala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Maṇṭarāja of Kēraḷa,1 Mahēndra of Pisaṭapura,2 Svāmīdatta of Koṭṭūra on the hill,3 Damana of Érandapalla, Vishnugopa of Kānti, Nilarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Venēri, Ugrasēna of Pālakka,4 Kubēra of Dévarāṣṭhra, Dhanamjaya of Kusthalapura, and all the other kings of the region of the south;—

(L. 21.)—Who abounded in majesty that had been increased by violently exterminating Rudradēva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandravarman, Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasēna, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman, and many other kings (of the land of) Áryāvarta;5—who made all the kings of the forest countries' to become (his) servants;—

1 See page 7, above, note 1.
2 and 3 See page 7 above, note 2.—As regards the introduction of the mountain Mahēndragiri in this passage, Gen. Cunningham (Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 10) accepted it, and identified the mountain with the conical hill close to Mahiyar (the 'Maihar, Meyhar, Meyhere, Myhera, and Myhur,' of maps, &c.; Lat. 24° 16' N.; Long. 80° 47' E.), the chief town of the Mahiyar State, a little to the south of Uchharār, in the Baghēlkhand division of Central India. Mahiyar may perhaps be derived from Mahēndragiri; but, under any circumstances, this identification cannot be upheld.

4 Or perhaps Pālakka, with the long vowel ā in the first syllable.

5 dakshind̄patha, lit. 'the path or road of the south; the southern road,' was the technical expression for Southern India.—The analogous technical expression for Northern India was uttar-patha, lit. 'the path or road of the north; the northern road.' It does not occur in the present series. But it is of constant use in connection with the great king Harshavardhana of Kanauji, e.g. samarasambhāsakhalittarāvdhēvāra-sr-Harshavardhana, ‘the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north,' in line 8 of the Nṛdrīr grant of the Western Chalukya king Vījyādītya, dated Saka-Samvat 622 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 127); and, in line 20 of the same grant, it is contrasted with the dakshind̄patha, which is there mentioned under the synonym of dakshindī, 'the southern quarter or region.'—A perhaps better known name of Northern India is Áryāvarta, 'the abode of the Áryas, or excellent or noble people,' which occurs in line 21 of the present inscription.—In the Māndhāvatarmātrata, ii. 22 (Burnell's Translation, p. 18) Áryāvarta is defined as the land between the Himālaya and Vindhyā mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western sea. But a more precise division between the uttar-patha and the dakshind̄patha is given by the poet Rājasēkha, who, in the Bōlāramdīyana, Act 6 (see V. Sh. Apte's Rājasēkhara: his Life and Writings, p. 21), speaks of the river Narmādā (the 'Nerbudda'), which rises in, and runs along close to the south of the Vindhyā range, as "the dividing-line of Áryāvarta and the dakshind̄patha."—

6 i.e. "of northern India;" see the preceding note.

7 Compare the passage in line 8 of the Khōṅ grant of the Mahārāja Saṁkṣhītha, No. 25 below, Pl. xvb, describing his ancestor Haśtin as ruling over his hereditary kingdom of Daibahā, together with the eighteen forest kingdoms.—I have not been able to trace any definition of the terms dvārika-rāja, 'forest-kings' or 'kings of forest countries,' and arāj&mashya, 'forest-kings,' much less to obtain any enumeration of the eighteen forest-kings referred to in connection with the Mahārāja Haśtin. But Haśtin's territories lay in the direction of Bundēlkhand, Baghēlkhand, Rīwā, and other neighbouring parts of the Vindhyā range. And I notice that the term Vindhyāvāl, 'the forests of the Vindhyā mountains' (which are so often referred to in one of the customary imprecatory verses used in inscriptions), is given by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as seeming to have denoted originally the whole extent of country from near Mathurā to the Narmāḍa. This area corresponds pretty closely with the modern term Central India; and the separate divisions of it would be very suitably represented by the general term 'forest-countries' or 'forest-kings.'—Somewhat similar terms, vana-rāj&mashya, 'forest-countries,' and vana-rāj&mashya, 'forest-kings,' occur in the Bēkha-Sānkhith, xiv. vv. 29, 30. But the countries there spoken of, lay in the north-east division of India, as mapped out by Varāhamihira; and they 'are, at any rate, not the countries referred to in connection with the Mahārāja Haśtin.
(L. 22.)—Whose imperious commands were fully gratified, by giving all (kinds of) taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance, by the frontier kings1 of Samatāta, Daṅkā, Kāmarūpa, Népāla, Kārttipura, and other (countries) and by the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaundhēyas, Mādrakas, Abhiras, Prājrūnas Sanakānikas,2 Kākas, Kharapārikas, and other (tribes);—

(L. 23.)—Whose tranquil fame, pervading the whole world, was generated by establishing (again) many royal families, fallen and deprived of sovereignty;—who: binding together of the (whole) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (his) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves a sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa-tokens,3 (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his) commands, &c., (rendered) by the Daivaputras, Shāhīs, Shāhānushāhīs, Śakas, and Murundas, and by the people of Sinhala and all other dwellers in islands;—who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world;—who, by the overflow of the multitude of (his) various virtues adorned by a hundred good actions, rubbed out the fame of other kings with the soles of (his) feet;—who, being incomprehensible, was the spirit that was the cause of the production of good and the destruction of evil;—who, being full of compassion, had a tender heart that could be won over simply by devotion and obeisance;—who was the giver of many hundreds of thousands of cows;—

(L. 26.)—Whose mind busied itself with the support and the initiation, &c., of the miserable, the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted;—who was the glorified personification of kindness to mankind;—who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka;4—whose officers were always employed in restoring the wealth of the various kings who had been conquered by the strength of his arms;—

(L. 27.)—Who put to shame (Kaśyapa) the preceptor of (Indra) the lord of the gods, and Tumburu, and Nārada, and others, by (his) sharp and polished intellect and

1 pratyanta-nripati.—This may denote either the kings within the frontiers of Samatāta and the following countries, i.e. the 'neighbouring kings' of those countries, or the kings or chieftains just outside the frontiers of them. Upon the interpretation that is accepted, will depend the question whether Samudragupta's empire included those countries, or whether it only extended up to, and was bounded by, their frontiers.

2 See page 8 above, note 1.

3 Garuḍam-anu.—Whether the bird be Garuḍa or not, we have here, I consider, a distinct allusion to the 'bird-standard' on some of the coins of Samudragupta and his successors; see, for instance, the coins given by Mr. V. A. Smith in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. Plate ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 14, Plate iii. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, Plate iv. Nos. 4, 5, 7; see also id. p. 131 f., and Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. pp. 93, 179. — Garutmat is explained in dictionaries as meaning 'a bird in general,' as well as denoting 'the bird Garuḍa.' But its most usual and special signification is 'Garuḍa,' as, for instance, in line 7 of the Rājajī grant of the Rājajī Tvaradēva, No. 81 below, Plate xiv.

4 Three of the habitual expressions of the Early Gupta records, applied always and only to Samudragupta,—viz. the present one; "who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka," which we have here in line 26; and "whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans," which occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the Bhitarā pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.—are applied, curiously enough, to the Chalukya chieftain Vijayarāja of Gujarkot, in line 5 f. of his Kaira grant of the year 394 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 248). The only difference is that, in the second epithet, the reading there is sama-prabhāva, instead of simply sama.—Of the present epithet, the latter part, apratīrthā, was used on some of Samudragupta's coins; e.g. Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. No. 6.

5 See the preceding note.
choral skill and musical accomplishments;—who established (his) title of 'king of poets' by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people;—whose many wonderful and noble deeds are worthy to be praised for a very long time;—

(L. 28)—Who was a mortal only in celebrating the rites of the observances of mankind, (but was otherwise) a god, dwelling on the earth;—who was the son of the son's son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Gupta;—who was the son's son of the

1 Nārada is regarded as the inventor of the vīṇḍ or lute; and, with this reference to him and to the musical accomplishments of Samudrāgupta, we have to compare the coins of the 'lyrist type' (see, for instance, Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII, Part I, Pl. ii. Nos. 7, 8), which represent Samudrāgupta playing the lute.

2 Compare lines 6 and 16 of this inscription.—The title kavīrāja, 'king of poets,' answering somewhat to our 'poet laureate,' is still in use in Native States.

3 The English terms 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' are applicable to female as well as male descent, and are therefore not suitable for use in translations from the Sanskrit. The Hindus were almost always most careful about thing properly discriminating terms, e.g. pātra for a grandson through a son, and dawithira for a grandson through a daughter; the status of the two lines of descent differed more than in European countries; and, in translating, it is necessary to preserve the distinction accurately. I will quote an instance in proof. In translating line 12 f. of No. 15 of his Nēpāli inscriptions, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrājī (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 181) spoke of "Vatsadever... the daughter of illustrious Bōghavarman..." and the grand-daughter of great "Ādityaśāna, the illustrious lord of Magadhā." From this, Gen. Cunningham (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XV. p. 163) naturally enough treated Bōghavarman, who belonged really to the Maukhari family, as a son, instead of a son-in-law, of Ādityaśāna. This mistake could not have occurred, if dawithira had been properly rendered by 'daughter's daughter,' instead of vaguely 'grand-daughter.'—The words that are fairly translatable by 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' are naptri and tranaptri. They both occur in the grants of the Mahārāja Hastin and Sanatkshōba, Nos. 21 to 23 and 25 below; and naptri occurs in line 5 of the Bhāmak pillar inscription, No. 24 below, Pl. xvA. But the use of them is rare.

4 Mahārāja, lit. 'great king,' appears to have been, in somewhat earlier times, one of the titles of paramount sovereignty. Thus, it is used, by itself, by Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva, who, here is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 93, 93, and 93 (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 31, Pl. xiii. No. 4; p. 33, Pl. xiv. No. 9; and p. 34, Pl. xiv. No. 16); and, in conjunction with the higher title of Rājiārāja, 'superior king of kings,' by the same three kings in their inscriptions of the years 114, 47, and 87 (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 249; Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 33, Pl. xiv. No. 12, and p. 35, Pl. xv. No. 18). So also, in conjunction sometimes with the same word and sometimes with Rājārāja, 'king of kings,' the two together representing the Greek βασίλειον, it was used, in Prākrit, on the bilingual coins of earlier date; e.g. in conjunction with Rājiārāja, on the coins of Hemakapādesha (Gardner and Poole's Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, p. 124 ff.), and, in conjunction with Rājiārāja, on the coins of Ayaxes (id. p. 73 ff.). And, before then, it was used by itself, to represent the Greek βασίλειον, at a time when apparently the fuller title of βασίλειον βασίλειον had not been introduced; e.g. on the coins of Hermaeus (id. p. 62 ff.).—But, in the Early Gupta and subsequent periods, Mahārāja was habitually used simply as a technical official title, indicative no doubt of considerable rank and power, but applied only to feudatories, not to paramount sovereigns.—From the way in which the two titles are applied uniformly to Samudrāśāna and his ancestors in the Nīrmand grant, No. 80 below, Plate xlvii, the title Mahāsdharmanta, lit. 'great chief of a district,' appears to have been exactly co-ordinate with that of Mahārāja.—A third title, Mahāśāntipati, lit. 'great lord of the army,' seems to have been denoted equal rank with these two; since it is coupled with Mahārāja in the fragmentary Bijayagārh inscription of the Yaudhyāyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxviiB, and also in the Wāla day seal of Pushyēna (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 274 f.).—And three other offices, viz. those of Mahāprathikāra, Mahādāṇḍyaka, and Mahākārakāra, would seem to have been sometimes held by Mahārājjas and Mahāśāntantas; since we find all five titles applied to Dhrūvasēna I. of Valabhi, k line 13 f. of the Wāla grant of Gupta-Saṃvat 216 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 105).
Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghaṭotkacha;—who was the son of the Mahārāja Mahādēvī, the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (and) the daughter’s son of Lichchhavi,† begotten on the Mahārājadevi Kumārādēvi;—

(L. 30.)—(And) whose fame,—ever heaped up higher and higher by the development of (his) liberality and prowess of arm and composure and (study of) the precepts of the scriptures,—travelling by many paths, purifies the three worlds, as if it were the pale yellow water of (the river) Ganga, flowing quickly on being liberated from confinement in the thickets of the matted hair of (the god) Pāsupati.‡

(L. 31.)—And this poetical composition,—(the work) of the Khādaṭaṭapakī,§ the son of the Mahādāṇḍadāya Dhrubabhūti, the Śadvikīrgrahaṇika and Kumārādāya, the Mahādāṇḍadāya Ḍarīṣṭhena, who is the slave of these same feet of the

† Or “of a Lichchhavi (king).”—The present is the more usual form of the name. But the variant Lichchhivi, with the vowel i instead of a in the second syllable, occurs in line 3 of the Bhārat pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.; in line 5 of the spurious Gaṅga grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; and in the Menaṇḍharmāṣṭāra, x. 22 (Burnell’s Translation, p. 308), where a Lichchhivi, with others, is defined as the offspring of a degraded member of the Kathariya caste.

‡ Mahādēvi, lit. ’great goddess,’ appears to have been always a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns; though, in somewhat later times than that of the present inscription, it was also sometimes applied to the wives of Mahārājas, e.g. throughout the Kāśṭhā grant of Jayaṇātha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.—As applied to the wives of paramount sovereigns, we have it again in the present volume, in conjunction with Paramabhūtattikā and Rājītī, in the Māṇḍār Hill inscriptions of Āḍīyāsena, Nos. 44 and 45 below, and throughout the Dēḍ-Baraṇākār inscription of Jivtigupta II., No. 45 below, Plate xxix.B. In other series it occurs, for instance, as part of the name of Lōkākmaḥādēvi, the queen-consort of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II., in some of his Pāṭṭadakāl inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 104 ff.); and as the title of Gāmūḍabbe, the wife of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., in line 5 of the grant of Saka-Saṃvat 726 (id. Vol. XI. p. 127).

§ When, under the circumstances referred to in the note on line 3 f. of the Mandaśār inscription of Yaśōdharmar and Vishnuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii., the river Ganges was about to descend from heaven to earth,—in order to break the force of its fall, the god Śiva (Pāsupati) received it in the matted hair coiled above his forehead and projecting like a horn; and its waters wandered there for a thousand years, before they eventually reached the earth.

It is doubtful whether this is a tribal or family name, or an official title. The etymology of it is not apparent.

Mahādāṇḍadāya, lit. ’great leader of the forces,’ is a technical military title.—The officer who held this rank was the superior of the Dāṇḍadāyakas, or ’leaders of the forces.’ This latter title occurs, for instance (together with that of Piriyaṇḍadāya, which is the Old-Kanarese translation of the Sanskrit Mahādāṇḍadāya), in line 17 ff. of the Bājaṅkāve inscription of Saṅkamadevā (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 46).—We constantly meet with Dāṇḍadāya, Dāṇḍhīdāya, Dāṇḍahīpati, Dāṇḍēśa, and Dāṇḍīvara, as synonyms of Dāṇḍadāya.—Prīntes translated Mahādāṇḍadāya in the present inscription by ’administrator of punishments (magistrate)’ and ’criminal magistrate;’ and this rendering has sometimes been adopted by other translators. As dāṇḍa means ’fine’ and ’rod (of chastisement),’ as well as ’army, forces,’ the titles in which it occurs are capable of being explained as either judicial or military. But, that they are employed in the inscriptions as military titles, is shewn (1) by the way in which the words Chamūnda, Chamāpa, Chamāpāti, &c., in which chamā means only ’army,’ are occasionally used as synonyms for Dāṇḍadāya, &c., e.g. in line 33 ff. of the Kargudari inscription of Vikramāditya VI. and Tailapa II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 252), where the Dāṇḍhīdāya and Dāṇḍahīpati Isvaraya is also called Chamāpa; and (2) by the definition of the Dāṇḍadāya Kavaṇaya as samasto-śāṇāgraśavrā, or ’leader of the whole army,’ in line 19 of the Bājaṅkāve inscription referred to above.

Śadvikīrgrahaṇika, lit. ’an officer for peace and war,’ is a technical official or military title. Other synonymous titles were Śadvikārādikīrka (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 70, line 17 f.); Śadvikārādikīrka (e.g. id. Vol. IV. p. 175, line 18); and Śadvikīrgrahaṇi (e.g. id. Vol. VIII. p. 20, where it is coupled with Mahārājadeva and Dāṇḍadāya).—The next grade above this was that of the Mahāśadvikīrgrahaṇika, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 29 f. of the Kōh grant of the Mahāraja Hastin of the year 163, No. 22 below, Plate xxxii.

Kumārādāya, lit. ’counsellor of the prince,’ is another technical official title.—The next grade above it was that of the MahāKumārādāya, who is mentioned, for instance, in line 33 of the Bhāgaḷpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 306).
Bhadra,1 (and) whose mind is expanded by the favour of constantly walking about in (his) presence,—let it be for the welfare and happiness of all existing beings!

(L. 33)—And the accomplishment of the matter has been effected by the Mahādanaṇḍanaṇaya Tilabhāṣṭaka, who meditates on the feet2 of the Parama-

bhāṣṭraka.3

1 It is somewhat doubtful whether this title here denotes Samudragupta, or his successor; but on the whole, ēshām, 'these', being used, not ēshām, 'those', the passage seems to have a strictly present sense, and to refer to Chandragupta II.; contrast tasya, 'of him, of that one', which is used to denote Samudragupta in line 17 above, but which I have had, for convenience, to render in the translation by the relative pronoun.—Bhadra, lit. 'one who is entitled to reverence or homage,' is another technical kingly title. In somewhat later times, it seems to have belonged properly to feudatory Mahārājas; thus, it is coupled with the name of the Mahārāja Śivadeva I. in two of the Nēpāli inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 168, No. 5, line 3, and Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 2), and with the name of the Mahārāja Dhruvadeva in the same series (id. Vol. IX. p. 173, No. 10, line 4, where the syllables māhāt, at the end of the line, are omitted in the published text). So, also, we find the feminine form, Bhāṣṭrīḍik, used as the termination of the names of wives of Mahārājas; e.g. in line 3 ff. of the Asirghar seal of Sarvarvan, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA., and in line 4 of the Nikmaṇḍ grant of the Mahārāja and Mahāsānta Samudrāśeṇa, No. 86 below, Plate xiv.—As applied to paramount sovereigns, the fuller and more usual title is Paramabhāṣṭrakāra; as in line 33 of this inscription (see also page 10 above, note 3). But other instances occur in which the shorter title is used; e.g. in line 6 of No. 9 of the Nēpāli inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 172), Amsāvarman has the titles of Bhāṣṭraka and Mahārājādhīrāja; in line 17 ff. of the Wokkalēri grant of Krittivaran II. (id. Vol. VIII. p. 26 ff.), the Western Chalukya king Vikramādiya I. and his successors, down to Krittivaran II., all have the titles of Mahārājādhīrāja, Paramāśavara, and Bhāṣṭrakāra. And we have the same title in Old-Kanarese inscriptions, in the abbreviated, or perhaps original, forms of Bhāṣṭra and Bhāṣṭrā; e.g. in line 2 f. of the Mahākūta inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vijayāditya (id. Vol. X. p. 103), in which three of the Chalukyas are mentioned, the title of Mahārājādhīrāja, Paramāśavara, and Bhāṣṭrā; and in line 2 of the Raṣṭakāttā king Dhruva (id. Vol. XI. p. 124), in which he has the titles of Mahārājādhīrāja, Paramāśavara, and Bhāṣṭrā.—In the sense of 'reverend,' bhāṣṭrākāra was also a priestly title; e.g. it is applied to the Jain priest Kumudachandra, in line 2 of the Nēsārgi inscription (id. Vol. X. p. 129, note 16).—And, in the sense of 'worthy of worship; sacred,' it was also applied to gods; e.g. to Paśupati (Śiva), in line 1 of No. 6 of the Nēpāli inscriptions (id. Vol. IX. p. 169); to the Sun, in line 15 of the Khōb grant of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha, No. 28 below, Plate xxvi.; and to Varuṇāśāra (the Sun), in line 13 of the Dē-Baṇapark inscription of Jīvatgupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxivB.

2 av-mudhyākṣa.—This is a customary technical term, used of the relations between a paramount sovereign and his feudatory chieftains, officials, &c.; e.g. in the Udayagiri cave inscription 'No. 3 below, Plate iiB., the Mahārāja, who makes the gift, is described as meditating on the feet of Chandragupta II.—It is also applied to the relations between parents and their children; e.g. in line 18 of the Rājim grant, No. 81 below, Plate xiv., the Rājā Tīrāvadeva is described as meditating on the feet of his mother and father. It is also used in connection with kingly successes, whether the natural relationship is that of fathers and sons, or of older and younger brothers; e.g. throughout the Karttakāta grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.; and in lines 6 and 8 of the grant of the Mahārāja Vīnayakapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. pp. 140, 141), who is described as meditating on the feet of his father, Mahāraṇapāla, and of his elder brother, Bhitā. And it is also used in respect of the worship of gods; e.g. in line 3 of the grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 249), the Chalukyas are described as meditating on the feet of the god Śvāmi-Mahēśa.—In one solitary instance, line 33 f. of the Khōųrātan grant of Śaka-Saṅvat 530 (Jour. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. I. p. 218), anudhyākṣa occurs without āvada preceding it, and the Śilāhāra chieftain Raṣṭārāja is described as śrī-Satyaśārayudāv-mudhyākṣa, 'meditating on the glorious (king) Satyaśāraya.' But the omission of āvada here is probably due only to carelessness on the part of the drafter of the record.

3 i.e. Chandragupta II.—Paramabhāṣṭrakāra, lit. 'one who is supremely entitled to reverence or homage,' is one of the technical titles indicative of supreme sovereignty (see page 10 above, note 3).—I have found one instance in which it is also used as a priestly title, in line 43 of an inscription of Śaka-Saṅvat 1172 at Mamāpur in the Belgum District (Indian Inscriptions, No. 1), where it is applied to a Śaiva priest named Vimalaśāva or Vimalaśambu.—The feminine form, Parama-
bhāṣṭrādik, was one of the titles of wives of paramount sovereigns; e.g. in the Mandār Hill inscriptions of Ādityaśeṇa, Nos. 44 and 45 below.
No. 2; PLATE II A.

ERAN STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRA GUPTA.

This inscription, which has not been previously edited, was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Alexander Cunningham, R.E., O.S.I., C.I.E., then Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. X, p. 89.

Eran, the ancient Airikina, is a village on the left bank of the Bina, eleven miles to the west by north from Khuraj, the chief town of the Khural Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Sagar District in the Central Provinces. The inscription is on a red-sandstone squared block, that was found a short distance to the west of the well-known ruined temple of the Boar, at which there is the inscription of Taraman, No. 36 below. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 9½ broad by 3½ high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; but it does not give a very clear lithograph, in consequence of the whole surface of the stone being full of holes more or less large. It is only a fragment; six entire lines, as shewn by the numbering of the verses, have been broken away and lost at the top of the stone, and an indefinite number at the bottom; and also an entire pada of each successive verse, has been broken away and lost at the commencement of lines 25 ff. In addition to this, from one to three letters have been destroyed at the commencement of each extant line, as far as line 24, by whetting tools on the edge of the stone. As far as line 24, each line contains one pada of a verse; but the following lines contained originally two paddas each; this shews that the inscription was of an irregular shape, with probably some sculptures on the proper right side of the stone above the first halves of lines 24 ff.—The average size of the letters is about ½. As is indicated especially by the form of m, the characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; and I should be inclined to name them a variety, with southern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of the period. The particular type used in this inscription is further represented in the present volume by the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate ii B.; the Arang plates of Mahâ-Jyaratâja, No.

1 The 'Airan, Ehrin, Eran, and Erun,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 52. Lat. 24° 4′ N.; Long. 78° 15′ E.—The name is now written and pronounced both Era and Eran; but, as is shewn by the ancient name, Airikina, the first form, with the lingual r, is the correct one.—The name is no unique; for the maps shew another 'Eran' seven miles almost due west of Bhelā, and another thirteen miles to the north-east of Bhelā.

2 So far as the passage in line 25 of the present inscription goes, we might take this name as either Airikina or Brikina, in consequence of the euphonic absorption of the final a of vihaya. But the real form of the name is shewn by line 7 of the Boar inscription of Taraman, No. 36 below, Plate xxiii A., where we have vihaya-smin=Airikina, without any subdhi or joining of vowels.—The autonomous copper coins of the Aîoka period, found at Era, give us an earlier Pâli or Prakrit form of the name, which is either Erakañā or Erakañā; but the last syllable is not very distinct in the specimens available for examination (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XIV. p. 149, and Plate xxxi Nos. 17 and 18.)

3 The 'Khorai, Khurai, Korai, Kurai, and Kurâi,' of maps, &c.

4 The 'Sâgar and Sauger' of maps, &c.

40, Plate xxvi.; the Râypur plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, No. 41, Plate xxvii.; the Vâkâataka inscriptions, Nos. 53 to 56, Plates xxxiii., xxxiv. and xxxv.; and the Râjim plates of Tîvra dēva, No. 81, Plate xlv. The chief characteristic of it is the peculiar 'box-headed' tops of the letters, formed by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and leaving a block of stone or copper in the centre of them. We have a variation of this characteristic, represented in this volume by the Mahīgawām plates of the Mahārdāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23, Plate xiv., in which the tops of the letters, instead of being 'box-headed' or square, are 'nail-headed' or triangular, with the apex of the triangle downwards. And the present inscription contains a mixture of both types; the 'nail-headed' tops can be seen in, for instance, prithu-râghav-ddyāk, line 8, and samudraguptikā, line 10; and the 'box-headed' tops in, for instance, bahu-patra-pautra, line 19, and samara-karmma parâkram-sddham, line 21. Owing to the nature of the substance worked on, in the case of inscriptions on stone, except those on a large scale, these centre blocks would obviously be very liable to injury; in the actual process of engraving, as well as from the wear and tear of time. The result is that, though these two characteristics of this alphabet are usually very well preserved and are very recognisable in the copper-plates, in the stone inscriptions they are preserved, so as to be clearly recognised in this series of Plates, only in the large-scale Nachnē-kl-talāt inscriptions of the Mahārdāja Prithivivishēna, Nos. 53 and 54, Plate xxxiiiA. and B. In the present inscription I cannot find a single instance in which there is enough left of the triangular or the square centres of the tops of the letters, to shew distinctly in the lithograph. It is, in fact, quite possible that, in inscriptions of this scale on stone, the engraver was not very particular about leaving the centre-blocks at all; an indiscernibility about this is certainly observable even in the Chammak plates of the Mahārdāja Pravarasēna II., No. 55, Plate xxxiv., through nearly the whole of which the tops of the letters were scooped out hollow, without any centre-blocks at all. The characters include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the numerical symbols for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anussatra, before k, in parâkramana, line 26; and (2) the doubling of k and dh, in conjunction with a following r, in vikrama, line 1, and parâkkrama, lines 17 and 21; and in ddhrutam, line 12.

The inscription is one of the Early Gupta king Samudragupta, whose name is recorded in line 10. From the occurrence of the word bahāvā in line 9, the first part of the inscription probably mentioned some of his ancestors. But, that the inscription did not extend to the time of any of his successors, is shown by the fact that none of their names can be fitted into any of the places where letters are illegible in lines 11 to 24; consequently, the prowess, &c., described in these lines are those of Samudragupta; and this description is immediately followed by the mention of the erection, at the city of Airikīṇa, i.e. Āra, of something or other of which the stone was either a portion or the separate record. The lacunae here leave us without any clue as to what was erected, and in connection with what form of religion. But, judging from its shape and appearance,

1 Mr. C. Bendall has obtained two specimens of triangular-headed characters, one of them in Népâl, in which, differing from the present forms, the apex of the triangle is placed uppermost; see his Journal of Népâl, p. 54 f. He appears to have named them 'point-headed' or 'arrow-headed' characters.—Quite recently, Mr. J. Robinson, C.E., of Gayâ, has sent me, for examination, another very interesting specimen of a variety of the same characters in an inscription on the bottom plate of a brass image of Buddha.
the stone is part of a temple. And General Cunningham has suggested that, if it was attached to any of the existing ruins, it belonged most probably to the temple with a colossal figure of Vishnu, immediately on the north of the temple of the Boar. The date of the inscription, if any was recorded, is broken away and lost.

TEXT:
(Lines 1 to 6, containing the whole of the first verse and the first half of the second, are entirely broken away and lost.)

7 [ suo-] suvarṇa-ḍānē
8 [ritā] nṛpatayaḥ Prithu-Ṛghav-ādyāḥ [Iī*] 2
9 [ ] bhaṅgūva Dhanad-Āntaka-tushī-kopa-tulahāt
10 [ ] ma-nayēna Samudraguptaḥ [Iī*]
11 [ ] pārthitha-ganasakalāḥ prithivyām
12 [ ] sta(? sva)-rājya-vibhava-ddhutān-āsthitō bhūt [II*] 3
13 [ ] bhakti-naya-vikrama-tōśhitēna
14 [ ] rāja-śabda-śibhavair abhisēchan-ādyāḥ [Iī*]
15 [ ] nityāḥ parama-tushi-purāśkritēna
16 [ ] nṛpatār-āpratīvārya-vṛtyāḥ [II*] 4
17 [ ] sya pa rvuxtapārakrama-datta-śukkā
18 [ ] hasty-āśva-ratna- ḍhana- ḍhānya-śamṛiddhi-yuktā [Iī*]
19 [ ] ān-griheṣhu muditā bahu-putra-paurasmāna
20 [ ] saṃkrāmini kula-vadhuh vrātinī nivāstā [II*] 5
21 [ ] Yasya-orjijitam samara-karma parākram-edhānu
22 [ ] yaṣāḥ su-vipulam-paribambhramti [Iī*]
23 [ ] yasāḥ ripavaś-cha raṇ-orjijitām
24 [ ] svaṃ-antarāśvam api vibhaya paritrasanti [II*] 6
25 [u] pada(?)h ara-bhūga-nagar-Airikinā
26 [ ] svaṃsthapitas-sva-yaśasaḥ paribrihnān(y)-
27 [ ] yō nṛpatār-āḥa yadda [u] [Iī*]

(The rest of the inscription is entirely broken away and lost.)

TRANSLATION.
(Lines 1 to 6, containing the whole of the first verse and the first half of the second, are entirely broken away and lost.)

(Line 7)— ................. in giving gold ................. [by whom] Prithu and Rāghava and other kings [were outshone.]

1 Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 89, and Plates xxvB. and xxviB.
2 From the original stone.
3 Metre, Vasantatilaka, throughout.
4 With this exception, the lines of this inscription, as far as line 24, contain exactly a śūdā of each verse. Lines 25 ff. contained exactly two śūdas of each verse.
5 Or perhaps chara-orjijitām.
(L. 9.)—......... there was Samudragupta, equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Antaka in (respectively) pleasure and anger;\footnote{Compare the customary expression, "equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka," in line 26 of No. 1 above, page 8. See also page 14 above, note 4.} by policy; \footnote{See page 18 above, note 2.} (and) [by whom] the whole tribe of kings upon the earth was [overthrown] and reduced to the loss of the wealth of their sovereignty;—

(L. 13.)—[Who], by ............ satisfied by devotion and policy and valour,—by the glories, consisting of the consecration by besprinkling, &c., that belong to the title of king,—(and) by ............ combined with supreme satisfaction,— ............ was a king whose vigour could not be resisted;—

(L. 17.)—[By whom] there was married a virtuous and faithful wife,\footnote{The lacuna in this verse render it impossible to say whether here, and below, sva, 'his own,' refers to Samudragupta, or to some feudatory of his, who may have been mentioned here.} whose dower was provided by (his) manliness and prowess; who was possessed of an abundance of elephants and horses and money and grain; who delighted in the houses of ......; (and) who went about in the company of many sons and sons' sons;—

(L. 21.)—Whose deeds in battle (are) kindled with prowess; (whose) ...... very mighty fame is always circling round about; and whose enemies are terrified, when they think, even in the intervals of dreaming, of (his) ............ that are vigorous in war;—

(L. 25.)—....................... in a place in Airikina,\footnote{Samudragupta's wife was Dattadēvī; but the metre prevents her having been mentioned by name in this verse.} the city of his own enjoyment ............ has been set up, for the sake of augmenting his own fame. 

(L. 27.)—....................... when the king said ............

(The rest of the inscription is entirely broken away and lost.)

No. 3; PLATE II B.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II. 

THE YEAR 82.

This inscription appears to have been first brought to notice in 1854 by General Cunningham, in his Bhilsa Topes, p. 150 ff., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxi. No. 200).—In 1858, in his edition of Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I. p. 246 f. note 4, Mr. Thomas published his own reading of the text, accompanied by a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson.—And, finally, in 1880, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 50, General Cunningham published his revised reading of the text, and a revised translation of it, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (id. Plate xix.)
Udayagiri is a well-known hill, with a small village of the same name on the eastern side of it, about two miles to the north-west of Bhêlsâ, the chief town of the Bhêlsâ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Isagadâ District in the dominions of Scinda (properly Sindê) in Central India. On the eastern side of the hill, a little to the south of the village, and almost on the level of the ground, there is a cave-temple, which, from its containing this inscription, General Cunningham has named "the Chandragupta Cave." The inscription is on the upper part of a smoothed and countersunk panel, about 4 feet 4 inches broad by 6 feet high, over two figures,—one of the four-armed god Vishnu, attended by his two wives; and one of a twelve-armed goddess, who must be some form of Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu, rather than, as suggested by General Cunningham, Mahishasur, i.e. Durgâ, the consort of Śiva,—which are sculptured on the face of the rock, outside the cave and a few feet to the north of the entrance to it.

The writing, which covers a space of about 3 feet 3 inches broad by 4 feet 6 inches high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; the surface of the rock has peeled off in some places; but no letters are entirely destroyed, except the g of chandragupta in line 1, and, in line 2, the first aksara of the name of the Mahârâja whose gift is recorded.—The average size of the letters is about 9 inches. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another specimen of the ‘box-headed’ variety, peculiar to Central India, which I have commented on at page 18 f. above; but in this inscription, again, there are no instances in which enough remains of the square centre of the tops of the letters to shew distinctly in the lithograph. In âsâdha, line 1, they include an adaptation from the northern alphabets; viz. the separate sign for the lingual dh, which, in the early southern alphabets, was represented, together with its unaspirated form d, by the same character as the dental d. They also include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 2 and 80.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice, is the doubling of dh in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyata, line 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II. It is dated, partly in numerical symbols and partly in words, in the year 7750 E.

1 The Udayagiri and Udegiri of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 32’ N.; Long. 77° 50’ E.
2 The ‘Bhilsa and Bhelsa’ of maps, &c.
3 The ‘Isagarh’ of maps.
5 Whether “current” or “expired,” is not specifically stated. But the locative case is used, and, there being no word signifying “expired” in apposition with it, the natural sense of it is “in the year eighty-two,” i.e. “while the year eighty-two is current.”—It is often asserted that the ancient Hindus always expressed their dates in expired years. And, according to this, we should understand atîb, ‘having gone by, having passed by,’ or any similar word, in apposition with saṁvatarî in the present passage, and translate accordingly.—No doubt, in making calculations, the Hindus worked, as Europeans must work, with the number of expired years as a basis. But this is quite a different question from that of their method of expressing the dates; as, also, is the question whether they did not sometimes by mistake quote years as current which were really expired, and the reverse, and even occasionally quote, as current, or even as expired, years that were still to come. And, as a very clear and pointed instance of the record of a date in current years, we have the Gwalior Sâlshâh temple inscription of Mahârâja, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150, which gives (Ind. Â. 142) Vol. XV. p. 41; vv. 107, 108; l. 40) first, in words, the number of years expired, and then, partially
eighty-two (A.D. 401-2), and on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashadhā (June-July). The cave appears to be a Vaishnava cave; and this must, therefore, be a Vaishnava inscription. And the object of it is to record the gift or dedi-
in words and fully in figures, the number of the current year,—Ekādasīvasu-attēśhu samvatsara-
śatśhū chā bhā-pachāśati chā gatiśw+ubhēśhu Vikramāt 11 Pačhāśi cha-Śivēśu mādē kṛṣṇa-
pakshē mrig-śiṇyāt 1 rachidē Maśikāṇēscā pratośita-yiṣwavuṣayādē 1 Aṅkathē-pi 1150 11
Āśīna-bahu-pačhakymēs,—" and when eleven centuries of years had passed by, and (in addition)
fifty years, less by one, had gone, from (the time of) Vikrama; and in the fifthty (year); in the
month Āśīna; in the dark fortnight; by order of the king, this brilliant eulogy was composed
by Maṇipāṇtha; or, in figures, (in the year) 1150, on the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight
of Āśīna."—Excluding special and capricious instances, the inscriptions disclose the following
general and systematic constructions in the expression of dates,—(1) The use of the nominative singular or
plural, unaccompanied by any verb or participle. Instances of this are somewhat rare. But I can
quote (a) the Mathurā image inscription (No. 70 below, Pl. xII. l. 2), samvatsarāh 300 30; (b) the
pravardhamāna-vijaya-vijaya-samvatsarāni vinnatitaham Śaka-kālē-pačha varsha-śatāni
dēdrinādi; (c) the Dīghāda-Baubāl grant of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV.
p. 113, l. 4), samvatsarā (i.e. samvatsarāh) 100 5 Māghā tu di 10; (d) the Bengal Asiatic Society's
grant of the Mahārāja Vinayakapāla (id. Vol. XV. p. 141, l. 17), samvatsarē (i.e. samvatsarē, for either
samvatsaraḥ or samvatsarē) 100 8 Pādēguṇa ba di 9; and (e) the second date in the "Deogarh"
inscription of Bījādēva of Gwalior, dated Vikrama-Samvāt 919 and Śaka-Samvat 784 (Archaeol. Surv.
And, for early times, we may compare, though they relate to years of service, instead of eras,
(f) the nominative in the Banawasi Pārkrit inscription of Hāṅgputra-Sāktakarni (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV.
p. 333, l. 1), rūdhīrputasas .... Śīkāmānasas .... savachchharam 10 2 Ṛmaṇāνā
pačhē 2 divāsa 1; (g) the nominative in the Rājim grant of the Rājja Tvaradēva (No. 81 below, Pl.
xIV. l. 33 f.), pravardhamāna-vijaya-vijaya-samvatsarāh 9 Kārttikeya divāsa ashtamū 8; and the
crude form in (h) the Arāṅg grant of the Rājja Mahā-Jayatāja (No. 40 below, Pl. xxvi. l. 24),
pravardhamāna-vijaya-samvatsarā 3 Mārgaśīra 20 5, and (i) the Rāypur grant of the Rājja Mahā-
Śudēvarāja (No. 41 below, Pl. xxvii. l. 27), pravardhamāna-vijaya-samvatsarā 10 Māgha 9. Compare
also, for later times, the crude form in (j) the "Dewal" inscription of Lalā of the Chhinda family
(Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. Pl. li. l. 24), samvatsara-sahasra 1049 Māgha ba di 3 Gurudinē; and (k)
Kālpur inscription of Śiṅghāṇa II. (Indian Inscriptions, No. 47, l. 1 f.), Śrī-Śaka 1157 Māmmathā-
samvatsarē Śrīvēṇa bahula 30 Gauṇa; and in numerous other instances.—(2) The use of the
nominative singular or plural, in apposition with an ordinal adjective, which, again, usually qualifies
the name of the samvatsara, of the sixty-years cycle, in the genitive case. This is a Drāvīdian
method, in constant use in Southern India. As typical and leading instances, I will quote, in respec-
tive of the nominative singular, (a) a Balagāvane inscription of Biḷḷa (Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-
Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 183, l. 62), Śaka-varsha 1080eṇa Bahuḥdēṇya samvatsaraḥ Puṣkāyā
puṇyanā Śaṃdrivā-uttarayānasmārikṛnti-vaṭāpāla-śaṃgiranad-īndu; and, to illustrate a numer-
cous class of instances in which the crude form is used to represent the nominative singular, (b) a Bāla-
gāvane inscription of Śomēśvara II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 209, l. 30 ff.), Śaka-varsha 997eṇa
Rākṣhasa-samvatsaraḥ Puṣkāya śuddha śaṃdrivā-śaṃgiranad-īndu-uttarayānasmārikṛnti-pāra-nimiddi
du; and, in respect of the nominative plural, (c) the grant of Gōvinda III. (id. Vol. XI. p. 126, l. 1 ff.),
Saka-nripa-kālī-dēda-samvatsarā-taṅgakal-6f.ātṛ-irpoti-āṇyāṇa Śukhānā emb varhakal Vaśīk-
hāṃsā-srückapakṣa-pačhaṃi Bījaḥpatimad-āgī; and (d) the Adagarāṇa inscription of Koṭī
tiqa or Koṭītīqa (id. Vol. XII. p. 236, l. 7 ff.), Śaka-nripa-kālī-dēda-samvatsara-taṅgakal-1eṇ aṣṭā
tembhata-māryanā Prajpati-samvatsarām salutatam iśu varshādhikārtād Ātmapujyād-aṇi
āpade Aśityavāda śrīya-grahaḥ.——(3) The use of the locative singular or plural, with the corresponding
locative, in apposition, of atiktriha, aṭti, gata, nirīti, prayaṇa, saṃattā, vayṭā, yāta, or any
singular word, signifying 'elapsed, or gone by.' Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (a)
the śrī-rēś date of the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (No. 18 below, Pl. xI.
. . . Māḥāyādaṃ gana-sīkhyād yēśu śata-chatuṣṭhayād 1 tri-nārayata-āḍhīdē 1 bhā-dēda 1 rītī śrīya-
gha-śrāvaṇa 2 Śaṅhāsya-māsa-liṅkāyā pratośi kṣaṭyādēśa; and (b) the Śāṃgad grant of
culation,—by a Mahārāja of the Sanakānike tribe or family, who was a feudatory of Chandragupta II, but whose name, in line 2, is now illegible,—of, evidently, the groups of sculptures above which it is engraved.

Dantidurga (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 112, l. 30 f.), pachha-saptaśādhi-Sakabdi-samvatsara-lata-shākē gāteyati samvats 673 pâiti(pā or par) kachchhiredy Mâtha-maśa-ratha-saptamâydm tul-paurusha-sthitī. And, in respect of the locative plural, (c) the Bândâmäi cave inscription of Mahâgalla (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 363, l. 6 f., 11), Sakâ-nrijâpati-râjâdikâhâ-samvatsarâkshâ-atidhrēshu pachhau itâtēshu . . . . mahâ-Kârttika-pauranmâṣydm; (d) the Harîharâ grant of Vinâyâditya (id. Vol. VII. p. 302, l. 23 f.), sbâjâ-yâtara-shat-châtra-a Shaka-sarabhâkâ-satikâshu pravarâhanda-vijaya-râjâ-samvatsârâ caturdaśi vartamânâ . . . . Kârttika-paurannâṣydm; and (e) the Kaushânâ grant of Vi-krâmâditya V. (id. Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 61 f.), Sakâ-nrijâ-pâl-dâlita-samvatsara-latâshu navasv trimâd-adhikâshu gâteyati 930 pravartamâna-Saumya-samvatsarâ-paurannâîsmâ sambhagaṇa-paṇḍavâî. (4) The use, as in the present instance, of the simple locative single or plural, without any participle signifying 'êlapsed or gone by,' in apposition. Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (a) the Gândâ inscription of the Kihārapa Rudrasâla (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 157, l. 3), varshâ dvy-uttara-śat sam 202 Vâjâbha-saśa-dhâma-nâkharâ-mahâdâi; (b) a Mathurâ inscription of Vâsudâvâ (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20, l. 1), sâmavatsaro 90 Vârshâ-mâṣy 4 divâsâ 10; (c) the Majâgâwâ grant of the Mahâraja Hastin (No. 23 below, Pl. xiv. l. 1 f.), bâ-bhavya-uttara-bîdâ-śat Gupta-nrijâ-vajya-bhaktâ iurmati pravarâhanda-Mahâ-Châtra-samvatsarâ Mahâbhadra-bhakthâkrîtyâd; and (d) the Alânâ grant of Sâtînditya VII. (No. 39 below, Plate xxv. l. 77 f.), sâmavatsara-lata-chatushtâyê sapta-châtra-trirâjâ-sadhih jyâbhrâ-sudderâ-pachchāmôydm âkatah samvats 400 40 jyâbhrâ su 5. And, in respect of the locative plural, (e) the Warî grant of Gîvînda III. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 46 f.), Sakâ-nrijâ-pâl-dâlita-samvatsara-latâshu saptasv trimâd-adhikâshu Vaya-samvatsarâ Vâjâbha-sita-paurânmâ Pâm Prâcâra-mahâpârvanâ; and (f) the Pâtanâ grant of Bîhma II. (id. Vol. XI. p. 71, l. 17 f.), Írûmâd Vîkramâditya-pâl-dâlita-samvatsara-latâshu vâdâsâmu shat-pachhād-uttarakshâ Bhradrâpadama-kryika-pâpakshâ-mdvâśydm Bhumavâdâ-tvâkata-pi samvats 1256 laukika Bhadrâpadâ ba di 15 Bhumê. And (g) the use of the abbreviations sam and samvats, standing alone, and not explained by a full record in words as they are in instances (3, b) and (4, a, d, f) above. This method, however, throws no light on the question now under discussion; and the form of these abbreviations will form the subject of a separate note.—Now, in the cases illustrated by the examples given under (2) above, it can hardly be disputed that current years are intended; the very construction,—e.g. in (2, a) "Monday, the full-moon day of (the month) Pushya of the Buhdhâna, samvatsara, (which is) the 1080th Sakā year,"—prevents any other interpretation. And, in the examples given under (1), it is difficult to see how, without imagining an elliptical construction for which no actual example can be quoted as an authority, the nominative case could be used to denote any but the current year. With these examples, and the plain record of the Gâllora inscription, before us, when we find that in a certain class of instances (3, a to e) the locative case is uniformly coupled with a word distinctly meaning 'expired or gone by' in apposition, whereas in another class of instances (4, a to f) any such word is as uniformly omitted, there is nothing to prevent our giving, but on the contrary every reason to induce us to give, to the simple locative, in the last class of instances, its natural and ordinary meaning of "in such and such a year," i.e. "while such and such a year is current." This is the meaning that is always given to the simple locative in a regnal date; thus, in a Nâsk inscription (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 108, l. 1, 109), sirî-Pulumâysa sanvachchâkâm ksvamâbî 19," in the nineteenth (19) year of the illustrious Pulumâyi." It has never been attempted to maintain that, in such a record as this, the text means "the nineteenth year having expired." And there is no reason why any such forced interpretation should be put on the simple locative expressing the number of years of an era; especially when we bear in mind that almost every era owes its origin to only an extension of regnal dates, and that the system of expired years can only have been devised when a considerable advance had been made in astronomical science.

1 In the fourth syllable, the vowel here is the short ś; but in the same word in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, No. 1 above, line 22, page 8, it is long.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; NO. 4, PLATE III A.

TEXT:

1. Siddhā₁₁ Sanvatsara 80 2. Āṣaṅḍha-māsa-sukl-ē(āi)kādaśyām 1 paramabhāttāraka-mahārajaḍhūyī-sama-Chandra[gu]pta-pād-anudhyātasya 1
2. mahāraja-Chhagalaga-pautrasya mahāraja-Vishnudāsa-pautrasya Sanaka-nikṣaya mahār[a]ja... dha(?)lasya-āyam déya-dharmmaḥ 1

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained in the year 80 (and 2), on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āṣaṅḍha,—this is the appropriate religious gift of the Sanakānīka, the Mahāraja... dha(?)—the son's son of the Mahāraja Chhagalaga; (and) the son of the Mahāraja Vishnudāsa,—who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhāttāraka and Mahārajaḍhūyī, the glorious Chandragupta (II).

No. 4; PLATE III A.

MATHURA STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

This inscription, which has not been previously edited in full, was discovered in 1853 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in his Archaeo-

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1 From the original stone.
2 Read mahārajaḍhūyī.—With the reading of this inscription, which may perhaps be, not an omission by the engraver, but a conventional abbreviation of the full title, we may compare marajadha, i.e., mahārajaḍhūyi, for mahārajaḍhūyī, on one of the silver coins of Skandagupta (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 66 f.)
3 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
4 Siddhā.—On the analogy of an inscription (Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. V. Plate xliH.), which commences Siddhiḥ Śrīḥ Samvat, &c., to which we may add another inscription (Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXIX. p. 18, and Vol. XXX. p. 13) commencing Siddhiḥ Samvat, &c., Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 273) takes siddham, at the commencement of inscriptions, as a nominative case standing by itself, and translates it by success. But it seems to me to be clearly the remnant of some such phrase as siddham bhagavat, “perfection or success has been attained by the Divine One,” analogous to the jītam bhagavat, “victory has been achieved by the Divine One,” of, for instance, the Gadhwa inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 8 below, Plate ivC, and the grant of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Vishugopavarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 51). We may also compare jītam... Vishṇuḥ in the Tusāṁ inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xla. And we have the remainder of another analogous expression, in drisṭham, “sight (i.e. clearness of perception in religious matters) has been attained (by the Divine One),” at the commencement of, for instance, the Channak and Siwan plates of the Mahāraja Pravaraśena II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plates xxxiv. and xxxv.—In his remarks referred to above, Dr. Bühler tells us that, in the Mahābhdhṣya (Kielhorn’s edition, pp. 5, 6) siddham is quoted as a mangala or auspicious invocation, and refers us to some marks, supporting this, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 346.—As helping to illustrate the meaning, ‘perfection,’ by which I render siddham, I would refer to the use of siddha by the Jains to denote their saints who have attained siddhi or ‘perfection or final beatitude,’ and who are invoked, under this epithet in, for instance, the Udayagiri inscription of the year 106, No. 61 below, Plate xxxviiiA. line 1.

5 dēya-dharma; lit. ‘a gift of’ religion, which is proper to be given.—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, renders it by the duty of giving, charity, beneficence; Dowsen, by votive offering (e.g. Journ. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 184); and Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indrājī, by meritorious gift, or benefaction (e.g. Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 83).

6 See page 8 above, note 1.
logical Report, which, originally printed in 1863 as a supplement to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXII. pp. iii. to cxxix., was in 1871 reprinted, with the addition of Plates, as *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., in which the inscription is noticed on p. 237.—Subsequently, in 1873, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 37, and Plate xvi. No. 24, he published a reduced lithograph of it, shewing the completion of the lines as arranged by him.

The inscription is on a red-sandstone fragment, about 10" broad by 11½" high, cracked across the lower proper right corner, which was found, with its face downwards, forming part of the pavement immediately outside the Katrā gateway at Mathūrā, the chief town of the Mathūrā District in the North-West Provinces. The original stone is now in the Provincial Museum at Lāhōr.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 10" broad by 11½" high, is in a state of very fair preservation. It is only a fragment; the first line has been almost entirely destroyed, and an indefinite number of lines have been entirely broken away and lost at the bottom of the stone; and, in addition to this, from one to nine aksharas have been broken away and lost at the commencement of the lines, and from one to five at the ends of the lines, except in lines 8 and 9.—The size of the letters varies from 7⁄8" to 1". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They are of radically the same stock with those of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, but with several essential differences in details; the most noticeable of these are (1) the very marked curve in the left downward stroke of m, which I have noticed, at page 3 above, as belonging originally to an earlier form of this letter than that which occurs in the Allahābād inscription; (2) a slanting straight stroke, instead of a circular loop, at the bottom of the left downward stroke of s; and (3) the formation of the lower part of k entirely to the right, instead of its sloping downwards only slightly to the right and then turning up very markedly to the left.—The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is in prose throughout.—The orthography does not present anything calling for remark.

The inscription is one of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II. His name does not occur in the portion that is extant. But the instrumental case puyin in line 9, immediately after the mention, in the genitive case, of Samudragupta, shows that the genealogy was continued down to, and ended with, his son and chosen successor, whose name came in line 11 or 12, and who is known from the subsequent records to have been Chandragupta II.; and that the subject of the inscription was an act of the latter. The date of the inscription, if any was recorded, and the subject of it, were in the portion that has been broken away and lost.

**TEXT.**

1 . . . . .
[Sarvva-rā]-dchhettuḥ

2 [sya]
chatur-udadh-sali]-advatya-[sasū
dha]

3 [nada-Varun-Endr-Antaka-sa]masya
Kritānta-[paraśoṣ]

4 [nyāy-āgat-anēka-gō]-hiranya-kōti-prada[sya
chir-dh]

1 *kati* is the common word used in that part of the country for an enclosed market-place.
2 The 'Matra, Muthra, and Muttra,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30. Lat. 27° 30' N.; Long. 72° 43' E.
3 From the original stone.—The passages that have been broken away are supplied from the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from lines 1 to 4 of the Bhitarī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 4, PLATE III A.

5 [tsann - āsvamēdh - āhattur-mma]hārāja - ṣrī - Gupta - prapau[i]rasya
6 [mahārāja-ṣrī-Gaṭṭotka]a-pautrasya mahārājādhīr[a]ja-
7 [ṣrī-Chandra]gupta-pu]trasya Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya mahā[ḍe]-
8 [vyām Ku]marā]d[ē]vyām-utpannasya mahārājāhīra-
9 [i-a-ṣrī-Sa%mudrā]guptasya putrēna tat-parigra-
10 [hle]na mahādev[y]ām Dat'i]dav[y]ām-ṣrī[na]-
11 [na paramabhāgavatēna mahārājāhīra-ṣrī]-
12 [Chandra]guptēna (The rest of the inscription is entirely broken away and lost.)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 8.)—By him who is the son,—accepted by him,* (and) begotten on the Mahadēvi Dattadēvi,— of the Mahārājādhīraja, [the glorious] Samudragupta,—

(L. 1.)—[Who* was the exterminator of all kings;[4] who had no antagonist (of equal power)] in the world; [whose fame was] tasted [by the waters of the four oceans*];

1 I add these two lines in order to show the continuation of the construction of this record.
2 See page 12 above, note 1.
3 *i.e. Samudragupta.

sarva-rāj-śechātāt—In the nominative case, sarva-rāj-śechātāt, this epithet occurs on the reverse of some gold coins, hitherto always classed in the Early Gupta series (see Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 169 f., and Pl. ii. No. 1; also Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 36, and Pl. vii. No. 1), which have on the obverse the name of Kācha, in the place where the king's name usually stands on coins, with the marginal legend kacchā iam-usūmārya karmabhir-uttamair-javati, "Kācha, having conquered the earth, is victorious by (his) most excellent deeds," and which have always been attributed to the Mahārājā Gaṭṭotkacha, the grandfather of Samudragupta. But, in the first place, the name of these coins is distinctly Kācha, and nothing more; and Kācha, which means 'glass, crystal; the string of the scale of a balance; alkaline salt, black salt; wax; &c.,' is a totally different word from utkacha, 'having the hairs (of the body) standing erect (through pleasure),' which is the second component of the name of Gaṭṭotkacha. Secondly, Gaṭṭotkacha, being only a feudatory Mahārājā, was not entitled to issue a coinage in his own name. And thirdly, the epithet sarva-rāj-śechātāt on the reverse, is, in the inscriptions, always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only.—There is nothing distinctive in this epithet, sufficient to show that it belonged only to the Early Gupta dynasty (and, in that dynasty, to Samudragupta). Nor, I think, is it absolutely certain that these coins belong to the Early Gupta series. But the general appearance of them, with the legends on them, justifies such an opinion. And, if they are Early Gupta coins, then they must be attributed to Samudragupta, not to Gaṭṭotkacha; and Kācha must, in that case, be a personal and less formal name of Samudragupta; and with it we may compare such instances as Śāba, 'cadaverous, of a dark yellowish colour, tawny; the young of any animal,' used as a second name of Vrāṣena, a minister of Chandragupta II. (No. 6 below, Plate iv A. line 4); Vṛṣaṅgha, 'a tiger,' applied to a Jain named Rudrāśrama (No. 15 below, Plate iv A.;) and Perṃadji (also Parmadji, Parmadji and Paramādji), a name of the Western Chālukya king Vikramaditya VI. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. pp. 223, l. 9, 253, l. 14; Bühler's Vikramāditya Charita, Introduct. p. 30, note 2; and Rājātārāmpīrā, vii. 1123, 1124).—The only other instances, known to me, in which the name Kācha occurs, are in the case of two rulers or chieftains, Kācha I. and Kācha II., mentioned in one of the inscriptions in the Ajāṭa caves (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 129, lines 4, 5), belonging to a period that is at any rate appreciably later than that of the Early Guptas.

* i.e. "whom fame extended up to the shores of the four oceans."—Jambuvīpa, or the central division of the known world, including India, was supposed to be surrounded on all sides by the ocean.
who was equal to (the gods) [Dhanada and Varupa and Indra and Antaka]; who was [the very axe] of (the god) Kṛitāntā; who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows] and gold; who was the restorer of the avamāthā-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance;—

(L. 5.)—Who⁷ was the son of the son’s son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Gupta; the son’s son of [the Mahārāja, the illustrious] Ghatottkacha; (and) the son of the Mahārājadhirāja [the glorious Chandragupta (I.)], (and) the daughter’s son of Lichchhavi, begotten on the Mahādeva Kumāradēvi;—

(L. 11.)—[By him, the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājadhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II.)].................................

(The rest of the inscription is entirely broken away and lost.)

⁷ Kṛitānta-parain.—This is another of the formal epithets which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. In the nominative case, Kṛitānta-paraiśūk, it occurs on the reverse of some of his gold coins; see, for instance, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. III. Part I. p. 177 f., and Pl. ii. No. 11.

* A ceremony which centred in a horse, and was concluded after the selected steed had been turned loose for a year to roam about at will, guarded by armed men. The ceremony appears to have ended sometimes in the actual immolation of the horse, but sometimes only in keeping it bound during the celebration of the final rites. The successful celebration of a hundred avamātha was supposed to raise the sacrificer to a level with the god Indra.—The present epithet, avamāthā-āhartri, is another of those which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. With it we have to compare the legend avamāthā-parādramah, “he who has displayed prowess by a horse-sacrifice,” on some of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudragupta; see, for instance, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 175 ff., and Pl. ii. No. 9; and *Archiv. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. ii. p. 37 f., and Pl. vii. No. 4.

⁸ i.e. Samudragupta.

⁹ See page 27 above, note 19.

*paramabhāgavata; lit. ‘a most devout worshipper of (the god) Bhagavat.’—This epithet is supplied from the subsequent inscriptions, and the coins of Chandragupta II. himself.—It is a technical sectarian title, analogous to paramamāthāvara (e.g. No. 38 below, line 5), paramasūda (e.g. No. 52 below, line 8), paramavaśitāvara (e.g. lines a and i of the Dighā-Dubaul grant of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāla; *Ind. Ant. Vol. XV.* p. 112), paramapādaśūpata (e.g. line 8 of the Verāval inscription of Arjunādeva; *id.* Vol. XI. p. 242), and paramadāvā (e.g. line 1 of the Nēpal inscription of Vasantāsa; *id.* Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3). Other similar epithets, but not formed in quite the same way, are paramabrahmāchārya (e.g. line 39 of the grant of Amma II.; *id.* Vol. VII. p. 16); paramādityabhākta (e.g. No. 38 below, line 10); and paramabhāgavatābhākta (e.g. lines e, f, h, k, 3, 6, and 7 of the Dighā-Dubaul grant referred to above); also aytantamādāvāvara and aytantāvarmimahābhairavabhākta (e.g. No. 55 below, lines 9 and 4; and aytantabhagavatābhākta, in No. 19 below, line 6; and No. 36, line 4. — Bhagavat, ‘venerable, revered, sacred, divine, holy,’ was used as a title of priests, e.g. lines 5 and 6 of a Paṭṭadakal inscription of Vījayāditya and Vikramāditya II., where it is applied to two Ādhyaśas (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 165, No. 101); and also of any saintly personage, e.g. line 12 of No. 23 below, where it is applied to Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas. And it was also used as an epithet of any god or object of worship; thus, it is applied to Buddha, in line 6 of No. 62 below; to Vishaṇu, in line 6 of No. 32 below; to Śaṅbhū (Śīva) in line 5 of No. 7 below; to Śvāmī-Mahāśaṇa (Kārttikīkṣa), in line 7 of No. 10 below; to Varuṇa (the Sun), in line 13 of No. 46 below; and to Jīnendrā, in line 1 of the Aihōle Mēguḷi inscription of Pulitkāṇi II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 241). But it seems to belong most particularly to the god Vishaṇu (see, for instance, the *Vishnu-Parās,* vi. 5; Hall’s edition of H. H. Wilson’s Translation, *Vol. V.* p. 211 ff.), and to denote him wherever there is nothing in the context to give it any other application; and, as well-known instances of its use in this way, we may quote Bhagavatūdī, the name of an episode of the Mahābhārata devoted entirely to the subject of devotion to Vishaṇu as Kṛishṇa; Bhagavata-
No. 5; PLATE III B.

SANCHI STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 93.

The inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 488 ff., where a lithograph of it was published (*id.* Plate xxviii.), reduced by Mr. James Prinsep from a copy by Mr. B. H. Hodgson. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it is a very imperfect one; especially in shewing no traces whatever of the first six or seven letters of each line, all the lower down. —And in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., Mr. Prinsep published the beginning of the text, and a translation of it,1 accompanied by a lithograph, reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers (*id.* Plate xxv.)

Sāñchi, or Sāchi, is a village about twelve miles to the north-east of Diwāngāñj, the chief town of the Diwāngāñj Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Native State of Bhōpāl or Bhūpāl in Central India. It is sometimes called Sāñchi-Kāנקāñkēdā, through its name being coupled with that of another small village immediately on the north of it.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2′ 6½" broad by 1′ 9" high, is on the outer side of the top rail in the second row, outside and on the south side of the eastern

Purāṇa, the title of one of the Purāṇas, dedicated especially to the glorification of Vishnu; and Bhāgavata, which occurs in line 7 of the Kāñḍa plates of the Mahārājkī Yajāṅkātha of the year 177, No. 27 below, Plate xvii., and is, to the present time, the name of one of the Vaishnava sects. —It may be taken, therefore, that Paramābhāgavata is exclusively a Vaishnava title.


2Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 28′ N.; Long. 77° 46′ E.—The ‘Sachi, Sacha Kana Kheyra, and Sachi Kanakera,’ of maps, &c. — The name is pronounced both Sāñchi and Sāchi; but with a preference, as far as my observation went, for the nasalised form. The alternative forms have already been pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 181, where he suggests that the name is most probably only the spoken form of the Sanskrit śānti, ‘tranquillity, calmness,’ &c., since the term śānti-ṣamgha, ‘the community of tranquillity,’ occurs in the Aśoka inscription at Sāñchi (Bhilsa Topes, p. 299 ff. and Plate xix. No. 177); and since the Chinese transcribed śānti as 仏-chi. But the ancient name of Sāñchi, at least from the Aśoka to the Gupta period, was Kāankanđa (see page 31 below, para. 9); and this seems to indicate that the name Sāñchi is of comparatively modern introduction. Also, though I could not find the places on the map, I was informed that there are at least two other villages in the neighbourhood, named Śāñchi or Sāchi, with no Buddhist remains at them. And this,—with the analogous names of Kāñchi-Kāñkēdē, a village about one and a half miles to the south-west of Sāñchi (in which kāñchi is either an Urdu, or a Rāñgūjī or local vernacular, word, meaning ‘gardener,’), and of Māñchi, a village somewhere in the same neighbourhood, which I noticed in a local topographical map, but cannot now find again in the Indian Atlas,—suggests that Sāñchi or Sāchi is probably a vernacular name, connected in no way with the Sanskrit.

1 This name is written and pronounced Bhūpāl by Musalmāns, and Bhōpāl by Hindus. It has been suggested that it is a corruption of Bhājī-पāl, ‘the tank or embankment of king Bhoja.’ But I think it is far more likely that the original and correct name is Bhūpāl, from the Sanskrit bhūpālā, ‘a king, or the king.’ The State, however, is a Musalmān State, and Bhūpāl is the form of the name that has been established by long official usage.
The inscription is very well preserved, with the exception that two or three letters are destroyed and quite illegible near the commencement of each line as far as line 8.—The average size of the letters is 1⁄4. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and approximate most closely to, in the present volume, those of the Mundasr inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xi., and, elsewhere, those of the Aihole Mēgūt inscription of the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II. of Śaka-Saṅvat 556 (A.D. 634-35). They include, in line 11, forms of the numerical symbols for 3, 4, and 90.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the dental s, instead of the visarga or the upadhdnyaa, in conjunction with p, in yatas-pādka, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year 6 ninety-three (A.D. 412-13) on the fourth day, without any specification of the lunar fortnight, of the month-Bhādrapada (August-

1Śāpa, 'a heap or pile of earth; any heap or pile or mound,' is the technical name of a certain kind of Buddhist monument, consisting of a mound, more or less elaborate, and with or without masonry work, erected over sacred relics of Buddha and his followers.—The English corruption, Top, is from the Pākiṅkrit form tóbpa.—In the country round Śāchī, I found the popular term for a Śāpa to be bīḍā (Hindi, bītaur), which means literally 'a heap of dried cow dung-cakes to be used as fuel.' The great Śāpa at Śāchī is known as Śas-bhaḍa ka bīḍa, "the heap of dried cow dung-cakes of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law." And with this name we may compare Śas-bhaḍa ka dhrā, "the temple of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law," which is the popular name of the temple at Gwalior in which there is the long Sanskrit inscription of the Kachchhapaghāṭha prince Mahāpala, dated Vikrama-Saṅvat 1150 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 33 ff.)


3The text has the abbreviation saṁ, which may stand either for the crude form saṁvata, a 'year,' or for any decennial clause that can be used in expressing a date (see page 22 above, note 5). The same remark applies to the form saṁvat, which occurs, for instance, in saṁvat 100 90 1 Śravana ba di 7, in line 2 of the Ēra posthumous pillar inscription of Gopārjhaja, No. 20 below, Plate xiiB.—It was formerly thought that the word saṁvat was used only in connection with the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 57. But fuller experience has shown that both the forms are used freely in respect of the years of any era whatsoever.—They are used sometimes by themselves, as in the present passage, and sometimes in composition with the name of the era; as, for instance, in the Ambarnath inscription of the chieftain Mānudhi (Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329, l. 1), Śaka-saṁvat 752 'Jetākha śuddha 9 Śākṛ, and in the Sōmnāth-Pāhānp inscription of Arjunadeva of Aśhilvād (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII p. 242, l. 2 ff.), Mahamāda-saṁvat 662 tathā ēri-nripa-Vikrama-saṁ 1320 tathā ēri-mad-Valabha-saṁ 945 tathā ēri-Simāha-saṁ 157 varshē śādha va 12 Ruvu.—The form saṁvat represents the genitive plural, saṁvatāram, in such passages as Śaka-nripa-kāl-dītta-saṁvatsara-śātu-kāmukah ānukātā śaṁvat 894 Ērc, in the Kardā grant of the Rājhrāṭkā king Kakkā III. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 206, l. 47 f.), as contrasted with Śaka-nripa-kāl-dītta-saṁvatsara-śātu-kāmukah paṅka-paṅkātād-āndikāh-vānakāṭō paṁsvatāram 855 Ērc, in the Śāṅgīl grant of Gōvinda V. of the same dynasty (id. Vol. XII. p. 351, l. 44 f.); the letter is the only passage that I know of, in which the full genitive case occurs in connection with the numerals. And it evidently stands for the full locative singular and plural respectively, in such passages as Saṁvat paṁcaka-sāptāṭya-adikā-vādakā śatāḥ śaṁvat 1275 Ērc, in the Chārā inscription of Devapala of Dharak (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 111, l. 4), and in Śaka-saṁvat śa-vasaty-adikā-vasa-saṁvat 591 Ērc, in the Bassein grant of Sēnachandra II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 120, l. 24 f.).—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives saṁvat as an indeclinable; and of course it properly is so. I am able, however, to quote two epigraphical instances, of modern date, in which it is used as a declined; (1) in verse 30 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit's Nēpāl inscription, No. 19, of Pratāpamalla, dated Nēpāla-Saṅvat 778 (A.D. 1658-59); Nēpālī saṁvat-śmin-kayā-giri-munissā
It is a Buddhist inscription, and the object of it is to record the grant, by Amrakárdavá, the son of Undána, and apparently an officer of Chandragupta, of a village, or an allotment of land, called távarávása, and a sum of money, to the Árya-Samgha, or community of the faithful, at the great vihára or Buddhist convent of Kákanádobá, for the purpose of feeding mendicants and maintaining lamps.

The Kákanádobá convent is, of course, the Great Stópa itself. The name is partially destroyed in the present inscription; but it is legible in full in line 2 of the other Sánchi Inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviii.B. It is not quite certain what meaning is to be allotted to bôta in this name; but it is probably another form of pôta, 'the foundation of a house.' The rest of the name, Kákanáda, lit. 'the noise of the crow,' is the ancient name of Sánchi itself. This is shewn by its occurring in at least two of the inscriptions of the Aśoka period in the neighbourhood, to which my attention was directed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrají; thus, (1) an inscription on the outside of the east gate of the great Stópa at Sánchi (Bhísa Topes, p. 241, and Plate xvi. No. 39) should evidently be read Kákanáde bhagavatá pámaná-láthi, "the measuring-staff (?) of (Buddha), the Divine One, at Kákanáda;" and (2) the inscription on the top of the lid of the steatite casket found in Stópa No. 2 at 'Andher' (id. p. 347, and Plate xxix. No. 7) should plainly be read Sapurísasa Gótiputasa Kákanáda-Pabhásanasa Kádiña-góta, "(inéd relics) of the virtuous Prabhásana of Kákanáda, the Gótiputra, of the Kaúndinya gótrula."

TEXT:

1 Siddham 2) [Ilí] Ká[kaná]dobá-sri-mahá-vihárā silla-samádhi-prajá-guña-bhávit-endriyáya parama-puñya-
2 kri . . . . . . tāya chatur-dád-ahbháyatáyá sramana-púngav-ávasatháy-árya-saṅgháya mahárañjádhi-
3 rája-s)[1]-Chandragnupta-páda-prásad-ápyájita-jivita-sádhaná anujívi-satpurusha-
4 vi[ti(?)] jagati prakhyápayan anéka-samarávápta-vijaya-yaśas-pátkáh Sukulli-láśa-Ná-
5 ah[i] . . . . . . vástavya Undána-putra-Ámrakárdavó Maja-Śarabhag-
6 tam(?) . . . . . . távarávása kámba pañcá-mandalyá[r]n] pranipatya
dádáti pañcá-viniśati(ñ) cha dina-

saṁyutā &c. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 191), and (2) in an unpublished Chambá inscription which contains several dates in the Vikrama-Saṁvat and Lákapáká, commencing with Vikrama-Saṁvat 1915 (A.D. 1858-59); in line 11 f. we have Saṁvatá 34 Saṁva-puro 17 laj saṁvatá 36 dd Saṁva-vaidūrya . . . . . &c.

1 In the present series of inscriptions, bôta or bôta occurs again (1) as part of a proper name in Rañkábóta, in line 8 of No. 27, Plate xvii. below; and (2) as a territorial name, in the Vôta sañtika in line 6 of No. 29, Plate xix.A. below.—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives pôta, pôta, and pôta, in the sense of 'a woman with a beard; a hermaphrodite; a female servant or slave.'—And we have Bôtaka, as a proper name, in line 25 of No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.

8 From the original stone.

1 In the original, this word, which is very much damaged and hardly recognisable, stands above the first two aksarás of line 1.

* These two aksaras are supplied from line 2 of the Sánchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviii.B., in which they are quite distinct.
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! To the community of the faithful in the holy great vihāra of Kākanādabōta,—in which the organs of sense (of the members of it) have been subdued by the virtues of (good) character, religious meditation, and wisdom; which . . . . . deeds of the very highest religious merit; which has come together from the four quarters of the world; (and) which is the abode of most excellent Śramaṇas,—having prostrated himself in an assembly of five persons, Amarakārada, the son of Undāna,—whose means of subsistence have been made comfortable by the favour of the feet of the Mahārājamārdhīra, the glorious Chandragupta (II.); who is publishing in the world the amiable behaviour of the virtuous people who are the dependents of the king; who has acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles; (and) who is an inhabitant of (the town of) Nashti . . . . in the Sukuli dēta,—gives (the village or

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1 We might very suitably supply the lacuna by reading Devaraja iti priya-nām=[amātya bhavat]=[f]asya.
2 See page 30 above, note 3.
3 i.e. dīna, dinā, dīvasa, or divasast. And the word properly denotes the solar day, from sunrise to sunrise, with which a week-day name would be coupled; not the lunar tīrhi, which may coincide with, or more or less may differ from, the solar day and week-day.
4 Ārya-Saṁgha.
5 pachcha-mandala is evidently the same as the Pañchélī, Pañchéyat, or Pañchā, of modern times, the village-jury of five (or more) persons, convened to settle a dispute by arbitration, to witness and sanction any art of importance, &c.—Compare pañchéla (perhaps a mistake of the engraver for pañchéla), which seems to be used in the same sense, in line 16 of Bhagwanlal Indrai's Nēlāl Inscriptions, No. 10 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 173).—So also Pañchéla, in No. 4 of the same series, line 11 (id. p. 168), No. 7, lines 13 and 15 (p. 170), and No. 13, line 20 (p. 177), seems to mean the members of certain Pañchéyaits which are in each instance specified by name.
6 Or Amarakārada.

7 dēta, 'a region, country, province, &c.,' is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning and bearing of which have not yet been determined. So, also, khaṇḍa, 'a section,' mandala, 'a circle, district, arrangement, province, &c.,' vishaya, 'a kingdom, district, country, region, &c.,' and vishayā, 'a country, region, district, province, &c.—Dēta is sometimes used as a synonym of mandala. Thus, in line 7 of a grant of Amma II. of about Saka-Sahvat 867 or A.D. 945-46 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 16), and in line 6 of another grant of the same (id. Vol. VIII. p. 79), the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas is called the Vēgha dēta. While, in line 17 of a grant of Amma I. (id. Vol. VIII. p. 79), and in line 8 of another of Bhima II. (id. Vol. XIII. p. 913), it is called the Vēgha man-dala. These charters record grants made in the Penātavādi, Gudrādi, and Pągamavara vishayṣa; which would point to vishaya being a subdivision of a dēta or mandala, and this is in accordance with line 5 of the Kapālēswar grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta (id. p. 184, where the correct reading is vishayava-Rājadārmede), recording a gift of the village of Thāleva belonging to the Pōvā or Yōvā vishaya in the Khālā dēta. On the other hand, the Tērādā inscription of Śaka-
allotment of) Dévaravásaka, .......... purchased with the endowment of Maja and Šarabhaṅga and Amrātā of the royal household, and (also gives) twenty-five dīndras.

(Line 7)—From [the interest of the dīndras] given by him,—with half, as long as the moon and the sun (endure), let five Bhikṣu be fed, and let a lamp burn in the jewel-house, for the perfection of all the virtues of .......... the familiar name of Dévarāja, .......... of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II.); and with the other

Saññvat 1046 or A.D. 1124-25 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 16), the terms dīna and vishaya are both applied to the division of India that is best known as Bharatākhaṇḍa or Bharatākṣherta, and also to the Kāṇḍi Three-thousand District in the Kanarese country; which would point to dīna and vishaya being synonymous.—Khāṇḍa occurs in another grant (unpublished) of Mahā-Bhavāgupta, recording a gift of the village of Aṅkīrāma belonging to the Tuluṅga khāṇḍa in the Kēsala dīna; which points to khāṇḍa being a subdivision of a dīna, and perhaps synonymous with vishaya.—Māṇḍala occurs also in line 8 of the grant of Mahēndrapālsa of Harṣa-Saṅñvat 155 or A.D. 761-62 (id. Vol. XV. p. 119), recording the gift of a village belonging to the Vālīyaṅk vishaya, which lay in the Śrāvasti māṇḍala. And this, again, points to a māṇḍala being subdivided into vishayas.—As regards rādhra and vishaya, there were two classes of officials called Rādhrapati and Vishayapati, lit. 'lords' or 'chiefs' of rādhras and vishayas. And, on the one hand, such passages as those in line 8 f. of the Kāra grant of Vijayārāja of the year 394 (id. Vol. VII. p. 248), and in line 8 of the Kālī grant of Jayabhāta of the year 486 (id. Vol. V. p. 114), which mention first the Vishayapati, then the Rādhrapati, and then the Grāmaṅkātara or 'village-headman,' point, as indicated by Dr. Būhler in editing the Kālī grant, to the vishaya being a larger division than the rādhra; as also such expressions as 'the cultivators, headed by the Rādhrapāt (headman of the rādhra), dwelling in the Pānṭhavāk vishaya,' in line 39 f. of the grant of Amma II. of about Śaṅkha-Saṅñvat 867, referred to above. But, on the other hand, exactly the opposite of this is indicated by such passages as those in line 28 f. of the Sāmāṇḍa grant of Danditunda of Śaṅka-Saṅñvat 675 or A.D. 753-54 (id. Vol. XI. p. 112), in line 35 f. of the Wanī grant of Gōvinda III. of Śaṅka-Saṅñvat 730 (id. Vol. XI. p. 159), and in line 60 of the Kauṭhēn grant of Vikramāditya V. of Śaṅka-Saṅñvat 930 (id. Vol. XVI. p. 24), in which first the Rādhrapati is mentioned, then the Vishayapati, and then the Grāmaṅkāla or 'village-headman.' While finally, such expressions as 'the Karmarākṣa vishaya,' in line 12 of the grant of the second year of Vaiṣṇuvardhana II. (id. Vol. VII. p. 187), and 'the Gopārākṣa vishaya,' in line 17 of the Nirṇa grant of Nāgavardhana (id. Vol. IX. p. 124), point to rādhra and vishaya being synonymous terms.—The subject requires further elucidation. And, as in the case of regal and official titles, it is much better to use the original Sanskrit words, than to render them by such terms as Zilla, Tālukā, &c., which are of modern invention, and which cannot possibly be satisfactory equivalents, even if they should happen to approach to the relative meanings.

1mālya, lit. 'an original sum,' is equivalent to akṣaya-nīvī, lit. 'a capital sum that is not to be wasted,' which is of constant use in early inscriptions, and occurs for instance in No. 12, below, Plate viB., line 26, and No. 6a, Plate xxxviiiB., lines 3 and 8.

2or Āmraṭa.

rādhaṅka.

I supply these words, where the original has been effaced, on the analogy of line 3 f. of the Śākuchi inscription of the year 131, No. 6a below, Plate xxxviiiB.

This is the literal meaning of ṛtu-griha. It seems to denote the Śāha itself, as the abode of the three ratnas or 'jewels or precious things,' viz. : (1) Buddha; (2) Dharma, the Law or Truth; and (3) Sangha, the community or congregation.

Prinsep translated this passage so as to make Dévarāja another name of Chandragupta II. This may be correct. But we have no other authority for giving him this second name. And the lacunae in the line render it impossible to say with any certainty whether it denotes him, or some other person. If the suggestion that I have made above (page 32, note 1) for filling up the lacunae, should be accepted, the translation would be —'for the perfection of all the virtues of him who, having the familiar name of Dévarāja, is a minister of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta.'
half, which is mine, let the same number of five Bhikkhus be fed, and (let) a lamp (burn) in the jewel-house.

(L. 10.)—Whosoever shall interfere with this his arrangement,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the slaughter of a cow or of a Brâhman, and with (the guilt of) the five sins that entail immediate retribution.

(L. 11.)—The year 90 (and) 3; (the month) Bhâdrapada; the day 4.

No. 6; PLATE IVA.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Archaol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 51 f., where he published his own version of the text, and a translation of it by Râjâ Siva Prasad; accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xix.).—This rendering of the inscription has remained the standard version up to the present time, except that in 1882, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 312, Dr. E. Hultzsch pointed out some errors in the last line as published.

The inscription is on the back wall, a little to the left as one enters, inside a cave at Udayagiri, in Scindia’s Dominions in Central India, which is known as the “Tawa Cave,” from the resemblance of the large flat stone, on the top of the rock in which it is excavated, to a gigantic tawa, or ‘griddle for baking cakes.’

The writing, which covers a space of about 3’ 7” by 1’ 2”, has suffered a good deal from the peeling off of the surface of the rock on which it is engraved; but the general purport of it remains complete, and nothing of a historical nature appears to have been lost.—The size of the letters varies from 3’ to 1’ 4”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of radically the same type with those of the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include in the numbering of the verses, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddham, the inscription is in verse throughout, and the verses are numbered.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the jihvâmâliya and upadhmâniya in jñân-kavih-pdtaii, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the time of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II, whose name is recorded in line 1. As no date is given, there might be some doubt as to whether the Chandragupta mentioned here is the first or the second of the name. But the standard of the characters, as compared with those of the Allahabad inscription, which was engraved in the time of Chandragupta II, and the fact that the inscription records that the Chandragupta mentioned in it came in person to Udayagiri, coupled with the existence at Udayagiri of the inscription of the year 82, No. 3, p. 21 ff. above, which

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1 It is not quite apparent who is speaking here; but probably Amrakârdava is intended.

2 brahman; see Children’s Pāli Dictionary, s.v. brahmd.

3 via. matricide, parricide, killing an Arhat, shedding the blood of a Buddha, and causing division among the priesthood (see Children’s Pāli Dictionary, s.v. pauchânantarayakamman and abhikshham.)

4 See page 22 above, and note 1.
is proved by its date to be one of Chandragupta II.,—shew that the king mentioned here is Chandragupta II., not his grandfather, Chandragupta I. It is a Śaiva inscription; and the object of it is to record the excavation of the cave as a temple of the god Śiva, under the name of Śambhu, by the order of a certain Virasēṇa, otherwise called Śāba,¹ who was one of the ministers of Chandragupta II.

TEXT.²

1 Siddham² [II*] Yadṛṣa[m]tarjīyōtir-arkk-ābham-urvvyām [ ० ० ० ० ० ० ] vyāpi Chandragupt-akhyam-adbhumat [II*] 1
2 Vikram-avākrya-krtā dasya-nyagbhūta-pārththiv[a] [ ० ० ० ० ० ० ] māna-saṁraktā dharma[m] [ ० ० ० ० ० ० ० ] [II*] 2
3 Tasya rājadhirā-arshēr-achinty-6[ ० ० ० ० ० ० ] āmmanah anvayā-prāpta-sāchivyā antlr[ ० ० ० ० ० ० ० ० ] [II*] 3
4 Kautsa-Śāba iti khyāto Virasēṇaḥ kul-ākhyayā sabdārtha-nyāya-loka-jñāh-kaviḥ Pātaliprutakaḥ [II*] 4
5 Kṛitena-prithvī-jay-dṛthēna rājā-siv-ēcha sah-āgataḥ bhaktyā bhagavataḥ Śambhūr-guham-ētām akārayat [II*] 5

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained ......... which shines¹ like the sun,² radiant with internal light, ........ upon the earth ........, pervades .................... (and) has the appellation of Chandragupt (II.), (and is) wonderful;—

(Line 2.)—Bought by the purchase-money of [whose] prowess, [the earth], in which (all other) princes are humiliated by the slavery (imposed on them by him), ........, gratified by ...................... religion.

(L. 3.)—He who holds the position, acquired by hereditary descent, of being a minister of that same saintly sovereign,¹ possessed of inconceivable ..........., (and) [has been appointed to] (the office of arranging) peace and war; (vis.)—

¹See page 27 above, note 4, for some similar instances of second names.
²From the original stone.
³In the original this word stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.
⁴Metré, Śūkra (Anushūkha) throughout.
⁵From the use, in line 5, of the imperfect past tense akārayat, 'he caused to be made,'—and from the natural length of time required for the completion of the cave, before the inscription could be engraved inside it,—a considerable time must have elapsed between the visit of the king and his minister, and the engraving of the inscription. But there seems no special reason for supposing that the work was not all finished during the lives of Chandragupta II. and Virasēṇa. Accordingly, in translating, I have given a present sense to the contents of lines 1 to 4.
⁶There seems to be intended a play on the words 'sun' and 'moon,' the latter of which (chandra) forms part of the king's name.
⁷Rajadhiraja; lit. 'supreme king of Rājas or kings.'—This was, in earlier times, one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty. In its Pāli or Prākrit form of Rajadhiraja, it occurs as the representative of the Greek basileus basileon, sometimes by itself, e.g. on some of the coins of Mauka (Gardner and Poole's Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India in the British Museum, p. 68 ff., Nos. 4, 5, 9, 11, and 17); and sometimes in conjunction with Maharaja (Mahārāja), e.g. on some of the coins of Azes (id. p. 85 ff., Nos. 138, 140, and 157). And another almost identical title, viz. Rajadhiraja, lit. 'superior king of Rājas or kings,' occurs in the same
(L. 4.)—He who, belonging to the Kautsa (gòtra) is well-known under the name of Śāba, (but is called) Virasēna by (his) family-appellation;—who knows the meanings of words, and logic, and (the ways of) mankind;—who is a poet;—and who belongs to (the city of) Pāṭaliputra,—

(L. 5.)—He came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world; and, through devotion towards the divine (god) Śambhu, he caused this cave to be made.

No. 7; PLATE IV B.

GADHWÁ STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 88.

This inscription, and the following two inscriptions of Kumāragupta, Nos. 8 and 9, are on a stone that was discovered in 1871-72 by Rāja Siva Prasad, and were first brought to notice by General Cunningham in his Archaeological Reports.

Gadhwá, which means literally 'a fort,' is the name of several villages in the Arail and Bārā Pargànās in the Karchhanā Tahsill or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. The particular Gadhwá, where these inscriptions were found, is in the Bārā Pargànā, eight miles to the west by south from Bārā, and one and a half miles south of the village of Bhatgadh. It is entered in the map simply as a "Fort." The stone containing the inscriptions was found built into the wall of one of the rooms of a modern dwelling-house inside the enclosure of the fort; and is a rectangular sandstone fragment, measuring about 9½" broad by 4½" thick and 8' 6½" high. It is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone is inscribed on three faces,—on the front, as it stands in the Museum, and on the two sides. It is entire towards the bottom; but the top of it, containing two or three lines of writing, has been broken away and lost. In addition to this, the sides now contain only about half of each line of the inscriptions engraved on them; and this, with the unfinished roughness of the present back of the stone, shews that about half of it has been pared away, in adapting it to some other purpose than that for which it was originally intended.

sense of paramount sovereignty, but coupled also with Mahārāja; e.g. in the Mathurā inscription of Hövishka of the year 47 (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 33, No. 12, and Plate xiv), and in the Mathurā inscription of Vāsudeva of the year 87 (id. p. 35, No. 18, and Plate xvi). But, by the Early Gupta period, these two titles appear to have been permanently supplanted, for technical purposes, by the fuller form of Mahārājādhikārīṇa (see page 10 above, note 3). The form Rājādhikārī cannot be traced at all. And Rājādhikārī occurs only in metrical passages, where it was inconvenient or impossible to introduce the prefix mahā; thus, in addition to the present passage, in line 6 of the Mandsūr inscription of Yādūdrāman and Vīsāūvīvārdrā, No. 35 below; in line 62 of the Alhā grant of Shīkūtātya VII., No. 39 below; and, in the derivative rājādhikārīṇa, in line 24 of the Junagadh rock inscription of Skanda-gupta, No. 14 below, in line 2 of which we also have, again for metrical reasons, another variety of the title, viz. Rājārājādhikārīṇa.

* The 'Garhwa' and 'Gurhwa' of maps, &c.
* The 'Barah' of maps.
* The 'Badgarh, Bhatgarh, and Budgudh' of maps, &c.
* Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88., Lat. 25° 13' N.; Long. 81° 38' E.
On the front of the stone, towards the top, traces are visible of eleven lines of writing, each of about thirteen letters, in characters of the same period with those of the inscriptions that I now publish. But no part of this inscription, which seems to have been quite distinct from those on the sides, can be read; and the traces of it that remain are not worth being lithographed.

The inscription of Chandragupta II. now published, is on the upper part of the present proper left side of the stone, and the writing covers a space of about 4" broad by 1' 4½" high. It was originally brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text of lines 10 to 17 in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 55, with a lithograph of the whole (*id.* Pl. xx. No. 1). The first two entire lines, and the last half of each of the remaining lines, have been broken away and lost. The remnant of the inscription, however, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The average size of the letters is 1/8. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include, in lines 7, 11, and 16, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 10, and 80.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point requiring notice is the doubling of $y$ and $v$ after the anuvāra, in *samvyukta*, line 9, and *samsvatsāra*, line 11.

In the first part of the *inscription*, lines 1 to 9, the date and the name of the king are entirely broken away and lost. So also the name in the second part. But, in the latter part, lines 10 to 17, we have the date, in numerical symbols, of the year eighty-eight (A.D. 407-8). And this, coupled with the epithet *paramabhadgavata* in line 10, followed by the beginning of the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, shews that the inscription, in this part, certainly belongs to the time of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II. And the first part is so plainly engraved by the same hand,—and is, moreover, not separated by any dividing line,—that it must certainly be allotted to the same reign. So little remains of the two parts of this inscription, that the form of religion to which they belong cannot be determined; nor can the object of them; except that each part records a gift of ten dināras, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *saltra*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

In line 12 we have a mention of the city of Pātaliputra, the modern Patna in Bihār; but there is nothing to indicate, of necessity, that it is mentioned as a capital of Chandragupta II.

**TEXT.**

**First Part.**

1. [Paramabhadgavata*-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-rājya].
2. *samsvatsāra*. 
3. *divasa-pūrvvāyāṁ*.

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1 From the original stone.
2 This first line is entirely broken away and lost; but, from the date in line 11, there can be no doubt that the name and titles of Chandragupta II. have to be filled in here, as also in line 10.—In the second line, remnants are visible of the first four or five aksharas, including one or two numerical symbols; but not enough of them remains to shew with any certainty what the latter are.
3 To be corrected into rdījē *samsvatsāra*; see page 38 below, note 5.
4 Supply tithau.
KA-MĀTRĪDĀSA-PRA[mukha]. ................................ [puny-ā]-
5 pyāyan-ārthām rachi[ta] ................................ [sa]-
6 dā-sat[*]ra-sāmānya(nya)-brāhma[na] ............... [II]
7 dinārāy-ādaśabhiḥ 10 ................................. [II]
8 Yaś-ch-aināṁ dharmma-skanda(nāṅhā)ṁ [vyuchhhindyaṁ]-sa
   paṅcha-mahāpātakaṁ saṁ]...........................
9 yuykta[h,*] syād-itī 1(ii)

SECOND PART.

PARAMĀBBHĀGAVATA - mahā[rājādhirāja - śrī - Chandragupta - rā]-
11 iya-saṁvivatsaś 80 8 ................................ [asyaṁ divasa]-
12 pūrvvāyaṁ Pāṭā(ṭa)liput[t]ra ................................ [gri]-
13 haṭhasya bhāryā y ..........................................
14 -ātma-puny-āpachaya-[ārthām] .................... [II]
15 satā-satttra-sāmānya-brāhmaṇa .................... [II] [Yaś-ch-aināṁ]
16 dinārāh daśa 10 ........................................ [II]
17 dharmma-skanda(nāṅhā)ṁ vyuchhhindyaṁ[ṛ-sa paṅcha-
   mahāpātakaṁ saṁyuktaḥ syād-itī [i{l]}

TRANSLATION.

FIRST PART.

[In the reign of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājādhirāja
the glorious Chandragupta (II.); in the year ...........................................;]
(on this) (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (etc.) —

(Line 3) — ............................................ for the purpose of increasing [the religious merit] .......... fashioned ....... the Brāhmaṇs
of the community of a perpetual almshouse .................... by ten dināras, (or in
figures) 10.

(L. 8) — And whosoever [shall interfere with] this branch of religion, —[he] shall
become invested [with (the guilt of)] the five great sins*]

SECOND PART.

(L. 10) — In the reign* of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the
Mahārājādhirāja, [the glorious Chandragupta (II.) ]; in the year 80 (and) 8; ......

(on this) (lunar day), (specified) as above [by the day, (etc.)]: —

* In line 17 below, the reading is again skandam. But this is undoubtedly a mistake for skandaḥ, which we have distinctly in the same impregnation in line 12 of the Gadhwā inscription, No. 64 below, Plate xxxixB. — We also have a similar expression, punya-skandham; in line 9 of the Kāthūn pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15 below, Plate ixA.
* Supply itiham.
* The pāṭha mahāpātakān, or ‘five great crimes,’ are — slaying a Brāhmaṇ; drinking intoxicating liquor; theft (of the gold belonging to a Brāhmaṇ); adultery with the wife of a spiritual preceptor; and associating with any one guilty of these crimes; see the Maṇavaharmādstra, ix. 233, and xi. 55 to 59; Burnell’s Translation, pp. 287, 331.
* The original, if accepted as it stands, would have to be translated “in the year eighty-eight of the reign of Chandragupta.” But the numerals, both here and in the still more pointed instances given below, shew that the expression cannot possibly refer to regnal years.—This method of expres-
(L. 12.) — Pātalipurā. ........................................ the wife of the householder ..................... [for the purpose] of adding to (her) own religious merit .................. the Brāhmaṇas of the community of a perpetual almshouse .......... ten dindrās, (or in figures) 10.

(L. 16.) — [And whosoever] shall interfere with [this] branch of religion,—[he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins]!

No. 8; PLATE IVc.

GADHWÁ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

This is another of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Rājā Siva Prasad, in 1871-72, at Gadhá, in the Allahábád District in the North-West Provinces. It was first brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 55, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xx. No. 1).

This inscription is on the lower part of the proper left side of the stone, immediately below the preceding inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 7 above, from which it is separated only by a line across the stone.

The last half of each line has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the writing, however, covering a space of about 4" broad by 10" high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding inscription, No. 8, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in lines 3 and 6, forms of the numerical symbol for 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Kumáragupta. The date, however, except in respect of the day, is broken away and lost. So little remains of the inscription that the form of religion to which it belongs cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it seems to record two gifts,—one of ten dindrās, and

sion was a very common one in early times; and is due, of course, to the fact that the early years of most eras were regnal years, and that, after the death of the founder of each era, the expression was continued mechanically in the case of his successors.—As similar instances, we have in the present series of inscriptions, (1) line 6 of the Bilād pillar inscription of Kumáragupta, No. 10 below, Plate v., "in the year ninety-six of the augmenting victorious reign of Kumáragupta;" (2) line 3 of the Indór grant of Skandagupta, No. 16 below, Plate ixB, "while the year one hundred, increased by forty-six, of the augmenting victorious reign of Skandagupta, is current;" and (3) line 1 of the Gadhá inscription of the year 148, No. 65 below, Plate xxxixD, "in the year one hundred, increased by forty-eight, of the augmenting victorious reign of . . . . . ;" and in other series, (4) line 2 f. of the Gūnda inscription of Rudrāsiṃha (*Ind. Ant. Vol.* X. p. 157), "in the year one hundred, increased by two, or in figures 100 and 2, of the Mahākāmrāpta, the Śudrā Rudrāśva;" and (5) line 1 of a Mathurā inscription of Vāsudēva (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20), "in the year 90 and 8 of king Vāsudēva."—In every passage like those of this series, a suitable expression and translation are at once arrived at by the very simple emendation of reading rājya-samāvatārd instead of rājya-samāvatsārd.

1See page 36 above, and note 1.
the other of an uncertain number,—as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a
Sattrā, or charitable hall or almhouse.

TEXT:
1 Jitām bhagavatā 1 Pa[ramabhāgavatā-mahārājādhirājā]-
2 śrī-Kumāragupta-rājya-[sahvatsarē]
3 divasē 10 [asyām divasa-pūrvvāyān]
4 .................................
5 .................................
6 [da]ttā dhanārā 10 ta(?)
7 ti sattrē cha dhana-rāś-trayē
8 [Yaś-ch-aināṁ dharma-śkaṇḍhaṁ vyuucchhī]-
9 ndyāt-sa paṇḍha-mahāpālīkaṁ saṁyuktaṁ syād-iti [ii]
Gōyindā Lakṣhmyā .................................

TRANSLATION.
Victory has been achieved by the Divine One! In the reign of [the most devout
worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājādhirāj], the glorious Kumāragupta; [in the
year] .......................; on the day 10; [on this (lunar day), (specified) as above
by the day (etc.)]:—

(Line 3)—[the community of] a perpetual almshouse ...........
there were given ten dīnāras ..................... and in
the almshouse .................. three dīnāras .................................

(Line 7)—[And whosoever shall interfere with this branch of religion],—be [shall
become invested] with (the guilt of) the five great sins!

(Line 9)—Gōyindā, Lakṣhmyā, .................

No. 9; PLATE IVD.

GADHWĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 98.

This is the last of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Rājā Siva Prasad, in
1871-72, at Gadhwā in the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was not
noticed when* the stone was first discovered; but was afterwards found, on clearing away
the lime under which it was hidden, by General Cunningham, who then, in 1886, published
his reading of the text in the Archael. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 9, with a lithograph (id. Plate
v. No. 1.)

1 From the original stone.
2 This epithet is completed from line 5 of the Bilad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10
   below, and line 5 f. of the Bhitarf pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below.
3 Read rājā [sahvatsarē]; see page 34 above, note 5.
4 This may be completed into either trayaḥ, trayaŚa, trayaśimati, or any other numeral
   commencing with trayaḥ.
5 See page 38 above, note 5.  
6 See page 36 above, and note 1.
This inscription is on the upper part of the proper right side of the stone. Almost the whole of the first line, and the first half of each of the remaining lines, has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the writing, however, covering a space of about 4" broad by 9" high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The size of the letters varies from 1" to 3". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding two inscriptions, Nos. 7 and 8, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in the date, forms of the numerical symbols for 8 and 90.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The name of the king is broken away and lost in the first half of line 2. But the inscription is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year ninety-eight (A.D. 417-18); and this shews that the record must belong to the time of the Early Gupta king Kumâragupta. So little remains of it, that the form of religion to which it belonged, cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it records a gift of twelve dinâras, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a sâtâra, a charitable hall or almshouse.

**TEXT.**

1  [Jitam bhagavata II Para]mabha[v]gavata-[mahârajâdhi]-  
2  [raja-sri-Kumâragupta-rajya-sa[ma]vatsa]te 90 8   
3  ............................. [asyam divasa]-pûrvâyaṁ  
4  ............................. nê(?)-n-âtma-[kum]opa[cha]-  
5  [y-ârttham] ............................. kâllyam  satâ-satt[î]ra-  
6  ............................. kasya lakshmîvansê(?)  
7  ............................. tya(?)m dinâraḥ dvâdaśa  
8  ............................. sy-âmkur-odbha(?)st[â]chchha  
9  ............................. [sam]yu[kt]î  

**TRANSLATION.**

[Victory has been achieved by the Divine One, [the reign] of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the Mahârâjâdhipati of the glorious Kumâragupta]; in the year 90 (and) 8; [on the] (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (etc.) ;—

(Line 3)— [for the purpose] of adding to (his), own religious merit (to endure) for the same time with a perpetual almshouse. Hence dinâras.

(L. 9)—shall become added with.

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1 From the original stone.
2 To be corrected into râjya-sa[ma]vatsaraḥ; see page 38 above, note 5.
3 Supply tithau.
4 The measure of the lines of this inscription seems to show that it did not contain here the full formula of the preceding two, Nos. 7 and 8.
5 See page 38 above, note 5.
No. 10; PLATE V.

BILSADE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KUMARÁGUPTA.

THE YEAR 96.

This inscription was discovered in 1877-78 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in his reading of the text, and translation of it, published in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. XI. p. 19 f., accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate viii.)

Bilsad or Bilsand is a village, consisting of three parts, called respectively Bilsad-Puvâyāh, or Eastern Bilsad; Bilsad-Pachhāyāh, or Western Bilsad; and Bilsad-Paṭṭī,* or Bilsad Suburb,—about four miles towards the north-east of Alligañj,* the chief town of the Alligañj Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Etā District in the North-West Provinces. At the south-west corner of Bilsad-Puvâyāh, or the eastern division of the town, there are four broken red-sandstone monolith columns,—two of them, towards the west, round; and two of them, towards the east, square. Each pair of columns stands almost due north and south; and the two western columns are both inscribed. The inscription now published is on the eastern side of the northern column of the west pair.

On the eastern side of the southern column of the west pair, there is also an inscription, which, as shown by the remains of it, was a duplicate copy of that on the northern column; but it was arranged somewhat differently, being, as counted by General Cunningham, in sixteen somewhat shorter lines, instead of thirteen. From General Cunningham's ink-impression, hardly any appreciable portion of this second inscription remains, except the second and third lines, and lines 12 to 16; and these are not in sufficiently good order to be lithographed, though they are of use in supplying more clearly a few letters which are doubtful in the two verses at the end of the inscription on the northern column. In this second inscription, line 2 begins with the svādita-yaaśasad of line 1 of the one now published;—line 3, with the gati-āndha of line 2;—line 12, with the parshadd of line 9;—line 13, with the kaubārachchhanda of line 10;—line 14, with the [ṣa]ṭṭra of line 11;—line 15, with the ... subhā of line 12;—and line 16, with the yān-apārvava of line 13.

With this pair of duplicate inscriptions, we may compare the duplicate inscriptions of Yasōdharmar on the two columns at Mandasör, Nos. 33 and 34 below. But Yasōdharmar's pillars were jayastambhas or 'columns of victory,' not connected with any building; whereas the two inscribed Bilsad pillars seem to have had a direct connection with a temple, now ruined, the remains of which must be hidden under the rubbish that has accumulated over the site,—viz. the temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāśēna, or Kārttikāya, referred to in the inscription.

The writing of the inscription now published covers a space of about 2' 15" broad by 1' 10½" high. The first four lines are almost entirely destroyed, and a good deal of

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1 The 'Beelsur and Bilsar' of map, *India Atlas*, Sheet No. 68. Lat. 27° 33' N.; Long. 79° 16' E. — The name is written and pronounced with or without a nasal in the second syllable; compare Apsad, and Apsa.l.
2 The 'Beelsurpowa, Beelshurpoch' of maps.
3 The 'Aliagoj and Ulleegurm' of maps.
4 The 'Eeta, Etah, and Etyub,' of maps.
damage has been done to the rest; but nothing of a historical nature seems to have been lost.—The average size of the letters is about 3/8. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; but they present a very pointed difference from the characters of the preceding inscription, in respect of the very marked màiras or prolonged horizontal top-strokes of the letters.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the end of line 9, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in puttrasya, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Kumáragupta. It is dated, in words, in the year ninety-six (A.D. 415-16); but without any specification of the month and day. It belongs to the Śaiva form of worship; and the object of it is to record the accomplishment by a certain Dhruvaśarman, at a temple of the god Karttikēya under the name of Śvāmi-Mahāśēna, of certain works, viz. (1) the building of a pratōli, or ‘gateway with a flight of steps;’ (2), the establishment, apparently, of a sattra or charitable hall or almshouse; and (3) the erection of the column with the inscription on it, to record the above acts.

TEXT.\footnote{1}{As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham, pratōli, according to the Dictionaries, means ‘a broad way; a high-street; a principal road through a town.’ But the meaning of ‘gateway’ was given to him by a Paśñu. And that the word has the meaning in the present inscription of ‘a gateway with a flight of steps,’ seems to be shewn by the comparison of the pratōli with a svarga-sāpāna or flight of steps, or ladder, leading to heaven,’ and by its being described as “white with the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems (in the stones of which it was constructed).”\footnote{2}{From Gen. Cunningham’s ink-impression; so also the lithograph. The passages that are illegible in lines 1 to 3 are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from the Bhitar pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii., lines 1 to 3.\footnote{3}{Probably siddham stood here.\footnote{4}{Read Samudraguptasya puttrasya, the separate genitive Samudraguptasya being required in apposition with the genitives ending in prapattrasya, pauttrasya, puttrasya, dauhitrasya, and utpannasya, in line 3.—Here, and in line 5, the drafter of the inscription seems to have been led into his mistake through following blindly the Chandragupta-puttrasya, which is quite correct, at the end of line 3.\footnote{5}{Read Chandraguptasya puttrasya, the separate genitive Chandraguptasya being required in apposition with the genitives utpannasya, a-pratirathasya, and pramabhāgavatasya in this line.—See the preceding note.\footnote{6}{Read rājyā samuśarṣe; see page 38 above, note 5.}
8 ............. nivāsinaḥ Svāmī-Mahāśēnasya-ayatanē-smin-Kārttayug-āchāra-
saddharma-varm-ānuyāyinaḥ.
9 āta ................. [pa]rshādā mānītēna Dhrvāsārmmanā karmma mahat-krit-ēdāṁ 1(I)
cauβerachchhanda-bimbāṁ sphatīka-maṇi-dāl-ābhāsa-gaurāṁ pratōlīm 1
11 prāsād-āgr-ābhīrṇaprāṁ guna-vara-bhavāṁ [dhrāmṇa-sa(?)]trāṁ yathāvat 1
puṇyēs-hvēv-ābhīramāṁ vrajaśī ṣubha-matis-tāta-Sarmāṁ dhruvō-stu I(I)
12 [—]ā[—][—] j[ī]-jasyā [— —] subh-āmpīta-vara-prakhyāta-labdāḥ bhūvī 1 [—][—]ē[—][—]
bhaktir-aḥna-sat[ī]ya-samātā kās-varah na sampāṇyāyēt 1
13 yēṁ-apūrvvā'-vibhūti-sanbhaya-chayāḥ [—]śai[—][—] jī — — — jh 1 tēn-āyanā
dhrvāsārmmanā sthira-varasā[—st]āmabh-ōch[chr]jayaḥ kāritaḥ I(I)

TRANSLATION.
(Line 6.)—In the ninety-sixth year, (and) in the augmenting victorious reign of
the Mahārāja dhīrīa, the glorious Kumāragupta,—
(L. 5.)—Who is the son, begotten on the Mahādēvi Dhrvādēvi, of the Mahārāja-
dhīrīa, the glorious Chandragupta (II.), who was himself without an antagonist (of
equal power); who was a most devout worshipper of the Divine One; (and)
(L. 4.)—Who was the son, begotten on the Mahādēvi Dattadēvi, of the Mahārāja-
dhīrīa, the glorious Samudragupta,—
(L. 1.)—[Who was] the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (of equal
power) in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters [of the four oceans]; [who was
equal to the God] Dhanada and Varuna and Indra and Antaka; who was the very axe of
the god Kṛttanta; who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows and]
gold; who was the restorer of the asvamēdha-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance;
(and)
(L. 3.)—[Who was] the son of the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Gupta;—
the son's son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghatōtkacha]; (and) the son of
the Mahārājahīrīa, the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (and) the daughter's son of
Lichchhavī, begotten on the Kumādēvi Kumārādēvi;—
(L. 7.)—On this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (etc.),]—at this temple
of the divine (god) Svāmī-Mahāśēna, whose wondrous form is covered over with the accu-

1 Supply tīthau. 2 Read kṛtam-īdām. 3 Metre, Sragdharā.
4 Here, and below, the marks of punctuation at the end of the first and third pādas of each verse
are unnecessary.
5 The reading is gaurāṁ, instead of the usual form gaurāṁ, also in the original duplicate of this
inscription on the other column.
6 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛṣṭāja.
7 These four aksaras are supplied from the ink-impression of the duplicate inscription, in which
they are quite distinct.
8 We should expect sthīratas; but the duplicate inscription also reads sthīra-varas.
9 See page 38 above, note 5.
10 i.e. Chandragupta II. 11 i.e. Samudragupta. 12 i.e. Samudragupta.
mulation of the lustre of the three worlds; who is the god Brahmanya; (and) who resides at .................. ,—this great work has been accomplished by Dhruvasarman, who follows the path of the customs of the Krita age, and of the true religion, (and) who is honoured by the assembly ..................

(L. 10.)—Having made a gateway,1 charming, (and) ............. the abode of saints, (and) having the form of a staircase leading to heaven, (and) resembling a [beard]-necklace of the kind called kaubārachchhanda, (and) white with the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems;—(and having made), in a very proper manner, a [religious] almohouse(?), the abode of those who are eminent in respect of virtuous qualities; resembling in form the top part of a temple;—he, the virtuous-minded one, roams in a charming manner among the items of religious merit (that he has thus accumulated); may the venerable Sarman endure for a long time1!

(L. 12.)—This lofty pillar,2 firm and excellent, has been caused to be made by that same Dhruvasarman, whose piety, having acquired the excellent reputation of nectar ............. on the earth, is so highly esteemed by all perfect beings that there is no one who would fail to worship him; (and) by whom ...................... by means of the abundance of (his) unprecedented accumulation of superhuman power.

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No. 11; PLATE VIA.

MANKUWAR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THE YEAR I29.

This inscription was discovered in 1870 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and appears to have been first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1880, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p, 7, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate IV. No. 2.).—And, in 1885, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 354.

Mankuwar3 is a small village near the right bank of the Jamna, about nine miles in a south-westerly direction from Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Pargana in the Karchhandah Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahabad District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the front of the pedestal of a seated image of Buddha, which, when it came to the notice of General Cunningham, was in a garden at Mankuwar, belonging to the Gosal of Deoriya4 or Dewariya; and it appears to be still there. But it was said to have been originally discovered in a brick mound between the five rocky hillocks called Panch-Pahad, a short distance to the north-east of Mankuwar. The image represents Buddha, seated; wearing a plain cap, fitting close to the head, with

1 [pratisthā; see page 43 above, note 1.]
2 This is a play on the meaning of the first part of his name, dhruva, 'immovable, stable, enduring.'—For the use of the second part, to represent the whole name, see page 8 above, note 3.
3 [lit. “this loftiness of a pillar.”]
4 The 'Mankush and Munhowar' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88 (Lat. 25° 19' N.; Long. 85° 32' E.)
5 The 'Deoriya and Deorya' of maps, &c.; about a mile to the north-west of Mankuwar.—Bhagwanlal Indraji writes the name 'Devalī.'
long lappets on each side; and naked to the waist, and clad below in a waist-cloth, reaching to the ankles. The first line of the inscription is at the top of the pedestal, immediately below the image. Then comes a compartment of sculptures, containing in the centre, a Buddhist wheel; on each side of the wheel, a man seated in meditation, and facing full front; and, at each corner, a lion. Then follows the second line of the inscription, at the bottom of the pedestal.

The writing, each line of which covers a space of about 1' 7" broad, by 4" high in the first line, and 1" in the second, is in a state of excellent preservation. — The size of the letters varies from 3/4 to 1/2. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate very closely to those of the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate 1. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 9, 10, 20, and 100. — The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose. — The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Kumāragupta. For some reason or other, it gives him the subordinate feudatory title of Mahādrāja, instead of the paramount title of Mahādrājādīdrāja. But we know of no feudatory chieftain of the name of Kumāragupta; and the date fits exactly into the period of Kumāragupta, of the Early Gupta dynasty; and there can be no doubt that he is the person referred to. The use of the subordinate title may perhaps be due to carelessness or ignorance on the part of the drafter of the inscription. Or possibly it may indicate an actual historical fact, the reduction of Kumāragupta, towards the end of his life, to feudal rank by the Pushyamitras and the Hānas, whose attacks on the Gupta power are so pointedly alluded to in the Bhārṣa inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below. The date of the inscription, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and twenty-nine (A.D. 448–49), and the eighteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Jyestha (May–June). It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

**TEXT.**

1 Ōm<sup>1</sup> Namō Buddhāna<sup>1</sup> [18]<sup>1</sup> Bhagavatō<sup>3</sup> samyak-sambuddhasya sva-mati-āviruddhasya iyaṁ pratiṁ pratisṭhāpita bhikṣu-Buddhamitrēṇa

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<sup>1</sup>We may compare the rather doubtful legend on one of Skandagupta’s coins, — Mahādrāja-Kumāragupta-paramamāhāditya-mahādrāja-Skanda; see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 67.

<sup>2</sup>From the ink-impression.

<sup>3</sup>As was usual throughout the whole of the period covered by this volume, this word is represented by a symbol, not by actual letters. — Ōm is not of very frequent occurrence at the commencement of Buddhist inscriptions. But another instance is afforded by line 1 of the Sṛṣṭi (Kötā) inscription of the Sāmana Dēvadatta (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 45.)

<sup>4</sup>Read buddhabhās; unless buddhāna, as also the following bhagavatō, is to be regarded as a Prākrit form, used in carelessness.—This use of the genitive after namā is not usual. But we have other instances; e.g. in the Khândagiri rock inscription, which commences Namō arahamānam namō sava-siddhānam (Corp. Inschr. Ind. Vol. I. p. 98, and Pl. xvii.) — in the two early inscriptions quoted by Bühler in Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 273, the first of which, from Amarkāvat (Fergusson’s Tree and Serpent Worship, Pl. xxiv. No. 3), commences Siddham Namō bhagavatī; and the second, from Mathurā (Archaeol. Surs. Ind. Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20) Siddham Namō arahatī Mahāvīrasya; and in the Amarkāvat Śīṭā inscription, which commences Siddham Namō bhagavatī savasa-utamasa Budhāsa (Archaeol. Surs. South. Ind. Vol. 3, p. 12, No. 12 B., and Plate iii.; see also other instances on pp. 8, 18, 45, 47, 53, 53, 54, of the same volume).
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 12, PLATE VI.B.

Samvat 100 30 Mahârâja Śrî Kumâraguptasya râjyâ Jyêśtha-mâsa
di 10 8 sarvva-duhkka-prahân(9)y-ârthâm [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Om 1 Reversion to the Buddhas 2 This image of the Divine One, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge, (and) who was never refuted in respect of his tenets, has been installed by the Bhikshu Buddhamitra,—(in) the year 100 (and) 20 (and) 9; in the reign of the Mahârâja, 3 the glorious Kumâragupta; (in) the month Jyêśtha; (on) the day 10 (and) 8,—with the object of averting all unhappiness.

No. 12; PLATE VI.B.

BIHAR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Ravenshaw, and to have been first brought to notice by him in 1839, in the Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 347 ff.; from his remarks it appears that the column was originally found in front of the northern gate of the old fort of Bihâr, but had been subsequently removed and set up "in a reversed position, with its base in the air, and its summit in the ground," a little to the west of the same gate, where it was afterwards found, fallen, by General Cunningham.—In 1866, in the Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXV. pp. 269 ff. and 277 f., Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, with a lithograph, from a baked clay impression made by Major C. Hollings, and sent to the Society in 1861.—And in 1871, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 37 f. and Plate xvii., General Cunningham published his own lithograph of the inscription.

Bihâr 4 is the chief town of the Bihâr Sub-Division of the Pàtña District in the Bengal Presidency. The broken red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, was eventually removed by Mr. A. M. Broadley, Magistrate of Bihâr, and was set up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihâr Court-House, 5 where it still stands. Mr. Broadley perpetuated

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1 See page 30 above, note 3.
2 *Read duhkha.
3 'Om is an auspicious exclamation, used at the beginning of books, &c. It is made up of the three letters a, w, and m; and in later times it was looked upon as a mystic name for the Hindu triad, and as representing the union of the three gods, Vishnu (a), Śiva (w), and Brahman (m).—The efficacy of the exclamation is detailed in the Mânavadharmasûtra, ii. 74-85 (Barnell's Translation, p. 25 ff.)
4 With this plural, compare the mention of four Buddhas in the Sâachi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviii B.; and also Bhagavatâm sâmâyukhâbhuddhâm Buddhâhâm, "of the divine Buddhas, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge," in line 22 of the Walla grant of Dhrusvâna Í. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 105).
5 See page 46 above, para. 4.
6 The 'Behar and Bihâr' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 11' N.; Long. 85° 33' E.—The proper form of the name, which is by no means an uncommon one for villages in Northern and Central India, is of course Bihâr, with the vowel i in the first syllable, from the Sanskrit vihâra, 'a Buddhist (and Jain) temple or convent;' and this is the form that is used by the people of the Patna District.—The Sanskrit name, Vihâra, occurs in line 9-10 of the 'Pessera's inscription, now stored in the collection at Bihâr, where the place is called 'Vihâra, the city of the glorious Yâhârvarman' (Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XVII. p. 492 ff.).
the inverted position of the column, upside down; and also disfigured it with an English inscription, printed in full by General Cunningham, a few letters of which appear in the lithograph now published. Also, the column, as placed by Mr. Broadley, stands now in the middle of a house, the roof of which is supported by it; and the last eight lines of the inscription, shewn in Dr. Rajendralala Mitra and General Cunningham’s lithographs, are now completely hidden, and rendered quite inaccessible, by a wooden structure placed on the top, i.e. the proper bottom, of the pillar, in order to connect it with the roof.

The writing originally extended, in the First Part, lines 1 to 13, over four of the faces of the column, as is shewn by the metres of the extant portion; and in the Second Part, line 14 ff., over three faces, as is shewn by the number of letters lost in each line. The extant portion, now lithographed, covers a space of about 4" broad by 3" 5" high, and is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate closely to those of the Allahbad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include, in lines 3 and 11, forms of the numerical symbols for 3, 5, and 30.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 10, and the rest in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusodra, before $i$, in anusa, lines 11 and 13; (2) the doubling of $k$ and $t$, i.e. in conjunction with a following $r$, e.g. in chakrad, line 10 (but not in viramena, line 3), and pauttrasya, line 17; and (3) the doubling of $dh$, in conjunction with a following $y$, in anuddhyata, line 22.

The first part of the inscription, which is not dated, mentions the Early Gupta king Kumáragupta, and seems to have recorded the name of his wife, which is not given in any of the other inscriptions; her name, however, is lost in the part that has peeled off. But this part of the inscription seems to belong, like the second, to the time of his son and successor Skandagupta, from the mention of apparently a village named Skandaguptabata, in line 11. This part of the inscription records the erection of the column, which in line 10 is called a yupa or ‘sacrificial post,’ apparently by some minister whose sister had become Kumáragupta’s wife. And the inscription further recorded certain shares in the village of Skandaguptabata (?), and in another agrahara, the name of which is lost. From the mention of Skanda, or Kárttikéya, and the divine Mothers, in line 9, this part of the inscription seems to have belonged to the Śaiva form of worship, in its Śākta or Tántrika development.

The second part, which also contains no date, is a record of Skandagupta. Not enough of it remains to shew the form of religion to which it belonged, or to indicate clearly its purport.

1 Compare the undoubted instance of this, in the same period, in the Gaumádh inscription of Visavarman, No. 17 below.—The māstrāh or mātrigama, ‘the divine Mothers,’ are ‘the personified energies (śakti) of the principal deities.’ They are closely connected with the worship of the god Siva. Originally they were seven in number,—Brahma, Brahmasat, Visnushwär, Māheśvar, Kaumārd, Vārāh, Ainśr or Indrā or Mahēndr, and Chāmunda,—as representing the Pāñcathe, the seven mothers or nurses of Kārttikeya, the son of Siva. Afterwards the number was increased to eight, nine, sixteen, and various other figures. The chief object of the Śākta or Tántrika worship now is Pārvati, Durgā, or Māheśvar, the wife and female energy of Siva; especially under the name of Jagadamś, ‘the mother of the universe.’—Not long after this period, Svāmi-Mahēśā, or Kārttikeya, and the divine Mothers, ‘the seven mothers of mankind,’ appear as special objects of worship, and tutelary deities, of the Early Kadambas (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 29), and of the Early Chalukyas (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 162; Vol. VI. p. 74; and Vol. XIII. p. 137 f.)
TEXT:

First Part.

1 [- -]ḥ

2 [- -] [la]s[y]́-āpi sūnu-r-bhuviś svāmi-néyah khyātaḥ svakrttyā

3 [- -] [sva]s[a]-aiva yasya-ātula-vikramoṇa Kumāragupta[ḥ]ēṇ[ā]

4 [- -] p[i]t[i]ri(tri)rhīs-cha dēvānēs-cha hi havya-kavyaīh sadā

5 [- -] [a]chkhārada-dēvanikōta-maṇḍalāṁ kṣhitāv-an-aupama-

6 ......... baṇḍhūḥ[ṛ]teḥ[ṛ] kila stambha-var-ōchchhbri(chchhbra)ya-prabhāṣe

7 ......... bhrir-vrkhāṬam kusuma-bhar-ānat-āgra-śūnḥ(?)(a)ga(?)-vyālamb-

8 [- -] Bhadrāryyayāḥ bhāṭi grihaṁ navābhbra-nirmmōka-

9 [- -] Skanda-pradhānair-bhuvi māṭribhiḥ-cha lōkān-śa

10 [- -] yōp-ōchchhrayam-ēva chakkrē [i] Bhadrāryy-āḍī-

11 ......... [Skaṇḍ]a[ḥ]adā-patatē anāṁ 3o 5 tā(?)(h)mraṭāku(?)(h)

12 ......... pituḥ svā-māṭṭur-yyady-asti hi dushkrītaṁ bhajatu

13 ......... k-āgraḥārē anāṁ 3 Anantasēnē-ōpa .........

Second Part.

14 ......... [Sarva]rāj-ōchchhē]ṭṭuḥ pr[i]priḥvīyaṁ-a-pratirathasya

15 [chatur-udadhī-saṭil-āsvādita-yaṣasā Dhanada-Varuṇ-ṝindr-Antaka-

samasya Kṛitānta-

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1 As far as line 25, from the ink-impression; the rest, partly from Gen. Cunningham's lithograph, and partly from the lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's reading.

2 The first two entire pādas, and parts of the third pāda of most of the verses, have peeled off and are lost all the way down.

3 Metre, Upēndravajrā.  

4 The metre is faulty here; since the vi of bhūvi, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following sv.

5 Metre, Upēndravajrā; and in the next verse.  

6 Metre,Apparently Ghi; and in the next verse.

7 Metre, Upēndravajrā; and in the following two verses.

8 The passages that are lost in lines 14 to 22, are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 25, 28, and 29, page 6, above, and from the Bhitar pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii., lines 1 to 6. The sectarian epithet of Skandagupta, in line 23, is supplied from line 24, and from his silver coins (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 66 f.)
The rest of the inscription had been broken away and lost, before the time when it was discovered.

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

a very moon of a man; equal in prowess to (the god Vishnu) the younger brother of Indra; unequalled in respect of virtuous qualities;

(Line 2)— moreover, his son, docile towards (his) master on the earth; renowned; .................................. by his own fame.

(Line 3)— whose sister, indeed, [was espoused] by Kumāragupta, of unequalled prowess.
(L. 4.)—............. both the deceased ancestors and the gods, with the oblations proper for each of them; always things that are injurious to man, &c.

(L. 5.)—............. caused to be made a group of temples, not rivalled by anything else that could be compared with it in the world.

(L. 6.)—............. assuredly in .................................... which is beautiful with the erection of (this) best of columns.

(L. 7.)—............. of the trees .................... the groups of fig-trees and castor-oil plants, the tops of which are bent down by the weight of (their) flowers.

(L. 8.)—............. by (the presence of) Bhadrāryā, the house shines ............ the sky laden with fresh clouds.

(L. 9.)—............. headed by (the god) Skanda, and by the divine Mothers, on the earth, mankind

(L. 10.)—............. [he] made, indeed, the erection of (this) sacrificial post Bhadrāryā and others ............. in (the village (?) called) Skandaguptabata (7), 30 (and) 5 shares

(L. 12.)—............. if there be any misdeed on the part of (his) father (or) his mother, let him share .......... in the agrahdra of .......... 3 shares ............. by Anantasena

Second Part.

(L. 14.)—............. The son of the Mahārājñādhīrāja, the glorious Samudragupta,—who was the exterminator [of all kings]; who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world; [whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans]; who was equal to (the gods) [Dhanada and Varuṇa] and Indra and Antaka; [who was the very axe] of (the god) Kṛitanta; [who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold]; who was the restorer of the atvamādha-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; [who was the son of the son's son of the Mahārājñādhīrāja, the illustrious Gupta]; who was the son's son of [the Mahārājñādhīrāja, the illustrious] Gaṇātākṣa; (and) who was [the son of the Mahārājñādhīrāja, the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhavi], begotten on the Kumāradevi,——

(L. 19.)—(was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājñādhīrāja, [the glorious Chandragupta (II.),]—who was accepted by him; [who was begotten on] the Dattadevi [Dattadevi]; (and) [who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power)].

(L. 21.)—[His son], who meditated on [his feet], (and) [who was begotten on the Mahārājñādhīrāja, the glorious Kumāragupta].

(L. 22.)—[His] son, who meditated on his feet, (is) [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājñādhīrāja, the glorious] Skandagupta.

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1. It is "with the kasya (the oblation to the gods) and the kasya (the oblation to deceased ancestors)."
2. I.e. by Samudragupta; see page 12 above, note 1.
(L. 24.)—[1], the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the Mahārājaḥkīritya, the glorious Skandagupta, issue a command] ...................... of the town of Ajapura in the pishaya ...................... a perpetual endowment a village-field ...................... the Upārīka, the Kumdrāmdīya ...................... acquired by the merchant ...................... in the seat (of office) (?) of the Agrahārika, the Sāvikīka, and the Gāumīka, ...................... and others who subsist on Our favour;—

(L. 31.)—"I have been requested by varman,—'By my father's father, ...................... the Bhaṭṭa Guhīlavāmin, ...................... belonging to Bhadrāryā .........................."

**No. 18; PLATE VII.**

**Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta.**

The column containing this inscription appears to have been discovered in 1834 by Mr. Tregear; but the inscription itself was not observed till a short time afterwards, when General Cunningham found it, on clearing away the earth from the lower part of the shaft. The discovery was made in 1836, by Mr. James Prinsep, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 661. And the inscription was first brought to notice in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 1 ff., where the Rev. W. H. Mill published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (marked id. Vol. V. Plate xxxii.), reduced by Mr. Prinsep from a copy made by General Cunningham.\(^1\)—In 1871, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 98 and Plate xxx., General Cunningham published another lithograph of the inscription.—In 1875, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 59 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published a revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, from a hand-copy made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.\(^2\)—And finally, in 1885, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 349 ff., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has given his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, with another lithograph reduced from his hand-copy.

Bhitari\(^3\) is a village about five miles to the north-east of Sayyidpur,\(^4\) the chief town of the Sayyidpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Ghāzpur\(^5\) District in the North-West Provinces. The red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands just outside the

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1 *Uparīka* is a technical official title, the exact purport of which is not known, and a suitable rendering of which cannot be offered at present.

2 *Agrahārika* is a technical official title, denoting probably 'an officer in special charge of an agrahāra.'

3 *Sāvikīka* is a technical official title, which might be rendered by some such term as 'superintendent of tolls or customs (śilka).'</n
4 *Gāumīka* is a technical official title, which might be rendered by 'superintendent of woods and forests (guima).'</n

6 This paper was not published till 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 13th April 1871.

7 The 'Bhitari, Bhitree, Bhitrī, and Bhitart,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 35' N.; Long. 83° 17' E.

8 The 'Sayidpur and Sydpoor' of maps, &c.

9 The 'Ghazeeepoor' of maps.
village, on the south side. The inscription is on the eastern face of the square base of the column; and the bottom line is only a few inches above the level of the ground.

The writing, which covers a space of about 4 4" high by 4 4 4" broad, has suffered very much from the effects of the weather; also the stone has peeled off in a few places; and there is a crack running vertically down the inscription, near the left side. "With care, however, nearly the whole of the inscription is legible, on the original stone, with certainty; and nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost.—The size of the letters varies from 2 4" to 4 4 4". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though more squarely cut, are of the same type with those of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ft. above, Plate iiiA.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the middle of line 6, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1), the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in vaṅga, lines 7, 13, and 14; (2) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in viกรรมa and kkramena, line 9; (3) the doubling of ṭ, under the same circumstances, in pautrasya, line 3 (but not in pṛapautrasya, line 2; pṛutas, line 4; and other places); and (4) the doubling of ḍh, in conjunction with a following r, in anuṛdhyta, line 5.

The inscription is one of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta. It is not dated. It belongs to the Vaishāpava form of religion; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Vishnu, under the name of Śrāṅgu or "the wielder of the bow of horn named Śrāngu," and the allotment, to the idol, of the village, not mentioned by name, in which the column stands.

TEXT:


3 mahārāja-srī-Chatrōtkrācha-pautrasya mahārājādhirāja-srī-Chandragupta-pautrasya Lichchhivī-dauhitrasya mahādēvyam Kumārādē[ê]vya-

4 m-utpannasya mahārājādhirāja-srī-Samudraguptasya putras-tat-pariprīhīto mahādēvyam-Dattadēvyam-utpannaha svayam-a-pratirathah

5 paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-srī-Chandraguptas-tasya putras-tat-pād-ānuddhyāto mahādēvyam Dhruvadēvyam-utpannaha parama-

6 bhāgavatō mahārājādhir[a]ja-srī-Kumāraguptas-tasya [I]* Prathita*-pruthu-mati-svabhāva-saktēḥ prithu-yaasah prathivipatēḥ prithu-śrīh


8 dhamā namataḥ Skandaguptah socharita-charitānāḥ yena vṛttēna vṛttam na vṛttanam-ama-atmā tāna-dhēd(?)-vinnah [II*] Vinayas

9 bala-suntair-vrākramena kkramena pratidinam-abhīyōd-āpsītəm yena la[b]dhvā svabhāmata-vijigishā-prādyotanāḥ pārśvanām prapn-

10 hita iva lē[bbh sa]nvidhan-āpadeḥah [II*] Vichalita-kula-łakṣmīn-stambhanāv-ōdyatēna kshiti-tala-śayanye yena nīta trimāma samu-

1 From the original column.
2 There are some faint marks on the sarva, which seem to be remnants of this word; but it is not quite certain.
3 Metre, Pushpitāgrā. * Metre, Mālin; and in the next four verses.
vina( )mu-
[ va]shanti-saury[ai]r=nnirrûgham charitam=amala-krrttêr=ggityatê yasya 
subhra-rîn dii-diîi paritushtair=â-kumârân manushyaîi[ ] Pitari 
divam=upê[tê]
viptu-tam vaîsa-lakshnim bhujha-bala-vijit-ârir=yyaî pratishtâpaya bhûyâh 
jitam=iti parîshtan=mâtrâra nîsâra=nîttanâm hata-rîpur=iva Krishnô 
Dekvâkam=abhuyupê.
[ta]b [I®] Sv[ai]r=ddanâ[aih] [a] ra[?](?)yu[?]t-prachalitam vaîsanâm prati- 
shtâpaya yo bahuhryam=avanim vijitya hi jîtshv=ârttêshu krtvâ dayâm 
n=otsikto [na] cha vismitat pratidinam
samvardo-dhamâna-dyutih gitaî=cha stutibhi=cha vandaka-ja[?]n[?]o[?](ya[?]m 
pra[?]mâyaty=âryatam [I®] Hûnair=yyasya samâcatalaya samaré 
dôrbhyam dharâ kampitâ bhïm-avartata karasya
sâstru shâ[=][ ] vira[?]chit[?]tam 
prakhyâpitô [ ][ ][ ] na dyô[?]ti[ ]na[ ]shukshyata iva 
sôrtreshu Gânag-dhvani[ ] [I®]
S[v]a²-pitu[ ] kârtit[ ] [Kârtavyâ] pratima kâchit-pratimân 
tasya Sârînînam
s[?]-pratita=chakkár-êmân y[ ]â[ ]chandra-târakam [I®] Iha ch=âinaîm 
pratishtâpaya su-pratishtita=sasanah grâmam=înâm sa vidadh[ê] pitu[ ] 
pu[?]-abbivriddhaye [I®]
A[ ] bhagavatô márûtî=îyam yas-ch-âtra samsthî[?]ta[?]b ubhayam 
nirddidës=âsau pitu[ ] pûnya pûnya-dhîr=iti [I®]

TRANSLATION.
[Perfection has been attained]! The son of the Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious 
Samudragupta,—who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (of 
equal power) in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; who 
was equal to (the gods) Dhanaâda and Varûpa and Indra and Antaka; who was the very 
axe of (the god) Kritânta; who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows 
and gold; who was the restorer of the âsvamedha-sacrifice, that had been long in 
abeyance; who was the son of the son’s son of the Mahârâja, the illustrious 
Gupta; who 
was the son’s son of the Mahârâja, the illustrious Ghaṭottâkacha; (and) who was the son of 
The son of the Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (and) the daughter’s son of 
Lichchhivi, was begotten on the Mahâdevi Kumârâdevi.—

(Line 4.)—(was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahârâjâdhirâja, 
the glorious Chandragupta (II.), who was accepted by him; who was begotten on the 
Mahâdevi Dattadêvi; (and) who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power),

1 Metre, Šârddhâlvirkâjita; and in the next verse.
2 Metre, Śîlka (Anushûthbhi); and in the following three verses.
3 The usual form of this name is Lichchhavi, with the vowel a in the second syllable. As 
regards the present variant, see page 16 above, note 1.
4 i.e. by Samudragupta; see page 12 above, note 1.
(L. 5.)—His son (was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārajadhiraśa, the glorious Kumāragupta, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the Mahādevī Dhruvadēvi.

(L. 6.)—The son of him, the king, who was renowned for the innate power of (his) mighty intellect (and) whose fame was great, (is) this present king, by name Skanda-gupta, who possesses great glory; who subsisted (like a bee) on the wide-spreading waterlilies which were the feet of (his) father;1 whose fame is spread far and wide;—who is amply endowed with strength of arm in the world; who is the most eminent hero in the lineage of the Guptas; whose great splendour is spread far and wide; by whom, practising (good) behaviour, the conduct of those who perform good actions is not obstructed; who is of spotless soul; (and) who is well disciplined in the understanding of musical keys?

(L. 8.)—By whom, having, with daily intense application, step by step attained his object by means of good behaviour and strength and politic conduct,—instruction in the art of disposition (of resources) was acquired, (and) was employed as the means of (subduing his) enemies who had put themselves forward in the desire for conquest that was so highly welcome (to them):

(L. 10.)—By whom, when he prepared himself to restore the fallen fortunes of (his) family, a whole night was spent on a couch that was the bare earth; and then, having conquered the Pushyamitrā,2 who had developed great power and wealth, he placed (his) left foot on a foot-stool which was the king (of that tribe himself):

(L. 11.)—The resplendent behaviour of whom, possessed of spotless fame,—inherent, [but increased] by . . . . . . and patience and heroism which are emphatically unequalled, (and) which destroy the efficacy of the weapons (of his enemies),—is sung in every region by happy men, even down to the children:

(L. 12.)—Who, when (his) father had attained the skies, conquered (his) enemies by the strength of (his) arm, and established again the ruined fortunes of (his) lineage; and then, crying “the victory has been achieved,” betook himself to (his) mother, whose eyes were full of tears from joy, just as Krishṇa, when he had slain (his) enemies, betook himself to (his mother) Dēvaki:

(L. 14.)—Who, with his own armies, established (again) (his) lineage that had been made to totter . . . . . . . . , (and) with his two arms subjugated the earth, (and) shewed mercy to the conquered peoples in distress, (but) has become neither proud nor arrogant,

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1 This expression is very analogous in its purport to the tat-pādd-anudhyeta of line 5 above. Compare Amoghavarṣhadēva-pādāpankhaśa-bhrāmara, “a bee at the waterlilies which are the feet of Amoghavarṣhadēva,” in line 17 f. of the Śīrā inscription of Śaka-Saṅvat 788 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 219).

2 The second syllable of this name, like the rest of the inscription, is damaged. But, as regards the lower component,—comparing it with the subscript "y" of this inscription, e.g. in pradāya, line 2, and dawhitraya, line 5; and contrasting it with the subscript "p," e.g. in tattva-prīthid, line 4, and tat-pādd, line 5,—it is plainly "p." This passage, therefore, shews that the correct form of the first part of this name is pushya, not pusha; a point which Dévanāgarī manuscripts have not sufficed, and cannot suffice, to settle. And it bears out the Pārkrit form, Pusamita, of the name of the early king Pushyamitra, the contemporary of Patañjali, in the passages given by Dr. Bühler from the Pārkrit Gīthās according to Mārūtugā, Dharmāgā, and Jayāvijaya-gaṇi (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 362 f.)—Pushyamitra is the correct form according to Prof. Weber also (Sanskrit Literature, p. 223, note 237).
though his glory is increasing day by day; (and) whom the bards raise to distinction with (their) songs and praises:

(L. 15.)—By whose two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a terrible whirlpool, joined in close conflict with the Hānas; among enemies' arrows proclaimed just as if it were the roaring of (the river) Gāndā, making itself noticed in (their) ears.

(L. 17.)—the fame of his father .......................................................... (Saying to himself that) an image of some kind or other [should be made], he, the very celebrated one, made this image of that (famous) (god) Śārgin, [to endure as long as the moon and stars may last]. And, having here installed this (god),1 he, whose commands are well-established, has allotted this village (to the idol), in order to increase the religious merit of (his) father.2

(L. 19.)—Accordingly, this image of the Divine One, and (this village) which has been here agreed to,3—both of these, he, the pious-minded one, has assigned for (the increase of) the religious merit of (his) father.

No. 14; PLATE VIII.

JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEARS 136, 137, AND 138.

The discovery of this inscription appears to have been first announced in 1838, by Mr. James Prinsep, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 347 f.—In 1844, in the Jour. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. I. p. 148, there was published a lithograph of it, reduced from a copy, made by General Sir George LeGrand Jacob, Mr. N. L. Westergaard, and a Brāhman assistant, which had been submitted to the Society two years previously.—In 1862, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 121 ff., Dr. Bhu Daji published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph reduced from a cloth tracing made in 1861 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj.—and in 1876, Dr. Bhu Daji's text and translation, the latter revised by Professor Eggeling, were reprinted in the Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 123 ff., accompanied by a slightly reduced reproduction of the original lithograph from Bhagwanlal Indraj's copy (id. Plate xv.)

Junagadh1 is the chief town of the Junagadh Native State in the Kathiawar4 Peninsula.

1 Or, perhaps, "having here set up this (pillar)."
2 It was, perhaps, "reading mahāśa-prāta-gupta, "the Gupta attached to, or beloved of, Śiva," instead of śāma sa vidadhē pītaḥ, line 18,—and through failing to see that pitarī dīvam = upśtē, "when (his) father had attained the skies," line 12, refers to the death of Kumāragupta,—that Dr. Mill came to speak of "a young prince, a minor at the date of this inscription," and to suggest that he was probably the Mahāndragupta (sic.; but in reality Mahānārdkiyā, a title of Kumāragupta), whose name occurs on some of the coins of the dynasty. This double mistake in Dr. Mill's genealogy was repeated by Mr. Thomas in his Gupta genealogy (Archaol. Surv. Ind. Vol. II. p. 19). And Mahāndragupta's name is also given in Mr. Ferguson's last list (Cave-Temples of Western India, p. 191).
3 Or perhaps, "and (this column) which stands here."
4 The 'Joogaghur, Junagadh, Junagarh, and Junagurh,' of maps, &c. Indias Atlas, Sheet 7. Lat. 21° 31' N.; Long. 70° 36'E.
5 The 'Kathiawar and Kattywar' of maps, &c.
sula in the Bombay Presidency. The city itself, or its ancient representative, is spoken of in this inscription; but its ancient name is not given. The name occurs, however, in line 1 of Rudradāman's "inscription," as Girinagara, or "the city of, or on, the hill." This name subsequently passed over to the mountain itself, Girnār, which in the inscriptions is called Urjayat; and this fact rather tends to indicate that the ancient city stood, not where the modern town stands, but closer up to the mountain, and perhaps on the rising ground at the foot of it. The inscription is on the north-west face of a large granite boulder, containing also fourteen Aśoka edicts and a long inscription, of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, now under a shed specially built to protect it, about a mile to the east of the town, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Girnār.

The writing, which covers a space of about 10' 0" broad by 7' 3" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; and it is only in line 22 that the rock has actually peeled off, so that there are any extensive lacunae in the inscription. It is, however, not very easy to read; owing partly to the irregular, and occasionally rather shallow, nature of the engraving; partly to the roughness of the rock, and the way in which the natural marks of it mix themselves up a good deal with the letters; and partly to the fact that at several places the engraver, in consequence of unusual irregularities of the surface, passed over considerable portions of the rock and left them blank.—The size of the letters varies from about 1/4" to 1/2". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but the type is a later development of that which was used in the inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman on the same rock; it may be called the Saurāṣṭra or Kāthiāwād alphabet of the fifth century A.D. One of its most marked characteristics is the way in which the subscript ū is represented by the full form of the letter, not, as in other alphabets, by a curtailment of it; e.g. in buddhyā, line 5; vyasaṅī, line 6; and nyādyā, line 8. —The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddham, and a few words in line 23, the entire inscription is in verse. —In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the vocal nasal, instead of the anuddra, before s, in vanta, line 24; (2) the doubling of dh in conjunction with a following ū, in buddhyā, line 5; and (3) the indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding r; e.g. the consonant is doubled in ārthān, line 1, ārtīr, line 2, and darprā, line 3; but not in vṛtyā, line 2, paryanta, line 3, sarvāṅ, line 5, drjau, line 7, and drjand-rthasya, line 8.

The first part of the inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta; and, after an invocation of the god Vishnu and five verses in praise of the reigning king, it narrates how he appointed a certain Parnadatta to govern his territories in the Saurāṣṭras or the Kāthiāwād country. In his turn, Parnadatta appointed his son, Chakrapālita, to govern the city at which the inscription is. The inscription then proceeds to its real object; viz. to record that, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas," in the year one hundred and thirty-six (A.D. 455-56).

2 These blank spaces lie especially on each side of the large natural fissure running almost down the centre of the inscription.
4 As is quite clear even in the lithograph with which Bhau Daji worked, the correct reading here (line 15) is Gupta-prahlād gavāndas viddhyā; not Guptaye kād[d]a-gavāndas viddhyā, "counting from the era of Gupta," as it was taken to be by Bhau Daji and was afterwards specifically confirmed
at night, on the sixth day of the month Praushthapada (August-September), the lake
Sudarshana (formed in the valley round the foot of Girnar, by an ancient embankment
across the gorge, near where the inscription is) burst in consequence of excessive rain.
The date, here, and in the two passages further on, is expressed fully in words, not in
numerical symbols. The restoration of the breach, by renewing the embankment, was
affected under the orders of Chakrapalita, after two months' work, in the year one hun-
dred and thirty-seven (A.D. 456-57).

The second part, line 24 to the end, seems to have mentioned Skandagupta and
Parpadatta again, in passages in line 24 that are now illegible. And then, in
accordance with the general Vaishnava tendency indicated by the opening invocation of
the whole inscription, it goes on to record that, in the one hundred and thirty-eighth year,
in the time or reckoning of the Guptas (A.D. 457-58), Chakrapalita caused to be built
a temple of the god Vishnu under the name of Chakrabhiti or the 'Bearer of the discus.'
After this, the inscription ends with two verses, of which not enough now remains to shew
their purport.

TEXT. 1

First Part.

Siddham [119] Śṛyām-abhimata-bhōgyām naika-kāl-apiantām tridaśapati-
sukh-ārthah yā Balēr-ājahāra 1 kamala-nilayanāyāḥ śāsvataṃ dhāma
Lakshmyāh

by Thomas (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 538).—In the present series of inscriptions, this
passage, and the genitive plural Guptaṁī, governed apparently by kaśa, in line 27 below, are the
only ones that tend in any way to connect the name of the Gupta with the era used by them. But
not either of them suffices to show that the era was established by the Gupta themselves, or even
that it had, at this time, received the accepted name of "the Gupta era." And, what the wording
of the first of them really shews, is simply that the date was being recorded in an era which was not
the one in customary use in that part of the country.—The only other passage of a similar tendency is
the date in line 16 f. of the Mōrbī copper-plate grant of Jālika, as it has always been accepted up to
now in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's reading and translation,—Pamah-dittād yathā śīlā
samāndām iata-pamahkād 1 Guptē dādaśād abhiśapāt ||—"fifty years and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed, the king granted this, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed" (Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 258.)—But this rendering takes no notice of the fact that
the real reading, in line 17, is not guptē at all, but āgptē. It is only by the correction of ā into ā in
that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into this passage. But we may with just as much
reason correct āgptē into āgptē, 'to the protector, i.e. the local governor' (compare this word in line
6, of the present inscription); and this is even more sustainable; for the word is entirely separated
from the date in the preceding half of the verse, and it stands immediately before the word ādaṃ,
'he gave,' in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative (or some other) case
Or, again, without any correction at all, we may translate "the king gave this (charter) at the village
of Āgptē;" and thus obtain a village-name that may quite reasonably be taken as the ancient form
of the modern Gōp, which occurs, for instance, in Kāṭhiāwād, about seventy-five miles south-west
of Mōrbī, twenty-five miles south of Navānagar or Jāmnagar, and fifty miles east of Bhīchki, where
there was found the copper-plate grant (genuine or spurious, as may be settled hereafter) of a king
named Vikrama-Saṅhvat 794 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 151 ff.)—I must not be understood as saying,
in this note, that the Mōrbī date is recorded in the era that had been used by the Gupta
king, in order to shew that there is nothing in the passage containing the date, that can
show the name of the Gupta with it. The difficulty in disposing finally of the whole
Mōrbī inscription, is, that the first plate was lost sight of before it was procured for examina-
tion at all; and now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid and is not forthcoming.
sa jayati vijit-ārtrīr-Vrishnur-atyanta-jishpuḥ II Tad-anu jayati śaśvat śri- parikshipta-vakshah sva-bhuja-janita-viryo rājāriḍādhīrahaḥ I narapati-

bhujgānāṁ māna-darpī-ōptanānāṁ prakritkī-Garud-ājñā[m] nirvīśita[m]

Śeṣ-āvākarta II Nirāti-gaṇa-niketāḥ Janagṛgurthaḥ prithu-śriḥ chatur-

udadhī-jā[?] I(7) ānantāṁ sīhlī-paryaṇaḥ-dēśaṁ u cī. 

avanim-anavat-ānir-yah chakār-ātma-samsthāṁ pitari sura-sakhitaṃ

praptavaty-ātma-saktyā II Āpi[?] cha jītaṃ[?] yeva tēna prathayaṃti
yāyātmā yasya ripav-ōpi amūla-bhagna-darpā niva nītova.

Miēchchaḥ-dēśeṣha II

Kramena" budhnya niṇpaṃ pradhārya dhyātva cha kṛitnāṃ-gaṇa-dōsha-
bhēteṇ I vyapṛtya sarvān-manuṃ-jendra-putraṃ-llakṣaṁ śvāyaṃ yam
varayaṃ-chakara II Tasmān" niṛpē śāṣata nāiva kaśchid-dharmadh-
apētō manuṣaṃ prajāsū I

ārītō darītā-vyasaṇi kādyoṇ dand[?]ya na va voh bhrīṣa-pīditaḥ saty II

Evam sa jīta prithivim samagrām bhagn-āgra-darpā[m] dvīhataś cha
krīmā I sarvśeṣa āṣesēva v.ihidāya gōpti[?] iśvarān saṃchintyā[?] sa
bahu-prakāram II Saty-kō-nurupō S

matimān-vinī[?]tō mēdhā-smiṭhitīyam-anaṃ-pētaḥ-bhāvah I saty-ārjau-audāraya-

-śray-ōpapannō mādhūrya-dākṣīṇya-yāsō-nivitaḥ-chā II Bhaktō-nuraktō nī-
[?]pā[-]kō-yuktah sarv-ōpādhāḥ-hiṣḥa cha viṣuddha-buddhiḥ I anurīya-

bhav-ōpahat-antarātmāḥ sarvasya lōkasya hiite pravrīttaḥ II

Nyā-ārjanē-rthasya cha kah samarthaḥ syād-arjita-sāp[?]a atha rakshanē
cha I gōpāyitasya-āpi [cha] vṛddhi-hētāva vṛddhasya pātra-pratipādana II

sarvēṣe bhūrtīṣṇhva=āpi samhātesu yo mē prāsīhyān-nikhilān-

Surāṣṭrāṇ II-ām jātām-ēkāh khalu Pāṇadattō bhārasya tasya

ōdvāhanē samarthaḥ II

Eṣam vinīsictorya niś-paṭhipēna naikan-ahā-ratra-gaṇān-sar-matya I yah

sainiyuktō-ṛthahā kāthamchit samyak-Surāṣṭr-avani-pālanaya II

Nīyujya[?] devā Varuṇam pratichyaṃ svastha yathā n-ōṃmahāśe

babhvū[?h] I pūrvvētastāṃ dīśi Pāṇadattam niųyjā rājā dhriṃhmāṃs-tath-abhōt I

asa-ātmaḥ hy-ātma-bhāva-yuktō dvidh-ēva ch-ātma-ātma-vaṣēnah nītāh I

sārvatman-ātm-ēva cha rakhaṇtyō nītā-ātmanān-ātma-kānta-
rūpāḥ I(11) Rēp-āmrūpāpair-lalitār-vīchitraīḥ niyay-śram-ōṇita-sarva-
bhāvāḥ I prabuddha-padmakara-padmavaktra niṃṇām śaraṇyāḥ śaraṇ-

āgañāmān I(11)

bhavade[?]bhuvī Chakrappālītō-sāv-īti nāṃmā prathithaḥ priyō janasya I

sva-gopaś-an-ōpaskritair-udatt[a?i]ḥ pitaram yāś-cha viśēshayān-chakara I(11)

Kashmā[?] prabhutil viniyō niyayō śauryāḥ vina śaurya-

mah-[a?]chhchanay cha I và[?]kya[?]m domō dānam-adinātō cha

* ? nirvachand.

otre, Āṇya,

otre, Upajīti of Indravajrā and Upendra-vajrā.

otre, Indravajrā; and in the next six verses.

oter, Upajīti of Indravajrā and Upendra-vajrā; and in the next two verses.

oter, Vaśṭīyya-Aupachchhandaśika.

otre, Upajīti of Indravajrā and Upendra-vajrā; and in the next three verses.

12
dākhinyam-ānṛṇiyam-aś[ō]nyatā cha I(II) Saundaryam-āryētara-nigrahas-cha a-vismayō dhairayam-udmaṛata cha I


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1 Metre, Indravajrā; and in the next four verses.
2 Metre, Vahṣāsatha.
3 Metre, Indravajrā.
4 As regards the reading here, see page 57 above, note 4.
5 Metre, Vahṣāsatha; and in the next three verses.
6 Metre, Upājita of Indravajrā and Upendraivajrā; and in the next five verses.
TRANSLATION.

First Part.

Padma has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Vishnu,—the perpetual goddess) Lakshmi, whose dwelling is the water lily; the conqueror of distress;
the completely victorious one,—who, for the sake of the happiness of (Indra) the lord of the gods, seized back from (the demon) Bali the goddess of wealth and splendour, who is admitted to be worthy of enjoyment, (and) who had been kept away from him for a very long time! 

(Line 2.)—And next, victorious for ever is the supreme king of kings over kings, whose breast is embraced by the goddess of wealth and splendour; who has developed heroism by (the strength of his) arms; and who plucked (and utilised) the authority of (his local) representatives, who were so many Garuḍas, (and used it as) an antidote against the (hostile) kings, who were so many serpents, lifting up their hoods in pride and arrogance;—Skandagupta, of great glory, the abode of kingly qualities, who, when (his) father by his own power had attained the position of being a friend of the gods, bowed down his enemies, and made subject to himself the (whole) earth, bounded by the waters of the four oceans, (and) full of thriving countries round the borders of it;—whose fame, moreover, even (his) enemies, in the countries of the Mlecchchhas . . . . . . . having (their) pride broken down to the very root, announce with the words—"verily the victory has been achieved by him!"—(and) whom the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord selected as her husband, having in succession (and) with judgment skilfully taken into consideration and thought over all the causes of virtues and faults, (and) having discarded all (the other) sons of kings (as not coming up to her standard.)

(L. 5.)—While he, the king, is reigning, verily no man among his subjects falls away from religion; (and) there is no one who is distressed, (or) in poverty, (or) in misery, (or) avaricious, or who, worthy of punishment, is over-much put to torture.

(L. 6.)—Thus having conquered the whole earth, (and) having destroyed the height of the pride of (his) enemies, (and) having appointed protectors in all the countries, he cogitated in many ways,—"Among all my servants put together, who is there, who—suitable; endowed with intellect; modest; possessed of a disposition that is not destitute of wisdom and memory; endowed with truth, straightforwardness, nobility, and prudent behaviour; and possessed of sweetness, civility, and fame;—loyal; affectionate; endued with many characteristics; and possessed of a mind that (has been tried and is) found to be pure by all the tests of honesty; possessed of an inner soul pervaded by (the inclination for) the acquisition of debts and obligations; occupied with the welfare of mankind;—capable both in the lawful acquisition of wealth, and also in the preservation of it, when acquired, and further in causing the increase of it, when protected, (and able to) dispense it on worthy objects, when it has been increased,—shall govern all my countries of the Sūrabhaṭhas? I have it; (there is) just one man, Parnāda, competent to bear this burden."

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1 The legend is that the demon Bali, or Mahāball, by his austerities acquired the dominion over the three worlds, and caused annoyance and anxiety to the gods. Vishnu then became incarnate as a dwarf, appeared before Bali, and asked for as much land as he could cover with three strides. Bali assented to his request, and Vishnu with two strides recovered the heavens and the earth, but in commiseration for Bali, who then humbled himself, left him the dominion over the lower realms below the earth.

2 Garuḍa, the servant and vehicle of Vishnu, half man and half bird, was the special enemy and destroyer of the serpent-race. —There is possibly a secondary allusion to Skandagupta having overthrown some kings of the well-known Nāga or serpent-lineage.

3 i.e. "had died."
(L. 9.)—(And it was this same Parhadatta) who, with pressing (and) with difficulty, was appointed by the lord of kings, who had thus deliberated in his mind for many days and nights, to protect in a proper manner the land of the Surāshtras. (And) just as the gods became comfortable, (and) not disturbed in mind, when they had appointed Varuṇa to the western point of the compass, so the king was easy at heart, when he had appointed Parhadatta over the region of the west.

(L. 10.)—His son,—possessed of a filial disposition; his own self, as it were, re-duplicated; well trained by self-control; worthy to be protected, as if it were his own self, by the all-pervading spirit; always self-possessed; endowed with a naturally beautiful form; having a disposition the whole of which was always pervaded with joy through a variety of charming actions that were in accordance with (his) beauty; having a waterlily of a face that resembled a bed of waterlilies in full bloom; the refuge of men who came to him for protection,—was this same one who is renowned on the earth under the name of Chakrapālita; who is beloved of the people; and who confers distinction upon (his) father by his own noble qualities which are everything except unpolished:—

(L. 11.)—In whom all these qualities dwell to a marked degree, (and) without ever wandering away (from him),—viz. patience; lordship; modesty; and good behaviour; and heroism without (too) great an estimation of prowess; eloquence (?); self-control; liberality; and high-spiritedness; civility; the acquittance of debts and obligations; and freedom from empty-headedness; beauty; and reprobation of things that are not right; absence of astonishment; firmness; and generosity. Even in the whole world there is no one to be found, in whom a comparison with his virtues may be made; verily he has become, in all entirety, the standard of comparison for men who are endowed with virtuous qualities.

(L. 12.)—(And it was he) who was appointed by (his) father, after testing in person (the existence in him of) these same qualities mentioned above, and higher ones even than them; and who then accomplished the protection of (this) city in a way that quite distinguished him above his predecessors. Relying upon the process of his own two excellent arms (?), not on the pride of any other man, he subjected no one in this city to any anxiety; and he punished wicked people. Even in this time which is a mean one, he failed not to maintain confidence in the people, together with the inhabitants of the city; and, by carefully inquiring into faults, he has charmed all the citizens, together with ....... and children. And he has made (his) subjects happy by conversations addressed with smiles, and marks of honour, and presents; by free and reciprocal entering into (each other's) houses; (and) by carefully nourishing the family ceremonies of affection. Endowed with the highest piety, affable, pure, (and) in a suitable manner devoted to charity, he has, even without any conflict between religion and wealth, applied himself to such pleasures as may be attained at the proper time. What wonder is there in the fact that he, [born] from Parhadatta, is possessed of such proper behaviour?; can heat ever be produced from the moon, which is cold like a string of pearls or like a waterlily?

(L. 15.)—Then, in due course of time, there came the season of clouds, bursting asunder with (its) clouds the season of heat, when much water rained down unceasingly for a long time; by reason of which (the lake) Sudārśana suddenly burst,—making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas,¹ in a century of years, increased by thirty and

¹ See page 57 above, note 4.
also six more, at night, on the sixth day of (the month) Praushṭhapada. And these (other rivers) which take their source from (the mountain) Raivataka, (and also) this Paḷāśini, beautiful with (its) sandy stretches,—(all of them) the mistresses of the ocean,—having dwelt so long in captivity, went again, in due accordance with the scriptures, to their lord (the sea). (And) having noticed the great bewilderment, caused by the excess of rain, (the mountain) Ūrjayat, desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, stretched forth as it were a hand, consisting of the river (Paḷāśini), decorated with the numerous flowers that grew on the edges of (its) banks.

(L. 17.)—[Then on all sides] the people fell into despair, discussing how they should act; and, spending the whole night awake in vain, in great anxiety they reflected,—"Here in a moment, (the lake) Sudarśana has (by the overflowing of its waters) assumed an unpleasing appearance towards all the people, (as if it were) a man (?)—having the appearance of the ocean, quite full of water, can it ever (again) become pleasing of aspect, .................. ?"

(L. 18.)— .................. he* having become ................ and displaying the height of devotion towards his father, (and) holding in full view, for the welfare of the king and of the city also, religion, which has such auspicious results,—in a century of years, increased by thirty and seven others also, .................. attentive to the sacred writings .................. whose majesty is well known. Then, having sacrificed to the gods with oblations of clarified butter and with obeisances; and having gratified the twice-born with (presents of) riches and having paid respect to the citizens with such honours as they deserved, and to such of (his) servants as were worthy of notice, and to (his) friends with presents,—in the first fortnight of the month ...... belonging to the hot season, on the first day, he, having practised (all the above) respectful observances for two months, made an immeasurable expenditure of wealth, and, [built an embankment] a hundred cubits in all in length, and sixty and eight in breadth, and seven (?) men's height in elevation, ............... of two hundred cubits. (Thus), having done honour to the kings, he laboriously built up, with a great masonry work, properly constructed, the lake Sudarśana, which is renowned as not being evil by nature, so that it should last for all eternity,—agitated by the defiance of the ruddy-geese which display (their) beauty along the edges of the firmly-built embankment, and by the settling down (in its waters) of the herons and the swans ................. pure waters; on the earth ................ the sun and the moon.

(L. 23.)—And may the city become prosperous; full of inhabitants; cleansed from sin by prayers sung by many hundreds of Brāhmans; [and free from] drought and famine for a hundred years ..................  [Thus] ends the composition of the description of the restoration of (the lake) Sudarśana.

Second Part.

(L. 24.)— .................. of him (Śrandaugupta), who destroyed the pride of (his) haughty enemies; who is of great glory; who is the banner of his lineage; who is the lord

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1 Raivataka is the hill opposite Ūrjayat or Girnār.
2 There is a play on the words su-darśana 'having a good appearance,' and dur-darśana, 'having a bad appearance.'
3 i.e. Chakrapālita.
4 Grhīma, the hot season, consists of the two months Jyēṣṭha (May-June) and Āśāḍha (June-July). The name of one or the other of them is now illegible in this line.
of the whole earth; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings; .............

(L. 24)— ............... (Parnadatta), the protector of the island, and the leader of great ............... of armies for the subjugation of (his) enemies.

*(L. 25.)*—By his son, who is endowed with his own good qualities, (and) whose life is devoted to (the worship of) the feet of (the god) Góvinda, .....................;—by him, who causes the citizens to bow down by his own prowess, having there attained ..................... and the feet, which are like waterlilies, of (the god) Vishu, with a great expenditure of wealth and, time [there was built a temple] of that famous (god Vishu) who carries the discus, ................ enemies, (and) who became (incarnate and) human by the exercise of his own free will. *(Thus)* by Chakrapálita, who is of a straightforward mind, there has been caused to be built a temple of (the god) Chakrabhírī, in a century of years, together with the thirty-eighth (year), ................ the time of the Gupta.¹

*(L. 27.)*— ..................... uprisen, as it were, of the mountain Úrjayat, shines as if displaying (its) lordship on the forehead of the city.

*(L. 28.)*—And another ............................ on the forehead ....................

obstructing the path of the birds, is resplendent.²

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**No. 15; PLATE IXA.**

**KAHAUM STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.**

**THE YEAR 141.**

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton),—whose Survey of the Provinces, subject to the Presidency of Bengal, was commenced in 1807 and was continued during seven years, and whose manuscript results were transmitted in 1816 to the Court of Directors of the East India Company,—and to have been first brought to notice in his reports, from which Mr. Montgomery Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled *Eastern India*, in which the inscription is noticed in *Vol. II. p. 366 f.*, with a reduced lithograph *(id. Plate v. No. 2).*—In the same year, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 37 f., Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,* accompanied by a lithograph *(id. Plate i.)* reduced from a copy made by Mr. D. Liston.—In 1860, in the *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 530, Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his reading of the first verse of the inscription, and a translation, which was subsequently revised and reprinted in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 3, note.—In 1871, in the *Archaol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 93 f. and Plate xxx., General Cunningham published another lithograph, reduced from his own ink-impression.—And finally, in 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 125 f., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji published his revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph reduced from an impression made by him when he visited Kahaum in 1873.

¹ See page 57 above, note 4.

Kahāum or Kahāwān,\(^1\) the ancient Kabhaba or Kakubbhagrama of this inscription, is a village about five miles to the west by south of Salampur-Majhaulī,\(^2\) the chief town of the Salampur-Majhaulī Pargāna in the Deoriya or Dewariya Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Gorakhpur District in the North-West Provinces. The grey-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands a short distance on the north of the village.\(^3\)

Of the sculptures on the column, the most important are five standing naked figures, one in a niche on the western face of the square base; and one in a niche on each side of the square block immediately below the circular stone with an iron spike in it, which, the original pinnacle having been lost, now forms the top of the column. As appears to have been first fully recognised by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, these are distinctly Jain images. He suggested that they represent the five favourite Tirthankaras,—Adinātha, Śántinātha, Nēmīnātha, Parśva, and Mahāvīra. And they are in all probability the five images of Ādikartrī, or Jain Tirthankaras, referred to in the inscription itself.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 2½" broad by 1' 8" high, is on the three northern faces of the octagonal portion of the column; and the bottom line appears to be about 7' 6" above the level of the ground. It is evidently in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ½" to ¾". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddham, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ̣, in vanśa, line 2, and trīṇat, line 4; and (2) the usual doubling of ̣ and ̣, in conjunction with a following ̣, e.g. in chaṭṭha, line 9 (but not in sakrī, line 3), and purtrā, line 6.—My lithograph has been prepared from a lithograph of the same kind, handed to me by Dr. Burgess, from which was prepared the opposite lithograph, with the letters in black on a white ground, published with Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī’s paper. One or two letters, imperfect in that lithograph, have been cleared out on the authority of General Cunningham’s ink-impressions, which, though not adapted for complete reproduction, sufficed for this purpose.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Guptaking Skandagupta. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-one (A.D. 460-61); and in the month Jyēśṭha (May-June); but without any specification of the day of the month or fortnight. As is shewn by the images in the niches of the column, as well as by the tenor of the record itself, this is distinctly a Jain inscription. And the object of it is, to record that a certain Madra set up five stone images of Ādikartrī or Tirthankaras,—i.e. apparently the five images in the niches of the column,—and the column itself, at the village of Kabhuba or Kakubbhagrama, i.e. Kahāum.

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1 The ‘Kahaon, Kahong, Kangho, and Kuhaon,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 26° 16' N.; Long. 83° 55' E.
2 The ‘Sullempoor-Mujhowlee’ of maps.
3 The ‘Deora’ of maps.
4 For a full description, with drawings, of the column and other remains at Kahāum, see Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 91 ff. and Plate xxix., and id. Vol. XVI. p. 129 f. and Plate xxix.
TEXT:

1 Siddham

2 Gupta

3 rajya

4 Skandaguptasya

5 varshab

6 Girnash-dasa-ait-ottara-satata-m

7 tat-tanub Radiyu

8 Madras-tasya-

9 Punya-skandhah

10 sreevthram bhuta-bhityai pathi

11 paich-endran

12 saila-stambhah

(1) From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression, together with the lithograph from which my lithograph is reduced.

(2) In the original, this word is in the margin; the si' opposite the commencement of line 2, and the ddham opposite, and partly above, the commencement of line 3.

(3) Metre, Sraghartha, throughout.

(4) The mark in the original after this visarga would seem to be an accidental slip of the engraver's tool, rather than intended for a mark of punctuation, which is not required here.

(5) and . In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! In the tranquil reign of Skandagupta, whose hall of audience is shaken by the wind caused by the falling down (in the act of performing obeisance) of the heads of a hundred kings; who is born in the lineage of the Gupta; whose fame is spread far and wide; who excels all others in prosperity; who resembles (the god) Sakra; (and) who is the lord of a hundred kings;—in the one hundredth year, increased by thirty and ten and one; the month Jyeshtha having arrived;—

(Line 5.)—In this jewel of a village, which is known by people under the name of Kakubha, (and) which is pure from association with holy men,—(there was) the high-minded Bhatissoma, who (was) the son of Somila, that receptacle of many good qualities. His son (was) Rudrissoma, of great intellect and fame, who had the other appellation of Vaghra. His son was Madra, who (was) especially full of affection for Brahmons and religious preceptors and ascetics.
(L. 9.)—He, being alarmed when he observed the whole of this world (to be ever) passing through a succession of changes, acquired for himself a large mass of religious merit, (And by him),—having set up, for the sake of final beatitude (and) for the welfare of (all) existing beings, five excellent (images), made of stone, (of) those who led the way in the path of the Arhats who practise religious observances,—there was then planted in the ground this most beautiful pillar of stone, which resembles the tip of the summit of the best of mountains, (and) which confers fame (upon him).

No. 16; PLATE IX B.

INDOR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 146. 

This inscription was discovered in 1874 by Mr. A. C. L. Carleyce, First Assistant to the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India; and was first brought to notice, in the same year, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 363 ff., where a lithograph of it was published, prepared by General Cunningham (id. Plate xix.), accompanied by a version of the text, and a translation of it, by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra.

The inscription is on a copper-plate which was found in a small stream at Indor, the ancient Indrapura and Indrapura of the inscription, a large and lofty mound about five miles to the north-west of Dibhâl, the chief town of the Dibhâl Pargana in the Anupshahar Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bulandshahar District in the North-West Provinces. Until recent years, Indor was a small inhabited village; but it is now only a khet, or deserted mound, and is not shewn in maps. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plate is a single one, inscribed on one side only, measuring about 8 3/4" by 5 5/8" at the ends and 5 3/8" in the middle. The edges of it are here and there slightly thicker than the surface of the plate, with small depressions inside them at the same places; but there does not seem to have been any intention of purposely fashioning the edges thicker all round, so as to serve as a rim to protect the writing. The surface of the plate is in some places

1. *Indrāṇa.*—Bhagwanāl Indrajī, in his published version, first pointed out the kind of meaning to be given to this word here.

2. *lit. ‘made of (the substance of) mountains.’

3. *ādikārtīra; lit. ‘originators.’—Bhagwanlal Indrajī first pointed out the correct meaning of this word, as referring here to five of the *Tvıshmākaras* or sanctified teachers of the Jains.

4. The ‘Dabhāl, Dhuhāl, Dibāi, and Dubhāe;’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 67. Lat. 28° 12' N.; Long. 29° 18' E.—The position of Indor, with reference to Dibhāl, is shewn in the sketch map given in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XII. Plate i.

5. The ‘Anoopshahur and Anupshahur’ of maps, &c.

6. Dr. Burnell allotted the earliest instances of arranging for the preservation of the writing on copper-plates, by beating up the margins round the plates and then flattening the edges, to the ninth or tenth century A.D. (South-Indian Palæography, p. 92). But there are plenty of earlier instances, in the south, as well as in the north of India. These raised rims were obtained, at first, by thickening the plates at the edges, in the process of fashioning them. Afterwards, it became customary to beat the plates out quite smooth, and then to turn them up at the edges and fuse them together at the corners; and some of the Eastern Chalukya plates, made in this way, have raised rims a good quarter of an inch high.
a good deal corroded by rust; the inscription, however, with care, is legible with certainty throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters, being rather deeply engraved, shew through distinctly on a great part of the back of it. The engraving is clean and well executed; the majority of the letters, however, shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is no hole in the plate for a ring with a seal on it; nor are there any indications of a seal having been soldered on to it, as—from the instance of the spurious Gaya grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; illustrated also, in the present series by the Asirgadh seal of Saravarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxvii., and the Sonepat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxviii.; and, elsewhere, by the Dighwā-Dubaul grant of the Mahārāja Mahēndrāpalā and the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Māhārāja Vināyakapāla, seems to have been the early custom in the north of India.—The weight of the plate is 1 lb. 2 oz. —The average size of the letters is between \( \frac{1}{8} \) and \( \frac{1}{8} \). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and in essential details are of the same typo with those of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta I., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iiiA. The initial \( i \) has an entirely different form from that of the other northern type; contrast it in indrapura and iṭō, line 8, with iśa in Plate i. page 9 above, line 30, and iśī in Plate ixA, page 67, line 7. In line 10, we have a form of the numerical symbol for 2.—The language is Sanskrit; and all the formal part of the inscription, from pāramabhaṭṭāraka, line 3, to samākāśyam, line 10, is in prose. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice the affix ka, in chandrapuraka, line 5, indrapuraka, line 6, and especially pratishthāpitaka, line 7. It is a weaker form, without vṛiddhi of the vowel in the first syllable, of the ka with which the adjectival of locality, used in lines 19 and 20 of the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, page 7 above, are formed; and it is the origin of the modern Hindi genitive terminations ḳa, ḳa, and ḳa, and of similar declensional forms.

Other instances of it are given by No. 25 below, Plate xvB. line 13, कृतिलका; No. 26, Plate xvi. line 10, upadhyāmnaka; No. 27, Plate xvii. line 9, pratishthāpitaka, and line 12, upadhyāmnaka; No. 28, Plate xviii. line 13, anumādhita, line 14, uparīśhitaka and pratishthāpitaka, and line 18, upadhyāmnaka; No. 29, Plate xixA. line 10, uparīśhitaka, and line 15, upadhyāmnaka; No. 31, Plate xx. line 9, upāmnaka, lines 9 and 16, upadhyāmnaka, and line 11, कृतिलका; No. 41, Plate xxvii. line 11, atiśhītaka; and No. 62, Plate xxxviiiB. line 4, pravīśhītaka.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ṣ and ḷ, in chātvārioṣad, line 3 f., and śiṅka, line 6; (2) the doubling of ḷ, and usually of \( i \), in conjunction with a following ṛ, e.g. in aprakramaṇa, line 8 f, and paunrakha, line 5, (but not in puṇrū in the same line); and (3) the doubling of \( v \) after the anusvāra, in saṃvatsara, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta, whose feudatory, the Vishayapati Sarvanāga, was governing Antarvedi or the country

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2 Id. p. 138 ff.
3 As regards these two words, Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives puraka as another form of pūra,  'a city; ' but refers only to  ‘Argabhāṣyapuraka as an authority for the word. This city, however, only owes its existence to one of the early misreadings of Mautarāja-Paśṭhāpuraka in line 19 of the Allahabad inscription, No. 1, page 7 above.
4 Vishayapati is a technical official title, meaning  'the lord, or governor, of a vishaya.— See p. 32 above, note 7.
5 Antarvedi may perhaps also denote any Doab or region between two rivers of repute and sanctity.—It also means, as an adjective,  'belonging to the inside of the sacrificial ground.'—It occurs,
lying between the Ganges and the Jamna. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-six (A.D. 665-666), and in the month Phalguna (February-March), but without any specific indication of the day of the month or fortnight. It is an inscription of solar worship; and the object of it is to record a perpetual endowment, by a Brahmap named Dēvavishnum, for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the Sun at Indrapura, or Indrapura, i.e. the modern Indor. This mention of the place, under its ancient name, connects the record satisfactorily with the locality in which the plate was found.

TEXT:

 Sole Plate.

Siddham [II*] Yaṁ vinā vidhi-vat-prabuddha-manastō dhyān-aika-tānā (na)- stuvaḥ yasya-antaṁ tīrīṣaṁ na vividur-nańörddhvaṁ na tīrīyaṁ pavyāvaḥ sa jagat-pidhaṁ na-puṣaḥ-bhid-gaṃī-ā. 1

karo bhaksārakaṁ Paramabhaṭṭāraṅa-mahārājajīraṁ ṛṣī: Skandaguptasya-ābhi-

vardhamāṇa-vijaya-rāja-samvatsara-śaṁsasā-saṁsā rājasaṣṭaṁ shach(t)-chatvā ṛṇī. 1

[II*] īnsad-uttaratiṁ Phalguna-māsa tait-paṅgāraṁ niśīdhītasya visayapatī-

Sarvanāgasyā Antarvādityaṁ bhog-ābhivṛddhitāṁ varitā

māne [II*] Chandrapuraṅa-Padma-chāṭurvidyā māmāṇyā bhāmaṇa Dēvavidyur-ītānuḥ puṁr putrō Haritāra-pauṭhār Đuddika-prapaṭṭoth satat-āgīnāṁ

tra-[ch]cchandarō āraṁyāṁ([ni]yu) Varshagamā-sagottā Indrapuraṅa-vani-gaṁ,

bhāyaṁ kshattiyā-Achalavarmā-Bṛha ([br]u)kupiṁ jāi-bhavyaṁ-adhimśtaṁ(sthā)-
nasya prāchyaṁ diṁ Indrapurūr-dhishthānaṁ maṁyāta-lagnām āvā prati-

sthathāpitaṭh-bhagavatā savīrti ḍip-ōpaya-yāṁ-ātma-yāṁ-

bhiṁrvidhyā整顿 mṛyaṁ pravachchhati [II*] Indrapura-nivāsīyās

tailika-sṛṇyaṁ Jivanta-prāvaśya ītō-dhishṭhānād-apakrāma-

ni-sampravēśa-yathāstrirayaḥ ājāsirikām grahaṇtyādvija-mṛya-āṭṭamaṁ-Anaya

tu sṛṇya yad-ābhagna-yōgam

pratha[tha]-m-āṁ-āvaṁ cchhinnā-saṁsthāṁ dēyaṁ tālasya tulyena pala-

dvayaṁ tu a chandrārka-samakalyāṇam [II*] 1

*as the name of a village, in ‘Anderbed,’ about ninety-three miles west of Uchhārā, in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70; Lat. 24° 25' N.; Long. 80° 13' E. And we also have it in Antarvēḍa, Antarvēḍa, or Antarvēḍa, the name of a shrine at the mouth of the Vasiaśṭha branch of the river Gōdāvēri, seven

1 From the original plate.

8 Metre, Śaṅdolavkṛti.

8 The form stī is rather unusual; the customary form being stut. But Dr. Bühler has given me the analogous instance of ayata-stū, which is mentioned by Kātyāyana in his comments on Pāñcini, iii, 2, 76. The meaning of ayata-stū is not given in the Mahābhāṣya; but Monier Williams explains it by ‘panegyrist.’

* This is rather an anomalous akshara; but it can mean nothing but dhā.

6 Read rājṣaṁ samvatsara-śatī; see p. 38 above, note 5.—Gen. Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XII. p. 40) considered that there is a faint trace of the vowel ē of rājṣa; but the vowel was not engraved.

6 Read pravachchhati.—That the marks after ti are the visarga, and not marks of punctuation, is shewn by the form of the visarga throughout this inscription, and, contrasted with it, the marks of punctuation after bhāskaraḥ, l. 5, and at the end of the inscription.

* tulyena seems to be a mistake for tulyena.

* i.e. tulyena (tulyena).
Perfection has been attained! May that Sun, the rich source of rays that pierce (the darkness which is) the envelop of the earth, protect you,—whom Brāhmaṇa, of enlightened minds, (have recourse to) according to due rite, (and thus become) the utterers of praises in meditation, which are directed solely to him; whose limit, either vertically or from side to side, neither the gods nor the demons could ascertain; (and) by having recourse to whom, mankind, when they have lost control of themselves through much disease and agitation of the mind, acquire consciousness (again)!

(Line 3)—In the augmenting victorious reign of the Paramabhaṭṭaraka and Mahā-viśvādhiraja, the glorious Skandagupta; in the year one hundred, increased by forty-six; (and) while the month Phālguna is current for the increase of the enjoyment, in (the land of) Antarvedī, of the Vishayapati Sarvanāga, who has been accepted (with favour) by his feet:

(L. 5)—The Brāhmaṇa DeVavishnu, who belongs to the community of Chaturvedins of Padmā of the town of Chandraśura,—who is the son of Deva, (and) the son's son of Hanitrata, (and) the son of the son's son of Dūdika; who always recites the hymns of the agnihotra-sacrifice, who belongs to the Rāṣṭaraya (tikhta); (and) who is of the Varshagana gōtra,—for the increase of his own fame gives an endowment, (of which the interest is) to be applied to (the maintenance of) a lamp for the divine Sun, which has been established (in a temple) by the Ksatrīyas Achalavarmā and Bhrukutthasinha, merchants of the town of Indrapura, on the east of the settlement, (and) actually touching the settlement of the town of Indrapura.

(L. 8)—This gift of a Brāhmaṇa's endowment of (the temple of) the Sun, (is) the perpetual property of the guild of oil-men, of which Ṛiva is the head, residing at the town of Indrapura, as long as it continues in complete unity, (even) in moving away from this settlement. But there should be given by this guild, for the same time as the moon and the sun endure, two palas of oil by weight, (or in figures) by weight 2, uninterrupted in use, (and) continuing without any diminution from the original value.

(L. 11)—Whosoever shall transgress this grant that has been assigned,—that man, (becoming as guilty as) the slayer of a cow, (or) the slayer of a spiritual preceptor, (or)
the slayer of a Brāhman, shall go down (unto hell), invested with (the guilt of) those (well-known) five sins, together with the minor sins.

No. 17; PLATE X.

GANGDHAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF VISVAVARMA.

THE YEAR 480. N. E.

This inscription, which is now published for the first time, was brought to my notice in 1883, through a photograph sent to me by Colonel W. Muir, then Political Agent at Kōtā in Central India.

Gangdhār is a village about fifty-two miles south-west of Jalānpāta, the chief town of the Jhālāwād State in the Western Mālwa division of Central India. The inscription is on a stone-tablet standing under a tamarind-tree about a mile to the north of the village; evidently on the site of an old ruined temple.

At the top of the stone there is some sculpture, which I cannot quite make out in the rough drawing of it that was brought to me with the ink-impression; but it is probably a sixteen-leaved waterlily. The writing covers the entire front of the stone, about 2' of high by 3' 8" broad. Twelve letters are broken away and lost in the first part of line 1; eleven in line 2; three in line 3; and two or three all the way down from there as far as line 36. In lines 4 to 36, however, it is in most cases easy to supply what has been lost. In lines 37 to 40, again, from three to six letters are broken away at the beginning, and from two to four at the end of each line. The inscription was thus of a somewhat irregular shape, lines 1 to 6 and 37 to 41 being rather longer than lines 7 to 36; which looks as if the stone on which it was engraved was a panel in the wall of a temple. The size of the letters varies from about ⅛" to ⅔". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; and give a specimen of what may be called the Western Mālwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D. They include, however, in khāda, line 5, and in several other places, not merely a separate form of the lingual d, as distinct from the dental d, in accordance with the custom of the northern alphabets, but a quite unique form of it, which does not occur in any other early inscription that I know of, and which is the clear prototype of the modern Dēvanāgarī form of this letter. They also include the very rare initial au, in aupamya, line 6. The language is Sanskrit; and except for the words siddhīr-astu at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihvādmītya, e.g. in chāktiān-kriyās,

1 i.e. the paṇḍa mahāpātākāni; see page 38 above, note 4.
2 The upaniptākāni,—or more usually upapātākāni; the longer form being used in this verse for the sake of the metre,—are sins of the second degree, such as killing a cow, sacrificing for those for whom sacrifices ought not to be made, &c., &c.; see the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, xi. 60 to 67, Burnell's Translation, p. 332 f.
3 The 'Gangar, Gungra, and Gangurār,' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 25° 36' N.; Long. 72° 41' E.—The modern name must be connected with Gargār, the ancient name, according to line 23 of this inscription, of the small river, now called Čaliśānd, on which it stands. But it is not apparent how the dental dh came to be introduced into it; nor why it appears as r in the corrupt English forms.
4 The 'Jhalawar, Jhallawar, and Jhallowa,' of maps, &c.
line 11, and subhujak-khadga, line 26; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ś, in vaṃśa, line 29, and anuṃdā, line 35; but not in vaṃśa in line 2; (3) the frequent doubling of k, g, t, and p, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in vikramaditya, line 8; samaggram, line 4; vitrasta, line 13; and appratimāṇa, line 4; and of bh, in vyabhicāra, line 9; and (4) the same in respect of hh, t, bh, and s, in conjunction with a following y, e.g. in prakhyadā, line 2, and vikhyāpayan, line 26; hṛtiṣṭya, line 4, and prattvasta, line 14; abbhyudya, line 15; and yasyā, lines 11, 12, 14, 16, and 31.

The inscription is of the time of a prince named Viśavarman. It is dated, in words, when four hundred and eighty years had expired, i.e. in the four hundred and eighty-first year, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). The era is not specified in this record; but of course the date

1 The passage containing the date, line 19 f., is not an easy one to deal with. — The date of four hundred and ninety-three, given in the next inscription, for Viśavarman’s son Bandhuvaman, shews that the number of the centuries in the present passage must be four. And the reading that I give is exactly in accordance with the appearance of the original. But there are the objections, (1) that it is a violation of the metre, since it gives us, in chatursu, an amphibrach where a dactyl is required; and (2) that it leaves krītāv, ‘made, done, performed,’ as a superfluous and rather unmeaning word, unless we somewhat strain its meaning by giving it the sense of ‘fully completed (years).’—In the sense of ‘(years) accomplished, i.e. expired,’ krītāv occurs in line 1 of the Byāna inscription of Viśhuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59 below, Plate xxxvi C. But, though this use of it is unusual, it is justifiable there, as it is not accompanied by yādāv, ‘having gone by,’ or any similar word.—My first inclination about the present passage was, that krītāv was used in the sense of ‘made, effected, established by;’ and that the three aksaras preceding it contained the name of the founder of the era. But Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with whom I discussed the passage, was of opinion that krīta could not be used in such a sense; and I am not able to quote anything opposed to his opinion. Moreover, that interpretation would have left us without any word to specify the centuries of the date.—My next inclination was to read cha tisapāt krītāv, which would satisfy the metrical requirements, and may be justified by the appearance of the original; and to look upon tisapāt as intended for a vocalisation of the numerical symbol for four hundred; ‘made by (the utterance of) tisapāt.’ The very peculiar expression, sītarapādāvā, which follows, seemed to point to something of this kind being intended. And Dr. Bühler has given an instance of a pronomiavative sense being certainly allotted to the symbol for four (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 47 f.) But to this interpretation there are the objections, (1) that the word cha would be rather superfluous and unmeaning; and (2) that the symbol for four hundred does not resemble the syllables tisapāt. — Dr. Bhandarkar also suggested that the word ‘four’ is expressed by krīta (in krītāv). But this would leave the preceding two or three aksaras altogether unexplained. And, though Krīta as the name of the first of the four ages, is capable, on the numerical-word system, of being used to represent the number four, this system was not in use in inscriptions in India at this early time. The period of the invention of the system in question still remains to be determined. That the use of it was known to Vārkhānimhā (died A.D. 587; ‘four, R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. I. p. 407), is shown by his employing, in the Bhīrav-Sambit, viii. 20, 21, the words Rudra for ‘eleven,’ Rama for ‘three,’ age (mountain) for ‘seven,’ and sara (arrow) and viśaya (object of sense) for ‘five.’ And it has been supposed that it was used by Āryabhātha (born A.D. 476; id. p. 405); but Dr. Bhu Daji (id. p. 404) has pointed out, from his own M.S., that the half-verse in question, the only apparent instance, giving the number of the revolutions of the planet Jupiter in numerical words, is not really Āryabhātha’s (a point that is supported also by the metre; for the two lines together make up a verse in the Upāgiti metre; whereas Āryabhātha used the Ārya metre, and the first line is the second half of a verse in that metre), but is an addition, in all probability by Upāla or Bhatāptala (about A.D. 966; id. p. 410). The earliest epigraphical instances, at present available, are, in Cambodia, the Bayang inscription, dated Saltu-Sambit 546 (A.D. 604-5) and 546 (Barth’s Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge, p. 36, line 11), where the dates are expressed by the five arrows (of Kāmadēva), Dasra (one of the two Aśvinaus), and the five (six) flames, and by the (five) senses, the (four) oceans, and the (six) seasons; and, in India,
has to be referred to the era, dating from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, that is mentioned specifically in the next inscription, which gives us the year four hundred and ninety-three for Viśāvarman's son, Bandhuvarman, the feudatory of Kumāragupta. This Mālava era is the Vikrama era, commencing B.C. 57; and the result for the present inscription is A.D. 423-24 expired, or 424-25 current; which shows that Viśāvarman, also, was a contemporary of Kumāragupta. The inscription belongs partly to the Vaishnava, and partly to the Śākta or Tāntrika form of religion; the object of it being to record how a certain Mayūrākṣhaka, a minister of Viśāvarman, built a temple of Viṣṇu,—also a temple of the divine Mothers,—and also a large drinking-well.

TEXT:

1 [ ] masya Vishñôr-bhujas-surapati-dvipa-hasta-
[sa]rppa[ ] [II] Prakkhyāta-vīryya-yaśas[āth] kṣh[ī]lip-
ādhipāmān[ ] vamś-odbhavō [ ] gati[vī][ ] [ ]

2 [ ] kāntāś-śrīmān-babhôva Naravarmma [ ]
[III] Yajñās[surān-muni-ganā[n]-[n[ii][ya][mair-udaraī[h]] [ ] [ ]

3 [ ] mānēna bhritya-janam-a-pra[ ] [II] Hastyāsya-sādhan[ ] [ ] [ ]

4 [ ] khadga-mar[c]h[.] matsu II[II] sangrāma-mūrdha[ ] [II] [Tasy-ātmajah]
[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

5 [ ] au māhā[ ] buddhā[ ] Brihaspati-sa[samakālē[ ] vaktrah II[II]

6 [ ] [bhu]vi Viśavarmma II Dhairyayena Mērum-abhijāti-guṇēna
[II] Vaiñyam-indum prabhā-samudāyena [II] Vishnur [I] [sa[h]-

7 [ ] [va]rttak-āhāram-a-sahyatamān-cha diptā[ ] yō vikkramēna cha sur-

8 [ ] [nur-asa][h]ya-mūrtir-vyabhūr-ōday-ādhikatar-[ōjjī]*vala-ghōra-dlptih II[II]

9 [ ] [ksh]itum ksha[ ]nam-ap pprāghiita-śatra[ II] Nirbbhūshanair-avigat-āra-

10 [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

\* itself, the record of Śaka-Saṃvat 867—(A.D. 945-46) for the accession of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 16, line 31), in which the date is expressed by the (eight) demi-gods called Vaṣu, the (six) flavours, and the (seven) mountains.—The supposition that the present passage contains one of these numerical words, is certainly not tenable. And, after full consideration, I can see nothing to be done, save to take the reading chaityaḥ; to accept the violation of the metre; and, as we also have yuddhau, to translate brīdhau by 'fully-complete.'—In the same verse, there is also a violation of the metre (or some other mistake) in the words sanmyuktvāśīla; and, in line 11, the final long I of kdmīl is shortened for metrical purposes.

1See the Preface.

2From the ink-impression and a paper estampage.

3Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next seventeen verses.

4Also tasya-anujah, "his younger brother," will suit the metre.
11 [sōbhai]h 11(1) yassy-āri-kāmini-mukkāmburuhair-bbalasya pūrvvam pratāpa-chakitaith-kriyātē pranāmah 11 Rati-ōdāgama-dyuti-
13 [rupavair]r-ā-pi balāni namahkriyanti 11 Bhūr-uddhri(ddhri)ta-druma-vikampita-sailā-kēlūutta-vidrūpa-mīrga-dvīja-dōnya(nya)-gu-
14 [lma] l(y) yassy-ōnnata-pravisham][kri(kri)ta-rājamārgga ssainey-prayāna-samyay vinimajjat-iva 11 Prattyasta-maul-
15 [ma]p[i]-rāsmi-nakka-prabh-āndhair-abbhyudyat-añjaltīyā 11(1) šabal-āgragandaih 11(1) vidyādharaih priyataṃ-bhū-ūpāsā-ba-
16 [ddhair-yya]syy-ādarād-divi yaśā[m]si namahkriyanti 11 Agraṇi-pi yā(yō) vayasi samavaritamānasā-sāstr-anusāra-pari-
17 [vardhīta]-sūddha-buddhīh 11(1) sad-dharmma-mārggam iva rājasu darśa-yishyan rakshā-vidhiin Bhārata-raja-jāgatah-karoti 11 Tasvin-pra-
18 [śasa]yī mahīn-nripati-pravīre svāggaṃ yathā surapāla-amita-prabhābhē 11(1) nō-ādharmma-nirātō vyaśan-anvītō
20 [ṛṣebhu] 11(1) svūle trayośāsa-dinē bhuvī Kārttikaya māsasya sarvavā-jañita-chitra-sukhāvahasya 11 Nīl-ōpala-prā-
23 [bhih] 11(1) sō(i)ṣhtām iv-ābharaṇa-jātibhūr-āṅganan svām yō Garppar-tāta-puraṇa sakka[ma]laṇ-chaktra 11 RājñHAS-tritilam-iva chakshur-uḍā-
25 [sva-chit]ām ā Sarvasvasya jīvitaṃ-a-nityam-a-sāravach-cha dōla-chalāму-anu handicitta tathā viśālāṃ 11(1) nāyā-āgar[ē]-
28 [— — ] ball 11(bhakt)āḥ ch-asuḥpiṇāḥ-cha bandhava-samō dharmm-arttha-kām-bītāh 11 Prajñā-sauryya-kul-ōdgatō dīśi-
29 [dīśi] prakkhyaṭā-vṛgyo vaṣi(ī) puttrō Vishṇubhaṭṭā tathā Haribhaṭṭe sambaddha-vānsa-kriyāḥ 11(1) ēta-

1 The final long 1 of kāmini is shortened for the sake of the metre.
2 Read: saṃya.
3 See page 73 above, note 1.
* Read: saṃyēṣhuṣuṇāṭita ; which, however, entails another violation of the metre, since oṣita, the eightieth, gives us an amphibrach where an antibrach is required.—We might satisfy the requirements of the metre by reading saṃyēṭiṣṭi-dīṭa, which would give the eighty-eighth (year). But this would also give us a locative singular, saṃyēḥ, where the locative plural, saṃyēṣhu, is required in apposition with satēshu.
4 Read: oḍopana, or oḍupāna.
5 See page 73 above, note 7.
6 Metre, Śatrōla-vikṛtādita ; and in the next verse.
30 [t=pāpa]-path-avārūdhī vipula-śrī-vallabbhē(ḥai)r-ātmajaiḥ II(1) Vishnu[ḥu]

31 [taṣ-srī]mān- Mayūrākṣakāh II Kailāsā-tūnğa-śikhara-prājāmasya yassa yārīṣṭy-ākri(kri)ṭīṁ pṛa-

32 [mudita]ṛ, vvadān-āravindih(ṇa)ḥ II(1) vidyāḥharāḥ ppriyataṃ-āsahitāḥ su-

33 [m-iva] yānty-avālōkayaṁtaḥ II Yān-ārīṣṭvā sura-sundart-kara-tala-

34 [vartta]ṇa-saṅkīnō ,ratha-hāyān-ākri(kri)ṣhya chañchat-saṭān II(1) pūnṛ-ōdāka-

35 [stūyāmānō]mbarāḥ II samāja-āṇjali-kūṭṭalaṁ=nata-śīrā bhīṭaḥ prāyatṛyā=

36 [pramudita]-gahan-Āyatatha-nirādinnhām II(1) ṛṇṭr-ōdbhūta-prabala-pavan-ōd-

37 [— — — — — — ]gatam-idaṁ dākṁśa-śreṣṭhaṇkṛṣṇaṁ II(1) vēśam-ātyuggraṁ

38 [— — — — — — ]rātrībhī-ṛgputam bhujāng-ō[pa*]maṁ II(1) śita-svādu-śivuddha-ḥūr-

39 [— — — — ]gāghanāṁ kṛṣṇa-ca aṁ ṣhivaṇam  întam II(1) kṛṣṇaṁ ch-ainam-akāryad-

40 [— — — ] saṅgarā ratnavantottāṇā-gulma-drūma-vanavatī yāvad-urvṛvat sa-

41 [ṛōṭī] tāvat-kṛttir-bhavatu vipulā śrī-Mayūrākṣakasya-ēdītī Śiddhir-

TRANSATION.

...the arm of (the god) Vishnu; the serpentine movements of the trunk of the god... the elephant of (Indra) the lord of the gods...

(Line 2.)—Born in a lineage of rulers of the earth who were possessed of renowned prowess and fame. and beautiful... there was the illustrious king Naravarman, the famous one; who pleased the gods with sacrifices, the saints with observances of a noble nature... and was unequalled in the world, and the whole earth with excellent achievements;... the appliances of animals and horses... in [battle-fields] which were full of the rays of [his] sword; and whose enemies, losing the power of motion through fear, are destroyed (by simply) seeing his face in the van of war.

(II. 5.)—[His son]...magnanimous; equal to Bhraspati in intellect; possessed of a countenance like the full-moon; the standard of comparison, as it

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1 Metre, Vasantatilaka.  2 Metre, Śrāddhavikṛṣṭa.
2 Read samakucy-ōdājalu-kuṭṭalān.  3 Metre, Mandakrānta.
4 Metre, Śrāddhavikṛṣṭa.  5 Metre, Mandakrānta.
5 The composer, or the writer, seems to have become confused here between Mayūrākṣakasya-ēti, which is the correct reading, and Mayūrākṣakasya syēd-ēti.
6 Or possibly "[his younger brother]"; see page 74 above, note 4.
were, for (even) Rama and Bhagrattha; ..................... on the earth, (was) Vivasvavaman;—who surpassed (the mountain) Meru in firmness, Vainya in hereditary virtue, the moon in development of lustre, (the god) Vishnu in strength, and the most unendurable fire of universal destruction in brilliance, and (Indra) the lord of the gods in prowess;—who, when he grasps (his) weapon, cannot be gazed upon even for a moment by (his) enemies, whose eyes are blinded by fear, just like a sun, which, turning back upon (its) course, has an unendurable form and a brilliant and terrible lustre that is heightened by rising in a cloudless sky;—to whom obeisance is performed by the waterlilies which are the faces of the lovely women of (his) enemies, frightened beforehand by (hearing of) the prowess of (his) strength, (and now) destitute of ornaments, moist on the cheeks with the water of the tears that cling there, (and) deprived of beauty by having their wearing of adornments stopped;—whose forces, moreover, have reverence done to them by [the oceans], the palmyra-trees on the shores of which are beautified by the lustre of the production of jewels (from the waters); the rows of the foam on which are broken through by the terrified sharks and marine monsters; (and) all of whose hands, which are their waves, are shaken about by a fierce wind;—at the time of the journeying forth of whose army, the earth has (its) thickets emptied of the beasts and birds which flee away from fear of the lances that uproot the trees and make the mountains tremble, and, having (its) highways made uneven by protruberances, sinks down as it were (under the tread of his troops);—whose reputation has respect paid to it in a reverential manner in the sky by the Vidyadharas, bound in the fetters of the arms of (their) mistresses, who are blinded by the radiance, directed towards (them), of the rays of the jewels in (his) diadem, (and) the upper parts of whose cheeks are shaded by the lifting up of (their) joined hands in the act of respectful salutation;—and who, even when he was still in early youth, nourished (his) pure intellect by following the sacred writings, and now effects the protection of the world like Bharata, pointing out, as it were, the path of the true religion among kings. While he, the king, the bravest among kings, is governing the earth, just as (Indra) the lord of the gods, of unmeasured majesty, (govern) the heavens, there is never any one [among mankind] who delights in wickedness, or is beset by misfortune, or is destitute of happiness.

(L. 19.)—And when four hundred fully-complete auspicious years,¹ together with the eightieth (year), had here gone by; on the bright thirteenth day of the month Kartika which brings happiness to the thoughts of all mankind;—in the season² which abounds with waters that are of a reddish-brown colour with the pollen that is discharged from the blue waterlilies; when the skirts of the groves are radiant with the flowers of the bandhaka³ and bana-trees; when there is the time of the awakening from sleep of (the god) Madhusudhana; ⁴ (and) when the stars are as pure as a bed of waterlilies in full bloom;—

(L. 22.)—He who has adorned (this) city on the banks of the Gargara with irrigation wells, tanks, and temples and halls of the gods, drinking-wells, and pleasure-gardens of

¹ See page 73 above, note 1; and page 75, note 4.
² i.e. Sarad, the autumn, consisting of the two months Aśwayuja (September-October) and Kartika (October-November).
³ bandhaka; 'a shrub bearing a red flower; Pentapetes Phoenicea; Terminalia Tomentosa.'
⁴ bana; 'the blue-flowering Barleria.'
⁵ Vishnu, who sleeps during the four months of the rainy season. His slumber commences on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Asādha (June-July), and ends on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Kartika (October-November).
various kinds, and causeways, and long pools, just as if (he were adorning his own) beloved wife with different sorts of ornaments; he who is, as it were, the third eye of the king; who is of noble behaviour; who is devoted to gods, Brahmans, spiritual preceptors, relations, and holy men; and who, (by nature) not free from partiality (for this particular virtue), has (always) applied (his) thoughts to courteous behaviour, destitute of litigation, which is applauded by the sacred writings;—he who, having reflected that the life of every man lasts not for ever and is full of feebleness, and that prosperity is as unstable as a swing, is displaying, by means of (his) lawfully acquired riches, the most extreme devotion towards (the god Vishnu) who bears the discus and the club;—he who has two handsome arms that are muscular and long and round and pendulous; who is [marked] with the wounds of swords; whose eyes stretch to the tips of (his) ears; who is possessed of a clear skin like that of a young woman of tender age; who destroys (his) enemies when they display energy through pride; who is powerful ................................; who through devotion behaves like a relation towards (his) enemies; who is experienced in (the combined pursuit, without mutual conflict, of) religion and wealth and pleasure;—

(L. 28.)—He, the illustrious Mayurākṣha, —who is sprung from a family possessed of wisdom and prowess; whose heroism is renowned in every region; who holds himself under control; (and) who has accomplished, in his son Vishnuḥaṭa and also Haribhaṭa, the duty of (continuing his) lineage,—caused to be built by his sons, the favourites of great good fortune, this shrine of the divine (god) Vishnu, which blocks up the path of sin,—seeing the aspect of which, resembling the lofty peak of (the mountain) Kailasa, the Vidyādhara, accompanied by their mistresses, come and gaze into it with happy faces that are like waterlilies, as if it were the very lustrous surface of a mirror;—(and) seeing which (aspect), at the moment when the surface (of the roof) has been polished by the palms of the hands of the lovely women of the gods, the sun, who in the sky is praised in chorus by the saints possessed of superhuman power of mind resulting from religious merit, reins in his chariot-horses with (their) tossing manes, which think (from the reflection) that they are returning towards (themselves), and, joining (his hands) together (so that they resemble) an expanding bud in respectful salutation, runs away in fear with bent-down head.

(L. 35.)—Also, for the sake of religious merit, the counsellor of the king caused to be built this very terrible abode, .......................... (and) filled full of female ghouls, of the divine Mothers, who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy, (and) who stir up the (very) oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion.

(L. 37.)—And the illustrious Mayurākṣha, the receptacle of virtuous qualities, caused to be made this well, which is protected by ......................... in the lower regions, resembling serpents; which possesses much water, cool, and sweet, and pure; (and) which rivals the ocean.

(L. 39.)—As long as the oceans .......................... are full of jewels; as long as the earth, with (its) mountains, abounds with many thickets and trees and woods; and as long as the moon lights up the sky that is inlaid with the host of the planets;—so long let the fame of the illustrious Mayurākṣha remain abundant! Let there be success!

1 This compound combines two well-known names of Vishnu,—Chakradhara, and Gadādhara.
No. 18; PLATE XI.

MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA and BANDHUVARMAN.

THE MALAVA YEARS 493 AND 529.

This inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 194 ff., was discovered through information given by the late Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who, in 1879, sent to General Cunningham, from Mandasor, a hand-copy of the fragmentary pillar inscription of Yasodharman, No. 34 below, Plate xxiiC. I saw this copy in 1883, and, recognising in it the name of Mihirakula, sent my copyists, in March 1884, to take impressions of this fragment and of any other inscriptions that they might find. In the search made by them, they discovered the present inscription, and also the entire duplicate copy of the pillar inscription of Yasodharman, No. 33 below, Plate xxiiB, which had escaped the notice of Mr. Sullivan.

Mandasor, or more properly Dasor, the ancient Dasapura, on the north or left

1 The ‘Mandesar, Mandesor, Mandesur, Mandsole, Mandosar, Mandosur, Mandesor, and Mundesorr,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 24° 3’ N.; Long. 75° 8’ E.

2 Dasor is the name by which, in preference to Mandasor, the town is habitually spoken of by the villagers and agriculturists of the locality and neighbourhood, and even as far as Indur. And in some bilingual sansads or warrants, of about a century and a half ago, I found this form, Dasor, used in the vernacular passages, while the Persian passages of the same documents give the form Mandosor. So also, Pandits still habitually use the form Dasapura in their correspondence; a practice with which we may compare the use, also by Pandits, of Ahipura and Nakkapura for respectively Sampgaum and Ugargol in the Belgaum District; except that it is doubtful whether these are original Sanskrit names, or only pedantic Sanskrit translations of original vernacular names. — The local explanation of the name is, that the place was originally a city of the Puranic king Dasaratha. But, on this view, the modern name should be Dasarath. The true explanation evidently is that, just as now the township includes from twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions; Khichchipur, Jankhpur, Ramping, Chandrapur, Baliangal, &c., so, when it was originally constituted, it included exactly ten (dasa) such hamlets. (pauca). — As regards the fuller form of Mandasor, by which alone the town is known officially and is entered in maps, I cannot at present explain the origin of it. But Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrai is supposed to me that it may represent Manda-Dasapura, "the distressed or afflicted Dasapura," in commemoration of the overthrow of the town, and the destruction of the Hindu temples in it, by the Musalmans, in memory of which, even to the present day, the Nagaar Brahmans of the place will not drink the water there. And, as tending to support this suggestion, I would mention that one of the Pandits whom I questioned on the spot, gave me Mandaasur as another form of the name. Another suggestion, by Mr. F. S. Growse, is that the name combines the two names of Mand and Dasapura; the former of them (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 195) being the name of a village, also called Afsalpur, about eleven miles south-east of Mandasor, from which it is said, were brought, from ruined Hindu temples, the stones that were used in the construction of the Musalmans fort at Mandasor. The true explanation, whatever it may be, would probably be found in the Dasapura-Mahadmya, which is extant, but which I did not succeed in obtaining for examination. — In addition to the present inscription, the ancient Sanskrit name, Dasapura, occurs also in line 2 of an early Nasik inscription of Uhabadatta (Archcol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 99, and Plate lii. No. 5); and in another inscription at Mandasor itself, dated (Vikrama)-Samvat 1321 (A.D. 1264-65) Guru (vāra) or Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhadrapada, which is on a white stone built into the wall on the left hand inside the inner gate of the eastern entrance of the Fort. — Under the same name, the place is also mentioned, in connection with Avanti (Ujjain), in the Brihat-Samhilt, xiv. vv. 11-16 (Kern's Translation, Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 83).
bank of the river Śiwanā,1 is the chief town of the Mandasor District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mālwa division of Central India. The inscription is on a stone slab, apparently rather good and dark sand-stone, built into the wall on the right hand half-way down a small flight of steps leading to the river in front of a medieval temple of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādeva, at the Mahādeva-Ghāt, which is on the south bank of the river, just opposite the Fort, and, I think, in the limits of the hamlet of Chandrapurā.

The writing covers, except for a margin of about half an inch, the whole front of the stone, about 7½" broad by 1' 4½" high. It has been a good deal worn away about the centre of the stone; and also the stone is chipped at several places round the edges; but only a few letters here and there are really illegible, and these can in each case be easily supplied.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include two letters borrowed from the northern alphabets; viz. the separate form of the lingual ē, as distinct from the dental d, e.g. in tadit, line 6, and chadd, line 17; and also the rare lingual dh, e.g. in dṛṣṭha, lines 9 and 11. They give a very good specimen of what may be called the Western Mālwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D.—The language is Saṅskrit; and, with the exception of the opening siddham and the concluding words in line 24, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography we have to notice (1) the occasional use of the jīvāṃśāya and upadhāṃśāya; e.g. in jagataḥ-kshaya, line 1; ganaik-kham, line 8, pratisiṣṭaik-pushṇdi, line 2; and abhīdāmrah-pāydi, line 3; but not, for instance, in abhākṣugnaik-kvachit, line 5; paraik kripānt, line 14; rajah-piṣṭaikait, line 5; and pratiṃśāvītaik pramuditā, line 9; (2) the occasional doubling of t, dh, and bh, in conjunction with a following r; e.g. in chitrēna, line 12; rōḍdha, line 18; and abhḥra, line 6; (3) the same of th and dh, with a following y; e.g. in patthya, line 9; and suddhyaya, line 8; and (4) the same of dh, with a following v; e.g. in addhūdā, line 3. /

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king named Kumāragupta, who, from the description of him in line 13 as sovereign of the whole earth, can be no other than the well-known Kumāragupta of the Early Gupta dynasty. Under him, the governor at Daśapura was Bandhuvarman, the son of Viśavarman. The inscription belongs throughout to the solar form of worship. It narrates, in the first place, how a number of silk-weavers immigrated from the Lāṭa viṣhaya, or central and southern Gujārāt, into the city of Dašapura; and how some of the band took up other occupations, while those who adhered to their original pursuit constituted themselves into a separate and flourishing guild. And it then proceeds to record that, while Bandhuvarman was governing at Dašapura, the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun, which was completed when, in words, four hundred and ninety-three years had elapsed, "by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas,"3 and therefore when the four hundred and ninety-fourth year (A.D. 437-38) was current, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya (December-January). Afterwards, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair. And then it was restored by the same guild, when, in words, five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed, and therefore when the five hundred and thirtyieth year (A.D. 473-74) was current, on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya (February-March). This second date is, of

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1 The "Sau, and Seu," of maps.
2 See the Preface.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 18, PLATE XI.

course, the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved; since we are told at the end that it was all composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi, and the engraving throughout is obviously the work of one and the same hand.

TEXT.


Tat[*]va-jhāna-vidd-pi yasya na vidur-brahmarsha. K


jana-kapōla-tal-ābhīṭamāraḥ-pāyati-sa vas-su-[k]ṣaṇa-ābhanaḥ vivasyān I(II)

Kusumate-bhar-ānata-taruvara-dēvakulaśabhaḥ-viśhāra-ramanī[nt]yāt I Lātā-

visayan纲-āvṛta-salāj-jagati pārthita-silpah I(II) Tēśa dēsa-pārthivagun-āpahārī prakāsām adhī-ādi-jāny-a-viśrāny-asukha-

ny-āpasya I jāt-ādāya Daṇḍapuraḥ prathamān mahōbhīr-ānu-āgatas-


vataṃsakāya bhūmēḥ-paraṇa-tilaka-bhūtāmaiva kramēṇa II Tat[*]-ōtttha-

vṛksha-chyuta-


nangendrāj-adāya-


sa-yēdikāni I gandharvavā-sabda-mukharāṇi(ni)/nivisha-chitra-karmāṇi lōla-

kadali-vaṇa-sōbhānī II Prasāda-mālābhir-amalikṛitiṇī dhaṛāṃ vidāryya aīva samutthitāni I vītāla-māla-sadāśaṃ yattra grihāṇi pūrṇa-ēndu-

kar-āmaḷāni II Yadabh-ābhyā-ābhiramya-sarid-[d*]vayēṇa chapal-ōrmiṇaḥ samupagōdharaṁ

1 From the ink-impression.

2 Metro, Vasantatilaka.

3 Metro, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.

4 Metro, Āryā.

5 Metro, Āryā.

6 Metro, Upendra vajra; and in the next two verses.

7 Metro, Upajati of Indravajra and Upendra vajra.

8 Metro, Vasantatilaka.

9 Metro, Āryā.
8 rahasi kucha-salinibhyām Prati-Ratibhyām Smar-āngam-iva II Satya-
ksamā-da-ma-sa-sa-vratā-saucha-dhairyya-svādhyāya-vrītta-vinaya - sthit-bud-
dhy-upetāḥ I vidyā-tapō-nidhibhir-a-smayitaś-ca viptair-yyad-bhrājte 
graha-ganaih-kham-iva pradiptai II Atha 3 sametā nirantrā-sangatair-
aharāhā-prasvijimbhita-
9 sahridāḥ [1] nripatibhis=suṣa-vat=pratim[a]nītāḥ pramudita nyavasaṁa 
sukham purī II Śravaṇa-[su]bhaga[na] dh[an]urvyāda[na] driddhām, 
parinīhitāḥ sucharita-śat-āsāṅgāḥ-kēchid-richitra-kathā-vihaḥ I vinaya-
nibhirītas = samyag - dharma - prasaṅga - purāyañjñāḥ = priyam = a - parushaṁ 6 
pattibhāṃ ch-ānāye kshamā bahu bhāṣhitum II 
10 Kēchitāsva-karmmany-adhikās-tath-ānāyair-vivijñythe 
yotisham-atmavadbhiḥ I adyāpi ch-ānāye samaṁ pragralbhām-kurumvantu-arthām-a-nāmām prasaṁya I (II) Prājñā 
manojña-vadhavaḥ prathit-bru-varṣāṁ varṇānurupā- 
charit-āṭhāraṇas-tath-ānāye I satya-vratāḥ prapayaṁ-upakāra-dakṣā 
visrambah-
11 [pūryva]m-aparat drīḍha-sahridās-cha II Vijita-viṣhaya-saṅgār-dharmāṅ-
sva-kūla-tilaka-bhitāt-mukta-rāgair-udārair-adhikām-abhivibhāti śreni-evaṁ 
prakāraṁ II Tāruny ā-kānty-upsachitā-pi suvarṇānāhā-tāmbolab-pushpā- 
vidyinā ā sama-
[lakṣaṇa]to-pi nār-ljanaḥ priyam-upaiti na tāvad-agryā(āryaṁ) yāv-an na 
pattamayā-vastrā-vyūgāni dhattē II Sparsa[va]jā 6 varṇāntara- 
vibhāga-chitrēṇā netra-subhāgena I yais-sakalam-idaṁ kṣhītaśal-amala-
krītam pāṭa-vastrēṇa II Vidyyādharmī-vurchira-pallava-kāraṇpūra-vat-ākrit-
āṣthiratamā pravichināya
13 [lō]kaṁ I mānushyaṁ-artha-nichayaṁ-cha tathā viśālāṅga-śesāṅghā subha 
Sumēru-Kaśyapa-bhrat-pāyōdharām I vanaṁ-vānta-sphuta-pushpā-hāsinīṁ 
Kumāra-gupte prithivīṁ praśāstā II Samāna[1]-dīts-Sukra-Brijha- 
pāthibhyām laḷamā-bhūto bhavi 
14 pārthivānāṁ rāṇeṣhu yaḥ Pārththa-samāna-karmām babhūva gopā 
Mrīpa Vīśvārmām II Dh[1]-ānukampā-paraṁ kripā-ārtta-vargga-
śanct[a]-pradō-āhika-dayālur-anātha-nāthaṁ I kalpa-drumāḥ prapajaṁ- 
abhayaṁ pradaś-cha bhūtasya yo janapadaśya cha bandhur-āśta I 
Tasya[1] atmajaḥ sthairyya-nay-āpapanna bandhu-priyā 
15 bandhur-iva prajāṇāṁ I bandhuv-artti-haritā nripa Bandhuvārmām 
dridripta-paksha-kshipā-sīka-dakṣāḥ I Kānte[1] yuvā raṇapatur-vinaya- 
ānvitaṁ cha rā-āpi sann-upaśritā na madaṁ smay-adyahāṁ śringāra-

1 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
2 Metre, Harīṣṭa.
3 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
4 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
5 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
6 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
7 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
8 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
9 Metre, Upendravajra.
10 Metre, Indravajra.
11 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
12 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
13 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
14 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
15 Metre, Drutavilamba.
16 Metre, Indravajra.
mūrtir-abbihāty-an-alamkrito-pi rūpēna yah-kusumachāpa iva dvityyah II
Vaidhavya-tivrā-uyasana-kshatānām

16 smri(srnj)tvā. yam-adāpy-ari-sundarānām I bhāyād-bhavaty-ayata-lōchanānām
ghana-stan-āyasa-karaḥ prakampah II Tasmīnī-eva kaṁtipati-vr(ri)śhe
Baidhuvarmaṇy-udāre savyak-sphitān Daśapuruṇi-idaṁ pālayaty-
unmat-āṃśe I śīp-āvapīrā-dhāna-samidvāyaḥ pattvāvayāduraṁ
terubhotār-bhavanan-ataulum kārtiṁ

17 dlpta-rāmēh I Vistorna-tunga-sikharām sikhari-prakāśam-abbhyudgat-śnī-
amala-raśmi-kalāpa-gaurām I yad-bhāti paschima-purasya nivishṭa-
kanta-chōḍamaṇi-pratīsaman-nayan-ābhiramaṇ II Rāmā-sandhā-[ra]-chanē
dara-bhāskar-āṃśu-vahni-pratāpa-subhagē jala-līna-śīne I chandraṁśu-
harmayatala-

18 chandana-tālāvṛnta-hār-opabhodha(ga)-rahitē hima-dagdha-padmē II Rōddhra-
pryamgu-taru-kundalata-vikōsa-pushp āsava-pramud[ti] I āli kal-ābhirāmē I
kāle tushāra-kaṇa-karkaśa-śita-vātā-vēga-pranīrta-lavall-nagana-aiśakēh II
Smara-vaśaga-tarunajana-vallabhāṅganā-vipula-kānta-plī-ōru-

19 stana-jaghana-gālan-alūṅgana-nirbhartita-tuhina-hima-pātē II Mālavānāṁ
-gana-sthitāy yātē[te] sata-chatushtayā I tri-navaty-adhikē bdānām-ri(ri)tāu
śerya-ghana-syanē II Śahasra-māsa-śuklasya praśāste-hni trayōdaśe I
mangal-āchāra-vidhiṇa, prāsadō-yam nivesiṭāḥ II Bahunā samatītēa

20 kālen-anvaiś-cha paritivaih I vyāśryyat-aika-dēsō-sya bhavanasya tati-
dhunā II Śvya-yaśo-v[r]ī(ri)ddhayē sarvavam-āty-udāram-udāryā samikā-
ritam-idaṁ bhūyā śreyā bhānumatō grihaṁ II Āty unnatam-
avadatīmaṁ āna[ha]-spriṣṭam-iva I manoharalī śikharalī I saśi-bhānvōr-
abhyudayēśv-amala-mayūkha-āyatana-

21 bhūtaṁ II Vatsara-satēshu panchasau viśānti-adhikēsu navasu cha-
ābdeshu I yāteśv-abhiramāya Tapsya-māsa-śukla-dvityāyanāṁ II Spashtair-
asokataru-kētaka-sindhuvarā-lōtiṃuktakalatā-madayantikānāṁ I
pushp-ōdgamai-abhinavair-adhigamya nōnām-aikyaṁ vijmibhīta-śarē Har-
pō(dhōta)-dēhe II

22 Madhu-pāna-mudita-madbhakara-kul-ōpagita-nagan(p)-aika-prithu-sākkē I
kāle nava-kusum-oḍgama-damtura-kānta-prachura-rōddhrē II Saśin-ēva nabho
vimalaṁ kaus[t]ubha-maṇiṁ-ēva Śarṅgīṇo vakshaḥ I bhavana-varēṇa
thā-ēdām puram-akhlam-alakāritam-udāram II Amalina I saśi-

23 lekha-damturaṁ pingalānāṁ parivahati samdham yāvad-īśo jatānāṁ I
vikāta-kamala-mālam-anu-saktāṁ cha Śarṅgī
bhavanam-idaṁ-udāram

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1 Metre, Upajāti of Indravajra and Upendravajra.
2 Metre, Mandakranta.
3 Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next two verses.
4 Metre, Ārya.
5 Metre, Śūkṣma (Anushubh); and in the next three verses.
6 Metre, Ārya; and in the next verse.
7 sprīṣṭam is the nominative singular of the masculine; whereas the neuter sprīṣṭa, in apposition with griham, is what is required. This, however, would not suit the metre. The only emendation that suits the metre, is to alter the construction and read nabhaḥ sprīṣṭa-īva.
8 Read viṃśatī.
9 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
10 Metre, Ārya; and in the next verse.
11 Metre, Mālinī.
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! May that Sun protect you,—who is worshipped by the hosts of the gods for the sake of existence, and by the Siddhas who wish for supernatural powers, (and) by ascetics, entirely given over to abstract meditation (and) having worldly attractions well under control, who wish for the final liberation of the soul, and, with devotion, by saints, practising strict penances, (who wish to become) able to counteract curses; (and) who is the cause of the destruction and the commencing (again) of the universe! Reverence to that Sun,—whom (even) the Brahmical sages, though they knew the knowledge of the truth (and) exerted themselves, failed to comprehend; and who nourishes the whole of the three worlds with (his) rays diffused in all directions; who, when he is risen, is praised by Gandharvas, gods, Siddhas, Kinnaras, and Naras; and who grants (their) desires to those who worship (him)! May that Sun, decorated with glorious beams, protect you,—who shines, day after day, with the mass of (his) rays flowing down over the wide and lofty summit of the lordly mountain of dawn, (and) who is of a dark-red colour like the cheeks of intoxicated women!

(Line 3.)—From the district of Lāṭa, which is pleasing with choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (their) flowers, and with temples and assembly-halls of the gods, and with vihāras, (and) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation, to (this) city of Daśaprāna there came, full of respect,—first, in thought; and afterwards (in person) in a band, together with (their) children and kinsmen,—men who were renowned in the world for (skill in their) craft of silk-weaving, and who, being manifestly attracted by the virtues of the kings of the country, gave no thought to the continuous discomforts produced by the journey and its accompaniments. And in course (of time) this (city) became the forehead-decoration of the earth, which is adorned with a thousand mountains whose rocks are besprinkled with the drops of rut that trickle down from the sides of the temples of rutting elephants, (and) which has for (its) decorative ear-ornaments the trees weighed down with flowers. Here the lakes, crowded with kārandava-ducks, are beautiful,—having the waters close to (their) shores made variegated with the many flowers that fall down from the trees growing on the banks, (and) being adorned with full-blown waterilies. The lakes are beautiful (in some places) with the

1 Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).
2 Supply praśastiḥ.—See page 87 below, note 10.
3 Siddhas; semi-divine beings, supposed to be of great purity and holiness, and said to be specially characterised by the possession of the eight supernatural faculties. Their habitation is in the sky, or in the middle region between the earth and the sky.
4 Gandharvas; the celestial musicians.
5 Kinnaras; mythical beings, with a human figure and the head of a horse, reckoned among the Gandharvas, and celebrated as musicians.
6 Naras; mythical beings, allied to the Gandharvas and Kinnaras.
7 The original has, as far as line 8, the relative construction, which I have changed, for convenience of translation, into the absolute.
swans that are encaged in the pollen that falls from the waterlilies shaken by the tremulous waves; and, in other places with the waterlilies bent down by the great burden of their filaments. Here the woods are adorned with lordly trees, that are bowed down by the weight of their flowers and are full of the sounds of the flights of bees that hum loudly through intoxication (caused by the juices of the flowers that they suck), and with the women from the city who are perpetually singing. Here the houses have waving flags, and are full of tender women, extremely lofty, resembling the peaks of white clouds lit up with forked lightning. And other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful, being like the lofty summits of the mountain Kailasa; being vocal with songs of the Gandharvas; having pictured representations arranged in them; being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees. Here, clearing asunder the earth, there rise up houses which are decorated with storeys; which are like rows of aerial chariots; which are as pure as the rays of the full-moon. This city is beautiful being embraced by two charming rivers, with tremulous waves, as if it were the body of the god Smara embraced in secrecy by his wives in secrecy, and others, unassuming in their modesty devoted to discourses of the true religion, able to say much that was free from harshness salutary. Some excelled in their own business, and by others, possessed of high aims, the science of astrology was mastered; and even to-day others of them, valorous in battle, effect by force the destruction of their enemies. So also others, wise, possessed of charming wives, belonging to a famous and mighty lineage, are decorated with achievements that hasten birth; and others, true to their promises firm in friendship with the accompaniment of confidence, are skilled in conferring favours upon their intimates. And so the guild shines gloriously all around, through those who are of this sort, and through others who, overcoming the attachment for worldly objects, being characterised by piety, possessing most abundant goodness, are very gods in an earthly habitation.

(L. 11.) — (Just as) a woman, thought-endowed with youth and beauty adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and betel-leaves and flowers, goes not to meet her lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths, the whole of this region of the earth, is almost superfluously adorned through them, with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours, pleasing to the eye.

1 Of these rivers, one, of course, is the Siwan, on the north bank of which the town stands. The other must be the 'Sumli,' which now flows into the Siwan about three miles to the north-east of the town.
(L. 12.)—Having reflected that the world is very unsteady, being blown about by the wind like the charming ear-ornaments, (made of) sprigs, of the women of the Vidyādharas; (and similarly) the estate of man; and also accumulations of wealth, large (though they may be),—they became possessed of a virtuous (and) stable understanding; and then:—

(L. 13.)—While Kumāragupta was reigning over the (whole) earth, whose pendulous marriage-string is the verge of the four oceans; whose large breasts are (the mountains) Sāmēra and Kailāsa; (and) whose laughter is the full-blown flowers showered forth from the borders of the woods;—

(L. 13.)—There was a ruler, king Viśavarman, who was equal in intellect to Śukra and Brihaspati, who became the most eminent of princes on the earth; (and) whose deeds in war were equal to (those of) Pārtha;—who was very compassionate to the unhappy; who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and the distressed; who was excessively full of tenderness; (and) who was a very tree of plenty to (his) friends, and the giver of security to the frightened, and the friend of (his) country;—

(L. 14.)—His son (was) king Bandhuvarman, possessed of firmness and statesmanship; beloved by (his) kinsmen; the relative, as it were, of (his) subjects; the remover of the affictions of (his) connections; pre-eminently skilful in destroying the ranks of (his) proud enemies. Handsome, youthful, dexterous in war, and endowed with humility, king though he was, yet was he never carried away by passion, astonishment, and other (evil sentiments); being the very incarnation of erotic passion, he resembled in beauty, even though he was not adorned with ornaments, a second (Kāmadēva) armed with the bow that is made of flowers. Even to-day, when the long-eyed lovely women of (his) enemy's, pained with the fierce pang of widowhood, think of him, they stagger about through fear, in such a way as to fatigue (their) firm and compact breasts.

(L. 16.)—While he, the noble Bandhuvarman, the best of kings, the strong-shouldered one, was governing this city of Daśapura, which had been brought to a state of great prosperity,—a noble (and) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun), was caused to be built by the silk-cloth weavers, as a guild, with the stores of wealth acquired by (the exercise of their) craft;—(a temple) which, having broad and lofty spires, (and) resembling a mountain, (and) white as the mass of the rays of the risen moon, shines, charming to the eye, having the similarity of (being) the lovely crest-jewel, fixed (in its proper place), of (this) city of the west.

(L. 17.)—In that season which unites men with (their) lovely mistresses; which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the rays of the sun (shining) in the glens; in

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1 The context is "a noble (and) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun) was caused to be built" &c., in line 16; all that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.

2 Conf. Brihāt-Samhitā, xiii. 35, where the earth is described as having the mountains of sunrise and sunset for lips, and the Himālaya and Vindhyā for breasts.—Compare also line 34 of the Alphā grant of Śīkāliyā VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv., where the Sahya and Vindhya mountains are called the breasts of the earth.—Similes of this kind doubtless varied in accordance with the extent of the kingdoms in which the inventors of them resided.

3 This, again, is a second parenthesis, the real context of the preceding verse being the description of Bandhuvarman in line 14 ff.

4 lit. 'high-shouldered.'

5 i.e. Hāmanta, the cold weather, consisting of the months Mārgadṛṣṭha (November-December) and Pauha or Sahasāya (December-January).
which the fishes lie low down in the water; which (on account of the cold) is destitute of the enjoyment of the beams of the moon, and (sitting in the open air on) the flat roofs of houses, and sandal-wood perfumes, and palmleaf-fans, and necklaces;—in which the waterlilies are bitten by the frost; which is charming with the humming of the bees that are made happy by the juice of the full-blown flowers of the ródhra\(^1\) and priyangu-plants\(^2\) and the jasmine-creepers; in which the lavall-trees\(^3\) and the solitary branches of the nagaṇḍ-bushes\(^4\) are made to dance with the force of the wind that is harsh and cold with particles of frost;—(and) in which (the cold induced by) the falling of frost and snow is derided by the close embraces of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (their) mistresses, completely under the influence of love;—when, by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed; in that season when the low thunder of the muttering of clouds is to be welcomed (as indicating the approach of warmth again);—on the excellent thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya,—this temple was established, with the ceremony of auspicious benediction.

(L. 19.)—And, in the course of a long time, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair; so now, in order to increase their own fame, the whole of this most noble house of the Sun has been repaired again by the munificent corporation;—(this temple) which is very lofty (and) pure; which touches the sky, as it were, with (its) charming spires; (and) which is the resting-place of the spotless rays of the moon and the sun at (their) times of rising. Thus, when five centuries of years, increased by twenty, and nine years had elapsed; on the charming second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya;—in the season\(^5\) when (Kamadēva), whose body was destroyed by Hara, develops (his number of five) arrows by attaining unity with the fresh bursting-forth of the flowers of the aṭhaka\(^6\) and miṭaka\(^7\) and sinduḍra-trees,\(^8\) and the pendulous atimuktaka- creeper,\(^9\) and the wild-jasmine;—when the solitary large branches of the nagaṇḍ-bushes are full of the songs of the bees that are delighted by drinking the nectar; (and) when the beautiful and luxuriant ródhra-trees swing to and fro with the fresh bursting forth of (their) flowers,—the whole of this noble city was decorated with (this) best of temples; just as the pure sky is decorated with the moon, and the breast of (the god) Śārṅgin with the kaustubha-jewel. As long as (the god) Iṣa wears a mass of tawny matted locks, undulating with the spotless rays of the moon (on his forehead); and (as long as) (the god) Śārṅgin (carries) a garland of lovely waterlilies on his shoulder;—so long may this noble temple endure for ever!

(L. 23.)—By the command of the guild, and from devotion, (this) temple of the Sun was caused to be built; and this (embly)\(^30\) that preceded was, with particular care, compos-

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\(^1\) ródhra, also lōdhra; the tree Symplocos Racemosa.
\(^2\) priyantu; a medicinal plant and perfume; Panicum Italicum; Sinapis Ramsosa; saffron.
\(^3\) lavall; the Averrhoa Acida.
\(^4\) nagaṇḍ; the Cardiospermum Halicacabum.
\(^5\) i.e. Śīra, the cool or dewy season, consisting of the months Māgha (January-February) and Phālguna or Tapasya (February-March).
\(^6\) aṭhaka; the tree or shrub Jnesia Aṭoka.
\(^7\) miṭaka; the tree Pandanus Odoratissimus.
\(^8\) sinduḍra; the tree or shrub Vitex Negundo.
\(^9\) atimuktaka; a certain creeper, tree, or shrub, with apparently white flowers.
\(^30\) prastatt.—This was the customary technical term applied to inscriptions on stone. It has to be supplied here; but it is of constant occurrence; e.g. in line 27 of the Apshaṅ inscription of
ed by Vatsabhaṭṭi. Hail to the composer and the writer, and those who read or listen (to it)!
Let there be success!

No. 19; PLATE XII A.

ERAN STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA
THE YEAR 165,

This inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain 1. S. Brett, or the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the Journal of the Bengal As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 633 f. when Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,1 accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxi.), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt.—In 1861, in the same Journal, Vol. XXX. p. 17 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it.—And finally, in 1880, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 82, General Cunningham, in reprinting Dr. Hall’s translation, pointed out that the aksharas in line 3,—in which Mr. Prinsep had found a reference to the Surāśṭrās; and which Dr. Hall read as samsurabhaṭṭa, and translated by “chosen land of the gods,”—were in reality a repetition of the date in numerical symbols, as had, in fact, been suggested, though without particularisation, by Dr. Hall himself, in the Journal of the Bengal As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 127, note.

This is another inscription from Eran in the Khurāl Sub-Division of the Śāgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the west face towards the bottom of the lower and square part of a large monolith red-sandstone column, which stands near the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village, and which seems from its position to be specially connected with a small double temple that General Cunningham has named the “Lakshmi Temple,” separated by the intervening “Vishnu Temple” from the “Varāha Temple,” or temple of the Boar, at which there is the well-known inscription of Tōramāṇa, No. 36 below.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2’ 6½” broad by 1’ 7½” high, has suffered a good deal in places from the weather; but on the original column the whole inscription can be read with certainty, except a few letters at the proper left side that have been quite worn away by sharpening tools on the edge of the stone. The bottom line of the inscription is about 3’ 3” above the plinth from which the column rises.—The size of the letters varies from ½ to ⅔. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; they approximate in some respects to the type of the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and in others to that of the Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, Plate iiiA.; but they also present some developments and differences that must be attributed partly to their somewhat later age, and partly to the particular locality to which the inscription belongs. I should be inclined to name them a variety, with northern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of towards the end of the fifth

1 Adityasena, No. 42 below, Plate xxvii. —The only instance that I can quote of its use to denote a copper-plate charter, is in line 20-21 of the ’Chicacole’ grant of the Mahārāja Indravarman of the year 128 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 121).
3 See page 18 above, and note 1.
The inscription refers itself to the reign of Budhagupta, whose feudatory, the Mahā-
ṛaja Surāśmithandra, was governing the country lying between the river Kālindi, or
the Jamnā, and the Narmadā. It is dated, completely in words, and partly in numerical
symbols, in the year one hundred and sixty-five (A.D. 484-85), on the twelfth lunar day
of the bright fortnight of the month Āśādha (June-July), and on Suragaruvāra or Thursday.
It is a Vaśpāvā inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection of the column,
which is called a dhava-stambha or ‘flag-staff’ of the god Vishnu, under the name of
Janārdana, by a Mahāraja named Mātrivishnū and his younger brother, Dhanya-
vishnū.

TEXT:

1 Jayati vibhuṣa-chatur-bhuja-śatamāva-vipulā-salīla-paryankāh jagataḥ
   śhitya-upta-viṣa-vādāya-śatamāva-vipulā-salīla-paryankāh jagatah

2 hētur-Ggaruṅa-kētuḥ [l[[[ l[Śate paṁcha-shashity-adhike varshānāṁ bhupatau
   cha Budhaguptaḥ Āśādha-māsa-[ʃukla]-

3 dvādaśyaṁSuragurūrū- بعيدة l(II). Sam 100 60 5 [l[[[ Kālindi-
   Narmmadvārav-madhyavām pālayati lōkapāla-guarīr-jagati mahāraja-

4 śiyam-anubhatavi Suraśmithandra cha l(II) Asyāṁ sanvatsara-māsa-
   divasa-purvavayāṁ svā-karmā-abhirasasya [kratu-yajñah] R
   adhita-svādhyāyaścāḥ virī-pañcarā-Maṁtṝayānya-vriṣabhāsa-Endrvishnūḥ
   praptātāṇa pitur-guṇ-anukārīnā Varunav[ʃir[ʃōb] R

5 pauttṛṇa pitaram-anu-jātasya svā-vanṣa-viddhī-hētōr-Harivishnūḥ putṛṇe-
   śatya-aṅkurav-bhatēnā Viḍhātura-iccchhayā svayamanvaray-eva r[ʃaja]a-
   lakṣmhy-adhisṛgatēna charuḥ-sadrama-paryanta-prathita-yasas ṛṣhēdā
   akṣhāpa-māna-
   dhanēn-ānēka-sattru-samara-jirshṇēmah mahāraja-Mātrivishnūnaḥ

6 tasy-aṅkūrāvaka tat-anvaṇḍitvaṁ [a] tat-prasāda-pang nib[ʃīna] a
   Dhanya-
   viṣhṇūna cha l mātrī(ṭ) pittṛṇa-puny-āpayaṇa-ārtham-eśaḥ bhagavatā

7 pūnyajan-ārddanaṇa Paramājjanā Ṛjanārdanaṇa dhava-stambhō-bhūyachchhiritab [l[[
   Svasty-astu go-brahmaṇa-purūrāg-vāhī sarva-prajāḥ iti l(II)

Compare dhaoṣa, ‘standard,’ as applied to the Mēharaṇī column, in line 6 of No. 32 below, Plate xxiA.

2 From the original stone.

3 Metre Ārā; and in the next verse.—In the first ṣḍha of this, and of the second verse,
we have the proper number of twelve syllabic instants; but they are not arranged in accordance
with the usual rule for this metre.

4 I have adopted Dr. Hall’s suggestion for supplying the effaced letters. In the last legible
syllable, part of the subscript ɾ is very distinct, and the consonant above it seems to be a broken ɾ;
and the requirements of both the metre and the sense are properly met by supplying ṣḍha for the
effaced syllables.

5 This mark of punctuation is somewhat damaged; but it is very distinctly ṣḍha. Prinsep’s reading of
travṛdayadām is proved to be wrong by the metre, if not by anything else.

6 Metre, Ārā.

7 Supply tihau.
TRANSLATION.

Victorious is the lord, the four-armed (god Vishnu)—whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans; who is the cause of the continuance, the production, and the destruction, &c., of the universe; (and) whose ensign is Garuda!

(Line 2.)—In a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Buddhapāta (is) king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āśādha; on the day of Suragurū;1 (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5—

(L. 3.)—And while Suraśmiścandra is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world,4 [the country that lies] between the (rivers) Kālindī and Narmadā, (and) is enjoying in the world the glory of (being) a Mahārāja;—

(L. 4.)—On this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the year and month and day;—by the Mahārāja Mātrivishṇu, who is excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vidhātṛi, was approached (in marriage-choice) by the goddess of sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing (him) of her own accord (to be her husband); whose fame extends up to the borders of the four oceans; who is possessed of unimpaired honour and wealth; (and) who has been victorious in battle against many enemies;—who is the son of the son's son of Indravishṇu, who was attentive to his duties; who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (of the scriptures); who was a Brāhmaṇ saint; (and) who was the most excellent (of the followers) of the Maitrayānīya (fakhd);—who is the son of Varuṇavishṇu, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (his) father;—(and) who is the son of Hariṇivishṇu, who was the counterpart of (his) father in meritorious qualities;2 (and) was the cause of the advancement of his race;—

(L. 8.)—(By him) and by his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu, who is obedient to him, (and) has been accepted with favour by him,—this flag-staff of the divine (god) Janārdana, the troubler of the demons,4 has been erected, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (their) parents.

(L. 9.)—Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmans!

1 i.e. 'on Thursday.'—Suragurū, 'the preceptor of the gods,' is another name of Bhṛhaspati, from which latter name the day takes its customary appellation of Bhṛhaspativāra.
2 lōkapāla.—The lōkapālas, or guardians of the points of the compass, are sometimes reckoned as eight, viz. I, Indra, of the east; 2, Agni, of the south-east; 3, Yama, of the south; 4, Nirṛiti, or sometimes Śūrya, of the south-west; 5, Varuṇa, of the west; 6, Vāyu, of the north-west; 7, Kubera, of the north; and 8, Iśana, or sometimes Chandra, and sometimes Pṛthivī, of the north-east;—and sometimes as fourteen, viz. Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 7, above.
3 pīram—anu-jātasya.—Dr. Hall explained this expression in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. p. 139, note, by a passage quoted in the St. Petersburg Dictionary from the Pāṇchatantra; viz.—

Jātaḥ putro nujatācha atijātās sath avai cha 1
apajātascha loke smitān mantavyah āśtra vedibhibhi 1
Mātri-tulya-guṇā jātās tv anujatā pithu samah 1
atijātās dhikas tasmad apajātāh dham ābhah 11

"By those who know the scriptures, (sons) are to be understood among men as being a jīta son, or an anvīdā, or an atijāta, or an apajāta. A jīta (is) one whose virtues are equal to (those of his) mother; an anvīdā (is) equal to (his) father (in virtue); an atijāta surpasses that (father); (and an apajāta (is) altogether inferior to him.)"

4 punyajana, lit. 'a good, pious, or virtuous man,' also denotes 'a class of supernatural beings, a fiend, a goblin, a demon.'
No. 20; PLATE XII B.

ERAN POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION
OF GOPARAJA.

THE YEAR 191.

This inscription, which has not previously been published, was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 89 f.

It is another inscription from Eran, in the Khurul Sub-Division of the Sagar District in the Central Provinces. It is on a small pillar, afterwards converted into a linga or phallic emblem of Siva, which stands under some tall trees near the left bank of the Ptna, about half a mile to the south-east of Eran, and half-way between it and the neighbouring village of Pehelajpur. The original lower part of the pillar is now broken away and lost; the remnant of it is about 3' 11" high and 1' 6" in diameter. The bottom part is octagonal; and the inscription is at the top of this octagonal part, on three of the eight faces, each of which is about 7" broad; the bottom line is about six inches above the level of the ground. Above this, the pillar is sixteen-sided. Above this, it is again octagonal; and the faces here have sculptures of men and women, who are probably intended for the Goparaja of the inscription, and his wife and friends; the compartment immediately above the centre of the inscription, represents a man and a woman, sitting, who must be Goparaja and his wife. Above this, the pillar is again sixteen-sided. Above this, it is once more octagonal; and on two of the faces here, there are the remains of a quite illegible inscription of four lines, in characters of the same type with those of the inscription now published. Above this, the pillar curves over in sixteen flutes or ribs, into a round top. The pillar was converted into a linga, by fitting an ablation-trough to it; this was attached over the part where the inscription lay; and it was only by the breaking of it, that the greater part of the inscription was disclosed to view.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 9" broad by 11" high, has suffered a good deal from the weather, and from the sharpening of tools on the edges of the stone; but, on the original pillar, it is fairly legible almost throughout; and the only historical items that have been lost are, in line 2, the name of Goparaja's grandfather, and of the family to which he belonged.—The size of the letters varies from 3" to 5". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though not quite so well formed, are of almost precisely the same type with those of the Eran pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19 above, Plate xiiA. The letter r, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed within the top line of the writing in partha, line 5, and bharyd, line 7; but above it in srdham, line 5. The characters include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 7, 90, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and, the inscription is in prose as far as the end of the date, in line 2, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvra, before t, in vanśa, lines 1 and 4; and (2) the doubling of k and ñ, in conjunction with a following r; e.g. in vikṛdanta and putra, line 3.

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1 See page 18 above, and note 1.
The inscription, which does not refer itself to the reign of any particular king, is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight, and solar day of the month, of Śrāvaṇa (July-August). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record that, in the company of a powerful king named Bhāṅgūpta, a chieftain or noble named Gōparāja came to the place where the pillar was set up, and fought a battle; that Gōparāja was killed; and that his wife accompanied him, by cremating herself on his funeral pyre.

TEXT:
1. Ōṁ Śaṁcvasaraśāte ṇeka-navaty-uttare Śrāvaṇa-bahula-paksha-sap[ī]my[āth]
2. samvat 100 90 1 Śrāvaṇa ba di 7 11 [—]la(p)ksha'-vaṅsād-
   utpannō [— —] Gōparājal[ā]
3. rāj ēti-viśrutabh tasya puttrō-ti-vikkrāntō nāṁnā rāj-Ātha Mādhaṇaḥ II
4. sutas-tasya śrīmān-vikhyāta-paurushaḥ Śarabharāja-dauḥitṛaḥ sva-vaṅsā-
   tilakō-duh(?)nā(?) [II]
5. Śrī Bhāṅgūptō jāgati prāvīra rājā mahān-Partha-samō-ti-sūraḥ tēn-Ātha
   sārdāhan-tyaṁ Gōparājal[ā]

1 The day is indicated as a solar day, as well as lunar, by the use, in the numerical-symbol record, of di, the abbreviation of dīna, dinē, divasa, or divāsē, in addition to, in the fuller record, saptamē, which denotes the lunar tithi—The abbreviation di is preceded by ba, which stands for bahula-paksha or bahula-pakṣa. Sometimes, instead of ba, we have va; e.g. in line 17 of the Bengal Asiatic Society’s grant of the Mahārāja Vindhakapāla, samvatsāra (sic) 100 80 8 Phālguṇa va di 9 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 141); in which case va may, according to the general orthography of the particular record, stand for ba; or it may be an abbreviation of vaḍya, which is a synonym of bahula, and is of common enough use in the present day, though it was not so in ancient times. The corresponding method of denoting the bright fortnight, is by the use of the abbreviation in, which represents iṣṭikā or iṣṭāka, similarly in composition with pakṣa or pakṣē; e.g. in line 14 of the Bādh-Gayā inscription of Mahādāman, No. 71 below, Platy xii A., samvatsa 200 60 9 Chaitra i in di 8. These abbreviations, in di and ba di or va di, are often quoted as if they were words in themselves (iṣṭi, ba, va), meaning respectively ‘the bright fortnight,’ and ‘the dark fortnight.’ And Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives vaḍī as an indeclinable word, meaning ‘in the dark half of a month,’ with the remark, that, according to some, it stands for baḍi, and is a contraction of bahula-dīna; but with an intimation of his own opinion that it represents vaḍyā. But I doubt whether the Hindus themselves, even when using the abbreviations, look on them as words. And it is worth noting that Molesworth and Candy’s Marāṭhi Dictionary, which is very comprehensive, does not include these expressions, either as abbreviations, or as words. Even if a modern practice of treating these abbreviations as words, should be proved, it is an erroneous practice. By origin, the syllables are nothing but distinct and separate abbreviations, of which the first denotes the fortnight of the month, and the second, the day of the month or fortnight. And this is the point of view from which they have to be looked at, in dealing with any ancient records.

*i.e.* according to the colloquial expression, she became Sati (‘Sutter’).—With this early instance of the cremation of widows, we may compare the indication of the same practice that is given in Bhaṅganalī Indraji’s Nēpāl inscription No. 1, of Mānadeva (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 164, line 7 f., and p. 165), when Rājyavatī, the widow of Dharmadeva, bids her son Mānadeva take up the government, in order that she may follow her deceased husband to the other world. This instance belongs to about A.D. 705 (see id. Vol. XIV. pp. 344, 350).—As noted by Gen. Cunningham, there are several other Sati-pillars, but of much later date, at Ārap.

3 From the original stone.
4 Metre, Śloka (Aṣaṁśhtubh); and in the next verse.
5 Metre, Indravajrā; and in the following verse.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 21.

6 mitrān-uvā(t)tyā(t)ra(t) kil-anuyātah II krīvā [cha3] y[ū]ddhān su-

mahat-prakāśaṁ sam swarggāṁ gatāṁ divya-narē(?)[ndra-kalpah]

7 bhakt-anuraktā cha[1] priyā cha kāntā bhū[4] [y]-ā[va]ḷag[n]-ānugat-

ā[1]g[n]-rā[1]śsim 115

TRANSLATION.

Om! In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Śrāvaṇa; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 90 (and) 1;
the month) Śrāvaṇa; the dark fortnight; the day 7.—

(Line 2.)—(There was) a king, renowned under the name of . . . . rája, sprung from the . . lakṣaṇha(?) lineage; and his son (was) that very valorous king (who was known) by the name (of) Mádhava.

(L. 3.)—His son was the illustrious Góparāja, renowned for manliness; the daughter’s son of the Śarabha king; who is (even) now (?) the ornament of (his) lineage.

(L. 5.)—(There is) the glorious Bhānugupta, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Pártha, exceedingly heroic; and, along with him, Góparāja followed . . . . . . . (his) friends (and came) here. [And*] having fought a very famous battle, he, [who was but little short of being equal to] the celestial [king (Indra)], (died and) went to heaven; and (his) devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, in close companionship, accompanied (him) onto the funeral pyre.

No. 21; (No PLATE.)

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 166.

This inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1852, by Colonel Ellis, Political Agent at Nāgaudh, and was first brought to notice in 1858, in Mr. Thomas’ edition of Prinsep’s Essays, Vol. I. p. 251 f., by Professor H. H. Wilson’s translation, combining both this and the next inscription of the year 163, from Mr. Thomas’ reading of the texts.

In 1861, in the Four. B. Eng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. p. 6 ff., Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from the original plates.—And in 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 11, No. 1, General Cunningham, in partially reprinting Dr. Hall’s translation, substituted a close approximation to the correct interpretation of the date, agreeing with Professor H. H. Wilson and differing from Dr. Hall; and also gave a lithograph of the passage containing the date (id. Plate iv. No. 1.)

The inscription is on some copper-plates that were found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh, about three miles south-west of Uchahara, the present capital

---1---
1 The metre is faulty here, as the cha, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following double consonant, pr.

---2---
2 Góparāja.

---3---
3 The 'Kho' of maps. It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, but is not shewn there.

---4---
4 The 'Oochaira, Uchahara, Uchara, Uchera, Ucheya, Uchhehra, Unchehra, Unchehrā, Unçhara, and Urcharah,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 23' N.; Long. 80° 51'E.
of the Native State of Nāgaudh or Nāgaundh in the Baghēlkhand division of Central India. They were originally deposited in the Library of the Sanskrit College at Benares; but, with the ring and seal, were lost sight of in being transferred from there to the Allahābād Museum, and thence to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow (Lakhnau). I am informed that the second plate has been recently found at Lucknow. But I have not been able to obtain it, or an ink-impression of it, for examination. And I, therefore, edit the inscription here from a hand-copy made by General Cunningham, which, though not suitable for lithography, suffices admirably for reading the text.

The _plates_, two in number, and inscribed on one side only, appear to have been in a state of excellent preservation throughout. From the original accounts, they seem to have been _connected as usual by a ring_, the ends of which were secured in the lower part of a _seal_, the front of which had on it the _legend_, _Srī-mahārāja-Hastinah_, "of the Illustrious Mahārāja Hastin," as on the seal of his grant of the year 191, No. 23 below. Plate xiv.—The _characters_ belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type as those of the following inscription of the same Mahārāja of the year 163, No. 22 below, Plate xiii. The letter _r_ in conjunction with a following _y_ is formed in two ways; in _kāryaḥ_, line 14, and _kuryāt_, line 14-15, the _r_ is written within the top line of the writing, with only a single _y_ below it, as in _kuryāt_, line 12, and _sūryadatta_, line 19, of No. 23 below, Plate xiv.; while in _sūryadatta_, lines 10 and 21, and _maryyādha_, line 12, it is formed above the top line, as in the case of conjunction with other letters, and the _y_ is doubled.—_The language_ is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20, the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of _orthography_, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the _anusvāra_, before _t_ in _vanta_, line 6; (2) the doubling of _k_ and _t_, in conjunction with a following _r_, e.g. in _pakṛa_, line 20; and _satgītra_ and _putra_, line 9; (3) the doubling of _dh_, in conjunction with a following _y_, in _avaddhyādha_, line 15; and (4) the occasional use of _b_ for _v_, in _sambatsarē_, line 2; and _barsha_, line 19.

In addition to 'Uchahara,' Gen. Cunningham uses three other forms, 'Uchahara,' 'Uchahada,' and 'Uchahadā,' _Archaeol. Surv. Ind._ Vol. IX. p. 5; but, in my inquiries at Satnā, I could not obtain anything in support of them.—He has also proposed (id. p. 10) to identify Uchahara with 'Udyāra,' the supposed capital of Svamidatta mentioned in line 19 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1; but the real reading there (page 7 above) gives Giri-Koṭṭāra, or "Koṭṭāra on the hill."—Uchahara is probably by no means an unique name; as the maps give an 'Ocharah,' ten miles towards the north-east, an 'Oochahara,' twenty-nine miles north by east, an 'Uchera,' thirty-one miles to the south-east by east, and another 'Uchera,' about fifty-nine miles to the south-east by south, from the place under reference.

1 The 'Nagode, Nagound, and Nagudh,' of maps, &c. _Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70, Lat. 24° 33' N.; Long. 80° 32' E._—On the badges of the Police Sepoys, I found the name written Nāgaund. But the correct form is undoubtedly Nāgaundh, which is sometimes nasalised and pronounced Nāgaundh.—The Rājā is officially called the 'Rājā of Nagode,' and Nāgaundh was formerly the capital of the State. The present capital is Uchahara. And the Political Agency is now at Satnā, which, in reality the name of a river, has been adopted as the name of the station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The station and the Agency are really in the lands of the village of Barakhā. Gen. Cunningham has proposed (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 12) to identify Nāgaundh with the Nāgādēya that is mentioned in line 5 of the Kāraṇḍā plates of the Mahārāja Jayānātha of the year 124, No. 26 below. But the name would rather seem to be derived from _nāga-vadha_ or _nāga-bandha_, 'the slaughter or the capture of the hooded-serpents or of the Nāga tribe,' whereas Nāgādēya would mean 'the gift to the hooded-serpents, or to the Nāga tribe,'
The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings," in the year one hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 475-76), in the Mahā-Vaiśākha samvatāra, and on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). The inscription is non-sectarian, except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādeva. The object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Hastin, of the village of Vasantarashandika to Gopasvāmin and other Brahmanas.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Namā Mahādevāya II Ṣastī Shatpañchāṭi-ottarē-hā-saṭē Gupta-nripa-
2 Ṛiva-hukta Mahā-Vaiśākha-sambatsara I Kārttika-maṣa-sukla-paksha-tītya-
3 yām-asyān-divasa-pūrvvāyān nripatiparivrājaka-kul-otpannēna I mahā-
4 rāja-Dēvādhye-pranapātra mārāhaḥ Prabhājana-napātana mahārāja-
Dāmōdara-sutēna

"parivrājaka" means literally "a wandering religious mendicant, an ascetic in the fourth and last religious order or stage of life."—The compound used in line 3 of the Text, nripati-parivrājaka, "a kingly ascetic," is of the same class with rūji-arshi, "a royal saint, a saint of royal descent." Compare also rūddhī-ārshi, "a saintly sovereign," which is applied to Chandragupta II. in the Udayāgiri cave inscription, No. 6, page 35 above, line 3.—The particular kingly ascetic, from whom Hastin's family derived its origin, was Sūrāman (see No. 25 below, Plate xvB, line 5 f.)—The word parivrā-

Jaka seems to have been adopted as the regular and habitual appellation of the family. At any rate, it furnishes, for distinctive purposes, a convenient and unobjectionable name for it.

Gupta-nripa-rūjiya-hukta; line 1f.—The same expression occurs in Nos. 22, 23, and 25. It indicates clearly that the Gupta dynasty and away were still continuing; and of course the date refers to the era used by the Guptas. But there is nothing in the expression, tending to give the era the name of the "Gupta era."—Prof. H. H. Wilson's translation of this date, combined with that of the following inscription, No. 22, (Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I. p. 251) was "in the 163rd year of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta kings." And this was substantially correct. But he added a note that bhakti or bhukta might be read mukti or muktav, "from the end or cessation."—In publishing this translation, Mr. Thomas pointed out that the reading mukti or muktav could not possibly be admitted. And, following this, Dr. Hall (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. pp. 3 i, note, and 5, 12) adopted the reading bhukta or bhakti; but laid down the dictum that bhakti, "if unqualified by a temporal particle, denotes 'possession,' or 'fruition,' only as a thing of the past," and he then proceeded to translate the passage by "in the year one hundred and fifty-six of the extinction of the sovereignty of the Gupta kings;" and again "one hundred and sixty-three years after the domination, of the Guptas had been laid to rest."—Gen. Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 11) gave "in the year one hundred and fifty-six of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." And this, again, was substantially correct, though not grammatically.—As in the case of śānti, in line 3 of the Kālakhā pillar inscription of Skandagupta (see page 67 above, note 7), it is impossible to imagine how bhakti, lit. "the act of enjoying or eating; enjoyment, eating; fruition, possession, mastruck," ever came to be applied in the sense of "extinction;" except under the influence of a preconceived bias, so strong as to prevent entirely the critical consideration which would at once have shown the error.

samvatāra, "a year," is used principally, if not entirely, to denote (as is indicated by the first component, sam, "with, together with") years that have a close connection with those that precede and follow them; i.e. years of cycles, eras, and reigns.—In the present case, the twelve-year cycle of the planet Jupiter is referred to.

* From Gen. Cunningham's hand-copy.
* Read samvatāra.
* This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
* Supply tītavu.
* This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
* See page 97 below, note 4. Read napātra.
gò-sahasra-hasty-asva-hirany-ānēka-bhūjni-pradēna  
guru-pitrī-matrī-pījā-tatpāre-
naikasamara-sata-tāvijānaviva-svāntā- 
mādhakarēna mahātāja-sī Hāstinaś 
sva-pīhīyaprayay-amha-amānaṃ svā- 
rgga-sopāna-pañkhībhīr-arūha(payā) 
ndina-Kuśasagotra-Gopavāmi Bhavasvāmi 
sandhyaputra Ī Divākara- 
dattā Bhāskaradatta Ī Suryadattasya 
Veṣantarashandika grāmō- 
tsīrīṣṭā Ī Samantād-garttā uttarē paśchim(o(mē)na 

Second Plate. 

pūrvva-bhūktā mā(ma)ryādaḥ [II*] Samindhyāputtra-pramukhānām 
sūdraṅgah sūparaṅkaraḥ 
Chā-chāta-bhata-praveṣyāh chōra-varijām [II*] Tad-asmat-kul-ōththaiḥ mat- 
pādapind-ōpaṭi-k 
Uṣṇīs-vvā kālantarēšv-api na vyāghātaḥ kāryaḥ [I*] ēvaṃ-ōjñāptaḥ 
Yō-nyātha ku- 
yāt-tam-aham déhāntara-gatō-pi mahāt-avaddhyānāna nirdabē-s-Uktam 
ch bhagavata pa- 
ram-arśhiṇā vējā-vyāsena Pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō yatnād- 
Rakṣhya(ksha) Yudhishthirahā 
mahi(hi)ṃ mahimatāṃ śrēṣṭha dānācchhṛtyō-nupādanāṃ [II*] 
Bhubhur-vvasudhā bhūktā rā- 
jabhir Sagar-ādibhiṇa yasya yasya yadd bhūmīs-tasya tasya tadd 
phalaṃ [I*] 
Shashṭiṃ-ba(va)rsha-sahasrāṇi svargge mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhētā 
ch-anuma- 
ntā cha tany-eva narakā yaśod-itii Ī Likhitaḥ-chaā Vakra-āmatya 
[Pra]napātā bhūgik-āmatya-Naradatta-napātā bhūgi(m)-ka-Ravidatta-putra[ena] Sūryya- 
Dattēn-ēti [I*] Dattakō Bhāgrahāḥ [II*] 

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahādeva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (year); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahā-

1 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.  
2 Read tāta.  
3 Read vājasanēya.  
4 Read, in composition, Gopasaṃi-Bhavasami-Sandhyaputra-Divakaradatta-Bhāskaradatta-Sūryadattēbyō.  
5 Read bhūktē.—F. E. Hall read bhūkti. But the bhūkta (for bhūktē) of Gen. Cunningham’s copy, seems preferable.  
6 Read sandhyā.  
7 Read either ējñāpte, or ējñādīpte.  
8 Read nirddhēyam.  
9 The 'dotted' mark on the 'p' is a question mark.  
10 Metro, Śloka (Anusṭubh); and in the following two verses.  
11 Read yudhishtira.  
12 For some various readings here, see page 99 below, note 1.  
13 Read nupādanāṃ, or nupādanam.  
14 Supply śidanam, or īdhrāidhanam, in apposition with likhitam; and see page 99 below, note 2.  
15 This gi is omitted in Gen. Cunningham’s copy.  
16 Supply viṣṭi. It, “it is well” (su asti).—Like siddham (see page 25 above, note 4), this word of constant use as a mañca, or auspicious invocation, at the commencement of inscriptions.
Vaiśākha samvatsara; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (Etc.).

(Line 3.)—By the Mahārāja, the illustrious Hastin,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahārāja Devādīya;—who is the grandson of the Mahārāja Prabhāśājana;—who is the son of the Mahārāja Dāmōdara;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to (his) spiritual preceptor and (his) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brāhmans;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(and) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 7.)—(By him),—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit, (and) in order to cause (himself) to ascend by the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—the village of Vasuntarashandika is granted to the Brāhmaṇa Gopavāmin, of the Vāja- sanēya-Madhyaśirdina (stkhā) and the Kautsa gōtra, and to Bhavasvāmin, Sandhyāputra, Divākarudatta, Bhāskaradatta, and Suryādatta.

(L. 11.)—On all sides (there are) trenches (of demarcation); (and) on the north by the west, the boundaries are those that have been previously enjoyed. (This village is made the property) of Sandhyāputra and the others, with the udvarga and the upari.

It also occurs, governing a dative case, at the end of the Mandaśā inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18, page 84 above, line 24; and as a neuter noun, signifying 'prosperity,' in conjunction with astu, 'let there be,' the two together governing a dative, at the end of the Eran pillar inscription of Dvāragupta, No. 19, page 89 above, line 9, and at the end of the Eran inscription of Toraṇāṣa, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiA, line 8.

The text (line 3) has asyaṇa-dvisa-pārvavyām, in apposition with which titthau has to be supplied. The same expression was used in the Gaṅghā inscription of Chandragupta II, No. 7, page 37 above, line 2 f.; and it occurs in other places also. But the fuller and more formal expression was asyaṇa samātsara-masa-dvisa-pārvvyām, "on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the samātsara (or year) and month and day," which occurs, for instance, in the Mahāgawāmin grant of the year Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv, line 2 f.—Another variety of the expression is asyaṇa-dvisa-masa-samātsar-dn-pārvvyām, in the Shāhpur inscription of Adityaśa, No. 43 below, Plate xxiiA, line 2.—In the Bilsur pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10, page 44 above, line 7, we have asyaṇa-dvisa-pārvvyām, without the specification of any details except the year.

* See page 95 above, note 1.

In this and the other three formal inscriptions of this family, Nos. 22, 23, and 25 below, pranaprīti and nāpti are used, instead of the more customary and stricter terms, prānaprīta or 'son of a son's son,' and pātra, 'son's son;' see page 15 above, note 3. Pranaprīti and nāpti may denote, at any rate in early times, descendants through a daughter, as well as through a son; and I therefore translate them by the less binding expressions of 'great-grandson' and 'grandson.' We may, however, assume with safety that they are used here to denote descendants through sons.

* F. E. Hall ('Four. Reng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. p. 6, and p. 8, note) read this name as Dévādīya, and rejected H.H. Wilso's reading of Durvyā (which is evidently a misprint for Dévādīya, i.e. Dévādīya) with the remark—"in both inscriptions, the name is most legibly incised; and Mr. Thomas' decipherments bear out my lection unhesitatingly." The fact remains, however, that in all the three inscriptions of Hastin, and in the inscription of Sankshobha, the name is unmistakably Dévādīya; as, indeed, would be recognised at once by any careful reader, acquainted with Sanskrit, since abya or abya is no real word or termination at all; and Prof. H. H. Wilson was right, and Dr. FitzEdward Hall was wrong.

* gavita; lit. 'a hollow, a hole, a cave.'

* adhāra is a technical fiscal term.—Dr. Bühl has brought to notice ('Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 189, note 39) that in the Śāntakhaśa, Zacharias' edition, pp. xxix., 260, it is explained by adhāra
and udgrantha (u udgrāha), and this seems to mean 'the share of the produce collected usually for the king.'—The only passage in which it occurs otherwise than among the technical conditions of a grant, is in connection with Kharagraha II.; e.g. in line 46 of the Alāhā grant of Śīlabātya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv. In this passage, as it is given in line 46 of the grant of Śīlabātya III. of the year 352 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 308), it appears to be spelt with a double d, udadraṇga; so also in line 10 of the grant of the Mahārāja Gahaṇa of the year 246 (id. Vol. IV. p. 175.)

Supariṣa is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which has not been made clear. But I would suggest that the first element is the Prakrit word upari or upri (see Molesworth and Candy's Marathi Dictionary, and Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms; and that the term denotes 'a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary rights in the soil.'

1 a-chāṭha-bhaṭa-praśīya; a technical term of constant occurrence.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrají (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 175, note 41) takes chaṭha-bhṛta as meaning chaṭha prati bhṛtaḥ, 'soldiers against robbers,' and as denoting the royal police. But, that chaṭha is not governed by bhṛta, seems to be made clear by the analogous but differently arranged expression, a-bhṛta-chaḍhāra-praśīya, in line 26 of the Chakrāhār grant of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II., No. 55 below, Plate xxviv, and in line 27-28 of his Siwan grant, No. 56, Plate xxxv. And, in line 6 of the Goa grant of Satyāraya-Dhruvārāja-Indravarm of Śaka-Saṅvata 532 (Jour. Be. Br. R. A. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365), we have the simple expression a-bhṛta-praśīya.—I follow Dr. Bühler's interpretation (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 115 and note).—A slightly different expression, but of exactly the same purport, viz. praṇiṣhīchāṭha-bhṛta-praśīya occurs, for instance, in l. 10-11 of the Kapālāsvar grant of Mahā-Bhagavānta (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 56).—Other expressions, which help to indicate the bearing of the term, are samastā-rājaśīrāma-a-praśīya, 'not to be entered by any of the king's people,' e.g. in line 17 of the Itī grant of Dādā II. of Śaka-Saṅvata 417 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 173); and raja-bhūkāmaṇaṃ svaṇītanāṇḍa-prayaṇādanam na stāḥ, in line 97 of the Paitha grant of Rāmachandra of Śaka-Saṅvata 1193 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 318).—The latter passage may refer to 'fees' imposed on the king's servants for halting at, or starting from, a village; or it may refer to 'fines,' i.e. 'forced contributions of money or supplies,' obligatory on the holders of villages on such occasions.

2 This elliptical expression, chora-varjijam, lit. "with the exception of thieves," is explained by the fuller expression chora-danṣa-varjijam, "with the exception of fines (imposed) on thieves," in line 14 of the Khb̄er grant of the Mahārāja Jayaṇaṅga of the year 177, No. 27 below, Plate xvii.

3 mat-pāṇaḥ-pāṇjīram; lit. 'subsisting on the cakes which are made of malt.' Compare sat-pāṇa-padam-pāṇjīrin, 'subsisting (like a bee) on the waterlilies that are his feet,' which, in later times in the south, became the customary technical expression for the relation of feudatory princes and nobles, and other officials, to their paramount sovereigns; e.g. in line 8 of the Kādārājjī inscription of Śaka-Saṅvata 997 (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 103).—Compare, also, an expression of very similar purport,—mat-pāṇa-saśvāda-pāṇjīrin, 'whose head is adorned with the fresh sprouts that are his feet,'—in line 5 f. of the Balagānve inscription of Śaka-Saṅvata 970 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 179).—See also page 55 above, and note 1.

4 Vyāsa; whose name, as well as his epithet of "arranger of the Vēdas," is usually inserted in this passage; e.g. in line 13 of the Majhagwāṃ grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—In line 13 of No. 26 below, Plate xvi., line 14 of No. 27, Plate xvii., line 22 of
Vedas,—"O Yudhisthira, best of kings, look carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagar; whoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!"

(L. 20.)—And (this charter) has been written by Suryadatta, the [great] grand-

No. 28, Plate xviii., and line 3 of No. 30, Plate xixB., these verses are said to be from the Mahabhârata. And in line 19 of the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Sankshâbha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx., it is also added that they are in the Satasahasri-Samhitâ of the Mahabhârata. These verses are nearly attributed, in the inscriptions, to Vyâsa. But, in line 27-28 of the Kârûl grant of the third year of Vikramaditya I. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 237), the verse commencing Bahuûkhi=vasundhâ bhukti, the second in the present inscription, with one other not in this inscription, is allotted to Manu; a point which may be of some interest in connection with Dr. Böhler's discovery (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 324) that about one-tenth of Manu's verses occur in the Mahabhârata.

1 mahâmat, or mahâmat, in the sense of a "king" (lit. 'possessed of the earth') is not a dictionary word. But its meaning, based on its etymology, is obvious; and it is further borne out by the various reading kshithikârâdham, which occurs in the same verse in line 32 of the Chhind grant of a Râshtrakûta king Kakkâ of Sañca-Sañvat 679 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 109). Another various reading, in a slight variety of the same verse, is matimadâm, 'wise, prudent,' in line 40 of the Nauaâ grant of Jayabhâha II. of the year 456 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 79).

2 idana, 'a charter;' or tâmra-îdana, 'a copper-charter.' These were the technical terms for conveyances of this kind. The first word, idana, occurs, for instance, in line 4 of the legend on the seals of the Chammak and Siwâl grants of the Mahârâja Pravarasena II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plate xxxiii C. and D. The second, tâmra-îdana, occurs, for instance, in line 10 of the Majhaçwân grant of the Mahârâja Hansin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv. See also p. 87 above, note 10, where I have given an instance (the only one known to me) of a copper-plate charter being called prastâti, which word is properly the technical term for an inscription on stone.

3 ikhitam.—This refers either to the manual drafting of the record, or to the writing of it on the plates, for the guidance of the engraver, who then had to follow the writing and impress it with his tools. And of course it is to be understood, in the case of a high official like Suryadatta, who in No. 22 below, Plate xiii. line 29 of the title of Mahâsmâdhivigrahika, that the writing was done by one of his clerks, not by himself. The process of engraving is always denoted by utkram (prastâti), e.g. in line 25 of the Mandusâr inscription of Yaśôharman and Vishquvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.; or utkram (îdânam), e.g. in line 23 of the Arang grant of the Râja Mahâ-Jayârâja, No. 40 below, Plate xxvi. It might be thought that ikhitam may refer to the composition or drawing up of the record. But this part of the process is always denoted by a derivative from the root kri, 'to make,' e.g. prastâti kari, in line 17 of the Aihole Mâñjû inscription of Pulikētâ II. of Sañca-Sañvat 556 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 242); or rakh, 'to compose,' e.g. rakhid (prastâti), in line 23 of No. 18 above, page 84. And in line 32 of a grant of Alhanâpâva of Vikrama-Sañvat 1218 (Indian Inscriptions, No. 10), we have the double expression rakhid-châkhra tilkhâ ch=b=dâm mahâ-îdânam.—Some of the functions connected with a copper-charter are very well indicated in line 46 of the Kapâlavar grant of Mahâ-Dhavranûga, (Ind. Ant. Vol. V, pp. 57, 58) where the proper translation (from my own reading of the original) runs,—"This triplicate copper-charter has been written by the illustrious Mahâka, the son of Priyamkârdtitya, a writer (Kânya) belonging to the office of the Mahâsamdhivigrha, the Kônaka, the illustrious Malla-datta. This charter, presented by the lord of Kônaka, by which the village-headman (Mahâmsâm) is to be informed,—Pundârakâsha received it (apparently to superintend the engraving), transferred to copper. It has been engraved by Mahâyâya, the son of Vâsu."
No. 22; PLATE XIII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 163.

This inscription, again, appears to have been discovered about 1852, by Colonel Ellis, Political Agent at Nagaund, and was first brought to notice in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Frinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251 f., by Professor H. H. Wilson's translation, combining both this and the preceding inscription of the year 156, from Mr. Thomas'

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1 *Amōṭya*, lit. 'an inmate of the same house; a counsellor,' is a technical official title.
2 *Bhagōka*, lit. 'one who enjoys or possesses,' is explained in Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary* by 'housekeeper, groom.' In the inscriptions it is a technical official title, possibly connected with the territorial terms *bhōga* and *bhuki*. If we may judge by the passage in line 8 of the Kāvī grant of Jayabhata II. (*Ind. Ant. Vol. V.* p. 114), the *Bhagīkas* came in rank below the *Śamanīyas* and above the *Vishayapatis*.
3 *Dādana* and occasionally *Dāda* (e.g. in line 14 of the Nīrmanda grant of the Mahāśālī and Mahārāja Samudraśena, No. 80 below, Plate xlv.), *lit. 'a messenger,' is the technical title of an officer employed in connection with formal grants. The term is most commonly used in connection with copper-charters. But there are a few instances in which it occurs in inscriptions on stone (e.g. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's *Nepāl* inscriptions, No. 3, line 21 (*Ind. Ant. Vol. IX.* p. 167), No. 4, line 17-18 (id. p. 168), No. 6, line 13 (id. p. 170), &c. And these are sufficient to show that the *Dādana* office was to carry, not the actual charter itself, for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king's sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty it then was to have the charter drawn up and delivered. And, in accordance with this, there is no mention of any *Dādana* when we have such expressions as *dāda saṣāman* "the order (is) (that of the grantor's) own self," e.g. in line 19 of the *Chicaco* grant of the Mahārāja Indravarman of the year 128 (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII.* p. 121); *saṃ- mukha-dāda*, "the order (is) (that of the grantor's) own mouth," e.g. in line 24 of the Kāvī grant of the Mahārāja Sanikhbōha, No. 25 below, Plate xv.; *dānapāth saṃ-mukham*, with the same meaning, e.g. in line 34 of the Čulti heart grant of the Rāja Pṛthivivat (Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 178); and *saṃ-mukha-dānapāth utkārmā*, "engraved at the order of (the grantor's) own mouth," e.g. in line 23 of the Ārāh plate of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 below, Plate xcvii.; as pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV.* p. 161, note 29), *Ākārāmoda*, *lit. 'conveyor of orders,' in line 29 of the Ujjain grant of Vākapārāja of Dhrā (id. p. 160) seems to have been another regular title of the same officer; though this is, I think, at present the only instance in which it occurs.—And it is now plain that it is the same office which is referred to in such expressions as *saṃ- mukha-mahābhārata-guṇārśana* "the order (is) (conveyed by) the Mahābhārata Guṇārśana," in line 24 of the *Chicaco* grant of the Mahārāja Indravarman of the year 146 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 123); *dānapāth-sīsārśana*, in line 28 of the *Peddā-Maddāl* grant of Jayasimha I. (id. Vol. XIII. p. 138); and *dānapāth Dāmākārtitihāka Sere*, in line 12-13 of the Hāsal grant of the eighth year of Mrigēśavarman (id. Vol. VI. p. 24 f.).—Line 13 of the Kāvī grant of the Mahārāja Āśvakāna of the year 197, No. 30 below, Plate xixB., mentions, in addition to the ordinary *Dādana*, another *Dādana*, sent as a messenger to a second writer, who was ordered to insert certain additional privileges. And this, again, is in favour of my position that the *Dādana* carried the orders for the drawing up of a charter, not the charter itself.

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1 In No. 22 below, Plate xiv. line 30, this name occurs with the short vowel *a* in the first syllable. It is impossible to decide which form is correct, as the first component may be either *bhū*, 'light, splendour, lustre,' or *bhā*, 'a star, a planet.'
reading of the texts.—In 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 10 ff., Dr. Fitz-
Edward Hall published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from the original
plates.—And in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11 f., No. 2, General
Cunningham, in partially reprinting Dr. Hall’s translation, substituted a close approxima-
tion to the correct interpretation of the date, agreeing with Professor Wilson and differing
from Dr. Hall; and also gave a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Plate
iv. No. 2.)

The inscription is on another set of copper-plates that were found, with the plates
containing the inscription of the same Mahārāja Hastin of the year 156, No. 21 above,
somewhere in the valley near the village of Khâh1 in the Nagadūth State in the Baghēl-
khānd division of Central India. They were originally deposited in the Library of the
Sanskrit College at Benares, but were transferred, first to the Provincial Museum at Allahābād, and then to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow, where they now are; but
without their ring and seal, which were lost during the transfers.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are three in number. The first two
measure about 7½” by 5½”, and the third, which was evidently added as an afterthought,
when it was found that the inscription could not be completed on the front of the second
and that the back of it was not suitable for engraving, about 3½” by 2½”. They are quite
smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. Except,
however, for the small piece broken away at the beginning of the third plate, the writing is
in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are rather thin; and the letters,
being rather deeply engraved, show through so plainly on the backs of them that even
vowel-marks can be read there; and it is evidently owing to this, that the inscription was
finished on a third and smaller plate, instead of on the back of the second. The engraving
is well executed; but the interiors of the majority of the letters show, as usual, marks of
the working of the engraver’s tool.—There is a hole in the upper part1 of each plate for a
ring, with a seal attached to it; but the ring and seal are now forthcoming. From
the original accounts, the seal appears to have had on it the legend Śri Mahārāja-
Hastināha, “of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastin,” as on the seal of his grant of the year
191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—The weight of the three plates is 1 lb. 1½ oz.—The average
size of the letters is between ½” and ⅛”. The characters belong to the northern class
of alphabets; and the present inscription, with the following, from No. 24, Plate xvA., to
No. 31, Plate xx., illustrates what may be called the standard alphabet, with northern
characteristics, of Central India, from towards the end of the fifth to the middle of the
sixth century A.D. In sārjadatta, line 30, on the one hand, and, on the other, in kârya,
line 20, and kuryydt, line 21, we have further illustrations of the two methods of writing r
in combination with a following y, on which I have commented at page 94 above. In
brahmchaḍrie and cha, line 8, chaḍa, line 16, and ddundh, line 23, we have a form of ch
which belongs properly to a somewhat later period, and to the southern alphabets; but
which is perhaps indicative of the current and non-official form of the letter in Central
India in this period.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and
imprecatory verses in lines 22 to 28, the inscription is in prose throughout. It has been

1 See page 93 above, and note 3.
2 When the rings are arranged as in these plates, it is customary to find the ring-hole in the bottom
of the first plate and the top of the second. But all the grants of this family, and of the Mahārājas
of Uchāchālalpa, as far as Plate xx., have the ring-holes in the top of each plate as here.
engrossed with less care than is usual in epigraphical records of this early date.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ś, in vanta, line 6; (2) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in vakkrā, line 28; (3) the doubling of ṭ, under the same circumstances, in tri, line 1; chatttra, line 2; and other places; but not in putrāṇa, line 29; (4) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in madhyēma, line 18; but not in avadhyēna, line 21; and (5) the use of v for b, in lamūṣikha, line 14.

The inscription is one of the Parivratāka Mahārāja Hastin. It is dated, in words, “in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings,” in the year one hundred and sixty-three (A.D. 482-83), in the Mahā-Aśvayuja samvatsara, and on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chattra (March-April). Except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādeva, the inscription is non-sectorian. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Hastin, of the agrahāra of Körparika to certain Brāhmans.

TEXT.

First Plate.


   divasa-

   pranapt[4]a ṇ

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1 In respect of the date of this inscription, Gen. Cunningham (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 9 and 11, and Vol. X. p. 116) has expressed the opinion that one hundred and sixty-three is a mistake for one hundred and seventy-three. And certainly the record in No. 21, page 95 above, that the year 156 was Mahā-Vaiśākha, leads prīmitāacie to the conclusion that 163 would be Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, and that Mahā-Aśvayuja would be either 161 or 173; especially since the record of No. 25, page 112 below, that 209 was Mahā-Aśvayuja, points to the names of the samvatsaras running in regular succession, without any adjustment by expunction, through the period of fifty-four years. But Gen. Cunningham’s suggestion that the apparent error is “a mistake of the engraver, who has written shakī” (sic) “of” instead of sapī (sic) “(of)”, which in Gupta characters might easily happen,” takes no account of an additional aksara that must then have been omitted altogether. “Increased by seventy-three” would be, not tri-sapī-uttarē, but tri-sapī-uttarē. And it would not be an easy matter for the engraver to turn this full and correct form into tri-shashṭy-uttarē. Gen. Cunningham’s present tables for the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 118 ff.; and Indian Eras, Table xvii. Col. 10, p. 135 ff.) will have to be re-examined. In this process, with the possibility, which there always is, of the drafters of these epigraphical records making a mistake between current and expired years, it may turn out that this passage really does contain a mistake; which, if it does exist, is more likely to be in the direction of tri, “three,” having been engraved instead of dvi, “two,” and perhaps of the drafter of the record taking also written one hundred and sixty-two, instead of one hundred and sixty-one. Meanwhile, Dr. Thibaut, who is a competent authority, has recorded his opinion (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 332) that “observation has, as we know, never been the strong point of Hindu astronomers; and if, according to their system, a certain year was to be called Mahā-Chaitra, they would scarcely have hesitated to do so, even if they had found that the name was not justified by Jupiter’s actual position.” And, until the matter is definitely settled one way or the other, it is better to adhere to the distinct reading of the year one hundred and sixty-three.

² From the original plates. * Read samvatsara. ṣ Supply tīkha.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; NO. 22, PLATE XIII.

mahārāja-srī Prabhāśvara-napta, mahārāja-Dāmodara-sutena go-sahasra-
tyanta-dēva-brāhmaṇa-bhatēna naika-samra-bata-vijayinī sva-vanē-amōdaka-
rēna mahārāja-srī Hasitēna sva-punyā-āryan-ārhatam-Agniv[ā]*miputra-
Bharadvāja

sagottāra-Vājiṭha sanēśasabrāhmaṇāni6 Dévasvāmi7 Śarvvasvāmini
cha
Gorisvāmini6) (Vājiṭha sanēśa-sabrāhmaṇāni Kautsa-sagottāra Di-
vākarasvāmini cha Sv[ā]*tisvāmini Vājasanē-sabrā(brā)hmachāriṇē
Bhārga-

va-sagottāra Varunāśarmmanagah4) (Bappavasvāmini) Vāsula-sagottrā*lya
Katha-sabrāhmaṇārēṇa Kumāradēvarēva Vājiṭha sanēśa-sabrāhmaṇārēṇa
na Māt[ri]*sarmanah Vāgaśa[m]**ma Rukharadvēha R Kauradavēha
Vishṇu[va]*deva

Second Plate.

Dēvanāga Kumārasēnā11) Rudraśarmma13) Dēvād(?)ngarā(?)13) Lamvō(mbō)shītha Dédamita14)
Mahuḍēva Guroṭhaka ity-ēvaṃ-ādibhyo brāhmaṇēbhhy-ōttare15) pattē

Kōrparī-

ka-āgrārē svādṛangah sv-āparikarē Sa-chāta-bhata-prāṇēśyō-tirishtah-
śvā-Tasy-āghaṭhah pūrvēṇa Kōṛparagartta IP utārēṇ-Ānimukta-kakōnakah
Vāgara-grāmakasya dakhina-p[ā]*īrṣyē Valaka-maddhyēmā2) vrikah
amvīra-sāmītāra-

kaḥ[1*] paśchimēṇa Nāgarasal dakshiṇēṇa Balavarmma-parichchhēdah[1*]

Tad-asma-

[k*]-kulas-ōthair=mant-pādam[pi]nd-ōpajlibhir=vvā18) kālantārēsv=api na
vyāghāta kāryya[1*] [1*]

ēva-ēmājaṇē2) yō=nyathā kuryyāṇ(t)=tam-aḥaṅ dēḥantara-gatō-pi mahat-
āvādyēnē-

1 Read pājā-tantrapā. — The engraver omitted to cut the d of jā; and to cancel the na, when he inserted, partly above the line and somewhat small, the ta for which na had been engraved by mistake.
2 Read chārīṇē.
3 First nai was engraved; and then it was corrected into nd, by partial erasure of the upper stroke of the ai.
4 Read śaṁmaṇē.
5 Read dēvēya.
6 Read chārīṇē.
7 Read śaṁmaṇē. — From here, down to ity-ēvām-ādibhyō in line 15, is properly a compound; but it is spoilt by the three nominative cases at the end of this line, and by the unnecessary mark of punctuation in the next line.
8, 9, and 10 Read dēvē.
11 After this na, some letter, which is not quite certain, was engraved and then cancelled.
12 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
13 Read dēvādārīvarē (?). This is perhaps a mistake for dēvamītra.
14 Read brāhmaṇēbhya uṭtarē. 15 Read tirishtar. 16 Read maddhēma.
17 Read amṛtā; and probably saṃbhārakā.
18 First rna was engraved, and then it was corrected into ruvē.
19 Read ājñātē or ājñēpatē.
Reverence to (the god) Mahādeva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by sixty-three;¹ in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahā-Aśvayuja saṃvatsara; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (etc.).—

(Line 3.)—By the Mahādrāja, the illustrious Hastin,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahādrāja Dēvādhya;—who is the grandson of the Mahādrāja, the illustrious Prabhaśajana;—who is the son of the Mahādrāja Dāmōdara;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to (his) spiritual preceptor and (his) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brāhmaṇas;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(and) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 7.)—(By him)—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit,—the agrāḥdṛa of Kōrparika, in the northern paṭṭa,¹⁰ is granted, with the udraṇga and the

¹ Read nirddakēyaṃ.
² Read yudhishthīraṃ.
³ Read pṛthibhiḥ.
⁴ Supply ādinkam.
⁵ Read prānapīṭḍaḥ. —Mistakes of this kind would occur through the engraver not spacing the aksaras out as far as they were spaced in the painted arrangement on the copper. He would thus come to engrave nāṭpa (for nāṭpaḥ) two aksaras before the place intended for it; and he then ignorantly, and also imperfectly, repeated the aksaras, by engraving the painted marks still remaining on the plate.
⁶ See page 102 above, note 1.
¹⁰ paṭṭa, as used here, is apparently some technical territorial term. Compare paṭṭa, for paṭṭaḥ, in line 8 of the Haliś grant of Bhūmīśvaran (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. pp. 28 and 29, note), which, both in Kāpārake and in Mārthikā, is used for 'a strip of land, a division, or a village.' Compare also paṭṭikaḥ in line 16 of the Kaśana grant of Vijayaṛṣaḥ of the year 394 (ib. Vol. VII. pp. 248 and 250, note 27), and in line 11 ff. of the cancelled grant on the same plates (id. p. 252).
uparihera, and (with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops, to (certain) Brāhmans, commencing with Dēvasvāmin, the son of Agnisvāmin, one of the Bhāravāja gotra (and) a student of the Vājasāneya (śākhā), and Śarvasvāmin, (and) Gōrisvāmin, Dīvākarasvāmin, of the Kautsa gotra, a student of the Vājasāneya (śākhā), (and) Śvātisvāmin, Varuṇasārman, of the Bhārgava gotra, a student of the Vājasāneya (śākhā), (and) Bappasvāmin, Kumāradeva, of the Vāsula gotra, a student of the Katha (śākhā), (and) Mātriśārman, a student of the Vājasāneya (śākhā), (and) Nāgārman, Rukharađēva, Kaudravādeva, Vishnudēva, Dēvanāga, Kumārasēna, Rudraśārman, Dēvadāṅgīrā (?), Lambōṣṭha, Dēvamitra (?), Mahādeva, (and) Guṇṭhaka.

(L. 17.)—The boundaries of it (are),—on the east, (the boundary-trench or village called) Kōrparaṅgātā; on the north, Animuktakāṅkā, (and) a vrika-tree in the centre of Valaka on the south side of the village of Vangara, (and) a clump of amṛtā-trees; on the west, (the tank or village called) Nāgarasāl; (and) on the south, the paricchhādā of Balavarman.

(L. 19.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 22.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, the arranger of the Vedas,—“O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! He becomes a worm in ordure, and is tormentcd together with his ancestors, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!”

(L. 28.)—And (this charter) has been written by the Mahāśāṃkhitvigrāhika Sūryadatta; the great-grandson of the Amālya Vakra; the grandson of the Bhōgika Naradatta; (and) the son of the Bhōgika Ravidatta. Bhagrāha (is) the Dātaka.

1 Vrika; the Sesbana Grandiflora.
2 Or,—if we keep the original reading of saṅtāraka,—‘the ferry (at the place) of the amṛtā-trees.’
3 Amṛtā; the hog-plum, Spondias Mangifera.
4 Paricchhakā; lit. ‘division, separation,’ is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which cannot be at present suggested.
5 Mahāśāṃkhitvigrāhika; lit. ‘a great officer entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war,’ is a peculiar official title denoting an official superior to the Śāṃkhitvigrāhikās (see page 16 above, note 5). Another of his titles was Makkhasāṃkhitvigrāhākārī; e.g. in line 18-19 of the grant of Gūnda III. of Saḥa-Sanyat 726 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 127.)
6 See page 100 above, note 4.
No. 25, PLATE XIV.

MAJHGAWAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 191.

THis inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. IX. pp. 7 and 13 f., No. 5, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (id. Plate iv. No. 5),—is on some copper-plates that were discovered in 1870, in ploughing a field at the village of Majhgawām, about three miles towards the south-west from Uchāhāra, the capital of the Nāgādhūr State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgādhūr, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr, Political Agent, Satnā.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 8 5/8 by 5 3/8. They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. Except, however, for the small piece broken away at the beginning of the second plate, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are not very thick; and the letters, which are rather deeply engraved, shew through on the backs of them. The engraving is very good, but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring, with a seal attached to it. The ring and seal are not now forthcoming; but fortunately General Cunningham had preserved a pencil-rubbing of the seal, from which I have been able to give a lithograph. It represents a pointed oval seal, about 2 1/2 by 1 inch, with the legend Śrī-mahādeśa-Hastiṅaḥ, “of the illustrious Mahādeśa Hastin.”—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 14 oz.—The average size of the letters is between 1/16 and 1/8. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the peculiar "nail-headed" type, on which I have commented at page 19 above; thus giving another variety, with northern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of the period. They include the very rare initial au, in *auspamānyava*, line 8. In *kuryā*, line 12, and *sūryadatta*, line 19, we have further illustrations of the first method of writing r in combination with a following y, on which I have commented at page 94 above. In *chhryā*, line 14, *yē*, line 16, *apāntēshu*, line 17, and *ya*, line 18, we have a form of y, differing from the form used throughout the rest of this inscription, e.g. in *dēvya*, line 1, and *tritiyādām*, line 2. It belongs properly to a somewhat later development of the northern alphabet, as used in formal official records; and we find it, for instance, throughout the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, of the year 269, No. 71 below, Plate xiiA.; but it is perhaps indicative of the current form of the letter in this period. The characters also include, in lines 20 and 21, forms of the numerical

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1This name, given in maps, etc., as ‘Majgama, Majgowa, Majhgawān, Mugjowan, Mujoah, Munjgawān, and Munjgowa,’ is a very common one in that part of the country. The present village should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89; but it is not entered there, unless ‘Moghani’ (Lat. 24° 22’ N.; Long. 80° 47’ E.) is intended for it.

2Read īrī-mahd.

3To quote another early instance, the same form occurs also in *vijaya*, in line 1 of the ‘Kondakur’ grant of the Pallava prince Vijayabuddhavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 101 and Plate); but the cor-
symbols for 1, 3, 90, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imperative verses in lines 13 to 18, the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusodra, before h, in śīṅka, line 20; (2) the doubling of k, g, and f, in conjunction with a following r, in vakkṛ, line 18; vīgṛhaṅka, line 19; and chaṭṭa, line 2, and pittṛor, line 7; but not in other places, e.g. in saṅgṛṛbhyaṅ, line 8; (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in avaddhyāṇa, line 12; (4) the occasional use of b for v, in sambatśara, line 2 (twice), and sambat, line 20; and (5) the occasional use of v for b, in vrāhmaṇa, line 5, and vahubhir, line 14.

The inscription is one of the Parivārajaka Mahārāja Hastin. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, “in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings,” in the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), in the Mahā-Chaitra sāvat-sara, and on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight, and the third solar day of the whole month, of Māgha (January-February). For the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādeva, the inscription is non-sectarian. The object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Hastin, at the request of a certain person named Mahādevīdeva, of the village of Vālugarta to certain Brāhmaṇas.

TEXT:

First Plate.

1 Namō Mahādevaya II Svasty-āka-nāvathy-uttarī-bda-satē Gupta-nrapa-
   rāya-bhukta śrīmati pravardhamāṇa.-

2 Mahā-Chaittra-samba(mva)tsare Māgha-māśa-bahula-paksha-trityāyām-asya[r]*
   samba(mva)tsara-māśa-divasa-pūrvvā-

3 yāṃ [!*] Nripatinparivārajaka-kul-ōpannēṇa mahārāja-Dēvādhya-pranaptra
   mahārāja-śrī Prabhaṉjana-naptra mahā-

4 rāja-śrī Dāmōdara-suttēna go-sahasra-hastī-aśva-hirany-anēka-bhūmi-pradēṇa
   guru-pitri-mātri-pījā ṭī ṭī ṭī R

5 tatpāten-āyanta-dēva-brāhmaṇa-bhaktēn-anēka-samara-sāta-vijayānā
   svā-
   vanām-āmadakarēṇa mahā-

6 rāja-śrī Hastinā Mahādevēdevē-sukha-vijñaptē Vālugartō nāma grāmāh
   pūrvv-aghāta-parīchoḥhēda-ma-

7 ryāḍaya s-ōḍrangaḥ s-ōparīkarō-ch[a*]ta-bhāta-prāvēṣyahaḥ mātāpitrōra-
   rāmaṇas-cha puny-abhivriddhayē Mahādē-

rect ancient form of the letter is used throughout the rest of this inscription also, e.g. in yuva, line 2, and viśaya, line 3.

The double record of this date is of considerable importance. In line 2, the day is distinctly specified as the third lunar day of the dark fortnight; while, in line 21, in numerical symbols, it is shown as the third day of the month, without any specification of the fortnight. So, again, in No. 25 below, page 114 f., the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (line 2 l), is shown in line 24 as the twenty-fifth solar day of the whole month. The four entries together prove that, as might be expected in the case of an era belonging to Northern India, the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year followed the northern custom, with the dark fortnight preceding the bright.

* From the original plates.

The vowel d, of nd, appears to have been engraved and then cancelled here. In Plate xvB, l. 2, the reading is as I transcribe it here.

* Supply titkau.
TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahādeva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Guptas; in the prosperous augmenting Mahā-Chaitra samvatsara; on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the samvatsara and month and day;—

1 Read mibhyāḥ.
2 Read gūvindasvāmi-gomikā.
3 Read ājñaptē, or ājñaptiē.
4 Metre, Śīka (Aṃṣūṭubbh); and in the following four verses.
5 Supply tāsanam.
6 This must be a mistake for either nātpīra-nātpīra, or pranātpīra-purāṇa; since, as the text stands, it passes over the generation between Vakra and Naradatta.
7 See page 97 above, note 1.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 23, PLATE XIV.

(Line 3.)—By the Mahârâja, the illustrious Hastin,—who is born in the family of a
kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahârâjâ Dêvâdhyâ;—who is the
grandson of the 'Mahârâja, the illustrious Prabhañjana;—who is the son of the
Mahârâja, the illustrious Dâmôdâra;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and
elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to
(his) spiritual preceptor and (his) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the
gods and Brâhmans;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(and) who
causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 6.)—(By him), at the agreeable request of Mahâdévidâva, the village named
Vâlugarta, in accordance with the usage of the specification of (its) ancient boundaries,
with the udrañga and the uparikara, (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered
by the irregular or the regular troops, is granted as an agrâhâra, by a copper-charter,—
for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself, and
in order to erect the steps of a ladder leading to heaven, acceptable to Mahâdévidâva,—
to these Brâhmans, of the Aupamanyava pûtra, students of the Chhandôga-Kauthuma
(sâhôd), (viz.) Gõvindasvâmin, Gõmikasvâmin, and Dêvasvâmin,—to be enjoyed by
their) sons and sons' sons, with the exception of the proceeds of fines imposed on
thieves.

(L. 10.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant)
is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This
injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a
great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 12.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, Vyâsa, the arranger
of the Védas,—"O Yudhishtîra, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously
been given to the twice-born; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) is more meritorious
than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with
Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the
reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys
happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he
who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!
He becomes a worm in ordure, and is tormented together with his ancestors, who
confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! Those who
confiscate a previous grant, are born (again) as black serpents, inhabiting the dried-up
hollows of trees, in desert places destitute of water!"

(L. 18.)—And (this charter) has been written by the Mahâsândhivigrâhika
Vibbuddatta, the son1 of the great-grandson of the Amûtya Vakra; the great-grandson
of the Bhôgika Naradatta; the grandson of Ravidatta; (and) the son of Sûryadatta.
The Mahâbaldhâhîkra2 Nâgasihib (is) the Dûtaka. The year 100 (and) 90 (and) 1;
(the month) Mâgha; the day 3.

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1See page 108 above, note 6.
2Mahâbaldhîkra, lit. 'a great officer placed at the head of the forces,' is a technical official
title, denoting an officer superior to the Bâldhîkra.—The latter title, Bâldhîkra, occurs in line 2
of the Shâhpur image inscription of Adityasvâna, No. 43 below, Plate xxix A.—A synonym for Mahâ-
baldhîkra was Mahâbaldhîkasya, which occurs in Mr. Bendall's Nêpêl inscription of Harsha-
Sâvat 34 (Journey in Nêpêl, p. 75, line 17.)
BHUMARA STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJAS HASTIN AND SARVANATHA.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1879, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 8 f. and 16, No. 9, where he published his translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate iv. No. 9.)

*Bhumara* is a village about nine miles to the north-west of Uchaharā, in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. From line 3 of the inscription, the ancient name of the place seems to have been *Ambāda*. The inscription is on one of the faces of the bottom and rectangular part of a small red-sandstone pillar, popularly called *thāṭ-pattar* or "the standing stone," in the lands of this village.

The *writing*, which covers a space of about 10 1/4" broad by 1 63/4" high, is in a state of very fair preservation throughout.—The *size* of the letters varies from 1" to 1 1/8". The *characters* belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 9, forms of the *numerical symbols* for 9 and 10.—The *language* is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of *orthography*, we have to notice (1) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *putra*, line 5; (2) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuḍhyāta*, line 2; and (3) the use of *b* for *v*, in *sambatsara*, line 8.

The *inscription* is one of the two *Mahārājas Hastin*, of the *Parivrajaka* family, and *Śarvanātha*, of *Uchchakalpa*. It is dated, in numerical symbols, on the nineteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month *Kārttika* (October—November). *Ambāda* is not stated in any map of India. The nearest place of the name is perhaps Ambāda, a town in the Nāgaūdh State. *Singhārukh*, a town in the same State, is said to be the place of this inscription, according to the *Samākta* inscription of Mārāha Dēvadatta, in which the date (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 331 f.) runs *Samvat 800 70 9 Māgha 16 20*, "the year 800 (and) 70 (and) 9 (A.D. 822-23); (the month) Māgha; the bright fortnight; the day 20 (of the month)."
November), in the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara, without any reference to an era. But the choice lies only between Gupta-Sarvat 189 and 201; and, as we have for the Mahârâja Hastin the early date of the year 156, in No. 21 above, page 93, the preference is in favour of the year one hundred and eighty-nine (A.D. 508-9). The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being simply to record the erection, at Ambôda, of a boundary-pillar between the territories of the two Mahârâjas in question.

One point of importance in connection with this inscription, is that its existence on stone furnishes definite evidence that the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas and the Mahârâjas of Uchchakalpa really did belong to this part of the country. This is a point on which stone-inscriptions give testimony of a kind that can never be derived from the mere finding, in a certain locality, of copper-plates, which, being small and portable, are always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong,¹ and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified.

TEXT:

1 Svasti Mahâdeva-pâd[ā]-nuddhyâ(ta)-mahârâja-Hasti-
2 râjyâ Ambôdê mahârâja-
3 Śarvanâtha-bhâgê Indâna-
4 napatrâ Vâsu-grâmîka-puttra-
5 Śivadâsâna vala-ya-
6 shti uchchhritaḥ¹ [I*] Mahâ-Mâghê
7 samba(mva)tsarê Kârttika-
8 masâ 
9 divasa 10 9 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In (the boundary of) the kingdom of the Mahârâja Hastin, who meditates on the feet of (the god) Mahâdeva; at (the village of) Ambôda; (and) in (the boundary

ment by which the bright half of the month comes first; and the second is a northern date, according to the arrangement by which the dark half comes first. These instances, of course, are exceptional ones. But they suffice to shew that, both in northern and in southern India, down to comparatively late times, the numbering of the solar days and lunar tithis of the month up to thirty did occasionally continue alongside of the more usual reckoning by fortinights, in which the lunar tithis of each fortnight are denoted by the numbers one to fifteen only, and the solar days by the numbers one to fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen, as the case may be.

¹A marked instance of the distances to which copper-plates and seals may travel, is afforded by the finding of the seal of the Maukharî Sarvavarman, No. 47 below, at Asârgadh in the Nimâd District in the Central Provinces. Its original locality must have been some hundreds of miles to the east of this.

²From the ink-impression.

³The engraver seems to have first engraved hîb, or perhaps dhîb, and then corrected it into mibê.

⁴Read balaya-yashñit=uchchhrita. — As regards the correction of vala into valaya, vala-yashñi or vala-yashñi gives no meaning; whereas the appropriateness of valaya-yashñi, 'boundary-staff or pillar,' is apparent. The mistake arose from the omission to repeat, at the beginning of line 7, the ya at the end of line 6.
of) the bhūga of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha,—(this) boundary-pillar has been set up by Śivadāsa, the grandson of Indana, and the son of the Ġrāmikā Vāsu,—in the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara; the month Kārttika; the day 10 (and) 9.

No. 25; PLATE XV.B.

KHÔH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SAMKSHOBHA.

THE YEAR 209.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 7, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (id. Pl. iv. No. 4),—is on another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh, in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghêlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Râjâ of Nâgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 8½ by 4½", and the second about 8½ by 4½". They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. They have apparently been subjected to the action of fire; but the inscription is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters are deep, and shew through very distinctly on the backs of them. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is about 3" thick and 2½" in diameter. It had not been cut, when the grant came under my notice; but one end of it had been forced out of the socket of the seal, so that it could be separated from the plates. The seal, in the lower part of which the ends of the ring were originally fused and so secured, is rectangular, about 1½ by 1½". It must have had a legend, on a countersunk surface; but it is now perfectly illegible, and not worth reproducing by a lithograph. Also, from the shape of the seal, as contrasted with that of the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv., and compared with the seal of the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Śarvanâtha of the year 193, No. 28 below, Plate xviii., it would seem to be a seal of one of the Mahârâjas of Uchchakalpa, rather than of one of the Parârâjaka Mahârâjas.—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 8½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 6 oz.; total 1 lb. 14½ oz.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare initial  אנחנו, the modern Kârya, in Kârya, line 17, and in Kârya, line 16, we have further illustrations of the two methods of forming r, in combination with a following y, on which I have commented at page 94 above. The characters also include, in line 24, forms of the numerical symbols for 9 and 20.

1 bhūga, lit. 'enjoyment, possession, government,' is a technical territorial term, probably of much the same purport as the bhūti of other inscriptions.

2 Ġrāmikā, 'a villager, the headman of a village,' is a technical official title corresponding to the modern Kanarese Ġauda and Mahârâja Pâñjî.

3 See page 93 above, and note 3.

4 As regards the symbol for 9, see page 110 above, note 2.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 25, PLATE XVIB.

—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benefitic and imprecatory, in lines 18 to 23, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice in kāritaka, line 13, the affix ka, on which I have commented at page 69 above. — In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of ७ for ५, in āṃbaisāra, line 3; and (2) the occasional use of ० for ५, in avda, line 1; vrñmāna, line 7; and vaṅkubhī, line 19.

The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Saṃkṣabha. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Guptā kings," in the year two hundred and nine (A.D. 528-29), in the Mahā-Āsvayuja śāvatara, on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April); and at the end, in numerical symbols, the date is given again as the twenty-ninth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the same month Chaitra.1 Judging by the opening invocation of the god Vishnu, under the name of Vāsudēva, it is a Vaishnavā inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Saṃkṣabha, at the request of a certain person named Ṣhodāngomīn, of the village of Ṣopāni to a temple of the goddess Pīṣṭapūrī,—apparently some local form of Lakṣmi, the wife of Vishnu.2

One point of importance in this inscription is, that it mentions the Mahārāja Hastin as governing the kingdom of Dabhālā, or possibly Dabhālā, that had come to him by inheritance, together with all the country included in the eighteen forest kingdoms.3 I cannot identify these eighteen forest kingdoms.4 But, in Dabhālā or Dabhālā, we have

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1 On the extreme importance of this double record, see page 107 above, note 1.
2 Through his identification of Pīṣṭapūrī with the place that he writes 'Pīthaora,' and which is entered in maps as 'Pataora' and 'Puttora,' nine miles north of Uchchhārā, Gen. Cunningham (Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 10) identified this goddess Pīṣṭapūrī with the local goddess Pataiṇḍēvī of this Pīthaora. But this identification will not hold good; if only for the reason that 'Pīthaora' is in reality Pataurā, probably from pītri-pūra, 'the town of deceased ancestors.'—Pataurā and Pīṭaurā, in passing, are evidently common names in that part of the country; as the maps show 'Pataura,' 'Pīṭora,' 'Patora,' and 'Pīṭhora,' respectively 29 miles west by a little north, 18 miles west, 13 miles north-west, and 24 miles north-west, of Uchchhārā.—Of Pīṣṭapūrī we have already had an earlier mention in line 19 of the Allahahārī pillar inscription, No. 1, page 7 above, as the capital of a king named Mahēndra, who was conquered by Samudragupta, in the dakhşhudpatha or region of the south. And we have another later mention of it, as being conquered by the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśa II., in line 13 of the Aihole Mēduṭi inscription of Śaka-Śaṃvat 556 or A.D. 634-35 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. pp. 242, 245). It is the modern Pīṭapūrām, the 'Pīṭhāpur and Pittapooram,' of maps, &c. (Indian Atlas Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17° 56' N., Long. 82° 18' E.), twelve miles north by east of 'Coconada,' in the Gōdāvart District in the Madras Presidency. It is the chief town of a Zaminīrā, or Estate of the same name; and the remains at it shew that it is a place of considerable antiquity (see Sewell in Lists of Antiquities, Madras, Vol. I. p. 23 f.)—The Pīṣṭapūrī of this inscription must be a local form of some famous and original goddess at Pīṣṭapūrā itself. She is mentioned again, under the slightly different name of Pīṣṭapurikētvī, in line 12 of No. 29 below, Plate xixA., and in line 11 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and the latter passage shews that her local shrine was at a place named Mānapura, which may perhaps be the modern 'Manpore, Manpora, and Mānapur,' of maps about forty-seven miles towards the east from Uchchhārā.

3 This seems to be shown (1) by the general Vaishnavā tendency of the present inscription; and (2) by the fact that,—whereas in the year 177 the village of Dhavasapājikā was allotted by the Mahārāja Jyanāthā for the purposes of a temple of the god Vishnu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One (No. 27 below, Plate xvii.),—subsequently half of this same village was set apart, by a grant of the Mahārāja Sarvandāthā, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pīṣṭapurikētvī (No. 29 below, Plate xixA.)

4 See page 13 above, note 7.
undoubtedly the older form of Dāhala, Dāhāla, Dahāla, or Dahalā, which seems to represent the modern Bundelkhand, and which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Tripura near Jabalpur, whose original capital was Kālañjara in Bundelkhand. This, therefore, is another item of evidence connecting the Parivṛtajaka Mahārājas with this part of the country.¹

**TEXT:**

**First Plate.**

1 Ōm Namō bhagavatē Vasudēvāyā ॥ Svasti Nav-ōttarē-vda(bda)-śata-dvayē **Gupta-nripa-r[ā^]*jya-bhuktau**

2 śrīmati pravarddhāmaṇā-vijaya-rājyē Mah-Āśvayuja-sa[m*]vatsarē Chaitra-māsa-

3 pakhā-trayādaśya[m*]m-asyāṁ santha(va)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvayā[ṛ]m*[]* ॥ [I*]

Chaturdāśa-vidyāsthāna-vidī-

ta-paramārthasya Kapilasya-[ai*]va mah-ārṣeḥ sarvva-tat[ta*]va-jñasya

Bharadavājya-sagotrasya nripa-

pi parivṛtajaka-Suśarmmanaḥ kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-śrī-Dēvādhyā-putra- pranapratā mahārā-

ja-[srī]-Prabhāṣañjana-pranapratā mahārāja-śrī-Dēmodara-napratā gō-sahasra-

hasty-āsva-hirany-ānēka-

bhūmi-pradasya guru-piṭri-mātri-puṭjā-tatparasy-ātyanta-dēva-vṛā(br)hmanā-

bhaktasya ānēka-samarā-

7 sāta-vijayināḥ s-āśātadā-ātavi-rājyābhayantarāḥ Īabhāvatārāḥ Dabhā(Phā)lā-rājyan-

anvay-āgatān samadi-

8 pālayippō(ahno) r-ānēka-guṇa-vikhyāta-yaśasāḥ mahārāja-Γ(Γ)-Haśtināḥ

suteṇa

9 varṣu-āśrama-dharma-msthāpanā-niratēna paramabhagavatēn-ātyanta-piṭri-

bhattēna śva-van-

10 ś-āmōdakarēṇa mahārāja-śrī-Samkhōbhēna(pa) mātipitrōr-ātmanān-cha

puny-ābhī-

11 vṛdhāyē7 Chhōḍugōmi-vijñātyā tam-ēva cha sva[r*]gga-sōpāna-pāśātīm-

ārōpayā-

12 Second Plate.

13 tā bhagavatyāḥ Pishṭapuryāḥ kāritaka-dēvakulē va(ba)li-charu-sat[ta*]-

ōpayō-

¹ It is perhaps worth mentioning, that there is in this neighbourhood a station on the Allahābād-Jabalpur railway, called Dābhaur (the 'Dabura' and 'Daboora' of maps), about fourteen miles east of Māṅkpur, and fifty miles east by north of Kālañjara.

² From the original plates.

³ Supply tithau.

⁴ Read nripasi.—In the second syllable, first ti was engraved, and then it was corrected into pe.

⁵ This ja was first omitted, and then inserted in the margin of the plate.

⁶ Some correction or other is required here; but it is not apparent what was intended; possibly, however, samyak, sampadi, or sopadi. I do not suggest samadhālayiṣhā, because I cannot find any authority for the composition of sam and adhi with pe, 'protect'.—In the third syllable, di was certainly engraved; but the i may perhaps have been cancelled.

⁷ Read ḍhīvṛiddhayē.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 25. PLATE XVIII.

14 g-arthaṁ (m) khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṁskār-grihaḥ-chha Maṇipāga-pethē Ṫopāṇi-

15 sy-ārdhāḥ chōra-drōhaka-varjāh (n) tāmra-ṭadatānaṇ-ātisṛṣṭham [18] tad-
asmat-kul-ṭhathu (tttha) mān-

16 t-pādapiṅ-ṭapaiśvibhir-vvā kālīntarēshv-apni na vyāghātah kāryaṁ [16]
evam-aṁ-

17 pta yō-nyathā kuryāt-tam-ahāṃ déhanāra-gatō-pi mahat-āvadhyānēna
nirddhāyam [11]

18 Uktam cha bhagavatā param-arshipā vēda-vēṣaṇa Vyāsēnaḥ [18]
Pūrvvā-dattām dvijātibhyo

19 yatnā-d-raikṣa Yudhisṭhirāḥm mahām-mahimats[na] śṛṣṭha dānāc-
ahrayō-nupālanaḥ (n) [11] Va(iba)hubhī\n
20 vasudhā bhuktā jārajbhī-śagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi-
tasya tasya tadā

ākṣeptā ch-anumantā taṁy-ē-

22 va narakē vasēt [11] Bhūmi-pradānām-ma(n) param pradānam dānam-
visisṭhaṁ paripāalan-chā
c

23 sarvve-tisṛṣṭha[na] paripālya bhūmi[na] nīpā Nṛg-āyas-tridivaṁ
prapannab 11 Likhitambhān
c

Chaitra di 2o 9 [11]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Reverence to the divine (god) Vāsudeva! Hail! In two centuries of years,
in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the glorious augmenting and victorious reign;
in the Mahā-Aśvayuja samvatsara; on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra,—on this (lunar day), (specified)
as above by the samvatsara and month and day,—

(Line 3.)—By the Mahārāja, the illustrious Samkhṣēbha, who was a family of the kingly ascetic Sūdrakam, who had learnt the high art and science of astrology, and who was of the Brahmāva-gūtra; who is the great grandson of the illustrious Deōāya; who is the great-grandson of the illustrious Prabhājana; who is the grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dāmbārā; who is the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Hastin, who was the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and

1Read either dhānaṭḍa, or dhādpāṭa. 8 Read vyāsēna.

2Read yudhīśthira.

3 Metre, Śūka (Aṇuṣṭhābh); and in the following two verses.

4 Read paripālanā-cha.

5 Read likhitam.—And supply ṛṣanam.

6 chaṭuṭa-saṁkṣēbha; viz. the four Vēdas, the six Vēdhāgas, the Purāṇas, the Mahāmād
system of philosophy, the Nyāya system, and Dharma, or law.
gold, and many lands; who was earnest in paying respect to (his) spiritual preceptor and (his) father and mother; who was extremely devoted to the gods and Brāhmaṇas; who was victorious in many hundreds of battles; who sought to govern properly the kingdom of Dābhālā,1 which had come (to him) by inheritance, together with (all the country) included in the eighteen forest kingdoms; (and) whose fame was renowned through many good qualities;—who is intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and the different periods of life;—who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One;—who is extremely devoted to (his) ancestors;—(and) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 11.)—(By him),—for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself,—at the request of Cbhādugōmin, and (with the object) of causing him to ascend the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—half of the village of Òpāni, in the Manināga pētha,2 is granted by a copper-charter, with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves and mischief-doers, for the purpose of observing the bali, charu, and saitra,3 at the temple, which (he) has caused to be built, of the divine (goddess) Pīṣṭapeuru, and for the purpose of renewing whatever may become broken or torn.

(L. 15.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by My feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 18.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas,—"O Yudhisṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents to (an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! (There is) no gift better than a gift of land, and the preservation (of a grant) (is) better than making a grant; all kings, commencing with Nṛīga, have attained heaven, (by) preserving land that had been granted!"4

(L. 23.)—And (this charter) has been written by Īlavatrayā, the grandson of Īvīta, (and) the son of Bhujamadāsā. The order (is that) of his own mouth. (The month)

1 Possibly Dābhālā; but the second syllable, through badly formed, seems to be ḍha, rather than ḍhā.
2 Pētha; a technical territorial term, represented in modern Marāṭhī by पेठ. Another form of it, pancha, occurs in line 30–31 of the Harisir grant of Bukkārāya of Śālavāhan-Śaka 1296 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XII. p. 347), and we also have pancha or panchaya in line 24 of the Harisir inscription of Achyutarāya of Śālavāhan-Śaka 1460 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 331).
3 Bāli is the offering of ghee, grain, rice, &c., to the gods and all creatures of every description; charu, the oblation of rice, barley, and pulse boiled with butter and milk, for the deceased ancestors; and saitra, the giving of alms and refuge. They are three of the pātāca-mahāyajña, or 'five great sacriences;' which are usually (e.g. in line 27 f. of the Māliyā grant of the Makārāya Dharasena II., No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.) enumerated as bāli, charu, vaisuvadā (the offering to all deities), agniśṭhāra (see page 71 above, note 8), and atikī (hospitality; the saitra of the present inscription).—The saitra-rite was the special object of the saitra, or 'charitable hall or almshouse,' which is mentioned for instance, in No. 7, line 6, page 38 above.
4 Samkhābōha's. These words imply that he employed no Dālaka to convey the orders to the local officials, but gave them in person; see page 100 above, note 3.
No. 26; PLATE XVI.

KARITALAI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.

THE YEAR 174.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 12 f. No. 3, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (id' Plate iv. No. 5),—is from some copper-plates that were found, about 1850, in a small receptacle inside a ruined temple of the god Vishnu, in his incarnation as the Boar, at Karitalai, a village about twenty-three miles north-east of Mudwāra, the chief town of the Mudwāra Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Jabalpur District in the Central Provinces. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 9½" by 6¼", and the second 9¼" by 6½". The edges of them are here and there fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters are deep, and shew through on the backs, so clearly that in many places they can be read there. The engraving is good; but the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring, and the seal attached to it, are not forthcoming.—The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs. 7 oz.—The average size of the letters is about ¾".

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the present inscription, with the five that follow, and with No. 22 above, Plate xiii., No. 24, Plate xviA., and No. 25, Plate xviB., illustrates what may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India, from towards the end of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century A.D. The characters include the rather rare initial ḍ, in ṭhādēva, line 1, and ḍh, in ḍhitattī, line 5; also, in lines 24 and 25, forms of the numerical one, ṭā, two, ṭa, and so forth. The language used, so far as I can judge, is a Dravidian, with many Sanskrit loan-words, among which I have noticed (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ṭ, in vaṃśa, line 10; (2) the constant doubling of ṭ, in conjunction with a following ṛ, e.g. in putra, line 2; sagdātra, line 7; and śrīśād, line 20; and (3) the occasional use of b for ṛ, in sambatsara, line 21, and sambat, line 24.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Jayanātha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpe. The date of the writing of the

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1 The 'Karitalai and Karetullace' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 3' N.; Long. 80° 46' E.
2 The 'Moorwari, Moorwara, and Murwāra' of maps, &c.
3 See page 101 above, note 2.
4 The literal meaning, 'that which is but little short of being a place,' points perhaps rather to the name being properly that of a hill; but of course with a town on it.
charter is given, in both words and numerical symbols, as the year one hundred and seventy-four, and the fourteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Asāḍha (June-July). There is no information given as to the era. But the Bhumā pillar inscription of the Mahādrīyas Hastin and Śrīvanta, No. 94 above, page 110, shews that the Parivṛttaka Mahādrīyas and the Mahādrīyas of Uchchakalpa were contemporaries; and, therefore, that the era of the latter must be the same with that of the former, which is distinctly indicated as being the Gupta era. And the result, accordingly, for the present date, is A.D. 493-94. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant, by the Mahādrīya Jayanātha, to a Brāhmaṇ, of the village of Chandraśikāma in the Nāgādēya santaka.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Om Svasti Uchchakalpaṁ-mahāraja-ōghadēvas-tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō mahā-
2 dévyāṁ Kumāradēvyaṁ-utpanno mahāraja-Kumāradēvas-tasya puttras-tat-pād-[ā]nudhyātē(ṭo)
5 dévyām-Ajñiatadēvyaṁ-utpanno mahāraja-Jayanāthap kuśali Nāgādēya-
sanṭaka-Chha-
6 ndāpallikāyāṁ brāhmaṇ-adin-kuṭumbiṇaḥ kārūkanāṁ cha samājñāpayati [ī]
Vadataṁ-bōpa-stu
7 yath-aisha grāmo mayā sva-puny-abhivṛddhayā Kṛṣṇasagotra-Vāja-
sanēyaMadhya-
8 ndina-brāhmaṇa-Mitrāvāsāṁaḥ s-ōḍrāgaḥ s-oparikaraḥ a-chāta-bhāta-
prāvēyaḥ
9 chōra-varjjitaḥ-tīṣrīṣṭas-Tē ydyaṁ-asya samuchita-bhāgabhāga-kara-pratyāy-
ōpa-
10 nayaṁ kaka(ṛ)shyatha ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyāḥ-cha bhavishyatha [ī] Yē 
ch-āsmad-vaṁś-ōtpadya-
11 mánaka-rājānas-tair-iyam dattir-nna vilōpy-ānumōdanāya samuchita-rāj-ā-
12 bhāvya-kara-pratyāyā na grāhyāḥ [ī] Yaś-ch-aiṁāṁ dattim lōpayēt
sa paṭchabhiḥ

1 As regards Gen. Cunningham’s desire to identify Nāgādēya with the modern Nāgautū, see page 94 above, note 1.

2 santaka is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning of which is not apparent. It is perhaps identical in etymology with the Prākrit santaka, ‘belonging to,’ in asmat-santaka, ‘belonging to Us,’ which occurs in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, No. 55 below, line 8; and No. 56, line 93—in No. 29 below, line 7, we have the slightly different form, as a territorial term, of santaka.

3 From the original plates.

* Read rāj-augha.

Read viditaṁ vol.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 26, PLATE XVI.

Second Plate.

13 mahāpātakair-upapātakais=cha sanhyukt[ā] syān(d)=Uktam cha Mahā-
   bhārata bhagavāta
14 Vyāsena [10] Sva'-dattām para-dattām va yatnād-raksha Yudhishtīrā
   mahīm-mahāmatam śrēśṭhā
   Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya
   nārāṇḍrāṇām vidyatē n-ā-
17 subhā gatiḥ puyantē tē tu satatāṁ prayachhantāvasun-
   dharāṁ [11] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrā-
18 nī svarggā māḍatā bhūmi-dāḥ āchcbhēttā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva
   narakē vaśet [11]
19 Asvētāla(ya)nti pitarāḥ pravālgantī pitāmahāḥ bhūmi-dō-sama[t*]-kulē
20 jātaḥ sa nō(nāh)
21 tṛtā bhavihyati [11] Sarvva-sasya-samrīdhān-tu yō harēta vasun-
   dharāṁ Śva-viśhētyāṁ kṛmī-
22 r-bhūtvā pīṭhībhis-sahā majjati l(1) Samba(mva)tsara-ga(śa)te
   chatuh-
   saptatē Ashādha-masa-
23 sya chatuṛdaśamē dvāsē asyaṁ divasa-parvāyāṁ likhitam mayā
   bhōgika-Rājyī-
24 i-māṇya-nāpti-bhōgika-Dhruvadatta-purtta-bhōgika-Guṇjakirtitīp[ā] [11] Dōtak-
   āpārika
25 dīkṣhitā-ghrapati-ṣhayatisamrāt-Chchha(chha)vvaḍatta itī lī Samba(mva):
   70 4 Ashā
26 āha di lī 4 l(1)l

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From (the city or hill of) Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārāja Ōgnadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumārādeva, begotten on the Mahādēvī Kumārādevī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahādevī Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādevī Rāmadēvi.

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāja Jayanātha,—begotten on the Mahādēvī Ajjhitadēvī,—being in good health, issues a command to the

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1 Metre, Šloka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following five verses.
2 Supply tīkhau.
3 Supply īdsanam.
4 Read dīkṣha uparaika. — Dōtaka should be a word by itself, in the nominative singular; not in composition with uparaika.
5 The context is in line 5 l.,—"the Mahārāja Jayanātha …… issues a command." The genealogy that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.
6 See page 16 above, note 2.
7 The first part of this name, ajjhitā, must be a Prākrit word. There might be some temptation to correct it into the Sanskrit ājñhitā; but there is not the slightest approach to the vowel u below the final m of the preceding word dēyām, in any of the passages in which it occurs.—Gen. Cunningham read the name as Majjhitadeva; but this is incorrect, as there is no trace whatever of an anuvṛtra over the svā of dēyām, in any of the passages.—We have another Prākrit name in lījadēvī in line 5 of the Dē-Baraṣāṅk inscription of Jvita-gupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxivB.
8 kūtāsin; a technical expression of constant use in charters.
cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmaṇs, and to the artisans, at (the village of) Chhandāpalliṅka in the Nāgadeya santaka—.

(L. 6)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, this village will be granted to me, with the udṛanga and the upariṅka, (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, (but) with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves,—to the Brāhmaṇ Mitrasāmin, of the Kāerva gōra and the Vajasaneya-Mādhyamānina (yadha).

(L. 9)—"You yourselves shall render to him the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties† and taxes, and shall be obedient to (his) commands.

(L. 10)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) should be assented to; (and) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(L. 12)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 13)—And it has been said in the Mahābhārata by the venerable Vyāsa,—"O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Fathers (in the world of the dead) clap their hands upon their arms, (and) grandfathers leap (from joy), (saying)— 'A giver of land has been born in our family; he shall become our deliverer! He who confiscates land, rich in all (kinds of) grains, (that has been granted),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (into hell), together with (his) ancestors!"

(L. 21.)—In a century of years, together with the seventy-fourth (year), on the fourteenth day of the month Āśādha,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (Srī).†—(this charter) has been written by me, the Bhāgika Guṇjakirtti, the grandson of the Bhāgika, the Amātya Rājyila, and the son of the Bhāgika Dhruvadatta. The Dātaka (is) the Upariṅka, Dīkṣita,† householder,† and chief of architects,† Śravadda.

(L. 24.)—The year 100 (and) 70 (and) 4; (the month) Āśādha; the day 10 (and) 4.

† bhāgabhāga; lit. 'enjoyment of shares.' My rendering is on the authority of Monier Williams' explanation of bhāga-bhaju, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, by 'enjoying taxes; a king, sovereign.'

† See page 97 above, note 1.

† Dīkṣita; 'one who has received initiation, or by whom the preparatory ceremonies have been observed.'

† grihapati; 'the master of a house, a householder; a man of the second class, who, having finished his studies, is married and settled.'

† śrāppatsūrika; the meaning, however, is not quite certain. Perhaps it may mean 'superintendent of the attendants of the women's apartments.'
No. 27; PLATE XVII.

KHÔH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.

THE YEAR 177.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 13, No. 4, where he published a partial translation of it, with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 6),—is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh, in the Nagaudh State in the Baghêlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Raja of Nagaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 93" by 64", and the second 94" by 63". They are quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims; the inscription, however, is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters here and there show through faintly on the backs of them. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver’s tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring and seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 11 oz.—The average size of the letters is about 1/4. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of the same Mahârâja of the year 174, No. 26 above, Plate xvi. In rôjdnas, line 12, the vowel û is attached, in a very unusual way, to the top stroke of the j; instead of to the centre of it, as in rôj (for rôj), line 13; this occurs occasionally in other inscriptions also; and it is difficult to say whether it is an authorized variety of practice, or only a mistake on the part of the engraver. The letter r, in combination with a following consonant, is formed uniformly above the top line of writing. The characters include the rather rare jh, in ajjhta, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose, except for the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prâkrit word phulla, in line 10; and (2) in pratishtha-pitaka, line 9, and upadhyamânaka, line 12, the suffix ka, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in kkrâma, puttra, and pragâtpatra, line 9; and (2) the use of v for û, in vati, line 10.

The inscription is one of the Mahârâja Jayântâ; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and seventy-seven (A.D. 496-97), and the twenty-second day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is a Vaishnava inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahârâja Jayântâ, to some Brahmans, of the village of Dhavnabhandikâ, for the purposes of a temple of the god Vishnu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One, established by them there.

1 See page 93 above, and note 3.
TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Svasty-Uchchakalpan-maharaja-Aughadévas-tasya putrasya-tat-pád-anudhyátó mahá-
2 dévyām Kumárad[e*]jyám-utpánapo maharaja-Kumáradévas-tasya putrasya-
3 tat-p[a*]d-anudhyátó mahá-
4 dévyām Jayasváminyám-utpánapo maharaja-Jayasvámi(mI) tasya putrasya-
5 tat-p[a*]d-anudhyátó mahá-
6 dévy[a*]m Ajñhidévyám-utpánapo maharaja-Jayánáthah kuśali(lI)
Dhavhasándikáyá(mI*) vrá(brá)hma-
7 n-Adin-kuṭumvīr(mI)naḥ kárkāṁśa-cha samajñápayati [I*] Viditam vó-stu
8 yath-aisha grámod may-a
9 chand-árkka-samakálīkaḥ Śáśātanáyā-Sarvavādha-divirya-tatputtā-bhágavata-
10 Ganga-ta[t*]puttra-
11 RañkaBóta-Ajagaradās[a*]nāṁ svá-puny-ábhivyrdhayē bhágavat-pád[a*]bhyah
dév[a*]gráháro-tisrishta[h*] [I*]
12 ébhis-ch-áttā pratishtápikata-bhágavat-pádánāṁ puttra-[pautra*-]praputtra-
13 tatputtrā-ti(di)-kkramaṇa bhággā
14 phútta-pratisamśk[a*]r[e*]cha v(a)li-charu-sattra-pravarttan-ády-anushthánena
15 cha sva-puny-ábhivyrdhiih
16 karttavāya [lI*] Tē yóyam-éshāṁ samuchíta-sū[lI*]ka-bhágabhāga-kara-hirany-
17 ādī-pratyāy-ópanayanā
dhāmaratā bhágavatá vēda-vyāsēna
18 karīshyath-ájñā-srávaṇa-vidhéyah-cha bhavishyatha [I*] Yē ch-āsmad-
19 vānī-ótpadyamānaka-rājānas-tair-iyam
20 dattit*[r*]na[ṃ] vilonvā anumódan[lI*]ya samuchíta-rō(rā)j-ábhāvyā-kāpa-
21 pratāyā na gráhyā[h*]

Second Plate.

14 chōra-danda-vairyāś [nI] kāl-ánakālāṃ cha pratipālanīya [I*] Yās-ch-
15 aimāṁ dattiṁ lōpayēt-sa pa[mI*]cha-
bhir-mahāpátpakair-upāpátpakaiś-cha saṁyuktāḥ syād[a*] [lI*] Uktaṁ cha
mahābhāratā bhágavatā vēda-vyāsēna
16 Vyāsēna [I*] Svā-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yatnād-raksha Yudhishthira
mahā[mI*] mahamattaṁ śrēṣṭha dānāc-chhreya-nupāla-
17 nāṁ [II*] Prāyēna hi narendrapāṁ vidyate n-ā-subhā gatiḥ pūyatte(ntē) tē tu satatta[mI*] prayachchhantō vasundha-
18 rā[mI*] II Shastiṁ varsha-saharśrāpi śvargge mōdati bhūmi-dāl ī
dāchchhētā ca-anumantā ca tāny-[a*]vā narāk[ɛ*] va vasēt [lI*]

1 From the original plates.  8 Read bht-ňa.
2 Read śphuṭa.—Phuṭa is a regular Prákrti formation; but is not admissible in a Sanskrit passage.
3 This anusvāra is so high above the ya, that it seems to have been omitted at first, and inserted subsequently, somewhat at random.
4 Metre, Ślokā (Anuśṭubh); and in the following four verses.  6 Read sahasrāpi.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 27, PLATE XVII.

19 Bahubhir-vasudhā bhuktā rājahsis-Sagar-ādibhiḥ 1 rya(ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmīs-atasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [11*]
20 Sarvās-sasya-sāṃjīddhān-[1*]u yō harēta vasundhār[1*]a sa visṭhāyām kriṃ[1*]-bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha majya(jja)tē [11*]
21 Samvatsara-śatē sapta-saptay-uj[1*]rē Chaitra-māsā-divasē dvā
vināśatimē likhitam bhogika-Phālguṇādatt-Āmāya
22 mātya-naṭpra bhogika-Varahadina-puttra-sahihivaghiḥ-Gallūnā dāttak-riṣi-
23 pati-sthapatisaṃra-Chāhrravvadattaḥ Yatra-āghāṭah Dhānyavāhika
24 Durgammadala-pradēṣé pāli [1*] Suvarṇākakshaka-pradēṣé gopatha-
25 Amukha-pradēṣé gartā [1*] Dāramandala-pradēṣē(ṣē) pāli [1*] Vakra-
26 grāmē yavat-kōpaṇ praviṣṭā iti [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārājā Ōghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārājā Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahārājā Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārājā Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahārājā Jayasvāminī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārājā Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahārājā Ramadēvi.

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārājā Jayanātha,—begotten on the Mahārājā Ajjhitadēvi,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmaṇs, and to the artisans, at (the village of) Dhavashandikā:

(L. 6.)—“Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, (and) for the benefit of the feet of the Divine One,* this village is granted by me, as an agrahāra of the god, to continue for the same time with the moon and the sun, to the Divira Sarvavātha, of the Śāstānēya (gōtra) (?), and his son the Bhagavata Gaṅga, and his sons Rankabōta and Ajagarāḍāsa. And the increase of their own religious merit should be effected by the succession of (their) sons, [sons' sons*], sons of sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c., by repairing whatever may become broken or torn, and by attending to the

*Supply śāsanam.

*Read phaḷgu.—The name occurs again with the long vowel ā in the first syllable, in line 30 of No. 38 below, and line 11 of No. 30 below. But the correct form, with the short vowel a, occurs in line 28 of No. 31 below, page 137.

*Read mātya-naṭpra. The syllables mātya are repeated by mistake.

*Read dāṭaka āparika; see page 119 above, note 4.

*i. e. “for the benefit of the Divine One.”—Here, and in line 9 below, the words “the feet” are only used in accordance with the customary method of respectful mention. No reference is intended to any shrine containing ‘foot-prints’ of Vīshṇu, which would be denoted by the use of pada, not pāda. *

*Divira is a technical official title, explained by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 10) as meaning ‘a clerk, writer, or accountant,’ on the authority of a passage in the Lahaṃprakti of Kāhāmendra, which explains the details of written documents for the benefit of the Diviras.
maintenance of the bali, charu, sattra, and other (such rites), of the feet of the Divine One, established here by these persons.

(L. 11.)—"You yourselves shall render to these persons the offering of the tribute of the customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (their) commands.

(L. 12.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) should be assented to; (and), with the exception of fines imposed on thieves, the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken; and (this grant) should be preserved from time to time.

(L. 14.)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 15.)—And it has been said in the Mahabharata by the venerable Vyasa, the arranger of the Vedas,—"O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagar; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! He who confiscates land, rich in all (kinds of) grains, (that has been granted),—he becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks (into hell), together with his ancestors!"

(L. 21.)—In a century of years, increased by seventy-seven, on the twenty-second day of the month Chaitra, (this charter) has been written by the Sāmdhvigrāhika Gallu, the grandson of the Bhogika, the Amātya Phalgudatta, (and) the son of the Bhogika Varahadinnā. The Dūtaka (is) the Uparika, Dīkshita, householder, and chief of architects, Sarvadatta.

(L. 23.)—The boundaries in this matter (are),—in the direction of Dhānya-vāhika, (a boundary-trench and a bridge;—in the direction of Durgamaṇḍala, a

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1 See page 123 above, note 2.

2 dinna is rather a rare word. But it occurs again (1) as the second part of a proper name, in Indradhina, a Jain teacher (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. pp. 247, 251), and perhaps in Vīkriddina, in line 25 of the Mālīya grant of Dharaśeṇa II., No. 38 below (where, however, it may be a name by itself); (2) as a proper name by itself, in line 9 of the Nirmanda grant of the Mahādecanda and Mahārāja Samudraśeṇa, No. 80 below, Plate xliv, and in the case of a Jain teacher (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. pp. 247, 253); and (3) as the first component of the name of a village in Dinnāgārāma (Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v.). Also, we have a village or town named Dinḍaputra, either a mistake or a local variation for Dinnaputra, or more probably a mistake for Dinḍaputra, in line 54 of one of the Dhānī grants of Śładitya V. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 345; and Indian Inscriptions, No. 15.)

3 sthapatī-samraj; see page 120 above, note 5.

4 Dhānya-vāhika must have been a very common village-name in those parts, as the maps give 'Danwali,' 'Dhanwahi' (three times), 'Dhunwheee,' and 'Dhunwal,' all within a distance of thirty-two miles from Uchahārā, on the south-east, south, and south-west.

5 pālī; or 'a raised bank, dike, or causeway.'—This, also, if it did not occur five times in this passage, and in five different directions, might be taken as a village-name; since the maps give 'Pali,' thirty-seven miles north-west, and again seventy miles south by east, from Uchahārā.
bridge;—in the direction of Suvarnakakshaka, (partly) the place where the reeds grow by the cattle-path, and partly a bridge;—in the direction of Amuka, a boundary-trench;—in the direction of Dāramandala, a bridge;—(and) in the direction of the district at the entrance of Vakravana, a bridge;—(then the boundaries) enter the village. (again) at the well.

No. 28; PLATE XVIII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 193.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khoth, in the Nāgauḍa State in the Baghēlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rāja of Nāgauḍa, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which, so far as the inscription now published is concerned, are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 7\(\frac{2}{3}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{2}\), and the second, 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{2}\). The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. The plates are rather thick, and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is about 1\(\frac{3}{4}\) thick and 1\(\frac{3}{4}\) in diameter. It had not been cut when the grant came under my notice; but one end of it had been forced out of the socket of the seal, so that it could be detached from the plates. It appears, however, to be the ring properly belonging to these plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is rectangular, about \(\frac{1}{2}\) by \(\frac{1}{2}\). With the plates, it has been subjected to the action of fire, and has received considerably more injury than the plates. It can be seen, however, that it contains, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, Garuda, the bird-vehicle of Vishnu, with outstretched wings, just as on the copper-coins of Chandragupta II.; and below this, in two lines, the legend, very much damaged, Mahārāja Sa[r]va[n]tha.—The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs. 4 oz., and of the ring and seal, 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) oz.; total, 2 lbs. 6\(\frac{1}{4}\) oz.—The average size of the letters is about \(\frac{1}{2}\). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārttikā grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117 ff., and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare ṇh, in ajjhitā, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imperative verses in lines 22 to 28, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prakrit word phutta, in line 15; and (2) in anumōdītaka, line 13 f.; upariśkhitaka, line 14; pratishthātaka, line 14 f.; and

1gōpātha-sara, line 24; the meaning, however, is not quite certain.—sara, in one of its meanings, denotes the reed or grass called Saccharum Sara.

*See page 93 above, and note 3.
In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmantya, in sah-paichabhir, line 21; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in kårāni-cha, line 8; anta, in various forms, in lines 10 to 12; and vasā, line 18; (3) the constant doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g., in anukrama, line 13, krama, line 14; putra, line 1; satira, line 16; and askatrya, line 31; (4) the doubling of g, under the same circumstances, in vigraham, line 31; (5) the doubling of ḍ, in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyāta, lines 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6; (6) the occasional use of b for v, in ṇa (for ṇa), line 8; ṇa (for va) line 23; and sambatsara, line 29; and (7) the use of v for h, in vāli; line 16; and vaddhikrīta, line 31.

The first plate of this grant is a quasi-palimpsest. On the outer side of it there are traces of sixteen lines of writing, containing an inscription of the same Mahārāja Śarvanātha, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription. They have been so carefully beaten in that no impression of them is possible; and only detached words can be read here and there. But I could distinguish the names of Rāmadēvī, in line 4; Ajhijhakadēvī, in line 5; Jayanātha, in line 6; and Śarvanātha in line 7. And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words Tamasad-nadyā uttarapārê, between mahārāja-Sarvanathah kusalta and brāhmaṇ-adīn-kuśumbinah, in line 7.

The extant inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and ninety-three (A.D. 512-13), and the tenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is partly Vaishnava, and partly of solar worship; the object of it being to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Śarvanātha, of the village of Áramaka on the north bank of the river Tamasa, on the agreement between him and the grantees that it was to be applied to, amongst other things, the purposes of a shrine of Vishnu under the title of Bhagavat or the Divine One, and of a shrine of a god the name of which, as written, must be a mistake for Aditya, the Sun.

I have not been able to identify the village of Áramaka. But the river Tamasa is, of course, the modern ‘Tamasa’ and ‘Tons’ of maps, &c., which rises in the Mahiyar State, on the south of Nāgaudh, and, running through the north part of Rewah (properly Rīwām, or sometimes Rīmā) flows into the Ganges about eighteen miles to the south-east of Allahābād. And the mention of it, under circumstances which shew that Śarvanātha had territorial ownership over at any rate a certain village on its northern bank, is of importance, as giving evidence that the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa did belong to the part of the country in which their grants are found. The only other definite proof of this is, as noted above, page 111, the existence of the inscription mentioning both Hastin and Śarvanātha on the stone-pillar at Bhumārā.

TEXT.

First Plate.

Om Svasty-Uchchakalpat(n)-mahārāj-Aughadēvas-tasya putram-rat-pād-
Anuddhyātō mahādēvyā[n\*]

1 From the original plates.
Kumāradēvyām=uppanā maḥārāja-Kumāradēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānu.

3 ddhyātā mahādēvyām Jayasvāminyām=uppanā maḥārāja-Jayasvāmi tasya

4 puttras=tat-pād-anuddhyātā mahādēvyām Rāmadēvyām=uppanā maḥārāja-
Vyāghras=tasya

5 puttras=tat-pād-anuddhyātā mahādēvyām=Ajjhatadēvyām=uppanā maḥārāja-
Jayā-

6 nāthas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-anuddhyātā mahādēvyām Murundadēvyām= uppanā maḥārāja-

7 Śarvanātha kuśāl Tamasa=nadyā uttara-pārē Āśramaka brāhmaṇ-śa-

dīn=kutumbinas=sarvva-kārūṇe-cha samājñāpayati [1*] Viditam-bh(v)ō-stu

8 yath=aśīṣa

9 grāmọ maya-ś-chandra-ārkka-samakālikas=s-[ā*] draṅgas=s-oparikaraḥ a-chāta-

atō-

11 nīa-dvayaḥ Vishnunandināḥ aparā-py-anśaḥ Svāmināga-puttra-vanijja-

12 Śaktināgasya aparō-py-anśaḥ Kumāranāga-Skandāngayōḥ [1*] etat-pu-

ttra-[pautra*]-prapauttra-tatputtra-ādya-anukramenā[t] tāmra-śasanen-āti-

śrīṣtha[ḥ*] [1*] ebhir=ap[ḥ*] maya-[ā*]-

14 numōdītaḥ yath=oparilikhitaka-kkramen=aiva sva-puny-ābhivridhayē sva

prati-

shāhāpitaka-bhagavat-pādānām=ādītsā-bhāttāraka-pādānāḥ-cha khaṇḍa-phaṭṭa[1]

pratisam-

16 skāra-karanāya va(bh)li-charu-sattr-ṣattra-gandha-dhūpa-mālya-dlipa-pravarttanāya ch=

[ā*]śrīṣṭaḥ[1*]

Second Plate.

17 Ta(tē) yōyam-ēśahām samuchita-bhāgābhāga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratayya-ōpā-

18 naya[r*] karishyath-ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhyās=cha bhavishyatha [1*] Yē ch=

āsmd-vaṇs-ōtpadya-

19 mānaka-rājānas=tair=īyan-dattira-vilipyānumōdanīyā yath(ōth)-kālaḥ=cha

20 pratipālanyā samuchita-rāj-ābhāvyā-kara-pratayyās=cha na grāhyāḥ [1*] Yāh

21 ṯm=ān-dattίn-lōpayēt=sa-paṇchabhir[1*] mahāpātakair=upapātakais=cha saṁyukt[ḥ*]

22 syād-Uktaṇe-cha Mahābhāratē bhagavatā vēda-vyāsena Vyāsena [1*]

Sva=damī-ta=vra-datta-

1 Read aṃsāḥ.

2 We have to supply upabhōgyah, or some similar word, here.

3 Read ādītya. — ādītī is a regular formation, in the sense of ‘a desire to seize or take,’ from the desiderative of ād, ‘give,’ in composition with the prefix a. But it is not known as a proper name, and there can be no doubt that the engraver has written it by mistake for ādītya, ‘the sun.’

4 Read sṛṣṭi. See page 122 above, note 3.

5 This śaḥ is inserted below the ch=[ā*], from want of space at the end of the line.

6 Read ya imān=dattin lōpayēt=sa paṇchabhir.

7 Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following four verses.
23 m-bā(vā) yamād-raksha Yudhishṭhīra mahīm-mahīmatān-ehhrēshtha'
dānāc-ehhrēyō-nupālanam [II*]

24 Prāyčna(ṇa) hi narēndrānāṁ vidyatē n-[ā*]-subhā 'gatiḥ' pōyatē
tē tu sattāraṇī pra-

25 yachchhaṛtō vasunadhārā[m*] [II*] Bahubhir-vasudhā bhuktā rājabhis-
Sagar-adibhiḥ yasya

26 yasya yadā bhū(bhō)mis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [II*] Shashtiṁ
varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōda-

27 ti bhūmi-dāḥ ācchhēttā ch-anumantā ca tāny-ēva narakē vasēt-
Sarvva-sasya-saṃtri-

28 ddhān-tu yō harēta vasunadhārāṁ śva-vishhāyām krimir-bhūtvā pitribhis-
saha majjatē [II*]

29 Likhitam* samba(mva)tsara-śatē trī(trī)-navaty-uttarē Chaittra-māśa-divasē
dasamē
do bhōgika-Phālguḍattāmātya-naptrā bhōgika-Varāhadinna-puttrēpa mahā-

30 sāndhiviggrahika-Manorathēna [I*] Duṭak[ō*] rma(ma)hāva(bs)ādhihrita-

31 kṣaṭṭiṛīya-

32 Śivaguptaḥ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārājā ᪈ghadēva. His
son, who mediated on his feet, (was) the Mahārājā Kumārādēva, begun on the
Mahādēvī Kumārdēvi. His son, who mediated on his feet, (was) the Mahārājā
Jayasvāmin, begun on the Mahādēvī Jayasvāmini. His son, who mediated on
his feet, (was) the Mahārājā Vyāghra, begun on the Mahādēvī Rāmadēvi. His
son, who mediated on his feet, (was) the Mahārājā Jayanātha, begun on the
Mahādēvī Ajjhidēvi.

(Line 6.)—His son, who mediates on his feet, the Mahārājā Śarvanātha,—be-
gotten on the Mahādēvī Murundadēvi,*—being in good health, issues a command to
the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmaṇs, and to all the artisans, at (the village of)
Aśramaka on the north bank of the river Tamasā:—

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that this village is allotted by me, in four shares,
to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; with the udraṅga and the upari-
kara; (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular
troops. Out of them, two shares belong to Vīṣṇuṇandin; and another share belongs to
the merchant Śaktināgara, the son of Śvamināgara; and another share belongs to Kumāra-
ṅaga and Skandāṅga. It is given by (this) copper-plate charter, [to be enjoyed*] by the
succession of them and (their) sons, [ sons' sons*], sons of sons' sons, sons of the latter,
&c. Moreover, it is agreed by them (and) by me that it is given for the repairs, by the
above-mentioned succession (of them and their descendants), in order to increase their own
religious merit, of whatever may become broken or torn (in the shrines) of the feet† of the

1Read mahīmatān śrēṣṭhā.
2Read vāstē [II*] Sarvva.
3Supply īśānanam.
4Read pāḷgu. See page 123 above, note 2.
5This gu is very much blurred in the original, but is quite legible.
6In No. 29, line 6, and No. 31, line 6, she is called Murundasvāminī.
7See page 123 above, note 5
Divine One, established by them, and of the feet of the sacred Sun,\(^1\) and for the maintenance of the bali, charu, sattrā, perfumes, incense, garlands, and lamps.

\(^{(L. \, 17)}\) "You yourselves shall render to them the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, \&c., and shall be obedient to (their) commands.

\(^{(L. \, 18)}\) "And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) should be assented to, and should be preserved according to opportunity. (And) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

\(^{(L. \, 20)}\) "Whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins."

\(^{(L. \, 22)}\) —And it has been said in the Mahābhārata by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas,—"O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) better than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land, rich in all (kinds of) grains, (that has been granted),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (into hell) together with (his) ancestors!"

\(^{(L. \, 29)}\) —(This charter) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-three, on the tenth day of the month Chaitra, by the Mahāśāndhikivigrāhika Manoratha, the grandson of the Bhūgika, the Amātya Phalgudatta,\(^4\) (and) the son of the Bhūgika Varahadinna. The Dātaka (is) the Mahābalādhiṣṭita, the Kshatriya Śivagupta.

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**No. 29; PLATE XIX A.**

**KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.**

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 8, where he published a translation of it,\(^3\)—is on another copper-plate, the only one now forthcoming of an original set of two,\(^4\) that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khoth,\(^4\) in the Nāgāvath State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgāvath, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

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\(^1\) See page 123 above, note 5; and page 127, note 3.

\(^2\) See page 123 above, note 2.

\(^3\) But he wrongly took, as the continuation of it, the second plate of the grant of the same Mahārāja Sarvānatha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.

\(^4\) See page 132 below, note 3.

\(^4\) See page 93 above, and note 3.
The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about $\frac{9}{10}$ by $\frac{9}{6}$. The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of very fair preservation almost throughout. The plate is rather thin; but the letters are shallower than usual, and shew through only indistinctly on the back of it. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout. In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect it with the other that belonged to it. But the ring and its seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the plate is $10\frac{3}{4}$ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārttālā grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare jh, in ajjhita, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, the first plate only being extant, this portion of the inscription is in prose throughout. It has not been engrossed as carefully as was usual in inscriptions of this early date. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prakrit word phutja in line 12; and (2) in uparitikhitaka, line 10, and udpadyamānaka, line 15, the affix ka, that I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusodra, before k, in kārānt-cha, line 7, and vanaka, line 15; (2) the doubling of k, g, and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in anusukrama, line 10; ggrūma, line 8; and putra, line 1, and sattra, line 13; (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyāta, lines 1 to 5; and (4) the use of v for b, in vali, line 13.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa. The date is lost, in the second plate. The inscription is apparently Vaishnava; the object of it being to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Śarvanātha, of half of the village of Dhavasandikā, on the agreement between him and the grantees that it should be applied to, amongst other things, the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pishtapurikādevī.

This village of Dhavasandikā seems to be the same one that was granted by the Mahārāja Jayanātha, in the year 177, as recorded in No. 27 above, page 121, for the purposes of a temple of the god Vishnu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One. And the present assignment of half of it specially for the purposes of a temple of Pisha purikādevī, furnishes one item of proof that this goddess was a form of Lakṣmī, the wife of Vishnu.¹

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

1 Ōm Svasty-Uchchakalpāt(m)=mahārāj-Aughadēvas-tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō mahādēvyām
2 Kumāradēvyām-utpannō mahārāj-Kumāradēvas-tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō
3 mahādēvyā[m*] Jayasvāmyām-utpannō mahārāj-Jayasvāmi tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānun-
4 ddhyātō mahādēvyā[m*] Rāmadēvy[â*]m-utpann[ō*] mahārāj-Vyāghras-tasya puttras-tat-p[â*]j-ānuddhyātō

¹ See also page 113 above, note 2.  # From the original plate.
5 mah[a*]dêvyâm-Ajhitadêvyâm-[u*]tpannô mahâraja-Jayanâthas-tasya
putras-tat-p[a*]d-ânuddhyâ-

6 tâ "mahâdâ(dê)vyâ[mh*]" Murû(ru)çasvâminyâm-utpannô mahâraja-
Satvânâtha[kh kußall Vôta-

7 santika-Dbavashandik-ârddhê brâhmañ-âdln-kuçumbinas-sarvva-kârûns-châ
samâjâtâpayati [1]

8 Viditâ[r vô-stu yath-aisha ggrâm-ârddhô may-â-chandr-ârkka-sama-
kâlikâ(kas-)<s-<[a*]drangâk
9 s-ôparikarah a-châ[a*]-ba-òprâvësya[h*] sarvva-karû-tyaga[h*] dr(s)-ôtpadya-
mânaka-pui(pra)tyâya-

10 samêta[ [. Chhôjegomika[ êtat-pu[.kautûna[]*]-prapu[.tattu[tu]-ådy-anu-
kkramêna* tâmrâ.*

11 sísanê[-atîsirshat[ [1*]. Anên-[ü]pî may-ânûmodita[r yath-ôpari-
likhitaka-

12 kkramêpaiva bhagavatya[h *], Pishâpurik[a*]-dêvyâh khanḍa-phùttâ[-
pratisamâkâra-

13 karanâya va(bâ)li-charu-sattu-pradh]hartanâya[ ch-atîsirshës-Të yôyam-
êshâ[r

14 samuchita-bhâgabhôga-kara-hirany-ådi-pratyâ-ôpanaya[mh*] karishyath-åjñâ-
-srava-

15 na-vidhyâs-cha bhavishyatha [1*] Yê ch-åsmad-vans-ôtpadyamânaka-
râjhdas-tair-îya[mh*]

16 dattir-na vilôky(pý)-a[.-]numôdanîyâ

(The second plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahâraja Òghadêva. His
son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahâraja Kumàrâdêva, begotten on the
Mahâdevi Kumâradêvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahâraja
Jayasvâmin, begotten on the Mahâdevi Jayasvâmini. His son, who meditated on his
feet, (was) the Mahâraja Vyâgrha, begotten on the Mahâdevi Râmâdêvi. His son,
who meditated on his feet, was the Mahâraja Jayanâtha, begotten on the Mahâdevi
Ajhitadêvi.

This anuvôda is omitted also in line 6 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and thus, as Monier
Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives Urûndha as a proper name of a demon and of a man, as
well as Murûndha, we might have read mahâdevyâm-Urûndhasvâminyâm. In line 6, however, of the
newly-discovered grant, No. 28 above, page 127, the reading is very distinctly mahâdevyâm
Murûndhasvâminyâm.

Read sarvva-kara-tyâgah.

Read gûmikâya.

We have to supply upabhôgyah, or some similar word, here.

Read tâmra.

See line 11 of No. 31 below, page 137, and Plate xx., in which the long vowel â was duly en-
graved, and is quite distinct.

Read ajñâ. See page 122 above, note 3.

Read prasvâtrendsya.
(Line 5.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Maharaja Sarvanātha,—begotten on the Mahādēva Murunḍāsvāmini,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmaṇa, and to the artisans, in half of (the village of) Dhavashanḍikā in the Vōta saṃtīka.—

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that this half village is, by (this) copper-plate charter, given to Chhōḍugōmika, [to be enjoyed*] by the succession of him and (his) sons, sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c.,—to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; with the udranga and the uparikāra; (with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; with remission of all the taxes; (and) with such tribute as may accrue. And it is agreed by him (and) by me, that it is granted for the purpose of the repairs, by the above-mentioned succession (of him and his descendants), of whatever may become broken or torn, belonging to the divine goddess Pishtapurikādevī, and for the maintenance of the bāli, charu, and satra.

(L. 13.)—"You yourselves shall render to these persons the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (their) commands.

(L. 15.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) should be assented to."

(The rest of this inscription, on the second plate, is not forthcoming.)

No. 30; PLATE XIX B.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 197.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 14, No. 6, where he published a partial translation of it,* with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (id. Pl. iv. No. 7),—is on another copper-plate, the only one forthcoming of an original set of two,* that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khoḥ, in the Nāgadh State in the Baghēlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examin—

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*In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called Murunḍādevī. In No. 31 below, line 6, page 136, the termination of her name is suṃmī as here.

*But he wrongly treated it as the continuation of the first plate of the grant of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.

*The grant of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx., furnishes another instance, similar to that of the grant, the date of which is lost, No. 29 above, page 129, in which the last line of the first plate is left half blank. And, so far as the context goes, this inscription might be taken as the continuation of No. 29. But the edges of this plate are rounded off more; the copper is of a totally different quality, thickness, and weight; and the characters, though of just the same period, differ very much in details of execution,—notably in the visarga, e.g. in gṛddhā, line 2, guptā, line 13, and ṣṭakā, line 14, as contrasted with niṭṭā in line 6, s[ī]ṛṛaṇaḥ in line 8, and saṃsā in line 10, of No. 29, Plate xixA. And there can, on the whole, be no doubt that in Plate xixA. and B. we have the first and second plates of two separate grants; not one entire grant.

*See page 93 above, and note 3.
atation, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgaur, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 7 7/8" by 5 5/8". The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters are rather deep, and shew through clearly on the back of it. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout. In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect it with the other that belonged to it. But the ring and its seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the plate is 1 3 oz.—The average size of the letters is between 1/16" and 1/8".

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārhalā Grant of the Mahārāja Jāyanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 177, and Plate xvi.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benefactive and imprecatory verses in lines 4 to 10, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmānīya, in saḥ-paṃchabhīr, line 2; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in viniṣṭi, line 11; (3) the doubling of g and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in vīgraḥita and puṭrēṇa, line 12; (4) the use of b for v, in bd, line 4, and sambatsara, line 10; and (5) the use of v for b, in valḍḍhikṛita, line 13.

The first plate, containing the name of the Mahārāja and the place whence the charter was issued, is lost; but the date, and other details at the end, shew that the inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha of Ucchakalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and ninety-seven (A.D. 516-17), and the twentieth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Aśvayujā (September-October.) The details of the grant are lost, in the first plate.

**TEXT:**

(The first plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

**Second Plate.**

1. Yathā-kal[a]ḥ=cha pratipālanīya[1*] samuchita-rāj-abhāvya-kara-pratīdayās-
   chaḥ?
2. na grāhyāḥ[2*] Ya imān-dattin-lōpayēt-saḥ=paṃchabhīr=mahāpātakair-
   upapāta-
3. kaiś=cha saṃyuktas=ṣyād-Uktāḥ=cha Mahābhāratē bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna
   Vyāsēna[3*] .
4. Sva*-dattām=para-dattām-bā(va) yatnād-raksha Yudhisṭhīrā mahīm-
   mahīmataḥ=chhrēṣṭhaḥ[4*] dānā-
5. ch=chhrēyō-nupālana[mh*][1*] Prāyēṇa(na) hi narēndrānām vidyātē
   n=[a*]-subhā gatiḥ pūya-

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1 From the original plate.  
2 Read cha.  
3 Read dattin lōpayēt=sa paṃchabhīr.  
4 Metre, Śīka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following four verses.  
5 Read mahīmataḥ īrēṣṭha.
TRANSLATION.

"And, according to opportunity, it should be preserved. And the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(Line 2.)—"Whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins.""

(L. 5.)—And it has been said in the Mahābhārata, by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas,—"O Yudhishtīra, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) is more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Saγara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land, rich in all (kinds of) grains, (that has been granted),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (into hell) together with (his) ancestors!"

(L. 10.)—(This charter) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-seven, on the twentieth day of the month Aśvayuja, by the Mahāśāṃdhīvīgrahika Manoratha, the grandson of the Bhōgika, the Aṃtāya Phalgudatta, (and) the son of the Bhōgika Varāhadinna. The Dūtaka (is) the Mahāśāṃdhīvīkṛta Śivagupta. Moreover, the Dūtaka to an additional writer for the remission of the fines on the water-pots, (is) the Uparika Mātrīśīva.

1 Supply āsananam.
2 We should perhaps correct this into vināśitamē, as the base vināśitama seems to be properly used only when in composition with another numeral, e.g. dvēd-vināśitama, in No. 27 above, line 21, page 123. But vināśitama, by itself, occurs again in line 18 of the Goa grant of Satyārāya-Dhruvārāja-Indravarmān (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365.)
3 Read phalgu; see page 123 above, note 2.
4 See page 123 above, note 2.
5 See page 100 above, note 3.
6 The meaning of haśir-dārā is not apparent.
No. 31; PLATE XX.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 214.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 14 and 16, Nos. 6 and 8, where he published a translation of it,1 with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (id. Pl. iv. No. 8),—is on another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khol,2 in the Nagaud State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 8½" by 6", and the second 8½" by 5½". The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and, though the plates are here and there worn quite through by rust, the inscription is in a state of very good preservation almost throughout. The plates are rather thin; and the letters shew through on the backs of them so clearly that in many places they can be read there. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring, with the seal attached to it, is not now forthcoming; having been abstracted by slitting the plates from the ring-holes to the edges.—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 2 oz. —The average size of the letters is about 1/4". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārtitāl grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare jh in ajjhita, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 20 to 27, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in uppanaka, line 9; upadaya-mānakā, lines 9 and 16; and kārītaka, line 11, the affix ka, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmanya, in sah-panchabhir, line 18; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvara, before s and h, in vastra, line 16, and sanhitd, line 19; and (3) the doubling of g and t, in conjunction with a following r, in viggrahika, line 29, and putra, lines 1 to 5; but not in putra-pautra, line 12.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchalkalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year two hundred and fourteen (A.D. 533-34), and the sixth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pauṣha (December-January). It is apparently a Vaishnava inscription; the object of it being to record the sanction of the

1 But he wrongly attached No. 30 above, with the date of 197, to the first plate of this grant, and took the second plate of this grant as the continuation of No. 29 above.

2 See page 93 above, and note 3.
Maharaja Sarvanatha to the transfer, among private grantees, of two villages named VyåghrapalliKa and KåcharapalliKa in the Maninaga p³ika, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pishtapurikâdevî at the town of Mânâpura.

This town of Mânâpura is possibly the modern Mânpur, near the river Sôp, about forty-seven miles in a south-easterly direction from Uchaharâ, and thirty-two miles south-east of Kârâtalâl. And, if this identification is accepted, we have here another item of evidence tending to connect the Maharajas of Uchchakalpa with the part of the country in which their grants are found. But it is obviously not of as much force as the two points to which I have previously drawn attention; viz. the existence of the inscription of Hastin and Sarvanatha on the pillar at Bhumarâ, No. 24 above, page 110; and the mention of the river Tamasâ, in Sarvanatha's grant of the year 193, No. 28 above, page 125, in such a way as to show that he had actual territorial ownership over at any rate a certain village on the northern bank of that river. As regards the present passage, it is not so conclusive, because a Maharaja might very well make a grant of land within his territory to a temple outside it. At the same time, that temple would not be far distant from his own domains.

TEXT. 1
First Plate.

1 Om Svasty-Uchchakalp[â]In=maharaja-Aughadévas-tasya puttras-tat-pád-
   ánudhyáto mahádevyá[m]*
2 KumáradévyÁm-utpannO maharaja-Kumáradévas-tasya putt[r]*as=tat-pád-
   ánudhyáto
3 mahádevyá[m]* Jayasvámini-utpannO maharaja-Jayasvámi tasya
   puttras-tat-pád-Á.
4 nádhyáto mahádevyÁm RámadévyÁm-utpannO maharaja-Vyåghras-tasya
   putt[r]*as=tat-pád-ánudhyá.
5 tO mahádevyÁm-AjñhitadévyÁm-utpan[m]*d maharaja-Jayanåthas-tasya
   puttras-tat-pád-Ánu-
6 dhyáto mahádevyÁ[m]* Murupåsasvámini-utpannO maharaja-
   Sarvanåthah kuśàll Mani-
7 nága-pêthê Vyåghrapallika-Kåcharapallika-grámayO[r]*-bráhmañ-AdIt(n)-
   prativásinah,*
8 samájñápayati [i*] Vidita[m]* vó-stu yath-aisha(tau) grámau mâyà
   s-ôdrañgau s-ôparikarau
9 a-chåta-båtha-právåsyó(syau) råj-ábhåvya-sarva-kara-pratyåy-é(ò)tpannak-ôtpadya,
   mândaka-samó[mel] .
10 tau á-chand-årkka-samákålikau chûra-ta(da)ôça-varjîttau Pulindaôhåtsasya
   pras[â]*dikritau

1 The 'Manpoor, Manpora, and Mânpur,' of maps; &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat.
23° 46' N.; Long. 81° 11' E.
2 From the original plates.
3 See page 131 above, note 1.
4 This visarga is imperfect, only the upper part of it having been engraved.
5 The stroke at the bottom of this ndra, which gives it somewhat of the appearance of ndra,
   seems to be due to a slip of the engraver's tool.
Second Plate.

16 Y[ē*] ch=āsvas=ātsprayānaka-rāja=sair=iyām datt[i[r*]-nna vilopyā yathā-kāla[m*] sa[m*]varṛdha-

17 nly-anumōdanlyā paripālanlyā, cha [h*] rāj-ābhavā-kara-pratyāyā[ḥ*] sarve na grāhyā[ḥ*] [I*]

18 Yaś=ch=aitam dattin lopayet-saḥ-panchabhirī=mahāpatakahсор=upapatakais=cha sanvyuktō bhūyā-

19 d-Ukta=cha Mahābhāratē satasaḥrasṛ[ā*]ṁ sanhitāyaṁ param-arsaṁ Parāsā-sutēna

20 vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [I*] Pūrvva=datṛtam dvījātibhyō yatnād-raksha Yudhisṭhira mahī[m*] mahi-

21 vataś śresṭhā dānāk-chhrēyō=nupālanam [I*I] Prayēṇa hi narēndrānām vidyate n-[ā*]-subhā-

22 gatiḥ pūyyatnte tē tta(tu) satatrām prayachchhantō vasų[nṛdharāṁ] [I*I] [Bahubhir=vvasa*]dhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhis[ḥ*]

23 yasā yasa yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [I*I] Shashti-varsha-sahasṛapi

24 svargge mōdati bhūmi-dābh ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāṇy-ēva narakē vaset [I*I] Sva-da-

25 ttāṁ para-dattām va yō harēta vasundharā[m*] śva-visṛṭhāyām kṛimir-bhūtva pitṛbhīsūnāha

26 majjatā [I*I] A-pānlyēshv-aranyēshu sushka-kōta[ra*]vāsinaḥ kṛishṇ-āhayō hi jā-

27 yamte pūrvva-dāyaṁ harantī ye [I*I] Likhitāṁ sa[m*]vatsara-satadvayē chaturṛddas-ōttarē

28 Pausha-maśa-divasē shaphṭhē(śḥthē) Phalgudatt-āmātya-pranapt[r*]ā Varāha-

29 Mādratha-sutēna sāndhivigrahaka-Nāthēna [I*I] Dūtakō Dhrīti-

Read pīkṣṭa.  
*Read sa pānchabhir.  
Metre, Śūka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following five verses.  
*Read mahimatāṁ.  
Supply tāsanam.
TRANSLATION.

Oṃ! Hail! From Uchchakalpa; (There was) the Mahārāja Öghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādevī Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahādevī Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādevī Rāmadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayanātha, begotten on the Mahādevī Ajjitadēvi.

(Line 6.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāja Šarvanātha,—begotten on the Mahādevī Muruçdasvāmini,—being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brāhmaṇas, at the villages of Vyāghrapallika and Kācharapallika in the Maṇināga pātha:—

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that these two villages were bestowed, as a mark of favour, upon Pulindabhaṭa,—with the udvanga and the uparihara; (with the privilege that they were not to be) entered by the irregular or the regular troops; with whatever had (by custom) accrued or might accrue in connection with the tribute of all the taxes which should not belong to the king; to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; (but) with the exception of (the right to) fines imposed on thieves. And now they are granted by him to Kumārasvāmin, to be enjoyed by the succession of (his) sons and sons' sons, for the purpose of the worship of the divine goddess Pishtrapurikādevī at the temple which he has caused to be built at (the town of) Mānapura, and for the purpose of repairing whatever may become broken or torn. And, by (this) copper-plate charter, they have been assented to by me, according to the rule of bhūmichchhiddra."

(L. 14.)—"You yourselves, understanding (this), (and) being obedient to (their) commands, shall render the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, dētā, "revenue," &c.

(L. 16.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) according to opportunity should be increased (and) assented to and preserved. And nośe of the tribute of the taxes which should not belong to the king, should be taken.

(L. 18.)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant, he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins.

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1In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called Muruqādēvī. In No. 29 above, line 6, page 131, the termination of her name is subāmin, as here.
2bhūmichchhiddra, lit. "a fissure (furrow) of the soil," is a technical fiscal expression of constant occurrence in inscriptions. Dr. Bühler has recently discovered the meaning of it, in Yadavaprakāśa's Vaiṣayantī, in the Vaiśiyādīśnya, verse 18, where it is explained by krishya-yāgyā bhūth, "land fit to be ploughed or cultivated."
3dētā is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not apparent. It is derived either from vd, "to blow," or vās, "to become dried or withered," in composition with the prefix d.—The more usual expression is simply vāda; e.g. sa-vāda-bhūta-dhānya-hirany-ādīya, in line 26 of the Mālyā grant of Dharasēna II., No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.
4dēyā, lit. "that which comes in; income," is now a technical fiscal term for "the customary dues of the hereditary village-officers and servants." — It is, however, not quite certain that it had this special meaning in the early inscriptions.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 32, PLATE XXIA.

(L. 19.)—And it has been said in the Mahabhārata, in the Satasāhasrī Samhita, by Vṛṣṇi, the arranger of the Vēdas, the supreme sage, the son of Pārśāra,— "O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (seriously) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by [many] kings, commencing with Sāgara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another,—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (into hell) together with his ancestors! Those who confiscate a previous grant, are born (again) as black serpents, inhabiting the dried-up hollows of trees, in desert places destitute of water!"

(L. 27.)—(This charter) has been written in two centuries of years, increased by fourteen, on the sixth day of the month Pausha, by the Śāṅkhu-vigrāhika Nāṭha, the great-grandson of the Āditya Phalugudda; the grandson of Varāhadinna; (and) the son of Manḍratha. The Dātaka (is) Dṛṣṭisvāmika.

No. 32; PLATE XXIA.

MEHARAULI POSTHUMOUS IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA.

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. III. p. 404, where Mr. James Prinsep published a lithograph of it (id. Plate xxx.), reduced from a facsimile made in 1831 by Lieutenant William Elliot, 27th Regiment N. I. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it does not represent a single letter of the original correctly, and is quite unintelligible from beginning to end.—In 1838, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 629 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published a much improved lithograph (id. Plate xxxiii.), reduced from an ink-impression made in the same year by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own reading of the text and a translation of it.1—And finally, in 1875, in the Jour. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 63 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published a revised version of the text and translation, including the correct reading of the king's name as Chandra, with a lithograph which appears to have been reduced from a copy on cloth made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī.²

Meharauli, or Mēharauli,³—an evident corruption of Mihirapura,—is a village

2 This paper was published in 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 15th April 1871.
3 The 'Maharoli, Mahroli, and Muhroulee,' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 31' N.; Long. 77° 14' E.—The pillar has always been known as the "Dehli Pillar;" and I think the name of the village in which it really stands, so important because of its obvious derivation, viz. Mihirapura, 'the city of the sun, or of the Mihiras,' was not put on record, in connection with the inscription, until I noticed it (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 362.)
nine miles almost due south of Dehi, the chief town of the Dehi District in the Pañjab. The inscription is on the west side of a tapering iron column, sixteen inches in diameter at the base and twelve at the top, and twenty-three feet eight inches high, standing near the well-known Kutb Minar in the ancient fort of Ray Pithorâ within the limits of this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about $2' 9''$ broad by $10' 3''$ high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout, owing, of course, to the nature of the substance on which it is engraved. The bottom line of the inscription is about $1' 2''$ above the stone platform round the lower part of the column. The engraving is good; but, in the process of it, the metal closed up over some of the strokes, which gives a few of the letters a rather imperfect appearance in the lithograph; this is especially noticeable in the $s$ of the opening word yasyd, and in the $r$ of urad in the same line.—The size of the letters varies from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving in so hard a substance as the iron of this column, they approximate in many respects very closely to those of the Allahabâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i. But, as a distinguishing feature, we have to notice the very marked mārḍa, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, which we have already observed in the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 above, page 43, and Plate v.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anuvāra, before $t$, in prântu, line 6; (2) the doubling of $t$, in conjunction with a following $r$, in satru, line 1; and (3) the very unusual omission of the second $t$, which is formative and not due to the preceding $r$, in mārtyd for mārtyd, and kirtyd for kirtydy, line 3.

The inscription is a posthumous eulogy of the conquests of a powerful king named Chandra, as to whose lineage no information is given. It is not dated.1 It is a Vaishnava inscription; and the object of it is to record the erection of the pillar, which is called a dhuja, or ‘standard,’ of the god Vishnu, on a hill called Vishnupada, i.e. “(the hill that is marked with) footprints of Vishnu.”

As regards this hill named Vishnupada, and the question whether it should be identified with that part of the Dehi Ridge on which the column stands,—the actual position of the column is in a slight depression, with rising ground on both sides; a position

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1 Mr. Prinep allotted this inscription to the third or fourth century A.D.; and Dr. Bhau Daji, to a period later than the time of the Guptas. Mr. Fergusson (Indian Architecture, p. 508), drawing special attention to the Persian form of the capital, expressed a conviction that the inscription is one of the Chandraguptas of the Early Gupta dynasty, and consequently belongs to A.D. 363 or 409. My own impression at first, on independent grounds, was to allot it to Chandragupta I., the first Mahârâja of the family, of whose time we have as yet no inscriptions; and I should not be surprised to find at any time that it is proved to belong to him. The only objection that I can see, is that it contains no reference to the Indo-Scythians, by overthrowing whom the Early Guptas must have established themselves. But, having regard to the name of the village at which the pillar is, it is also possible that the inscription is one of the younger brother of Mihirakula, whose name is not mentioned by Hissen Tsiang.

2 Compare dhâvastra-stambha, ‘flag-staff,’ as applied to the Ëra column in line 9 of No. 19 above. There is another iron column, at Dhâr, the ancient Dhârâ, now the chief town of the Dhâr State in Central India. But there is no ancient inscription on it; unless it is completely hidden under, and destroyed by, a Persian inscription that was engraved on it when the Musalmâns conquered that part of the country.
which hardly answers to the description of its being on a giri or ‘hill.’ And this, coupled with the tradition that the column was erected, in the early part of the eighth century A.D., by Asaṅghāla, the founder of the Tōmara dynasty,¹ lays it quite open to argument whether this is the real original position of the column, or whether, like the Asōka columns at Dehli, and possibly the Asōka (and Gupta) column at Allahābād, it was brought to where it now stands from some other place. But the fact that the underground supports of the column include several small pieces of metal “like bits of bar-iron,”² is in favour of its being now in its original position; as they would probably have been overlooked, and left behind, in the process of a transfer.

**TEXT.**

1 Yasya-ôdvartayañ-a pratipam=urasã ñattrôn=samét-y-agatán=Vaṅgēśhv=âhava= varttinô=bhiliiktâ khadgêna krttir-bhujê
tirtvâ sapta mukhâni yêna.... samarê Sindhôr-jjítat Vâhlikâ³ yasya= ádyâpy= adhivaysatê (jalanîdhir=vvrîyy-ñ-nilair=ddakshinâh [I*]
Khinnasya-éva visriyâ gâm narpater-ggâm=âsritaya-êтарân mûnt[t*]yâ karmma-jit-avânin gatavatah krt[n*]yâ sthitasya kshitiu
tântasya-éva mahâ-vanê hutabhujô yasya pratâpô mahân=n=adyâpy= utsrîjat prapâśita-rîpôr=yyâtaysa seashah kshitiuit [I*]
5 Prâptêna sva-bhuj-àrjitañ-cha suchirañ=chàikâdhiriyam kshitiu Chandr- áhvena samagra-chandra-sadhùnì vaktra-śriyam bibhratâ
tên-âyant prânidhàya bhûmipatinâ dhâvêna³ Vishnô(sha)u matîm prânsur= Vvishnupadê girau bhagavatô Vishnûr-dhvajañ sthâpitah [I*]

**TRANSLATION.**

He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when in battle in the Vaṅga countries, he kneaded (and turned) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (him)³—he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vâhlikas⁴ were conquered;—he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed;—

(Line 3.)—He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (his) enemies, like (the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a burned-out fire in a great forest, ever now leaves not the earth; though he, the king, as if wearied, has quitted this earth, and has gone to the other world, moving in (bodily) form to the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions, (but) remaining on (this) earth by (the memory of his) fame;—

³ From the original pillar.
⁴ From the original pillar.
⁵ Prânsa also read vâhlikâ; but Bhau Daji, varying in also the first syllable, read adhikâ. In the first akshara, the v is imperfect on the right side, through the closing up of the metal. In the second akshara, the h is turned in the opposite direction to that in which it is turned in ñhava, line 1 and mahânañ and mahô, line 4. But, that the akshara is hî, not hî, is certain; because l can only be ñurned to the left; whereas, at this period, h was formed sometimes to the left and sometimes to the right; and, in the present inscription, it is turned to the right, as here, again in hutabhujô, line 4, and dhâvêna, line 5.
⁶ See page 143 below, note 2.
⁷ See note 5 above.
(L. 5.)—By him, the king,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty
in the world, acquired by his own arm and (enjoyed) for a very long time; (and) who, having the name of Chandra, carried a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full-moon,—having in faith fixed his mind upon (the god) Vishnu, this lofty standard of the divine Vishnu, was set up on the hill (called) Vishnupada.

No. 38; PLATE XXI B.

MANDASOR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN.

This inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 253 ff., is another record from Mandasor, or more properly Dasor, the chief town of the Mandasor District of Scindia’s Dominions in the Western Malwa division of Central India. With the inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarma, No. 18 above, page 79, and Plate xi., it was discovered in 1884, in the search made under my direction, in consequence of my having seen the hand-copy of the next inscription, No. 34, that had been sent by Mr. Arthur Sulivan to General Cunningham in 1879; the present inscription had escaped Mr. Sulivan’s notice. Like the next inscription, it is on one of a pair of magnificent monolith columns, apparently of very close-grained and good sandstone, lying in a field immediately on the south side of a small collection of huts, known by the name of Sōdāl or Sōndāl, but not shewn in the maps as a separate village, between two and three miles to the south-east of Mandasor.

1 aíchārājya; lit. ‘the condition of being the sole Adhirāja.’—Adhirāja, lit. ‘supreme king,’ is a technical feudal title, probably denoting the same rank as Mahārāja. It occurs, for instance, in line 5 of the Byāna inscription of the Adhirāja Vijaya (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 10). Its derivative, dhārāja, however, is here used in a general and non-technical sense, in accordance with its original etymological meaning.

2 In line 6, dhāvina, as read by Prinsep, is what is really engraved; not bhavina, as read by Bhau Daji. But, as dhāv, ‘cleansing, washing, making bright, polishing,’ appears to be used only in composition, the word seems to be a mistake for bhavina, which is equivalent to the bhaktiya of, for instance, line 5 of No. 6 above, page 35; and this is borne out by the position of the word in the text.—The engraving of the rest of the inscription, however, is so very correct, that it is just possible that future researches may even yet shew that Dhāva is a proper name here, as it was interpreted by Prinsep. In that case, Dhāva, as another name of a king called Chandra, might be compared with Kāga, which I have intimated (page 27 above, note 4) may be a familiar and less formal name of Samudragupta.—In line 5 I have arranged my translation according to the order of the words in the text. But, assuming that the composer’s arrangement of them was due to metrical exigencies, we might translate—(and) who, carrying a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full-moon, had (in consequence) the name of Chandra;2 and thus obtain a hint that the king’s original name was not Chandra.

3 See page 79 above, and note 1.

4 About fifty yards away to the west of these two inscribed columns, in the next field, I turned up the lower part of another large sandstone column. The base is rectangular, about 3’ 6” high by 3’ 4” square. The shaft, of which only a length of about 2’ 0” remains attached to the base, is circular, about 3’ 4” in diameter; and, instead of being plain like the two inscribed columns, it is carved all over with cross-lines into diamond-shaped knobs. I had the field excavated all round this column, but could find no traces of the rest of the shaft, or of the other parts of. From its different pattern, it can have no connection with the two inscribed columns.
The column with the present inscription lies, partially buried, north and south, with the top to the north. The base of it is rectangular, about 3' 4" square by 4' 5" high; and, as there is no socket at the bottom to indicate that it was fitted into any masonry foundation, this part must have been buried when the column stood upright. From this base there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8½" broad where it starts from the base; part of the shaft, about 17' 0" in length, is still connected with the base, making the length of this fragment about 21' 5"; and the present inscription, occupying five of the sixteen faces, is on this fragment, the bottom line being about 2' 2" above the top of the base. Immediately in continuation of this, there lies the remainder of the shaft, about 17' 10" long; at the upper end of this, the faces are each about 7" broad, shewing that the column tapers slightly from bottom to top. The upper end of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews these two fragments make up the entire shaft, the total length of which was thus about 39' 3", or 24' 10" above the base. This column appears to have broken naturally in falling, and not to have been deliberately divided, as the other was, in the manner described below. The next part of this column, the lower part of the capital, lies about forty yards away to the north, close up to the hedge of the hamlet, and is a fluted bell, about 2' 6" high and 3' 2" in diameter, almost identical in design with the corresponding part of a small pillar from an old Guptan temple at Sāñchi, drawn by General Cunningham in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. Plate xxii. No. 1. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11" in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. About twenty-five yards south of this, and fifteen yards north of the column, I found a flat stone buried in the ground, just level with the surface; and, on excavating it, it proved to be the next portion, the square upper part of the capital. It measures about 2' 8" high by 3' 10" square; the vertical corner edges are trimmed off. I could not get at the bottom of it; but there must be there a socket-hole, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came below it. I only exposed one side of it; but this was sufficient to shew that it is a lion-capital, exactly like the capital of the other column, noticed more fully below. On the top surface of it, there is in the centre a circular socket-hole about 1 ½" in diameter and 4" deep, with eight other rectangular socket-holes round it, one in the centre of each side, and one opposite each corner. The total length of this column, up to the top of the lion-capital, is about 44' 5"; or forty feet above the ground, if it stood with the entire base buried. The square lion-capital must have been surmounted by a statue or statues, of the same kind as that which stands on the summit of the column at Éran\(^1\) which has on it Budha-gupta's inscription, No. 19 above, page 88; but I cannot feel sure of having found it. I found, indeed, in the same field, towards the west side, in three pieces, a very well executed sandstone bas-relief slab, 9' 0" high, with a rectangular pedestal 3' 2" broad by 1' 8" deep and 8" high, of a male figure, standing, somewhat larger than life-size, wearing a kirtīṣa or high head-dress, with necklace and armlets, and draped from the waist downwards, with a small figure standing by the right leg. And close by this there were, in two pieces, the kirtīṣa and the head and shoulders of another figure of the same size, evidently a duplicate of the above. Unless, however, there were some intervening parts that

\(^1\) See Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 81, and Plate xxvi.
have been altogether lost, these slabs cannot belong to the columns, since their pedestals have no sockets to fit into the socket-holes on the tops of the lion-capitals.¹

The other column, with the fragmentary duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxxI C., stood, as is shewn by the present position of its base, about twenty yards north of the column that I have just described. When overthrown, it fell east and west, with the top towards the west. The base is rectangular, about 3' 3" square by 3' 1" high. Differing from the first column, the base here is followed by a concave circular part, about 1' 0" high. From this there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8" broad where it starts from the base. But the portion of the shaft that remains attached to the base is only about 1' 1" long; and a row of chisel-marks all round the column here, shews that it was deliberately broken by the insertion of wedges. The next piece of the column,—or rather a remnant of it, as it is broken vertically, and part of it has been lost,—lies about three yards to the north of the base, and parallel with it, but in an inverted position, with the upper end to the east. This piece is about 9' 0" long; and the remnant of the duplicate inscription is here, on two of the faces; the bottom line of it being about 2' 9½" above the square base. The next piece of the shaft is missing altogether, and is supposed to be entirely buried somewhere in this field. The remainder of the shaft, about 6' 9" in length, lies, almost entirely buried, a few yards to the west of the portion including the base and the commencement of the shaft. Each face here is about 7" broad at the top; shewing that this column also tapers slightly from bottom to top. The top of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews that we have here the end of the shaft. Immediately west of this fragment, there lies the fluted bell part of the capital, about 3' 0" high and 3' 3" in diameter, similar in design to the same part of the capital of the other pillar. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 1" in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. Just to the west of this there lies, upside down and partially buried, the next portion of the capital, the square upper part, measuring about 3' 0" high and 3' 10" square; the vertical corner edges are trimmed off. The bottom, and one entire side and parts of two others, are exposed; and enough is visible to shew that each side consists of a bas-relief sculpture of two lions, each sitting on its haunches and facing to the corner, where it merges into the corresponding corner lion on the next side;⁶ with the head of a conventional sinhaka or mythological lion in the centre, over the backs of the lions. In the bottom of this stone there is a socket-hole, about 10½" in diameter, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came just below it. And I dug under one of the corners of the top enough to find there a rectangular socket-hole, which justifies us in assuming that the top has one circular and eight rectangular socket-holes, just as in the top of the lion-capital of the first column. As in the case of the first column, I cannot feel sure of having found the statue or statues which must have stood on the top of it.

The two inscribed columns were evidently intended as a pair, though the full measure of the second cannot be taken. From the distance between them; from the difference in the detailed measures; and from the analogous instance of the Éran column, as shewing

¹There are some similar bas-relief slabs set up in a group under some palm-trees in another field, about fifty yards away to the east from where the inscribed columns lie; but these, again, do not appear to belong to the columns.

⁶ Compare the lions on the upper part of the square portion of the capital of the Éran column.
the way in which they must have been finished off at the top,—they can hardly have been connected by a beam, after the fashion of a tbrana or arched gateway; and there are no traces of any temple to which they can have belonged. They are evidently an actual instance of two ranastambhas or "columns of victory in war," such as the Kauthem grant of Vikramaditya V., dated Saka-Sanvat 930 (A.D. 1008-9) expired, speaks of as having been set up by the Rāṣṭrakūta king Karkara or Kakka III., and as having then been cut asunder in battle by the Western Chālukya king Taila II.

To return to the inscription on the first column,—the writing, which covers a space of about 3' 2" broad by 1' 24" high, has suffered a good deal from the weather; and, owing to the difficulty of obtaining lights and shades, partly in consequence of the letters being rather shallow, and partly because of the natural light colour of the stone, it is rather difficult to read on the original column, but, in the ink-impression and the lithograph, it can easily be read with certainty throughout.—The size of the letters varies from 4" to 8". Differing from the Mandasor inscription of Kumārāgupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 above, page 79, Plate xi., the characters here belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are a development, in some respects, of the type of the Allahbād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and, in others, of that of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 above, Plate iiiB. They include the rather rare lingual dh, in upagādha, line 4. In vṛtya, line 4, and sāmantair-yasya, line 5, the r is formed on the line of writing, with only a single y below it; in combination with other consorants, e.g. in sumbror-vighatita, line 1, and dharmanaya, line 8, the r is formed above the top line of writing, and the consonant is doubled, in the usual way.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the two words at the end, recording the engraver's name, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmana in sikhinaḥ-pacchimā, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in anta, line 5, and vanta, line 8; and before s, in tējāsī, line 1, and panisu, line 3; (3) the doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, in akbrati, line 4; chakara, line 7; mitra and yattra, line 3; anyatra, line 6; and ndyīttra, line 7; but not in kriyantō, line 5, and stri, line 1; and (4) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in addhyāsīnt, line 4.

The inscription is one of a king named Yassodharman, whose dominions are described as including the whole of the northern part of India, from the river Lauhiya, or the Brahmaputra, to the Western Ocean, and from the Himalayas to the mountain


2 Having regard to the frequency with which, in the period of this inscription, āharman occurs as the termination of proper names, and to the rarity of dharmam, there might be some temptation to suggest that Yassodharman should be corrected into Yāsūvarman. But the dh is very distinct in line 7 here, and in the corresponding place in line 7 of the remnant of the original duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxI C.; and again in line 8 below; and again in the same name in line 4 of the inscription of Yassodharman and Vishvavardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.—The form dharmam is not of frequent occurrence. But we do meet with it in other proper names; e.g. Kritaharman, Kshatradharman, Kshemadharman, Jayadharmam, and Sudharman. And it also occurs in ordinary composition; e.g. in Manu-dai-prasita-vidhi-vidhāna-dharman, in line 5 of the Mālāya grant of the Mahārāja Dharasēna II. of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.; and in teṣāhr-aditya-samudra-dharman, in line 29 of the Kauthem grant of Vikramaditya V. of Saka-Sanvat 930 expired (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 22).
Māhendra. We have an important allusion in the statement that he possessed countries which no other connection, or in connection with the general history of the period, to the effect that homage was done to him by the famous king Mihirakula. It is not dated. But Yāsōdharman’s date is now known from the Mandasor inscription of Mālaya-Sāhuvarat 589 (A.D. 532-33) expired, No. 35 below, which mentions him and Vishnuvarthana; and the present inscription, having been engraved by the same person, Gāṁinda, must fall within a few years on one side of that date. Also, the use of the present tense almost throughout, coupled with the record that Yāsōdharman himself erected the column, shows that the inscription is one of his own time, not posthumous. The opening verse contains a Śaiva invocation; which is in accordance with the boast, in line 6, that Yāsōdharman never bowed his head to any save the god Śiva. But the record itself is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to narrate the erection of the column, for the purpose of re-asserting the king’s glory and power.

TEXT:

Vepante yasya bhūma-stanita-bhaya-sānūdhrānta-dāitya digantah śring-

Aghaṭāth śumeror-vvighaṭita-drishadah kandara yaḥ karōti

ukshānam taṁ dadhanaḥ kshitiḥaratanaya-datta-paṇc-āṅguł-

āṅkaṁ drāghishthaḥ Śulapāne kshapayatu bhavatam satru-tējānī
kēthuḥ 1

Avirbhūt-āvālāpair-avinaṣa-paṭubhir ṣaṁgadhirā mārggair mmohad a aidam-

yugmair-apā-subha-ṛatibhiḥ pldyamānā narēndraṁ i yasya kahma

Sārangapaiṁr-iva kathina-dhanur-joṁ-ṅaṅ-ka-praṅśhtham bhum bhūk-

ōpākāra-vrata-saphalā-paripranda-dhṛtrim prapannām II

Nindy-ācārāyeḥ yō-smiṁ-viṇaya-muvian yuge kalpanā-mātrā-vrīṁjījya

rajaṣv-anvēṣu ṣaṁsuv-iva kusuma-balir-ṅn-ābhabhe prakvatāh I sa

śrēyō-ḥāmnī samrad-ṛ-iti Manu-Bharata-Āḷarka-Māndhātri-kalpē kalāyey

hēmī bhāsvan-maṇir-iva sutarām bhṛjate yattra śabdah II

Yē bhukta Gupta-ṇatharēnna sakala-vasudhākārī-drishta-ḍrāparīnaṁ

ajitā Ḥūṁ-adhipanām kshitipati-mukta-āddhyāsaṁ yam-prajivita 1
dēṣāṁ-tan-ḥānva-śaila-druma-ṛaṅ-gamaḥ-saṅs-vrāb-ḥa-ōpād-ṛaṅ-gaṁavyī-āva-

skanna-raṁhā ṣva-griha-parisār-āvaṇayaḥ yō bhunakti II

Launhity-ōpakaṇṭhat-tala-vana-gahan-ōpasyaḥ-a Mahendrān-dā Gaṅg-

āśleṣṭa-sānōs-tubhinākharinaḥ-paschimāṁ ṣaṁtarantā

yasya bhu-dvina-hṛita-maṇḍhājā pādayor-anamadbhī-ḥuḍāram-anu-rāj-

vyatikara-śabdā bhūmi-bhāgaṁ kriyante II

6. Sthāṇḍor-annyatra yeṇa praṇaṭi-krīpanatām praṭātāṁ n-ōttamāṅgam yasya-

āśleṣṭā bhujābyāṁ vahati himagiri-durgga-sābd-ābbihānām I

1 It is doubtful whether this denotes here the famous Mahendragiri or Mahendrachala in the Gaṇḍak District, among the Eastern Gaudas; or another mountain of the same name, not so well known, which appears to be mentioned also in line 2 of an earlier Nālaka inscription of the nineteenth year of Sīrī-Pulumāyi (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV, No. 14, pp. 108, 109), and in the Brhatsamhitā, xiv. vv. 11-16 (Kern’s Translation, Jour. R. A. S. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 83), and must be located somewhere in the Western Gaudas.

* From the ink-impression.

* Metre, Sragdrā; and in the next seven verses.
May that very long banner of (the god) Śūlapāni destroy the glory of your enemies;—

(that banner) which bears (a representation of) the bull (Nandi), marked by the five fingers (dipped in some dye and then) placed on him by (Pārvatī), the daughter of the mountain (Himālāya), who causes the distant regions, in which the demons are driven wild with fear by (his) terrible bellowings, to shake; (and) who makes the glens of (the mountain) Sumēru to have their rocks split open by the blows of his horns!

(Line a.)—He, to whose arm, as if (to the arm) of (the god) Śatirigapāni,—the fore-arm of which is marked with callous parts caused by the hard string of (his) bow, (and) which is steadfast in the successful carrying out of vows for the benefit of mankind,—the earth betook itself (for succour), when it was afflicted by kings of the present age, who manifested pride; who were cruel through want of proper training; who, from delusion, transgressed the path of good conduct; (and) who were destitute of virtuous delights:

(L. 3.)—He who, in this age which is the ravisher of good behaviour, through the action simply of (his good) intentions shone gloriously, not associating with other kings who adopted a comprehensible course of conduct,—just as an offering of flowers (is beautiful when it is not laid down) in the dust;—he in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue, (and so) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Māndhātri, the title of "universal sovereign" shines more (than in any other), like a resplendent jewel (set) in good gold:

(L. 4.)—He who, spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys those countries,—thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes, (and) having (their) kings assaulted by (his)

(Śīkha (Anuṣṭhambh).

'Supply prāśātik.

a sovereign who rules over kings and has performed the rājasūya-sacrifice.'—For a description of the rājasūya, which is a great sacrifice or religious ceremony performed, at the coronation of a supreme sovereign or universal monarch, by the king himself and his tributary princess, see the Rājasūya-Purāṇa in the Sabhā-Purāṇ of the Mahābhārata; Protap Chandra Roy's Translation, page 95 ff.
prowess,—which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptaś, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (remainder of the) earth, (and) which the command of the chiefs of the Hūgas, that established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings, failed to penetrate:

(L. 5.)—He before whose feet chieftains, having (their) arrogance removed by the strength of (his) arm, bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) Lauhitiya up to (the mountain) Mahéśvara, the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (and) from (Himālaya) the mountain of snow, the table-lands of which are embraced by the (river) Gāṅgā, up to the Western Ocean,—by which (all) the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (their) heads:

(L. 6.)—He by whom (his) head has never been brought into the humility of obedience to any other save (the god) Sthānu,—he, through the embraces of whose arms (Himālaya) the mountain of snow carries no longer the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult of access;—he to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head, by even that (famous) king Mihirakula, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obedience:

(L. 7.)—By him, the king, the glorious Yāśodharmān, the firm beams of whose arms are as charming as pillars, this column, which shall endure to the time of the destruction of the world, has been erected here,—as if to measure out the earth; as if to enumerate on high the multitude of the heavenly lights; (and) as if to point out the path of his own fame to the skies above, acquired by good actions;—(this column) which shines refulgent, as if it were a lofty arm of the earth, raised up in joy to write upon the surface of the moon the excellence of the virtues of Yāśodharmān, to the effect that—

"His birth (is) in a lineage that is worthy to be eulogised; there is seen in him a charming behaviour that is destructive of sin; he is the abode of religion; (and) the (good) customs of mankind continue current, unimpeded (in any way) by him."

(L. 9.)—From a desire thus to praise this king, of meritorious actions, (these) verses have been composed by Vāsula, the son of Kakka. (This eulogy) has been engraved by Gāvinda.

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1 Sāmantā, lit. 'bordering, neighbouring; a neighbour, a feudatory prince, the chief of a tributary district,' is a technical official title, denoting a rank next below that of the Mahāsāmanā, which title occurs, for instance, in several places in the Nirmāṇ grants of the Mahāsāmanā and Mahāraja Samudrēśa, No. 80 below, Plate xliv.—Sāmantā is of constant occurrence, in other inscriptions, in its technical sense; but it is here used only in a general way, and is translated accordingly.

2 See page 146 above, note 1.

3 chāddā is a single lock or tuft of hair left on the crown of the head after the ceremony of tonsure, which is performed in early childhood.

4 To complete the sense, we must apparently supply, in connection with vakari, the negative particle na from the first pāda of the verse.

5 See page 145 above, note 2.
No. 34; PLATE XXIC.

MANDASOR DUPLICATE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN.

This inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV., p. 257 f., is the remnant, mentioned above, of the original duplicate copy of the inscription of Yasodharman on the second inscribed column, described at page 144 above, at Mandasor, or more properly Dasor, the chief town of the Mandasor District of Scindia's Dominions, in the Western Malwa division of Central India. It was discovered by Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who forwarded his hand-copy of it to General Cunningham in 1879. And it was this that led to the search which was made under my direction in 1884, and which resulted in the discovery of the entire copy of this inscription No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxi. And of the inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman of the Malava years 493 and 529, No. 18 above, page 79, and Plate xi.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1" × 2" broad by 1/2" high, is in some respects in a state of rather better preservation than the entire copy; but nearly three-quarters of the full inscription is lost here, through the column having cracked vertically and part of it being now not forthcoming.—The size of the letters varies from 1/2" to 3/4".

The characters belong, as before, to the northern class of alphabets, and were engraved by the same person, Gōvinda, who engraved the entire copy, No. 33 above; and this record appears to have been in all essential details an exact reproduction of the copy that has been preserved entire. We have the lingual dh in *upāgūḍha*, line 4. And the two methods of forming r in combination with a following consonant, are very well illustrated by *vṛya*, line 4, and *ḍphdrair-munihirakula*, line 6.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1), as before, the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ā, in anās, line 5; and before s, in tējānsi, line 1; and (2) the doubling of ā, in conjunction with a following r, in *yatra*; line 3, and *nāyīś-vitra*, line 7; and also in *sattu*, line 1, where it is not doubled in the entire copy.

This fragmentary inscription preserves the names of Yasodharman and Mihirakula. But the passage mentioning the Guptas and the Hunas has been lost; and also that which gives the boundaries of Yasodharman's dominions.

**TEXT.**

1. ....... [da]ttā-pañc-tāngul-āṅkakāṁ drāghishṭhakā Śūlapāṇeḥ kshapayatu bhavatāṁ sātur-tejānsi kētuḥ II
2. ....... jy[4]-kiṁ-āṅka-prakōṣṭhakāṁ bāhūṁ lōk-ōpakāra-vrata-saphala-parispanda-dhraṁ prapannā II
3. ....... [Ā]larka-Māndhātri-kalpe kalyānē hēmnī bhāsvan-maṇiṁ-iva sūtarāṁ bhrājatē yattra sābdaḥ II

1 See page 79 above, and note 1.
2 From the ink-impression.
3 Metre, Sragdharā; and in the next seven verses.
TRANSLATION.

[It is unnecessary to offer a translation of this fragment, as the contents of it are fully explained by the translation of the entire copy, at page 147 above. It is sufficient to note that we have the name of Yasodharman, complete in line 7, and partially preserved in line 8; the name of Mihirakula, very clearly legible, in line 6; and, in line 9, the name of Góvinda, the engraver of the record.]

No. 35; PLATE XXII.

MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN AND VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE MALAVA YEAR 589.

This inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 222 fl., is from a stone-tablet, which, when shewn to me in 1885, was in the possession of Sir Michael Filose, K.C.S.I., at Ujjain, but which had come originally from an old well, somewhere in the lands of Mandasór, or more properly Dásór, the chief town of the Mandasór District of Scindia’s Dominions in the Western Málwa division of Central India, where it was found, in the course of repairs, built up with the inscribed surface inside. I could obtain no accurate information on the point; but possibly this is a large and ancient well, which immediately attracts attention, just inside the eastern entrance of the Fort.

The stone is a smooth and beautifully engraved tablet, apparently of slate-stone, measuring about 1’ 11” broad by 1’ 6½” high and 2½” thick. There are no sculptures on it, connected with the inscription. But, on the back, which is divided into two compartments by what seems to be either a spear with a curved handle, or a shepherd’s crook, there are engraved in outline, very roughly,—at the upper corners, the sun on the proper right, and the moon on the proper left; and, lower down, on each side, a man on horseback, facing towards the central dividing sculpture; the horseman on the proper right side carries in his left hand either a chauri or fly-flap made from the bushy tail of the Bos Grummiens, or a tankha or conch-shell; the other horseman carries something in his right hand, but I could not distinguish the object. These sculptures were engraved, of course, when the tablet was fixed in the position in which it was discovered, with the inscribed

1 Metre, Śôka (Anushtubb).
2 See page 145 above, note 2.
3 Supply praôastôih.
4 See page 79 above, and note 1.
surface inwards; and it is owing to this position, that the inscription has remained in so perfect a state of preservation.—The writing covers the entire surface of the stone, with a margin of from 14" to 1½"; and is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout, though there are just a few letters from which it was impossible to clear out the hard incrustation of lime; with which the writing was blocked up from beginning to end, sufficiently for them to come out quite perfectly in the ink-impression, and so in the lithograph. At the ends of lines 1, 2, and 3, a few letters have been lost by the edges of the stone being chipped here; and at some other places a few letters have been damaged in the same way. But the only place where the missing letters cannot be supplied, is at the commencement of line 16.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type, being in fact engraved by the same hand, with those of the Mandasor duplicate pillar inscriptions of Yāsōdharman, No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxiiB., and No. 34, page 149, and Plate xxiiC. They include the very rare initial au, in aulikara, line 5; and the lingual dh, in uddāha and gāđha, line 7; rāḍha, line 11; and aḍha, line 18.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddham, and the two words at the end recording the name of the engraver, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in vaṇa, lines 6 and 9; aṇa, line 9; aṇa, line 11; and abhrāνī, line 12; (2) the use of the dental nasal, before s, in bhūyānśi, line 2, and yado, line 4; though we have the more usual anusvāra in manānśi, line 22; (3) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in taṭṭru, line 4; kalattra, line 11; and pariṣṭita, line 16; and (4), the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y and v, in addhyāṣita, line 16-17, and addhvaṇi, line 18, though not in other places.

The inscription refers itself, in the first instance, to the time of Yāsōdharman, here called a tribal ruler, whose name is already on record from his duplicate pillar inscriptions at Mandasor, No. 33 above, page 142, and No. 34, page 149. It then mentions a king named Vishnuvardhana, who, though he had the titles of Rājaḍhānaja and Paramēśvara, would appear to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yāsōdharman. Vishnuvardhana's family is mentioned as the lineage that had the aulikara-crest. The inscription is dated, in words, when the year five hundred and

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1 See page 145 above, note 2.
2 jaṇendra; lit. 'a lord of a people or tribe.'
3 narādhīpaṭi; lit. 'a chief ruler of men.'
4 aulikara-āḍaṭṭha.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the word aulikara; but it seems to denote either 'the hot-rayed (sun),' or 'the cool-rayed (moon).'-As regards lāḍāchāna, 'a mark, sign, token, spot,' which I render by 'crest,' it is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, and is quite distinct from the emblem on their dhūjas or banners. Thus, the Raṭās of Saundatti and Belgaum had the suvarṇa-garudha-dhūja or 'banner of a golden Garuda,' but the sīndhura-āḍaṭṭha or 'elephant-crest' (e.g. line 43 of the Tērāl inscription of Saṅgā-Saṅvat 1045, &c.; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 18, and p. 24, note 24). So also the Kādambas of Banavāsi, and also those of Goa, had the lāḍāchāna-dhūja or uśāra-mahādhaṭṭha, 'the banner of a monkey, or of (Hanumat) the king of monkeys,' but the līmcha-āḍaṭṭha, or 'lion-crest,' which latter appears on the seals of their grants and on their coins (e.g. line 28-29 of the Kurgudi inscription of Saṅgā-Saṅvat 1030, Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 252; and line 9 of the Golihalji inscription, Jour. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 296; see also, for the seals of their grants, id. p. 230, No. 8, and Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 288; and, for their coins, Jour. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. xxiv.) The Chalukyas, in all their branches, had the vardha-āḍaṭṭha or
eighty-nine had expired from the tribal constitution of the alaves, and, therefore, when the year five hundred and ninety (A.D. 533-34) was come, but no further details of the date are given. The opening invocations are addressed to the god Śiva. But the record itself is not sectarian; the object of it being only to record the construction of a large well by a person named Daksha, the younger brother of Dharmadosha, who was a minister of Vishṇuvardhaṇa, in memory of their deceased uncle Abhayadatta, who had formerly held the same office for the tract of country bounded by the Vindhyas and the Pāriyātra mountain, and the (Western) Ocean.

The genealogy of this family of ministers is given; and it includes a somewhat noticeable name in that of Bhāṇuguptā, the wife of Daksha’s grandfather, Raviṅkrtti. Her date would be just about one generation before that of the king Bhāṇugupta, for whom we have the date of Gupta-Saṅvat 191 (A.D. 510-11) from the Ėraṅ posthumous pillar inscription of Goparāja, No. 20 above, page 91, and Plate xiiB.; and the coincidence of name and time is such, that it is almost impossible not to imagine some family connection between him and her. Bhāṇuguptā, of course, must have been a Kshatriya; and Bhāṇugupta’s husband, Raviṅkrtti, was evidently a Brāhmaṇ. But the ancient Hindu law authorised the marrying of Kshatriya wives by Brāhmaṇs. And we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Gaṅgottaka cave inscription of Hastibhōja, a minister of the Vākājaka Mahārāja Devasēna; it tells us that Hastibhōja’s ancestor, the Brāhmaṇ Sōma, “in accordance with the precepts of revelation and of tradition” married a Kshatriya wife, through whom Hastibhōja was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brāhmaṇ caste, whose sons, and their descendants, applied themselves to the study of the Vēdas.1

TEXT.

1 Siddham [II*] Sa* jayati jagatāṁ patīḥ Pinakti smita-rava-gtisihu yasya danta-kāntib i dyutir-iva taditāṁ nis sphuranṭ tiṇayati cha sputatayati-adas=cha viśvam II Swayambhūr=bhūtanāṁ stiti-laya-[samu]-

2 tpatti-viḍhishu prayuktō yēn-aṭjāṁ vahati bhuvanañāṁ vidhitayē i piritvam ch=ānto jagati garimāpaṁ gamayatā sa Śambhūr=bhūyāṇi pratidiśatu bhadrāṇi bhava[tām] II Phana-manī-guru-bhār-[ākk][r[a].

3 nti-dūr-āvanamāṁ sthagayati rucham=indōr-mmaṇḍālam yasya mūrdhān [I*] sa śirasī vinibadhana=raṃdhriplm=asthi-mālām śrījatu bhava-srijō vah kīṣa-bhāngam bhujāṅgah II Shashtya* sahaśraṇī Sagar-atmājanāṁ khāṭa[b]

1 “boar-crest,” which appears on the seals of all their charters, and on their coins; and the special connection of the lōṭchana with the ēsana or ‘charter,’ is shewn by a passage in lines 73 ff. of the Korumelli grant of Rājarāja II., “on whose charter the mighty form, that of the first boar, of (the god) Vishaṇu, which lifted up the entire circle of the earth on the tip of (its right-hand) tusk, became in a pleasing way the crest.” (Id. Vol. XIV. p. 85).


3 From the original stone.

4 Metre, Pushpīṭāgrā.

5 Metre, Śikhariṭ.

6 Metre, Mālinī.

7 Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.
हेतु अंधेरा १ में, तालमैलाई चित्रण गर्न गर्न बाल्यावर्णीमार्ग लागिर भएको छ, भनेकोलेस्त्राहरूलाई जना अन्तर्गती गर्न गर्न तालमैलाई चित्रण गर्न गर्न बाल्यावर्णीमार्ग लागिर भएको हो।

२ में, तालमैलाई चित्रण गर्न गर्न बाल्यावर्णीमार्ग लागिर भएको छ, भनेकोलेस्त्राहरूलाई जना अन्तर्गती गर्न गर्न तालमैलाई चित्रण गर्न गर्न बाल्यावर्णीमार्ग लागिर भएको हो।

३ में, तालमैलाई चित्रण गर्न गर्न बाल्यावर्णीमार्ग लागिर भएको छ, भनेकोलेस्त्राहरूलाई जना अन्तर्गती गर्न गर्न तालमैलाई चित्रण गर्न गर्न बाल्यावर्णीमार्ग लागिर भएको हो।
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Pīnākin, the lord of (all) the worlds,—in whose songs, hummed with smiles, the splendour of (kṣera) teeth, like the lustre of lightning sparkling in the night, envelops and brings into full view all this

1 Metre, Sragdhāra.
2 Metre, Śikharīīt.
3 Metre, Mandākāntā.
4 Metre, Sragdhāra.
5 Supply praistik.
6 Metre, Mālinī; and in the next two verses.
7 Metre, Āryā.
8 Metre, Mālinī.
universe! May he, (the god) Śambhu, confer many auspicious gifts upon you,—employed by whom in the rites of (effecting the) continuance and the destruction and the production, of (all) things that exist, (the god) Svayambha, is obedient to (his) commands, for the sake of the maintenance of (all) the worlds; and by whom, leading (him) to dignity in the world, he has been brought to the condition of being the father (of the universe)!

May the serpent of the creator of existence¹ accomplish the allayment of your distress,—(that serpent) the multitude of whose foreheads, bowed down afar by the pressure of the heavy weight of the jewels in (their) hoods, obscures the radiance of the moon (on his master's forehead); (and) who (with the folds of his body) binds securely on (his master's) head the chaplet of bones which is full of holes (for stringing them)! May the creator of waters,² which was dug out by the sixty thousand sons of Sagara, (and) which possesses a lustre equal to (that of) the sky, preserve for a long time the glories of this best of wells!

(Line 4.)—Now, victorious is that tribal ruler,³ having the name of the glorious Yasódharman,⁴ who, having plunged in the army of (his) enemies, as if into a grove of thornapple-trees, (and) having bent down the reputations of heroes like the tender creepers of trees, effects the adornment of (his) body with the fragments of young sprouts which are the wounds (inflicted on him).

(L. 5.)—And, again, victorious over the earth is this same⁵ king of men,⁶ the glorious Vishnudpardhana, the conqueror in war; by whom his own famous lineage, which has the āuliarka-crest,⁷ has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and

¹ bhava-sṛja.—Originally, Brahman was the creator; Vishnu, the preserver; and Śiva, the destroyer. But of course the Vaishnavas and the Śaivas invested their own special gods with all three attributes. As regards Śiva, we may also refer to line 51 of the Alha grant of Śilāditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv., where, under the name of Paramēśvara, he is again clearly referred to as the creator. While, as regards Vishnu, in the Vishnupurāṇa, book I, chap. ii. (Hall's edition of Wilson's Translation, Vol. I, p. 41), he is described as himself becoming Brahman, and so engaging in the creation of the universe.—That bhava-sṛja here denotes Śiva, is shown by the general purport of the preceding two verses, and especially by the mention of the chaplet of bones in this verse. He is always represented with a necklace of skulls, a serpent hanging round his neck, and the crescent moon on his forehead.

² The ocean. The allusion in this verse is to the legend that the bed of the ocean was excavated by the sons of Sagara in their search for their father's atomudha-horse, which was stolen from their custody by the sage Kapila, and was only found by them when they had dug down through the earth into the lower regions. Kapila, in his anger, reduced them to ashes; but subsequently restored the horse on the intercession of Anūmat, the grandson of Sagara. The obsequies, however, of the sons of Sagara remained unperformed, and their transfer to heaven was barred, until Bhagrattha, the grandson of Anūmat, brought the river Ganges down from heaven, and led it over the earth to the chasm made by the sons of Sagara. Flowing down through this, it washed their bones and ashes; by which they were raised to heaven. And, as such of its waters as remained in the chasm constituted the ocean, the latter was called sagara in commemoration of Sagara and his descendants.

³ janandira; see page 151 above, note 2.

⁴ See page 145 above, note 2.

⁵ This expression looks at first sight as if Yasódharman and Vishnudpardhana were one and the same person. But the general structure of this verse, as well as the use of the two distinct titles janandira and nārdadhapi for and of the expression dīma-vaniḥ, shews that this is not the case. "This same" simply means "this reigning king," in whose time and territory the inscription is written.

⁶ nārdadhapi; see page 151 above, note 3.

⁷ āuliarka-iddhchaina; see page 151 above, note 4.
higher. By him, having brought into subjection, with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many (kings) of the north, this second name of *"supreme king of kings" and supreme lord,*’ pleasing in the world (but) difficult of attainment, is carried on high. Through him, having conquered the earth with (his own) arm, many countries,—in which the sun is obscured by the smoke, resembling dense dark-blue clouds, of the oblations of the sacrifices; (and) which abound with thick and thriving crops through (the god) Maghavan pouring cloudfuls of rain upon (their) boundaries; (and) in which the ends of the fresh sprouts of the mango-trees in the parks are eagerly plucked in joy by the hands of wanton women,—enjoy the happiness of being possessed of a good king. Through the dust, grey like the hide of an ass,—stirred up by his armies, which have (their) banners lifted on high; (and) which have the lōdhra-trees* tossed about in all directions by the tusks of (their) infuriated elephants; (and) which have the crevices of the Vindhyā mountains made resonant with the noise of (their) journeying through the forests,—the orb of the sun appears dark (and) dull-rayed, as if it were an eye in a peacock’s tail reversed.6

(L. 9.)—The servant of the kings who founded the family of that lord, was Shabhidatta,—the fame of whose religious merit was known far and wide through the protection of (their) feet; who by his resoluteness conquered the six enemies (of religion);* (and) who was indeed very excellent. As the torrent, flowing high and low, of (the river) Gāndā (spreads abroad) from (the mountain) Himavat, (and) the extensive mass of the waters of (the river) Rēvā from the moon,—(so) from him, whose dignity was manifested, there spreads a pure race of Naigamas, most worthy to be sought in fellowship.

(L. 11.)—Of him, from a wife of good family, there was born a son, resembling him (in good qualities), the source of fame,—whom, (being named) Vartabaddha, (and) being full of self-control (and) of great worth, people speak of as if he were an (incarnate) portion of (the god) Hari.

(L. 11.)—As if it were the sun (illumining) the mighty summit of a mountain, Ravikritti with the wealth of his character illumined that family, which was made eminent by men who combined good actions with worldly occupations; which had its foundations well established in the earth; (and) which maintained a very firm position of endurance that was free from (any risk of) being broken;—(Ravikritti), by whom, sustaining the pure (and) undeviating path of traditional law that is acceptable to good people, nobility of birth was not made a thing of false assertion (even) in the Kali age. From him, (his) chaste wife Bhāṅguṇḍā gave birth to three sons, who dispelled the darkness (of ignorance) with the rays of (their) intellects,—as if (she had produced three) sacrifices from a fire.

(L. 13.)—The first was Bhagavaddōśa, the prop of his relatives in the paths of religious actions, just as Uddhava (was) of the Andhakas,—who was a very Vēdhas in displaying much prudence in the hard-to-be-traversed path of the meaning (of words); who, like Vidura,* always looked far ahead with deliberation; (and) who is with great

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1 Rājādhīrā; see page 35 above, note 7.  
2 Paramāsvara; see page 10 above, note 3.  
3 lōdhra, also rōdhra; the tree Symplocos Racemosa.  
4 i.e., "looked at from the wrong side of the feather."  
5 The ari-shatka or ari-shad-varga, ‘the aggregate of six hostile things,’ viz., desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride, and envy, which impede the practice of religion.  
6 An epic hero, the younger brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, described as the wisest of all prudent and sagacious people.
pleasure sung by poets, in Sanskrit and Prakrit construction of the arrangement of sentences, as they well versed in speech.

(L. 15.) After him there came that (well-known) Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position in the earth, (and) collecting (in order to dispel it) the fear of (his) subjects (?):—be the eye of intellect, which served him like the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remote, remained undetected, (even) at night;—(Abhayadatta), of fruitful actions, who like (Brihadeśi) the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the (four recognised) castes, with the functions of a Rājasthānīya1 protected the region, containing many countries presided over by his own upright counsellors, which lies between the Vindhya (mountains), from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of (the river) Rēvā, and the mountain Pāriyātra, on which the trees are bent down in (their) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys, (and stretches) up to the (western) Ocean.

(L. 17.)—Now he, Dharmadōsa, the son of Dōshakumbha,—by whom this kingdom has been made, as if (it were still) in the Krita-age, free from any intermixture of all the castes, (and peaceable through) having hostilities allayed, (and) undisturbed by care,—in accordance with justice proudly supports the burden (of government) that had (previously) been borne by him;—(Dharmadōsa), who,—not being too eager about his own comfort, (and) bearing, for the sake of his lord, in the difficult path (of administration), the burden (of government), very heavily weighted and not shared by another,—wears royal apparel only as mark of distinction (and not for his own pleasure), just as a bull2 carries a wrinkled pendulous dew-lap.

(L. 19.)—His younger brother, Dakāha,—invested with the decoration of the protection of friends, as if he were (his) broad-shouldered (right) arm (decorated) with choice jewels; (and) bearing the name of the faultless one,” which causes great joy to the ear and heart,—caused to be excavated this great well. This great (and) skilful work was achieved here by him, who is of great intellect, for the sake of his paternal uncle, the beloved Abhayadatta, who was cut off (before his time) by the mighty (god) Kūtānta, just as if he were a tree, the shade of which is pleasant to resort to (and) which yields fruits that are salutary and sweet through ripeness, (wantonely) destroyed by a lordly elephant.

1 Rājasthānīya, lit. ‘one who belongs to a Rājasthāna or, king’s abode;’ or perhaps ‘one who occupies the position of a Rāja,’ is a technical official title, the exact grade of which remains to be determined. The explanation of the word in Khēmênda’s Līkāprakāśa, iv., as given by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 207) is prajā-pāla-prtham-udvahati rakahayatscha sa rājasthānīyāh, “be who carries out the object of protecting subjects, and shelters them, is called a Rājasthānīya, i.e. ‘a viceroy.’” But, though ‘vicereoy’ is a fair enough rendering of the word on etymological grounds, it seems to be in reality too exalted a title to be a suitable equivalent. In line 21 of the Mālīya grant of the Mahārāja Dharaśāna II. of the year 292, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv., and in line 9 of the Dēśa-Barapārk inscription of Jīvata Gupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxxi.B. (where Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to render it by ‘political agent, or regent’), the Rājasthānīya is mentioned rather low down in the list of officials; so also in line 33 of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārayanapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 306), and in the passage in connection with which it was explained by Dr. Bühler.

2 i.e. Abhayadatta.—Dōshakumbha, the father of Dharmadōsa, must be the younger brother of Abhayadatta, and the third and youngest of the sons of Ravikrīti and Bhakuguptā.

3 Mālyya; this meaning is not given in Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary; and I owe it, and the explanation of one or two other passages in this inscription, to Pandit Durga Prasad, of Jaypur.
(L. 21.)—Five hundred autumns, together with ninety less by one, having elapsed from (the establishment of) the supremacy\(^1\) of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, (and) being written down in order to determine the (present) time,—in the season\(^3\) in which the songs, resembling the arrows of (the god) Smara, of the jackoos, whose utterances are low and tender, cleave open, as it were, the minds of those who are far away from home; and in which the humming of the flights of bees, sounding low on account of the burden (that they carry), is heard through the woods, like the resounding bow of (the god Kāmadeva) who has the banner of flowers, when its string is caused to vibrate;—in the season in which there is the month of the coming on of flowers, when the wind, soothing the affectionate (but) perverted thoughts of disdainful women who are angry with their lovers, as if they were charming fresh sprouts arrayed in colours, devotes itself to breaking down (their) pride,—in that season this (well) was caused to be constructed.

(L. 24.)—As long as the ocean, embracing with (its) lofty waves, as if with long arms, the orb of the moon, which has its full assemblage of rays (and is more) lovely (than ever) from contact (with the waters), maintains friendship (with it),—so long let this excellent well endure, possessing a surrounding enclosure of lines at the edge of the masonry-work, as if it were a garland worn round a shaven head, (and) discharging pure waters the flavour of which is equal to nectar!

(L. 25.)—May this intelligent Dakshya for a long time protect this act of piety,—(he who is) skilful, true to (his) promises, modest, brave, attentive to old people, grateful, full of energy, unwearied in the business-matters of (his) lord, (and) faultless! (This eulogy) has been engraved by Gòvinda.

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No. 36; PLATE XXIII.

ERAN STONE BOAR INSCRIPTION OF TORAMANA.

This inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the Sour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 631 ff., where Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,\(^4\) accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxx.), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt.—And in 1861, in the same Journal, Vol. XXX. p. 20 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it.

This is another inscription from \(Eran\) in the Khurāl Sub-Division of the Sāgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the chest of a colossal red-sandstone statue of a Boar, about eleven feet high, representing the god Vishnu in his incarnation as such, that stands, facing east, in the portico of a ruined temple at the south end of the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village.\(^5\)

The Boar is covered all over with elaborate sculptures, chiefly of Rishis or saints.

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\(^1\) vaidsi; but it is very difficult to find a really satisfactory meaning for this word in this passage.

\(^2\) i.e. the spring.

\(^3\) The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's Essays, Vol I. p. 245 ff.

\(^4\) See page 18 above, and note 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Tārumāṇa. It is dated, in words, in the first year of his reign, without any reference to an era; and on the tenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Phālguṇa (February-March). It is a Vaishnava inscription. And the object of it is to record the building of the temple, in which the Boar stands, by Dhanyavishṇu, the younger brother of the deceased Mahārdja Mātrivishṇu.

The mention of Mātrivishṇu in this inscription as deceased, is of importance, as showing that Tārumāṇa comes, so far as his possession of Eastern Malwa is concerned, shortly after Budhagupta, in whose time Mātrivishṇu, then alive, in conjunction with Dhanyavishṇu set up the column that bears Budhagupta’s inscription of the year 165, No. 19 above, page 88.

**TEXT.**

1 Om [II] Jayati [II] dharany-uddharanē ghanā-ghôn-aghāta-ghūṇapita-mahāddhrah
prithivm 
2 prithu-kṛttau prithu-dvītāu mahārājādhirājā-śṛ-Ṭārumāṇē pragatāt (II)
Phālguṇa-divasē [II] ātmane ṛṣīya-varshā-māsa-dinaih [II] ētasyām
3 pūrvvāyām I sva-lakshanair-yuktā-pūrvvāyāmē [II] Syā-karmā-Abhiratasya
kratu-rājō-dhīta-svādhyāyasāya viṣṇu-arṣēr Maitrīrayāṇī-vrishabhasya-
Endrīvishṇoḥ prapauttrasā

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1 I noticed a similar boar, almost entirely buried, by the roadside, about half way between Sārāṣṭra and Ūdayapirī; but I had no means of raising it to ascertain whether there is any inscription on it.
2 From the original stone.
3 Metre, Āryā.
4 This sentence is in prose, though it commences like a verse in the Āryā metre.
5 Metre, Āryā.
6 Supply itihaśu.
4 pitur-gupta-ānukārīṇo Varuṇavishṇoḥ pautṛtrasya pitaram-anu-jātasya
sva-vamśa-vṛddhi-hētōr-Harivishṇoḥ putrasya-ātyanta-bhagavat-bhaktasya
Vidhūtār-ichchhaihā 1

5 svayamvarya-eva rūpā-lakshmy-ādhigatasya chatuh-samudra-paryanta-prathita-
ṛaśāsaḥ akṣhiṇā-māna-dhanasya-anēka-sattru-śamara-jīṣhṇoḥ mahā[a]*ja.
Mātrivishṇoḥ

6 svar-gatasya bhṛatr-ānujēna 1 tad-anuvīdhāyinā tat-prasāda-parigriḥhēṇa
Dhanyavishṇunā tēn-āiva [sa]\y h-āvibhakta-punya-kriyēṇa mātāpitrōḥ
puṇy-āpyāyan-ārthām-ēsha bhagavatō varāha-mūrttēr-jagat-pāryāṇasya
8 Svasty-astu gō-brāhmaṇa-purōgābhyaḥ sarva-prājābhyaḥ itti II

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! Victorious is the god (Vishṇu), who has the form of a Boar,—who, in the act
of lifting up the earth (out of the waters), caused the mountains to tremble with the
błows of (his) hard snout; (and) who is the pillar (for the support) of the great house which is
the three worlds!*

(Line 1.)—In the first year; while the Mahārājādhikārāja, the glorious Tōramāṇa, of
great fame (and) of great lustre, is governing the earth;—

(L. 2.)—On the tenth day of (the month) Phālguna;—on this (lunar day), (specified)
as above by the regnal year and month and day, (and) invested as above with its own
characteristics;—

(L. 3.)—By Dhanyavishṇu,—the younger brother, obedient to him (and) accepted
with favour by him, of the Mahārājā Mātrivishṇu, who has gone to heaven; who was
excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vidhūtāri, was approached
(in marriage-choice) by the goddess of sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing (him)
of her own accord (to be her husband); whose fame extended up to the borders of the four
countries; who was possessed of unimpaired honour and wealth; (and) who was victorious
in battle against many enemies;—who was the son of the son's son of Indravishṇu, who
was attentive to his duties; who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (of the
scriptures); who was a Brāhmaṇ saint; (and) who was the most excellent (of the followers)
of the Mātrāyanīya (śāktā);—who was the son's son of Varuṇavishṇu, who
imitated the virtuous qualities of (his) father;—(and) who was the son of Harivishṇu, who
was the counterpart of (his) father in meritorious qualities,* (and) was the cause of the
advancement of his race;—

*This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
*This word is followed by a cross-mark, which indicates that tēn-āiva [sa]\y h-āvibhakta-
punya-kriyēṇa should have stood here, before dhanyavishṇunā.
*Prinsep read nārāyaṇasya-dīnīrā; and Hall, nārāyaṇasya-dīśvēkā. They were led into
this by the engraver having run the right stroke of the i in śīlā too high up, probably through his tool
slipping.
*The allusion is to his incarnation as a boar, when he plunged into the great ocean and rescued
the earth, which had been carried off and hidden there by the demon Hiranyakaśa.
*Compare the similar invocation of Śiva, in Śaiva inscriptions, as "the foundation-pillar for the
errection of the city which is the three worlds;" e.g. in line 1 f. of the Aihole inscription of Śaka-Samvat
*pitaram-anu-jātasya; see page 90 above, note 3.
(L. 6.)—(By this Dhanyavishnu), accomplishing, in unison with (the previously expressed wishes of) him, a joint deed of religious merit, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents, this stone temple of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa, who has the form of a Boar (and) who is entirely devoted to (the welfare of) the universe, has been caused to be made in this his own viṣhaya of Airikīṇā.

(L. 8.)—Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇas!

No. 37; PLATE XXIII B.

GWALIOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF MIHARAKULA.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1861, in the Fourth Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX, p. 267 ff., where Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from an ink-impression taken by General Cunningham, of which, in the following year,—as an accompaniment to Dr. Rajendralala Mitra’s paper on “Vestiges of the kings of Gwalior,” in the Fourth Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI, p. 391 ff.,—a reduced lithograph was published (id. Plate i. No. 1).

The inscription is on a broken red-sandstone slab, now measuring about 3’ 8½” broad by 5½” high, that was found built into the wall in the porch of a temple of the sun in the fortress at Gwalior (properly Gwalühr), the capital of the dominions of Scindia in Central India; it is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. When the stone was first found, two or three letters had already been broken away and lost at the beginning of each line; and, since then, it has suffered a still more serious injury, in part of line 7, and the whole of lines 8 and 9, being cut away and destroyed in trimming the stone and fixing it, I suppose, in some other building, after the time when it was first found and before its rescue and transfer to the Museum.

The writing, which covers the entire face of the stone, except for a margin of about an inch at the top and on the right side, is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout.—The average size of the letters is about 3⁄₈”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, though differing a little in actual execution, are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of Tōramāṇa. The two methods of forming r, in combination with a following consonant, are illustrated, on the one hand, by saurydd, line 3, and, on the other, by chakrō-ṛtī-ḥarttā, line 2, and abhivrardha-māna, line 4.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, all that calls for special notice is the use of the upadhmāṇya once, in amsubhī=pamkajāndm, line 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Miharakaṇa. It is dated, in words, in the fifteenth year of his reign, without any reference to an era; and in the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November), but without any specification of the day of the fortnight or month. It is an inscription of solar worship. And the object of it is to

1 i.e. the deceased Mātrivishnu.
2 The ‘Gwalior’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 51. Lat. 26° 13’ N.; Long. 78° 12’ E.—For the ancient names of the place, see the next note.
record the building of a temple of the Sun, by a person named Mātrichēta, on the mountain called Gōpa, i.e. the hill on which the fortress of Gwalior stands. ¹

**TEXT.** ³


5 [patu?] ni[J]rmalē bhāti 1(1). Dvija-gana-mukhyah-abhisahāstutē cha puny-aḥa-nāda-gōshtēna titi-nakshatra-μuhurtā samprātē supraśasta-dinē. 1(1) Mātritulasya tu pautraḥ putraḥ cha tathā aiva Mātridāsasya nāmnā cha Mātrichētaḥ parvva-


7 . . . . . . . pā[1]dēna 1(1) Yē kārayanti bhānō=chandrānṛṣu-san...-prabhām griha-pravaram tēshām vāsāḥ svargge yāvat-kalpa-kshāyō bhavati lid Bhaktīya rāvē-vvīraḥtam sad-dharmma-khyāpanaṃ su-kṛttimayōm nāmnā cha Kēśav-eti-prathitēna cha 1⁷

¹ Dr. R. Mitra read the name here (line 6) as Giripa; but quite wrongly.—Other forms of the ancient Sanskrit name of the hill, and of the fortress on it, are (1) Gōpasinghī; e.g. in line 1 of the Gwālior inscription of Bhājađēva of Vikrama-Saṁvat 933 (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 407); (2) Gōpaḍhalaḍurga, e.g. in an inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1497 on the pedestal of a colossal figure of Adinātha at Gwālior (id. p. 422); (3) Gōpāḍī, and Gōpāḍirdurgā; e.g. in lines 4 and 14 of the Gwālior inscription of Mahāpāla of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. pp. 35, 37); and (4) Gōpālikerā; in line 2 of a Gwālior inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1161 (id. p. 202).—Dr. Hultsch (id. p. 302, note 5) has pointed out that the last form, Gōpālikerā, seems to be the one that is the immediate source of the modern name Gwālihr.

³ Lines 1 to 6, and the last part of line 7, from the original stone; and, the lower part of the stone being now broken off and lost, the rest from Gen. Cunningham’s lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralal Mitra’s paper in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 391 ff.

⁴ Metre, Mālinī; and in the next verse.

⁵ This ṛ was omitted in its proper place, and was then inserted below the line.

⁶ Metre, Ārvā; and in the next nine verses.

⁷ We require here a verb, supplying the antithesis to (a)bhāṅg, ‘without breaking; unbroken.’ But the akṣaras are much damaged by a crack in the stone; and I am unable to supply them.

⁸ This mark of punctuation appears to have been inserted unnecessarily, to fill up the space at the end of the line.
[Om] May he (the Sun) protect you, who is victorious,—dispelling the darkness of the banks of clouds with the masses of the multitude of his rays that light up the sky; (and) decorating the top of the side of the mountain of dawn with (his) horses, which have the tossing ends of (their) manes dishevelled through the fatigue (induced) by (their) startled gait;—(and) who,—having (his) chariot-wheels (?) swallowed (?)—........................ the mountain of dawn; dispensing distress; (being) the light of the house which is the world; (and) effecting the destruction of night,—creates the fresh beauty of the water-lilies by (his) rays which are of the colour of molten gold!

(Line 2)—(There was) a ruler of [the earth], of great merit, who was renowned by the name of the glorious T̄r̄amāṇa; by whom, through (his) heroism that was specially characterised by truthfulness, the earth was governed with justice.

(L. 3)—Of him, the fame of whose family has risen high, the son (is) he, of unequalled prowess, the lord of the earth, who is renowned under the name of Mihirakula, who, (himself) unbroken, [broke the power of] Paśupati.

(L. 4)—While [he], the king, the remover of distress, possessed of large and pellucid arms, is governing the earth; in the augmenting reign, (and) in the fifteenth year, of (him) the best of kings; the month Kārttika, cool and fragrant with the perfume of the red and blue water-lilies that are caused to blossom by the smiles of the rays of the moon, having come; while the spotless moon is shining; and a very auspicious day,—heralded by the chiefs of the classes of the twice-born with the noise of the proclamation of a holy day, (and) possessed of the (proper) tithi and nakṣatra and muhārta,—having arrived;—

(L. 5)—The son's son of Matritula, and the son of Mātriḍāsa, by name Mātriḥēṣa, an inhabitant of .......... on the hill, has caused to be made, on the delightful mountain which is speckled with various metals and has the appellation of Gopa, a stone-temple, the chief among the best of temples, of the Sun, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself, and of those who, by the .......... of the king, dwell on this best of mountains.

(L. 7)—Those who cause to be made an excellent house of the Sun, like in lustre to the rays of the moon,—their abode is in heaven, until the destruction of all things!

(L. 7)—(This) very famous proclamation of the true religion has been composed through devotion to the Sun, by him who is renowned by the name of Kēśava and by ....... ditya.

(L. 8)—As long as the moon shines on the thicket that is the knot of the braided hair of (the god) Śarva; and as long as the mountain Mēru continues to have (its) slopes

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1 Metre, Śārdulavikṛṣṭita.
2 See page 162 above, note 6.
3 i.e. by the Brāhmaṇa.
4 Read śrīm tivid.
5 i.e. the bright fortnight of the month.
6 i.e. this inscription.
Maliya Copper-Plate Inscription of the Maharaja Dharasena II.

The Year 252.

This inscription,¹ which was originally brought to notice by me in 1884, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 160 ff., is from some copper-plates that were found at Maliya,² the chief town of the Maliya Mahāl or Sub-Division of the Junagadh State in the Kathiawār Peninsula in the Bombay Presidency. The original plates are, I understand, in the possession of the Junagadh Darbār. I obtained them, for examination, through the kindness of the Diwān, Mr. Haridas Viharidas.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 11¾" by 7¾". The edges of them were raised into rims, to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; but the letters are deep, and shew through very distinctly on the backs of them. The engraving is well executed; but, as usual, the interiors of the letter marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—The plates are connected with rings, passing through holes in the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second. Both of the rings had already been cut, when they were employed. One of them is a plain copper ring, roughly circular in shape, about 1⅛" in diameter. The other is of the same thickness, but of an irregular polygonal, and customary with the rings of the Valabhit style. The ends of the rings were secured to a bulge, the front of which is roughly oval, about 1½" long, and set in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, a bull, recumbent, in a rather unskilful manner. The emblem on the Valabhi base resembles it, separated, as in the following example.

Se-Dhēhkhēh, for 13½ oz.—The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 1 oz. 2 dwt. and 13 lbs. 1 oz. 1½ dwt. The size of the letters varies from 1 to 1½ cm.

1 The inscriptions of this family that have already been discovered, are too numerous to be all included in the present volume; and they will, it is hoped, be some day disposed of by themselves in a separate collection. Meanwhile, the family is concerned so closely in the history of the period with which the present volume deals, that my book would be incomplete without a specimen or two of the Valabhi grants, as an accompaniment to the necessary historical chapter. I therefore give two of the inscriptions of this family; the present one, to illustrate the standard form according to which most of the earlier charters were drafted; and the next, partly as an illustration of the form of the later charters, and partly because it is the latest inscription of the family at present known of, and introduces the well-known and important name of Dhṛbhāṭa or Dhruvabhāṭa, as a title of Śūkliyās VII.

² The 'Māla and Mallia' of maps, &c.; about twenty-three miles south by west of Junagadh. It is also called 'Maliya-Hāṭti,' to distinguish it from another Maliya, called 'Maliya-Mīkāna,' in the north of Kathiawār.
The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Dharasena II., of the family of the Kings of Valabhi; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city of Valabhi, the modern Wald, the chief town of the Walā State in the Gohilwād Prānt or Division of Kathiawād. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 571-72); and the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Vaśākha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Dharasena II., to a Brahman, for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites, of some lands at the villages of Antaratra, Dombhigrāma, and Vajragrāma.

TEXT:

First Plate.


3. Nānāttha-crnnapa-jan-ōpajīyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamahēsvarāh śrī śrīnāpati-Dharasenaśa-sāy-anuṣas-tat-pāda-prapāma-prasastatara-vimala... mānānandā vikalpa-vibhavaḥ... iva vihita-

4. Dvārasamudrānimma śrī śrī tasya-ārya... moṣī
dvāra-

5. Bala-paraśkramēṇa para-gaja-gaṭā-anākānām-eṇa-vijayaḥ śrāṇa-aśiṃnāṁ śrāṇa-praśaṇa-prabhūdha śāstra-ārthā-tavānāṁ kalpatarur-iva suhṛt-pra-

6. Payināṁ yathābhilashita-kāma-phal-ōpabhōga-dah paramahābhagavataḥ śrī mahārāja-Dharusasanā-Tasya-anuṣas-ṭach-charaṇāravinda-prapati-pra-


1. The 'Vala, Wala, Waleh, and Wuleh,' of maps, &c.; eighteen miles west by north from Bhāwagar. Lat. 21° 52′ N.; Long. 71° 57′ E.

2. From the original plates.

3. The Jhar grant of the same Mahārāja (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 187 f.), drawn up from the same standard draft, gives here the fuller and better reading of prasastatara-vimala-mauli-manir.

4. Read avabuddha.
va samada-para-gaja-ghat-aspabhota-prakasita-sat(tsu)ya-samadhar-vat-prapat-arat-ti-chudaratna-prabh-samsakta-sakhyya(vya)p-

da-naka-raasmi-sanhat(ih) sakala-smriti-pranata-margga-samyak-paripalana-praja-hridaya-rajanad-anvartha-raja-sabdho rupa-kanoti-sthariyaa-

gambhirrya-buddhi-sanpadbhih Smara-sasaank-aridhi(dr)i)raj-oadhi-tridasaguru-Dhanan[sa]j-atisayandhan(n) bhaya-pradana-paratayaa tripa-va-

vad-apast(a)shasa-sva-karyya-philah padarchar-iva sakala-bhuvanamandal-abho-grama-pramada paramamaheshvarah sri-mahara-

ja-Guhasenaah(ih) Tasya sutas-tat-pada-naka-maytika-santana-nirvitta-Jahnavjal-od(au)gha-vikshilit-adesha-kalmahash prapany-sata-

sahasr-oapjvalya-bhoaga-sampat rupa-labh-fiv-dr(i)tas-sa-rasam-abhhigamlkaara- gunai[sa] sahaja-sakti-sikhv-visheha-visma-

pit-akshila-dhanurdhara prathama-narapati-samatsrishtanam-anupalaya dharmyee(rmma)-dayanam-apakartta-

praj-oapaghat-a-karigum-apapalvanam darayitaa srl-sarasvatyor ek-adhivasaaya sanhat-atrit-

Second Plate.

paksha-lakshmi-parikshobha-daksha-vikramaah kram-oapasampraapta-vimala-

ptrithvaa-srih paramamaheshvarah maharaaja-

sri(sri)-Dharasenaah kualla sarvvan-ev-ayuktaka-vinayuktaka-drangika-

mahattara-ohata-bhaata-drhuvadhikaranika-ndapasaaka-

rajasahmya-kumaramaty-adinya-anayams-chaa yatha-sambadhyamanakn samah-

japayata-Astu vaah samviditaam yathaa mayaa mataa-

pirb puny-apyaanady-athmamaih-aahik-amushmika-yathabhimasha-phil-avaptaay Antaratrayaah Sivaka-padrak Vrasisena-

dantika-pratyaya-padarvartaa-staanat etasmas-aparatah padarvartah-paachadaaa-

tathaa aparaa-stimmaa Skambhasena-pratyaya-padarvartaa-sttanaa viinaadhipak-

puruva-stimm padarvartt daasa Dombhigrame puruv-stimmaa Vraddhaki-

pratyaya-padarvartit naviti[sa] Vajragrame-pra-

padarvartaa-staan-

Vt(7)k7(dina) mahattara-pratyaya ashtavinsati-parvavat japayat-vapi-

Bhumhuasa-padrak kumutvi(mbi)-Botaka-pratyayaa(ya)padarvartaa-staan-

vapi cha lett-s-oandram sa-rasataraa sathv-bhuta-dhana-hirany-

ddieyaam s-oapadyaman-asvisth(ihit)kaa samusta-raajyannyaam-

hasta-prakshapalyam bhoomichchhrida-nyayena Unnataavibhaas(i)i)Vaja-
saney(i)i)Kanya-Vatsasagotra-brahnapa-Rudrabhuttayaa kali-charu-vaisya-

1 This t was at first omitted, and was then inserted rather above its proper position.

2 The Jhar grant, mentioned above, gives here the better reading of atisayandhan irnayogat-abhayapradanaa; so also in No. 39 below, Plate xxxv. line 5.

3 The Jhar grant gives here the better reading of paribhojaa; so also in No. 39 below, line 10.

4 This visarga was forced rather low down by the size of the stot above it.

5 These ten aksaras are engraved on something else that had been previously engraved.

6 The vowels of these two aksaras are quite distinct; but the consonants are very doubtful. There seems to be some fault in the copper here, which prevented the engraver from forming these two aksaras properly, and forced him thus to leave a blank space before sa, as seen in the next line.
Om! Hail! From (the city of) Valabhi.—(There was) the illustrious Śendapati¹⁰ Bhaṭārka, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who had by force bowed down (their) enemies;¹¹ (and) who

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¹ and ² In each case, the engraver seems to have formed the mark of punctuation by mistake for a visarga.

¹ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.

² and ³ In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

¹ Read iti. ⁶ Supply āsanam. ⁷ i.e. āttakah.

⁹ The proper context is “the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dharasēna, being in good health, issues command,” &c., in line 19 ff. The intervening genealogy is by way of a parenthesis.

¹⁰ Śendapati, iti, ‘lord or chief of the army; a general,’ is a technical military title.—The next grade above this was that of the Mahāśendapati, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the Bījayagāth inscription of the Yaudhēyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxviB.

¹¹ The correct interpretation of this important passage was first conclusively pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, in re-editing the Wāla grant of Śilādītya I. of the year 286 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 328 f.) Dr. Bhu Daji, however, evidently had an idea as to the proper meaning; since he wrote (Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 244 f.)—‘A sentence in the copper-plate, which has hitherto not been translated correctly, shows that they’ (the rulers of Valabhi) “triumphed over a sun-worshipping people (Maitrakas).” Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar’s translation (Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 14) was—(Bhaṭārka), who obtained greatness by a hundred wounds received in the midst of a circle of leads of matchless might, who with main force had subjugated their enemies.” Dr. Bühler’s (id. IV. p. 106) was—“Bhaṭārka, who obtained an empire through the matchless power of his friends humbled his enemies by main force; who gained glory in a hundred battles fought at close ters,” Mr. V. N. Mandlik, following Dr. Bhu Daji, translated (Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., XI. p. 246)—“(Bhaṭārka), who had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the
acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends, who had been brought under subjection by (his) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (to him) by affection.

(Line 3)—His son, whose head was purified by being bowed down in the red dust of his feet, (was) the illustrious Śendpati Dharasena (I.), a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—the rays of the lines of the nails of whose feet diffused themselves among the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (his) enemies when they bowed down with (their) heads (before him); (and) whose wealth was the sustenance of the poor, the helpless, and the feeble.

(Line 4.)—His younger brother, whose spotless jewel [in the lock of hair on the top of (his) head] was made more lustrous (than before) by the performance of obeisance to (his) feet, (was) the Mahārāja Drōnasimha, like unto a lion, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—who had as (his) law the rules and ordinances instituted by Manu and other (sages); who, like (Yudhishthira) the king of justice, adhered to the path of the maintenance of good behaviour; whose installation in the royalty by bespinking was performed by the paramount master in person, the sole lord of the circumference of the territory of the whole earth; (and) the glory of whose royalty was purified by (his) great liberality.

(Line 5.)—His younger brother (was) the illustrious Mahārāja Dhrūvasena (I.), a most devout worshipper of the Divine One,—who was victorious, by himself alone, through the prowess of his own arm, over the troops of the array of the elephants of (his) enemies; who was the asylum of those who sought for protection; who was the teacher of the real meaning of the sacred writings; (and) who, like the kalpa-tree, granted the enjoyment of fruits which were the desires, in accordance with (their) wishes, of (his) friends and favourites.

(Line 8.)—His younger brother, whose sins were all washed away by doing obeisance to the waterlilies that were his feet, (was) the illustrious Mahārāja Dharapatta, a most devout worshipper of the Sun,—by the water of whose very pure actions all the stains of the Kali age were washed away; (and) who forcibly conquered the renowned greatness of the ranks of (his) enemies.

(Line 10.)—His son, who acquired an increase of religious merit by doing service to his feet, was the illustrious Mahārāja Guhasena, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—whose sword was verily a second arm (to him) from childhood; the test of whose strength was manifested by clapping (his) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (his) foes; who had the collection of the rays of the nails of (his) left foot interspersed with the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (his) enemies who were made to bow down by his prowess; whose title of "king" was obvious and sui-

wide extent of territories of Maitrakas, who were endowed with incomparable courage, and who had forcibly reduced their enemies to submission." My own original translation (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p.309) was—"(In the lineage) of the Maitrakas, who by force compelled their enemies to bow down before them, there was Bhaṭārka, who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought within the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength."

1 kalpa-tree; one of the trees in Indra's paradise, which granted all desires.

2 Or, perhaps, "who even from childhood carried a sword with his second arm;" i.e. "who could wield a sword with both arms at the same time."
able, because he pleased the hearts of (his) subjects by properly preserving the path prescribed by all the traditionary laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and health, surpassed (respectively) (the god) Smara, the moon, (Himālaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Brihspati) the preceptor of the gods, and (the god) Dhanēṣa; who, through being intent upon giving freedom from fear [to those who came for protection], was indifferent to all the (other) results of his actions, as if they were (of as little value as) straw; and who was, as it were, the personified happiness of the circumference of the whole earth.

(L. 15.)—His son, whose sins have been all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jāhnavī that was constituted by the diffusion of the rays of the nails of his feet,—whose wealth and riches are the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who is with appreciation, as if from a desire for (his) beauty, resorted to by (all) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind, who astonishes all archers by the speciality of (his) innate strength and (skill acquired by) practice; who is the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averts calamities that would afflict (his) subjects; who is the exponent of (the condition of being) the one (joint) habituation of wealth and learning; whose prowess is skilful in causing annoyance to the goddess of the fortunes of the compact ranks of (his) enemies; (and) who possesses a spotless princely glory, acquired by inheritance,—is the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dharasēṇa (II.), a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, who, being in good health, issues a command to all the Āyuktaīs, Viniyuktakas, Drāṅgikas, Mahattaras, irregular and regular troops, Dhrvaddhikās.

1 pāda-chārin, lit. ‘moving on feet or legs’; see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar’s translation of line 7 of the grant of Dharasēṇa IV. of the year 326 (I. Ant. Vol. I. p. 14.)

2 The Abhigāmikā gundh are explained by Kāmandaka in the Nītīśiṅa, iv. vv. 6 to 8 (Calcutta edition, p. 78), as quoted by V. N. Mandlik in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 348, note; they are—good birth, steadfastness in misfortune and prosperity, youth, a good disposition, civility, absence of dilatoriness, speech that is not contradictory, truthfulness, reverence for the aged, gratitude, the state of being favoured by destiny, wisdom, being independent of trifles, capability of subduing hostile neighbouring chiefs, firmness in attachment, far-sightedness, energy, purity, having great aims, modesty, and firm devotion to religion and justice.

3 parīkṣhākā; other grants, drafted from the same form, and also No. 39 below, line 10, give parīkhāna, ‘skilful in’ enjoyment (of); which is a better reading.

4 This, and the following, are technical official terms, for which suitable translations have not yet been fixed.—With the present term, Āyuktaīs, we may compare the expression āyukta-puruṣa in line 26 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1, page 8 above.

5 Viniyuktaīs; compare the use of nīyaj, ‘to appoint; to commission,’ in line 9 of the Jundgājth rock inscription, No. 14 above, page 59; also compare tan-tanaj in line 76 of No. 39 below, Plate xxv.

6 Drāṅgikā; other forms are drāṅgikā (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 205, line 14; where, however, it may be a mistake for drāṅgaī), and drāṅgīn (id. Vol. IV. p. 105, line 15). The present form, drāṅgikā, occurs again in id. Vol. IV. p. 175, line 6; and, in line 10 of the same grant, we have drāṅga, which is the origin of these terms, in Maṇḍalādrāṅga. Dr. Bühler, in the places quoted, proposed to render drāṅga by ‘township,’ and drāṅgikā, &c., by ‘heads of towns,’ and Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives drāṅga as meaning ‘a town, a city.’

7 Mahattara is the comparative formation of mahat, ‘great,’ and is given by Monier Williams in the special sense of ‘the head or oldest man of a village.’—In other inscriptions we have the sūferative formation, Mahattama, used in the same technical way.
1 Dhrvāddhikarana; 'one who has the superintendence of the Dhrvās.'—Dhrvās has been explained by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 205) as being still used in Kāthiāwād and Kachch to denote 'a person, who, on the part of a Rējā, superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue.'

2 Dandapāsīka, or dandapāsīka, is explained by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'one who holds the fetters or noose of punishment; a policeman.'

3 pipādaka seems to be a fuller form of pipāra, which is given in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'a village; the entrance into a village; the earth; a particular district.' Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 337) has explained it as being the modern pārī, a 'grazing-place.' I do not know what authority he has for this meaning. But, in H. H. Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms, pārī (i.e. pārī) is explained by 'common-land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated.' And this seems more likely to be the correct meaning.

4 pāddvarta, lit. 'the turning round of a foot,' is given by Monier-Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'a square foot.' But it seems more likely that such an expression as 'a hundred pāddvartas' means 'a plot of ground measuring a hundred feet square each way, i.e. ten thousand square feet,' rather than only 'one hundred square feet,' which would measure only ten feet each way, and would be rather a small area for a grant; to say nothing of the still smaller areas mentioned further on.

5 pratyaya; in other passages, the form pratyāya occurs.

6 i.e. ‘one hundred and twenty pāddvartas.’

7 śikhara; lit. 'peak, top, summit.'

8 See page 166 above, note 6.

The meaning of viḍa, bhdī, and ddēya, is not apparent.—viḍa is derived either from vd, 'to blow,' or from va, 'to become dry or withered;' compare dovī in line 14 f. of No. 31 above, page 137.—bhdī is the past participle of bhd, 'to be, to become;' but no suitable meaning suggests itself.—ddēya seems to mean either 'that which is to be given,' from ḍ in composition with dd, 'to give;' or 'that which is to be cut, reaped, or mown,' from ḍ with dd. But it is possible that, instead of the prefix ḍ, we have the negative particle a, and that the word means 'that which is not to be given,
it occurs; (and with the privilege that it is) not to be (even) pointed at with the hand (of undue appropriation) by any of the king’s people.1

(L. 29.)—"Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (it) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brähman, (and) cultivating, (or) causing (it) to be cultivated, or assigning (it to another).

(L. 30.)—"And this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future pious kings, born of Our lineage, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (both to him who makes it and to him who continues it). And he shall become invested with the guilt of) the five great sins, together with the minor sin, who may confiscate this (grant), or assent to its confiscation."

(L. 32.)—And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Védas.—The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! O Yudhishthīra, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (surely) the preservation (of a grant) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs; at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it).

(L. 35.)—(This charter) has been written by the Śāndhivigraphika Skandabhāṣa. This is the sign-manual of me, the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dharasena. The Dīśaka (is) Chiribhā. The year 200 (and) 50 (and) 2; (the month) Vaiśākha; the dark fortnight; (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

No. 39; PLATE XXV.

ALINA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SILADITYA VII.

THE YEAR 447.3

This inscription was discovered by Mr. Harivallabh, Assistant Educational Inspector, Kaira and Broach; and was first brought to notice in 1879, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 79 ff., where Dr. Bühler published his reading of the text, with remarks. It is on some copper-plates that were found either at, or in the neighbourhood of, Alinā or Alīnā, a village about fourteen miles north-east of Nādiād, the chief town of the Nādiād Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Kaira (Khedā) District in Gujarāt in the Bombay Presidency.

cut, reaped, or mowed.—Instead of viśa-bhāta, we sometimes have bhāta-viśa, in reversed order; e.g. in line 67 of No. 39 below, Plate xxv.

1 samasta-rājākṣiyānām-a-hasta-prakṣịpaṇīya. This is the customary expression in the Valabhi grants. From the south, we have (1) the almost identical expression rājākṣiyānām-an-anguli-prakṣijānā, e.g. in line 45 of the Goa grant of Shashṭhādeva II. of Kaliyuga-Saṁvāt 4348, (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 201); and (2) the variant rājā-rājapurushaṁ-apy-an-anguli-nirādiya, in line 61 of the Paśupā grant of Rāma-chandra of Śaka-Saṁvāt 1193 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 317).

2 sau-hasta; i.e. the own hand.—Occasionally an actual representation of a sign-manual is given; e.g. at the end of the grant of Śiladitya VII., No. 39 below, Plate xxv., and at the end of the Barha grant of Dhruva II. of Śaka-Saṁvāt 757 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 198 f. and Plate).

3 The ‘Nādiād, Nariād, and Neriād’ of maps, &c.
When they first came to light, they had been lying for some time in a merchant's shop at Almā. They are now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, to which they were presented by Dr. Bühler.

The *plates*, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about *1 2/8* by *1 1/8*, and the second, which is rather irregular in shape, about *1 3/8* by *1 1/8*. The edges of them were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surfaces; with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. The surfaces of the plates, however, have suffered very much from corrosion; and in some places the letters, though not destroyed, are so choked up with a hard deposit of rust, which I found it impossible to remove, that they fail to appear in the lithograph. But the inscription is for the most part legible enough on the original plates; the only part that has really suffered being at the top, especially towards the right corner, of the second plate. The plates are thick, and very substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them. The engraving, as displayed where the plates have not suffered much injury, is fairly well executed; but the interiors of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout. There are holes for two rings, in the bottom of the first plate and the top of the second; but the rings, with the seal, on one of them, are not forthcoming. The weight of the two plates is 17 lbs. 38 oz. The size of the letters varies from *7/8* to *1 1/8*. The characters belong to the southern class of *śastra* pets; they are a later development of the type of those of the preceding grant of the *Mātrājā Dharāśena* II. of the year 252, No. 98 above, page 164, and Plate xxiv., and illustrate what may be called the Saurā衍ra or Kāthiāwad alphabet of the eighth century A.D. They include, from northern sources, a separate form of the *lingual ś*, as distinct from the dental *ṛ*, e.g. in *chāḍ*, line 4; also the rather rare lingual *ḍ* in *aduḍha*, line 11, and *samuḍḍha*, line 56. They also include, in line 78, forms of the *numerical symbols* for 5, 7, 40, and 4000. The *language* is Sanskrit; and, except for four stanzas in lines 58 to 63, and for some of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 72 to 75, the inscription is in prose throughout. As is the case with all the later grants of this family, the inscription was engrossed with great carelessness and inaccuracy; and there are a few passages, the proper reading of which can hardly yet be determined with certainty.

In respect of *orthography*, we have to notice (1) the occasional use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anuśvara*, before *ś*, in *vansā*, lines 45 and 62, and *nistrītha*, line 51; (2) the use of *sīṅha* for *śīṅha*, in line 56; (3) the use, once, of the dental nasal, instead of the *anuśvara*, before *s*, in *ansta*, line 11; (4) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *vikṛrama*, line 11; and once in conjunction with a following *ṛ*, a very exceptional occurrence, in *prakṛiti*, line 26-27; and (5) the doubling of *ḍh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuḍḍhyāta*, lines 10, 14, 19, 23, 50, 53, 54-55, and 58.

The *inscription* is one of Śīlāditya VII., who also had the title of *Dhrābhata*, i.e. Dhruvbhata, 1 of the family of the *Kings of Valabhi*; and the charter recorded

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1 As pointed out by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 80), Dhruvabhata is the full and correct form of the name; and the first two syllables have been contracted in this inscription, partly because the metre required one long syllable, not two short ones, and partly because Dhrā was no doubt at that time, just as now, the vernacular Gujarātī form of Dhruv, especially in its meaning, in Kāthiāwad and Kachch (ib. Vol. V. p. 203), as a technical official title denoting "persons who, on the part of the Rāja, superintend the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue; their duty is to see that he" (the Rāja, or a farmer) "does not collect more than his proper share."
in it is inscribed from his camp at the town of Anandapura. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year four hundred and forty-seven (A.D. 766-67), on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyeshta (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by Silātīta VII. himself, to a Brahman, for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and other rites, of the village of Mahilabali or Mahilābali in the Upplahicātā pathaka1 in the Khētaka dhāra.3

Of the places mentioned in this grant, Khētaka is of course the modern Khēdā or Kaira itself. Upplahicātā is evidently the modern Uplēt or Uplētā, in the Thāśrā Talukā, about thirty-five miles almost due east of Kaira. And Anandapura must be the modern Anand, the chief town of the Anand Talukā, about twenty-one miles south-east of Kaira.

TEXT:4

First Plate.


1 t- pratāp-āpanata-dāna-mān-ārijjāv-āpurjita-anurāgād-anurakta-maulabhritbā śreṇī-bal-aśūjta-ārīvah paramamāhēśvarah śri-Bhatārkākēdā sūryavag-chchhinnā-varvāntā mā-


1 pathaka is a technical territorial term, a suitable translation for which has not yet been determined. It is evidently connected with pathin, patha, a path, a road.

2 dhāra is another technical territorial term, a suitable rendering of which has not yet been determined.—In line 25 f. of the Altā grant of Dharasena II. of the year 270 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 72), we have the expression Khatarkhā-ādhara-vihaya; which seems to show that the term dhāra is synonymous with vihaya.—There is another term, dharanī, which is evidently a synonym of dhāra, since the Hastavapra dharanī is mentioned in line 21 of the Wall grant of Dharasena II. of the year 269 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 13); while the Hastavapra dhāra is spoken of in a grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 365 (ib. Vol. I. p. 45).

3 Lat. 22° 44' N.; Long. 72° 44' E.

4 From the original plates.

5 Read saṇdhhaedrā. In ndāḥ, the engraver first formed dhd, and then corrected it into ndaḥ.

6 Read śaurāg-ānurakta.

7 Read bhṛita.

8 Read mābhikāra.

9 Read dvitiya.

10 Read mārgga.

11 Read phalā.
māhēśvarāḥ Sṛ-śu-guhasēnāḥ [[11*]] Tasya sutah tat-pāda-nakha-[mayukha*-]

7 sanitāna-viṣṭha%(a)% laññay-jal-augha-prakṣālit-dēśa-kalmaṣhaḥ praptayi-

śata-sa-

8 has-pāpajīvatā% ṃam-sampad-rūpa-lōbhād-[y-a]%śrī%(śrī) taḥ sarabh(ha) sam-abhii-

amikaiḥ gunaḥ sahaja-saktiḥ-sikṣā-vidēśa-vismāpita-labdhā-dhanur-

dharaḥ - prathamana-[na]-

9 rapati-samatisishṭanām-anupalayitā dharmmaḥ[dāya]nām-api(pā) kartā praj-

a-paghaṭā-kārīṇām upapalvanāṃ samayitā Sṛ-śara-vatvī-ṛc-ādhibāsaya

saḥopapati-pres-

ksha-lakṣayitam-paribhāga-daksha-vikramahā vikram-pāma-samp[rāptā]-vimala-

pārthitha-śriḥ paramamahēśvarāḥ Sṛ-ṛhmasēnāḥ [[11*]] Tasya sutah

tat-pāda-ānudhyātāḥ sakala-jagad-ananda-ātya(vyāya)dbhuh-

ta-guna-samudra-śthagita-samagra-digmanḍalāḥ samara-śata-viṣya-sōbhā-

sanathā-ṃandalāgra-dyu[st]iti-bhāsur - ānasa-pṭīh-gṛyā(dō)dhā - guru - manorātha-

mahābhāva(ra)ḥ sarva-viṣya-pāra-parama-

bhāg-ādhipama-vimala-matrī-api svā tyānāḥ

śopadānya-par[ś]tōshāḥ samagra-lōk-ādgha-gāṁbhrīya-hridayo-pi

savyay(chha)rait-ātisaya-svyakta-parama-

kalayāna-svabhāvāḥ kh[i]śibhūta-Kṛityugahṛ-patī-patha-viṣḍhan-ādhipat-ādagra-

kṛitīḥ dharmam-anugā(ṛto)dh-ā(ō)jjivāś alatarakṣīr-ātitha-sukha-sa[m]pad-ul[pa*]

śevā-śrīnaraḥ-āhā Varjāmādityasyā-vi[di]yā-ṭīya-nāmā

pā(ḥ)pamam[ś]tē[ḥ]svarāḥ gṛt-(Sṛ)-Gī(śi)lādityaḥ [[11*]] Tasya sutah tat-

pāda-ānudhyātāḥ svayava[m]p-Upendra-gurum-epa[va] gurub gurun-

ātyādaravatā samabhillasahasya[ṃ]api rāj-a-lakṣhṇa[m]ḥ

skandh-āsakt[āṃ] parama-bhrāvanti dhut[ṛ]-vyasa-ad-dī[ḥ]ṣaṃ-Śa-śaad-


sampoṭi[ṃ] prabhāva-sā[ṃ]pad-vā[va] alkriti-pripi-śata-sīrō-

ratnā[tna]-vnā[ḥ](chhha)Ṛ-ṇa-paṭha(dha)-pāda[pa]ṭha-pi param-āvajau-ābhimāna-

sahastāndbhīrṇgājitam-anvṛtiti prapatritākā paramyāja prakhyāta-

paurnaḥ-abhimānair-ā(ā)py-ā(ā)ratibhir-anāśa[di]

ta-ṇaṇtra[ṃ]Śa-ṭoṭyāḥ kṛita-nikhī[ṃ]la-bhuvan-āmā(mō)da-vimala-guṇa-sa[m]ḥatiḥ

prasaḥa-vihita-saṅka-Kali-vilas[ś]-tā-gatir - mattra[ṃ] jan-abhir(ṛto)bhir-

āśaśaḥi[ṃ] dōshair-anāṃpi-

[Read śakti.]

[Read vismāpita-sarvaa, or vismāpita-āhiḥa.]

[Here, and after samayitā in this line, and in other places, there follows a mark which may perhaps be intended for a mark of punctuation. It is the same as the anuvṛtra (except that it is not in the proper place for the anuvṛtra), or half a visarga.]

[Read darśayitā.]

[Read vismāpita-sarvaa, or vismāpita-āhiḥa.]

[Read saktāvāda.]

[Read opasamprāpta, or opakrama-sampṛpta.]

[Read sūkha.]

[Read dharmmāditya.]

[This visarga is imperfect, only the lower part being engraved.]

[Read tasya-bhujak; on the authority of line 15-16 of the next grant of certain date after this generation; that of Dhruvaśena II. of the year 310 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 14); and of later grants also (e. g. Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 149, line 17, and Vol. VII. p. 74, line 18.)]

[Omit this word.]

[Read samabhillasahasyaṃ.]

[Read paramabhadra śrava.]

[Read rāṣṭra.]

[Read prasātitaśādunā.]

[Read pratikrya.]

[Read nīchha.]

[Read ādhaiḥ.]}
18 [ṣht-ा]*yunjnata-hrdaya[h-]* prakhyāta-paurushaḥ śāstra-kōṭal-atīsay[a*]
   guṇa[k*] - guṇatītha - vipaksha - kshitipati - lakshmi - svayamśvayam′grāhēc(ha) -
   prakāśita-praviḍ(a)yā-prapurstānaḥ[*sarkhyā-]*

19 dhigamak[ya][pa]*yamam[a-]*śevarah śrī-Kharagrah[ā[ḥ]*] Tasya sutaḥ
   tat-pād-[a*]nuddhyātaḥ sa[r*]yva[v-]*dy-ādhigamah-pahita-nikhila-vidvaj-
   jana-manaḥ-parīsēhit[ti-]*ātisha(sa)ya[h-]* sa[t]*yav-

20 sa[m*[]*pat-tyagaiḥ sauvyena cha vigat-anuṣ[a-m*]dhana-samāhit-ārtāti-
   paksha-manārtha-rathāksha-bharmaḥ samyag-upalakshit-ānēka-śāstra-kalā-
   lōkacharitra-gahvāra-vi-

21 bhāgo-pi parama-bhadra-pra[pra]*kritir-akritri(ti)m-praśayō-pi vibha(na)ya-
   sübhā-vibhūsanah* samara-śata-jayapatāk-āharana-pratyay-ōdagra-bāhu-danda-
   vidhvansita-pr[ti-]*kṣa-

22 darp-ōdah[ā]* svā-dhanu[h-]*-pra[pra]*bhāva-[pari-]*bhūt-āstraakusal-ābhimāna-
   sakal-nripati-manaḥ[la-a]*bhinnanda-sūsanā[nah]* para[mam*]śevarah
   gr[frd-]*Dhārasā[śē-]*nāḥ[li]* Tasya-anuṣaḥ ta[1]-p[ad-ānu]-

23 dhyātaḥ sācharhit-[a-]*tīrū(sa)yīta-sakala-pūlī*[r]*vva-narapatīḥ
dus-
   sādhanā[nah]* m[api] prasāḍhayita vishaya[a-]*ōmah mū[r-]*[ti-]*m[a-]*n[iva-
   puruṣabharabāḥ* parivṛddha-gu[n-]*[a-]*nurūga-[nirbha-]

24 r-aḥa-vṛtt[hi[bh]-]* Manur-iva svā(sa)yam-ābhyupapannaḥ prakṛtibhir-
   avi[dhi]-gata-kalā-kalāpa[h-]* kānti-tirāskṛt-salāchhanah-kumudā[da]-
   nātha[h-]* prajyā-pratāpa-sthagita-dīg[ad]+[nari-talā]-h-

25 pradhvamśita-dhvanita-rāśih satat-ōdita-savītā prakṛtibhyah[ḥ-]* para[m]-[r]*
   pratyaya-amarthvāntam-atipa(ba)-huṭhita-prayojan-ānandvandham[*-]*gama-
   paribhūna[puru]*[m-]* vidadhāma[nah]* mah sanḍhī-vigrāha-

26 samāsa-niśchaya-nipūpa[h-]* śāhānam-anupadeśam dādām[ā]*[g]*[n]*[v-]*[d-]*[r]*[a-]*[n]-
   śāhānam-anupadeśam dādām[ā]*[g]*[n]*[v-]*[d-]*[r]*[a-]*[n]-
   samāsa-niśchaya-nipūpa[h-]* śāhānam-anupadeśam dādām[ā]*[g]*[n]*[v-]*[d-]*[r]*[a-]*[n]-

27 ti-vikramō-pi karuṇā-mridu-hrdayaḥ śrutavān-apya-i(a)-garv[v*[i]*]*mahā- śaṅkō-pi
   prāsami[mi]* ś[ti-]*[na-]*sauh[a-]*rddō-pi niramitā dōṣaadōsah-va[t-]*
   udya-samputa-pa[n-]*

28 ta-jan-anurāga-parīvrit[hi]*[h-]* bhīṣma-rāṇā-saṁpratīthī-prathama-bāla-
   dyāti[tya]-
   pramamāhagvani gr[frd-]*Dhārasanah[*[i]*] Tasya sutaḥ
tat-pādaradēla-pada-pa-

29 ma-dharāṇi-kashaṇa-ḍi(ja)nita-kīpa-lāmchhana-lālāta-chandrh[r-]*[a-]*kala[h-]*
   śisu-
   bhāva eva śravāṇa-niḥita-māntik-lāmkrā-aṇbhran-āmala-sruta-viśā[śē]-
   sh[ha][h-]* prādana-sa-

* Read kantsal.  
* Omit this word.  
* Omit this second svayaṁ.  
* Read prāthama.  
* This virasaṅga is imperfect, only the upper part being engraved.  
* Read dāhiyama-viśākha.  
* Read pariśākha.  
* Read saldhāchana.  
* Read ānubandham.  
* Read dhāraṇīnaḥ, on the authority of line 9-10 of his own grant of the year 310 (Ind. Ant. VI. p. 13), and of subsequent inscriptions.  
* Read pāthama.  

18 [ṣht-ा]*yunjnata-hrdaya[h-]* prakhyāta-paurushaḥ śāstra-kōṭal-atīsay[a*]
   guṇa[k*] - guṇatītha - vipaksha - kshitipati - lakshmi - svayamśvayam′grāhēc(ha) -
   prakāśita-praviḍ(a)yā-prapurstānaḥ[*sarkhyā-]*

19 dhigamak[ya][pa]*yamam[a-]*śevarah śrī-Kharagrah[ā[ḥ]*] Tasya sutaḥ
   tat-pād-[a*]nuddhyātaḥ sa[r*]yva[v-]*dy-ādhigamah-pahita-nikhila-vidvaj-
   jana-manaḥ-parīsēhit[ti-]*ātisha(sa)ya[h-]* sa[t]*yav-

20 sa[m*[]*pat-tyagaiḥ sauvyena cha vigat-anuṣ[a-m*]dhana-samāhit-ārtāti-
   paksha-manārtha-rathāksha-bharmaḥ samyag-upalakshit-ānēka-śāstra-kalā-
   lōkacharitra-gahvāra-vi-

21 bhāgo-pi parama-bhadra-pra[pra]*kritir-akritri(ti)m-praśayō-pi vibha(na)ya-
   sübhā-vibhūsanah* samara-śata-jayapatāk-āharana-pratyay-ōdagra-bāhu-danda-
   vidhvansita-pr[ti-]*kṣa-

22 darp-ōdah[ā]* svā-dhanu[h-]*-pra[pra]*bhāva-[pari-]*bhūt-āstraakusal-ābhimāna-
   sakal-nripati-manaḥ[la-a]*bhinnanda-sūsanā[nah]* para[mam*]śevarah
   gr[frd-]*Dhārasā[śē-]*nāḥ[li]* Tasya-anuṣaḥ ta[1]-p[ad-ānu]-

23 dhyātaḥ sācharhit-[a-]*tīrū(sa)yīta-sakala-pūlī*[r]*vva-narapatīḥ
dus-
   sādhanā[nah]* m[api] prasāḍhayita vishaya[a-]*ōmah mū[r-]*[ti-]*m[a-]*n[iva-
   puruṣabharabāḥ* parivṛddha-gu[n-]*[a-]*nurūga-[nirbha-]

24 r-aḥa-vṛtt[hi[bh]-]* Manur-iva svā(sa)yam-ābhyupapannaḥ prakṛtibhir-
   avi[dhi]-gata-kalā-kalāpa[h-]* kānti-tirāskṛt-salāchhanah-kumudā[da]-
   nātha[h-]* prajyā-pratāpa-sthagita-dīg[ad]+[nari-talā]-h-

25 pradhvamśita-dhvanita-rāśih satat-ōdita-savītā prakṛtibhyah[ḥ-]* para[m]-[r]*
   pratyaya-amarthvāntam-atipa(ba)-huṭhita-prayojan-ānandvandham[*-]*gama-
   paribhūna[puru]*[m-]* vidadhāma[nah]* mah sanḍhī-vigrāha-

26 samāsa-niśchaya-nipūpa[h-]* śāhānam-anupadeśam dādām[ā]*[g]*[n]*[v-]*[d-]*[r]*[a-]*[n]-
   śāhānam-anupadeśam dādām[ā]*[g]*[n]*[v-]*[d-]*[r]*[a-]*[n]-

27 ti-vikramō-pi karuṇā-mridu-hrdayaḥ śrutavān-apya-i(a)-garv[v*[i]*]*mahā- śaṅkō-pi
   prāsami[mi]* ś[ti-]*[na-]*sauh[a-]*rddō-pi niramitā dōṣaadōsah-va[t-]*
   udya-samputa-pa[n-]*

28 ta-jan-anurāga-parīvrit[hi]*[h-]* bhīṣma-rāṇā-saṁpratīthī-prathama-bāla-
   dyāti[tya]-
   pramamāhagvani gr[frd-]*Dhārasanah[*[i]*] Tasya sutaḥ
tat-pādaradēla-pada-pa-

29 ma-dharāṇi-kashaṇa-ḍi(ja)nita-kīpa-lāmchhana-lālāta-chandrh[r-]*[a-]*kala[h-]*
   śisu-
   bhāva eva śravāṇa-niḥita-māntik-lāmkrā-aṇbhran-āmala-sruta-viśā[śē]-
   sh[ha][h-]* prādana-sa-
lila-kṣhālit-agrahaṣṭaravindvaḥVyāsaḥ iva mridu-kara-graḥanād-amandikrit-
Ānanda-vidhiḥ vasu[ṁ]h[dh]arāyaḥ rá(kā)mmurā(ka)-dhanuruv[ē]da iva
sabhāvināśapraṇa-lakṣhya-kalāpa[h] pra-

ptāt-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍal-āpanomibrīttaḥ chūḍāmapiyanāmā śāsanaḥ
dhārakavranti-śrī-Dhara-

rasēnaḥ [1*] Tat-pitāmaha-bhrātī-śrī-Śilādityasva. Vā(śa)[r]ngapānē-iv
Āgrajanmanḍbhakti-bandhur-āvataya-[kalpa-pranatē]-ati-dhavalaya
tat-pitāmahindvapaṇī(ri)tātāyā charaṇa-nakha-manī.

stasya-[r][ē]ya rājachō(ṛṣhe)ḥ d[ā]kshinyme-āntanvānasya prabala-
dhavalinō(ṃn) yaga(śa)śar valay[ē]na ma-

[ūdita]-kakubhā nāvāyatharāliśṭephiḥkhaḍgaparivama-maṇḍalasya payē(y)a
dāyāma-śikharā-chūcchura-kachī-sama-vinyasta-stana-yugāḥ kshī[ē]ṇ
paty[ē]n[ḥ] śrī[śrī]-[Dērābaja]-

sy-āgrajah kshiti[pa]-sa[m]hatḥ charu vibhāgasya gu(ṛu)chir-yaṅgo-
ṅukar[ē]bhiritah svayamvar-ābhilāśihinm-iva rāj[y]āśrayam-aprpayantēḥ
kṛita-par[ī]graḥa[ḥ] sauryyam-apratīha.-

para-bhuvāṁ vidhivad-dcharita-kara-graḥanāḥ pūrvaṃ-[r][ē]ya vividha-varm[r]-
oj[ō][j]valēna grū(ṛu)-āṭiśay[ē]n[ō] dūbhā-hita-stāvasa-yugal[ā] pun[a-h-punar-
uktey-ēva ratn-ā].

[la]ḥ[k]ṭrēn-ālakṛita-grōtā saṃpuruṣat-kā(kā)raκa-vīkta-kīta-paṇa-ratna-
kirṇam-śaipchaśhinna-śrīdānā-saśila-nivahānasva[kā]vilaṃsa-naṇa-saival-āh-
kuram-ap-āgraṇām-udvaha[n] dhrita-vaś[r][ē]la-ratna-pa(va)laya-jaladhi-vēl[r][ē]-
tatāyam[r][ē]n-bhaja-parishvaka-vaśvam[bha]r ah param[ē]hēvāraḥ śrī-
Dhruvasēna-Tasya-āgr-

1 Read kanyāyā. 2 Read sambhāvīt-āśka. 3 Read maṅgal-ōttamāṅga-dhrita-chāḍāmanyaṃāma. 4 In line 39 of the grant of Dharaśeṇa IV. himself, of the year 326, Ṛāhāja śukṣa 10, the reading is chakravrinni śrī-ājaka-pāḍ-ānudhyātaḥ śrī (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 79, and Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 16); also in his grant of the same year, Māghi bahula 5, of which we have only the translation of the second plate (Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 45).—In all the subsequent grants, the epigraph śrī-ājaka-pāḍ-ānudhyātaḥ was, for some reason or other, omitted, as here; even in his own grants of the year 330 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 75, line 41, and Vol. XV. p. 340, line 40). 5 Read dhagamanası, in accordance with line 29 of the next available grant of the generation after this, that of Kharagraha II. of the year 337 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 78). 6 Read dānuddya. 7 Read ṛṣṇi-parāśakā.-ddhikṣa-paśu-patya-vyāh. 8 Read chūcchura-rucchāra-saḥya-vivydhāya-stana. 9 Read dēgajas, on the authority of line 32 of the grant of Kharagraha II., quoted above, note 5; and of most of the subsequent grants. 10 Read sāmbal śrāna. 11 Read nābhāsi yāminīvahārāyāprachit-dākṣara-paryośka. 12 Read śrībhāta-udvaha[ṛa]-nānam. 13 Read rūvudvahā. 14 Read śrītṛaḥ. 15 Read avuṣchchinha. 16 Read nivah-baṇdha. 17 Read iv.
Second Plate.

svayam-atispashta-cheshtam-ashish-[nagayash]-[tri-atiruchhtrata-charita-garima-
pankalita-sakala-na]-rapa[i]-ir-ati-

41 prakrishi- anuraga-[sa]-[bha]-va-skrita- pranata- samasta- samanta- chakra-
chordama-pimi-mayukha-[kacchitha-charaapanamad-ugala]- proddham-[dara]-
d[u]-[ran]-dalita-dvishad-vai-

42 rgga-darpah prasarpata-patiyath-pratapa-plushhit-deshtha-satru-vaha[sa]- pranayapi-
paksa-ni[kshipta-lakhmikah] prerita-gad-otkshita[pu]-sa[da]-sha-cha[kra]-h
parihrita-

43 [bala-krit]-d[a]-anadahakrit-krit-dvajit-eka-vikrama- prasthdita- dharitritala-[samgrhrita-
jalasayi]-[purva-purushotta]-mah[ sakhshad-dharma iva samag-
iva-vastha-]

44 pita-varug-atram-chahara puvravai-apurvi[rvv]-patibhih-trishtha-lava-lubhita-
yan-aparhita[ni deva-brahma]-d[ey][ni te]-sham-apy-[atisara]-[manah-
pra-

45 [sa]-[mut-sa]-[naka]-[la]-[na]-[nu] mahanbhayam parimuditatri[tri]-bhuvan-abhinandit-
chchhrit-tukrishta-hdvala-dh[rmma]-dh[va]-[jaya]
[prakshita]-[ijana]-vanah-
de[va]-dvija-guna[priyapa]-yathara-[m]-anavarata-

46 pravartitah- mah-[dara]-[ati]-dana- vyavasana-[anupajita]-[smtvsth]-opatt-[dara-
kritha]-[parampara]-[danturita]-[kh[ti]-[n]-dikrakrayalah
[spashtam-eva
ya[jh-arthaha[ma]- Dharmadityiya]-

47 [dvit]yana-namah para[mah]-maheshvarah shri-Kharagraha[hit]| Tasya-agra-
janmanah[ kumuda-shapda-iri-vikasnyya kalavata-chandrikay-eva kiritya
havalita-sa]-kala-digmapda-

48 lasya kharadhit-aguru-[vij]-lepana-vida-tyamala-Vindhya-[sa]-la-vipula-payodharayah
kshi[the]-patyu[ha]- shri-Składityasya
sonuf[r]-nava-pralayakirana iva

49 pratidina-santvaidhdamana-hridaya[kala-chandra(kra)-vatlah] [kesa]nda-[sa]-[sh]-ura-iva
rjahlaksahminkah-sakala[-vana][sthamim]=iva-[alamukurvavanah][sinkha]-gudiketana
iva ruchi[mach-chudah]-ma[pa]-[dana]-

50 prachanda-sakti-prabhava-cha sarad-agnma iva dvishatam parama-

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1 It is rather peculiar that the elder brother should be mentioned after the younger. The reading, agaraj, however, is the same in line 37 of Kharagraha's own grant of the year 337 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 28), which seems to put the correctness of it beyond doubt; and the same reading is repeated in all the later grants without exception.—See also note 4 below.

2 Read vyavasthith-apajita, or vyavasthid-apajita.

3 Read kirtti.

4 Here we have another instance of the elder brother being mentioned after the younger (see note 1 above). But, except that agrajah is written by mistake for agranmanah, the reading is the same in line 47 of the next grant after this generation, that of Składitya III. of the year 352, the son of Składitya II. who is now under notice (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 308) and this seems to put the correctness of it beyond doubt. Also, the same reading that we have here, agrajanmanah, is repeated in all the later grants.

5 Read pinda.

6 Read lakshmin=achala.

7 A considerable amount of matter is omitted here. The full passage should run — sarad-agama
iva pradha[ma]=ulasa-padam samundh vidalayan=amadhah=iva para-gajin=ulayat-
dhpara-bhaitapa iva samrangreshu mushyam=abhimukhandh=iva austih dvishatam.
māhēśvarah paramabhāttāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramāśvara-sīr-bappa-pād-ānuddhyātah paramabhaṭṭaraka-mahārāj-[mahārāj]-

51 jādhirāja-paramāśvarah sīr Śālāḍyādēvah Tasya sutah pārmaīśvāryaḥ[k][k] kōp-ākriṣṭa-nistraṇa-pāta-vidatil-drāti-kari-kumbhaṭhaḥ-ollaṣat-prapa[yita]-mahā-pratāp-analāḥ prā [kara]-


53 vihit-atapatrāḥ . parama[mahe]śvarah paramabhaṭṭaraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramāśvara-sīr-bappa-pād-ānuddhyātah paramabhaṭṭaraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramē[śvara-sīr]-Śālāḍyā[deva]-[ī]-[i]-[i]-[i] [Tat-putraḥ]-

54 pratāp-anurāga-prapati-samasta-samanta-chūḍāmāri-nakha-mayukha-niṣṭhīra;jīta-pādaravindah parama[ma]heśvarah paramabhāttāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramāśvara-sīr-bappa-pād-ā-

55 nuḍdhyātah paramabhaṭṭaraka mahārājādhirāja-paramāśvara-sīr Śālāḍyā[deva]-[i]-[i] Tasya-[ātmajāḥ praśamita-ri[!]pu-[!]bala-darppah vipula-jaya-mangalā-lārayah śīl-samādhih gana-lā[i]-ta-


57 [ma]nikiya-[ma]śīrinī charana-nakha-mayukha-rajañj-āge[ā]-digvadh-mukhah paramamahēśvarah paramabhāttāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramāśvara-sīr-bappa-pā-


59 [nara]ka-nāśa-śīr-śīr-pratyaṇāh prithvī-samuddharana-kāryya-kīta-aika-nilīṣṭhaḥ sampūrṇa-chandra-kara-ni[!]mūla-jāta-kṛtiḥ [ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[ī]-[i...
61 [r-\text{ggu}]pa-ratna-rāṣṭīh aśīvarya-vīkrama-guṇaīh paramair-upētaḥ sat[\^*]v-\text{-}
opakāra-karapē satataṁ pravrrītaḥ s\text{[\^*]}kshāj\text{-}[\text{\textbf{I}}\text{\textbf{I}}]janarddan\text{-}(na) iv-\text{-}
adṛdita-dushta-darpah [\text{\textbf{I}}\text{\textbf{I}}]

62 Yuddhā[\text{i}] sakrid-gā\text{-}(ga)ja-gḥata-ghaṭan-aika-dakshaḥ punya-alayo jāgati gta-\text{-}
mahā-śrībhājā-param[\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}svara-vanāsa-janma śīl-Dhrūbhaṭī
jāgyati ja-\text{-}

63 ta-mahā-pramōdāṁ [\text{\textbf{I}}\text{\textbf{I}}] [Sa cha\text{\textbf{I}}] paramēśvaram [\text{\textbf{I}}] paramahṣaṭ-vāra-ka-mahāraja-\text{-}
dhirāja-parameśvara-sīl-pa(ba)pap(p)a-śūr[\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}anuddhyat\text{-}a para(r)amahṣattara-na (ka)-mahāraja-

64 dhirāja-paramēśvara-sīl-Śīlādityādēvāḥ sarvvaṇ-eva samajhāpayaty-Astu voh saṁvidīta[m\text{\textbf{I}}] yathā m[\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}tāpirōṭ-ātmanaś-cha punya-yād-\text{-}

65 ddhayē aihik-āmushmika-phaḷ-āvāpty-arthaṁ śīlamādānandapuraṇavāstävya-\text{-}
tachchāturviṣyāsāṁānya-Ś[\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}kṛkṣaṇaśaṅgośra(tr)-abhvirchasabrāmphāchu-\text{-}

66 bhāṭ-Ākhandalāṁtrivṛtye(ya) bhaṭṭa-Viṣṇu-putrāya bali-charu-vaśiva-dev-\text{-}
āgniḥtora-kṛatu-krī(kri)nya-ādya-utsarpāṇa-āṭthē[\text{i}] gṛt(sīl)-Khētak-thāhāre

Uppalāhēta-

67 pathakē Mahīla(ḍā)balli-n[\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}ma-grāmaḥ s-ōdraṅga[h\text{\textbf{I}}] s-[\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}parik(ka)raḥ s-ōt padyā(ya)māna-vaśitikah s-aḥbūta-pa(v)a ta-pratyādōyah s- sa-\text{-}
apāraṇḍaḥ sa-\text{-}

68 bhōga-bhāgah sa-dhānaya-hirany-ād[\text{\textbf{I}}]yaḥ sarvva-rajākhyānaḥ a-hasta-\text{-}
prakṛtĒpāsīyaḥ pūrva-pradatta-dōpadaẏa-prahmadaya-varjiā bhūdha(bhu)m-\text{-}
magnāt-magnāt-va[y][\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}n-ā-chan[dr]-ā[r\text{\textbf{I}}]kk-

69 rūpava-kshti-parvṭvaya-samakālānah putra-pauṭr-anvaya-bhōgya udhay(k)-\text{-}
atisarggēṇa brahmadāyavēna pratipādaṁ [\text{\textbf{I}}] yato-bh(y)sy-ōchitsayā brahmadā[y]-s[t]-

70 tyā bhunjataḥ krishtaḥ karṣāpayataḥ pratidīśataṁ vā na kaiśchid-\text{-}
vyaṣehē varttiyay[\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}a Āgāmī-bhadra-nīri(nri)pāṭibhih a-\text{-}

71 smad-vanśa-jāir-anayair-va[v]-ā-nityānityān[-a]-śīr̥a[\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}mānujiya-\text{-}
(āhya)kan samāyantaḥ cha bhūmi-dānāṁ phalāṁ avagachchhaadbhiḥ ayam-a-\text{-}

72 smad-dāya-nūmantavyah pālavitavyas-cha [\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-} Uktaṁ-cha pa[\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}dvāda-\text{-}
vyāsya(sena) Vyaṭśēna[\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}Bhubhi[r\text{\textbf{I}}]\text{-}dvāsurasṛdhaḥ buktā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ

\textsuperscript{1} Read yuddhā.
\textsuperscript{2} Read pramādaḥ.
\textsuperscript{3} Read paramamāthēsvarah.
\textsuperscript{4} Read paramēśvaraṃ.
\textsuperscript{5} Read ārtham.
\textsuperscript{6} Read pratīdyah.
\textsuperscript{7} Read rājaśkyādāṃ-a-hasta-prakṛtēpāskyā.
\textsuperscript{8} Read dvēdāya-brahmadāya-varjjām.
\textsuperscript{9} Read dvēdāya-nityānityān.
\textsuperscript{10} Read dēna.
\textsuperscript{11} The engraver first formed apparently yd, and then corrected it into yd.
\textsuperscript{12} Metre, Śīkṣa (Anuśṭubh).
\textsuperscript{13} Read vvasudhāh.
OMET. Hail! From the victorious camp located at the famous town of Ánandapura, in unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Bhaṭārka, who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who had by force bowed down (their) enemies; (and) who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants, who had been brought under subjection by (his) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (to him) by affection, (there was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Guhasēna, whose sins were all removed by doing obeisance to the waterlilies that were the feet of (his) parents; whose sword was verily a second arm (to him) from childhood; the test

\[1^a\] Metre, Upājāti of Indravajrā and Upendraavajrā.
\[2^a\] Read dyuyanātritāni.
\[3^a\] Read vānta.
\[4^a\] Read punarveddāta.
\[5^a\] Metre, Śīḷkā (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.
\[6^a\] Read vindhyā-stāvatru.
\[7^a\] Read susūka.
\[8^a\] Read dēta-kṛ.

Two very doubtful akṣaras, or perhaps three, are engraved here. Dr. Bühler read them as sūdā, giving the proper name of Dēta-ka. But we ought to have simply the ma of mahākśeṣa-patālaka.

\[10^a\] Read patālaka-rājakula. The tra is meaningless; and it is not easy to see how it came to be introduced.
\[11^a\] Supply śāsanam.
\[12^a\] Read jyōṣṭhaka.
\[13^a\] Read saṃsvaṭ.

In the original, these two words, with a representation of the sign-manual underneath them, stand in an enclosure at the end of lines 70-78.

The proper context is in line 64,—"The glorious Sīlādityādeva (VII.) issues a command to all people."
of whose strength was manifested by clapping (his) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (his) foes; who had the collection of the rays of the nails of (his) feet interspersed with the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (his) enemies who were made to bow down by his prowess; whose title of ‘king’ was obvious and suitable, because he pleased the hearts of (his) subjects by preserving the proper rites of the path prescribed by all the traditinary laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and wealth, surpassed (respectively) (the god) Smara, the moon, (Himālaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Brīhaspati) the preceptor of the gods, and (the god) Dhanēśa; who, through being intent upon giving freedom from fear to those who came for protection, was indifferent to all the (other) results of his vigour, as if they were (of as little value as) straw; who delighted the hearts of learned people and (his) friends and favourites, by giving (them) wealth greater (even) than their requests; (and) who was, as it were, the personified happiness of the circumference of the whole earth.

(Line 7)—His son, whose sins were all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jāhnavī spread out by the diffusion [of the rays] of the nails of his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Dharasēna (II.),—whose riches were the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who was with eagerness, as if from a desire for (his) beauty, resorted to by (all) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind; who astonished all archers by the speciality of (his) innate strength and (skill acquired by) practice; who was the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averted calamities that would have afflicted (his) subjects; who was the exponent of (the condition of being) the one (joint) habitation of wealth and learning; whose prowess was skilful in enjoying the goddess of the fortunes of the compact ranks of (his) enemies; (and) who possessed a spotless princely glory, acquired by (his) prowess.

(L. 10)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Śilāditya (I.), who acquired the second name of Dharmāditya by the pursuit of wealth, happiness, and riches, illumined by conformity with religion,—who pervaded all the regions with the excess of (his) wonderful good qualities that gladdened all mankind; who supported the great burden of weighty desires on a cushion that was (his) shoulder, radiant with the lustre of (his) scimitar that was possessed of the brilliance of victory in a hundred battles; who, though (his) intellect was pure through mastering the endmost divisions of the limits of all the sciences, was easily to be gratified with even a small amount of good conversation; who, though (his) heart possessed a profundity that could be fathomed by no people, yet had a most agreeable disposition that was displayed by the excess of (his) good actions; (and) who acquired an eminent reputation by clearing out the blocked-up path (of the good behaviour) of the kings of the Kṛita age.

(L. 14)—His younger brother, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Kharagrāha (I.),—who possessed a wealth [of vigour] that was not worn out, either with fatigue or with pleasurable enjoyment, when, bearing the yoke as if he were a most choice bullock, he was carrying on (his) shoulders, with the sole object of fulfilling his commands, the goddess of sovereignty, even while she was still an object to be longed for by (his) elder (brother) who, excessively full

1See page 169 above, note 3.  
2See page 177 above, note 1.  
3i.e. the commands of Śilāditya I.
of respect (for him), (behaved) as if he were (the god Indra) the elder (brother) of Upendra; who, though (his) footstool was covered over with the lustre of the jewels on the heads of a hundred kings subdued by (his) wealth of power, had a disposition that was not imbued with the sentiment of haughtiness (induced) by contempt for other people; by (whose) enemies, even though renowned for manliness and pride, no remedy, except the performance of obeisance alone, could be successfully employed; the collection of whose pure virtues effected the happiness of the whole world; who forcibly destroyed all the specious procedure of (this wicked) Kali age; whose very noble heart was not tainted by any of the faults that assert an ascendency over inferior people; who was renowned for manliness; who excelled in knowledge of the sacred writings; (and) who manifested (his) attainment of being accounted the first among heroes, by being spontaneously chosen (as her lord and husband) by the goddess of the fortunes of the assembled hostile kings.

(L. 19)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahesvara, the illustrious Dharasena (III.),—who, by mastering all the sciences, produced an excess of joy in the minds of all learned people; who, with (his) goodness and wealth and liberality, and with (his) heroism, broke the chariot-axles that were the thoughts of (his) enemies who, occupied in intense reflection (upon his might), lost the power of acting in concert (against him); who, though thoroughly well conversant with the devious divisions of the many sacred writings and the arts and sciences and the proceedings of mankind, still had a nature that was of the most gracious kind; who, though possessed of innate affability, was (still further) decorated with the grace of modesty; who destroyed the display of pride of (his) opponents by the staff of (his) arm that was uplifted in the act of capturing banners of victory in a hundred battles; (and) whose commands were hailed with joy by the whole array of kings whose pride, induced by (their) skill in the use of weapons, was subdued by the power of his own bow.

(L. 22)—His younger brother, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahesvara, the illustrious Dhruvasena (II.), whose famous second name of Baliaditya was established as one of appropriate meaning, through the (whole) world being pervaded by the affection of mankind that was produced by (his) rising,—who surpassed all previous kings in excellent achievements; who was the accomplisher of objects, even such as were hard to be attained; who, as it were, the very personification of manhood; who, as if he were Manu, was spontaneously resorted to by (his) subjects, the action of whose thoughts excelled in affection for (his) great good qualities; who mastered all the arts and sciences; who, in beauty, put to shame the moon, which (lustrous as it is, still) is marked with spots; who pervaded with (his) great brilliance all the intermediate spaces between the points of the compass; who destroyed

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1 Upendra, the younger brother of Indra, is Vishnu. The allusion seems to be to the contest between Vishnu (in his incarnation as Krishna) and Indra concerning the tree of Indra's paradise, in which Vishnu was victorious and had homage done to him by Indra (see the Vishnu Purana, book V. chap. xxx.; Hall's edition of Wilson's Translation, Vol. V. p. 97 ff.).—On this analogy, it would seem that the two brothers, Sihaditya I. and Karagraha I., had some dispute about the leadership of their family; and that eventually Sihaditya I. conceded the question to his younger brother.

2 See page 175 above, note 15.

3 The play on words is on the meaning of bali-aditya, 'the young sun, the rising sun.'

4 Or "who was the conqueror of territories, even such as were hard to be subdued."
the mass of darkness; who, being a sun that was always risen, was (ever) conferring upon (his) subjects confidence of the highest kind, that was fully justified, (and) was the result of the very various objects with which he busied himself (for their welfare), (and) was fixed out with (constant) augmentation; who, being clever (on the one side) in determining peace and war and reconciliation (and on the other) in settling the euphonious joining of letters and the analysis of words and composition, was thoroughly well versed even in both the rituals of sovereignty and of Śālāturiya,¹ (the text-books on the one side) of those who give commands suitable to the rank (of their subordinates) (and on the other side) of those who apply substituted grammatical forms suitable to the places (that they are to fill), (and on the one side) of those who are eminent in refinement effected by the employment of an increase of virtue, (and on the other side) of those who excel in the perfection of language effected by the employment of the guna² and vriddhi³ changes of vowels; who, though naturally valorous, possessed a heart that was tender through compassion; who, though well acquainted with sacred learning, was free from pride; who, though beautiful, was full of tranquillity; (and) who, though firm in friendship, repudiated people pervaded with faults.

(L. 28.)—His son, whose forehead, resembling a portion of the moon, had on it a spot that was the mark caused by rubbing against the earth in performing obeisance to the waterlilies that were his feet, (was) the most, devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the Paramabhadra, Māhādādhirāja, Paramēśvara, and Chakravartin,⁴ the glorious Dharasena (IV.),—who, in very childhood, had a speciality of sacred learning that was as pure as the beauty of the pearl-ornaments worn in (his) ears; who had the waterlilies that were (his) fingers besprinkled with the stream of (constant) liberality; who intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes, as if he were intensifying the happiness of a maiden by tenderly taking (her) hand (in marriage); who, as if he were (the very personification of) the science of archery of bowmen, perceived at once all objects that should be aimed at; (and) whose commands were like the jewels in the locks of hair worn on the heads of all the chieftains who bowed down before (him).

(L. 32.)—Of the son⁵ of the illustrious Śilāditya (I.),⁶ who was the (elder) brother of his father’s father (Kharagraha I.), (and) who was, as it were, (the god) Śārnga-

¹The grammarians Pāṇini, as having been born in the town of Śālātura. The play on words here rests on the ordinary and grammatical meanings of sandhi, vivraha, and the other terms employed.
²The formative change of i, and i, u and d, ri and ri, and lri, into i, a, ar or ra and al.
³The formative change of a, i and i, u and d, ri and lri, into i, a, ai, ar or ra, and al.
⁴Chakravartin is explained by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as meaning “a ruler, the wheels (chakra) of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction;” or “the ruler of a chakra or country described as extending from sea to sea.” Another explanation is given in the Vishnu-Purāṇa, book I. chap. xiii. verse 46 (see Hall’s edition of H. H. Wilson’s Translation, Vol. I. p. 183, and note 1). Vis. “a discus (chakra), the sign of (the god) Vishnu, (is to be found among the marks) on the hands of all Chakravartins; (and such a ruler is one) whose prowess cannot be withstood even by the gods.”—The word Chakravartin denotes “an universal ruler;” and is one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty, though it is not of such frequent occurrence as the others (see page 10 above, note 3).—This Dharasena’s own grant of the year 326, inserts, after Chakravartin, the epithet “who meditated on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather” (see page 176 above, note 4).
⁵See page 176 above, note 5.
⁶Mentioned in line 14 above.
⁷I.e. of the father’s father of the last-mentioned king, Dharasena IV.
pāpi,—(vī.) of the illustrious Dērabhaṭa, who performed obeisance with (his) limbs bowed down through attachment; whose head was always rendered pure, as if by (the river) Mandākini, by the very dazzling lustre, proceeding from the waterlilies that were his feet,¹ of the jewels that were the nails of (his) feet; who, as if by Agastya, was a royal saint, displaying courtesy on all sides; who with the dazzlingly white circle of (his) fame, that adorned the points of the compass, formed an entire halo round the moon in the sky; (and) who was the lord of the earth which has (the mountains) Sahya and Vindhya for (its) lovely breasts,² the nipples of which are (their) summits that are made of a dark-blue colour by the clouds (resting upon them)—the son³ (waś) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Dhrūvasēna (III.),—who accepted in marriage the goddess of royalty, just as if she were longing to choose (him) of her own accord, from the assemblage of kings, full of affection (for him) and wearing fine garments that were (their) resplendent reputations, which offered (her to him); who relied upon (his) heroism, which was never exerted in vain, as if upon a scimitar which bowed down the array of (his) fierce enemies; who, in the autumn season,⁴ according to proper custom levied taxes from (his) enemies' lands, the quiet state of which was upset by (his) bow, the arrows of which were forcibly drawn out to the full; who, having (his) ears already decorated with an excess of sacred learnings, radiant with a variety of topics, had them (still further) adorned with the embellishment of jewels, as if it were (with that sacred learning) repeated again and again; who, holding up a fore-arm which, covered with glistening bracelets and wires, and beautiful insects and rays of jewels, was as if it were a fresh sprout of a saivā-plant looking charming in the waters that were (his) ceaseless gifts,—embraced the (whole) earth with (his) arms which, wearing great jewelled bands, behaved as if they were the banks of the shores of the ocean.

(L. 39)—His elder brother (waś) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Kharagramha (II.), who, in a very clear and suitable manner, had the second name of Dhrāmaditva—whose slender body was embraced in a very public fashion by the goddess of fortune herself, who was minded, as it were, to destroy the pollution of the topes of other kings; who surpassed all (other) kings by the greatness of (his) exceedingly brilliant achievements; who had the waterlilies that were (his) feet studded with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (their) heads of the whole assemblage of chieftains who bowed down when they had been subdued by the violence of (his) excessive affection (for him); who broke the pride of the multitude of (his) enemies with the large and lofty staff of (his) arm; who scorched the whole race of (his) foes with (his) very hot brilliance that spread itself abroad; who delivered over (all his) wealth to the ranks of (his) favourites;⁵ who had a mace that he hurled, and a nice-looking discus that he threw; who discarded childish sports; who never treated the twice-born with contempt; who ac-

¹ i.e., the feet of Dharasēna IV.
² See page 86 above, note 2.
³ See page 176 above, note 9.
⁴ As being suitable for campaigns, and also for marriages, as indicated by the placing of this sentence, in which para-bhūtā means "his enemies' daughters."¹
⁵ The aquatic plant, Vallisneria Octandra.
⁶ See page 177 above, note 1.
⁷ In this and some of the following sentences, he is, through their secondary meanings, compared and contrasted with the god Viṣṇu.
quired the (whole) surface of the earth by (his) prowess alone; who approved not of making his couch among stupid people; who was one of the best of men of a kind that was unprecedented; who, as if he were the personification of religion, properly regulated the practices of the different castes and stages of life; whose lofty and excellent white banner of religion was hailed by the three worlds that were gladdened by (his) collecting together, in the joy of (his) very upright disposition, and then assenting to (the continuance of the enjoyment of), even those grants to gods and Brahmans that had been confiscated by previous kings, who were made avaricious by a little greed; who glorified his own lineage; (and) who, having done worship to the gods and Brahmans and spiritual preceptors, filled all the circuit of the regions with the continuity of (his) excellent reputation acquired by (their) satisfaction produced by (his) settlement of liberal grants of the udraṅga\(^1\) and other (rights) which were ceaselessly made (by him) according to the merits (of the recipients.)

(L. 47.)—Of his elder brother,\(^2\) the illustrious Śilādiṭya (II.),\(^3\)—who made all the regions white with (his) fame, as if with the light of the full-moon that makes the beauty of the waterlilies to develop itself; (and) who was the lord of the earth, the bulky breasts of which are the Vindhyā mountains of a dark-blue color like cakes of ointment made of pounded aloe-bark,—the son (was) the Paramahatāṛaka, Mahaṛajādhīrāja, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Śilādiṭyaadēva (III.),—who day by day increased (his) circle of accomplishments, like the new cold-rayed (moon) day by day increasing (its) digits; who adorned the goddess of sovereignty, like a young lordly lion adorning a forest on a mountain; who, like (the god Kārttikeya) who has the banner of a peacock, was adorned with a beautiful lock of hair on the top of the head, and was possessed of excessively great energy and majesty; who was [full of glory (and) possessed ample treasures*], like the approach of autumn, [which is full of warmth (and) causes the waterlilies to bloom *]; [who used to part asunder in battle the elephants of (his) enemies, just as the young sun, hot (even) in (its) rising, parts asunder the clouds*]; [who used to steal in war the lives*] of (his) enemies; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Paramahatāṛaka, Mahaṛajādhīrāja, and Paramēśvara, (his) glorious uncle.*

(L. 51.)—His son (was) the Paramahatāṛaka, Mahaṛajādhīrāja, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Śilādiṭyaadēva (IV.),—[who achieved*] supreme lordship\(^4\) by engaging in the creation of another world; the diffused fire of whose great prowess played about on the temples of (his) enemies' elephants, which were split open by the blows of (his) sword that was drawn in anger; who acquired a firm position on the earth by encircling it about

\(^1\) See page 97 above, note 6.  
\(^2\) See page 177 above, note 4.  
\(^3\) In Dr. Bühler's genealogical table (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 208; and Archzol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 20), this Śilādiṭya, because he did not actually reign, is passed over without being numbered; with the result that the last of the family, the maker of the present grant, is called Śilādiṭya VII., instead of Śilādiṭya VII. But this arrangement, if endorsed, would place us under the inconvenience of having to refer to him in a very roundabout way, by specifying his father, son, or brother, in any discussion of the history of the family. He belongs to the direct line of descent; and all considerations of convenience require that he should be duly numbered, quite as much as his grandfather and descendants of the same name.

\(^4\) See page 177 above, note 8.

\(\text{ms.}—\text{See page 178 above, note } 1, \text{and page 186 below, note } 1.\)

\(\text{See page 178 above, note } 2.—\text{In this passage, Śilādiṭya IV. is likened to the god Śiva, under the name of Paramēśvara or 'the supreme lord,' and as the creator (see page 155 above, note } 1.\)
with a rampart; whose umbrella was constituted by the canopy of (his) fame, white as the clusters of foam of the ocean of milk when it was stirred about by the shaking of the churning-stick, which hung out from a mighty staff that was his own arm; (and) which enveloped the whole circumference of the earth; who was a most devout worshipper of the (god) Mahēṣvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Paramahāṭṭāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēṣvara, (his) glorious father.

1 bappa.—This word has already occurred in line 50 above, where, however, it is a mistake for bava, "uncle."—The word bāva, qualified by the paramout titles, in the epithet paramahāṭṭāraka-mahārājadhirāja-paramēṣvara-irī-bāva-pāḍā-ānukhyāta, actually occurs (1) only in respect of the Paramahāṭṭāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēṣvara Śīlāṭīya III., a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēṣvara (Śiva), in line 46 of the grant of his son Śīlāṭīya IV. of the year 372 (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 212; and Archiv. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 99), and in lines 45 and 46 respectively of the two grants of Śīlāṭīya V. of the year 403 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 343). No other instance of the use of bāva is known to me.—The word bappa is of far more frequent use. In the Valabī grants it occurs, qualified by the same paramout titles, in paramahāṭṭāraka-mahārājadhirāja-paramēṣvara-irī-bappa-pāḍā-ānukhyāta, an epithet that is applied (4) here and in lines 54-55, 57-58, and 63 below, and in other grants as far as they go, to Śīlāṭīya IV. V. VI. and VII., each of whom came in direct succession after his father, and each of whom had the paramout titles of Paramahāṭṭāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēṣvara, and was also a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēṣvara. Among the inscriptions of other families, the same expression, bappa-pāḍā-ānukhyāta, without any qualifying titles of bappa, is used as an epithet (3) of the Bhāṭṭāraka and Mahārāja Śivādeva I. of Nēpāl (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 1-2); (4) of the Mahāśāmaṇa Amiśvarman of Nēpāl, who was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, i.e. Śiva (id. Vol. IX. p. 195, No. 6, line 2, and p. 170, No. 7, line 4-5); (5) of Jishṇugupta of Nēpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati (id. Vol. IX. p. 171, No. 9, line 4, and p. 172, No. 10, line 6-7); and (6) of the Paramahāṭṭāraka and Mahārājadhirāja Śivādeva II. of Nēpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, and was a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēṣvara (id. Vol. IX. p. 174, No. 12, line 2, and p. 176, No. 13, line 2).—The same expression bappa-pāḍā-ānukhyāta, with the feudatory titles of Mahārāja and Bhāṭṭāraka qualifying bappa, occurs in paramahāṭṭāraka-bappa-bhāṭṭāraka-mahārāja-irī-pāḍā-ānukhyāta, an epithet (7) of the Bhāṭṭāraka and Mahārāja Vaiśnavāna of Nēpāl (id. Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3, line 1-2).—And finally, a compound of almost identical import, viz. bappa-pāḍā-bhākta, "devoted to the feet of bappa," occurs, with the title Bhāṭṭāraka qualifying bappa, in the epithet bappa-bhāṭṭāraka-pāḍā-bhākta, which is applied (8) to the Pāllava Mahārāja Śīnivāman II., who was a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat, i.e. the Divine One, or Viṣṇu (id. Vol. V. p. 155, line 13); (9) to the Veṅgi Mahārāja Viṣṇuandivarman, also a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. V. p. 175, line 1); and (10) to the Pāllava Mahārāja Nandivarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. VIII. p. 168, line 14-15); and, with the further qualifying title of Mahārāja, in the epithet bappa-bhāṭṭāraka-mahārāja-pāḍā-bhākta, which is applied (11) to the Pāllava Vyaghroandivarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. V. p. 51, line 14).—In publishing the two grants of Śīlāṭīya V. of the year 403, Mr. V. N. Mandal (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 355, note 1) treated the words bappa and bāva quite unnecessarily, as identical, and considered that they denoted "some great teacher of the Śīva faith, or some remarkable great king of that name; but more probably the former, from the adjectives used;" or, again, some "sage, venerated equally in all parts of Hindustān." So, also, Dr. Bhāvanala Ṭīndraji (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 167, note 17) has recorded his opinion that bappa is a "general title used by chief priests." And I myself (id. Vol. X. p. 57 f., note 4), have suggested that the name is that of "some king or pontiff of very early times, whose authority was recognised universally in his own day, and was afterwards preserved in the tradition of several distinct regal families."—These suggested explanations, however, cannot be upheld.—In the first place, the epithet in which bappa occurs belongs undoubtedly to persons of the Śīva faith in instances 1 to 6 above. But Nos. 8 to 11 show that it was applicable just as much to followers of the Viṣṇuva faith.—In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler (id. Vol. V. p. 208 f.), the feudatory title Mahārāja which qualifies bappa in Nos. 7 and 11 above, and, still more, the paramout sovereign titles of Paramahāṭṭāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēṣvara, which qualify it in the instances grouped under No. 2, show that the word must refer to some one of noble or regal birth, and cannot denote a priest, no matter how high
his rank in the hierarchy might be. As regards the question of bappā being a proper name, the word does occur in this way, as the name of an official, the Baladhikrita and Bhogika Bappa (id. Vol. V. p. 212, and Arch. Mol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 99, line 59); as the name of someone after whom was named the Bappa-paddya-vihāra, or "Buddhist monastery of the feet of Bappa," at Valabhi (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 12, line 19); in Bapparāma, one of the grantees in the Ksh granth of the Parīvarjaka Mahārājā Hastin, of the year 163 (No. 22 above, p. 103, line 11); in Bappārya, one of the grantees in line 53 of the Chakm grant of the Vakṣtaka Mahārājā Pravarasēna II. (No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv. line 53); and in Bappabbat, a Jain teacher, allotted to Vikrama-Saṅvat 800 to 895 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 253). The same word is probably a component of Vappāra, the name of the family to which, as recorded in an unpublished inscription of Maṅgallā (Dynasties of the Kanares Districts, pp. 19, 22), Durabhadēv, the wife of the Early Chalukya king Pulikēśin I., belonged. A similar word bhappā, probably derived from it, occurs in Bappadēva, the name of a Śrēṇpāti in the Sivā grant of Pravarasēna II. (No. 56 below, Plate xxxiv. line 35). And, finally, Bappa has been preserved by tradition, in 'Mēvār,' as the more familiar appellation of an early Gōhila chief, who is said to have established the power of that tribe on the overthrow of the Bhillas or Bhils (see Tol's Annals of Rāja-
sthāna, chapter II., Calcutta Reprint ed. Vol. I. p. 238 ff.; also pp. 121, 235, 258 f.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 275, note 26).—But the idea that, in the technical expression under discussion, bappa denotes some particular priest, whether of the Sāiva or Vaiṣṇava faith, whose memory had been preserved in different parts of India from very early times, has been disposed of above. And, this being so, it remains difficult, on the supposition that the word is a proper name, to imagine how it should have cropped up again from time to time, under precisely similar circumstances, in such different parts of the country, and such varying periods, as are indicated by instances 2 to 11 above. The true explanation of the word first occurred to me from noticing the way in which the titles that qualify bhappā vary in accordance with the titles of the persons to whom the epithet bhappā-pada-duṇḍhyēta is applied; and it is fully borne out by the epithet īr-lajjaka-padd-duṇḍhyēta, which is applied only to Dharasēna IV. in his complete grant of the year 326 (Jour. Br. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 79, line 38; and Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 16), and in his grant of the same year of which only the translation of the second plate has been published (Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 45). This expression, which, if it had not been so completely overlooked, would probably have made the matter clear long ago, dropped out in all the subsequent Valabhi grants, even in those of Dharasēna IV. himself of the year 330; probably on account of something in the official relations between Śīlāditya I. and Kharagraha I. which remains to be cleared up. But it occurs in these two instances; and, in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's rendering (id. Vol. I. p. 16), it undoubtedly means "meditating on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather." Ajja in Kanares, and ajē and ajē in Marāthi, are the ordinary words for 'a grandfather' in the present day. And it is evident that ajjaka is the older Prākrit word, from which these have been derived.—On this analogy, bhappā suggests itself at once as the old Prākrit form of the modern bāpī, 'a father.' And now it becomes clear why the word is qualified by the paramount titles in its connection with the paramount sovereign Śīlāditya IV. and his successors, the reason being that the father of each of them was himself a paramount sovereign; and, on the other hand, why, in its connection with feudatories, it has either no qualified title at all, or only the feudatory titles Mahārājā and Bhaṭṭaṅgākāra, as in the case of Vasanṭasēna, Śīhavarman, Vijayanandivarman, Nandivarman, and Vīṣṇūpāpavarman. The rule thus disclosed also shews why, in the case of Śīvadēva II., himself a paramount sovereign, bhappā has no qualifying term; for, in the way in which he is introduced in lines 11-12 of the Nēpāl inscription No. 15 (id. Vol. IX. p. 178; see also Vol. XIV. p. 348) shews that he brought in a new branch of the Thākuri family, and that his father Narēndrādēva, even if he held the rank of Mahārājā, was at least not a paramount sovereign. And the same rule explains why, in connection with the paramount sovereign Dharasēna IV., ajjaka is qualified by nothing more than the ordinary title īrī; for, he himself was the first paramount sovereign in the family; and his grandfather, Kharagraha I., was at the best only a Mahārājā. —The analogy of ajjaka and bhappā now suffices fully to clear up the meaning of the word bāpī. It suggests at once that it is nothing but the older Prākrit word from which have been derived, with somewhat differing significations in Marāthi, bāpā, 'a term of respect,
splendour; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvarā; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārājaḍhirāja, and Paramēśvara, (his) glorious [father].

(L. 55)—His son (was) the Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārājaḍhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Śilādiṭya-dēva (VI.),—who alloyed the pride of the strength of (his) enemies; who was the auspicious asylum of great victory; whose breast dallied with the embraces of the goddess of fortune; whose unrestrained energy exceeded (even) that of (the god Vishṇu) who assumed the form of the man-lion; who effected the protection of the whole earth by eradicating the hostile kings; who was the best of men; who tinted the faces of all the women that are the distant regions with the rays of the nails of (his) feet shining with the rubies in the tiaras of the powerful princes who bowed down before (him); who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvarā; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārājaḍhirāja, and Paramēśvara, (his) glorious father.

ful mention for a father or an elderly person; bhūdā, 'a term of respectful mention for a Gṛhasthī, Guru, father, or elderly person,' and bhadra, 'a husband's brother, especially an elder brother,' and in Kanarese, hāya, 'the son of a mother's brother, or father's sister, a man or woman's brother-in-law (in every case, if older than one's self),' and bhadra, 'a husband or wife's elder brother, a maternal uncle's son (similarly, in every case, if older than one's self).1 Looking for its application in connection with Śilādiṭya III., we note, in the first place, that the grants shew very clearly that his father Śilādiṭya II. did not reign at all, which explains why the epithet boppa-pāḍ-ēnuḥdyāta is not used in respect of him; and, in the second place, that the only paramount sovereign before him was his father's distant cousin Dharasena IV., who, so far as paramount sovereignty is concerned, was his immediate predecessor. This shews us that bōna was used, here at least, to denote 'a male relative, of the same generation with a father,' or roughly 'an uncle,' and explains why bōna is qualified here with the paramount titles. And the fact that, after the first adoption of this technical expression, the Valabhī succession was in each instance direct from father to son, explains why the expression bōna-pāḍ-ēnuḥdyāta does not occur again.—In Kanarese, boppa appears in the form of boppa (marked in Sanderson's edition of Rēvee's Kanarese Dictionary as a word common to most Hindu languages), in boppa-sīn, 'the lion of (his) father,' an epithet applied to the Rājā chieftain Lakṣmīdeva II., the son and successor of Kārtavṛtya IV. (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 115, line 63-64). In confirmation of this I may quote, with the analogous introduction of terms of relationship, ayuana-sīn, 'the lion of (his) father,' a title of the Śilāhāra chieftain Gaṇḍarādīyā of Kālīpur (Jour. Br. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XIII. p. 3, line 21), and also of his son Vijayādīyā (Dynasties of the Kanaresse Districts, p. 105); māvana-sīn, 'the lion of (his) father-in-law,' applied to the Gaṇḍarādīyā Kēyāvādīyā (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 105, line 17-18); ayuana-gaṇḍabhaṇa, 'the choice elephant of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Gaṇḍarādīyā Śenäravabhāṣa in the same inscription (id. line 11-12); ayuana-ākhaḷa 'the warrior or champion of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Sinda chieftain Āchhū II. (Jour. Br. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 247, line 3); and bhūna-ākhaḷa, 'the warrior or champion of (his) uncle or other relation of the same generation with his father,' applied to a Śilāhāra chieftain named Goṇkīdeva (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 16, line 45). Other similar titles, which help to explain the preceding, through the introduction of proper names instead of words of relationship, are Śenāna-sīn, 'the lion of Śenā,' applied to the Rājā chieftain Kārtavṛtya II., the son and successor of Śenā I. (Jour. Br. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 213, line 7); Taḷīana-sīn, 'the lion of Taḷī,' applied to the Kāṭamba chieftain Kṛttivārman II. of Banawski, the son and successor of Taḷī I. (Dynasties of the Kanaresse Districts, p. 86); Taḷīman-ākhaḷa, 'the warrior or champion of Taḷīma,' applied to Kāmatēva of the same family, the son and successor of Taḷīma (id. p. 86); and Goṇkaṇ-ākhaḷa, 'the warrior or champion of Goṇka,' and Goṇkīya-sīn, 'the lion of Goṇkī,' applied to the Śilāhāra chieftain Mārasiṇha, the son and successor of Goṇka, and the nephew of Gūhala or Gūvala I. (No. 10. of the separate publications of the Archeological Survey of Western India, p. 103, line 28.)

1 When he became incarnate, in a form that was half that of a man, and half that of a lion, in order to destroy the demon Hiranyakāśipu, who had obtained a boon from Brahman that he should not be destroyed by either god or man or animal.
(L. 58.)—Victorious is his son, the glorious Dhrúbhata, born in a lineage of supreme kings of kings and supreme lords, (and) possessed of great happiness,—who is renowned for an abundance of heroism that is hard to be resisted; who is the abode of the goddess of fortuné; who has striven to destroy hell; who has made it (his) sole resolve to save the earth; whose fame is as pure as the rays of the full-moon;—who is full of virtue through his knowledge of the three (Védas); who has conquered the ranks of (his) enemies; who is possessed of happiness . . . . . ; who always confers happiness; who is the abode of knowledge; who is a protector of the world whom all people applaud; who is attended by learned men; who is praised far and wide on the earth;—who is resplendent with jewels; who has a beautiful person; who is a very pile of jewels that are virtuous qualities; who is endowed with the choicest virtues of lordship and prowess; who is always employed in conferring benefits on living creatures; who, as if he were (the god) Janárdana incarnate, humbles the pride of wicked people;—who is always most skilful in disposing the array of elephants in war; who is the abode of religious merit; (and) whose great prowess is sung over the (whole) earth.

(L. 63.)—[And he], the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahéśvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahárájādhirāja, and Paraméśvara, the glorious Śiládityadéva (VII.), who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahárájādhirāja, and Paraméśvara, (his) glorious father, issues a command to all people:

(L. 64.)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of my parents and of myself, (and) in order to obtain a reward both in this world and in the next, the village named Mahilabali, in the Upplahéta pathaka in the famous Khétaka dhára,—with the udranga (and) the uparikara; with (the right to) forced labour as the occasion arises; with the revenue of the bháta and vátá; with (the fines for) the ten offences; with (its) enjoyments and shares; with the grain, and gold, and ādbyá;

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3 See page 172 above, note 1.
4 Or perhaps Mahilabali, with the long vowel ā in the third syllable.
5 See page 170 above, note 9.

sa-daśapadddhaḥ.—This is a technical fiscal expression, of constant use in charters, for which I have not been able to obtain any absolutely certain explanation. But Mr. S. Ch. Chitnis has brought to my notice that, in the Dharmasindhásra of Kaśyapadhyaya, chapter ii. verse 19 ff., we have—
"Adattam=upadddan hámiká cha árvatá-viđhanataḥ || Para-dá-rápaśácha káyikam tri-viđham smritam || párusyam=anrśtám cha áiva paśuṇam cha,ápa sarvatah || Asambhuddha-prá-
lápa=cha yómayaḥ syáček cha tattva-viđham || paradrayasváḥ=abhipayánam manas-anśikta-chinta-
nam || Pitak-ádhaváśch-chá mánasaṁ tri-viđham smritam || éśāni daśa pāpons kara tvam mana Jñánav || Dasápapá-párárd yásám=tásmadvá Dasáhrájír smritám,——the appropriation (theft) of things that are not given, and killing in a manner that is not in accordance with precept, and the pursuit of the wives of other men, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the body; harshness of language, and untruthfulness, and slandering in all directions, and incoherent conversation, are the four (sins) of speech; coveting the property of others, (and) thinking with the mind about things which are wrong, and tenacity of that which is not true, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the mind; do thou, O Jñánav (Gáṅgá), take away these my ten sins; because thou takest away (these) ten sins, therefore art thou called "Dasáhrá."—These verses occur in connection with the Dasáhrá (popularly Dásrá or Dusrah) a festival in honour of the river Ganges, held on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Jéśháta.—So, also, in the Aśhádakáridaya of Vágbháta, Sástrakáñča, chapter i. verse 21 f. (Bombay edition of 1880, p. 38) we have, in only slightly different language,—"Himá-styányakáddhánam paśuṇyam parusá-dvítié sabhándásápátyopádam= abhídikhyá drogkiparyantam || Pápons karmi=áti dasáhrám kápa-yé-sámanasas-tvajá || which shows that the classification was a well-established and well-known one.—These ten sins are probably the
(with the privilege that it is) not to be (even) pointed at with the hand (of undue appropriation) by any of the king's people; (and) with the exception of previously-given grants to gods and Brāhmans,—is given by me, with copious libations of water, on the terms of a grant to a Brāhman, in accordance with the rule of bhūmichokhidra,—to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, and the mountains; (and) to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons,—to the Bhaṭṭa Akhaṇḍala-mitra, the son of the Bhaṭṭa Vishnu, an inhabitant of the famous town of Anandapura, belonging to the community of Chaturvedins of that (place), a member of the Śārkara-ksha góra, and a student of the Bahhricha (śākhā),—for the maintenance of the rites of the bali, charu, vaisvādūkta, aṅghidra, and atiṣṭhika sacrifices, and other (ceremonies).

(L. 69.)—"Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (it) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brāhman (and) cultivating (it), (or) causing it to be cultivated, or assigning (it to another).

(L. 70.)—"(And) this Our gift should be attested to and preserved by future pious kings, whether born of Our lineage or others, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (both to him who makes it and to him who continues it)."

(L. 72.)—And it has been said by Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! These chattels, made into altars of religion, which have been formerly given here (on earth) by (previous) kings, (are) like the remains of offerings to gods, and like food that is vomited up; verily, what good man would take them back again? The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in the hollows of dried-up trees in the Vindhya mountains, destitute of water!

(L. 75.)—The Dātaka in this matter (is) the Mahāpratihāra, the Mahāksha-patalika, a member of the king's household, the illustrious Siddhasēna, the son of the illustrious Śarvaṭa; and (this charter) has been written by his deputy, the Pratinartaka, the high-born Amāṭya Gubha, the son of Hembata, who was depited by him (to write it).
(L. 77.)—In four centuries of years, increased by forty-seven; on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Jyēśtha; (or) in figures, the year 400 (and) 40 (and) 7; (the month) Jyēśtha; the bright fortnight; (the lunar day) 5. (This is) my sign-manual.1

No. 40; PLATE XXVI.

ARANG COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA MAHA-JAYARAJA.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 55 ff. and Plates xxiv. and xxv.; and is now published in full for the first time,—is on some copper-plates that were obtained by Colonel Bloomfield, and were found at Āraṅg; a village about twenty miles almost due east of Rāypur, the chief town of the Rāypur District in the Central Provinces. The original plates are now in the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur.

The plates, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 5½" by 2¼" at the ends and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. A few of the letters have been damaged by rust; but the inscription is for the most part in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good, but shews here and there, as usual, in the interiors of the letters, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about 3½" thick, and 3" in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about 3¼" in diameter; and, like the seal of the Rāypur grant of Maḥa-Sūḍēvaraja, No. 41, below, Plate xxvii., it has a strong yellow glint in it, which gives it the appearance of being made of a kind of brass, rather than of copper. It has, in relief, on a countersunk and slightly concave surface,—across the centre, a legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below;—in the upper part, a standing figure of the goddess Lakṣmi facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant standing on a waterlily, with its trunk lifted up to pour water over her head; in the proper right corner, an expanded waterlily on its stalk; and in the proper left corner, a saṅkha or conch-shell;—and in the lower part, there seems to have been a floral device. The seal has, at some time or other, been subjected to the action of fire, but not enough to do any very serious damage to the legend and devices on it.—The weight of the three plates is about 1 lb. 3 oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 1 oz.; total 2 lbs. 4 oz.—The average size of the letters is about 3½".

1 svā-hasta.—In the original these words have some wavy lines under them, which are intended for an actual representation of the sign-manual. See also page 171 above, note 2.

2 The 'Airimg and Arang' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21° 12' N.; Long. 83° 1' E.—Gen. Cunningham was first informed (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 55) that the plates were found at Ārāṅ (see page 192 below, and note 4); then (id. p. 59), that they were actually obtained at Rāypur, but were most probably found at Āraṅg; and finally (id. Preface, p. iii.), that they were found at Ārāṅ.

3 The 'Raepoor, Rairup, and Ryeepoor,' of maps.
The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another very good specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 19 above. They include, however, in chāḍḍ, line 1, the separate form of the lingual d, as distinct from the dental d. The superscript long vowel ī is denoted in rather a peculiar way, by a mark just like an anusvāra inside the circle which, by itself, represents the superscript short ś; see, for instance, sthānita, line 2, and rāśtriya, line 4; the burr of the copper, raised in the process of engraving, gives in a few places, in the ink-impression and consequently in the lithograph, a faint mark, very similar to this, inside the short i proper, e.g. in bhāmpī, line 13; but the difference can, of course, be detected at once in the original plates. The characters also include, in line 24, forms of the numerical symbols for s and t. The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 13 to 23, is in prose throughout. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihvaṁśya and upadhmāniya, in yak-hāsthanaṁ, line 18; and pradhaṁ h-paraṁ, line 3, and dhiyāḥ-pravadānati, line 14; (2) a constant use of the anusvāra, instead of the dental n, and the doubling of i after it, e.g. in śāmanta, line 1; udāharaṇa, line 17; and bhavamiti, line 18; (3) the doubling of v after the anusvāra, in samvatsara, line 24; (4) the insertion of a superfluous anusvāra, in prasammatra, line a of the seal; ṭhāmabhūhir, line 1-2; kutummbināḥ, line 5; and pravadānāti, line 14; (5) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in vikram-udāharaṇa, line a of the seal, and vikramma, line 1; (6) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anudhyāta, line 4; (7) the introduction of a superfluous sibilant, in pradhaṁ h-paraṁ, line 3; ṭhāmabhūhir s-rī, line 4; and kutummbināḥ s-samajñāpayati, line 5; and (8) the use of śīṅha for sīṅha, line 24, and of āmbra for ṭāmbra, line 11.

The inscription is one of the Rāja Jayarāja or Mahā-Jayarāja; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the town of Sarabhapura. The date of the engraving of it is recorded, in numerical symbols, as the year five of increasing victory, and the twenty-fifth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Mārgaśira (November-December). No era is referred to; and, as we have a similar small date of the year ten in the next inscription of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, the fifth year must be simply that of the power or government of Jayarāja. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record the grant, by Jayarāja himself, to a Brāhmaṇ, of the village of Pamvā in the Pārvarāśṭra or Eastern Country.

As regards the town of Sarabhapura, whence the charter was issued, General Cunningham has suggested—in the first place, that, by elision of the initial s, it may, through the forms of 'Arabhpura' and 'Arbhi,' be represented by the modern Arvī, the chief town of the Arvī Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Wardhā District in the Central Provinces; and in the second place, that it may be represented by the modern 'Sambal-

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1 So called, perhaps, from 'ts lying on the east of the range of mountains, identified by Gen. Cunningham with the Mēkāla mountains, which commences near 'Amarkantak,' rūns to the south, passing about half-way between Nāgpur and Rājpūr, and then, near 'Wairagarh,' takes a sharp turn to the east, and comes to an end about sixty miles south-east of Rājim.


3 The 'Arooeee, Arvi, and Arwee,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 72. Lat. 20° 55' N.; Long. 78° 16' E.—It is thirty miles north-west of Wardhā, and about two hundred and thirty miles west by south from Rājpūr.
TEXT.

The Seal.


b śrimalō Jayarājasya śa[s]an[m] ripu-śa[s]an[rh] [II*]

First Plate.

1 Svasti Śarabhapurāt d=vikkram⁴-ópanata-sāmanntta-chuḍāmap[i]-prabhā-prasēk-

án-

2 mubhir⁴=dhō[duh]ta-pāda-yugalō ripu-śilasīnī-silmāntt-ōddharaṇa-hētu-

3 r[=vasu]-vasudhā-gō-pradāḥ h[=parama]bhagavatō mātāpīṛi-pā-

4 d-ānuudhyātaḥ ś=s=Śrī=Mahā-Jayarājaḥ Pūrvvarāṣṭriya-Pamvān⁴-prati-

5 vā-si-kuṭūhrmbindanah s=sam¹ajāṭhaye t Viditam-astu vō yath=ā-

Second Plate; First Side.

6 smābhīr=ayam⁴ grāma- i si⁴-tridāsapatī-sadana-sukha-pratisēṭh-ākarō yāvā-

7 d=ravi-saṣi-tāra-kirāṇa-pratīhata-ghōr-āndhakarām jag[=d=a]vatisēṭhatē
tāvad = upabhōgya sa sa nīdhis = s = ̄ōpanidhir = a = chāta = bhaṣa = prēvēṣyas = sa-

9 rvva=kara-visarjītaḥ Vājī[ja]sanēya-Kaūmīnasagotraḥ Brahmanūvā-

10 svāmīne II(I)⁴vī mātāpīṛor-ātmanaḥ cha puṇya-t[=h]bhivr[=d]dhaye II(I) udaka-
pūrva[rh]*

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1 Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 106. Lat. 21° 27' N.; Long. 84° 1' E.—It is about one hundred and forty-five miles almost due east of Râypur.

2 It has been published by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in 1866, in the 'Jour. Beng. As. Soc.' Vol. XXXV. p. 195 ff. But the original plates, which were presented to the Society by the finder of them, Col. G. Bowie, are not now forthcoming; and the published version is not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced. I have, therefore, not been able to include this inscription in the present volume.

3 From the original plates.—Read prasanna.

4 Metre, Śloka (Anuśūṭhah).

5 Read purād=vikkram.—The short of purā is so small and shallow, that it plainly was only inserted as an afterthought. It is quite superfluous; since its representative by sanī, viz. d, had already been duly engraved in conjunction with the following vi.

6 Read āmbhūr, or āmbhūh.

7 Read pradāḥ=parama, or pradāḥ parama.

8 Read ānuudhyātai=īrī, or ānuudhyātah īrī.

9 From a comparison of the corresponding passage in line 4-5 of No. 41, page 198 below, the reading that was intended is probably pamvāṇaḥ pratīdviṣi.  

10 Read kuṣumbi, or kuṣumbi.  

11 Read naṣ=sam, or naḥ sam.

12 Read grdmas, expunging the mark of punctuation.  

13 This mark of punctuation is exactly like the visarga, as the latter is written in this inscription. But, that the sign may be interpreted as either a mark of punctuation or the visarga, is shown by the regularity with which it occurs where a mark of punctuation is appropriate, and a visarga is not; and also by the occurrence of the half mark of punctuation, formed in the same way, and impossible to be mistaken for anything else, in lines 5 and 6 above, and 22 below, and in lines 5, 15, 16, and 17, of No. 41, page 198 below.
Second Plate; Second Side.

11 tāmbra(mra)-sāsanēn-ātisra(sri)shtah [II*] Tē yāyam-śvam-upalabhya-āsy-ājñā-śravāṇa-

12 vī(vi)dhyā bhūtvā yath-ōchitam bhūga-bhāgam-upanayanattā(tūḥ) sukham prativā[ī*]ṣyāṁ

13 tha II Bhāvishyataṁ-cha bhūmipān-anudarśayati II(l) Dāṇḍa1-viśīṣṭam-pa-

14 nupālana-jam puraṇoḥ(nā) II(l) dharmēśhu niścita-dhiyāḥ-pravadamānti2 dharmāṁ II(l)

15 tasmād[ī*]vijaya', suviśuddha-kula-śrutāya II(l) dattā[mh*] bhuvam bhavatu vṛ ma[tī*]r=ē.

Third Plate; First Side.

16 va gōpt[u*]ṁ II Tad-bhavadbhir-apy-ēshā dattir-anupālayitavyā II Vyāsa-

17 ślokān-udāharaṇīti II(l) Agnīr3-apatyam prathamām suvarṇapa[m*] bhūr-

18 ryya-sut[ā*]ś-cha gāvah [I*] dattas-trayas-tēna bhavānīti lōkāḥ yah-

19 cha mahī[mh*] cha dadyā[ī*] II Shashṭhiṁ4 varsha-sahasraṇī svargge

20 vasati bhūmi-daḥ [I*] .

achchhētā cha-anuma[m*]ttā' cha tāṇya-śva narakē * vasē[ī*] II Svā-

21 dattā[mh*] para-dattā[mh*] vā ya-

Third Plate; Second Side.

21 tnā[d-ra]kṣa Yudhishthira II(l) maḥt(m)-mahimatāṁ chcheṣṭhā4 dānāc-

22 Bahubhrir-vasuṣāh dattā rājabhīs-Sagar-ādibhī[ī*] I yasya [yasya*] yadā

23 sya tasya tadā phalam5-itī [II*] Sva-mukh-ājñāyā ukta[tt]ṛpaṁ7

Acha-

24 lasingēna pravarddhāmāν-vijaya-sāhūnvatsara 5 Mārgasira 20 5 [I*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal,

A charter of the illustrious Jayaṛa,—who verily has a gracious heart; (and) who has

overcome (his) enemies by (his) prowess,—

(is) a charter for (the observance of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

Hail! From the town of Śarabhāpura, the illustrious Mahā-Jayaṛa,—whose
two feet are purified by the waters which are the flowing forth of the radiance of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the chieftains, (bowing down before

1 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
2 Read pravadamānti, or pravadamānti.
3 Metre, Indravajjā.
4 Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following two verses.
5 Read irēṣṭhā.
6 Read phalam.
7 Supply īśanam.
him), who have been subdued by (his) prowess; who is the cause of the tearing out of the parted hair of the women of (his) enemies; who is the giver of treasure and land and cows; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One; (and) who meditates on the feet of (his) parents,—issues a command to the cultivators residing at (the village of) Pāmava in the Eastern Country:

(Line 5.)—"Be it known to you, that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of (Our) ensuring the happiness of (attaining) the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods, is by (this) copper-charter conveyed by Us, with libations of water, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourself, to Bhārmadēvavāmīn, of the Vājasānenā (tākka) and the Kaundinya gātra,—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (its) hidden treasures and deposits; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; (and) exempted from all taxes.

(Line 11.)—"Being aware of this, you should be obedient to his commands, and should dwell in happiness, rendering in proper manner (his) share of the enjoyment."

(Line 13.)—And he enjoins upon future kings,—"The ancients, whose minds are fixed upon religion, say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from) making a grant; therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brāhmaṇ of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also."

(Line 16.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa:—Gold (is) the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Vishnu; and cows (are) the daughters of the sun; therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years; but the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! O Yudhisṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)!

(Line 23.)—At the command of (Mahā-Jayārāja's) own mouth, (this charter) has been engraved by Achalasāingha, (in) the year 5 of increasing victory, (in) (the month) Mārgaśira, (on the day) 20 (and) 5.

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1 Dr. Hultzsch (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 203, note 46) has explained this, by saying that, "according to the Naiyāyikas" or followers of the Nyāya philosophy, "gold consists of fire (tējus)."

2 Or, perhaps, "the earth (is) Vaishnavī (the personification of the śakti or female energy of Vishnu)."

3 This seems to be explained by the Rig-Veda, vii. 101, 6, in which the sun is described as "the bull that impregnates all the cows" (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. IV. p. 112 f.)

4 The three worlds are sometimes reckoned as heaven, earth, and the lower region; sometimes as the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth. The latter arrangement seems to be the one referred to in this verse; the sky being represented by cows, as the daughters of the Sun or the god Śūrya, the lord of the sky; and the atmosphere by gold, as the offspring of fire or the god Agni, who is the lord of the Pitṛis or spirits of deceased ancestors, whose abode is in the region of the air.
No. 41; PLATE XXVII.
RAYPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA MAHA-SUDEVARAJA.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 55 ff., and Plates xxvi. and xxvii.; and is now published in full for the first time,—is from some copper-plates that were obtained by Colonel Bloomfield at Rāypur,¹ the chief town of the Rāypur District in the Central Provinces. The original plates are now in the Provincial Museum at Nagpur.

The plates, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 6" by 3½" at the ends and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about ½" thick and 3½" in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about 3½" in diameter; and, like the seal of the Āraṅg grant of Māhā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi., it has the appearance of being made of a kind of brass, rather than of copper. It has plainly, at some time or other, been subjected to the action of fire, which, with the effects of wear and tear, has almost completely destroyed the upper surface of it. But there are visible, in relief on a slightly countersunk and concave surface, faint traces of—across the centre, a legend, in two lines, of which, as restored, the text and translation are given below;—in the upper part, a standing figure of the goddess Lakṣmī, facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant, standing on a waterlily, with its trunk lifted up over her head, to pour water over her; in the proper right corner, an expanded waterlily, on its stalk; and, in the proper left corner, a sankha or conch-shell;—and, in the lower part, there seems to have been a floral device.—The weight of the three plates is about 1 lb. 5½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 7½ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 13 oz.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 19 above. They are of almost exactly the same type as those of the preceding inscription of Māhā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi. The most noticeable difference is in the formation of the superscript long vowel ī; the stroke, similar to an anusvāra, which distinguishes it from the short ī, being placed, not in the centre of the circle, but on the right side of it, as part of the down stroke of the circle; see, for instance, vīḍāṁśī, line 2, and ṛgāṣṭrīyā, line 4. The separate sign for the lingual ḍ, as distinct from the dental d, occurs in chāḍa, line 1.

¹The 'Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21° 15′ N.; Long. 81° 41′ E.
We have the very rare initial au, in aupamanyava, line 10. And forms of the numerical symbols\(^1\) for 9 and 10 occur in line 27.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 15 to 24, is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in atiñirshāka, line 11-12, the affix ha that I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1), the use of the jihvdmālyā and upadhānya, in yah-kāñcanaṁ, line 20; visarjitaṁ-bhūdinya, line 9; pradhā-parama, line 3; and dhiyā-pravadaṁni, line 16; (2) the doubling of ō, after the anusvāra, in samhīvatara, line 24; (3) the insertion of a superfluous anusvāra, once only, in pravadaṁni, line 16; (4) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in vikramā, line 1; (5) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following r, in anudhyāta, line 4; and (6) the use of singha for simha, line 28, and of tāmra for tāmra, line 11.

The inscription is one of the Rāja Sudēvarāja or Mahā-Sudēvarāja; and the charter recorded in it is issued, as in the case of the preceding inscription of Mahā-Jayarāja, from the town of Śarabhapura. The occasion of its issue was the uttarānyāna, or the sun’s commencement of his progress to the north. The date of the engraving of it is recorded, in numerical symbols, as the year ten of increasing victory, and the ninth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Māgha (January-February). No era is referred to; and the tenth year must be simply that of the power or government of Sudēvarāja. It is a non-sectaflan inscription; the object of it being only to record the assent of Sudēvarāja to the grant, to two Brāhmaṇs, of the village of Śrisāhikā, in the Pūrvarāṣṭra or Eastern Country.

TEXT:\(^2\)

The Seal:\(^2\)

\(a\) Prasanna-hṛidayasya-aïva vikram-ākrānta-vidvishaḥ
\(b\) śṛmat-Sudēvaṛājasya śāsanam ripu-śāsanam [11\(^*\)]

First Plate.

1 Om Svasti Śarabhapurād-vikram-āpanata-sāmanta-makuta-chuḍā-maniprihyā-ripu-vilāsinī-slīmant-ōḍhā
dhōta(pāda-yugala) māttapītri-

2 prabhā-prasēk-dmbu-dhōta(pāda-yugala) māttapītri-

3 rāpa-hētur-ṛvasu-vasudhā-gō-pradhā-paramabhāgavatō

\(^1\) The symbol for the day might perhaps be interpreted as 30. But it seems, on the whole, to be a transitional form of the symbol for 9, from which the modern Devanāgarī decimal figure 9 was developed.—Gen. Cunningham read the symbol for the year as 80, not 10; but I do not think this can be upheld. It is evidently a square and upright variety of the second form of 10 given in col. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanal Indraji’s Table in the Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 44 f.

\(^2\) From the original plates.

\(^3\) With the exception of the word prasanna at the beginning of the first line, the legend is almost entirely obliterated. But there are faint indications here and there, which, with the help of the legend on the seal of No. 40, page 193 above, and Plate xxvi., enable us to restore it as above.

\(^4\) Metre, Śūkka (Anuśūkha).

\(^5\) The lithograph in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. Plate xxvi. shows śṛ-Mahā-Sudēra. But this reading is not legible on the seal; and, as it does not suit the metre, it cannot have been so engraved.

\(^6\) Here, and in line 16 below, the jihvdmālyā, instead of being clearly formed as in lines 3 and 14 of No. 40. Plate xxvi., is indicated, hardly perceptibly, by little more than a vertical division of the square top of the pa.
Second Plate; First Side.

rō yāvad-ravi-śaṣi-tārā-kirāṇa-pratihata-ghōr-andhakāraṁ jagad-ava-
tishtatē távad-upabhōgyas-sa-nidhis-s-opanidhir-a-chāta-bhāta-pravēṣya[h*]
sarvā - kara - visarjitāh Kō(ka)ṇḍinyasagōtra - Vājasāṇēya - Sāvit[ī]* -
svāmina [A*]tmlya-kanyā-pradānē[na*] Aupamanyava-[Va*]sasagōtra yāmā-
trō[h*] Nāgavatassvāmi-Bandhuvatassvāminōs-tāmbr(a)-ṛasa[ṇa]-āti-
stri(sri)śhaktō bhūtv-āsmābhīr-apy-uttarāyāṇe mātāpitrōr-ātmanaś-cha

Second Plate; Second Side.

puny-ē(ā)bhiivṛddhayē-numōditaḥ[ī*] Tē yōyam-ēvam-upalabhyy-asy-ajētā-śra-
va-piśhēyā bhūtvā yath-ōchitan bhōga-bhāgam-upamupanayanast-su-
kham prativatsyatha[ī*] Bhavishyataḥ-cha bhūmipā[n-ā*]nudarāyati[ī]
Dānād-śvishīta-

Third Plate; First Side.

Agnēr*-apatyam prathamaṁ suvarṇaṁ[m*] bhūr-vaishaṁvatō sūryya-
sutās-cha gāvā[h*] dattā-

1) Before this word, yāmātrō, there is a cross, to indicate that this is not the place to which it properly belongs. It is plain that the reading intended in lines 9 to 11 was Savitrirudmina dmīya-kanyā-pradānēna yāmātrō=Aupamanyava-Vatsasagōtra-Nāgavatassvāmi &c.

2) Over this visarga, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here; via.

3) The proper context is lamam=iti, in line 37.

4) Read upalabhyy=aītayēr-ējītē.
5) Read bhāgam-upamupanayantō.
6) Read pravādanī, or pravādanī.
7) First si was engraved, and then cancelled; and ka seems to have been engraved and cancelled in the place where the trō stands.
8) Metre, Vasantatilaka.
9) Metre, Indravajrā. 10 Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.

11) Read mahīm.
Third Plate; Second Side.

25 Asmin[nt]ēva grāmē pūrva-taṭākasya paryyatta(nty)-bhūmi-vapra-baddhā Śrī-
26 vā'pikā. panthānam yāvaj-ja(jyē)śṭha iti kritvā Nāga[va]ṣṭasvāminē grām-
ārdhāṣṭya-ādhi'kā dattā
27 lanam[nt]iti II Sva-mukh-ājñayā pravardhahamāna-vijaya-ṣaṁvītsara Māgha' 9

uktil(tk)ṛṇa[m][nt] Drōṇasīṅghā(āghē)na [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.*

A charter of the illustrious Sudēvarāja,
—who verily has a gracious heart; (and)
who has overcome (his) enemies by (his)
prowess,—(is) a charter for (the observance
of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

ōm! Hail! From the town of Śarabhapura, the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja,—
whose two feet are purified by the waters which are the flowing forth of the radiance
of the jewels in the locks of hair (wound) in the tiaras of the chieftains, (bowing down
before him), who have been subjugated by (his) prowess; who is the cause of the tearing
out of the parted hair of the women of (his) enemies; who is the giver of treasure and
land and cows; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One, (and) who meditates
on the feet of (his) parents,—issues a command to the cultivators residing at (the village
of) Śrisāhikā in the Eastern Country:—

(Line 5.)—"Be it known to you, that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of
(Our) ensuring the happiness of (attaining) the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,—
which has been conveyed by a copper-charter to Nāgavatsasvāmin and Bandhuvatsa-
svāmin, of the Aupamanyava (śākha) and the Vatsa gōtra, who, by the gift in marriage
of his daughters, are the sons-in-law of Savitrīsvāmin of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra and the Vājasā-
nēya (śākha); to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dis-
pelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (its) hidden treasures
and deposits; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; (and) exempted
from all taxes,—has, at the time of the sun’s commencement of his progress to the north,

* Before this vā, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here,
 or, more properly, before the sṛ; viz. grām-ārdhāṣṭya-ādhi'kā, from the end of the line.—
The reading intended in these two lines was—Asminnēva grāmē pūrva-taṭākasya paryyanta-
bhūmi-vapra-baddhā grām-ārdhāṣṭya-ādhi'kā Śrīvāpikā panthānam yāvaj-ja(jyē)śṭha iti kritvā Nāga-
vatsasvāminē dattā. And this passage should properly have been inserted after anumādatā, in line
13 (see page 198 above, note 3).
* Over this dhi there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here; viz. the
 syllables ka' dattā, which are placed between the lines, below mindā.
* This is the proper context of nupā, at the end of line 24.
* Supply idānam.
* As restored, with the help of the few letters that remain, on the analogy of the legend on the
seal of the Āraṅg grant of Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 194.
been assented to by Us indeed, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourself.

(L. 13.)—"Being aware of this, you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness, rendering in proper manner (their) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 15.)—"And he enjoins upon future kings,—" The ancients, whose minds are fixed upon religion, say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from) making a grant; therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brâhman of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also."

(L. 18.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyâsa,—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Vishnu; and cows are the daughters of the sun: therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! 'Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)!' O Yudhishtîra, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant!

(L. 25.)—In this same village, the irrigation-well called Śrîvâpikâ, constructed within the mound on the land that skirts the eastern tank, (and) extending up to the road, is given to Nâgavatsasvâmî, in excess of (his exact) half of the village, because he is the elder.

(L. 27.)—At the command of (Mahâ-Sudêvarâja's) own mouth, (in) the year 10 of increasing victory, (in) (the month) Mâgha, (on the day) 9, (this charter) has been engraved by Drônasîngha.

No. 42; PLATE XXVIII.

APHSAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF ADITYASENA.

This inscription was discovered by Major Markham Kittoe, some time anterior to 1850; but the first notice of it, that I have been able to trace, is General Cunningham's mention of it in 1863, in his report for the year 1861-62, which was issued as a supplement to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXII. p. iii ff., and was in 1871 reprinted in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I., where this inscription is referred to on page 40.—In 1866, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXV. p. 267 ff., Dr. Rajendra-lâla Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from a transcript of the original, in modern Dévanâgari characters, which Major Kittoe had given to General Cunningham in 1850.—In 1882, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XV. p. 11, General Cunningham supplemented this translation, by notifying, from his own examination of a rubbing of the original inscription made by Major Kittoe, which had meanwhile been discovered by Mr. J. D. M. Beglar in a box of inscriptions in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library, that the name of the second king was Harshagupta; not Hashagupta, as read by Major Kittoe.—And in 1883, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI. p. 79, he further notified that Dr. Bhagwanâl Indraj, apparently in a letter to him, had indicated that
the name of Isānavarman should be substituted, in line 7, for the Šantavarman of Major Kittoe’s transcript.

Apshaḍ or Apsand,¹ also called Jāsrarpur, is a village near the right bank of the Sakari river, about fifteen miles to the north-east of Nawādā,² the chief town of the Nawādā Sub-Division of the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on a stone-slab, that was found here, and was afterwards removed by Major Kittoe, in order “to re-examine it, and to restore it as much as possible, before having it fixed in a pedestal near the Varāha” in Apshaḍ. According to the local statement, Major Kittoe removed the stone to Nawādā; but General Gunningham failed to find it, or to hear anything more of it, either there, or at Gayā and Benares. The loss of the original stone, however, is as well compensated for as it is possible by the existence, in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta, of an exceptionally good red-chalk rubbing, made by Major Kittoe himself, from which I now edit the inscription, and from which my lithograph has been prepared.

The writing, with its margin, covers the entire front of the stone; and is apparently on a slightly countersunk surface about 2’ 9” broad by 1’ 51” high, with a corresponding rim from ¾” to 1” broad. It has suffered a great deal from the effects of the weather, about the centre of the stone; but, even here, nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost, except perhaps, in line 15, a completion of the hint as to the relations between Madhavagupta and Harshadeva, i.e. Harshavardhana of Kanauj. The rest of the inscription is very legible. The impression indicates that the stone has been broken at the lower proper right corner; but, as shown in the note to line 25 of the text, the stone seems to have been originally imperfect here; and not so much of the writing has been lost, as would be expected at first sight. The size of the letters varies from about ¼” to ½”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and present a very marked development as contrasted with the preceding plates of this volume. They belong to a particular type, to which the special name of Kutila has come to be attached, in consequence of the upright strokes having at the bottom a small tail which is ‘crooked, curved, or bent’ (kuṭila) to the right. The term Kutila actually occurs in the ‘Dewal’ inscription of (Vikrama)-Sanhat 1049; in the last line of which it is recorded that “this (eulogy) has been written by the scribe Takshaditya, —(a native of) the (country of) Gauḍa; and the son of Vishvahari,—who is well acquainted with the curved letters.” The term used here for “curved letters” is kuṭila-dakshardā. It does not seem to be employed with the specific object of recording a standing name of this style of writing; any more than the expression vikat-dakshard, “(an eulogy) in beautiful letters,” is used in that way in line 27 of the present inscription; and ruchir-dakshara-panktiḥbikh, “(this eulogy has been engraved) in lines of pleasing letters,” in line 27 of an inscription in the Provincial Museum at Nagpur; and sad-sauraḥ, “(an eulogy) in excellent letters,” in line 41 of the Sāsahā temple inscription of Mahipāla.¹ But the term Kutila fits this type of letters so well, that, as the name has been

¹ The ‘Aphtar, Usunid, and Usunid-Jafurpoor,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 4’ N.; Long. 83° 44’ E.
² The ‘Nawāda, Newadeeh, Nowada, and Nowāda,’ of maps, &c.
applied to the alphabet for so long a time, there seems no objection to continuing it. The alphabet of the present inscription might be called the Kujila variety of the Magadha alphabet of the seventh century A.D. It really differs but little from the modern Devanāgarī. The form of the lingual ḍh, which occurs in gadhā, line 1, and dṛśṭha, line 2, is almost quite identical with the modern Devanāgarī form. The form of the lingual ẓ, which occurs in chudda, lines 3 and 16, in khadga, line 18, and jadā, line 21, is still rather transitional, differing but little from the form of the dental ẓ. And the most antique remnant in the whole inscription is the form of r, in conjunction with a following consonant, e.g., in harsha, lines 2 and 15, dhianur-bhīma, line 2, sindhukalaksma, line 7, and artha, line 12; following the custom noted at several places above, but practised in the earlier inscriptions in respect only of r in combination with a following y, it is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it; and in the rya of saurya, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before, e.g., in kuryda in line 12 of the Majhgarāwa plates of the Mahārāja Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout. It offers about the earliest instance of the hyperbolical expressions and mythological allusions with which the later inscriptions abound, distinguishing them so completely from the artistic, concise, dignified, and frequently really poetical, style of the more ancient records.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of i, in conjunction with a following r, once, in atapātra, line 21; where, however, it may possibly be due to a mistaken idea as to the etymology of the word; and (2) the use throughout of v for b, e.g., in vinuddha, lines 9 and 11; vaiśāṇa, line 14-15; vahśāna, line 15; and viśhratt, line 17.

The inscription is one of Ādityasena, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha, It is not dated. It is a Vaishnava inscription; the principal object of it being to record the building, by Ādityasena, of a temple of the god Vishnu. But it also records the building of a religious college or monastery by his mother Śrimati, and the excavation of a tank by his wife Kopaḍévi.

TEXT."
Muktāmukta-payāḥ-pravāha-sīrās-ottānga-tāllvana-bhṛmayad-danti-kar-āvalāna-
kaḍāl-kāṇḍāsū vēlāy-api śchytāt-sphāra-rushāra-nirjharapayāḥ-śītāpi-
sailè śhitān-yasya-ōchchair-dvishatō mumōcha

5 na māhā-gbhrāḥ pratāpa-jyāraḥ ॥ Yasyā-atimānusham karme dṛṣṭaṃ
vimayājan-ahugēna adāyā Kaśvārdhāna-taṭā-plutarē Pavanajāya-
ēva ॥ Prakhyātā-saktim-ājishu purahsaram śrī Kumā-

6 raguptam-itī ajanay-ēkam sa nripo Hara iva sikhivāhanam
tanayam ॥ Utsarpadd-vātā-hēlā-chalīta-kadalikāv-vṭchī-mālā-vitānaḥ
dhōḍh-jalāja-aghrābhamita-guru-mahā-mattā-

7 mātānga-sailah ॥ bhīnaḥ śrī tēsanavarmma-kṣhiti-patiaśaśīnaḥ sainya-
dugdāhōda-sindhu-lakšam-samprāpti-hētuḥ sapadi vimatītō Mandari-
bhūva yēna ॥ Sanuraya-satyavratadharō yah Prayāga-gato dha-

8 nē ॥ ambhas-īva karishāgnau magnah sa puṣpā-pujitāḥ ॥ Śrī
dāmādaraguptā-bhūt-tanayas-tasya bhūpatē ॥ yēna Dāmōdarēnēva
daityā iva hatā dvishah ॥ Yō Mauckarē samītish-ūddha-

9 ta-Hīna-sainya valgad-ētah vighatayann-um-tarāmanām ॥ saṃmūrchrīchitha-
sura-vadhū(ang)aravayam(n) mam-ēti tāt-pān[1]pankajaka-sukha-sparśadū-
vivu(bu)ddhā ॥ Guṇavad[4]-d[s]vija-kanyān[rh]nān-alakmāra-yauvan-
vatñām ॥ parināyitavan-sa nripā śatrā nisṛṣṭ-āgrahārānanām ॥ Śrī[5]-
Mahāśēna-guptā-bhūt-tasmād-vrī-āgratō[5]sūrah ॥ sarvā-vrī-samājēśh-
lebhē, yo dhuri viratā[8]n Śrī[6]mahīva-
Sushitavarmma-yuddha-vijaya-

11 ślāhā-pad-āṅkam mhuhr-yassy-advāpyā vivu(bu)ddha-kundha-kumuda-kṣenē[7]-
ṣaṣ dvīta ॥ Vasudevā-

dāmādār-ge-
Mādhyā-

dhun ॥ ōr[6] ślāhāvāmat-āgran[rh]มน sō(sau)janyasya nidhānam-
ārtha-nidhā(na)-cha-

sadgun[a]ih ॥ Chakra[rh]n panī-talēna sō-pryuddvahat-
tasya-api sārīng[a][r]n ddhanu-

t vibrationām vadhē prathihat[- - - - ] tēn-āpa[- - - - - - - ] - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - dh[4]a[rh]n ma[rh][- - - - ]niyāh prānemur-ijānaḥ ॥ Ājau[

16 vinihātā va(ba)-

1 Metre, Śrādālavikrīdita.  2 Metre, Āryā; and in the following verse.  3 Metre, Sragdharā.
4 The lower part of the r and all except the extreme end of the r, either were left unfinished or
have been broken away. But enough remains to show clearly what the akṣara really is.
5 Metre, Ślokā (Anushtubh); and in the next verse.  6 Metre, Vasantaśila.
7 The metre is faulty here; inséd of two long syllables, we ought to have two short and one
long.
8 Metre, Āryā.
9 Metre, Ślokā (Anushtubh).
10 Metre, Śrādālavikrīdita.
11 Metre, Āryā.
12 Metre, Śrādālavikrīdita; and in the next verse.
13 Metre, Vasantaśila; and in the next verse.
Öm! There was a king, the illustrious *Krishnagupta*, who was like a mountain, in that his cities, like the slopes of a mountain, were crowded with thousands of elephants; in that he was attended by men of learning, as a mountain is inhabited by Vidyādharas; in that he was of good descent, as a mountain is possessed of excellent bamboos; and whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of his haughty enemies, in being victorious by its prowess over countless foes.

(Line 1.1)—Just as the full-moon, destitute of spots, the destroyer of the darkness, was produced from the ocean, so from him there was born a son, the majestic one, named the illustrious *Harshagupta*, who,—raining down a terrible flight of arrows from his firm bow that was bent with ease at the befitting proper time, being gazed upon with copious tears by his enemies who, averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being with him, own lord, were stupefied (at being unable to prevent it),—was always displaying a glorious triumph, the written record as it were of terrible contests, in the guise of the rows of the knots of hard callous places, from wounds from many weapons, on his chest.

(L. 3.)—His son was the illustrious *Jivitagupta* (I.), the best among kings, who was a very cold-rayed (moon) to (with) the waterlilies that were the countenances of the women of his proud enemies. The very terrible scourching fever (of fear) left not his haughty foes, even though they stood on seaside shores that were cool with the flowing and ebbing currents of water, and were covered with the branches of plantain-trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palm-trees; or even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himalaya) which is cold with the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow. Even still his superhuman deeds are regarded with astonishment by all mankind, like the leap of (the monkey) Hanumat the son of the Wind from the side of (the mountain) Kāśavardhana.

1 Metre, Śīka (Anushṭubh).

2 Hanumat was one of the most celebrated of a host of semi-divine apes, who were created to become the allies of Rāmachandra in his war with Rāvana. The leaders of this army of monkeys were supposed to be the offspring of various gods; and Hanumat was the son of Pavana or Mārūta, the Wind. One famous leap taken by Hanumat was from the mainland, over the sea, onto Ceylon, in order to discover the whereabouts of Sīta. Another was his leap back from Ceylon to the mainland, after setting Rāvana’s city on fire, on which occasion he sprang from a mountain which sank into the ground under the shock. A third leap, or flight through the air, was when he went to the mountain Gandhamādāna, to procure a medicinal herb to cure the wounded Lakṣmanā. Which of these leaps is alluded to here, is difficult to say, as Kāśavardhana does not seem to be given in the epic as the name of a mountain at all; and I cannot find the names of the mountains from which his leaps were taken.

3 The only other mention that we have of a mountain Kāśavardhana, is in line 17 of the Śhērgadū (Kāśa) Buddhist inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 46), where it seems to denote the hill on which the Fort of Shērgadū now stands. This may, or may not, be one of the mountains from which Hanumat took one of his flights through the air.
(L. 5.)—That king begat one son, by name the illustrious Kumāragupta, of renowned strength, a leader in battle; just as (the god) Hara begat a son, (Kārtti-
keya) who rides upon the peacock;—by whom, playing the part of (the mountain) Mandara, there was quickly churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Iśānavarman, a very moon
among kings, (and) which had for (its) spreading rows of waves the plantain-trees that were wontonly shaken to and fro by the roaring wind (caused by the marching of the troops), (and) had (its) rocks, that were the ponderous and mighty rutting elephants (of the forces), whirled round and round by the masses of water that were the rising dust (stirred up by the soldiers). Cherishing heroism and adherence to the truth, (even) in (the possession of) wealth, he went to Prayāga; (and there), honourably decorated with flowers, plunged into a fire (kindled) with dry cow-dung cakes, as if (simply plunging to bathe) in water.

(L. 8.)—The son of that king was the illustrious Dāmodaragupta, by whom (his) enemies were slain, just like the demons by (the god) Dāmodara. Breaking up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūnas (in order to trample them to death), he became unconscious (and expired in the fight); (and then, making again in heaven, and) making a choice among the women of the gods, saying "(this one or that) belongs to me," he was revived by the pleasing touch of the waterlilies that were their hands. He, (while he was) king, gave away in marriage a hundred daughters of virtuous Brāhmans endowed with many ornaments and with youth, (and) dowered with agrahāra-grants.

(L. 10.)—From him there was a son, the illustrious Māhāsēnagupta, the leader, among brave men; who in all the assemblages of heroes acquired a (reputation for) valour (that stood) in the foremost rank;—whose mighty fame, marked with the honour of victory in war over the illustrious Sushitavarman, (and) [white] as a full-blown jasmine-flower or waterlily, or as a pure necklace of pearls pounded into little bits (?), is still constantly sung on the banks of (the river) Lōhiya, the surfaces of which are (so) cool, by the Siddhas in pairs, when they wake up after sleeping in the shade of the betel-plants that are in full bloom.

(L. 11.)—As (the god) Mādhava, whose feet are graced by the attentions of (the goddess) Śrī (was born) from Vasudēva, so from him there was (a son), the illustrious Mādhnagupta, finding pleasure only in prowess, whose feet were graced by the attentions of the goddess of fortune. He being remembered in the foremost rank ............. ; being the leader of those who acquire renown in war; (and) being a very store-house of goodness, the best of those who excel in the collection and bestowal of riches, the natural home of wealth, truth, and learning, (and) a firm bridge of religion, —there is no one on the earth ............. who is (as) worthy to be praised by vir-

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1 One of the names of Kārttikeya was Kumāra; hence the comparison between him and Kumāragupta.

2 The allusion in this verse is to the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, for the recovery of the nectar and other precious things that had been lost. The mountain Mandara was utilised as the churning stick. And, during the process, Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune and wealth, sprang from the froth of the sea.

3 This verse seems to indicate that Kumāragupta’s funeral rites took place at Allahbād; but not necessarily that he placed himself on the funeral pyre while still alive.
tuous people, (as he was). He also, (like the god), carried a discus in the palm of (his) hand; to him also belonged a bow made of horn, and a pleasing sword (which was employed) for the destruction of (his) enemies (and) the happiness of his friends; when the slaughter of (his) foes had been achieved, was averted by him; people did obeisance. "(My) mighty enemies have been slain by me in battle; there remains nothing more for me to do."—thus he, the hero, determined in his mind; and then with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harshadēva 1.

(L. 15.)—His son was the illustrious one, named Ādityasēna, the best among kings, whose scimitar was sullied with a thick coating of dust in the shape of the pearls from the temples of the lordly elephants of (his) enemies that were split open (by it), maintaining the supreme renown, that (his) perfect praise, coming from (and) rising from the destruction of (his) enemies, is worthy to be lauded in the presence of all wielders of the bow,—a continuous line of blessings. Cleaning with the edge of the silken cloth of a banner, under the excuse of (wiping away) sweat in battle, (his) sword that was stained with the rut (of the elephants slain by him), and was covered with sand in the shape of the minute fragments of the pearls (from their foreheads) through that was broken to pieces, the destruction of rutting elephants, in the course of which many swarms of bees, led into a mistake by the copious fragrant juice that trickled forth, were attracted by their perfume, in battle which is full of terrible and repulsive frownings.

(he) is accustomed to laugh in a charming manner in the gatherings of (his) favourites and servants. His [wife] truthfully constant to (her) lord; performing penance with the excellent qualities of (her) mouth (?); laughter

Being (and) being the greatest cause of the destruction of the power of all (his) enemies, (and) being possessed of his own mighty prowess, even when he is full of weariness produced by the fatigue of drawing (his) sword forth (from its scabbard) and (dealing) blows (with it),—the foreheads of rutting elephants in battle, [he is verily] a guardian of the world, by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered. He, the king, has had both (his) gleaming arms increased in bulk by splitting open the temples of rutting elephants in war; he

1 The god carries an actual discus; the king had the mark of a discus (see page 183 above, note 4).

2 The allusions here are to the discus of Vishnu (Mādhava), to his bow of horn named Śārāga, and to his sword called Nandaka.

3 Harshavardhana of Kanauj.—The present form of his name occurs also in the Harshacharita (Kāmār edition), p. 119, line 5.—I notice that he is often called śrīharsha, and śrīharshavardhana; as if śrī were a component part of his name, instead of being only the honorific prefix. But I cannot find any authority for this. I cannot trace a single instance in which the reading of any inscription or book is śrī-Śrīharsha (see page 8 above, note 3); while, in line 26 of the Kaṭhā grant of Vikrāmāditya V. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 22), he is distinctly called Harsha-mahārāja, "the great king Harsha." So, also, Bhaṭṭa's book about him and his history is always called simply Harshacharita, not Śrīharshacharita, in the colophon of each division of it; and the śrī, which is prefixed on the title-page of the Kaṭmār edition, only qualifies Harshacharita, as the name of the book, in the sense of "the famous history of Harsha."
has a halo of fame, [acquired] by destroying the power of many enemies; the darting fire of the prowess of (his) feet has had thrown into it (to feed it) the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all (other) kings; he is possessed of fortune; (and) he has a pure and celebrated reputation (acquired) by honourable behaviour in war.

(L. 23.)—This best of temples has been caused to be made, on account of (the god) Vishnu, by him, the king, whose very great fame, (of) this (kind that has been described), white as the orb of the autumn moon (and) conferring renown on the (whole) circle of the world, was for a long time made angry by him through (his) desire for (her) association with (his) wealth, and then, becoming more wonderful than ever, went, forsooth, through the enmity natural to the condition of rival wives, to the other side of the ocean (in order to dwell there far away).

(L. 24.)—By his mother, the Mahādevī Srimati, a religious college has been caused to be built, resembling a house in the world of the gods, (and) has been given by herself in person to religious people.

(L. 25.)—By the queen, the illustrious Kōnadēvi, the dear wife of that same king, in the performance of an excellent penance, there has been caused to be excavated a wonderful tank, the waters of which are eagerly drunk by people; which is full of drifting and glistening spray, resembling in lustre a taṅkha-shell, or the moon, or crystal; (and) in the waves of which, driven to and fro by the motion of the alligators, the birds disport themselves and the large fishes play about.

(L. 26.)—As long as a digit of the moon [remains] on the head of (the god) Hara, (and) (the goddess) Śrī on the breast of Vishnu, (and) (the goddess) Sarasvati ………. ………. in the mouth of Brahma; as long as the earth [remains] on a hood of (Śēsha) the king of serpents; and as long as there is lightning in the interior of a cloud,—so long shall the king Adityasena display hero (in these works) (his) dazzling fame!

(L. 27.)—(This) eulogy, (written in) beautiful letters, …………… [has been composed, or engraved] by Sūkṣmaśīva, (a native of) the Gauḍa (country), who is thoroughly religious (and) very intelligent.

No. 43; PLATE XXIXA. 412/3b.

SHAHPUR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF ADITYASENA.

THIS inscription was discovered, apparently in 1879-80, by Mr. J. D. M. Beglar, Assistant to the Director General of Archaeological Surveys; and was first brought to notice, in 1882, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XV. p. 12, where General Cunningham published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xi. No. 1).

Shāhpur, also known as Shāhpur-Tetarāwān, is a village on the right bank of

1 Kṛttī, 'fame,' and Lākṣmī, 'fortune or wealth,' are here regarded as the two co-wives of the king. The idea is that his fame became at length so great as to extend to the uttermost ends of the world, beyond even the oceans; and this is indicated by Kṛttī becoming at length jealous of Lākṣmī, and leaving her husband's house in order to dwell far away from her rival wife.

2 The 'Shāhpur, Shāhpur, Shāhpur-Tetaranwan, and Shāhpur-Titaрава,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 6' N.; Long. 85° 43' E.
the Sakari river, about nine miles to the south-east of Bihār, the chief town of the Bihār Sub-Division of the Patna District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on the pedestal of a standing image of the sun, represented as a man, 2' 10" high, holding a water-lily in each hand; and with, on each side, a small standing figure, that on the right being armed with a club, which was found on a mound in the lands of this village. When I sent my copyists to Shāhpur in 1884, they could not find the image, and could obtain no information as to what had become of it; my lithograph, therefore, has been prepared from Mr. Beglar's pencil-rubbing, which suffices for practical purposes, though perhaps the date is not quite as clear as it might be.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 4 3/4" broad by 4" high, has suffered a good deal of injury towards the proper right side of the stone; the rest, however, is very well preserved. The average size of the letters is about 3/8". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kutila type as those of the preceding Apsahad inscription of Adityasena, No. 42, Plate xxviii. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols1 for 6, 7 (?), and 60. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of v for b in valdhihikrata, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the time of Adityasena, of the family of the Gupta of Magadha. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year sixty-six, on the

1 The symbol for the day is a little doubtful; but it seems to be 7.—Gen. Cunningham interpreted these symbols as decimal figures, and read the year as 55, and the day as 1. At the same time he noticed that Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit, interpreting them in the same way, read the year as 88. And the date certainly has the appearance, in Gen. Cunningham's published lithograph, of either 55 or 88. But this is too early a period for the occurrence of decimal figures; and, though the symbols are rather damaged, I think quite enough of them remains to show very clearly a 60 followed by a 6. So far as definite dates are available, the system of numerical symbols was preserved in this part of the country as late as Harasa-Sanvat 188 (A.D. 794-95) as shown by the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārāja Vindayakapala (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 135 ff.); and in the neighbouring country of Nāpāl, as late as Harasa-Sanvat 153 (A.D. 690-90), as shown by the inscription of Jayadēva II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 178 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345), and Gupta-Sanvat 535 (A.D. 854-55), as shown by another Nepāl inscription (ibid. Vol. IX. p. 168 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345). In the west of India, it continued, in Gujārāt, as late as Śaka-Sanvāt 679 (A.D. 757-58), as shown by the Kārlī grant of Kakka of Gujārāt (Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 105 ff.). In Central India, as late as Vikrama-Sanvat 879 (A.D. 822-23), as shown by the Śhṛgadā (Kōla) inscription of the Śāmatā Dēvadatta (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. pp. 45 ff., 351). And in the South, as late as Śaka-Sanvat 549 (A.D. 627-28), as shown by the Vīzagapatam grant of the Eastern Chalukya Mahārāja Vishnuvardhana I. (Burnell's South-Indian Philology, p. 137 ff. and Pl. xxvii.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 186, where I gave the date as the sixteenth year, instead of the eighteenth, which it really appears to be.) As regards the introduction of decimal figures (setting aside the question of the first invention of them, which was probably by the astronomers of Ujjain in the fifth or sixth century A.D.), the earliest epigraphical instances of the use of them that I can quote, are, in the north, the Gadlisvar inscription of Bibhudiya dated Vikrama-Sanvat 923 or A.D. 876-77 (Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 407 ff.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 106, note 21); and the 'Pehewa' inscription of the same king, dated Harasa-Sanvat 276 or A.D. 882-83 (Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXII. p. 672 ff., and Vol. XXXII. p. 243 ff.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 109, note 27); in Central India, the 'Deogarh' inscription of the same king, dated Vikrama-Sanvat 919 and Śaka-Sanvat 784 or A.D. 862-63 (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 100 ff.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 110, note 32); in Gujārāt, the 'Bagumra' grant of the Rāhtrākūta chieftain Dhrava III., dated Śaka-Sanvat 789 or A.D. 732-33 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 185); in Kātikāvīdēśa the Mōrbī grant of Jāīka, dated (irrespective of the actual reading in line 17) Gupta-Sanvat 585 (A.D. 804-5); and in the Dekkan, the Śrīmangal grant of Dantidurga, dated Śaka-Sanvat 675 or A.D. 733-34 (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 108 ff.).
seventh (?) day of the bright fortnight of the month Mārga, i.e. Mārgaśīra or Mārgaśira (November–December). The era is not specified; but, from the known facts of Āditya-śēna’s history, it is that of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing 1 A.D. 560 or 567; and the result for this date, therefore, is A.D. 672–73. The inscription is one of solar worship; and the object of it is to record, in the first place, some grant, the details of which are illegible in line 1; and, in the second place, the installation of the image by the Baldhikrita Šālapaksha, in, apparently, the agrahāra of Nālanda.

The name of Nālanda is rather doubtful in this inscription; but there is no special objection to reading it; since Nālanda was a famous place, originally Buddhist, in the neighbourhood of Shāhpur, being in fact identified by General Cunningham with the modern ‘Baragaon’ seven miles due north of Rājgir, and about fifteen miles nearly due west of Shāhpur. The image, being fairly small and portable, may easily have been originally set up at Nālanda, and then removed at some time or other to Shāhpur.

TEXT:

1 . . . . . . . kh. 1. ḍh. g . . . chandra-kṣiti-kālam yāvat-p[ṛ]atipāditam [lI*]
2 Ōm Samvat 60 6 Mārgga șu di 7(?), asyān-divasa-māsa-
samvatsar-anupūrvvyaṁ śrī-Ādityaśēna-
3 [dēva]-rāj[y]ē Nā[Po]landa(?)-mah-agrahāre sādh[un]ā va(ba)lādhikrita-
Śālapakṣāṇa de[yu]-dharmaṁ-yaṁ pratisṭhitatham(h)
4 [mātāpitror-ā]jmanas=cha puṇya-abhiyuddhayē [lI*]

TRANSLATION.

. . . . . . . . . . . . has been granted, to endure for the same time with . . . . . . . . . . .
and the moon and the earth.

(Line 1.)—Ōm! The year 60 (and) 6; (the month) Mārga; the bright fortnight; the day 7 (?),—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day and month and year,—in the reign of the illustrious Ādityaśēnadēva, this appropriate religious gift has been installed by the virtuous Śālapaksha, the Baldhikrita, in the great agrahāra of Nālanda (?), for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself.

2 Baldhikrita is a technical military title, meaning literally ‘one who is appointed to (a command of) the troops.’ The superior of the Baldhikritis was the Mahabhaldhikrita; see page 109 above, note 2.
4 Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 0' N.; Long. 85° 29' E.—In the map, the name is written ‘Burgaon.’ The correct form of the name would therefore seem to be Bādgām.
5 From Mr. Beglar’s pencil-rubbing; so also the lithograph.
6 Supply tīhau.
7 Read śṛy-Āditya.
8 The text here has the abbreviation śu, which represents sūdha, or suhla, in composition with pākṣa or pākhē; see page 92 above, note 1.
9 See page 97 above, note 1.
Nos. 44 and 45; (No PLATE.)

MANDAR HILL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ADITYASENA.

These two inscriptions were discovered by Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton), and were first brought to notice in his reports, from which Mr. Montgomery Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled Eastern India, where the inscriptions are mentioned in Vol. II. p. 58, with reduced lithographs (id. Plate iv. Nos. 3 and 4).—I cannot find that any fuller notice of them has ever been published.

Mandär or Mandāragiri1 is a famous hill about seven miles south-east of Bāṅkā, the chief town of the Bāṅkā Sub-Division of the Bhāgalpur2 District in the Bengal Presidency. When I was on tour in the north of India, I could not succeed in acquiring any accurate information as to the position of the inscriptions, and was thus unable to obtain impressions and publish lithographs of them. But Dr. Buchanan's facsimiles, though not good enough to reproduce, are intelligible throughout, with the exception of the three letters immediately following the name of Ādityāsaṇḍeṣya. And quite recently Mr. Beglar has sent me a rubbing and a hand-copy of No. 44, which, though not suitable for lithography, fully endorse Dr. Buchanan's rendering of this record, and enable me also to read with certainty some of the letters that are doubtful in his lithograph. From Mr. Beglar's remarks, I learn that this inscription, No. 44, is on the rock to the right of the steps rising from a corner of the lower tank, now called Ratnabhair, and at the base of a flight leading to the upper tank. The position of the other inscription, No. 45, seems to be not now known at all.

The two inscriptions are identical in substance; but are arranged, one in two lines, and the other in four. The writing of No. 44 covers a space of about 6' 2" broad by 2' 11" high; and is in a state of fairly good preservation; but the surface of the rock seems to be so rough that it is doubtful whether an ink-impression could be obtained, sufficiently good for lithography.—The average size of the letters is about 5". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kutila type as those of the Apsad inscription of Adityāsaṇa, No. 42 above, Plate xxviii. page 200.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscriptions are in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscriptions refer themselves to the time of Ādityasena, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha. They are not dated. But the paramount titles of Parama-bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājājaṁśeṣa applied here to Ādityasena, show that they belong to the period of confusion and anarchy that attended the death of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, when Ādityasena established the independence of his family in Magadha; and that they are slightly later than his Apsad and Shāhpur inscriptions, in the latter of which,—as it is in prose,—the paramount titles would certainly have been introduced, if he had assumed them by that date. They are non-sectarian; the record being simply that Ādityasena's wife, Kōnadevi, caused a tank to be made.

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1 The 'Mandār, Mandāragiri, Mundar Hill, and Mundar H. Temple,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 24° 50' N.; Long. 89° 4' E.
2 The 'Bāṅkā' of maps.
3 The 'Bhāgalpur and Bhaugulpoor' of maps, &c.
TEXT:

No. 44.

1 Ōm Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mah[ā]ṛ[ā]jādh[ī]ṛ[ā]ja-
2 śrī-Aditya'seṇadēva-dayīt[ā] parama-
4 pushkariṇī-klrttm-im[ā]n-k[ā]-ṛ[ī]-[tava[t] [11*]

No. 45.

1 Ōm Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mah[ā]ṛ[ā]j[n]-dhīrāja-śrī-Ād[i]tya'seṇadēva-
2 day[i]tā paramabhaṭṭārīk[ā]-ṛ[ā]j[n]-mah[ā]d[e]v[i]-śrī-[Kō]pad[e]vr pu[shkariṇī-
3 klrt[t]i]-m-im[ā]n-kārīvatīl [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! The Paramabhaṭṭārīkā, the queen, the Mahādēvi, the glorious Kōṇadēvi,—the dear wife of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhīrāja, the glorious Aditya-

seṇadēva,—caused to be made this famous work of a tank.

1 From Mr. Beglar’s rubbing of No. 44, and Dr. Buchanan’s published lithograph of No. 45.
2 Read śrī-Aditya.
3 Here, again, read śrī-Aditya.

Paramabhaṭṭārīkā, lit. ‘she who is supremely entitled to respect or veneration,’ is the feminine of paramabhaṭṭāraka (see page 17 above, note 3), and was one of the customary technical titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns.

rājī; also in line 2 ff. of the following Dēṣṭharaṇī inscription of Jīvtagupta II.—The word is only the feminine form of rāja; but it does not seem to have been so exclusively and technically used as a subordinate feudal title, in the way in which rāja was used. In the present day also Rājī, which is the Prakrit form of rājā, is the proper title of a wife of a Rāja; but is also used, equally with Mahārāṣṭrī, as a title of the Queen-Empress of England and India.

6 kṛtti.—Mr. K. T. Telang (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 36, note 13) first brought to notice, on the authority of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrāj, that in certain connections kṛtti has the meaning of a temple; e.g. in line 18 of the Kāhēpānta grant of Anantadeva, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 1016 (id. p. 34), which he was then editing.—This was supported by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (id. Vol. XII. p. 228 f.) who, in pointing out the error into which, from not being aware of this meaning, I had fallen in translating the passage in lines 14 f. of the Baroda grant of Kākā II., dated Śaka-Saṁvat 734 (id. Vol. XII. p. 159), was able to quote three passages from the Agni-Purāṇa (in the Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. I. p. 111), Bāṇa’s Kādambarti, and Sōṃdeva’s Kṛtti-kāmumādhi, in which the word evidently has the same meaning.—And to these instances I have since been able to add the ‘Dudahi’ inscriptions of Dévalabadhi (id. Vol. XII. p. 289), and the Udāya-giri inscription, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1093 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 183).—On the analogy of these authorities, there is every reason for allotting the same meaning, when required, to kṛtti, which is a derivative from the same root.

Dr. Bhandarkar has, however, recently suggested to me that kṛtti and kṛtani are hardly to be actually translated by the word ‘temple,’ or by any other specific term; but denote generally ‘any work, of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it.’ This is in accordance with the etymology of the words, from the root kṛti, ‘to mention, commemorate, praise.’ And the particular work referred to may be a temple, as in the instances quoted above; or a tank, as in the present inscriptions; or anything else of a suitable nature.

Another passage in which kṛtti has the same meaning, though we have no information now as to the specific nature of the work referred to, is in line 4 f. of an inscription on the right-hand side pier in the porch of the temple of Vaiṣṇavī at ‘Deoghar’ in the ‘Santhi’ Pargana in the Bengal Presidency, edited by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I.
Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivitagupta II.

This inscription was discovered in 1880-81 by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1883, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI. pp. 68 and 73 ff., where he published a reading of the text, and a partial translation of it, supplied to him by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit, with a lithograph (id. Plates xxv. and xxvi.) from a photograph by his Assistant, Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

p. 190a., No. 3. It is a Vaishnavava inscription; and, therefore, as pointed out by Dr. R. Mitra, it does not belong properly to the temple of Vaidyanath, which is a Saiva shrine; and, from the concluding words, it seems to have been brought away from some building on the Mandara Hill. I had no opportunity of obtaining a proper impression of the inscription. But the one in the Society's library suffices to show that Dr. R. Mitra's version of the text, which I now give, with my own translation of it, is correct:

TEXT.


TRANSLATION.

There was a king, Ādityaśena, of renowned prowess, equal in glory to the gods; the ruler of the (whole) earth up to the shores of the oceans; the performer of the āsvamētha and other great sacrifices. On the full-moon day of the (month) Māgha, coupled with the sign of the (lunar asterism) Viśākha, in the Kṛṣṇa age, having arrived from the Chōla city, having sacrificed with three āsvamētha-sacrifices, (and) having given away his own weight a thousand times over, together with a crore of horses,—he, with (his) consort, the glorious Kṛṣṇadarśa, caused to be made the whole of this famous work (Krīti), with three myriads of large jewels (and) three lakhs of gold (coins of the kind called) tankakas. Having consecrated (it) according to due rite (through the ceremonies performed) by Brahmanas, just as if he, the king, himself (was laying out) the path of the Vēdas, he made an establishment of the (god) Nīhari, who is the cause of the prosperity of the three worlds. A boar (i.e., the god Viṣṇu in that form), the giver of enjoyment and final emancipation, has been set up by Balabhādra, in order that (his) parents may attain heaven, (and) for the happiness of the (whole) world. Thus runs the chapter on the Mandārāgiri.
Déö-Baranârk, or Déva-Baranârk, the ancient Vârûnîkâ of this inscription, is a village about twenty-five miles south-west of Arrah (properly Arsâ), the chief town of the Shâhâbâd District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on two contiguous faces of a pillar in the entrance-hall of a temple on the west side of the village, which has apparently been adapted in modern times as a temple of the god Vîshnu.

The writing, which covers a space of about 3½ by 1 4, high, has suffered a great deal of injury from the weather, especially down the proper right side, where many passages are hopelessly illegible; but fortunately the whole of the genealogy of the Guptas of Magadha given in this inscription is intact, with the exception of the first three syllables of the name of Mâdhavagupta, in line 2, which can easily be supplied. In lines 7 fl., however, there was a good deal of historical information that is not now quite perfect. — The average size of the letters is about 1/8. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost the same Kutâla type as those of the Apsâsa inscription of Adityasena, No. 43 above, Plate xxviii.; but they do not show the bent tails of the letters quite so markedly. — The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In style, it follows the customary form of a copper-plate charter; not of a stone-inscription. — In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of sh, instead of the jihddmâlya or the visarga, in antâsâdvit, line 7; (2) the use of the dental n, instead of the anusvâra, before s; in kansa, line 14; (3) the doubling throughout of t, in conjunction with a following r; e.g., in tîryâ, line 1; pûtrâ, line 5; and misra, line 16; and (4) the use of v for b, in saâddiâlya, line 13.

The inscription is one of Jivitagupta II., of the family of the Guptas of Magadha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the fort of Gãmatikottaka. It is not dated. It is an inscription of solar worship, its object being to record the continuance of the grant of a village, either Vûrûnikâ or Kîsorâvâtaka, to the Sun, under the title of Varunavasîn, a name which is of some interest, as apparently preserving the ancient belief, in accordance with which vărûna, lit. 'that which envelopes,' meant 'the all-encompassing sky,' before it became the name of the ocean-god Varuṇa, who himself was origin.

The characters, called Maithila by Dr. R. Mitra, shew that this inscription is quite modern, — certainly not earlier than the sixteenth century A.D.; and it must have been engraved when the boar-statue of Vishnu, spoken of in line 6, was set up by Balabhadra. I have thought it worth while, however, to give the record in full, because, in my opinion, it so plainly contains a memorial of the great Adityasena of Magadha. The antiquity of the allusion is indicated by its being referred to the Krita age. And though the name of Adityasena's wife is here given as Kôshadâvi, instead of Kôvâdâvi, this is to be explained by the usual inability of the people, then as now, to read correctly the ancient characters of the inscription or other record from which the composer of these verses obtained his information; and it is a mistake of the kind that corroborates, not invalidates, the identification of Adityasena.

1 The 'Deo-Baranârk, Deo-Baranârk, Deo-Baranârk, and Deenar Narooch, 'of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 28° 15' N.; Long. 84° 31' E.
3 id. p. 69.
4 Gen. Cunningham read it the date of 152, which he referred to the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. But this arose only from a misunderstanding of the words sa-daśpārdaṁha-pachâ, in line 19.
5 It appears that two special festivals in honour of the sun still take place at Déö-Baranârk, on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of the months Chaitra and Kârtika (see Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI. p. 73).
originally looked upon as one of the twelve Ādityas, or forms of the sun, the offspring of Aditi.¹

The importance of this inscription consists, first, in its continuation, for three more generations, of the genealogy of the Gupta of Magadha, including the name of Dēvagupta, which, as will be seen hereafter, gives the clue to the date of the Vākāṭaka Mahārājas; and secondly, in its recording the names of certain previous kings, who each in succession had confirmed the grant. The names that are now legible are those of Bālādītya, who, as is known from the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsiang, played so important a part in connection with Mihirakula; Īsāvarmāna, who is evidently the Maukharī king Īsāvarman, whose copper-seal we have in No. 47 below; Plate xxxA.; and Avantivarman, who is probably the Maukharī Avantivarman, mentioned in Baha's Harshacharita as the father of Grahavarman who became the husband of Rājyāśrī, the sister of Harshavardhana of Kanauj.²

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Gomātikottaka, the fort whence the charter was issued, must evidently be looked for somewhere along the river Gomati, the modern Gomti or Gumti, which, rising in the Shāhjahanpur District of the North-West Provinces, passes Lucknow and Jaunpur, and flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Ghāzīpur, and about eighty-five miles to the west of Dēo-Baranārak. And Vārāmpī is plainly the modern Dēo-Baranārak itself. In the modern name, the first component is īdeva, 'a god,' and the second, a corruption of Varūmpīra, evidently gives the name of a later conception of the original god, embodying the attributes of the Sun (ārka) with those of Varuna.

TEXT.³

1. See, for instance, Monier Williams' Indian Wisdom, pp. 12 f. and 68; and Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I. p. 27, note 42.

2. See FitzEdward Hall's preface to the Vāsavadattā, p. 52; and the Harshacharita, Kaśmir edition, p. 311 ff.

3. From the ink-impression.

4. Bhagwanal Indira supplied varṇa-gavaih-bhaṭṭīrakāya here. But only about five akharas, or at most six, appear to have been destroyed.

5. Some sectarian title of Mādhavagupta must have been destroyed here; but there seems hardly room enough for paramabhaṭṭāvata or paramamāhēśvara.

6. Read sṛ-ādītya.

7. This name of Dēvaguptadēva,—which is of considerable importance, from its bearing on the date of the Vākāṭaka Mahārājas,—is very indistinct; but I agree with Bhagwanal Indira that it can be read with sufficient certainty.
dhyataḥ paramabhattārīkāyaḥ[†] rājñyāḥ[†] mahādevyāḥ[†] śrī- 
Kamala'de'vyam-uptannah paramamāhā-. [†]

5 [śvara-paramabhattāraka-maḥāraja[shi]raja-paramesvara-śrī - Viśhiṃguptadevasa-
taṣya putras-tat-pād-anudhyataḥ paramabhattārīkāyaḥ[†] rājñyāḥ[†] mahādevyāḥ[†] śrī-śrīlādevyāḥ[†]. [†]

6 [m-uptannah parama... paramaḥbhattāraka-maḥāraja-ādhiraja-paramesvara- śrī-Vaiṣvā Śrutikā-grāman- 
goshti[ā]na[?] kula-talavatāka-dūta-smakarmakaraka-madhyā[?] -[†]

8 taka-raja puttra-rājamatta-mahā- 

9 kshatika-maḥādaṇḍanāyaka-maḥāpratihāra-mah[a]sā-

10 pāśika[?] ka... rahi[?] vala-vyāyata- 

11 rasaka t-āṣam[?] pāda-prasād-oṣajyinsa[?] cha 

12 pratīv[ā]sa[?] cha vr(ā)ḥ[?] bhū[?] matsya[?] māhātara-ka[kh]ṣi[?] pura-

13 [ta] grām-ādī-sanātyam paramēṣvara- 

14 va-parivā[?] haka... bhōjakā-Hansa- 

15 Śarvavarma[?] bhōjakā-Rishi[?] mitra... yataka[?] 

16 [mbya] ēvaḥ mah[a]ś[?] jā[jādhi]-a[?] japa-paramēṣvara-

17 [dita] tē[?] ha[?] bhu[?] (jyate[?] [†] tad-aham 

18 Varunavasy-āyatanam tad-anu dattam...
Reverence to ........1 Hail! From the victorious camp, possessed of shouts of victory acquired by the three constituents of power,¹ (and) invincible through (its) equipment of great ships and elephants and horses and foot-soldiers, (and) situated near the fort of Gômatikoṭṭaka:—

(Line 2)—(There was) ........... the illustrious Mâdhavagupta. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the glorious Adityasena-deva,¹ begotten on the Paramabhaṭṭārikā, the queen,² the Mahâdevi, the glorious Śrîmatidēvi.

(L. 3.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahâśvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahârâjâdhikârâja, and [Paramâśvara], the glorious Devaguptadēvi,¹ begotten on the Paramabhaṭṭārikā, the queen, Mahâdevi, the glorious Kûpādēvi.

(L. 4.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahâśvara, the [Paramabhaṭṭāraka], Mahârâjâdhikârâja, and Paramâśvara, the glorious Viahuguptadēvi,¹ begotten on the Paramabhaṭṭārikā, the queen, Mahâdevi, the glorious Kamaladēvi.³

(L. 5.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the most devout worshipper of .........., the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahârâjâdhikârâja, and Paramâśvara, the glorious Jivitaguptadēvi⁴ (II.),—[begotten] on the Paramabhaṭṭārikā, the queen, Mahâdevi, the glorious Ijjadēvi,¹—being in good health, [issues a command] to the herdsmen, Talâdakas,⁵ messengers,⁶ makers of boundaries,⁷ ..........
Rājāputras, Rājāmatyas, Mahādaṇḍandayakas, Mahāpratīthāras, Kumārdānyakas, Rājasthānyakas, Uparikas, Chaurāḍdhāranikas, Dāṇḍikas, Dāṇḍapāḍikas, of the village of Vāṟupikā, which lies in the Nagara bhūtī, (and) belonging to the Valavi viśaya, (and) to the village of Kīṭravāṭaka (?), which was laid out by and to those who subsist on the favour of Our feet, and to the neighbours, headed by the Brahmans, (and) to the Mahattaras.

(L. 12.)—By the Bhojaśastra, belonging to (the establishment of) the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varunavāsin, who was requested the above-mentioned [village] together with and the village, &c., was formerly bestowed by the Paramēśvara, the glorious Bālādityādeva, by (his) own charter, the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varunavāsin, by restoration to the Bhojaśastra, and by those who presided at different times, viz. the Paramēśvara, the glorious Sarvarmaṇ. [to] the Bhojaśastra, by the Paramēśvara Avantivāṭana. In accordance with this practice assent to its enjoyment by the Bhojaśastra Durdharāmitra was given, by the grant of a charter, by the Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, and it is now enjoyed by him.

(L. 17.)—"Therefore I [now announce] that it is assented to; such is (my) command to all people.

the altar of (the god) Varunavāsin; after that, there is given

with the udānga and the uparikara, with (the proceeds of fines for) the ten offences, the five.

1 Rājāputra means literally 'a king's son, a prince,' but, as used in such passages as the present, it evidently has some technical official meaning, differing from this. In the modern Prākrit, we have, in Marāthi, rāuj or rādi, and in Gujarātī, rādī, in the sense of 'a horse-soldier, a trooper.' And these words would seem to be derived from āra-jāputra, and so to indicate its technical meaning; rather than, as given by Molesworth and Candy in their Marāthi Dictionary, from rājau-dala, 'a king's messenger.'

2 Mahāpratīthāra, lit. 'a great door-keeper,' was the technical title of the officer next in grade above the Pratīthāras (see page 150 above, note 1).

3 Chaurāḍdhāranika, lit. 'one who is entrusted with the extermination of thieves,' is evidently the technical title of a certain class of police officers.

4 Dāṇḍik, lit. 'a chastiser, a punisher,' may denote either a judicial functionary, from dāṇḍa in the sense of 'a fine,' or a police officer, from the same word in the sense of 'a rod (of punishment).'

5 Bhūtī, lit. 'enjoyment,' is a technical territorial term. From the arrangement of the text here, as also from the mention of the village of Pāṇḍyaka, in the Śravasti bhūtī, and belonging to the Vālaviśaya viśaya which lay in the Śravasti māndala,' in the Dīgha-Dhāva grant of the Mahārājā Mahendrāpalā (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 119, line 7 ff.), and the mention of the village of Tikkatāla, in the Pratīthānaka bhūtī, and attached to the Kālpatūr āṭhakā which belonged to the Vālaviśaya viśaya," in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārājā Vinayakāpalā (id. Vol. XV. p. 141, line 9 ff.), the term bhūtī seems to have denoted a larger extent of territory than a viśaya.

6 Bhojaśastra is explained by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as denoting 'a class of priests, or sun-worshippers, supposed to be descended from the Magas by intermarriage with women of the Bhoja race.'—Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary, gives the same word as meaning 'a village-headman.'

7 The construction of the original is Bālādityādeva . . . . . . . pāṃsuka-daśika-vāyudāna. 'having relied on (i.e. having adapted himself to) the former grant that was made by Bālādityādeva (and the others mentioned).' I have broken up the construction for convenience of translation.
No. 47; PLATE XXX A.

ASIRGADH COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF SARVAVARMAN.

This inscription was first brought to notice, through two independent channels, in 1826. In the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 483 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published the Rev. W. H. Mill's reading of the text, and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxvi.) reduced from a drawing, forwarded to him by Dr. J. Swiney, which had been made in 1805 from a wax-impression of the original seal, and had been in the possession of Dr. Mellish from then; the lithograph is a fairly good one; but the rendering of the inscription was erroneous almost throughout. And in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* F. S. Vol. III. p. 377 ff., Professor H. H. Wilson published Sir Charles Wilkins' reading of the text and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, apparently full-size, prepared from an impression which was found in 1805 or 1806 by Captain Colebrooke at Asirgadh, in a box containing property of the Maharajā Scindia, and was forwarded by him to Sir Charles Wilkins.

Asirgadh1 is a hill-fort, which formerly belonged to Scindia, about eleven miles to the north-east of Burhānpur,2 the chief town of the Burhānpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Nimār3 District in the Central Provinces. As is shewn by the Sūnpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxiiB, and the seal attached to the spurious Gayā plate of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii, the original of the inscription is evidently the seal, presumably of copper, of a copper-plate grant. The grant itself appears never to have been found. As regards the seal, it is not quite clear from the published accounts whether the original was ever found, or only impressions of it. But, at any rate, I have not been able to find out what became either of the seal, or of the impressions of it. My lithograph is a full-size reproduction of the lithograph published with Professor H. H. Wilson's paper.

In the absence of the original seal and impressions, I am unable to give any details as to its measurements, weight, state of preservation, &c. But, if the original lithograph is full-size, it represents a seal, roughly oval in shape, measuring about 4½" by 5½". The upper part is occupied by emblems, which are—in the centre, a bull walking to the proper right, decorated with a garland; beyond it, or perhaps attached to its off-side, there is an umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers; on the proper right side, in front of the bull, there is a man walking, who carries in his right hand a curved double axe on a short transverse handle, and in his left hand, either a standard, with a wheel or sun-emblem on the top of it, or perhaps an abdāgar or 'sunshade'; and on the proper left, behind the bull, there follows another man, who carries in his left hand an ordinary long-handled double axe, and in his right either a chauri-brush or a stick, with which he is driving the bullock. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, though rather florid, especially in respect of the representation of the superscript vowels, they are of a perceptibly older type than those of the inscriptions of the Guptas of

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1 The 'Asirgarh and Asseeur Gurth' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 21° 28' N.; Long. 76° 20' E.
2 The 'Burhanapur and Booohanpoor' of maps, &c.
3 The 'Nimār' of maps, &c.
Magadha, Nos. 42, 43, and 46, Plates xxviii. and xxixA. and B.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice 1 the use of the *upadhmānya*, in *utpannaḥ-parama*, line 7; (a) the doubling throughout of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *atikrānta*, line 1, and *putra*, line 3; and (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *g* in *anuddhyāta*, lines 3, 4, 5, and 6.

The **seal** is one of the **Maukhari** king Śarvarvarman, whose approximate date is fixed very closely by the mention of his father Īśānavarman, as the contemporary of Kumāragupta of Magadha, in line 7 of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena, No. 42 above, page 200. The mere finding of the inscription at Āśīrgaḍḥ of course does not suffice in any way to connect the members of this family of Maukharis with that locality. Their territory probably lay some hundreds of miles more to the east. Its real position, however, is a point that, with the definite date of Śarvarvarman, can only be cleared up by the discovery, if it is still in existence, of the plate itself, to which the seal belongs.

**TEXT.**

1. Chatus-samudr-ātikrānta-kṛttih  
   pratāp-anurāg-ōpanat-anva-rājā(ā)  
   varpa-asrama-yaavasthā-  

2. pana-pravṛttā-chakkras-Chakkradhara  
   iva  

3. mahārāja-Harivarmanā  
   [11*]  
   Tasya  
   puttras-śat-pād-anuddhyātā  
   janm-utpannah  
   srī-mahārāj-Ādityava- 

4. rmā  
   [11*]  
   Tasya  
   puttras-śat-pād-anuddhyātā  
   Harṣaguptā-śrī-ātikrākā- 
   dēvyām-utpannāḥ  
   srī-mahā-ja- 

5. j-Śarvarvarmanā  
   [11*]  
   Tasya  
   puttras-śat-pād-anuddhyātā  
   Upaguptā- 

6. mahā-jaśāhārāja-śrī-śat-śīnavarmanā  
   [11*]  
   Tasya  
   puttras-śat-pād- 
   anuddhyātā  
   La(ḥ)kabmīvya-  

7. [tī-]bhātārīkā-mahā-śrī-śrī-śīnavarmanā  
   [11*]  
   Tasya  
   puttras-śat-pād- 
   anuddhyātā  

8. harājādāhirāja-śrī-Śarvarvarmanā  
   Maukharīḥ  
   [11*]  

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1. From the lithograph published with Sir Charles Wilkins and Prof. Wilson's paper; so also the present lithograph.

2. In the absence of the original seal, which possibly was not properly cleaned before it was copied, I can only treat this, and a few other instances, as mistakes of the original, though they may be only defects in the lithograph.

3. Sir Charles Wilkins read **umaguptā**. As regards the second syllable, *m* and *p* are very much alike in the lithograph. But the letter here seems to be *p*, rather than *m*; and there is certainly no *d* over it.—In support of my reading, the name Upaguptā occurs in the masculine form, Upagupta, as the name of the fourth or fifth Buddhist Patriarch (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. pp. 149, 315; Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. I. p. 182, and Vol. II. pp. 88, 93, 273).

4. Read *śrī-ātīna*.

5. Sir Charles Wilkins read **harśīṇa**; but there are four **aksaras** to be accounted for, not three. The first **aksara** is very doubtful; the second is certainly not *rśi*, but seems to be *śk*[m]*ṭ*; rather imperfectly copied; the third is *ja*; in the fourth, the superscript *f* is distinctly visible, and the consonant, which is almost entirely illegible, naturally suggests itself as *f*.
TRANSLATION.

(There was) the illustrious Mahârâja Harivarman, whose fame stretched out beyond the four oceans; who had other kings brought into subjection by (his) prowess and by affection (for him); who was like (the god) Chakradrâha, in employing (his) sovereignty for regulating the different castes and stages of religious life; (and) who was the remover of the afflictions of (his) subjects. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious Mahârâja Âdityavarman, begotten on the Bhâttârikâ and Devâ Jayasvâmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious Mahârâja Ísâvaravarman, begotten on the Bhâttârikâ and Devâ Harshâguptâ. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious Ísânavarman, begotten on the Bhâttârikâ and Devâ Upaguptâ. His son, who meditates on his feet, (is) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahâvâra, the Mahârâjâdhirâja Šarvaravarman, the Maukhari, begotten on the Bhâttârikâ and Mahâdâcatu Lakshâmivâti.

No. 48; PLATE XXX B.

BARABAR HILL CAVE INSRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

This inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice in 1790, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 167 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington.—In 1837, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 674 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxvi. Nos. 15, 16, and 17) reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Hathorne,—And in 1884, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 428, note 55, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit has incidentally published his own reading of the text.

The Barâbar Hill, the ancient Pravaragiri of this inscription, stands about a mile and a half away on the north side of the village of Panârî, which is about fourteen miles to the north by east of Gayâ, the chief town of the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency. In the south part of the hill there is a cave-temple, which it has become the custom to call the "Lomaśa Rishi Cave," and the original construction of which is allotted by

1 Typified by the chakra, or 'wheel (of his chariot).'-chakra means also the discus of Vishnu; and hence the point of the comparison.

2 Bhâttârikâ, itt. 'she who is entitled to reverence or homage,' is the feminine form of bhâttâraka (see page 17 above, note 1). It is used here as a technical title of a wife of a Mahârâja: but, in line 7 below, it occurs also as the title of a wife of a Mahârâjâdhirâja.

3 Devâ, itt. 'goddess,' is another technical title of a wife of a Mahârâja.

4 See page 220 above, note 3.

5 See page 220 above, note 5.

6 See also the Calcutta reprint of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 128.

7 The 'Punaree-Fersopoor' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 24° 56' N.; Long. 85° 9' E. The hill itself is entered under the name of 'Barabar Hill,' and is a Trigonometrical Survey Station.

8 The Gya of maps, &c.

General Cunningham to the Aśoka period, though the entrance-porch was enlarged and decorated with a sculptured façade at a later time, probably when the present inscription was engraven. The inscription is on a smooth polished surface of the granite rock, over the entrance to the cave.¹

The writing, which covers a space of about 3′ 2½" broad by 1′ 3½" high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ½" to 1½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and exhibit very markedly the fully developed mātrās, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, that have already been noticed at pages 43 and 49 above.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word ॐ, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling throughout of त, in conjunction with a following ॠ; e.g. in puttra, line 1, and yatra, line 5; and (2) the use of व for ब, in vabhāna, line 4.

The inscription is one of a Maukhari chieftain named Anantavarman; but, from the way in which his father Śardūla or Śardūlavarma is mentioned in line 5, it seems to have been engraved while the latter was still alive. It is not dated. It is a Vaishnava inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by Anantavarman, of an image of the god Vishnu, in his incarnation as Kṛishna.

The hill itself is mentioned in line 5, under the name of Pravara-giri. The word, of course, is capable of being taken simply as an epithet, to be rendered by "(this) excellent hill." But, on the analogy of the town of Pravarapura, which is mentioned in the first line of the Chammak grant of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv., it seems to me to be clearly intended as the actual name of the hill. And we have possibly a reminiscence of this in the modern name Barbar, for which, at any rate, General Cunningham's proposed etymology of bāra dvaara, 'the great enclosure," does not suffice to account.

\[\text{EXT.}\]

1 Ōṁ² [II⁺] Bhūpān[ā]ḥ² Maukhariṇaṁ kulam-ātānu-gupō-lam-chakas-atma-jātyā² śrī Śardūlasaṣya² yo-bhōj-jaṇa-hridaya-haro-Nantāvarmanā² su-puttraḥ [I⁺]

2 Kṛishnasya-akṛishna-kṛttih Pravara-giri-guha-saṃśritam viṁśāvatāt murttaḥ² lōkē yaśaḥ[ḥ]² svam rachitam-iva mudrāchkarat-kāntimat-sah²

¹ Gen. Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 47) speaks of it as "two distinct inscriptions, the upper one, of two lines, being somewhat later in date than the lower one, of four lines, in rather larger characters." But the six lines are all one and the same inscription; and the rather smaller size of the letters in the first two lines is simply due to the lateral space available being less, in consequence of the turning over of the upper part of the façade, within the limits of which the inscription is engraved.
² From the original stone.
³ In the original, the symbol for this word, ॐ, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.
⁴ Metre, Sragādhā.
⁵ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
⁶ The engraver first formed ṛṛṭi, and then partially cancelled the i.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; NO. 49, PLATE XXXI A.

3 Kālāḥ śatru-mahbhujāṁ pranayināṁ ichchhā-phañāḥ pádadó 1 dipañ kahattva-huṣāya naika-samara-vyāpāra-sobhāvataḥ [1*]

4 kāntā-bhitta-harāḥ Smāra-pratisamaḥ páta va(ba)hadva kshñēḥ sṛṭ-Sārḍūla iti pratishtita-yaśaḥ[ḥ*] samāžā-çhodāmapi II

5 Upakashm-antavilobhit-ūru-tarala-spasht-ehṣṭa-tārāṁ rūsha 1 sṛṭ-Sārḍūla-nipah karoṭi vishāmāṁ yattra sva-driṣṭiṁ ripō(pau) I

6 tattv-akarnā-vikriṣṭa-sārīṅga-sārāda-vyastas-sārō-tt(ṇ)-avahāḥ tat-puttrasya patatya-ananta-sukha-dasyā-Anantavarma-śrutēḥ II

TRANSLATION.

Öm! He, Anantavarman, who was the excellent son, captivating the hearts of mankind, of the illustrious Sārḍūla; (and) who, possessed of very great virtues, adorned by his own (high) birth the family of the Maukhari kings,—he, of unsullied fame, with joy caused to be made, as if it were his own fame represented in bodily form in the world, this beautiful image, placed in (this) cave of the mountain Pravaragiri, of (the god) Krishna.

(Line 3.)—The illustrious Sārḍūla, of firmly established fame, the best among chieftains, became the ruler of the earth;—he who was a very Death to hostile kings; who was a tree, the fruits of which were the (fulfilled) wishes of (his) favourites; who was the torch of the family of the warrior caste, that is glorious through waging many battles; (and) who, charming the thoughts of lovely women, resembled (the god) Smara.

(L. 5.)—On whatsoever enemy the illustrious king Sārḍūla casts in anger his scowling eye, the expanded and tremulous and clear and beloved pupil of which is red at the corners between the up-lifted brows,—on him there falls the death-dealing arrow, discharged from the bowstring drawn up to (his) ear, of his son, the giver of endless pleasure, who has the name of Anantavarman.

No. 49; PLATE XXXIA.

NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

This inscription, again, appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice, in 1790, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 168 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington.—In 1847, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 401 ff., Major Markham Kittoe published a lithograph of it.

1 Metre, Sārdūlavikṛśita; and in the following verse.
2 and 4 These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.
3 As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note 3.
5 Sēmanta; see page 148 above, note 1. The use of the word here perhaps indicates the exact status of these Maukhari chiefs.
6 sarudhi, lit. 'the arrow-holder,' is usually explained by 'quiver.' But here it plainly denotes the string of the bow.
7 lit. 'the hearing, the sound.'
8 See also the Calcutta reprint of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 129.
(id. Plate x.) reduced from a copy made apparently by himself, to accompany his "Notes on the Caves of Barabar."—And this was followed, in the same volume, p. 594 ff., by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's reading of the text, accompanied by a reprint of Sir Charles Wilkins' translation.

The Nágárai Hill, which, in line 8 of the following inscription of the same chieftain, No. 50 below, is spoken of as (a part of) the Vindhyā range, is about a mile away on the north side of the village of Jāphura, which is about fifteen miles to the north by east of Gayā, the chief town of the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency. It is the most eastern part of the group of hills that includes the Barabar Hill mentioned in connection with the preceding inscription, page 221 above. On the north side of the hill, there is a cave-temple, which is shewn to belong to the Ashoka period by an inscription, in four lines, of Dasalatha-Dēvanampiya on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has been named the "Vadathī Cave." The present inscription is on the smooth and polished surface of the granite rock, on the right hand in the entrance to the cave.

The writing, which covers a space of about 4 3/4" broad by 1 5/8" high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The average size of the letters is about 1 1/16". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding inscription of the same chieftain, No. 48 above, Plate xxxB., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed mātrās.—The language is Śanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word om, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in anuvāsa, line 5; and (2) the customary doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in kṣattra, line 1, and nītra, line 2.

The inscription is another record of the Maukharī chieftain Anantavarman. It is not dated. It is a Śaiva inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by Anantavarman, of an image representing Śiva, in the form of Bhūtapati or "the lord of beings," and his wife Pārvatī, under the name of Dēvī. The image was probably of the kind called Ardhanārīśvara, combining Śiva and Pārvatī in one body; the right half being the male god, and the left the female.

**TEXT.**

1. Ōṁ [ī]
2. aśṭa-sarva-mahāksitām-anuṣṭ-siva kṣattra-amstītṛ-ddēśikāb
   śrīmān-mattā-gajendra-khēla-gamanah śrī-Vairāyamā nripāh [ī]
3. yasyāḥ ahaḥta-sahasrāṇa-viraha-kṣēmā sad-aiv-adhittraḥ Paulomān chiram-
   aśru-pāta-malinām dhā(dha)ttē kapōla-sriyāh II

1 The 'Kootunpoor-Jafra' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 23° 0' N.; Long. 83° 8' E.—
   The name of the hill is not shown in the map.
   Pl. xviii.
3 From the original stone.
4 In the original, the symbol for this word, ōṁ, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement
   of line 3.
5 Metre, Śrīdālakārītā; and in the following verse.
6 Sir Charles Wilkins and Dr. R. Mitra both read mahāksitām Manuṣṭ-siva; but there is no
   anusvāra over the ōṁ.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 49, PLATE XXXI A. 225

3 Śrī-Śārdūla-nrip-ārmanāḥ para-hitāḥ śrī-paurishah śrīyatē 1 lōkē chandrarānti-nirmala-gunō yō-Νανταवरμᾶν-ābhidhā(ha)ḥ [1*]
4 drīshād-adrīshā-vibhūti kartṛ-va-rodām tān-ābbhutām kārītaṁ 1 virvāmā
5 mābhumātī-guh-āśritam-īdam Dēvyāś-daḥ pāyaj-jagat 1
6 Anū-ant-ākrīṣṭa-sāṅgīra-pravītata-saśāra-jyā-sāpar-tran-maṇḍal-ānta. 1 -vyakta1-
7 bhūbhāṅgā-lakshma-vyaṭayika-sāval-ākhandā-vaktṛṇḍā-vimva[h*] 1
8 anty-Ανανταवरμᾶνα Smartā-saddhā-vapu-rjjiviti ni[h*]spriṃābbhih drīṣṭa[h*]
9 sthitā mrigbhbhih sucharam-animisham-sīngdha-mugdhi-ekhaṇābbhih 1
10 Atyākrīṣṭatā†-kurattar-viruta-sparśīdhinaḥ sāṅgīra-yantrā. 1 -dē=vēg-āvīddhah
11 pravītata-guṇād-śrañā saṃspṛṇhavaṇa 1
12 dōra-prāpt vimathita-gaj-ōbbhranta-vāj pravītā 1 vānō-ri-sṛt-vyasana-pondati-
13 deśikō-Nanta-nāmnā(mna)ḥ 1

TRANSLATION.

Om! There was a glorious king, the illustrious Yajñavarman,—who, as if he were Anu,10 instructed all rulers of the earth in the duty of those who belong to the warrior caste,—whose gait was like the play of a rutting elephant; (and) through whose sacrifices (the goddess) Paulomī, always emaciated by separation from (the god Indra) who has a thousand eyes, invoked (by this king so constantly as to be perpetually absent from her), has had the beauty of (her) cheeks for a long time sullied by the falling of tears.

(Line 3.)—He, the son of the illustrious king Śardūla, who has the name of Anantavarman; who is reputed in the world to be benevolent to others, (and) to be possessed of fortune and manliness, (and) to be full of virtues that are as spotless as the rays of the moon,—by him was caused to be made this wondrous image, placed in (this) cave, of (the god) Bhūpati and (the goddess) Dévī, which is possessed of excellencies (of workmanship) some of them (previously) beheld (in other images) but others not so; (and) which confers boons upon the maker (of it). May it protect the world!

(L. 5.)—Having over the surface of the full-moon that is (his) face made grey through being scattered over with spots that are (his) frowns displayed at the ends of the bent arc, glistening with (its) string pulled tight and fitted with an arrow, of the bow drawn up to the extremities of (his) shoulders, Anantavarman, whose body is like (that of) the god Smara,—having stood, gazed upon for a very long time by the does, indifferent to life, whose moist and tender eyes omit to blink (through the intentness with

1 and These marks of punctuation are unnecessary. 10 Metre, Sragdharā.
2 Read anta-vyakta, omitting the mark of punctuation.
3 Metre, Mandākrāntā.
4 Read yantrād, omitting the mark of punctuation.
5 This akshara is partly mixed up with the d of dā in vidiśavasu, which was subsequently engraved below this inscription, but has no connection with it.
6 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
7 This vīrāgra was at first omitted, and then was inserted partially on the first stroke of the following mark of punctuation, when the text was altered from nāma to nāmnaḥ.
8 See page 224 above, note 6.—Anu, one of the sons of Yayati, was the progenitor of the Ānavas who are identified by Gen. Cunningham (Archœol. Surr. Ind. Vol. II. p. 14 ff.) with the ‘Janjīhas,’ who now occupy ‘Mākhyāla’ and other places in the Salt Range, in the Pañthā.
9 2 F
which they regard him)—(lives only) for (the purpose of dealing out) death. The far-reaching (and) powerful arrow, scattering the elephants and driving horses wild with fear, of him who has the name of Ananta,—impelled with speed (and) skilfully discharged from the machine of (his) bow, fitted with a well-stretched string, that is drawn very tight (and) rivals the screams of an osprey (with the noise of its twanging),—teaches to the wives of (his) enemies the condition of the sorrows (of widowhood):

No. 50; PLATE XXXI B.

NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

This inscription, again, appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice in 1788, in the Asiatic Researches Vol. I. p. 276 ff., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington, and, with it, a lithograph from the same materials. And in 1837, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 672 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published another reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxiv.), reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Hathorne.

This is another inscription from the Nagarjuni Hill in the lands of Japhra, in the Cooch District of the Bengal Presidency. On the south side of the hill, there is another cave-temple, which also is shown to belong to the Asoka period by another inscription, in four lines, of Dasalatha-Devanampiya on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has come to be called the "Gupta Cave." The inscription now published is on the smooth and polished surface of the granite rock, on the left hand in the entrance to the cave.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 4' 11" broad by 1' 11½" high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout; except that, in the last line, the name of the village that was granted has been intentionally obliterated. —The average size of the letters is about 1". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding two inscriptions of the same chieftain, Nos. 48 and 49 above, Plates xxx B. and xxxia., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed mātrās.

—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word ṣū, the inscription is in verse throughout. —In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in anhū, line 2, and before h, in anhūs, line 9; (a) the customary doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following v, e.g. in vihūrana, line 4, and putrīsma, line 7; and (3) the use throughout of v for b, in laubham, line 5; vandhu, line 6; and anvabhiḥ, line 9.

The inscription is another record of the Maukhari chieftain Anantavarman. It is not dated. It is either a Śaiva, or a Śākta, inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by Anantavarman, of an image of the goddess Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva, under the name of Kātyāyanti, and also the grant to the same goddess, under the name of Bhavant, of a village, the name of which has been destroyed.

1 As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note 3.
2 See also the Calcutta reprint of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 266 ff.
3 See page 324 above, and note 1.
In line 8 of this inscription, the Nágárjuni Hill is spoken of as (a part of) the Vindhya range. This is in accordance with facts; since the Vindhya mountains, though most conspicuous in Western and Central India, do extend right across the peninsula, until, passing through the neighbourhood of Gayā, their easternmost spurs reach and disappear in the valley of the Ganges at Rājmahāl.

**TEXT.**

1 Om [II*] Unmirdasaya sarodrūhasya sakalām-akṣhiṣaya sābhām ruchā
tavatā Mahishāsurasaya śrīsaiva nāyasthā kyanan-nupurah [IS]

2 Devā vaḥ sthira-bhakti-vāda-sadriśṭem yuñjan-phaśṭen-arthitam i nāśyād
dvehna-nakāh-āṇu-jāla-jāṭilah pādāh pādam saṃpadām II

3 Asti-āśita-sāṃriđda-vaṣṭ[a-mahimā śrī Yajñevarmanā
nirpih I prakhyaṭā(16)
vimal-endu-nirmmaalayaś[1*] kṣhāttrasya dhāmnah pādam II

4 prajñān-āṇivaya-śāna-vikramma-gunapar-yo rakajasya-āgran[1*] bhûtv-aśpi
prakriti-stha eva vinayad-akṣṭhābhaya-sat[1*]y-ōddadhi[1*] II

5 Tasya-ōḍhrā-mahā-ārav-ōpama-rana-vyādṃa-lavdhya(bhada)n yaśāh [1*] tanvānāh
kakudam mukhēśu kakubhām kri[1*]ya āit-ēdāmyugah [1*]

6 śrāmān-va(ba)ndhu-suhṛṣi-jana-pranāvayān-māsah phalaih pûraya[n*] II
putrah kalpa-tarōr-iv-āpta-mahimām śārdōlāvarmanā

7 Tasya-ānantam-ānanta-kṛtiti-yaśasā Nant-adivarm-ākhyaya khyātēn-āhita
bhakti-bhāvita-dhiyā putrēna pūt-ātmana [1*]

8 a-sūrya-kshiti-chandra-tārakam-iyām puny-āspadāṃ vāṇchchhaya[fichha]tā I
vinayast-ādbhuta-Vindhyā-bhūhatara-guhṇān-āśritya Kātyāyani II

9 Dhaut-āṅhā-māla-parika-dōsham-amalair-maññadair-amyu(mb)bihih I vyādhēt
ōpavana-priyāngu-vakulair-amōditaṃ vāyubhī[1*] II

10 Kramān-āvadhi-bhōgyam-uchchha-śīkhari-chchhāyāvīrit-ārkka-dyutim I
grāmam-analpa-bhōga-vibhavan rmayān Bhavānaya II

**TRANSLATION.**

Om I May the foot of (the goddess) Dēvī, fringed with the rays of (its) pure nails, point out the way to fortune, endowing with a (suitable) reward your state of supplication which is such as befits the expression of firm devotion;—(that foot) which, surpassing in radiance all the beauty of a full-blown waterlily, was disdainfully placed, with its tinkling anklet, on the heel of the demon Mahishāsura.*

(Line 3)—There was a king, the illustrious Yajñevarman, possessed of greatness by celebrating copious sacrifices; renowned; possessed of fame as pure as the spotless moon; the abode of (all) the dignity of one of the warrior caste;—who, though he was the foremost of all kings in respect of wisdom, (high) descent, liberality, and prowess, yet, through modesty, was (like) an ocean which adheres to the natural state (of tranquillity), (and) the calmness of which is never to be disturbed.

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1 From the original stone.
2 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛjtā, throughout.
3 It is not customary to punctuate the first and third pādas of a verse; but it was done almost uniformly throughout this inscription.
4 Read mahimā.
5 A demon who assumed various forms, but principally that of a buffalo, and was slain by Pārvatī, who, in the form of Dēvī or Durgā, attacked him, on a lion, and cut off his head.
(L. 5.)—His son (was) the king Sârdâlawarman, who stretched out over the faces of the points of the compass, (as) an emblem of sovereignty, the renown that he had acquired in the occupation of war resembling (in its extensiveness) the great swollen ocean; who conquered (the stains of) this present age with (his) fame; who was illustrious; (and) who acquired, as it were, the glory of the kalpa-tree, by satisfying with rewards the wishes, of (his) relatives and friends.

(L. 7.)—Of him, who was always possessed of infinite fame and renown, the son (is) he, pure of soul, (and) possessed of intellect animated with innate piety, who is known by the appellation of Varman commencing with Ananta;—by whom, desiring a shrine of religious merit that should endure as long as the sun, the earth, the moon, and the stars, this (image of) (the goddess) Kâtyâyanî has been placed in (this) wonderful cave of the Vindhya mountains.

(L. 9.)—He has given to (the goddess) Bhavânî, to be enjoyed up to the time of the destruction of all things, the charming village of . . . . . . . , possessed of a great wealth of enjoyment,—the sin, impurity, mud, and blemishes of which are washed away by the pure waters of a great river;—which is filled with perfume by the breezes that agitate the priyangu and vakula-trees in (its) groves;—(and) from which the radiance of the sun is screened off by (this) lofty mountain.

No. 51; PLATE XXXIIA.

JAUNPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARAVARMAN.

This inscription,—which was discovered by General Cunningham in 1875-76 or 1877-78, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XI. p. 124 f., where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxvii. No. 1),—is from a stone built in as one of the lower voussoirs of the outer arch of the south gate of the Jami Masjid at Jaunpur; the chief town of the Jaunpur District in the North-West Provinces.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 3½" broad by 1' 1½" high, is, so far as it goes, in a state of very good preservation, except for the marks by which it has been disfigured a little above the centre of the stone. But it is only a fragment of a very much larger inscription. Nothing has been lost at the top, and at the ends of the lines. But from thirty-eight to seventy-two aksaras,—probably the larger number,—are lost at the beginning of each line, and also an indefinite number of lines below the last line that is extant.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the

1 i.e. Anantavarman.
2 We might find in this verse a reference to "the pure waters of (the river) Mahânâdī." But the Mahânâdī, which rises in the Râjput District, flows into the Bay of Bengal, without coming anywhere within two hundred and fifty miles of the Nâgarjuf hill. The small river that runs past this hill, is named the Phalgu; and it flows into the Ganges, not into the Mahânâdī. Under the name of Phalgu, it is mentioned in an inscription, belonging to about the twelfth century A.D., of a prince named Yaksha, at the Satâ Ghat at Gaya (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 64, line 2).
3 priyangu; the Panicum Italicum; a medicinal plant, and perfume.
4 vakula; the Minusops Elengi.
5 The 'Jounpoor' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 41' N.; Long. 82° 43' E.
northern class of alphabets, and are radically of much the same type as those of the Aśvaghoṣa seal of Śravavarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxA.; but the execution is, in some details, still more florid. In ḍr̥ṣṭhyā, line 1, kṝttē, line 4, karaīr-guṇair-guṇavātād, line 5, and other places, we have to note that the superscript r̥ is formed on the top line of the writing, instead of above it. The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is in verse throughout. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of k, t, and d, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in kṝd̄rā, line 5; kṣatr̥rēṇa, line 1; and upaddrāvair, line 5; and (2) the use of v for b, in lavdhā, line 1.

The inscription mentions, in line 4, a ‘king’ named Īśvaravarman, of the Maukhari, or as it is here called the Mukhara family, who is evidently the Mahārāja Īśvaravarman, the grandfather of Śravavarman, who is mentioned in line 5 of the Aśvaghoṣa seal, No. 47 above, page 219. But the lacunae in the following lines are so extensive, that it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Īśvaravarman, or to one of his descendants. It is much to be wished that the first half of the stone could be recovered; since, in addition to clearing up this point, it would probably give the name of a king in connection with the city of Dharā that is mentioned in line 6, and also the name of a king in connection with the Andhras who are spoken of in lines 7 and 8; and the latter information might afford the much-wanted starting-point for settling the chronology of the Andhra family. It would probably give us also the name of a king of Sārāśṭra or Kāṭhiāwād, in connection with the mountain Raivatakā that is mentioned in line 7. The extant portion of the inscription contains no date, and nothing to indicate a sectarian character.

TEXT.1

1 * * * * * * * *

r(?) ksh(?). l(?). gam1 Dōrbhyām-[A]tмabhuво dhanum

saha-bhuvā kshatrēṇa lavdh(bdh)-atmanā vistār-

2 * * * * * * * *

[aj]dayinī MUKHARANĀNāṃ bhūbhujām-anvakārē I sakala-

purusha-sakti-vaγkta-śārīrā-praṭāpō

3 * * * * * * * *

karmaṇā yāhām dh[ā]ma-vitāna-mēgha-nivahah pujyaṁ

vitēnē divi II

4 * * * * * * * *

lakā-sraṣṭālakāgraṃ kulaih II Tasya dikṣu [v]itā-

Āmala-kṝttēr-ātmajā nripatīr-Īśvaravarmā l'1

---

1 From the ink-impression.
2 If (since we have a half-mark of punctuation after aṃvakārē in line 2) we accept the double mark of punctuation after the fourth extant aṅkharas of this line as marking properly the end of a verse, seventy-two aṅkharas have been cut away and lost here. If, however, it marks only the end of the second aṅka of a verse, then only thirty-eight aṅkharas are lost.---I have tried several ways of arranging the verses, in order to determine exactly how many aṅkharas are lost at the commencement of each line, but without being able to satisfy myself. The probability is, however, that the larger number (seventy-two) has been lost at the beginning of this line, and in proportion all the way down.

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1 Metre, doubtful.
2 Metre, Mālinī.
3 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛṣṭa.
4 This mark of punctuation is followed by some scroll-work, to fill up the line.
5 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛṣṭa.
6 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛṣṭa.
7 Metre, Śvāgata.
with (his) arms the bow of (the god) Ātmabhū, by means of (his) innate warriors' skill that pervaded (his very) soul in the flourishing lineage of the Mukhara kings; whose prowess with the bow was displayed with all the energy of a man; by the rite; (and his) religious merit, arising from sacrifices, spread out over the sky (in the form of) the mass of the clouds of the canopy of the smoke (of his obligations) having the ends of (their) curls fallen down by the families.

(Line 4)—Of him, whose spotless fame spread far and wide over the regions, the son (was) king Īśvaravarman, with virtues which by means of compassion and affection allayed the troubles (caused) by the approach of cruel people, and which effected the happiness of mankind; who, indeed, of virtuous people; by him, a very lion to (hostile) kings, the throne was occupied. A spark of fire that had come by the road from (the city of) Dhārā the lord of the Andhras, wholly given over to fear, took up (his) abode in the crevices of the Vindhya mountains; went to the Raivataka mountain among the warriors of the Andhra army, who were spread out among the troops of elephants (and) whose arms were studded with the lustre of (their) swords drawn out (from the scabbards), bathed with the waters, fragrant with benzoïn, of the torrents of and cleansing the lands, full of cool waters, of (Himalaya) the mountain of snow with the pollen disordered by the breaking of the waves of the swollen mountain-streams, (and) flowing onwards, whose day, even in the hours that come next after daybreak

\[^{1}\text{Metre, Śārdūlavikr̥đita, and in the next three lines.}\]
\[^{2}\text{Metre, Sragūhārd.}\]
\[^{3}\text{Metre, Śārdūlavikr̥đita, and in the next line.}\]
\[^{4}\text{'the self-existent one,' an epithet of Brahman, Vishnu, and Śiva. From the mention of a bow, it must here denote Vishnu; who carries the bow of horn named Śārāga.}\]
No. 52; PLATE XXXII B.

SONIPAT-COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF HARSBAVARDHANA.

This inscription, which is now brought to notice for the first time, is from a copper seal in the possession of Moharsingh Ramratan Mahajan, a merchant at Sonipat1 or Sonipat, the chief town of the Sonipat Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Dehli District in the Pafjab. I obtained the seal for examination through the kindness of Mr. J. D. Tremlett, B.C.S., who, in fact, had the first information of it, and brought it to my notice.

The seal is oval, measuring about 5½" by 6½". All round it there runs a rim, about 1" broad; and inside this there are, in rather shallow relief on a slightly countersunk surface,—at the top, a bull, recumbent to the proper right; and below this, the inscription that is given below. That it is only a seal, belonging to a copper-plate from which it has been detached, is shown by plain indications of soldering on the back of it, and also by the spurious Gayâ plate of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxv., which has a similar seal attached to it. The letters of the inscription are worn down so much, that in many places they can only be read by getting the light to fall on the surface at different angles; and in some places they are entirely illegible. The only historical information, however, that seems to be lost, is the completion of the name of Prabhâkaravardhana's father, in line 4. I have to acknowledge some assistance from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in reading this inscription; but, of course, without binding him to any of the details of it, as here published.—The weight of the seal is 3 lbs. 6 oz.—The average size of the letters is about 3⁄8". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of much the same type as those of the Ashfragid seal of Sarvavarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxA.; but the forms are rather more conservative in details.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in pata, lines 2 and 7.

The seal is one of Harshavardhana, king of Kanauj, who began to reign2 A.D. 606 or 607; and it is of peculiar interest, as being the first of his own epigraphical records that has ever come to light. I have made every effort to discover the plate to which it belongs; as the inscription on the plate would make the genealogy perfect, and also, if belonging to the early years of Harshavardhana's reign, would probably shew what era was used by him prior to the establishment of his own. But I have not succeeded in obtaining any information about it; and it seems to have been hopelessly lost sight of. The present owner of the seal states that there is no record of the plate itself having ever been in the possession of his family; so it is very doubtful whether it is now in existence.

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1 The 'Sonipat, Soonput, and Sunput,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 26° 59' N.; Long. 77° 3' E.
2 Other forms of the name are Sondepat, and Sunpat.
TEXT:

1. paramādityabhaktaḥ
2. mahārāja-śrī. Rājyavardhanabrāh[ī]
3. puttras-tat-pād-
   anudhyātah
4. sēnaguptā
   dēvyām
5. sarv[ṛ]a-varna-
   ṭrāma-vyavasthāpana-
6. prav[i]-
7. mahārāja-śrī. Prabhākaravardhanabrāh[ī]
8. paramādityabhaktah
9. [paramabhaṭṭaraka]-mahārāja-
   dhīra[śa]-śrī. Rājyavardha[rddhanah] [ī]
10. [Tasya-]ānuyas-tat-pād-
   ṭrāma-vyavasthāpana
11. [pa]-
12. [paramabhaṭṭaraka-ma]-hārāja-śrī. Harsha-
   vardhanabrāh[ī]

TRANSLATION.

(There was) the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the Mahārāja, the illustrious Rājyavardhana (I). His son, [who meditated on] his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the Mahārāja, the illustrious Adityavardhana,‡ [begotten] on the illustrious Mahādēvi(?). His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of the Sun, Paramabhaṭṭaraka and Mahārājadhīrāja, the glorious Prabhākaravardhana, begotten on the Dēvi, [the illustrious] Mahāsēnaguptā, (and) who was employed in regulating all the castes and stages of religious life. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout follower of Sugata, the Paramabhaṭṭaraka and Mahārājadhīrāja, the glorious Rājyavardhana (II), begotten on . . . . the glorious Yasōmāti. [His younger brother,] who meditated on [his feet], (is) . . . . . . . the Paramabhaṭṭaraka and Mahārājadhīrāja, the glorious Harshavardhana, [begotten] on the Mahādēvi, Yasōmāti.

†From the original seal.
‡This part of the name is quite illegible; but the analogy of the other names seems to indicate that the termination here was the same, viz. vardhana.
§These two akharas, mahā, are very indistinct; but I think they may be accepted as certain.
‡These three akharas, vardhanah, are rather small and cramped, in the centre of the bottom of the seal.
§See note 2 above.

paramasaukata is a Buddhist, sectarian title. Sugata, lit. "well-gone; well-bestowed; one who has attained a good state," was one of the names or titles of Buddha.
Nos. 53 & 54; PLATE XXXIII A & B.

NáChNE-KI-TALAI STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAHARAJA PRITHIVISHENA.

These two inscriptions were discovered by General Cunningham in 1883-84, and were brought to notice by him in 1885, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XXI. p. 97 f., where he published his reading of the text of the complete one, No. 54, accompanied by lithographs of both of them (id. Plate xxvii.)

Náchné-ki-taláî, meaning literally the "tank of Nachna," is a small village or collection of huts, about seven miles south-west of Jasó, the chief town of the Jasó State in the Bundelkhand division of Central India. When I drafted the title of the Plate, I understood that the inscriptions were on a boulder lying in the jungle; whereas it now appears, from General Cunningham's published account, that they are on a loose slab which was found lying at 'Lakhuba, Lakhuria, or Lakhýwara,' which is the name of the ground outside the fort of 'Kúthara or Kútharagarh,' which again is given as an older name of the site on part of which the village of Nachna or Náchné-ki-taláî now stands. The inscription of four lines, No. 54, is on the face of the slab; and the incomplete inscription, No. 53, on the side or edge of it. The explanation of No. 53 probably is, that this side was intended to be the front of the stone; but that the stone was then found to be too rough, and this face was made the side of it, and the inscription was commenced again and finished on what is now the front of it. And I am extremely doubtful whether the inscription on the side, No. 53, really consists of more than one line. Some signs resembling the syllables vyághra are pencilled-in on the impressions that were sent to me; but I was unable to depute my own copyists to Náchné-ki-taláî for the purpose of taking fresh impressions to settle this point, or to go there myself.

The writing of No. 53 covers a space of about 1' 92" broad by 7½" high; and of No. 54, about 1' 9" broad by 1' 1" high. The imperfections of some of the letters appear to be due to incomplete engraving, owing to irregularities of the stone, rather than to subsequent injury. In the centre of No. 54 there is a sculpture which may be either a Buddhist wheel, or the sun-symbol. The size of the letters varies from 1½" to 1¼". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, which I have noticed at page 18 f. above. The language is Sanskrit; and both the inscriptions are in prose. In respect of orthography, the only point calling for remark is the doubling of d̐h, before ṣ, in anúddhyáṣa, in line 2 of No. 54.

As regards the contents of the inscriptions, No. 53 gives simply the name of the Mahárajá Prithivíshena, king of the Válkátaka tribe or dynasty. No. 54 repeats this, and adds the name of a feudatory of his, Vyághradéva. No date is given; and nothing to shew any sectarian purpose. And the record simply refers to Vyághradéva having made something or other, which must have been either a temple, or a well or tank, of which this slab evidently formed a part.

1 The 'Nachna, Nachna, and Narhua,' of maps, &c. It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70, but is not entered there. Lat. 24° 24' N.; Long. 80° 30' E.

2 The 'Jasso, Juso, and Jusoo,' of maps, &c.
As regards the name of this family, Vākātaka, General Cunningham has proposed its identification with the modern Bhāndak, a place evidently of considerable antiquity, the chief town of the Bhāndak Pargāṇā in the Chāndā District in the Central Provinces, fifteen miles north-west of Chāndā, and eleven miles south-east of Warodā. It is possible that Bhāndak may have been the Vākātaka capital. But the identity of the two names cannot be upheld. In the first place, there is the difficulty of accounting for the disappearance of the k in the second syllable of Vākātaka, and for the change of the lingual ī into the dental d, with a nasal before it. In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler, there is an insuperable obstacle, in the suggested change of v into bh. And, in the third place, I have to point out that the name Vākātaka must be derived from an original nādhā; like, for instance, Māhākāntāraka from Mahākāntāra, Kausalaka from Kōsala, Kairajaka from Kēraša, and Paishtapuraka from Paishaṭapura, in line 19 of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above; and like Traikūṭaka from Trikūṭa, in line 1 of the ‘Pardi’ grant of the Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Dahrasēna of the year 207. If any trace of the name is to be found in the maps of the present day, we must look for some such place as Wakat, Bakat, Baktor, or Baktaul; and it might possibly be found in ‘Waktapur,’ in the Rēwa-Kāntḥa Agency.

TEXT.

1 Vākātakānāṁ mahārāja-śriḥ-Prithivishēṇa . . . .
2 Vyā(?)ghra(?)

No. 54.
1 Vākātakānāṁ mahārāja-śriḥ-Prithivishaṇa - pād - ānudhyātā
2 Vyāghradēvō mātāpitrōḥ puny- [ā]*ṛthīṁ
3 kritam”-siti [II*]

1 Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 121 f.
2 The ‘Bhanduk’ of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 73. Lat. 20° 6' N.; Long. 79° 9' E.
3 The ‘Chandah’ of maps.
4 The ‘Warorā and Wurrota’ of maps, &c.
5 Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 117 f.; and Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 239 f.—Dr. Bühler speaks of Vākāṭaka as being the name of a country, as well as of the tribe governing it. It probably did, in the usual way, denote the country, as well as the tribe or dynasty. But it does not occur in the compound quoted by him, ‘Pavaraṛa-Jākāṭaka,’ which exists only in the original misreading, for Pavaraṛajavāṭaka, in line 22 of the Siwan grant, No. 56 below, page 246.—Vākāṭaka has also been supposed to occur as the name of a place or country in line 161 of the Anamkōṇḍ inscription of the Kākatiya chieftain Rudradēva; but this, again, is only due to the original misreading (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. pp. 903, 908); the place that is really mentioned is Kāṭaka, as is shown by the lithograph published with my own reading of this inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. pp. 11, 16, 20).
7 From Gen. Cunningham’s ink-impressions; so also the lithographs.
8 This dh was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.
9 These two akṣharas are very doubtful; they are pencilled-in on the ink-impression, and there may be some traces of them; but the impression is not deep enough for them to show in relief on the back of it.
10 This dh was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.
11 Read kritavān.
TRANSLATION.

Vyāghradēva, who meditates on the feet of the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Pūthivishēna, has made (this) for the sake of the religious merit of (his) parents.

No. 55; PLATE XXXIV.

CHAMMAK COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA PRAVARASENA II.

This inscription was discovered about 1868, and—the original plates having been obtained by Major H. Szczepanski, and forwarded by him to Dr. John Wilson, of Bombay,—was first brought to notice in 1879, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajil’s reading of the text, published in Notes on the Baudhā Rock-Temples of Ajanta,¹ p. 54 ff.—And in 1883, Dr. G. Bühler, C.I.E., published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 116 ff., and also, accompanied by a lithograph of the plates, but not of the seal, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 239 ff.

The inscription is on some copper-plates that were found in ploughing a field at Chammak,² the ancient Charmānka of the inscription, a village about four miles south-west of Ilichpur,³ the chief town of the Ilichpur District in the Commissionership of East Berar, in the Haidarābād Assigned Districts. The original plates, which I obtained for examination from Dr. Burgess, are now, I understand, again in the possession of Major Szczepanski.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are seven in number, each measuring from 7 5/8" to 7 7/8" by from 3 5/8" to 3 7/8". They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. A few of the letters on the first and last plates have been damaged by rust; but the rest of the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The plates are fairly thick and substantial; and the letters, which are not very deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters show here and there marks of the working of the engraver’s tool.—Towards the top of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about 1" thick and 3 7/8" in diameter. It was not soldered into the socket of a seal; but the ends of it were flattened off, as if to overlap and fasten with a pin or bolt; there is, however, no hole in them to shew that they were ever actually secured in this way. The seal⁴ is a flat disc of copper, rising slightly towards the centre, about 1 5/8" thick and 2 7/8" in diameter. To the centre of the back of it, there is soldered a small ring, by which it slides on the larger ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal, there is the legend, in four lines, of

¹ No. 9 of the separate pamphlets of the Archeological Survey of Western India.
² The ‘Chamuck’ of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 21° 12’ N.; Long. 77° 31’ E.—In Notes on the Baudhā Rock-Temples of Ajanta, p. 54, the plates are said to have been obtained from Sāgar in the Central Provinces. And in Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 234, they are called the Ilichpur grant. But in Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 116, it is stated explicitly that they were found in a ploughed field at Chammak.
³ The ‘Ellichpur’ of maps, &c.
⁴ See Plate xxxiiiC.
which the text and translation are given below.—The weight of the seven plates is about 6 lbs. 14 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, about 14½ oz.; total 7 lbs. 12½ oz.—The average size of the letters is about 1¾". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 18f. above. But, whether intentionally or accidentally, the heads of the letters were scooped out hollow through nearly the whole of this inscription; and the true box-shaped tops are discernible in only a few places; e.g. in lines 58 and 59. The characters include forms of the numerical symbols for 8 and 10, in line 60, and for 8,000, in line 19.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benefactive and imprecatory verses in lines 36 to 39, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmanṣya, in rājñāh-pravara, line c; pāṇḍha-prasāda, line 13; tāmbhāh-prasāda, line 16; and rakṣitāvyah-pari, line 32; but not in ṇādāvyaḥ pātra, line 30; (2) the occasional doubling of b and d, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in kkrāma, line b; kkrīyābhīṣa, line 31; and ddrūka, line 4; (3) the doubling of ṣth and ṣdh, in conjunction with a following y, in bhādṛatth-yāyakṣa, line 6, and sarvuddāhyakṣa, line 21; and (4) the doubling of v after the anusvāra, in saṃvavatsaret, line 60.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II, of the Vākātaka tribe or dynasty; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the town of Pravarapura. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the eighteenth year (of his government), on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyeṣṭha (May–June). It is a non-sectorian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by Pravarasena II, to a thousand Brāhmaṇas, of the village of Charmāṇka, i.e. the modern Chammak itself, in the Bhōjakata kingdom.

TEXT:1

The Seal.

a Vākātaka-lalāmasya
b kkrāma-prāpta-nṛpa-ṝśriyaḥ
cc rājñāh-Pravarasenaṣya
d sāsanām ripu-sāsanam [II*]

First Plate.

1 Drśñham[II*] Svasti Pravarapurād-agnishṭhām-āptoryyām-əktbya-

śhōdaśy-ātirātra-

2 vājāpya - bhṛhaspatisava - sādyakṣra - chaturāsvamēṣṭa - yājinaḥ

3 Rvi(vi)ṣṇub[u]y[ṛ]jadh-sagōṛasasya peṣc. saṃrād Vākātakānāṁ

mahārāja-śrī(ṛ) Pravarasenasya

4 sūnōḥ sūnōḥ atyanta-[Ś]vāmi-Mahābhāirava-bhaktasya

bhāra-santi(nni)vēṣi-

5 ta -Śiva-līng-[b]dvahana -Śiva-sāparītushta -saṃutpādi[t] -rājav[ma]sā-

1 From the original plates. 2 Metre, Śīkha (Anushtubh).


4 Read saṃrād-Vākātakānāṁ, in composition.—The final d of saṃrād (or possibly t of saṃrād), rather small and faint, stands below the line, and just above the mi of svāmī in the next line.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 55, PLATE XXXIV.

Second Plate; First Side.
6 nām-parakrama-ādhigata-Bhagrathyya-(a)mala-jala-mūrdhna(rddh)-abhī-
shiktānā-ācā-
7 śvāmēdh-avahṛthā-saṅkānām-Bhāraśīvānāṁ mahārāja-srī-Bhava-
naśā-dau-
8 hitrasya Gauṭami'putrasya putrasya Vākāṭakaṇāṁ mahā-
rāja-srī-Rudrasē-
9 naśya sūnōr-ayatana(n(a)māhēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-kārunyā-
śauryya-vikrama-
10 ya - vinaya - māhātya - ādhima(ka)tvā - hā'(pā)tr - āgata - bhakt(i)tvā-
dharmavāl(vi)jay(l)tvā-

Second Plate; Second Side.
11 manōnairmā(rmma)y-ādi-guṇais-sampūtasya varsha-śatam-abhi-
vardhamāna-kōsa-
12 daṇḍasādhana-sannā(n̄a)putra-pautrinah Yudhishtīra-vritnē(ttē)r-
Vākāṭaka-
13 nām mahārāja-srī-Prīthivivēnāsya sūnōr-bbhagavata-srī-Chakra-
prāc-pagā-
14 d-opāriįita-srī-samudayasya Vākāṭakaṇāṁ mahārāja-srī-Rudra-
śena-
15 [syā*] sūnōr-mmahārāja-ādhibhāja-srī-Dēvaguṇta-sutaśāṁ Prabhāva-

Third Plate; First Side.
16 tīguptāya-am-utpannasya Śambhōḥ-prasāda-dhrīti-kārttayugasya
17 Vākāṭakaṇāṁ paramamāhēśvara - mahārāja - srī - Pravarasēnasya
vachanā[+] P
18 Bhāja-kata-rājyā Madhunadi(di)-tatē Charmmānāka-nāma-
gṛ[a*]mah rājamānīka-bhu(bhō)ml-
19 sahasra-asṭabhih 8000 Satṛu[+]*khnarāja-putra-Kondarāja-
vijñāpāyā nānā-gō-
20 tra-charanėbhhyō brāhmaṇēbhyyah sahasrāya datta[+][[1]]

Third Plate; Second Side.
21 Yatō-smat-saṅkā[ḥ*] sarvāḍdhāyaksh-ādhiyoga-niyuktā ājñā-
saṃch[a*]ri-kulaputr-ādhikritā

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1 The form of superscript ' that we have here, is somewhat different from that which occurs throughout the rest of this inscription.—In line 7 of the next inscription, page 245 below, this syllable has the short vowel i, as is optionally allowable.
2 The engraver first formed hi, and then partially cancelled the i. Probably the man who wrote the copy from which he engraved, had hesitated between hi- Ağata and pār- Ağata.—The form of superscript ' used here, was not of general use till somewhat later times. But, in the present inscription, it occurs again distinctly twice in hi, in line 16, in ni, line 21, and twice in vi, line 23; and in other places; and, in many other instances throughout the inscription, there is a tendency to form it in the same way.
3 The engraver first formed jji, and then corrected it into rjjī.
4 The engraver first formed ad, and then partially cancelled the a.
5 We have to supply parimitak, or some similar word, after this instrumental case.
bhaṭṭaḥḥ(ḥ)-cchāṭraś-cha viśruta-pūrvva-yājñayā-jāṭhāpayaṭayvā Viḍitam-
astu vō yathē-

h-āṃsākam-manō dharmm-āyur-bva(bba)la-viṣaya-aśvaryya-vivṛddhaye, ih-āmutra-hit-ā-

ṛttham-ātm-ānugraḥāya vaijāikē dharmmasthāne apūrvvāṣdāt[†]yā udaka-purvva-

m-ātisirṣhtā[†] ath-āsya-ūcchitāṃ pūrvvā-rāj-ānumatāṃ chātur-
vayḍa-grāma-ma-

ṛyaḍān(m)-vitaṛamas-tad-yathā a-karaḍāy[†] a-bhaṭa-cchchha-
(chcḥh)trā-pravēṣya[†]

Fourth Plate; First Side.

a-pārampa-gō-balivaruddha[h]* a-pushpa-kshtra-satdō(nd)c[ha[h]* a-
ch[ā]*rā-

sana-charmm-āṅgta[h]* a-lavanṣa-klinna-kkṛṇi-khanaka[h]* sarvva-
vē(vi)ṣhti-para-

hāra-parvṛhritah[†] sa-niddhis-s-ōpanidhiḥ sa-kli(klri)pt-ōpakli(klri)ptaḥ 

ā-chandr-āditya-kalīyaḥ putra-pautr-[ā]*nugamakah[†] bhū[ṁ]*jatāṃ na-

kē-

nachi[†]*vyāghātam(h) kafttyavas-sarvva-kkriyābhis-sa[ṁ]*raksh-
tavyaḥ[par[i]*varyddhayi-

tav[†]*aṭ-sa[†]yaḥ[†] yaś-cha-āyam[†] sāsanam-a-gapayamanō(naḥ) 

sval[p[ā]*m-api[†]pa[†]*rībadhām.

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

n(n)-kuryyāt-kṛrayita vā tasya brāhmaṇair-vvēditasya sa-
va-da(ū)d-ṇgrahāṃ kuryyā-

ma li Asmi[m]*cha dharmm-āvara-karanē ati(tt)tn-āṇēka-rāja-
datna(tta)-saṇchitina(nte)na-

paripālaṇāṃ kṛita-puny-ānukrittana-parthār-ārthām na 
kṛttayāmaḥ[†] 

Vyāsa-gltau ch-ātra ślokau praṃāni(ni)karottavyau[†] Sva-
datnā(ttt)ma-para-datnā(ttt)na-

vvā(vā), yō harēta vasundharāṃ gavāṃ śata-sahasrasya 
hantu-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

r-haraṇi dushkrītaḥ[†] Shashtīṃ varsha-sahasrāni(ni) svarggē 
mōdati bhū-

1 Read yathē-airaha ātmāṅ.
2 Read vaijñayikē.
3 The engraver first formed yai, and then corrected it into yf.
4 Read parvṛhitāḥ.
5 Read yai=cha-ūdāṃ. The cha of iṣka closed up again, almost entirely, after the engraving.
6 After this word, kuryya was engraved and then cancelled.—The anusvāra is not required; since, in the next line, we have n, by mistake for n, connecting paribbhānam in samāhi with kuryya.
7 The engraver first formed k=pra, and then cancelled the h.
8 Metre, Ślokā (Anushtubh) ⁵ and in the following verse.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 55, PLATE XXXIV.

39 mi-dañ áchchhëttà ch-ánunamà cha' tàny-ëva narakë vasèd-iti [1*] Śśà (śa)sana-
40 sthitis-ch-ëyam 'brahmañar-ësvarais-ch-ánupalanyà tad-yathà' rájñam sa-
41 ptañgë rájyë a-ddrôha-pravriñtà(tta)nàm [a*]-brahmagñrça-haurã-
42 páradárika-rájí-
43 pathyàkári-prabhúñtì(í)nàm [a*]-sañgr[a*]mà-kurvatàm anya-
grámèshv-an-a- Il

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

43 par[a*]ddhànàm a-chandhr-àditya-kàlìya[ [1*] atò-ñiyathà kurvatàm-anumódatàm và
44 rájña bhù(hah)mi-chchhèdam kurvatàh a-stèyam-itì [1*] Prà(prà)tigañhañàs-ch-átra
45 vára-niyuktàh [1*] Śàtyàyanàh Gañàryàh Vátsya-Dévàryàh
46 Kumàrasàrmìyangàya[h*] Pàrâsiyangà-Guhashàrmì Kàśyapa-
47 Màtràyàya[h*] Kaunìdinya-Rudràyàya[h*] Sòmrâyàya[h*]
48 Bhàravàjä-Kumàrsàrmì[r]mà[r]yàya[h*] Kaunìdinya(nya)-Màtrì(tri)-
49 Gòpàsàrmì Nàgañàrmì Bhàravà[ja*]-Sàntìsàrmì Rudra-
50 Bhòjakàd[a*]vàrryàya[h*] Maghañàrmì Dévàsàrmì Bhàravàjä-
51 [Nà]gañàrmì Rèvatiàrmmà Dhàrmàrìya[h*] Bhàravàjä-
52 Nàndanìryàya[h*] Mùlaàrmmà 1 Ísvaràsàrmì 1 Varañàrmmà

Sixth Plate; First Side.

53 Chànsya-Skàndàrìya[h*] Bhàravàjä-Bappàrìya[h*] Dhàrm-
54 Gautama-Sòmaàsàrmìyangàya[h*] Bhà[r*]triàsàrmì Rudrañà[rmm*]-
55 sàrmìyangàya[h*] Ísvaràsàrmìyangàya[h*] Gautama-sàgòdra-Màtrì-
56 rìya[h*] Kaunìdinya(nya)-Dévàsàrmìyangàya[h*] Varañàsàrmìyangàya[h*]
Ròhàryàya[h*]

1 The engraver first formed çhchaka or chchhaka, and then cancelled the lower ch, or the chh.
2 The engraver first formed rd, and then cancelled the ḍ.
3 Read an-àpar[a*]ddhànàm, omitting the mark of punctuation.
4 The engraver first formed voḍ, and then cancelled the lower u.
5 The engraver first formed grù, and then corrected it into grā.
6 This rìya stands at the end of the line, below the rd of mahèsvarà; but this is evidently t
place to which it properly belongs.
7 Read vātsya.
Seventh Plate.

57 Gautama-sagotra-Svāmideva[yā]ṛyya[ḥ] Ĝeutatsarmmāryya[ḥ]  
60 Chitravarmmanī sarvāvatsareṣhṭādāṣa[m] 10 8 Jyēṣṭhaṃsa-sukla.  
61 pakṣa-trayōdaṣyā[m] śāsanāṁ likhitam-ītiḥ [i]Śrī.  

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of king Pravarasena, the ornament of the Vākātakaś, who has attained royal dignity by inheritance, (is) a charter for (the observance of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

Sight has been attained! Hail! From the town of Pravarapura;—(Line 17.)—At the command of the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the Mahārdja of the Vākātakaś, the illustrious Pravarasena (II.), who was begotten on Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the Mahārdjaśāhīrdja, the glorious Devagupta; who, through possessing the favour of (the god) Śambhu, is (as virtuous as) one belonging to the Kṛita age;—

(Line 13.)—(And) who is the son of the Mahārdja of the Vākātakaś, the illustrious Rudrasena (II.), who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapani;—

(L. 9.)—Who† was the son of the Mahārdja of the Vākātakaś, the illustrious Prithivishēna, who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; who was endowed with an excess of truthfulness, straightforwardness, tenderness, heroism, prowess, political wisdom, modesty, and high-mindedness, and with devotion to worthy people and guests, and with the condition of being victorious through religion, and with

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1 Read īti. Two forms of the double mark of punctuation are used in this inscription; the upright form, after anyagāmēṣaḥ-ana in line 42; and the horizontal form, after kuryādēma in line 33-34. The latter rather resembles the visarga. And thus the engraver came to form a visarga, instead of a double mark of punctuation, after the word īti.

† As regards the Text and my Translation here, Dr. Bühler, while admitting that the opening akṣaras looked like drīṣṭam or drīptam, interpreted them as īm īm. — Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrājī read them as drīṣṭam. — The mark over the dī is not an anusvāra, but only a rust-mark. And the reading ī as indisputably drīṣṭam here, as it is drīṣṭam at the commencement of the next inscription. — The same word occurs, if possible still more clearly, in the margin of the first plate of the Gaṅgagranit Satyāsraya-Dhruvarāja-Indraravarman (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 348 ff.), where Mr. K. T. Telang (id. p. 360, note) suggested that it might mean ‘sanctioned.’ But it is of course the remnant of some such expression as drīṣṭam bhagavat, ‘sight (i.e. clearness of perception in religious matters; a thorough insight into the nature of the universe and everything connected with it) has been attained by the Divine One;’ see my remarks on siddham, page 25 above, note 4.

† The context is “the village named Charmānka” &c., in line 18 ff. below.

† I.e. Rudrasena II.
purity of mind, and with other meritorious qualities; who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons, whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years; who behaved like Yudhishthira;—

L. 4.—Who was the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Rudrasena (P.), who was an excessively devout devotee of the god Svāmi-Mahābhairava; who was the daughter's son of the illustrious Bhavānāga, the Mahārāja of the Bhārāsvas, whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of (the god) Śiva, (caused) by (their) carrying a linga of Śiva placed as a load upon (their) shoulders, (and) who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgirathī that had been obtained by (their) valour, (and) who performed ablations after the celebration of ten atyakṣa-sacrifices;—who was the son of Gautampurā;—

L. 1.—(And) who was the son of the son of the Mahārāja of the sovereign Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Pravarasena (L.), who celebrated the agnishi, agnīśa, aptōryāma, ukthya, shādaisin, dīādīra, vājapēya, bhīhappatīvaya, and śāyaskra sacrifices and four asambhā sacrifices, (and) was of the Vishnuvriddha gōtra;—

L. 18.—The village named Charmānka, on the bank of the river Madhunadi, in the Bhōjakatā kingdom, (measured) by eight thousand bhūmī, (or in figures) 8000, according to the royal measure, is, at the request of Kondarāja, the son of Śatrughnara, given to one thousand Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras and charanās.

L. 21.—Wherefore Our obedient and high-born officers, employed in the office of general superintendents, (and Our) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be (thus) directed with a command preceded by (the words) 'O illustrious one':—"Be it known to you, that, in order to increase Our religion and life and strength and victory and dominion, (and) for the sake of (Our) welfare in this world and in the next, (and

1 i.e. Prithivishēla.
2 i.e. Rudrasena I.
3 See page 397 above, note 1.
4 i.e. Rudrasena I.
5 The agnishi, lit. 'praise of the god Agni, or fire,' was a protracted sacrifice, extending over five days in spring, and forming one of the parts of the Jyotishīma, which was one of the principal sacrifices connected with the sacred Śoma plant and juice. Other parts of the Jyotishīma sacrifice were the aptōryāma, ukthya, shādaisin, dīādīra, and vājapēya ceremonies, which are mentioned in the text here; the seventh, and last, part being the atyakṣa-sacrifice, which is not here mentioned.
6 Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives only the form atīdīra, with the short vowel a in the first syllable; so also Max Müller in his Sanskrit Literature, p. 177, note. But the Text here distinctly gives the long vowel d. And, though in line 1 of the next inscription, page 245 below, the vowel is rather imperfectly formed, yet a comparison with bhāgirathī-dāmul, in line 5 of the same, shows that there also the vowel d is intended.
7 The bhīhappatīvaya was another sacrifice, lasting a day, apparently connected with Bhīhappati, the priest and preceptor of the gods.
8 The śāyaskra was another sacrifice, of which I have not been able to find any explanation in the books of reference available.
9 bhūmī, lit. 'land, the earth,' is evidently used here as some technical land-measure, the value of which is not known.
10 asmat-santaka, lit. 'belonging to Us;' see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s. v. santaka.
11 kulaputra.
12 Sarvākṣa.
generally) for our benefit, this village is granted, in (Our) victorious office of justice, as a grant not previously made, with libations of water.

(L. 25.)—*Now we grant the fixed usage, such as befits this village, (and) such as has been approved of by former kings, of a village which belongs to a community of Cha-tureśṭiḥ; namely, it is not to pay taxes; it is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers; it does not carry with it (the right to) cows and bulls in succession of production, 1 or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state; it is entirely free from (all obligation of) forced labour; it carries with it the hidden treasures and deposits, and the klyipta and upaklyipta; 2 it is (to be enjoyed) for the same time with the moon and the sun; (and) it is to follow (the succession of) sons and sons' sons. No hindrance should be caused by any one to those who enjoy it. It should be protected and increased by all (possible) means. And whosoever, disregarding this charter, shall give, or cause to be given, even slight vexation, We will inflict on him punishment, together with a fine, when he is denounced by the Brāhmaṇs.*

(L. 34.)—And in this document, which has at least (the merit of) religion, 3—in order to avoid boasting of (other) meritorious actions performed (by Us),—We do not recite (Our) care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone.

(L. 36.)—And two verses, sung by Vyāsa, are to be cited as an authority on this point:—Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another, he incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

(L. 39.)—And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmaṇs and by (future) lords; namely (the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brāhmaṇs) for the same time with the moon and the sun, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of seven constituent parts, 4 of (successive) kings; that they are not slayers of Brāhmaṇs, and are not thieves, adulterers, poisoners of kings, &c.; that they do not wage war; (and) that they do no wrong to other villages. But, if they act otherwise, or assent (to such acts), the king will commit no theft in taking the land away.

(L. 44.)—And the recipients, appointed for the occasion in this matter, (are): Gaṇārya, of the Śatāyana (gōtra). Dēvārya, of the Vātsyā (gōtra). Kumāraśarmārya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra). Guhaśarman, of the Pārāśarya (gōtra). Dēvārya, of the

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1 The interpretation here is not quite certain. But this and the next three expressions seem to reserve certain rights for the villagers against the grantees.

2 These are technical fiscal expressions, the meaning of which is not known.

3 This is in accordance with Dr. Bühler's rendering (Archeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 123, note 8).—As regards karaya in the sense of 'a document,' it is borne out by Karayika, which is of constant occurrence in evidently the meaning of 'one who has to do with documents, a writer, a scribe;' e.g. in the passage from the 'Dewal' inscription of Vikrama-Saṅsārat 1049, referred to at page 201 above.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to correct the text into gharman-ddara, probably meaning "in this act of respect for religion."

4 The saptāga, or 'aggregate of the seven constituent elements (of a kingdom),' consists of the king, and his ministers, ally, territory, fortress, army, and treasury.
Kāśyapa (gōtra); Mahēśvarārya, (and) Mātrārya. Rudrārya, of the Kaunḍīnyā (gōtra); (and) Sōmārya, (and) Hariśarmārya. Kumāraśarmārya, of the Bhāradvājā (gōtra). Mātrīśarmaṇa, of the Kaunḍīnyā (gōtra); (and) Varāsaṃman, Gomēśaṃman, (and) Nāgaśaṃman. Śāntīśarmā, of the Bhāradvājā (gōtra); (and) Rudrāśarmā. Bhūjakadēvārya, of the Vātsya (gōtra); (and) Mahāsaṃman, (and) Dēvaśaṃman. Mōkhaśaṃman, of the Bhāradvājā (gōtra); (and) Nāgaśaṃman, Rēvatiśaṃman, (and) Dharmaśaṃman. Sāṃśaṃman, of the Bhāradvājā (gōtra); (and) Nandanaśaṃman, Mūlaśaṃman, Īśvaraśaṃman, (and) Varāsaṃman. Skandārya, of the Vātsya (gōtra). Bappārya, of the Bhāradvājā (gōtra); (and) Dharmaśaṃman. Skandārya, of the Ātreyā (gōtra). Sōmaśaṃmanārya, of the Gautama (gōtra); (and) Bhartṛśaṃman, Rudraśaṃman, Mahārāya, Mātrīśaṃmanārya, (and) Īśvaraśaṃmanārya. Mātrīśarmaṇa, of the Gautama gōtra. Dēvaśaṃmanārya, of the Kaunḍīnyā (gōtra); (and) Varāsaṃmanārya, (and) Rōhārya. Svāmidevārya, of the Gautama gōtra; (and) Rēvatiśaṃmanārya, (and) Jyēśhthaśaṃmanārya. Kumāraśaṃmanārya, of the Śaṇḍilyā (gōtra); (and) Svātiśaṃmanārya. (And) Kāṇḍārya, of the Śātīyāyana (gōtra); and so forth.

(L. 59)—(This) charter has been written, while Chitāvaraman is the Śeṇḍpate, in the eighteenth year, (or in figures) 10 (and) 8, on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēśhtha.

No. 56; PLATE XXXV.

SIWANI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA PRAVARASENA II.

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1836, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. V. p. 726 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. D. M. McLeod, Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxiii. Nos. 1 and 2).

The inscription is on some copper-plates which were obtained by me for examination from the possession of a Zamindār or land-holder named Hazari Gond Malgauzr, living at the village of Piḍārāt, in the Siwāni Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Siwāni-Chhapārā District in the Central Provinces. I have no information as to where the plates were originally found; and, as they have always been known as the Siwāni grant, it seems desirable to continue that name; though, of course, in the absence of any local identification of the places mentioned in the inscription, this name indicates only, in a general way the part of the country to which the grant belongs.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about 8½ by 4½ at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are rather thin, and the letters shew through on the reverse sides, so clearly that many of them can be read there; in a very exceptional manner, this is noticeable even on the intermediate plates; though, of course, not to such an extent as to make the letters of one side of a plate legible on the other in the lithograph. The engraving is very

1 The chief town is Siwāni; the 'Seoni and Seonee' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 79 Lat. 23° 5' N.; Long. 79° 35' E.
good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew in a few places marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about \(\frac{1}{4}\)" thick and \(3\frac{1}{8}\)" in diameter. The ends of it were flattened off, so as to overlap, and were fastened with a pin or bolt; they were still secured in this manner, when the grant came into my hands. "The seal is a thin flat disc of copper, about \(3\frac{1}{6}\)" in diameter. A bolt in the centre of it secures it to a thin band of copper, about \(\frac{3}{8}\)" broad and \(3\frac{1}{8}\)" in circumference, by which it slides on the ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal, there is the legend, in four lines, of which the text and translation are given below.—The weight of the five plates is about 3 lbs. \(4\frac{1}{4}\) oz., and of the ring and seal, \(5\frac{1}{4}\) oz.; total 3 lbs. \(9\frac{1}{4}\) oz.—The average size of the letters is about \(\frac{1}{4}\)"; except on the seal and on the last plate, where they are rather larger. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give a very perfect and beautiful illustration of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 18 f. above. They include two forms of \(\beta\); one, the customary form of this alphabet, occurs in birhaspati, line 1, and in other places in this and the preceding inscription; the other, a square and more antique form, occurs only in bhänn, line 17; in the lower, \(\beta\) in dyur-bbala, line 26; and in bhāpa, line 36.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedicent and imprecatory verses in lines 39 to 42, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhāṇiyā, once, in rdjñah-pravara, line c; (2) the use of the dental \(n\), instead of the anusvāra, before \(s\) and \(s\), in vansa, lines 5 and 17, and ansa, line 4; (3) the doubling of \(th\) and \(dh\), in conjunction with a following \(y\), in ukthya, line 1, and bhāgtratth-y-amala, line 5, and in sarvadddhyaksha, line 24; (4) the doubling of \(dh\), in conjunction with a following \(v\), in addhvayatv, line 19-20; and (5) the doubling of \(v\) after the anusvāra (which, however, was omitted in the actual engraving), in samvatsarā, line 18.

The inscription is another record of the Mahārdja Pravarasēna II., of the Vākāṭaka tribe or dynasty. The place whence the charter was issued, is not recorded. It is dated, in words, in the eighteenth year of his government, on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Pālguna (February-March). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant to a Brāhmaṇ, by Pravarasēna II., of the village of Brahmapūraka, in the Bennākārpara bhāga.

Of the villages mentioned in defining the position and boundaries of the village that was granted, Kollapūraka is possibly the modern 'Kolapoor' of the map, twenty-one miles south of Ichhpur.

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1 See Plate xxxiii.D.

2 bhāga, lit. 'a part, share, division, allotment,' is a technical territorial term, of rare occurrence, the exact purport of which is not apparent.

3 Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 20° 50' N.; Long. 77° 34' E.—The same name, in a slightly different form, occurs in the Kollāpūra of the southern inscriptions (e.g. line 48 of the Tērdāl inscription; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 18; see also id. p. 23, note 22), as the ancient name of the modern Kollāpur, the chief town of the Kollāpur State in the Bombay Presidency.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 56, PLATE XXXV.

TEXT:

The Seal.

a Vākātaka-lalāmasya
b krama-prāpta-nripa-šriyāh
c rājñāh-Pravārasēnasya
d sāsana[m*] ripu-šasanam [II*]

First Plate.

1 Drīśtam Siddham II Agnishtom-āptoryyām-ajtirātra-vājyor(pē)ya-brihaspatisava-
2 sādyakra-va[cha]turasvamēdhā-yājinaḥ Vishnuviddha-sagōtrasya
sashrāt Vākātakānā-
3 m[*]-mahārāja-śrī Pravārasēnasya sūnōḥ sūnōḥ atyanta-
Swāmi-Mahā-
4 bhairava-bhaktasya ansa-bhāra-sanniv[ē*]śita-Siva-ling-ōdvahana-Siva-
suparitushṭa-
5 samutpādita-rājavanśānāṃ parākram-ādhigata-Bhāgiratthy-ā(a)ma-
 ḫara-mūrdh-ābhi-

Second Plate; First Side.

6 shīktanāṃ daś-āsvamēdh-avabhṛtha-snānānам-Bhārasivānām-mahā-
 rāja-śrī-Bhanān-
7 ga-dauhitrasya I Gautami-putrasya putrasya I Vākātakānām-
 mahārāja-śrī-
8 Rudrasēnasya sūnōḥ atyantamāheśvarasya I saty-ārijaya-
kārṇya-śau-
9 ryya - vikrama - naya - vinaya - māhatmya[A*]dhima(ka)tva-pātr-[A*]gata-
bhaktīvata-dharmavijai-
10 tva-manōnāimmaly-ādi-guṇa-samuditasya I varsha-śatam-abhivarddha-
māna-kōśa-
11 daṇḍasādhasa-santāna-putra-pautriṇaḥ Yudhishṭhira-vṛttēr-Vvākāta-
 kānām-mahārāja-

Second Plate; Second Side.

12 śrī-Prithivishēnasya sūnō[h*] bhagavataś-Chakrapāṇēḥ prasād-
opārijita-
13 śrī-samudayasya I Vākātakānām-mahārāja-śri(śrī)-Rudrasēnasya
sūnōḥ

1 From the original plates. 2 Metre, Śiūkā (Anuṣṭubh).
3 In the original, this word, siddham, stands between the lines, below drīśtam.—As regards
 drīśtam, see page 240 above, note 2.
4 See page 241 above, note 6.
5 Read samrdd-vākākānām.
6 This and the following marks of punctuation, down to line 23, are unnecessary.
7 See page 237 above, note 1.
8 In this compound, the t is formed very anomalously; but the character cannot stand for any-
 thing else.
pūrvva-rāj-ānuvrittā-mārgg-ānuśāraṇah
sunaya-bala-parākkram-ō-
chchhinna-sarvva-dvishaḥ
mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dēvagupta-sutāvām-
Prabhāvatī
guptāyām-uptanassya Śambhō[h*] prasāda-dhriti-kārttyayugasyah
Vākāṭaka-

Third Plate; First Side.

vanś-Ālankāra-bhūtasya mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya vachanat
Bennā-
kāṛppara-bhāgē pravardhamāna-rāja-sa[r*]vatsare ādhi-
daśamē Phālgū-
na(na)-sukla-dvādaśyām Maudgalya-sagōtraya Taittirī(ṛ)yāy-
āddhvaryya-
vē Dēvasārrm-mādhāryāy-ōdaka-pūrvvam sa-korath sa-
paḥchāsātakāh
Brahmapūrakān-nāma grāmō-tisrishṭāh Vatapūrakasy-
ōttarēṇa A Kīniḥkē-

Third Plate; Second Side.
takasy-āparēṇa Pavarajjāvāṭakasya dakhinēta(na) Kollapūrakasya

Fourth Plate; First Side.
cchhh[A*]tra-pravēṣyāḥ a-pārampara-gō-balivarddah a-pushpa-
ksira-sandōha[h*] a-chā-
rāsana-čharm-āṅgāraḥ a-la'vāna-tlinva'-krēṇi-khanakah sarvva-
vishti-parihāra-
parihritāḥ sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ sa-kli(klri)pt-ōpakli(klri)ptah

1 Read kārttyayugasya.
2 Read bhāṭī.
3 First vrī was engraved here, and then, it was corrected into vi, by adding the i and partial erasing the ri.
4 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
5 After this word, we require atisrīshṭaḥ, or some similar word, as in line 24, I of the preceding inscription, page 238 above.
6 First li was engraved, and then it was corrected into la by partial erasure of the i.
7 Read klinna.
8 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
31 kāli(II)yāh putra-pautr-ānugāmi I bhujyamānā na kēnachid-a
vyāghatayi-
32 tayyāḥ sarvva-kriyābhiḥ saṁrakshitavyaḥ parivar dhayitavyaḥ(ya)6-
cha [I*] yaś-cha-āasma-
33 ch-chāśanaṃ-a-gaṇayamānāḥ svalpām-ṣaṇi paribādhān(n)-k[u*]rīyaṃ-
kārayita1 va I

Fourth Plate; Second Side.
34 tasya brāhmaṇapair-avēditasya I sadaṇḍa-nigraham kuryāma
kārayēma v-eti [II*]
35 śenāpatau Bāppadēvē likhitam āchāryyaṇa II 'Asmi[ṛ*m*]s-cha
dharm-ādhibhaka-
36 pe I ati[III]t-ānēca-rāja-dattās-saṁchintana-paripālana[ṛ*m*] krita-
pu-
37 ny-ānukṛttayāmabh [I*] ēshyantakāla-prabhavishnūnam gauravād-
bhavishyān-vi-
38 jñāpayāmah II Vyāsa-gītatau ch-ātra ślokau prāmāṇi(ṇi)-
karttavyau II(I)

Fifth Plate.
39 Shasṭi'-varsha-sahasrāṇī svarggē* 'modati bhūmi-dah āchchheticā
ch-ānumattā(ṇtā)
40 cha tāṇy-eva narakē vasēta(t) II Sva-dattām-paradattāv(m)-
vā yō harē-
41 ta vasundhārama(m) gavāṃ āṣa-sahasrasya hantur-harati
dusṣkiritam-īti II

TRANSLATION.
The Seal.
A charter of king Pravarasēna, the ornament of the Vākāṭakas, who has
attained royal dignity by inheritance, (is) a
charter for (the observance of even his)
enemies!

The Plates.
Sight has been attained! Perfection has been attained!—(Line 17.)—At the command
of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Pravarasēna (II.), who follows the path of imitating
the behaviour of previous kings; who has extirpated all enemies by (his) excellent policy
and strength and prowess; who was begotten on Prabhāvatīguptā, the daughter of the-
Mahārājāndhirāja, the glorious Dēvagupta; who, through possessing the favour of (the

1 Read kārayita, as in line 33 of No. 55 above, page 238; or kārayēta.
* This mark of punctuation is unnecessary; also that in the next line.
* This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
* Read datta.
* Read krita-puṇya-ānukṛttana-parāhār-ārtham na kṛttayāmāḥ, as in line 35 of the preceding
   inscription, page 238 above.
* Read ēshyakāla-prabhavishnūnam.
* Metre, Ślokā (Anuśṭubh); and in the following verse.
god) Śambhu, is (as virtuous as) one belonging to the Krita age; who is the ornament of the lineage of the Vākāṭakas;—

(Line 12.)—(And) who is the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Rudrasēṇa (II.), who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapāni;—

(L. 8.)—Who1 was the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Prithivishēṇa, who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; who was possessed of an excess of truthfulness, straightforwardness, tenderness, heroism, prowess, political wisdom, modesty, and high-mindedness, and with devotion to worthy people and guests, and with the condition of being victorious through religion, and with purity of mind, and with other meritorious qualities; who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons’ sons, whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years; who behaved like Yudhishtīra;—

(L. 3.)—Who2 was the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Rudrasēṇa (I.), who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Śvāmi-Mahābhairava, who was the daughter’s son of the illustrious Bhavanāga, the Mahārāja of the Bhārāsivas, whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of (the god) Śiva, (caused) by (their) carrying a linga of Śiva placed as a load upon (their) shoulders, (and who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgirathī that had been obtained by (their) valour, (and) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten āsvamēdhā-sacrifices;—who3 was the son of Gautamiputra;—

(L. 1.)—(And) who4 was the son of the Mahārāja of the sovereign Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Pravarasēṇa (I.), who celebrated the āgniṣṭoma, āptōṛyāma, ukthya, śhōdasin, dīrātra, vajapēya, bhihaspatisava, and sādhyāskra sacrifices, and four āsvamēdhā-sacrifices, (and) was of the Vishnuvṛiddha gōtra;—

(L. 17.)—In the Bennākārpara bhāga,—in the eighteenth year of the augmenting reign; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Phālguna,—the village named Brahmapūraka,—(which), according to the specification of its boundaries (is) on the bank of the (river) Karanājaviraka,* on the north of (the village of) Vatāpūraka, on the west of (the village of) Kinihikhēṭaka, on the south of (the village of) Pavaraijavātaka, (and) on the east of (the village of) Kollapūraka,—is given, with libations of water, together with the koraṭa and the fifty (hamīlets7), to the Ādhovaru, the Āchārya Dēvaśarman, of the Maudgalya gōtra, (and) of the Taittirīya (uṭkhā).

(L. 23.)—In this matter, Our obedient and high-born officers, employed in the office of general superintendents, and (Our) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be

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1. i.e. Rudrasēṇa II.
2. i.e. Prithivishēṇa.
3. i.e. Rudrasēṇa I.
4. See page 237 above, note 1.
5. i.e. Rudrasēṇa I.
6. Or, perhaps, Karanājaviraka.
7. sa-koraṭa is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not known. But koraṭa has a Drāvīdian appearance and sound, and is perhaps an old form of the Kanarese koradu, korautu, korautu, 'a pollard, the trunk of a lopped tree; a log, stump, short stick.'—In Marāṭhī we have, korut, 'spun silk, while still raw or unboiled;' kṛonat, kṛonat, 'Barleria or Amaranth,' and koprut, 'dry, empty, yielding no returns of profit.'
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 57, PLATE XXXVI A.

(thus) directed with a command preceded by (the words) 'O illustrious one:'—"Be it known to you, that, in order to increase Our own religion and life and strength and victory and dominion, (and) for the sake of (Our) welfare in this world and in the next, (and generally) for Our benefit, this (village) [is granted*] in (Our) victorious office of justice.

(L. 27.)—v It is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers; it does not carry with it (the right to) cows and bulls in succession (of production), or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state; it is entirely free from all (obligation of) forced labour; it carries with it the hidden treasures and deposits, and the kripta and upakhripta; it is (to be enjoyed) for the same time with the moon and the sun; (and) it is to follow (the succession of) sons and sons' sons. The enjoyment of it should not be obstructed by any one. It should be protected and increased by all (possible) means. And whosoever, disregarding Our charter, shall give, or cause to be given, even slight vexation, We will inflict on him, or will cause to be inflicted, punishment, together with a fine, when he is denounced by the Brâhmaṇs."

(L. 35.)—(This charter) has been written by the Āchārya, while Bâppadēva is the Śrâṇâpati.

(L. 35.)—And in this subject-matter of religion,—in order to avoid boasting of (other) meritorious actions performed (by Us),—We do not recite the religious merit acquired by (Our) care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone. (But), out of respect for those who shall be pre-eminent in times to come, We make a request (for protection of the grant) to future (kings).

(L. 38.)—And two verses, sung by Vyāsa, are to be taken as an authority on this point.—The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another, he incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows!

No. 57; PLATE XXXVI A.

PAHLADPUR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in 1838, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 1055, where Mr. James Princep published the text of it; as read by Pandit Kamalakanta from Captain Burt's facsimile, and, with the text, his own translation.

Pahlādpur is a village near the right bank of the Ganges, six miles east by south of Dhamāpur, the chief town of the Mahāṭhī Pargāp in the Zamānīya Tahsili or Sub-Division of the Ghālpur District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on a sandstone monolith column,—about three feet in diameter; polished and rounded for a

1 The 'Palladpur and Pahladpoor' of maps, &c. Lat. 25° 26' N.; Long. 83° 31' E.—It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103, almost opposite the village of 'Paharpoor' on the other side of the river; but it is not entered there.

2 The 'Zamania, Zamina, Zeemaneea, and Zumeniah,' of maps.
length of twenty-seven feet; with a rough base of nine feet; the total length being thirty-six feet,—which was found lying here, more than half buried in the ground, and was afterwards, in or about 1853, removed to Benares and set up in the grounds of the Sanskrit College there, on the north side, where it still stands. At the village of 'Lathiya,' one and a half miles east of Zamāṇyā, there stands another sandstone column, rather smaller: in its dimensions, which is supposed to be the sister-column of the Pahladpur pillar; but it is not inscribed.

The writing, which covers a space of about 4' 11" broad by 4' high, is about ten feet above the place where the column starts from its present pedestal; and, commencing on the north-west, it runs a little more than half-way round the column. The greater part of it is in a state of very good preservation; but a few letters in the third padā of the verse, containing the name of the king, if it was recorded, have unfortunately quite peeled off, and are entirely illegible. There are several inscriptions in the so-called "shell-characters" on this column; but, apparently, no sculptures connected with the inscription now published.—The size of the letters varies from \( \frac{1}{2} \) to \( \frac{3}{4} \). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indro-Scythic form of \( m \), which disappeared in Northern India very soon after the commencement of the Early Gupta period; and its appearance here is sufficient to stamp this record as being at least as early as any other inscription in this volume.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription consists only of one verse, preceded by the word \( iha \), 'here.'—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription is not dated, and is non-sectarian. It only commemorates the fame of a king whose name, if it was recorded, is unfortunately peeled away and lost. Mr. Prinsep suggested, from the comparison in the last padā of the verse, that his name was Lōkāpāla. From the rhyming ends of the four padās, it seems that his name must have ended in padā. But, in the third padā of the verse, we have certainly the well-known name of Śiśūpāla; and, whether the name as it stands here is that of the king himself, or is that of the Pārāc king Śiśūpāla of Chēl, with whom he is compared,—the inference seems to be that the name of the king, whose inscription is on the pillar, was Śiśūpāla. The chief interest of the inscription, however, is in the early date of it, as shown by the characters; and in there being the possibility that it is a record of the Pāllavas in Northern India. The king is called pārthiv-aniḥ-palāḥ. This might be rendered by simply "the protector of the armies of kings." But pārthiva has so much the appearance of standing as a proper name here,\(^1\) that I think the correct translation is "the protector of the army of the Pārthivas." And, if Dr. Oldhausen's derivation of the name Pallava, through the form Pahlava, from Parthava, i.e. Parthian,\(^2\) can be upheld, there will be no objection to considering that we have in this record a fuller and more completely Sanskritised form of the early name of this tribe.

TEXT:\(^3\)

\( iha \ [1^*] \) Vipula-vājaya-kirti[1^*]ih khaṭra-saddharmā-palāḥ satata-ddd(a)yita-
p[2^*]rthah P[ā^*]rthiv-ani(ṣ)nīka-palāḥ disi-dis[i] Śiśūpāla[2^*]timā
[=\( \sim \)]pau(?)laḥ vihita iva Vīdhātā paścchamō lōkāpālaḥ [1^*]

\(^1\) As a Hindu name, it denotes one of the families of the Kauśikas, descended through Viṣvamitra from Kuśika who was brought up among the Pahlavas (see Moir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I. p. 351 f.).

\(^2\) See Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 188, note 201.

\(^3\) From the original pillar. 

\(^4\) Metre, Mālinī.
TRANSLATION.

Here, he—who is possessed of extensive victory and fame; who is the protector of the true religion of the warrior caste; who always cherishes princes; who is the protector of the army of the Pārthivās; who day after day Siśūpāla—was created, as if he were a fifth Lākapāla by (the god) Viḍhātri.

No. 58; PLATE XXXVII B.

BIJAYAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE YAUDHEYAS.

This inscription was first brought to notice by myself in 1885, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 8, and is now edited for the first time. It is from a stone that was found by my copyists, built into the inside of the Fort wall, near the pillar which has on it the following inscription of the Varika Vishṇuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59, Plate xxxvi C., in the hill-fort of Bijayagad or Bejāgad, about two miles to the south-west of Byānā, the chief town of the Byānā Tahāl or Sub-Division of the Bharatpur State in Rājputānā.

The writing, which covers the whole front of the stone, about 1' 5\" wide by 2\" high, except for a margin of about an inch at the beginning of each line, is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment of the original inscription. An indefinite amount is lost at the end of each line; and also an indefinite number of lines below line 2. Every effort was made to discover the rest of the inscription, but without success. The average size of the letters is about 1/4. The characters must be considered as belonging to the northern class of alphabets; and the so-called Indo-Scythic form of the m stamps them at once as of decidedly early date. But they are of such a peculiarly ornate type, that, having no inscription of known date with which to compare them, it is not possible at present to suggest any definite period for them. The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is entirely in prose. The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

All the historical contents of the inscription, including the name, except perhaps the first syllable and part of the second, of the Mahārāja and Mahāśeṇḍāpi whose titles occur in line 1, are lost. The interest of the inscription lies in its being a record of the tribe of the Yaudhēyas, who are mentioned elsewhere in this volume only in line 22 of the Allahābāḍ pillar inscription, No. 1 above, where they are included among the tribes subjugated by the Early Gupta king Samudragupta.

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1 See the introductory remarks.

2 The four Lākapālas, or regents of the quarters of the world, are—Indra, of the east; Yama, of the south; Varuṇa, of the west; and Kuvera, of the north.—The number is sometimes increased to eight, by the addition of Agni at the south-east, Śūrya at the south-west, Vāyu at the north-west, and Chandra at the north-east.

3 The 'Byana' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 50. Lat. 26° 57' N.; Long. 77° 20' E.—Other writers give the name as 'Bānā, Bayānā, Biānā, and Biānah;' but this is wrong; the name, of which the mediæval form is said to have been Bēhāyānā, is dissyllabic. As regards Mr. A. C. L. Carleyle's utterly untenable derivation of Byānā from the name of the demon Bhāsura, see my remarks in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 9.—The ancient Sanskrit name of the place was Šrīpathā; see id. pp. 8 f., and 10; and Vol. XV. p. 239.

4 The 'Bhurtipoor' of maps, &c.
TEXT:

1 Siddham [I^] Yaudh[ë]ya-gana-puraskrītasya mahārāja-mahāśeṇāpatēḥ
pu ........................
2 brāhmaṇa-purōgah ch-ādīshāhānam śaṅtr-adī-kuśalam priṣṭvā likṭāy.
Asti Raśmā ..........
3 ........................................................................)

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Of the Mahārāja and Mahāśeṇāpati, who has been
made the leader of the Yaudhēya tribe, .......................................................... and having-asked
the settlement, headed by the Brāhmaṇa, as to the health of (their) bodies &c., writes—
"There is ............................................................."

Mo. 59; PLATE XXXVIC.

BIJAYAGADH STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE YEAR 428.

This inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by Mr. A. C. L. Carliyle, and was first
brought to notice by him in 1878, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 59 ff., where he
published Dr. G. Bühler’s reading of the text and translation,\(^4\) from an ink-impression
supplied by himself, with a lithograph (id. Plate viii). It is on a monolith red-sandstone
pillar that stands in a conspicuous position, near the south wall of the Fort, inside the hill-
fort of Bijayagadh or Bējēgadh near Byānā,\(^5\) the chief town of the Byānā Sub-Division
of the Bharatpur State in Rājputānā. The pillar stands on a rubble masonry platform,
which is about 13' 6" high and 9' 8" square at the top. The height of the pillar above
the plinth is 26' 3". The base is square, to the height of 3' 8"; each face measuring 1' 6".
Above this, the pillar is octagonal, for a length of 22' 7"; and it then tapers off to a
point. The extreme top, however, is broken; and a metal spike, which projects from it,
indicates that it was originally surmounted by a capital. The inscription is towards the
south side of the pillar; it runs vertically down the pillar, and is read from the top down-
wards;\(^6\) and the lowest letter of line 3, the longest line, is about 7' 6" above the level of
the plinth. The platform, on which the pillar stands, is plainly of much more recent construc-

\(^1\) From the ink-impression.

\(^2\) Several superscript vowels are legible along this line; but the consonants are all broken away
and lost.

\(^3\) Both more or less mutilated in publication.

\(^4\) See page 251 above, and note 3.

\(^5\) On this point, Mr. Carliyle’s account is exactly the opposite; but he is wrong; as, in fact,
shewn by his further statement that line 2 is on the left of line 1, and so on; this could not be the
case, if the inscription ran from the bottom upwards.
tion than the pillar itself; and this suggests that possibly the present position of the pillar is not its original one. On the south side of the pillar, towards the top of the square base, there is engraved; in two lines of rather rough Devānāgarī characters of about the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., Śrī-yogī Vra[bra]hmas[garā], “the holy ascetic, Brahmast[garā],” with perhaps an imperfect date below, of (Vikrama-Saṅvat) 1008 (A.D. 951-52). And this may possibly indicate the period when the pillar was placed in its present position.

The writing, which covers a space of about 5' 4" broad by 2' 6½" high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout. The size of the letters varies from 1½" to 2'. The characters must be regarded as belonging to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indo-Scythic form of m, quite in accordance with the date of the record. They also include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 20, and 400. The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihīdmālīya in yasah-kula, line 4; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, in viṃśṭaḥ, line 1, and vaṃsa, line 4; (3) the doubling throughout of t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in puttrēna, line 2; (4) the doubling of p, once, under the same circumstances, in suppratishthi, line 2; (5) the very exceptional doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r and s, in śṝṛṝ, line 4, and paṇḍhastaśyāṁ, line 2; (6) the doubling of bh in conjunction with a following y, in abhyṣuddaya, line 4; and (7) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following v, in puttratāva, line 4.

The inscription is one of a Rāja named Vishnuvardhana, of the Varika tribe. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, when the year four hundred and twenty-eight had expired; on the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Phalguna (February-March). The era is not stated; but the type of the characters indicates, with the locality of the inscription, that we must refer the date to the Mālava or Vikrama era, with the result of A.D. 371-72 expired, and A.D. 372-73 current. And this shows that the Varika Vishnuvardhana was in all probability a feudatory of the Early Gupta king Samudragupta.1 The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it only being to record the erection, by Vishnuvardhana, of this pillar, which is called a yāpa or ‘sacrificial post,’ on the completion of a puṇḍarkha-sacrifice.

TEXT.

1 Siddham [1*] Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha-satēsvy-āśtuavīnīśvṛ 400 20 8
2 Phālguna(na)-bahulasya paṃchaḍaśyāṁ-ētasyāṁ-pūrvaśyāṁ [1*]
3 Kritau puṇḍartkē yōppā-yam-pratissthāpitās-suppārthiṣṭhi-rājya-nāmaḥdhēyāṇa śṛ-Vishnudvaddhanēna Varikēṇa Yasōvvardhanē-sat-puttrēṇa
   Yasōrāṭa-sat-puttrēṇa Vyāghrarāṭa-sat-praputtṛēṇa

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1 If we refer the date to the Śaka era, the result, A.D. 506-7, might perhaps be used to identify this Vishnuvardhana with the king of the same name mentioned in the Mandasör inscription of Mālava-Saṅvat 589 (A.D. 532-33). But there is nothing to justify us in assuming that the Śaka era was ever used in early times in this part of the country. Also, the form of m, as a northern letter, is too early for that period. And, as is shown by his titles of Rājādhirāja and Paramādvarāja, as well as by the general tenor of his inscription, the Vishnuvardhana of the Mandasör record was a far greater person than this Vishnuvardhana, the Varika.

2 From the original stone.

3 Supply tithau.

4 The form of 9a that occurs here differs from the form used in the other instances throughout this inscription, in the distinct loop on the right hand of the bottom of the letter.
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Four centuries of years, together with the twenty-eighth (year), (or in figures) 400 (ana) 20 (ana) 8, having been accomplished; on the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Phālguna;—on this (lunar day), (specified) as aforesaid:

(Line 3.)—On the ceremony of the puṇḍarika-sacrifice (having been performed), this sacrificial post has been caused to be set up by the VaiRikā, the illustrious Viśānu-vardhana, whose royalty and name are well established,—who is the excellent son of Yaśōvardhana; (and) the excellent son's son of Yaśorāta; (and) the excellent son of the son's son of Viyāgrārāta,—for the purpose of increasing (his) splendour, sacrifices, religion, welfare (in the other world), prosperity, fame, family, lineage, good fortune, and enjoyment.

(L. 4.)—Let there be success! Let there be increase! Let there be tranquillity! Let there be the condition of (his) having a son who shall live! Let there be the attainment of desires that are wished for! May there be faith and wealth!

No. 60; PLATE XXXVII.

SPURIOUS GAYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRA GUPTA.

THE YEAR 9.

This inscription, which is now published for the first time, is from a copper-plate that was obtained a few years ago by General Cunningham at Gaya, the chief town of the Gaya District in the Bengal Presidency, and was, I think, first brought to notice by him in 1883, in his Book of Indian Eras, page 53, where it is entered as being dated in the year 40. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from General Cunningham.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 8" by 7½". It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. About half-way down the proper left side, the plate has laminated rather seriously; and there is also a small crack just below this place, and another in the top of the plate, in the

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2 As is seen in the lithograph, there is no foundation whatever for the additional letter ž which, in Mr. Carleyle's published lithograph, follows this ti; or, rather, the ad into which the ti was so gratuitously converted by him. The result was naturally such as to puzzle Dr. Bühler as to the close of the inscription.

3 kriṣṇa; see page 73 above, note 1.

4 Or, more technically, 'condition of being a Rāja.'

5 Or perhaps bhūgabhūga should be taken as one word, meaning 'enjoyment of taxes; lordship, royalty;' see Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. bhūgabhūga, which is explained by 'enjoying taxes; a king, a sovereign.'

6 The 'Gya' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104 Lat. 24° 48' N.; Long. 85° 3' E.
word vatsakā; but, except at these places, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plate is fairly thick and substantial; and the letters, which are shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—Onto the proper right side of the plate, there is fused a seal, oval in shape, about 2½ by 3½. It has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—at the top, Garuda, represented as a bird, standing to the front, with outstretched wings; and, below this, a legend in five lines, which, being also in relief, is so worn, that nothing of it can be read except a few disconnected letters here and there, and Samp[ur]dra[ga]u[p][la][k], very faintly, at the end of line 5. It must have contained a succinct restat of the genealogy, after the fashion of the Aśtraṅa seal of Sarvaravarman, No. 47 above, page 219, and the Sonaś seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 above, page 291.—The weight of the plate, with the seal, is 2 lbs. 10 oz.—The average size of the letters is 1½. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 14, forms of the numerical symbols for 9 and 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In line 3-4, we have, instead of the usual expression utsana, the word uchchanna, which, as used here, is, according to Sir Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, a Prākrit corruption of the Sanskrit utsana.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of t throughout, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in prapautrasya, line 4; pittrā, line 8; and sāgātīrāya, line 9; (2) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in ayodhyā, line 1; (3) the occasional use of b for v, in bō, line 8, and sambat, line 14; and (4) the use of 9 for b, in vrākmanā, lines 7 and 10; vārīchāya, line 9; and sauravāmchārin, line 9-10.

The inscription purports to be one of the Early Gupta king Samudragupta, and to record a charter issued from his camp at the city of Ayodhyā. It purports to be dated, in numerical symbols, in the year nine (A.D. 328-29), on the tenth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Vaśākha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it simply being to record the grant to a Brāhman, ostensibly by Samudragupta, of the village of Révatiśa in the Gayā visaya.

The legend on the seal of this grant is in characters which present a very different appearance to those of the body of the inscription; as also does the copper of the seal, as compared with the substance of the plate; and the seal is in all probability a genuine one of Samudragupta, detached from some other plate. The inscription itself, however, is undoubtedly spurious. This is shown conclusively, if by nothing else, by the fact that from uchchhālituk, line 1, to dauhitrasya, line 5, the epithets of Samudragupta are uniformly in the genitive case; the drafier of the inscription was copying from a grant of Chandragupta II, or some other descendant of Samudragupta; he only then recognised

1 The symbol which I take to be meant for 9, was interpreted by Gen. Cunningham as 40. But it certainly is not 40. It resembles most the decimal figure 2. But the day of the month is distinctly marked by a form of the numerical symbol for 10. This shews that the sign here also is intended for a numerical symbol; and the only symbol to which it approximates, is that for 9.

2 The modern Ajōdhā or Ajōdhā (the 'Oudh or Ajoodka') of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 87, Lat. 26° 48' N.; Long. 82° 14' E., on the south bank of the river 'Ghagrā or Ghogra,' about four miles north-east of Faizabad, the chief town of the Faizabad Division of Oudh in the North-West Provinces.

3 See note 1 above.

4 Compare the construction in the Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II. No. 4 above, page 25, and in the Bhitār pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 above, page 52.
that this construction would not suit a supposed inscription of Samudragupta himself, which was required in accordance with the seal that was to be attached; and he promptly then adopted the nominative construction, utpannaḥ .......... 'Samudraguṭaḥ, without taking the trouble to correct the preceding passages. It is difficult to suggest any definite time for the fabrication of this grant; on the one side, some of the characters are antique, e.g. the forms of ḷ, ṁ, and ṅ, and particularly ḷ; on the other side, others are comparatively modern, especially the ṣ in saṭaḥsuḥṣabhyaṃ, line 3-2. But it has the general appearance of having been made somewhere about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Points which may hereafter serve to fix its date more definitely are

(i) the use of the Prakrit corruption uchchhaṇna, in line 3-4; and

(ii) the opening expression mahā-nauḥ-hasty-asaṃ-vāsamak- sarvā-ṛā-ōcchhētu[hʰ] pri-

thivyām-a-pratirathaṣaṣa charu-udādhi-salil-āsvādita-yaṣa[sc⁴] Dhanada-Varu-

Enḍr-Ā. nta-śamsaṣa Kṛiṅt̄aṇa-parāsār-nyāty-āgat-anēka-gō-śiryaṣa-koṭi-pradaṣaṣa chir-

ōcchhēha-

nta-śamvedā-āharttu[hʰ] mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-praṇautṛasaṣa mahārāja-śrī-

Ghatōtkachaḥ-pautṛasaṣa' mahārāja-śrī-Chandraguṭa-pautṛasaṣa' Lichchhivi-dauhitṛasaṣa mahā-

dēvyā[sc⁴] Ku-

mātōradēvyām-utpanna[hʰ] paramabhāgavaṭo mahārājaḥdiraja-śrī-Samudra-

7 guṭah Gaya-śubhayika-Rēvatakā-grāme vrā[bra]ḥmaṇa-purāg-grāma-vala-

kaṭuḥṣabhyaṃ-āha I eva ch-ārtha[sc⁴] viditam-bō(व) bhavat-eṣa[sha] gramo maya mātapittṛa-h. tmanā-cha puny-ābhivṛddhaḥ Bhāravāya-sagotṛaya Va(ba)ḥvṛchāya sav[ra]brah māhaḥ-

10 rīnum vrā[bra]ḥmaṇa-Gopādevaśvāminī s-ōparika-ōḍḍēṣeṇ-Agrābhārītvēn-āti-

\[1\] *Ind. Ant.* V. XV. p. 112. \[2\] *id.* p. 140.

\[3\] From the original plate.

\[4\] There is a mark over the ā, which may be only a rust-mark, but which renders it a little doubtful whether yāt-ḍhananda was engraved, or yasa ḍhananda with an omission of ṣa. The other inscriptions, however, show that the correct reading is yastasaḥ ḍhanadaḥ &c.

\[5\] The other inscriptions all read utṣanā.——Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, suggests that uchchhaṇna,——which, in the sense of 'uncovered,' is a regular derivative from ud + chhad,—is, in the sense of 'destroyed, fallen into disuse,' a Prakrit corruption of utṣanā, from ud + sad.

\[6\] In order to render the inscription capable of translation, read praṇautṛaḥ. And, at the same time, correct all the preceding genitives into nominatives.

\[7\] Read praṇautrāḥ. \[8\] Read pautṛaḥ. \[9\] Read dauhitṛaḥ.
TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From the victorious camp, full of great ships and elephants and horses, situated at (the city of) Ayodhya,—the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārāja, the glorious Samudragupta,—who is the exterminator of all kings; who has no antagonist (of equal power) in the world; whose fame is tasted by the waters of the four oceans; who is equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka; who is the very axe of (the god) Kriṭānta; who is the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who is the restorer of the astamētha-sacrifice, that has been long in abeyance; who is the son of the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Guptā; who is the son's son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghaṭōtkacha; (and) who is the son of the Mahārāja, the glorious Chandragupta (L.), (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhivi, begotten on the Mahādeva Kumāradēvi,—says to the two village Valakaushans, together with the Brāhmaṇs, at the village of Rēvatikā belonging to the Gayā vishaya;

(Line 8.)—"Be it known to you! For the sake of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents and of myself, this village is granted to me, as an agrahāra, with the assignment of the upārikara, to the religious student, the Brāhmaṇ Gopasvāmin, of the Bhāradvaja gōtra (and) the Bahvircha (ākāha).

(L. 11.)—"Therefore attention should be paid to him by you; and (his) commands should be obeyed; and all the customary tributes of the village, consisting of that which is to be measured, gold, &c., should be given. And, from this time forth, the tax-paying cultivators, artizans, &c., of other villages, &c., should not be introduced by the Agrahārika of this village (for the purpose of settling in it and carrying on their occupations); (for) otherwise there would certainly be a violation of (the privileges, of) an agrahāra."

The year 9; (the month) Vaiśākha; the day 10.

(L. 15.)—(This deed) has been written by the order of Dyūta-Gopasvāmin, the Akshapataladhikrita of another village.

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1 sa was engraved here, and then corrected into cha.
2 cha was engraved here, and then corrected into sa.
3 Read ānya.
4 As regards the interpretation of the first symbol, see page 255 above, note 1.
5 Supply uīthāθa-yam, or any similar words.
6 Valakaushan is evidently a technical official title; but it occurs nowhere else; and I am not able to suggest an explanation of its meaning.
7 As regards the interpretation of the symbol, see page 255 above, note 1.
8 Akshapataladhikrita, meaning lit. 'he who is appointed to (the duties of) a depository of legal documents,' is an official title that is evidently synonymous with Akshapatalika (see page 190 above, note 2).
No. 61; PLATE XXXVIII A.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 106.

This inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 53 f., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it by Rājā Siva Prasad, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xix).—And in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 309 ff., Dr. E. Hultzsch, working from General Cunningham’s facsimile, published his own revised reading of the text, and translation of it.

This is another inscription from Udayagiri,1 in the Bhēlsā Sub-Division of the Isāgaḍh District of Scindia’s Dominions in Central India. It is inside a cave-temple, which General Cunningham has named “No. 10, the Jain Cave.” The cave, which is about a hundred yards beyond “No. 9, the Amṛta Cave,” is readily discernible from the plain, by means of the rough stone wall which forms the front of the main part of it; it is high up in the north-western end of the hill, and is not very easy of access, in consequence of its having to be entered by a narrow and steep flight of steps on the very edge of the cliff. The inscription is on the smoothed face of the rock, on a partly natural and partly artificial low arch, leading from the principal room of the cave to the next room towards the east.

The writing, which covers an irregular space of about 1' 3½" broad by 7½" high, has suffered a little damage at the beginning and end of some of the lines, owing to the chipping of the angular edges of the rock; but the readings here can be completed without any doubt; and the rest of the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Below the last line, there is a row of five roughly cut modern numerals, reading 31245, the tops of which can be seen in the lithograph; but they have no connection with the inscription.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening invocation of the saints or perfect ones, the inscription is in verse throughout.—The orthography presents nothing calling for special remark.

The inscription refers itself to the period of the Early Gupta kings; but not to the reign of any particular sovereign. The recorded date, however, shews that it belongs to the time of Kumāragupta. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and six (A.D. 425-26), on the fifth solar day of the dark fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). It is a Jain inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the Tīrthaṅkara Parśva, or Parśvanātha, at the mouth of the cave.

**TEXT:**

Namaḥ siddhēbhyaḥ [II*] Śrīt-saṅhyutānāṁ guṇa-tōyadhinām Gupt- ānvayānāṁ nṛpā-sattamānāṁ

1 See page 32 above, and note 1. 2 From the original stone. 3 Metre Indravajrā.
Rajyé kulasy-ābhivivarudhdhamàne shaadbhir-yutté varsha-saté-tha màsé [I*]
Su'-Kàrttiké bahula-díné-tha pänhchamé

2 'guhà-makhe' spàta-vikat-ôktatám-imàmn jita-dvishô Jina-vara-Pàrsval-
saññiklátm jin-ôkhitam ñama-damavàn-a-
čhalarat [I*] Āchâryya-Bhadr-ânvaya-bhùshana-sasya sîshyô hy-asâv-ârnya-
kul-ôdgata-sya āchâryya-Gòsa-

5 rmmà-munës-sutas-tu Pámdâvatâv-sasya-bbáhta-sya [I*], Parair-sa-
.jéyasya Ripughna-mañinas-sa Sañghî-
lasy-ëty-âbhisrûtu bhuvì svà-saññîtaya Šànkara-râmâ-sabdítò vidhâna-
yuktam yati-mà-
7 rggam-ôsthita [I*] Sa^ suttaraṃ sadriśë Kûrânam udag-diśâ-deśa-varë
prasûta

8 kshayâyà karmm-ôrì-ganàsya dhîmàn yad-ôtra puryaṃ tad=
apàsasarjya [I*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to the Perfect Ones In the augmenting reign of the family of the best of kings, belonging to the Gupta lineage, who are endowed with glory (and) are oceans of virtuous qualities;—in a century of years, coupled with six; and in the excellent month of Kàrttika; and on the fifth day of the dark fortnight;

(Line 3)—He* who has conquered the enemies (of religion), (and) is possessed of tranquillity and self-command, caused to be made (and set up) in the mouth of (this) cave, this image of a Jina, richly endowed with (the embellishments of) the expanded hoods of a snake and an attendant female divinity, (and) having the name of Pàrsva, the best of the Jinas.

(Line 4)—He is, indeed, the disciple of the saint, the Āchàrya Gòsarman, who was the ornament of the lineage of the Āchàrya Bhadra (and) sprang from a noble family; but he

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1 Metre, Ruchirà.
2 Metre, Indravajrâ.
3 We have here the locative case of a base padmàvatì, which, to suit the metre, is substituted for the proper base padmàvatì, the locative of which would be padmàvatìyàm.
4 Metre, Vânsasthâ.
5 Metre, Þéñdgravajrâ.
6 Siddhâbhya. These Siddhas are not to be confused with the mythical semi-divine Siddhas who are mentioned, e.g., in line 1 of No. 18 above, page 81.[They are saints, who by austere practices have attained siddhi or 'perfection or final beatitude' (see the remarks on siddhàm, page 25 above, note 4) in the shape of some or all of the five states of sàdhkàta, 'residence in the same heaven with any particular deity; sàrpràatì, 'identity of form with the deity or assimilation to him; sàmdùpta, 'nearness to the deity; sàtvajjà, 'absorption into the deity; and sàrîhàta or sàmdhàíavajjà, 'equality with the supreme being in power and all the divine attributes.'—The Jain term siddha corresponds pretty closely to the Buddhist samyak-sambuddha, which occurs in line 1 of No. 11 above, page 46.
7 i.e., Šànkara, whose name occurs in line 6 below.
8 The allusion is to the ari-âshàka or ari-śadh-varga; see page 156 above, note 5.
9 Dr. Hulsch wrongly read sàphu, and thus missed the meaning of this passage.—For vikàrâ, which I have translated by 'an attendant female divinity,' see Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s.v., where he explains it by 'a kind of female divinity, peculiar to Buddhists.'—The image referred to in this inscription, is not now in the cave. But, in support of my explanation of the passage, we may refer to a precisely similar image, in the Jain cave at Bâdâmi, described in Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. I. p. 35. It represents the same Jina, Pàrsvanâtha, with a five- hooded snake over him as a Kind of nimbus, and a female on the right side, with a serpent's hood, holding up the rod of the umbrella that shades him
is more widely renowned on the earth (as being) the son, (begotten) on Padmāvatī, of the Arnapati; the soldier Sāṅghila, who, unconquerable by (his) enemies, took himself to be a very Ripughna;—by his own appellation, he is spoken of under the name of Śāṃkara;—(and) he has adhered to the path of ascetics, conformable to the sacred precepts.

(L. 7)—Born in the region of the north, the best of countries, which resembles (in beatitude) the land of the Northern Kurus,—he, the wise one, has set aside whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), for the purpose of destroying the band of the enemies of religious actions.

No. 62; PLATE XXXVIII B.

SANCHI STONE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 131.

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., where Mr. James Prinsep published a very fair lithograph of it (id. Plate xxvi.), reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers, and, with it, his own reading of the text, and a translation of it.

This is another inscription from Sāñchi, in the Diwāgāṭi Sub-Division of the Bhopal State in Central India. It is on the outer side of the centre rail in the fourth row, outside and on the south side of the eastern gateway, and in a re-entering angle of the railing of the Great Stūpa.

The writing, which covers a space of about 5” broad by 0’ 6” high, is in a very fair state of preservation, every letter being, with care, legible from beginning to end; but, owing to the discolouration of the stone from lapse of time, it is much easier to read in the ink-impression and lithograph, than on the original stone.—The size of the letters varies from ¾” to 1”. As in the case of the Sāñchi inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 93, No. 5 above, page 29, Plate iiiB., the characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are not so carefully formed as the characters of that inscription; but,

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1 See page 259 above, note 3.
2 *Aśvapati,* lit. ‘lord of horses,’ appears to be a technical official title.—See Prof. F. Kiehorns note on the analogous term Gajapati, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 9, note 52.
3 Or we may translate “took himself to be the slayer of (all his) foes.”—But Ripughna seems to be intended as a proper name, and as a synonym for Ripujñaya, which was the name of three or four Purānic kings, and heroes; or for Šatrughna, which was the name of one of the brothers of Rāma. We may also compare the name of Šatrughnārāja, in No. 55 above, line 19, page 257.
4 The Kurus, one of the tribes of India, were divided into two branches, the northern and the southern. Uttarakuru, or the country of the Northern Kurus, is supposed to be a region beyond the most northern range of the Himaśaya mountains, and is described as a country of everlasting happiness.
5 Here, again, the allusion is to the *ari-shad-varga;* see page 156 above, note 3.
6 See page 29 above, and note 2.—In connection with what I have said there, regarding the origin of the name of Sāñchi, I would add that we should compare, with Sāñchi or Sākhi and Kāchi, such instances as Tbdal and Bbdal, two villages next to each other, separated only by a stream, in the Mālśiras Tålukā or Sub-Division of the Shōlāpur District; and Hirā and Phirā, two contiguous villages in the Karmāḷēṁ Tålukā of the same District. Similar rhyming names may be found all over the country.
allowing for this, the details shew no particular development. In line 11, they include forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 5, 30, and 100. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In pravishaka, line 4, we have to notice the affix ka which I have commented on at page 69 above. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for remark, is the doubling of v, after the anusvāra, in samāvat, line 11.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king; but the date recorded in it, allots it to the time of either Kumāragupta, of the Early Gupta dynasty, or his son and successor Skandagupta. It is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and thirty-one (A.D. 450-51), on the fifth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Aśvaryu (September-October). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the Upāsaka of the Upāsika, the wife of the Upāsaka, of certain sums of money to the Ārya-Saṅgha, or community of the faithful, at the great vihāra or Buddhist convent of Kātanādabotra. For the purpose of feeding one Bhikku day by day, and of maintaining lamps in the shrines of Bhikkhus.

TEXT:

datā.  
2. pitaram-uddāya Kātanādabotra-sāt-mahā-vihāre chāturuddāya-ārtya-saṃ-
ya ṣ-yuddhi- 
3. r-upajāyatē tayā divasē-divasē saṅgha-madhyā-pravishikā-bhikshur-ekāh
bhoga-
R Chatur-Buddha-asa-
bhagavatot Buddhasya

1. Gen. Cunningham (Bhilā Topes, p. 193) read the first symbol as 300. But the two marks on the right side, required to convert 100 into 300, are entirely wanting; and he must have been misled by the natural marks of the stone becoming exaggerated in an imperfect ink-impression.
2. See page 31 above.
3. From the original stone.
4. This word is in the margin, before upāsaka. The traces that remain of it are very faint.
5. Read mātē upāsika.
6. The initial a of this word is badly formed, and is partly run into the ya of saṅghāya. Perhaps saṅghāya-dākṣhaya was being engraved, as required by samāvāra, and then the initial a was inserted.
7. As regards the reading of the first symbol, see note 1 above.
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! By the Upásiká Harisvámini, the wife of the Upásaka Sanasiddha, for the sake of (her) parents, twelve dínáras are given, (as) a permanent endowment, to the community of the faithful, collected from the four quarters of the world, at the holy great vihára of Kákanádábótá. With the interest that accrues of these dínáras, day by day one Bhikshu, who has been introduced into the community, should be fed.

(Line 5)—Also three dínáras are given in the jewel-house. With the interest of these three dínáras, day by day three lamps of the divine Buddha should be lit in the jewel-house.

(L. 6)—Also, one dínára is given in the place where (the images of) the four Buddhas are seated. With the interest of this, day by day a lamp of the divine Buddha should be lit in the place where (the images of) the four Buddhas are seated.

(L. 8)—Thus this permanent endowment,—written upon stone (so as to endure) for the same time with the moon and the sun,—has been accomplished by the Upásiká Harisvámini, the noble lady, the wife of Sanasiddha.

(L. 11.)—The year 100 (and) 30 (and) 1; (the month) Ásvayuj; the day 5.

No. 63; PLATE XXXIXA.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 135.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 184 f., where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate ii. No. 8) reduced from General Cunningham’s ink-impression.—And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 36 f., accompanied by a fresh lithograph (id. Plate xvi. No. 22).

The inscription is on the pedestal of a broken standing statue that was found in the Jail Mound at Mathurá, the chief town of the Mathurá District in the North-West Pro-

\[1\] ratna-gríha; see page 33 above, note 5.

\[2\] chatur-Buddha-dána.—As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in his Bhílás Topes, p. 191 f., this is explained by four statues of Buddha, seated, one opposite each entrance, which are in the circular enclosure that runs round the Stupa, inside the railing. Owing, I suppose, to alterations made in the course of the restorations that have been carried out at Sáachi, the statue at the south entrance is now a seated statue, similar in general design to the statues at the north, east, and west entrances; it is evidently the original statue, which had somehow been shifted, now restored to its proper place; and the standing statue, which was opposite the southern entrance when Gen. Cunningham wrote his description, now stands a little to the west of it.

\[3\] vídminá.—Or perhaps the word stands here for the fuller title, Vihárasvídminá, which occurs in the next inscription; see page 263 below, note 7.

\[4\] As regards the reading of the first symbol, see page 261 above, note 1.

\[5\] See page 26 above, and note 2.
vinces. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahâbâd; but it has now, I understand, been transferred to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Of the statue itself, all that remains is the feet, with part of a small kneeling figure at each side; and there is thus nothing to show its nature; but, from the tenour of the inscription, it must have been a standing image of Buddha.

At the commencement of the inscription, in the margin, there is engraved a Buddhist dharmachakra, or 'wheel of religion,' an emblem the object of which appears to be to denote the way in which religion encompasses and envelops everything.—The writing covers a space of about 1 64" broad by 2 8" high; and is in a state of very good preservation, except in the last line, of which almost the whole of the last part is broken away and lost.—The average size of the letters is about 3". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 20, 30, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit. The first two lines are in prose, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of v, after the anusvâra, in saṁvatsara, line 1.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king; but, from its date, it appears to belong to the reign of the Early Gupta king Skanda-gupta; since his father, Kumâragupta, having commenced to reign in at least the year 95, can hardly have continued on the throne up to the present date. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and thirty-five (A.D. 454-55), and on the twentieth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pushya (December-January). From the expressions used, as well as from the emblem on the margin of the stone, it is evidently a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.

2. [Dâvâtyâ [1*]] Yad-atra punyâh tad-bhavatu mâtâpirôh sarvva-sat[1*]yanâh-cha anuttara-jâhänâpâyât[2*] K
4. a-stabdâ[?][?]ni bhavanti dâna-niratâv chittân niyõjy-aikadâ [−] 1 [− − −] vichâ(ñā)rañâ[− − −]dhiyân [− − − − −] i [−] yâm [1*]

TRANSLATION.

In a century of years, increased by the thirty-fifth (year), (or in figures) 100 (and) 30 (and) 5; in the month Pushya; on the twentieth day, (or in figures) the day 20;—this is the appropriate religious gift of the Viśhârasvâminâ Dēvata. Whatever religious

1 From the original stone. 2 Read tīṁī. 3 Read dhvuṭhvydh. 4 This n is rather an anomalous one; but the character cannot stand for anything else. 5 There is no objection to the present reading; but we usually have avâḍyât. 6 Metre, Šārdâlavîkdêjâta. 7 Viśhârasvâminâ, lit. 'mistress (lady-superintendent) of a vihâra,' seems, not to be a technical religious title denoting an office held by females, but to mean simply 'the wife of a Viśhârasvâmin,' see page 379 below, note 5.—We may compare Daṇḍâṇyakṭhit; in line 40-41 of the Kargudârī in-
merit (there is) in this (act), — let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by (her) parents and by all sentient beings!

(Line 3.) — Good fortune; the condition of being a model (worthy of imitation), abounding in virtuous qualities; fame; the destruction of the enemies (of religion); riches abounding in prosperity, births that result in happiness; (and) finally, an auspicious nirvāṇa; — (all these) are not permanent (?); having once fixed the thoughts upon the happiness of making gifts, ................................

No. 64; PLATE XXXIX B.

GADHWÁ INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham in 1874-75 or 1876-77, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 10 f., where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate v. Nos. 2 and 3).

It is another inscription from Gadhwa, in the Karchhaná Sub-Division of the Allahábád District in the North-West Provinces. It was found on pulling down a ruined wall; and is on two faces of a fragment of a square sandstone pillar which had been cut into four beams by splitting it down the middle of each face, in order to adapt it to some later building purposes. The other pieces were not found. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing includes the remains of two separate records, which, however, seem to refer to one and the same object of donation. On that face of the stone which is represented in the left part of the lithograph, we have the remains of fourteen lines, covering a space of about 3½" broad by 1' 2½" high; and, on the other side, the remains of eight lines, covering a space of about 6½" broad by 1½" high. Such of the writing as remains, is fairly well preserved; but of course some of the letters are doubtful from want of the context to explain them. — The size of the letters varies from ⅛" to ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of Nos. 7, 8, and 9 above, Plate iv.B. C. and D. They include, in lines 18 and 19, forms of the numerical symbols for 1 and 2. — The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. — In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ́, in viśākha, line 16.

From the letters visible at the end of line 1, the inscription may belong to the time of the Early Gupta king Kumāragupta. The details of the date, however, have been

scription of Śaka-Sarvāvat 1050 (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 352, and note 30); it means, not 'a female Leader of the Forces,' but 'the wife of a Dāndandāyaka.' Modern instances of finding affiliations for women in the official titles of their husbands, are afforded by the Kanarese Gauḍagāni, and the Mārāthi Pājī, as used to designate the wife of the Gauḍa or Pājī, the village-headman.

1 The allusion is to the avi-shad-varga or avi-shātha; see page 156 above, note 5.

2 According to the Buddhist doctrine, it would appear that even nirvāṇa, or the extinction of existence, is not a permanent state, and does not free the individual who attains it from the liability of future births, unless it is followed by parinirvāṇa, or absolute destruction of identity by complete absorption into the divine essence.

3 See page 36 above, and note 1.
entirely destroyed. The remnant of the inscription does not display any sectarian character. The object of it was to record certain grants to a sattrā, or charitable hall or almshouse:

**TEXT.**

First Part.

1. .......................................................... śr. ku-3
2. .......................................................... sattrā ū[?] 9(?)
3. .......................................................... [d]vāsa-pūrvvāyān ma-
4. .......................................................... guptaś-aiṇa da' y.
5. .......................................................... [A]nantaguptāya(ṛyā)
6. .......................................................... puny-āpāyān-ā-
7. [ṛṭham] .......................................................... sattrā-sā[m*]nya-bhōja-
8. [na] .......................................................... [d]nāraīh
9. .......................................................... vāsō-yugā-
10. .......................................................... parā di-
11. [nāra] .......................................................... dńāraih dē(?)[r]va-
12. .......................................................... [Yaś=ch-aiṇaṁ] dharmma-śkandhanṁ vyu-
13. [chchhindyat-sa pañčabhir-mahāpāta] kaih sa[m]yu-
14. ktah syād-iti [I]

Second Part.

15. .......................................................... satt[ṛ*]ra-sāmānaya-bhōjanē ........................................
16. prati suvānpair-ekāna-viṁśatibhi[h]
17. kāritaḥ [I*] Brāhma(?)no mayika
18. dvayaṁ 2 karōta 2 bra ...
19. yugāṁ 1 koṭṭayba sukun ...
20. dakṣīṇa-kūla-kāṭhaṇḍaṇ pakṣha ... [I]*
21. Yaś=ch-aiṇaṁ vyuchchh[ṛ]*[y]l-sa pañčabhir-mahā-
22. [pā]t[akais]=sa[m*]yuktaḥ [s]y[ad-iti I]

**TRANSLATION.**

It is impossible to give any connected rendering of the contents of this inscription. We can only note that, in the First Part, we may perhaps have remnants of the name of Kumāragupta in line 1-2; that there is the name of Anantagupta or Ahantagupta in line 5, evidently belonging to some private person; and that lines 7 to 12 appear to have recorded certain grants, fixed in dṁ dras, for the purpose of providing food in a sattrā or 'almshouse,' and also to provide pairs of upper and lower garments. It ends with the usual imprecation against interfering with the continuance of the grant.

The Second Part, again, refers to food in an almshouse, recording something in connection with it at a cost of nineteen gold coins of the kind called suvāna. Other details follow, including two karōjas or 'basins or cups,' and one pair [of upper and lower garments]. Then follows apparently a grant of some land, on the south bank of a river. And the inscription winds up, as before, with the usual imprecation against interfering with the grants.

1 From the original stone.  
2 Possibly the original hād śrī-Kumāraguptasya.
KOSAM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA BHIMAVARMAN.

THE YEAR 139.

This inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 3, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate ii. No. 3).

Kosam, the ancient Kauśāmbi, is a small village near the left bank of the Jamnâ, about eight miles to the south of Karâr, the chief town of the Karâr Pargâna in the Manjanpur or Manjhandpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahâbad District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the broken base of a sculptured standing group of Śiva and Pārvatī that was found buried in a field near the large monolith pillar inside the fort, which is described in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 309 ff.

The *writing*, which covers the whole face of the stone, measuring about 10 ft broad by 4 ft high, is in a state of very fair preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment, as at least one line is almost entirely destroyed below line 1; and it is also impossible to say how much has been lost at each side of the stone.—The average *size* of the letters is about 1/3. The *characters* belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include forms of the *numerical symbols* for 7, 9, 30, and 100, and perhaps for 2.—The *language* is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is all in prose.—The *orthography* presents nothing calling for remark.

The *inscription* is one of a *Mahārāja* named *Bhimavarman*, who, judging by the date, must have been a feudatory of the *Early Gupta* king *Skandagupta*. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and thirty-nine (A.D. 458-59), and the seventh solar day, perhaps of the second fortnight of a month, or perhaps of the second month of a season; but the details here are broken away and lost. It is evidently a Śaiva inscription; and the object of it must have been to record the gift or installation of the sculpture, on the base of which it is engraved.

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1 The 'Kosam and Kosim Kheraj' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 23° 20' N.; Long. 81° 27' E.—Kheraj is a mistake for khirāfī; the village consisting of two parts, of which one is inām or 'rent-free,' and the other is khirāfī or 'rent-paying.'

2 The 'Kuralee' of maps.

3 See note 4 below.

4 Before the word *divas* there are two marks which seem to be the numerical symbol 2; and the passage might be completed either in accordance with the method of, for instance, the date of the Nāsik inscription of Pulumārī, "in the year nineteen, 19; in the second fortnight, 2, of the hot season; on the thirteenth day, 13" (*Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 108, No. 18); or the date of the Mathurā inscription of Vāsubhāva, "in the 44 (774); in the first month of the rainy season; on the thirtieth day, 30" (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 8). But I know of no other instance of these ancient methods being continued as late as the period of the present inscription; and this makes it doubtful whether the signs in question really are the numerical symbol 2.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 66, PLATE XXXIX D. 267

TEXT:

............. Mahârâja[â]j asya śrī-Bhimavarmmanâh samhva[* 100] 30 9
............. 2(?)[â] 7[*] étad-[d*]ivasâ, kumaramê

3 pa ..............................................................

TRANSLATION.

............. (In the government) of the Mahârâja, the illustrious Bhimavaranman;
— the year 100 (and) 30 (and) 9; ....................... 2 (?); the day 7; — (on) this
day ..............................................................

No. 66; PLATE XXXIX D.

GADHWÀ STONE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 148.

This inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and
was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 11,
where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate v.
No. 4).—This rendering of the inscription has remained the only published version of
it up to the present time. But in 1882, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. page 311, note 3,
Dr. E. Hultsch pointed out that the correct interpretation of the date gave the year 148;
not 140, as read by General Cunningham.

This is another inscription from Gadhwâ, in the Karchhanâ Sub-Division of the
Alhabâd District in the North-West Provinces. It is on a sandstone fragment that
was found in the pavement of the Daśavatâra temple of Vishnu, and is now in the Imperial
Museum at Calcutta.

With the exception of a margin of about 1½" at the top and bottom, and at the end of
the lines, the inscription covers the entire front of the stone, measuring about 2' 4" broad by
7½" high. The writing is a good deal damaged, but can be made out, satisfactorily with a
little trouble. It is, however, only a fragment; since the first part of each line, containing
nearly as much as is now extant, has been cut away in adapting the stone to some later
building purpose, and this part of the stone has not been found.—The average size of
the letters is about 1½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The
language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography,
we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ś, in
chaturīṇṭha and viṇāśti, line 1; (2) the doubling of š, in conjunction with a following r,
in chiṭra, line 3; and (3) the doubling of v, after the anusvāra, in samvatsara, line 1.

1 From Gen. Cunningham’s ink-impression; so also the lithograph.
2 See page 366 above, note 4.
3 See page 366 above, note 4.
4 i.e. divasa, or divast.
5 See page 36, above, and note 1.

2 1 2
The inscription refers itself to the reign of some particular king; but his name has been entirely broken away and lost in the first half of line 1. The recorded date, however, shows that it was either of the time of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta, or immediately after his reign. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-eight (A.D. 467-68), on the twenty-first solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Māgha (January-February). It is a Vaishānava inscription. And the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Vishṇu, under the name of Ananta-svāmin; and, for the purpose of providing perfumes, incense, garlands, &c., and of executing repairs,—a grant, the details of which are lost, but which would seem to have consisted of some land at a village belonging to the same god under the name of Chitrakūṭa-svāmin, of the lord of Chitrakūṭa.

TEXT:

2       pūnā-ābhivṛddhy-arthāṃ vaḍabhātīn-kārayātīvā Ananta- svāmi-pādāṃ pratisthāpya gandha-dhūpa-srag....
3       sī/phūṭa-pratisaṃhāra-karaṇ-ārthāṃ bhaga[y]a]ch-Chitra- [k]ūṭasaṃvi-pādiya-kōṣṭhē(?)ta-pravēṣya-mati...

TRANSLATION.

In a century of years, increased by forty-eight, on the twenty-first day of the month Māgha;—

(Line 2.)—Having caused (a temple having) a flat roof to be made, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of............. (and) having installed the feet of (the god) Ananta-svāmin............. perfumes, incense, garlands............ for the purpose of repairing whatever may become ............. torn, there have been given twelve ............. belonging to the entrance of ............. which belongs to the feet of the divine (god) Chitrakūṭa-svāmin.

1 The Chitrakūṭa referred to here is the modern ‘Chatarkot,’ ‘Chitarkot,’ and ‘Chitrakote’ Hill of maps, &c., in the ‘Bānda’ District of the North-West Provinces, forty-two miles south-east of Bānda, and seventy-one miles south-west of Allahābād; Lat. 25° 19' N.; Long. 80° 47' E. It is a great place of pilgrimage, and is specially sacred to Vishṇu in his incarnation as Rāma.
2 From the original stone. 
3 Read rāṣṭaṃ samvatsaraṃ; see page 38 above, note 5.
4 Read vaḍabhāṁ kṛrayitvā, or vaḍabhāś-kṛrayitvā. 
5 Read pāḍān or pāḍau. 
6 Read ya śanāḥ, or yat-ṣaṁcānaṁ. 
7 Read sa.
8 See page 38 above, note 5.
9 vaḍabh (also vaḍbh), which occurs in line 6 of No. 18 above, page 81) is explained as meaning ‘the wooden frame of a roof;’ a flat roof, house-top, top-room, turret, top-floor, balcony; any temporary erection on the top of a palace; an awning, a tent;’ but it seems to refer to a building here, and to denote ‘a flat-roofed temple.’
10 i.e. ‘having installed an image;’ see page 123 above, note 5. The use of the word pāḍau, not pāḍa, shows that the inscription does not refer to the foot-prints or impressions of the feet, which are so frequently objects of worship. So, also, just below this passage, “the feet of the divine (god) Chitrakūṭa-svāmin” means simply “the divine (god) Chitrakūṭa-svāmin.”
(L. 4.)—Whosoever may interrupt this (grant), he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins!

No. 67; PLATE XL A.

TUSAM ROCK INSCRIPTION.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Bird, and was first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1875, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. V. p. 138 ff., where he published a translation of it by Babu Pratap Chandra Ghosh, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xl. No. 5).

Tusām or Tusām is a village about fourteen miles to the north-west of Bhiwānī, the chief town of the Bhiwānī Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Hisār or Hissār District in the Panjāb. Immediately on the west of the village there is a steep isolated hill, that rises abruptly out of the plain to a height of some hundred feet. And the present inscription is on the surface of a rock, about half-way up the east side of this hill.

About a foot below the centre of the last line of the inscription, there is engraved on the rock an emblem, of which a complete restoration is given by General Cunningham in his published lithograph, and which may be either a Buddhist dharmachakra or 'wheel of religion,' or a sun-symbol. But there is nothing to connect it of necessity with the inscription now published; and it may belong to one of the shorter records, e.g. the jetam bhatavat bhatavat-pada-dātē, "victory has been achieved by the Divine One, in (this) region belonging to the feet of the Divine One," which is engraved just above the present inscription, in large and somewhat irregular characters of about the same period.4—The writing covers an extreme space of about 4 2/" broad by 2' 24" high; the lines being of unequal length to suit the irregularities of the rock. The engraving was rather shallow, and some of the letters are a good deal weather-worn; but, on the original rock, the inscription is quite legible throughout.—The size of the letters varies from 3/" to 11/". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; but in the word ali, 'a bee,' in line 1, they include the southern ɿ, which I have commented on at page 4 above.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following yntax, in upaddhyāya, line 5; and (2), as noted above, the use of the southern ɿ in ali, line 1, which is probably due to Sōmatrātā, whose record this inscription is, being a Sātvata from Central or Southern India.5

1 The 'Toosham and Tosham' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 24° 51' N.; Long. 78° 7' E.—The name is written sometimes with the palatal sibilant, and sometimes with the dental; but with a preference for the former.—Gen. Cunningham wrote the name 'Tushām,' and suggested that it is derived from Tushdr-ādana, 'the Tushāra monastery.' But the sibilant is not the lingual sh; and the proposed etymology, due in the first instance to the supposition that the inscription mentioned a Tushāra king named Vishnu, cannot be upheld.

2 The 'Bhewani and Bhewanee' of maps.

3 See page 123 above, note 5.

4 See Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. V. Pl. xl. No. 1; which, however, is not quite an accurate repre-

5 See page 271 below, note 1.
The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted to the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. It is a Vaishnava inscription; and the object of it is to record the making, by an Āchārya named Sōmatrāta, of two reservoirs and a house for the use of the god Vishnu under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One.

The manipulation of General Cunningham's ink-impression, as shown by the published lithograph, led to the introduction of the name of the Early Gupta Māhārāja Ghaṭotkacha in line 2; and to the supposition that the name Vishnu, in the same line, was that of a Tushāra king who conquered Ghaṭotkacha, and who might be identified with the third Kaṭva or Kaṭvāyan ā prince Nārāyaṇa. As is to be seen, however, in my lithograph now published, there is no foundation whatever for this; the akhaśaras that were supposed to give the name of Ghaṭotkacha, being, in reality, nothing but dānav-dānand, "(the women) of the demons;" and tūshāra here has no meaning but that of 'frost.'

**TEXT.**

1. jītaṁ* aṁbhikṣaṁ-eva ṇaṁbavat-tvadānārvind-orijit-āldā
2. dānav-dānand-aṁvahābhoja-lakśhmi-tusheṛṇa Vishnunā t(īli)
3. anēkapuruṣaṁbhikṣaṁ- āryaSātvat-aṁya- khāṭya-ivyācaḥāryya ṇ
4. bhagavabdhyakṣa-yaśastra-ṇa-ḥvarasya-ācāryya- Vīṣṇutrāta- paurasya-ācāryya
5. Vasaṇaṣthasṛṣyā Rāvanyāṁ utpannasya Gōtamā- sarmāṣṭha-ṣṭha-ācāryya-āpādambhyāṣa
6. Yaśastra-ḥānijasa-ācāryya- Sōmatratasya-edarhy- bhagavat- pād-āpadāy-
7. ijam kundam-ūparīya-āvasathāṁ kundam-īchāpirham [ll*]

**TRANSLATION.**

Verily victory has been achieved again and again by (the god) Vishnu, who is a mighty bee on the waterlily which is the face of Jamavatt, (and) a very frost to (cause the withering of) the beauty of the waterlilies which are the faces of the women of the demons!

(Line 3.)—This reservoir, intended for the use of the feet* of the Divine One, (and) the house above, (it), and the second reservoir, (are the work) of the Āchārya Sōmatrāta,—the son of the son's son of Yaśastra, who was the successor of many men (of

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* From the original stone.

* Over this m, there are the vowel-marks for ə. But they are not connected in any way with the and it is not apparent why they were made, as they cannot possibly stand for the syllable ām, and they are altogether superfluous and unmeaning.

* This y is rather an anomalous one; but the character cannot stand for anything else.

* See page 123 above, note 5.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 68, PLATE XL B. 271

proceeding generations); who was a highly esteemed Sātvyata;¹ who was an Āchārya of the Yāga philosophy; and who was a devotee of the Divine One;—the son's son of the Āchārya Vīshnuhrata;—the son, begotten on Rāvanta, of the Āchārya Vasudatta;—a member of the Gōtama gōtra;—(and) the younger brother of the Āchārya and Upādhyāya Yasastrāta.

No. 68; PLATE XL B.

DEORIYA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1873, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 48 l., where he published his reading of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xviii D).

Deoriya or Dwariyā² is a small village on the right bank of the Jamnā, about eight miles towards the south-west of Arail or Arayał, the chief town of the Arail Parganā in the Karchhānā Sub-Division of the Allahabād District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the pedestal of a stone standing image of Buddha,—draped, and with small attendant figures kneeling at his feet, one on the right side, and two on the left,—that was found at this village. When I examined the image, it was in the Government Museum at Allahabād; but it is now, I understand, in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The writing, which covers the whole front of the pedestal, about 1' 1" broad by 3' high, is in a state of good preservation throughout. The size of the letters varies from ⁴⁄₅" to ¹⁄₃". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose. The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; it may be allotted, however, on palæographical grounds, to about the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śākya mendicant named Bōdhivarmā, of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.³

1 Déya-dharmār̥yaṁ Śākya-bhikshā[ṛ*]-Bōdhivarmmāṇaḥ. [i*] Yad-atra
   punya[ṛ*]

2 tad-bhava[ṛ*] mātāpitrō[ṛ*] sarvva-sat[ṛ*]vānāṁ ch-ān[ṛ*]ara-jñān-
   āvāptaye [i*]

¹ Sātvyata is explained in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary as being a name of Vishn̄u or Krishna, and also of a people, inhabiting a district in Central India, said to be the descendants of outcaste Vaiyāyas. It seems to be, as used here, the name of some special sect of Vaiśnava or Bhagavatā, probably from Central or Southern India.


³ From the original stone.

⁴ This 'd' was at first omitted, and was then inserted above the line.
TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākyā Bhikṣu-Bodhidharma. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by (his) parents and by all sentient beings.

No. 69; PLATE XLC.

KASIA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered in 1875-76 or 1876-77 by Mr. A. C. L. Carllele, and was first brought to notice by him in 1883, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVIII. p. 59, where he published his reading of the text and proposed interpretation of it, followed (id. p. 60, note l) by my own reading of the text (of course published in publication), and my translation as it then suggested itself to me.

Kasiā or Kasā is a village thirty-four miles due east of Gorakhpūr, in the Pād-ramaṇa Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Gorakhpūr District in the North-West Provinces; and is the head-quarters of a Joint-Magistrate in charge of a Sub-Division of the District. The inscription is below the figure of a man, sitting in a squatting position, on the lower part of the western side of the pedestal of a colossal stone statue of Buddha, recumbent in the act of attaining nirvāṇa, which was found by Mr. Carllele in the course of excavations in a large mound of ruins at this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 34" broad by 21' 24" high, is in a state of very good preservation, except that the name of the sculptor is partially illegible in line 2. The average size of the letters is about 7/8." The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose. The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; on palaeographical grounds, however, it may be allotted to about the end of the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Mahā-vihārasādvinī named Haribala, of the figure below which it is engraved.

TEXT.1

1 Déya-dharmō-yam mahāvihārasādvinī Haribalasāya
2 Pratimā ch-eyam ghāṭitā Dīnē .. mā(?)śvarēṇa 1(II)

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1 The 'Kasia, Kassia, Kasya, Kesiya, and Kusya,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 102. Lat. 26° 45' N.; Long. 83° 58' E.
2 The 'Paraona, Parōna, and Pudrownan,' of maps, &c.
3 Mahāvihārasādvinī, lit. 'a great master (superintendent) of a vihāra;' is evidently a technical religious title of office, denoting the officer who came, in the management of a vihāra, next above the Vihārasādvinīs or 'masters (superintendents) of the vihāra.' The latter title occurs in the Śākathi pillar inscription No. 73 below, Plate xlii A.

* From Mr. Carllele's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 70, PLATE XLD.

TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Maha víhārāsūdmin Haribala. And this image has been fashioned by Dīnē .. māsvara (?)

No. 70; PLATE XLD.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 230.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 185, where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate ii. No. 9) reduced from General Cunningham's ink-impression.—And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 37, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (*id.* Plate xvi. No. 23).

This is another inscription from Mathurā, the chief town of the Mathurā District in the North-West Provinces; and is on the pedestal of a stone standing statue of Buddha, draped, and with a nimbus behind his head and shoulders, that was found in the Katrā mound. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahābād; but it is now, I understand, in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The writing, which covers a space about 1' 4½" broad by 3" high on the upper part of the face of the pedestal, is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The average size of the letters is about ¾". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 30 and 200. In the *rya* of *bhāṭṭaydr-yād*, line 1, we have to notice that the *r* is formed on the line of writing, with a single *y* below it. And the same method of forming the *r* is followed in *dharma* and *rya*, though not in *sarva*, in the same line.—The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. But its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and thirty (A.D. 549-59), without any further details. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śākyā female mendicant named Jayabhuttā, to a monastery called the *Vāsōvihāra*, of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.¹

1 Dēya-dharma-yām Yaśā(Śā)vihārē Śākyā-bhikshuṇyar-Jayabhuttāyār-
Yadāśatra punyaḥ tad-bhavatu sarvva-sa-
2 tvanām-anuttara-jñān avāptayē I(II) Sarvatsaraḥ 200 30 1(II)

¹ See page 26 above, and note 3.
² From the original stone.
³ Read sattvānām.
⁴ See page 26 above, note 1.
⁵ Read bhikshuṇī Jayabhuttāyāḥ II Yad.
TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift, at the (monastery called) Yādūvihāra, of the Śākyā Bhikṣhunī Jayabhūtā. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings! The year 200 (and) 30.

No. 71; PLATE XLIA.

ŚODH-GAYA INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

THE YEAR 269.

This inscription, which was published by me, for the first time, quite recently, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 356 ff., is from a stone tablet that was discovered in the course of the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. J. D. M. Beglar at Boddh-Gaya,1 the famous Buddhist site about five miles due south of Gayā, the chief town of the Gayā District, in the Bengal Presidency. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone has the appearance of having been originally set in a socket about three inches deep, and morticed at the sides into a building. The front surface measures about 1’ 7½” broad by 1’ 6” high. Below the inscription, towards the proper right side of the stone, there are engraved in outline a cow and a calf, standing towards, and nibbling at, a small tree or bush; the tips of the ears of the cow are discernible in the lithograph, below the commencement of line 14.—The writing, which is in the upper part of the stone, and covers a space of about 1’ 7½” broad by 1’ 0” high, including a margin of about an inch all round, is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout.—The average size of the letters is about 1”.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. The form of y, throughout this inscription, is a slightly older variety of the fully developed Dēvanāgarī form exhibited throughout the Apsakā inscription of Ādiyāsañña, No. 42 above, page 200. In the conjunct letter r, in yatira-vatāha, line 7, we have to note that the r is formed on the line, with a single y below it. The characters include, in the last line, forms of the numerical symbols for 7, 9, 60, and 200.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing ām, and for the date at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points calling for notice are (1) the occasional doubling of k and ḷ, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in chakrāś, line 13; tantra, line 2; and chaśtra, line 14; and (2) the use of v for b throughout, e.g. in vandhu, lines 2 and 8; vabhāva, line 6; and vbdhi, lines 10 and 12.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. Its date, in numerical symbols, 9 is the year two hundred and sixty-nine (A.D. 588-589), on the seventh

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1 The 'Boddh-Gya and Buddh-Gaya' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104. Lat. 24° 41’ N.; Long. 85° 2’ E.
2 As regards the third symbol in the years, 9, it occurs as the second symbol, in the record of the day, in line 9 of the Bhumarā pillar inscription of the Mahārājir Hasin and Sarvanātha, No. 24 above; in connection with which instance, I remarked (page 110, note 2) that, though it resembles most a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9, yet it might possibly be 7 or 8. I also
solar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection, by a certain Mahânâman, the second of that name mentioned in this inscription, of a mansion of Buddha, i.e., a Buddhist temple or monastery, at the Bôdhîmanda, or, rather, within the precincts of it; i.e., at the modern Bôdh-Gayâ.

With regard to the places mentioned in this inscription, Lânkâ is, of course, one of the most well-known names of Ceylon. And General Cunningham tells me, that Âmradîpa, 'the mango-island,' is another of its names, derived from its resemblance in shape to a mango. Bôdhîmanda is the name of the miraculous throne under the bôdhī- tree at Bôdh-Gayâ, also called the sajîśâna or 'diamond-throne,' on which Buddha and his predecessors sat, when attaining bôdhī or perfect wisdom. And Professor Childers, in his Pâli Dictionary, added that he inferred that the term was also applied to the raised terrace built under the bôdhī-tree within the precincts of any Buddhist temple, in imitation, presumably, of Buddha's throne. This, rather than the throne itself, seems to be its meaning in the present inscription.

The chief interest of this inscription, lies in the probability that the second Mahânâman mentioned in it, is the person of that name who composed the more ancient part of the Pâli Mahâvamsa, or history of Ceylon. If this identification is accepted, it opens up a point of importance in the question of dates. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the date of the present inscription has to be referred to the Gupta era, with the result of A.D. 588-89. On the other hand, from the Ceylonese records, Mr. Turnour arrived at A.D. 459 to 477 as the period of the reign of Mahânâman's nephew (sister's son) Dhâtusëna; and it was during his reign that Mahânâman compiled the history.

then considered that the same symbol occurs, in the record of the day, in the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Sakhshôbhâ, No. 25, above; in line 24 of which (page 115) I accordingly read the solar day as 29. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, has found, by actual calculation, that the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, which is mentioned in line 2 f. of that record (page 114), was the twenty-seventh solar day in the month. Accordingly, the symbol which we have there, in line 24, must be interpreted as 7; not 9.—On fuller consideration of the whole matter, with the help of Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculation, I find that, in the three passages, we are concerned with two separate symbols; not one and the same. One is the symbol which is the third in the years of the present inscription of Mahânâman, and the second in the record of the day in the Bhumâr pillar inscription; and I see no reason to alter my original opinion, that it is a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9. A sign extremely like it occurs, it is true, in the date of the Môrf grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 258, and Plate, line 19), where the record in words compels us to interpret it as 8; but it is there a decimal figure, not a numerical symbol; and that record also comes from a far distant part of the country; so that we are not bound to adopt the same interpretation in the present instance.—The other symbol is the second in the record of the day in the grant of Sâpkshôbhâ. And an examination of the lighograph (Plate xv B.) will shew, that it really differs from the symbol which I interpret as 9, through a slight mark below it, which, being a little detached from it, I took originally to be a rust-mark, and not part of the symbol itself. Taking it now as part of the symbol itself, it makes the symbol identical with, though in execution somewhat inferior to, the symbol for the day in the present inscription of Mahânâman; and, accordingly, the symbol for the day here must now be interpreted as 7; not as 8, which I took it to be in my original version of this inscription.—The same symbol occurs also in lines 19 and 21 of the Népâli inscription of Jîshugûpta (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 172, and Plate); and it was Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajî's interpretation of it there as 8, which led me to read it originally as 8 in the present instance.

1 See, amongst other authorities, Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 115.

dharmma-kōṣaḥ prākti-rupu-hṛitaḥ sādhitaḥ lōka-bhūtyai ṛṣṭuḥ Śāky-aika-
va baḥnhor-ījyati, chiratrām tād-yaśas-sāra-tanttram Māhā-Kāśyapaḥ II
Nairōdhāḥ śubha-bhāvanā
d
m-anusritai, saṃsāra-saṃkhleṣa-jin Maityrayasā kāre vimuktī-vaśūtā yasya-
ādībhūtā vyākritā nīrvaṇā-vāsarē ca yēna charāpaṃ drīṣṭau munēh

pāvānau iti pāyad-vah sa mūnindra-sāsana-dharaḥ stutyoṣoṣa Mahā-Kāśyapaḥ II
Saṃyukt-āgaminā viśuddha-rajasāḥ sat[ṅ]vā-ānukamp-odāyaḥ śhīyā

yasya saṃkrit-vichāraḥ-amaḥām Ṭāṅka-ṭaḥal-apatyakām tēbhyaiṣ ṣīla-gūn-
āvitiṣa-cha saṭaṣaḥ śhīyā prāśishyaiṣaḥ kramājātās-tunga-narēndra-

vanśa-tilakaḥ prāṭīṣyaiṣa ṛāja-sriyām II Dhyānād-ōday-āhita-hitaḥ śubha-
āśubha-vivekakṛda-vihāta-mōhaḥ sad-dharmma-ātula-vibhāvo Bhavō
va baḥnhor-ījyā

ṣramaṇas-tataḥ II Rāhulaḥ-ākhyātsa-cha tāc-chchhiṣya Uppasēnā yati-yaṭaḥ
Mahānāmā kramād-emām Uppasēnas-tataḥ-paraḥ II Vatsalayantaraḥ II śaṇa-ā-
gatasya satatāṃ dinasaṃ vaisēsikāṃ vyāpat-saṃya-saṃtis-khata-dhīrē-
ārētasāḥ ch-āpatyakām I krūrasya-āhita-kārīṇaḥ pravatitam va baḥnhor-
yathā-

bhavatāḥ ēvam saḥ-charit-ōdbhavēna yaśasā yaśa-āchitaṃ bhūtaḥ II
Amṛadvipād-dhīvāstā prithu-kula-jaladhis-tasāya śhīyō mahīyān

Lanākā-dvipa-prasūtaḥ para-hita-nirāthaḥ san Mahānāmā-nāmaḥ I tēn-ōchchhair-
Vvō(bb)dhimānḍe śaśi-kara-dhavālaḥ sarvapat maṃḍapēna II

kāntāḥ prāśada ēsā Smara-va baḥnhor-ījyaiḥ kārito lōka-śaṭuḥ II
Vypagata-ū-viṣaya-snehō hata-timira-dasaḥ pradipta-va-d-a-saṅgaḥ

kūsālēn-ānēna janō vō(bō)dhi-sukham-anuttarām bhājatam II Yavadi-ī-
dhvānt-āpahārī pravatita-kirāṇaḥ sarvapat bhāti bhāsvān-yavat-pūrṇām
muva(mbu).

1 From the original stone.
2 Metre, Sraghsīra.
3 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
4 Metre, Śāḍōlāvīrkṛṣṭā; and in the following verse.
5 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
6 My original reading was stutya. I owe the correction, as also that of amalād, for atūdhā, in
line 5, to the kind suggestion of Dr. Kielhorn.
7 Metre, Āryā.
8 Metre, Śītuka (Anushtubh).
9 From the vowel ī being partially engraved over this ṅ, the engraver seems to have begun to
form the ṅū here.
10 Metre, Śāḍōlāvīrkṛṣṭā.
11 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
12 Metre, Āryā.
13 Metre, Sraghsīra.
13 rāśīḥ phañcā-pana-kutįśair-ūrṇmai-chakkra-samantāt yāvach-ḥ ch-īndra-ādhisvād 
   vividha-mañi-sīla-çāru-srīṅgaṇ Sumēruḥ bōbh-ādhyam
14. tāvatēatād-bhavanam-uru-munēḥ śāsvatavam-prayātā it Samvat 200 60. 9
Chaittra śu di' 7 I

TRANSLATION.

Om! Victorious for a very long time is that doctrine, replete with fame, of the Teacher, the chief kinsman of the Śākyas, by which, lustrous as the full-moon, the inscrutable primary substance of existence has been pervaded in all directions; by which the warriors, who are heretics, obstructive of the path of beatitude, have been broken to pieces, being assailed with the weapon of logic; (and) by which the whole treasure of religion, that had been stolen by the enemy which is original nature, has been recovered for the welfare of mankind!

(Line 2.)—May he, Mahā-Kāśyapa, who is worthy of praise, protect you,—he who observed the precepts of (Buddha) the chief of saints; who practised that auspicious habit of abstract meditation which is of the nature of a trance; who overcame the anguish of successive states of existence; whose wonderful subjugation of the passions in final emancipation (is to be) displayed in the hand of Maitrēya; and by whom the two pure feet of (Buddha) the saint were beheld at the time of attaining nirvāṇa!

(L. 4.)—His disciples, endowed with a connected tradition of doctrine, purified as to (their) emotions, (and) active in compassion for existing beings, roamed at one time over the stainless country at the feet of the mountains of Lāṅkā; and in succession from them there were born, in hundreds, disciples and disciples' disciples, possessed of the virtue of (good) character, who, without the glory of (actual) sovereignty, were the ornaments of a lofty race of kings.

(L. 6.)—Then there was the Śrāmaṇa Bhava, whose welfare was effected by the development of abstract meditation; who discriminated between good and evil; who destroyed error; (and) who possessed an unequalled wealth of true religion.

(L. 7.)—And his disciple (was) he who had the name of Rāhula; after whom (there came) the ascetic Upasēna (I.); then in succession (there was) Mahānāma (I.); (and) after him another Upasēna (II.), whose special characteristic of affection, of the kind that is felt towards offspring,—for any distressed man who came to him for protection, and for any afflicted person whose fortitude had been destroyed by the continuous flight of the arrows of adversity,—extended, in conformity with the disposition of a kinsman, (even) to any cruel man who might seek to do (him) harm; (and) by whose fame, arising from good actions, the whole world was thus completely filled.

1 As regards the interpretation of the symbol for the day, see page 274 above, note 2.
2 Maitrēya is a Bōdhisattva, at present in the Tushita heaven, who is to be the next Buddha. And the present passage, which is rather obscure, is perhaps explained by the injunction which Buddha, when on the point of attaining nirvāṇa, gave to Mahā-Kāśyapa, to deliver over his kāśādyā or yellow robe (and with it the transmission of the Buddhist doctrine) to Maitrēya, when he should attain the condition of a Buddha (see Bell's Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. II. p. 142 ff.)
3 Mahā-Kāśyapa was seated in meditation, when suddenly a bright light burst forth, and he perceived the earth shaking. And then, exerting his divine sight in order to ascertain what wondrous event was indicated by this portent, he saw Buddha in the act of entering on nirvāṇa (see id. Vol. II. p. 161).
(L. 9.)—His disciple, greater (even than himself), (is) he who has the excellent name of Mahānāman (II.); an inhabitant of Āmradvipa; a very ocean of a mighty family; born in the island of Lankā; delighting in the welfare of others;—by him this beautiful mansion of the Teacher of mankind, who overcame the power of (the god) Śmara,1—

dazzling white as the rays of the moon, with an open pavilion on all sides,—has been caused to be made at the exalted Bōdhimāṇḍa.

(L. 11.)—By means of this appropriate (action), let mankind,—freed from attachment to worldly things; having the condition of (mental) darkness dispelled; (and), like (the flame of) a torch, having no adhesion (to material objects),—enjoy the supreme happiness of perfect wisdom!

(L. 12.)—As long as the sun, the dispeller of darkness, shines in all directions with diffused rays; as long as the ocean (is) full on all sides with its circles of waves that are curved like the hoods of hooded snakes; and as long as (the mountain) Sumeru, the abode of (the god) Indra, has its summits made beautiful by various jewelled slabs, in such a way as to be full of lustre,—so long let this temple of the great saint attain the condition of being everlasting!

(L. 14.)—The year 200 (and) 60 (and) 9; (the month) Chaitra; the bright fortnight; the day 7.

No. 72; PLATE XLI B.

BODH-GAYA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀNĀMAN.

This inscription, which, also, was published by me quite recently, for the first time, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 359, is from the pedestal of a Buddhist image that was discovered in the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar at Bōdh-Gayā,4 in the Gaya District in the Bengal Presidency.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 8½" broad by 1½" high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type with those of the preceding inscription of Mahānāman.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but the characters allot it to precisely the same time with the preceding Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, of A.D. 588-89. It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the presentation of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, by a Sthavīra named Mahānāman, who is obviously the second Mahānāman mentioned in the preceding inscription.

As pointed out to me by General Cunningham, this inscription shows that Mahānāman must have been at least thirty years old when he visited Bōdh-Gayā; by the Buddhist rules, he could not receive the upasampādā-ordination, before attaining the age

1 This refers generally to the subjugation of the passions; but also specially to the temptation by Māra, or Love as the Destroyer, which is referred to in Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. II. p. 69 ff.

2 As regards the interpretation of the symbol for the day, see page 274 above, note 2.

3 See page 274 above, and note 1.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 73, PLATE XLII A.

...of twenty years; and, after that, he would have to wait at least ten or twelve years, before he could be invested with the title of Sthavira or Thera. A further point to be noted is, that Mahâman's visit to Bâdâ-Gâyâ probably occurred before the time when Dhâtusâla became king of Ceylon,—during the flight of the uncle and nephew to avoid the persecution of the usurper Pându; according to Mr. Turnour's deductions, this was between A.D. 434 and 439.

TEXT:†

Om Dêya-dharmmâ-yân Śâkya-bhikshôh Amârdvîpa-vâsi-sthavira-
Mahânâmasya† [ii*]. Yad-atra punyam tañh-bhavatu sarvva-
-sat[i*]vânâm-anuttara-jâmân-âvâptayê-stu[†] [ii*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! This (â) the appropriate religious gift of the Śâkya Bhikshu, the Sthavira Mahânâman, a resident of Amârdvîpa. Whatever religious merit (there â) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings!

No. 73; PLATE XLII A.

SANCHI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1854, in his Bhûlsa Topes, p. 199, where he published his reading of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxii. No. 199).

This is another inscription from Sâñchi,† in the Diwânganj Sub-Division of the Bhûpâl State in Central India. It is on the north side of part of a small monolith round pillar, broken, that stands a few yards to the north-east of the eastern gateway of the great Stûpa.

The writing covers a space of about 10" broad by 23" high. Except for the first three letters, which are very much damaged, it is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment; the concluding part of it being broken away and lost.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in putra.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is, not dated. But, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is evidently the remnant of a Buddhist inscription; and its object seems to have been to record the gift of the pillar, on which it is inscribed, by a Vihârasvâmî,† the son of

† From Mr. J. D. M. Beglar's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.

‡ Read mahânamak.

This stu (astu) is redundant, as we have already had bhavatu. The same redundant astu occurs also in line 2 of the Bûdâ-Gâyâ image inscription, No. 76 below, page 282.

See page 29 above, and note 2.

Vihârasvâmî, lit. 'master of a vihara,' is a technical religious title of office, applied to certain functionaries who came next in rank below the Mahâvihârasvâmî; see page 272 above, note 3.
Gósūrasimhabala, whose name is partially destroyed, only the first two syllables, Rudra, remaining.

TEXT.

1 A(?).ka... vihārasvāmi-Gósūrasimhabala-putra-Rudra... . . .

TRANSLATION.

. . . . . . . the Vihārasvāmin Rudra . . . . . . . the son of Gósūrasimhabala . . . . . . .

No. 74; PLATE XLII B.

CALCUTTA MUSEUM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from the pedestal of a sandstone image that is in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. The image seems to have been originally a standing statue of Buddha; but the whole of the upper part of it, above the ankles, is broken away and lost. I have no information as to where it was found.

The writing, which covers a space of about 9/2" broad by 10'/" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes; but it is only a fragment; the conclusion of it, in the third line, having been cut away, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose.—The size of the letters varies from 1/2" to 1/4". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in ātra and pitrōḥ, line 2.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the gift, by a Sākya mendicant named Dharmadāsa, of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.

1 Dēya-dhārmō-yaṁ Šākya-bhikshō-Dharmadāsasya [1"] ya-
2 d-ātra punyam tan-māṭāpitrō[h"] sarva-sat[t"]vānāṁ ch-ā-
3 [nuttara4-jhān-āvatāpyā=stu II]

TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Sākya Bhikṣu Dharmadāsa. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), [let] it [be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge] by (his) parents and by all sentient beings.

1 From the original pillar. 8 From the original stone.
2 This n was at first omitted, and then inserted above its proper place.
3 This last line has been entirely cut away and lost, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose.
No. 75; PLATE XLII C.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1871, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 123, and Plate xxxiv. No. 4.

Sārnāth is the modern name of a large collection of Buddhist ruins, about three and a half miles north of Benares (properly Banāras or Banārṣa), the chief town of the Benares District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is below a sandstone bas-relief representation of three scenes in the life of Buddha, that was found here in the course of excavations. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 1½" broad by 2½" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout.—The average size of the letters is about 1½". The characters are a peculiarly square variety of the northern alphabet.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated. But, on palaeographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record that the sculpture, below which it is engraved, was made by the order of a religious mendicant named Harigupta.

**TEXT.**

1 Gurum3 pārvvamgamāṁ kṛitvā i4 mātaram pitaram tathā 1 karita
2 pratimā śāstuḥ i4 Hariguptena bhikshupā II

**TRANSLATION.**

Having placed first (in the order of those who are to acquire religious merit from this act) (his) spiritual preceptor and (his) mother (and) father, this image of the Teacher has been caused to be made by the Bhikshu Harigupta.

No. 76; PLATE XLII D.

BODH-GAYA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, which does not appear to have been previously brought to notice, is from the pedestal of a Buddhist stone statue that was found by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar in their excavations at Bódh-Gayā, in the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency. The original statue is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 1½" broad by 2½" high, towards the top of the pedestal, is in a state of very good preservation throughout.—The average

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1 From the original stone.
2 Meeting, Śīkha (Anuṣṭubh).
3 and 4 In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
4 See page 274 above, and note 1.
size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Bódhi-Gaya image inscription of Mahánáman, No. 72 above, page 278, Plate xli B. But, as contrasted with the form in Mahánáman's inscription of the year 269, No. 71 above, page 274, Plate, xli A., we have to notice that, in conjunction with a following $r$, the $r$ is here formed above the line, and the $y$ is doubled.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of $t$, in conjunction with a following $r$, in *atra*, line 1.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palaeographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the sixth century A.D. It is a Buddhist **inscription**; and the object of it is to record the grant, by two Sákya mendicants named Dharmagupta and Dámsátraśéna, natives of Tishyámdratírtha, of the statue on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

**TEXT.**

1 Öm Dēya-dharmindo-yàn Sákya-bhikshvà=Tishyámdratírtha-vásika-
Dharmagupta-Dámsátraśéna-yàd-attrà punya[rh] tad-bhavatu
matāpi[ta*]rav-ácháryy-ópádhyâyau pùrvaagama[rh] kritvà
sarvva-satvanâm*anuttara-jñân-áváptaye=stu*

**TRANSLATION.**

Öm! This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the two Sákya Bhikshus, Dharmagupta and Dámsátraśéna, residents of Tishyámdratírtha. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings, after (their) parents and (their) Áchárya and Upádhyáya.

No. 77; PLATE XLIII A.

**LAHOR COPPER SEAL INSRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA MAHESVARANAGA.**

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a copper seal that was obtained by General Cunningham from a native dealer at Láhor, the chief town of the Láhor District in the Pásháb. It is not known where it was originally found. I obtained it, for examination, from General Cunningham.

The **seal** is on an exaggerated signet-ring, in shape closely resembling the ordinary English pattern, of the kind which may still be seen worn loosely on the thumbs of the ministers of Native States. From the flat surface of the seal, to the bottom of the ring, it is about $1\frac{1}{2}$" high. The flat surface of the seal is about $\frac{1}{2}$" thick, and slightly oval in shape, about $1\frac{3}{8}$" by $1\frac{1}{8}$". At the top there is a bull, recumbent to the proper left, with a crescent moon in front of its face; below this, a straight line, turned up at each end; below

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1 From the original stone.
2 Read sattavānām.
3 This *stu* (astu) is redundant, as we have *bhavatu* in line 1; see page 279 above, note 3.
4 The 'Lahore' of maps, &c.' Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30. Lat. 31° 34' N.; Long. 74° 21' E.
this, the legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; and, at the bottom, a curved line, which is evidently intended for a nāga or hooded snake. The legend is in reverse in the original, so as to give a direct impression on documents; and it is evidently for some purpose or other of this kind that the seal was used. I give a direct representation of it in the lithograph.—The weight of the seal and ring is about \(\frac{1}{2}\) oz.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the legend is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription simply records the name of the Mahārāja Mahēśvaranāga, the son of Nāgabhatṭa, belonging, it may be presumed, to a branch of the well-known Nāga family or tribe. On palaeographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the end of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT.¹

1 Mahārāja-Nāgabhatṭa-
2 putra-Mahēśvaranāga

TRANSLATION.

The Mahārāja Mahēśvaranāga, the son of Nāgabhatṭa.

No. 78; PLATE XLIII B.

ROHTASGADH STONE SEAL-MATRIX OF THE MAHASAMANTA SASANKADEVA.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, was discovered by Mr. Beglar cut in the rock at the hill-fort of Rohitāsgadh or Rōhitāsgadh,² twenty-four miles south by west of Sahasrām,³ the chief town of the Sahasrām Sub-Division of the Shāhābād (Ārā) District in the Bengal Presidency.

In the upper part, there is a somewhat damaged representation of a bull, recumbent to the proper right, and below this, separated by a line about \(\frac{1}{4}\)" broad, the legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; the whole being enclosed in a circle about \(\frac{41}{2}\)" in diameter, with a breadth of circumference varying from \(\frac{3}{8}\)" to \(\frac{3}{4}\)". I give a direct representation in the lithograph. But the original, on the rock, is in reverse; and, with the bull, the circular surrounding line, and the line across the surface, the legend is countersunk, not in relief. It is plain that what we have here, is a mould or matrix, for casting copper-seals in relief, to be attached to copper-plate charters.—The average size of the letters is about \(\frac{1}{16}\)". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the legend is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

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¹ From the original seal.
² The 'Rhotasgurh and Rohitagarh' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104. Lat. 24° 37' N., Long. 83° 55' E.
³ The 'Sahasrām, Sahseram, and Sasseram' of maps.—The name is understood to be a corruption of the Sanskrit 'sahastrāgradma', the (circle of a) thousand villages.

2 N 3
The inscription simply records the name of the Mahāsāṃanta Śaśāṅkādeva. The age of the characters would justify us in identifying him with the Śaśāṅka (She-shang-kia), king of Karnasuvrava (Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na) in Eastern Indiā,—the contemporary and murderer of Rājyavardhana II. of Kanauj,—who is mentioned by Huen Tsiang as a persecutor of the Buddhists. And, if this identification is accepted, it will refer the inscription to just about the commencement of the seventh century A.D.

TEXT:
1 Śrī-mahāsāṃanta-
2 Śaśāṅkādeva

TRANSLATION.
Of the illustrious Mahāsāṃanta Śaśāṅkādeva.

No. 79; PLATE XLIII C.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRAKATADITYA.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a stone that was discovered by General Cunningham at Sārnāth, close to Benares. It has now, I think, been sent to the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 2' 0" broad by 1' 6" high, has suffered a great deal of injury; especially towards the bottom, where the first halves of lines 12 to 16 are now quite illegible; and I have to acknowledge some very appreciable assistance from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj, in respect of some of the more pointedly damaged passages. In addition to its being so worn, the extant record is only a remnant of what was originally engraved. Nothing is lost at the top and bottom; but parts of the original stone have been cut away at the sides, evidently in order to adapt it to some building purpose; and the verse commencing in line 3 and ending in line 4, shews that at least eighteen letters have been destroyed in this way, between the last that is legible in line 3 and the first in line 4; the general run of the inscription seems to shew that nearly the whole of what was thus cut away, came at the ends of the lines. Also, as may be seen in the lithograph, two round holes were drilled in the stone for some purpose or other, about half-way down.—The average size of the letters is about 4". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, except that the Kūṭila characteristic is only discernible in a few places, e.g. in nitarīm nīshkampah, line 7, they are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Apṣaṭ inscription of Aḍityasena.

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1 Mahāsāṃanta, lit. 'a great chief of a district,' is a technical official title which, as noted above (page 15, note 4), seems to denote the same rank as Mahārāja.—Next below the Mahāsāṃanta came the Sāṃanta. This latter title is of equally frequent use, in its technical value, in other inscriptions. In the present series, however, it is only used in a general way, to denote 'feudal chiefs;' e.g. in line 5 of No. 33 (see page 148 above, note 1), and in line 1 of No. 80 below, page 288.


3 From Mr. Beglar's rubbing; so also the lithograph.

4 See page 281 above.
The GuptA Inscriptions; No. 79, Plate XLI11 C.

No. 42 above, page 300, Plate xxviii.—The language is Sanskrit. The last line seems to be in prose; and the rest of the inscription, in verse throughout; though the metres cannot in every instance be recognised.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (i) the doubling of  t, in conjunction with a following r, once, in putt̐r̐ēna, line 16; and (a) the use of v for b throughout; e.g. in vālādītya, and lavdha, line 3.

The inscription is one of a king named Prakatāditya, whose capital appears to have been Kaśāl, i.e. Benares, which is mentioned in the first line. It is not dated; but, on palaeographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the end of the seventh century A.D. It is a Vaishnava inscription; and the object of īt is to record the building of a temple of the god Vishnu, under the name of Muradvish, and some provision, the details of which are lost, for the repairs of it.

The chief interest attaching to this inscription, consists in its mentioning at least two kings of the name of Bāladitya. One of them was the father of Prakatāditya. The other was an ancestor of the same name; and, as he himself is called "another" Bāladitya, the presumption is that the name of the still earlier ancestor, who was mentioned in the passages that have been destroyed in lines 2 and 3, was also Bāladitya. And the probability is, that the first Bāladitya is the one who is so well known in connection with the history of Mihirakula.

TEXT:

1. ........ dē(?)/vō (?) ................二 ... Kāśa̱-ti
2. .......... [II] [P]u-rajadhara i [va] ........ patat̐y-ahō (?) 二
3. ......... ra̱-mañ̐aṛa-va ... sāstra-vidō ....... taṭān̐a̱m 二 kari ....
4. .......... pati̱h 二 Tasya 二 Dhaival-eti jāya pati-vratā Rōhip-iva chandrasaya 二 Gaur-iva Śūlapāṇդ-īva Nākshir-iva Vāsu[devasya 二]
6. .......... nu (?)h sutā-vasala 二 suṣa̱t̐a̱-vatsala 二 suṣa̱t̐a saurya-vinaya-sampannah 一 śrīnām-Prakatādityō
7. ... [dvīja]̱avara-nikār-āśrayaḥ pravri (?)ddha (?)-gūnāḥ 二 kalpa-druma iva nitarān̐aṁ nishkampāḥ prakaṭa-śādō pi II
8. ......... [I] dvija-gaṇa-sēvyāḥ sa[ta]m vidvat-samudaya-vihita-ruchiḥ II
9. .......... pū[?]u vṛvah Kārttikēya iva II Yasya ... va ... nirgata
10. ......... luvdha(bdha)-hrishta-bhrmad-bhrma[ra] ... vi ... ta̱-dain̐aṁ pṛthu-pushkarinyah II Ye (?) na (?) 二 ripu-sandarḥām malināṁ kṛtān̐i v[?]pu[la] ....

1 From the ink-impression.
2 Metre, Śāhka (Anushtubh).
3 Metre, Āryā; and probably in the next verse.
4 Metre, Āryā.
5 Metre, Āryā; and probably in the next verse.
6 Metre, apparently Vasantatilaka.
7 Metre, probably Āryā.
This inscription is too fragmentary for a connected translation to be offered. But we have to note the following points. Line 1 mentions the city of Kāśi; and line 2 apparently the god Purandara, in connection with it. The passage lost between the last legible letter in line 2 and the first in line 3, contained the name of a king, in connection with whom we perhaps have, at the commencement of line 3, a mention of the Madhyadēsa or Central Country. In his lineage, there was born another king Bālāditya (l. 3). In the family of the latter, there was born yet another Bālāditya (l. 3). His wife was Dhavaḷa (l. 4), who is compared with Rōhiṇī, the wife of the Moon, Gaurī, the wife of Śūlapāṇi, and Lakṣhmi, the wife of Vāsuḍēva. Their son was the glorious Prakataḍītya (l. 6), whose virtues and prowess, including a comparison of him with the god Kārttikeya (l. 9), are described in lines 7 to 10, apparently without the introduction of any further historical matter. Line 11 mentions the building of a temple of the god Muradīv. Line 14 contained some provision for the repairs of this temple. And line 16 gives us the name of Dēvaka, the son of Rāmachandra, apparently as the engraver of the inscription.

No. 80; PLATE XLIV.

NIRMAND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHAŠAMANTA AND MAHARAJA SAMUDRASENA.

This inscription has been known, to General Cunningham, since 1847 or 1848, but was not brought to notice till 1879, when Major W. R. M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction in the Pañjāb, having obtained and forwarded the plate on which it is engraved, Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVIII. Proceedings, p. 212 ff.

Nirmand is a village, near the right bank of the Sataj, twenty-one miles north-east of Plach, the chief town of the Plach Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Kullū* Division of the Kangra District in the Pañjāb. The inscription is on a copper-plate, which belongs to a

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1 Metre, probably Śloka (Anushṭubh).
2 The 'Nirmand' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 47. Lat. 31° 23′ N.; Long. 77° 38′ E.
3 The 'Plach' of maps.
4 The 'Kullu and Kulu' of maps.
temple of the god Paraśurāma at this village; and, in accordance with the custom of the country, it is kept nailed up on one of the walls of the temple. I obtained the original plate, for examination, through the kindness of Mr. L. W. Dane, B.C.S.

- The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, is of rather irregular shape, the extreme measures being about 1' 6½" by 8½". The edges of it are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. Three of the four corners are more or less damaged; but nothing has been lost thereby; except in the upper proper right corner, where, unfortunately, the name of the family of the Mahādrāja, whose grant is recorded, has been broken away at the commencement of line 1. The rest of the inscription is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plate is rather thin; and the letters, though not very deep, shew through on the reverse side throughout; they were also engraved with such force as to destroy entirely the original smoothness of the plate, and thus to give the majority of them rather a blurred appearance in the lithograph. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the majority of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—At the top of the plate, in the centre, there is a hole, which seems to have been made originally for a ring, with a seal attached to it; but it has been broken through to the edge, and the ring and seal are not forthcoming. There is another hole in the bottom of the plate; this was probably made later, in order to nail the plate up on to the wall of the temple. — The weight of the plate is about 1 lb. 12 oz. — The size of the letters varies from 1½" to 1½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. In the combination of r with a following y, the r in this inscription is written on the line, with only a single y below it; e.g. in paryanta, line 8, and kuryat, line 11. The characters include, in line 14, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 6, and 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imperative verses in lines 12 to 14, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihvāmālīya and upadhānāyya, in yugalakṛṣṇa, line 2; duṣkha, line 6; anuḥtyāḥ-parama, lines 3, 3, and 4; utpannah-piṅka, line 2; and dayaḥ-parama, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in vaṁśa, line 1; (3) the occasional doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, in samatikāraṇa, line 1; and attra and vādikāraṇa, line 15; and (4) the use of v for b throughout, in lavdha, line 3; vālī, line 7; kutumvind, lines 8 and 9; and kutumvīra, line 9.

The inscription is one of a Mahādrāja and Mahādrāja named Samudrasena. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year six, and the eleventh solar day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). There is nothing to indicate any particular era to which the date should be referred. On palaeographical grounds, we might very well refer it to the Harsha era, with the result of A.D. 612-13. But I feel rather doubtful as to the probability of the years of Harshavardhana's reign having been constituted an era, of general acceptance, quite so soon after his accession. And I am inclined to look upon the date of this inscription as referring only to the years of the authority of Samudrasena, himself, as in the Āraṅg grant of the Rājā Mahā-Jayaraṇa, No. 40 above, page 191, the Rāypur grant of the Rājā Mahā-Sudēvaraṇa, No. 41 above, page 196, and the Chammak and Siwan grants of the Mahādrāja Pravarāvaraṇa II., Nos. 55 and 56 above, pp. 235 and 243. And, in that case, all that can be said about the period of the present inscription, is, that it belongs roughly to about the seventh century A.D.1 The object of

1 Gen. Cunningham (Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. XIV. p. 120 fl.) has referred this inscription to Vikrama-Saṅvat 1237 (A.D. 1160-61); but on grounds which will not stand for a moment. It is quite
the inscription is to record the allotment of the village of Sūliṣaṇgrāma by Samudrasena, to a body of Brāhmaṇs who studied the Atharva-Veda at the agraharā of Nīrmaṇḍa, for the purposes of the god Tripurāntaka or Śiva, who, under the name of Mihirāgāra, had been installed by his mother Mihiralakshmi at a previously established temple of the same god under the name of Kapalēśvara. It is therefore a Śaiva inscription; but the occurrence of the word mihira, 'the sun,' as the first component of the god's name, seems to indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites.

TEXT:

1. •••••••••••. bhikhyāta - narapati - vaṃśa - ṣaṃ = samaṇabhavach = chatur - udadhi-
saṃätikkrānta-kṛttir-anēka-sāmanti-ōttammāṅ-avatanata-mukuta - maṇi - mayūkh-
vichchhurita-charapārvinda.

2. yugalaḥ = kṛatu-yājī mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-sṛt-Varuṇaśenas-Tasya putras-tat-
pād-anudhyātah = paramadèveyaḥ(m) = Pravā(ba)likā-bhata = ārikṣyām = utpannaḥ =
prtaiva tulyo guṇair = māma.

3. hāsāmanta-mahārāja-sṛt-Saṃjayaśenas-Tasya putras-tat-pād-anudhyātah = parama-
dèveyaḥ Śikharavāminī-bhata = ārikṣyām = utpannaḥ = saṃara-sata-lasyaḥ(bāhā) -
jayas-tvāg = ma.

4. hāsāmanta-mahārāja-sṛt-Raviṣṭhenaśa-Tasya putras-tat-p[ā=d]-anudhyātah = parama-
dèveyaḥ sṛt-Mihiralakṣmi-bhata = ārikṣyām = utpannaḥ = sarad-amala-sakala-
rajanikara iva prāṇi-

true that the alphabetical characters of that part of the country are of an extremely conservative type; but not to anything like such an extent as to enable us to refer the present record to within several centuries of so late a period. The more important point, however, is, that his reading of the date is completely wrong. Overlooking altogether the numerical symbol that stands after the word samvat, he has obtained his reading of the date by interpreting, among the words that precede samvat, arka as 'twelve,' and guṇa as 'twenty-seven.' According to the numerical-word system, arka certainly does stand for 'twelve;' and guṇa might possibly be used for 'twenty-seven,' though I can find no authority for it. But, in the present passage, arka is simply the second component of the name of the writer of the grant; and, whatever guṇa may mean here, it is most certainly not used as a numerical word. The date is recorded, in the usual way, in the numerical symbol that stands immediately after samvat; and that symbol is a 6.—Gen. Cunningham found some corroboration of his interpretation, in the fact that the accepted genealogy of the 'Mandī' and 'Suket' families contains a Samudrasena, whose date, reckoning backwards at the rate of thirty years to the generation from A.D. 1500, would be about A.D. 1140 to 1165, and who might, therefore, on his interpretation of the date, be identified with the Samudrasena of this inscription. But this identification cannot be accepted for a moment; it is wholly impossible to accept the names of Vraṣṭena, Savbhanaśena, Kanavāhanaśena, and Naravāhanaśena, which precede him in the genealogy, as being identical with, or even intended to represent, the Raviṣṭhena, Saṃjayaśena, and Varuṇaśena, of the inscription.

3 From the original plate.

4 Four letters, or perhaps five, are broken away and lost here. A small part of the last of them, immediately preceding the first legible syllable, bхи, is visible; but it is impossible to say what the entire letter may have been.

5 The mark over this sa is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

6 The mark between the vi and the nda is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

7 The upper parts of these three letters are broken away and lost; but enough remains to show distinctly what they were.
5 nám . samāhlādana- karas-samutkhāt-āśesa-ripur-āśatam-apāṛṭitha-phala-pradō,
din-ānt̄ha-ātura-dayāluh- paramamāhēsvarō-tī- vra( brah)hmānaḥ- parārththy(rtth).
   alka-rath mahāsāmantānt.
6 mahārājā-śri-Samudrasēnō janan-śri-Mihiralaṃkṣhmyā dharmam-ārththān bhagavatas-Tripurāntakasaya lōk-āloka-karasaṃ- praṇaṭ-ānikapīnas-sarvva-
dukha-ksya-karaḥ Kapālē.
7 śvare janan-pratishṭhātsyāya śrī-Mihirēsvarasaya Kapālēsvrē- vva(ba)lī-charur- sa(t) ṛa-srag-dhōpa-dlipa(-pa)-dānāya satataṃ sīrṇa-khanḍa-sphuṣṭa-
sadhanaya cha Ni-
8 rmānd-āgrāhār-Āgrāhvānāvra(bra)hmāna-stōṃsaya Sūlijasāṃaya-navavaiḍal-
karmaṃ-ānta-Vakkhalika-kutumvi(mbi)nā dvēsa-bhūmi-paryantā pariḥoṃ-
ānāṃ Phakkaścha Tālāpura-
9 ka-kutumvi(mbi)nā dvēsa-bhūmi s-ōdrāngā sa-śim-ānta-paryantā Sulabhaka-kutumva(mba)-Dinna-kutumva(mba)ś-c̣ha l Kapālēsvrā-dēvasya
pōrvva-pratishṭhāyān mahārāja-Sarvvaṃmēna bhūmi dattā l Sūlijasaṃsaya śrī-Mihī-
10 ralakṣmyā dattasya sam-āudaka-jaṅgalā-bhūmi-sametam-āśēsam sa-pratilāvi-
ja-sametām s-ōdrāngā[ṛ] svā-sīmā-trīṣa-kāṣṭhā-prasravā-yaūt(i)-
paryantāṃ devāgrāhārāntvā-ācha-
11 nṛ-ārka-tārā-samakāllījan pratipādayati smā [Iī]* Viditvā-aitad-rājabhis-
tad-āśī(śī)tajanēn-adhikrit-anadhikritēna hitam-ichchhētā pratipālanāyā [Iī]* yō-nyathā kuryāt-paripanānam-apaha-
12 rāpa-pḷ-opadram vā sa paṁchabhir:mmahāpātakair-upapātakāś-cha saṁyuktaś-syāt II Uktaś-c̣ha l [Iī]* Va(ba)hubbhir-śvasudhā bhuktā
rājabhis-Sagar-ādibhiḥ[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tada
13 plaham [Iī]* Shashtiṁ varsha-sahasraṇi svargge mōdati bhūmi-dah
āchchhētāt ch-anumantā cha tānty-ēva narakē vasēt [Iī]* Sva-
dattāṃ para-dattām vā yo harēta vasundharāṃ shashti-varsha-
14 sahasraṇi viṣhāyāṃ jayatē kriṣm-īti II Dūtō-tra Nihilapi-
Kuṣalapraśāsē-cha l lēkhako-тра Udyōta-arkkaś-cha gana-
srustha [Iī]* Saṅvat 6 Kēh[*] śu di i 10 I [Iī]*
15 Rāṣṭra-samētasya-ā(ē)yam datt[i][h]* paripālāy II Ai(īi)ngi(īi)k-āttra
udāy(ī)na(ī)-ṣhtavār-vāditra-ka(ī)viśva-sa(ī)hadra upalava
16 kagalalānchā(ī)ika dva(ī)ya(ī) Mih(i)i-ralakshmi(kshmi)- pratipād[i][i]ta iti [Iī]*

TRANSLATION.

Born in the lineage of the famous kings .................. there was the Mahā-
sāmantā and Mahārājā, the illustrious Varūnasēna, whose fame stretched out over the

1Read karsaya. 6 Read sarvavarmmaṇā.
2 Mṛte, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses. * Read udyōdrīkāi.
3 This seems to be intended for gana-śri-lēkhāh. 7 This is what is engraved. But of course it is a mistake for vaś, i. e. vaśākṣha; and it is easy to see how the engraver made the mistake in copying from the draft before him.
8 The mark that follows this ū is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.
9 The mark before this ā is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

20
four oceans; the waterlilies of whose feet were covered with the rays of the jewels in the bowed-down tiaras on the heads of many feudal chiefs; (and) who celebrated sacrifices.

(Line 2.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was very equal to (this) father in virtuous qualities, (was) the Mahādāmanta and Mahādīra, the illustrious Samājāsāna, begotten on the Paramadevī, the Bhāttārīkṛ Prabhākita.¹

(Line 3.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who attained victory in a hundred battles, (and) who was full of liberality, (was) the Mahādāmanta and Mahādīra, the illustrious Raviśēna, begotten on the Paramadevī Sikharasvāmind.²

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahādāmanta and Mahādīra, the illustrious Samudrāsena, who was begotten on the Paramadevī, the Bhāttārīkṛ, the illustrious Mihrilakṣaṁ, who, like the spotless full-moon of autumn, causes the delight of (all) living creatures; who has uprooted all enemies; who confers upon the expectant rewards that are not (even) sought for (by them); who is tender to the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted; who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; who is extremely friendly to Brahmans; (and) who is entirely intent upon the supreme good,—for the sake of the religious purposes of (his) mother, the illustrious Mihrilakṣaṁ, has allotted, as an agrāhāra of the god, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun and the stars, to the body of Brahmans who study the Atharva Veda at the agrāhāra of Nīrmanda, for the purpose of giving, at (the temple of the god) Kapālēśvara, the bati, charu, satra, garlands, incense, and lights, of the holy (god) Mihrīsvara, who is the divine Tripurāntaka, the maker of the visible and invisible world, compassionate to those who worship (him), the destroyer of all sorrows, (and) who was established by (his) mother at (the temple of the god) Kapālēśvara; and for the purpose of always repairing whatever may become worn-out and broken and torn,—the whole of the village of Śālisagrāma, that was granted by the illustrious Mihrilakṣaṁ, together with the level and inlaid and forest lands; together with the inhabitants; with the udraṇga; (and) including all its boundaries, grass, timber, and springs,—(viz.) (the land) including the deva-land (that had been given) by the cultivator Vakkhali, (whose holding was) on the edge of the newly-constructed vaidīla of the village of Śālisagrāma; and the deva-land, with the udraṇga (and) including the edges of (its) boundaries, (that had been given) by a cultivator of the town of Tālāpura, who under a nick-name (was called) Phakka; and the holding of Sulabhaka and the holding of Dippa; (and) the land that had been given by the Mahādīra Śarvasvarman at the former installation of the god Kapālēśvara.

(Line 11.)—(This grant) should be preserved by (future) kings, becoming aware of it; (and) by the people, whether holding office or not holding office, dependent on them, who

†Paramadevī, lit., 'supreme goddess,' was a technical title of the wives of Mahādīras. The more usual title, however, was Mahādāvī (see page 16 above, note 3).

²devā.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of this word, which is probably a local term. Dr. R. Muita translated it by 'grazing-ground,' but quoted no authority for this. The purport of the passage from Śālisagrāma-nava, line 8, down to bhūmi dattū, line 9, is not quite clear. But it seems to specify certain previous grants which make up the śālaka or 'entirety' of Śālisagrāma, as now bestowed by Samudrāsena.

³vaidīla.—This is another word of which I have not been able to obtain any explanation.

⁴Or perhaps Tālāpura, with the short vowel a in the first syllable.

⁵lit. 'the cripple.'
are desirous of welfare! Whosoever (acting) otherwise, may cause obstruction or the annoyance of the pain caused by confiscation,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins!

(L. 12.)—And it has been said:—‘‘The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years.

(L. 14.)—And the Dāta in this matter (is) the Nihilapati Kuśalaprakāśa; and the writer in this matter (is) Udyottarka, the leader of the assemblage (?). The year 6; (the month) Vaiśākha; the bright fortnight; the day 10 (and) 1.

(L. 15.)—This grant; which is one of the whole assembly of (the people of) the country, should be preserved!

No. 81; PLATE XLV.

RAJIM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA TIVARADEV.

This inscription was discovered about 1785 by a Marāṇṭhā chief named Hanmantrao Maharik, and was first brought to notice in 1825, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. p. 499 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. R. Jenkins, a lithograph of it was published (id. Plate xiv.), accompanied by a version of the text by a Jain scholar named Srivarmasuri, and a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson.—Subsequently General Cunningham obtained the original plates again, and, in 1884, published a fresh lithograph in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 17, and Plates vi. vii. and viii.

Rajim is a town on the right bank of the Mahātānd river, about twenty-four miles to the south-east of Rāypur, the chief town of the Rāypur District in the Central

1 Dāta; see page 100 above, note 3.—An Ujjain grant of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1192 (Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. II. p. 273; and Indian Inscriptions, No. 51, line 13) gives an instance of more than one original Dāta or Dātaka being employed for one and the same grant,—viz. “the Purōhitaka, the Thakkura, the illustrious Vamanasvāmin; the Thakkura, the illustrious Purushottama; the Mahāpradāna, the Rājapatra, the illustrious Devadāra; and others,”—without any such circumstances as those indicated in No. 30 above, page 134, which necessitated a dispatch of a second Dātaka to authorise the insertion of additional privileges in the charter.

2 Nihilapatī.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the first component of this official title.

3 gaua-drākṣā (2).—If this is the proper intended reading, the word must have some technical meaning; but its exact purport is not apparent.

4 The passage commencing with ṣi(b)gī(f)k = dtra, in line 15, is too corrupt to be capable of translation. But it appears to record two other grants made by Mihirakalakshmi; and it mentions a park, some immovable property, and some musical instruments.

5 The ‘Rajam and Rajim’ of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 20° 58' N.; Long. 81° 55' E.

6 The ‘Rasepoo, Raipur, and Ryepoor’ of maps &c.; see page 106 above, and note 1.
Provinces. The plates containing the inscription were discovered in digging for stones to build a house in this town, and are now in the possession of the priests of the temple of the god Rājvalōchana. I obtained them, for examination, through the District Authorities.

The plates, of which the first and last are engraved on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are rust-eaten in a few places; but the inscription is for the most part in a state of perfect preservation. They are of fair thickness; but the letters shew through on the reverse sides of the first and last plates, so clearly that most of them can be read there. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right side of each plate, about the centre, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring, which had not been cut when the grant came under my notice, is circular, about $\frac{1}{16}$ thick and $\frac{1}{16}$ in diameter. The ends of it are secured, in the usual way, in the lower part of a seal. The top of the seal is circular, about $3\frac{1}{3}$ in diameter. It has, in relief on a rather deep countersunk surface, across the centre, a legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; in the upper part, a figure of Garuḍa, facing full-front, depicted with the head of a man and the body of a bird, with his wings expanded, with, apparently, human arms hanging down between the wings and the feet, and with a serpent, with expanded hood, standing up in front of and over each shoulder; on the proper right of this, a chakra or discus, the emblem of Vishnu; and on the proper left, a śankha or conch-shell; in the lower part, a floral device.—The weight of the three plates is about 2 lbs. 15 oz., and of the ring and seal, about 2 lbs. 61 oz.; total, 5 lbs. 54 oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include the separate form of the lingual $d$, as distinct from the dental $d$, e.g. in vīdavānala, line 6, and gūḍh, for gūḍhā, line 10. They give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety, peculiar to Central India, on which I have commented at page 18 f. above. They include, in line 36, a form of the numerical symbol for 7, and also of the decimal figure for 8.—The language is Sanskrit, except for the three vernacular terminations in the record of the date in the last line. The legend on the seal is in verse. The inscription itself, except for one verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 25 to 35, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal instead of the anusvāra, before $s$, in nistṛti, line 4; vānā, line 16;

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1 This sign is, perhaps, rather an intermediate form between the numerical symbol and the decimal figure, as it differs a little from the symbol for 7 which we have in the Bōdha-Gaṇḍ inscription of Mahānāman, No. 71 (see page 374 above, note 2); but it approximates much more closely to the symbol, than to the figure.—Gen. Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 17) interpreted it as 6; probably on account of its resemblance to the modern Bengali form of 6. This will not stand; because of the southern type of the characters of this inscription.—There might possibly be a doubt, whether it represents 7 or 9. But I think, on the whole, that it is intended for a 7.

2 Here we have a fully developed decimal figure, and of the southern type, as shown by the slight bend to the left in the vertical stroke; it is also explained by the ordinal adjective asātmā, the eighth.—This mixture of a numerical symbol and a decimal figure, is rather unusual. But a still more marked example occurs in the date of the Sbrigādh Buddhist inscription of the Śāmanta Devadatta of Vikrama-Saṃvat 579, where the 800 is expressed by the decimal figure 8 in combination with a form of the numerical symbol for 100 (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 351 f.)
and mritansa, line 27; (2) the use of v for b, in vahala, line 5; and (3) the use of b for v, in byavastha, line 8; bapushi, line 9-10; abhibriddhyad, line 22; pratibastavyam, line 25-26; bydya, line 30; and bd, line 34.

The inscription is one of the Raja Tivaradeva, of the Paudvarma or lineage of Pandra. In line 18, he has also the name of Mahasiva-Tivararaja; and, according to the legend on the seal, he was the lord of the Kosa country. The charter recorded in it is issued from the town of Sripura, which is evidently the modern Sirpur, about forty miles east by north from Raypur. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by Tivaradeva, to a Brhatman, on the twelfth lunar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Jyeshta (May-June), of the village of Pimparpadra in the Penthama bhakti. The last two lines record, partly with a numerical symbol, and partly with a decimal figure coupled with the ordinal adjective, a second and fuller date; viz. the seventh year of the reign, and the eighth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Kartika (October-November). This is evidently the date of the writing or assignment of the charter. And the 'reign' referred to, is probably the government of Tivaradeva.

Tivaradeva's paramount sovereign is referred to in line 11. But his name, or lineage, is not mentioned. Nor does the inscription contain any distinct information as to the period to which it is to be referred. This latter point, however, appears capable of determination from other sources. Tivaradeva was the adopted son of Nandadeva, who was the son of Indrabala. Nandadeva and his father Indrabala are mentioned again in an inscription at Sripur itself, discovered by Mr. Beglar, and brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the Archael. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 25 f. and Plate xviii A.; and from this we learn that Indrabala's father was Udayana, of the Savara lineage. The Sripur inscription contains no date; but, on paleographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the eighth or ninth century A.D. And it seems extremely probable that this Savara king or chieftain, Udayana, is the one who was conquered, captured, and released again, by the Later Pallava king Pallavamalla-Nandivarman.4 Mr. Foulkes' has allotted Nandivarman to the century from A.D. 800 to 900; his exact date still remaining to be fixed, in accordance, to a certain extent, with the date of the Chola king Koppara-Kesaviravarman, whose name appears in a Tamil addition to Nandivarman's grant. These points remain for further investigation. But they indicate the period to about which the present inscription of Tivaradeva may be referred. And, though the archaic forms of the characters might lead us, at first sight, to allot it to an earlier period, such a conclusion is negatived by the vernacular terminations occurring in the last line, and by the use of a decimal figure in the record of the date. General Cunningham, indeed, has arrived at the specific date of A.D. 425 for Tivaradeva. But this is based upon his identification of Nandadeva's great-grandson Shivagupta with a certain Shivagupta of the Somavarna, a king of Katak, who, according to the Orissa

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1 *bhakti*, lit. 'enjoyment,' is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which remains to be determined.
2 See page 292 above, notes 1 and 2.
3 *lauya-pradha*, line 16; lit. 'acquired as a son.'—Nandadeva's son by birth was Chandragupta, as recorded in line 5 of the Sripur inscription referred to in this paragraph.
palm-leaf records, was reigning in the time of Yayāti or Yayātikēsarī; and upon his acceptance of Stirling’s date of A.D. 474 to 526 (or 473 to 520) for Yayātikēsarī, as correct. I shall discuss the matter at length hereafter. It is sufficient to say, here, that the date of Yayātikēsarī, derived from the Orissa records, is altogether unreliable, and is, too early by at least about four centuries; and that, if the identification of the two Śivaguptas is correct, it leaves no doubt whatever that Tivaradēva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800.

TEXT:

The Seal.

a Śīmat-Tivaradēvasya Kōsal-
ādhipātēr-idān

b śāsanaṁ dharmma-vṛddhy-artha[m]
sthiram-ā-chandra-tārakaṁ [11*]

First Plate.

1 'Ōm [11*] Jayati¹ jagat-[1*]raya-tilaka[h*] kshitiḥḥrit-kula-bhavana-

mahagala-sūtra[h*] śṛi(śri)mat-Ti(t)iivaradēvō dхаurēya[h*] sa-

2 kala-punyakṛitān [11*] Sta(sva)sti Śṛi(śri)purāt-sadahigatapafiḥch-

mahāśabda-ānēka-nata-nripati-kiri(ṛ)ta-

3 kōti-ghṛpta(shta)-charana-nakha-daran-ōdbhāsitōṣ-pi kaṇṭhad-unmukha-prakāta-

ripu-rāja-lakṣmi(kshmi)-

4 kēšapaś-ākarshaṇa-durlalita-pāṇipalla[vō*] niṣita-nistri(stri)ḥa-ghana-ghāta-pātīt-

āri-dvīrada-ku-

5 mbha-maṇḍala-galad-va(ba)hala - śōpita - sad - āsikta - muktāphala - prakara - maṇḍita-

raṇāṅgana-

6 dvi(vi)vīdha-ratna-sambhāra-lābha-lōbha-vijjīmabhramāp-āri - kahhāraiyā - vāḍavānalaś-

chandr-ōdaya iv-ākrīta-

7 kar-ōdvēgaḥ kahi(kshi)ḥroḍa iv-Adv(vi)ṛbhūt-ānēk-ātiśāyī-ratna-sampat

Garutmāna-iva bhūjaŋ-ōddhāra-chaturā[h*]

8 parāmpīśṭa-ga(ṣa)tru-kalatra-nētṛ - āmīja - kōmala - kapāla - kuṅkumapatra - bhaṅgat

śiśṭ-āchāra-bya(yya)vasthā-

9 paripālan-aika-datta-chittā[h*] [11*] api cha praktanē tapasi yaśasi

rahasi chētasi chakshushi ba(va)p[u]-

Second Plate; First Side.

10 shi cha pūjitō janēn-ākliṣṭatayā nītāntam-a-vitriptō gōdō(dhō) gāḍa(ḍha)-

svacchchha-prasanna-ya(va)da-

1 From the original plates. ² Metre, Śloka (Anuhṭapabb). ³ The vowel is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to say whether i was engraved, or f. In lines 1 and 18, the short vowel is used in this name; and, in fact, i is used for f throughout the greater part of the inscription; but the metre of line 1 shews that, in this name, the long vowel f is the correct one.

⁴ Metre, Ārā; but one short syllable is wanting in the second pāda.

⁵ The vowel a is partly destroyed by the ring-hole of the plate.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 81, PLATE XLV.

12. gi(g)ī, rūpajana-pracchaṇḍo-pi sō(sau)mya-darśanō bhūti-vibhūshanō-pyṛa- 
13. paruṣaḥ svabhāvataḥ[ḥ]ki.  
14. cḥ-ā-santuṣṭhō dharm-ārjanena sampal-lābhē svalpa-krōdhēṇa prabhāvē 
15. lubdhō yaśasi na pa- 
16. ra-viś-apahāre sa(sa)k[ṛ]śaḥ subhās(śi)ṭesha āh ka kāmīni(nl)-krii(kṛ)daśu 
17. pratāp-anāla-dagdha-āṣeṣa 
19. prakṛtiyā 
20. śrīi[ṛ]mad-Indrabala-sūndor-ālaṅkṛitaḥ Pāṇḍuvaṇṇasya śrīi[ṛ]-Nannadēvasya 
21. tanaya-prāptaḥ sva-punya[yṇa]- 
22. sambhāra-prasa(śa)mit-āṣeṣa-jagad-upadravaḥ sva-prajñā-śō(sū)chi-samuddhrīt- 
23. ākhillta-katprākha para-
24. mavaishnavo mātāpīḍi-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrīi[ṛ]-Mahāśiva-Tira’rjāḥ 
25. kuśall II Peṇṭhāma-bhuktyā. 

Second Plate; Second Side.

19. Pimparipadrakē brāhmaṇāṁ(n), samāpiya prativāsinaḥ samājña- 
20. payati [ṛ] Viditam-astu 
21. bhavatāṁ yath-āsmaḥbhīryaṁ grāmo yāvad-ravi-śaśi-tārā-kirana-pratihata- 
22. ghor-āndhakāraṁ ja- 
23. gad-avatīṣṭhatē tāvad-upabhōgya[ḥ] sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhihirśa-chāta-bhaṭa- 
24. pravēśā[ṛ] dā- 
25. radraṅaṅka-sarva-kar-ādāna-samētō mātāpitrōr-ātmanāṣ-cha pūry-ābhi- 
26. bri(vṛ)ṛddhayē Bhā. 
27. radvājasagotra - VaiṣājanēyaMādhyaninda - bhāṭṭaGauridattaputra - bhāṭṭa- 
28. Bhavadatta-bhāṭṭaHaradattabhyāṁ Jyeṣṭha-dvādaśyām-udaka-pūrvarṇ prati- 
29. pādita i- 
30. ty-agamaya bhavadhīrya-yath-ōcitaṃ-asmaiv bhōga-bhāgam-upanyadbhiḥ 
31. sukham-prati- 
32. vastabya(ya)ṁ-itii Ṛ Bhāvinaś-cha bhūmīpālāṇ-uddīṣy-emad-abhīdhīyatē [ṛ] 
33. Bhūmi-pra- 
34. dā divi lalanta patanti hri(ḥ)aṁta hṛtvā mahiś pripatayō narake 
35. nri-saṁsāh 

Third Plate.

28. ētad-[ṛ]vayaḥ[m] parikalayya chaḷāṇ-cha lakshmi(kshmi)m-āyuś-tathā 
29. kuruta yad-bhavatāṁ-abhi(bhī)ṣṭā[ṛ] [ṛ] 

1 Read śvara. The engraver first cut the rd, of ṛdja, omitting both ra and ra; and then, 
partially cancelling the d, he omitted to insert the va. 
2 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary. 
3 Read s-ōpanidhir. 
4 The engraver first formed va, and then corrected it into ṛa. 
5 The engraver first began to form pitrō, and then corrected it into mātā. 
6 The engraver first formed brīi, and then partially cancelled the superscript i. 
7 Read ḍhyān. 
8 Metre, Vasantatilaka. 
* * Read mahīm.
TRANSLATION

The Seal.

This charter, which is for the sake of the increase of religion, of the illustrious Tivaradeva, the supreme lord of the country of Kosal, shall endure firmly as long as the moon and the stars!

The Plates.

Oh! Victorious is the illustrious Tivaradeva, the ornament of the three worlds; the auspicious thread of the palaces of the race of kings; the most energetic of all those who do works of religion!

(Line 2.)—Hail! From the town of Sripura;—He who verily is made resplendent by the mirror of the nails of (his) feet, that is polished by a crown of diadems of the many kings, bowing down (before him in the act of performing obeisance), who have attained the pañchamahāśabda;—whose fingers are discourteous in pulling the flowing tresses of

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1 Metre, Śūkṣa (Anushṭubh).
2 Metre, Indravajrā.
3 This ścha is imperfect in the lower part. It was repeated, and formed completely; but the greater part of the second ścha was then destroyed by the ring-hole.
4 Metre, Śūkṣa (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.
5 Read yudhisṭhirāṃ.
6 Read mahām.
7 Read dandhcha-ehṛyād.
8 Here, and in divasu and ashtaṃu, we have evidently a vernacular termination.—As regards the interpretation of the year and the day, see page 292 above, notes 1 and 2.
9 pañchamāhāśabda; lit. 'five great sounds'—This is a technical expression, the meaning of which remained for a long time in doubt.—In Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, mahāśabda is given as meaning 'an official title beginning with the word mahā ('great'); and pañchamāhāśabda, in accordance with this, would denote five titles of rank and honour, such as Mahārāja, Mahāmaṇḍapottavara, Mahākramanta, &c. This explanation was adopted by me (Four. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc. Vol. X. p. 307, note), in preference to a suggestion previously made to me (id. Vol. IX. p. 307, note), that the term was identical with the pañchamāhāsmantra of the Jains, and denoted the five titles of Arhat, Siddha, Āchārya, Uddākyaya, and Sarvāddhākhu. And, finding the five titles of Mahākramanta,
the goddess of the fortunes of hostile kings, mourning, and looking up in anxious expectation (of even further ill-treatment), and exposed in public;—who is a very submarine

Mahāprathākṣa, Mahādunadāyaka, Mahādūraidūlīka and Mahāḍāra, twice applied to Dhrusavāna I. of Valabhi, in lines 13 f. and 29 f. of his grant of (Gupta)-Saṅratt 207 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 105), Dr. Bühler (id. p. 106, note) accepted the same explanation. Also, the same rendering has been given by Professor Kilhorn, in his translation of line 3 of the Kāpārī inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavāra I. and his Śīlākāra feudatory Kapardin II., dated Śaṅk-Śaṅratt 715 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 135).—Meanwhile, Mr. Sh. P. Pandit (id. Vol. IV. p. 81, note), while accepting the same explanation, added, though without quoting his authority, that it had been usual to accept the term as referring to the sounds of five musical instruments. Taking up this idea, Sir Walter Elliot (id. Vol. V. p. 251 f.) quoted two passages from Pṛiṣṭhaka, and one from the nineteenth book of Chand's Pṛiṣṭhā-Jā, which speak of the naṅbat or ‘imperial band’ being played at the courts of kings five times daily; and expressed his opinion that this was the custom to which the expression under notice referred. In commenting on this, Mr. Growse (id. Vol. V. p. 354 f.) pointed out that the passage in Chand refers to “a noise of the five kinds of music playing every day,” rather than to “song and music playing five times a day;” quoted a line from the Ćārṇmāyaṇa of Tulsīdās, book i., which speaks of “the noise of the five kinds of music, and auspicious songs;” and also gave, from a commentary on the same sound, a Persian poem which explains the five kinds of music as giving the sounds of the taṅtri or lute, the tūl or bell-metal instrument played with a stick, the jhādhī or cymbals, the nāgara or kettle-drum, and a wind-instrument. And finally, Mr. K. B. Pathak (id. Vol. XII. p. 95 f.) quoting an Old-Kanarese passage from a Jain author, descriptive of a royal procession, which mentions the sounding of the pañchamaḥdiśāda and auspicious drums, stated that the Līṅgāyat Viṃbhakiniṇāmani enumerates the five musical instruments as being the trīṅga or trumpet, the tämṛata or tambour, the laṅkha or conch-shell used as a horn, the bhērī or kettle-drum, and the jayaghaṅgī or gong.—The last two contributions to the discussion leave no doubt whatever that the expression pañchamaḥdiśāda denotes the sounds of five musical instruments, the use of which was allowed, as a special mark of distinction, to persons of high rank and authority.—Some of the inscriptions mention certain special musical instruments, which, if they are to be classed among the customary and technical five instruments, remain to be identified with those enumerated in the Viṃbhakiniṇāmani. Thus, the Balagādive inscription of Śaṅk-Śaṅratt 1103 (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 46, line 4) gives to the Kalachuri king Bījīla the epithet damaruka-tūra-nirghaṅsha, ‘he who has (played before him) the sound of the musical instrument called damaruka’ (a double drum, shaped like a hour-glass). So, also, the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum had the epithet trimuṛ-tūra-nirghaṅsha; e.g. in the case of Lakshmīdēva, in the Saundatti inscription of Śaṅk-Śaṅratt 1151 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 226, and Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 113, line 62). And the Kāḥambas of Goa had the epithet permasc-tūra-nirghaṅsha; e.g. in the case of Śivachīta-Permaḍī, in the Viṃbhakiniṇāmani inscription of Śaṅk-Śaṅratt 1080 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 273, line 7 f.)—Occasionally, instead of pañcha-mahādiśāda, ‘the five great sounds,’ we have aṭṭha-mahādiśāda, ‘all the great sounds;’ e.g. in line 41 of the Barbūra grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftain Karka II. of Gujarāt, dated Śaṅk-Śaṅratt 734 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 160), and in line 24 of the Barbūra grant of the chieftain Dhrusva II. of the same family, dated Śaṅk-Śaṅratt 757 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 169). But, that this had no wider meaning, is shewn by the double expression aṭṭha-pañcha-mahādiśāda, ‘all the five great sounds’ which occurs in line 1 of the Ambarānḍā inscription of the Śīlākāra chieftain Māmbāq, dated Śaṅk-Śaṅratt 782 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329), and in line 2 of the Aṇjaneri transcription of the Yādava chieftain Śvunāvāna, dated Śaṅk-Śaṅratt 1063 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 126).—The epithet samudhīga-ta-panchamaḥdiśāda, ‘one who has attained the panchamaḥdiśāda,’ is of very constant occurrence in inscriptions, in connection with the names of feudatories, and even of Mahākumāras or heirs-apparent. But the only instances that I can quote, in which it is applied to paramount sovereigns, are the cases of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavāra I., in line 6 f. of his Sirī inscription, dated Śaṅk-Śaṅratt 788 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 218); of another Rāṣṭrakūṭa king named Kabba, in line 22 of his Chhārōli grant, dated Śaṅk-Śaṅratt 678 (Jou. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 168); and of Devapāla of Dhrusva, in line 5 f. of the ‘Chārā’ inscription of Viṃbhakiniṇāmani 1275 (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India, p. 111).—The only instance known to me, in which any reference is made to the source of this mark of distinction, viz. to its being bestowed upon a feudatory
fire to the salt water of (his) enemies, gap ing with the greedy desire to acquire a multitud e of various jewels in battle-fields which are decorated with numbers of pearls that are-always besprinkled with the thick blood that trickles down from the foreheads of the elephants of (his) enemies, struck down with the crushing blows of (his) sharp sword;—who has not caused distress by (his) taxes, just as the rising moon does not cause distress by its rays;—who, like the sea of milk, manifests a wealth of many most excellent jewels;—who, like Garumat; is skilful in eradicating the serpents;—who breaks the saffron-leaves on the cheeks, soft with the collyrium (washed down by the tears) from (their) eyes, of the violated wives of (his) enemies;—whose thoughts are solely given to the establishment and protection of virtuous behaviour;

(L. 9.)—Who, moreover, is not too much puffed up with satisfaction, (though he is) unweariedly worshipped by mankind, in (respect of) his religious austerity (and) fame (and) secrecy (and) intellect (and) faculty of sight and (beauty of) form resulting from (good) acts done in a former life;—who is reserved, and is decorated with an impene trable, pure, and complacent countenance;—who, even in the palace of (his) lord, is never at a loss (for words), though he does not talk too much;—who, though he is thirsty for (the, acquisition of) land, is yet exceedingly liberal;—who, though he is fierce to (his) enemies, is yet mild of aspect;—who, though he is adorned with majesty, is yet not harsh;—who, moreover, is by nature never quite satisfied in accumulating religion in the acquisition of wealth, (and) in (displaying only) mild anger in (spite of all his) power;—who is greedy for fame, (but) not for the appropriation of the wealth of others;—who is affable in excellent conversations, (but) not in the dailings of wanton women;—who has burned with the fire of (his) prowess all the heap of cotton that is the race of (his) enemies;—who has irrigated the ends of the quarters of the world with the mass of (his) fame that is as white as the rocky mountain of snow;—(and) who is by nature beautiful;

(L. 16.)—(He), the illustrious Mahâsâvâ-Tîvarârâja,—who is the adopted son of the illustrious Nannadâva, who was the son of the illustrious Indrabala, (and) who adored the lineage of Pându; who has allayed all the troubles of the world with the abundance of his religious merit; who has extracted all thorns with the needle of his wisdom; who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Vishnu; (and) who meditates on the feet of (his) parents,—being in good health, (and) having done worship to the Brâhmans at (the village of) Pimparipadraka belonging to the Penthâma bhakti, issues a command to the residents:

(L. 19.)—"Be it known to you, that this village is given by Us, with libations of water, on the twelfth lunar day of (the month) Jîyêsthâ, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parent3 and of Ourselves, to the Bhâsta Bhavatattva and the Bhâsta Haradatta, sons of the Bhâsta Gauridatta, of the Bhâradvâja gotra and the Vâjasanêya-Madhya mâhâdhâtu (tskhd),—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness

by the reigning paramount sovereign, in the Deogâj inscription of Bhôjâdevâ of Gâklior, dated Vikrama-Saṅvat 919 and Saṅka-Saṅvat 784, in which (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 101, and Pl. xxiii. No. 2, l. 3) the Mahâdâmamantâ Vishnu (7) has the epithet tat-pradatta-pachhamahâdabdâ, "possessed of the pachhamahâdabdâ conferred by him, i.e. by Bhôjâdevâ."

1 This possibly contains an allusion to the well-known Naga family or tribe.

2 tanaya-prâpta; lit. 'acquired as a son'; see page 293 above, note 3.
dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (its) hidden treasures and deposits; not to be entered by the regular or the irregular troops; (and) accompanied by (the right of) receiving the ḍārādrāṇāka¹ and all the taxes.

(L. 24.)—"Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness, rendering to them, in a proper manner, (their) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 36.)—"And for the guidance of future kings, this is said,—"Those kings who bestow land, enjoy pleasure in heaven; (but) alas! those who confiscate land (that has been given), and (thus) work injury to mankind, fall into hell: bearing in mind these alternatives, and also that fortune (and) life are transient, do that which pleases you!" Moreover,—"The reward of protection ensures a fortunate condition, and of omission to protect, a state of misfortune; who, indeed, will (willingly) disregard heaven and obtain hell?"

(L. 30.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa:—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Vishnu; and cows are the daughters of the sun: therefore the three worlds are given by him, who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)!

O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant!

(L. 35.)—The year 7 of the increasing victorious reign; (the month) Kārttikeya; the eighth day, (or in figures) 8.

¹ ḍārādrāṇāka is a fiscal term that requires explanation. The dictionaries give ḍāra, in the sense of 'a cleft, gap, hole; a ploughed field; a wife;' but they do not give drāṇaka, or any root by means of which it can be explained. The term may refer either to some agricultural case, or to a marriage-tax of the kind spoken of in line 6 ff. of the Daṇḍāpur inscription of Jagattuṅga II., dated Śaka-Samvat 840 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 223 f.)
Åkhandalamitra, a grantee ........................................ 190
Åkshapajaladhisrita, an official title .................................. 190 n., 257 and n.
ákha-yā-nifī, `a perpetual endowment' .................................. 262
Alarika, an epic king ........................................ 147, 149
Albärndī, the Arabic historian; his statements regarding the Gupta and other eras, as rendered by M. Reinhardt, 23; — by Prof. Sachau, 24; — and by Prof. Wright, 27; — his statements regarding the Lōkakāla of Kaśmir and other parts of the country .................................. 171
Ahīna or Allō, a village in the Kaira District; the grant of Silādyīta VII of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 447 ................................ 1
Allahābād, mentioned under the ancient name of Frāyga, 266; — the posthumous pillar inscription of Smārudgupta .......................... 2
Allahābād District, inscriptions from the .................................. 2
alaphabet(s) used in this series of records; — of the northern class: 2, 3, 26, 34, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 48, 53, 66, 69, 88, 94, 96, 101, 106, 110, 112, 117, 121, 125, 130, 133, 135, 149, 145, 149, 151, 159, 161, 201, 209, 211, 214, 219, 222, 224, 226, 228, 231, 230, 251, 253, 255, 258, 263, 264, 266, 265, 267, 269, 271, 272, 273, 274, 278, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 287
alphabets of the southern class: 18, 22, 30, 57, 72, 80, 104, 172, 192, 193, 233, 239, 244, 250, 279, 292
of the so-called Kutīla type: 201, 209, 211, 214
of the ‘box-headed’ type ........................................ 19, 192, 196, 233, 235, 244, 292
of the ‘nail-headed’ type ........................................ 19, 22, 106
Ambāla, the technical name for the scheme of the lunar months in Southern India, according to which arrangement the months end with the new-moon day, and the bright fortnights precede the dark, 70; — in astronomical works, it is always this arrangement that is actually taken for calculations, 148 n.; — even in Southern India, this arrangement was not applied to the Śaka years, for the civil reckoning, till between A.D. 954 and 966, 79 n.; — on the other hand, even in Northern India, this arrangement was used in Nālī with the years of the Nēvar era, 75, 76; — but it was abandoned then, when the Nēvar era was followed by the Vikrama era in its northern variety .................................. 76
Ambiya, an official title ........................................ 100 and n., 120, 124, 190
Ambībīḍa, apparently the ancient name of Bhumār .......................... 110, 111
Ambāghavarsha I. (Rājkṛtakā): an examination of the date of his Śirū inscription of the Śaka year 788, which proves that the Ambāla arrangement of the lunar fortnights was applied to the Śaka years, in Southern India, between A.D. 804 and 866 ........................................ 79 n.
Amrāvdīpa, an ancient name of Ceylon .................................. 275, 278, 279
Amrakārdava, or Amrakārdavā, apparently an officer of Chandragupta II ........................................ 32
Amrārāta, or Amrārāta, a proper name ................................ 33
Amśūvarman, Mahāśrīmanta, and afterwards king (Thākurī of Nēpāl), 24, 25, 277, 278, 279, 128, 129, 130, 131; — mentioned with the feudatory title, 277, 278, 279; — with the paramount title, 285; — as king, by Huen Tsang, 96, 134; — and by Ma-twan-lin, 190; — mention of his sister Bhāgādevī, his brother-in-law Sū라sēna or Sūrasēna, his nephew Bhāgavarmān, and his niece Bhāgādevī’s dēvī, 285; — his dates, 189; — the value of his dates, in the Harsha era, in proving the use of the Gupta era in Nēpāl, 96, 184; — notice of his inscription of the (Harsha) year 34, 278; — of another of the same year, 179; — of another, of the year 39, 179; — and of another, of the year 44 or 45 ................ 280
Āmuka, apparently an ancient village or district in Baghēlkhāṇḍ ................................. 125
Ānand, a town in the Kaira District; mentioned under the ancient name of Anandapura ................................ 173, 180, 190
Anandapura, ancient name of the modern Ānand ........................................ 173, 180, 190
Ananta, an abbreviation of the name of AnantavarmaC ........................................ 226, 228
Anantagupta, or Anantaguptā, a proper name ........................................ 265
Anantaśēna, a proper name ................. 51
Anantaśākumī, the god Vishṇu as ‘the eternal lord,’ or as ‘the lord of the serpent Ananta or Śeṣa’ ........................................ 268
AnantavarmaC (see also Ananta), a Mauhkari chief, 223, 225, 226, 228; — his inscriptions in the Barābar and Nāghanjunī Hill caves ........................................ 221, 223, 226
Andhikā, an epic family or tribe .................... 156
Audhra, a tribe or dynasty; mentioned as defeated by a Mauhkari king and taking refuge in the Vindhyā mountains ........................................ 230
Animukta-kālākṣaṇa, apparently an ancient village or district in Baghēlkhāṇḍ ................................. 105
Antaka, the god Yama, as ‘the dealer of death’ ........................................ 14, 21, 26, 44, 51, 54, 257
Antarātrā, an ancient village in Kāthāhād ........................................ 170
antarvēlī, the country between the Gaiges and the Jamnā; mentioned as part of the dominions of Skandagupta ........................................ 69 and n., 71
Anu, an epic king ........................................ 224 and n., 225
Aphad, or Apasand, a village in the Gayā District; the inscription of Ādityasēna ........................................ 200
Aśṭādāna, a particular sacrifice 241 and n., 248
Arā (Shāhābād) District, an inscription from the ........................................ 283
Arāṅga, a village in the Ṛtypur District; the grant of Mahā-Jayārāja

Arḍhandhārīvāra, the god Śiva, combined with his wife Pārvatī; a probable early instance of an image of this form

Arāka, a title in the Jain hierarchy

aṛi-śaḍāṃśa, or aṛi-śaḍaṅka, 'the collective six enemies of religion' 156 and

Arjunādeva (Chaukula); examination of the date of his Verālā inscription of the Valabhi year 942.

Arjūṇakyna, a tribe, conquered by the Śamudrāgupta, 13; the name perhaps denotes early kings of the Kalpāchuri dynasty

Āryabhata, the first, an astronomer; he was born A.D. 476; 143 and n.; he is the author of the Āryabhata or Ārya-Siddhānta, the date of which is A.D. 499-500; 156 n.;—and this is the text-book of the Āryapaksha school of astronomers, 145 n.;—his rule for determining the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter by the mean-sign system

Āryabhata, the second, an astronomer; he is the author of the work which is usually called the Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta, and the date of which is between A.D. 628-29 and 1150-51.

Āryabhātīya, or Ārya-Siddhānta, an astronomical work by the first Āryabhata, written A.D. 499-500; 156 n.;—this is the text-book of the Āryapaksha school of Hindu astronomers

ārya-tamāṅka, 'the community of the faithful'; a Buddhist expression

Ārya-Siddhānta, a name applied sometimes to the Āryabhātīya of the first Āryabhata, and sometimes to the Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta of the second Āryabhata

Āryavarta, a name of Northern India, 13 and n.;—list of the kings conquered therein by Śamudrāgupta

Āṛṣyadā, a hill-fort in the Nimbā District; the seal of Śarvasvarman (Maukharī)

Āṭramaka, an ancient village on the Tamasā

astronomers, Hindu; the starting-point used by them for reckoning places of heavenly bodies, coinciding in their opinion, with the equinoctial point, about A.D. 525-29.

—three schools are the Āryapaksha, Brāhma-paksha, and Saurapaksha, based on respectively the Ārya-Siddhānta of the first Āryabhata, the Brāhma-Sidhānta, and the Śāra-Siddhānta.

astronomical terms, explanation of 143 to 153

śamāṅka, a sacrificial ceremony which centred in a horse, 28 and n., 241, 248;—after being long in abeyance, it was

—revised by Śamudrāgupta, 28 and n., 44, 51, 54, 257; and there is an allusion to this in the epigraph atoṁcāḥdha-pāḍārāma on coins which are attributed to him

Aṛivapata, an official title

Aṭharva-Veda (see Veda); a mention of the study of it

ati-brāhmaṇya; translated by 'extremely friendly to Brāhmaṇa;' but perhaps more properly a sectarian title (compare para-brāhmaṇya, 28 n.)

diśaṭā, a particular sacrifice. 241 and n., 248

ati (see also satri); one of the five great sacrificial rites 176 n., 170, 190

Atmabhū, the god Vishnu, as 'the self-existent one'

Atrī, an ancient astronomer, quoted by Rishiputra, and through him by Upatī, for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter

ātyanabhāga-vadabhaṭa, a Vaiṣṇava sectarian title

ātyanamāḥdēvā, a Śaiva sectarian title

ātyanāmadēvā, a Śaiva sectarian title

āṭyanāmadēvī, a Śaiva sectarian title

aṇikara-crest, a term requiring explanation

Avalumakta, a town or country in Southern India; in the time of Śamudrāgupta, its king was Nṛhari

Avantivarman, a king, probably of the Maukharī tribe or dynasty

avīḍa, a fiscal term, requiring explanation

Tava, 'revenue,' a fiscal term

ayāndhīnas, 'the degrees of precession of the equinoxes'

Ayodbhāya, the modern Audh or 'Oude,' or 'Oudh,' represented, in a spurious grant, to have been a camp of Śamudrāgupta

Āyuktaka, an official title

ba, an abbreviation of baṅkula, 'the dark fortnight;' used in connection with di (see under ba di), 92 n., 93;—used by itself

Bāḍāmi, a town in the Kāldgī District; the value of the cave inscription of Mahāgalla, of Šaka-Sainvat 500 expired, in proving that the historical starting-point of the Šaka era is the commencement of the reign of some particular king or kings of the Šaka tribe

ba di, or va di, and śu di, are simply abbreviations of separate words (see ba, di, śu, and va), and not words in themselves (baḥ, vadi, śudi) meaning 'the
dark fortnight, and 'the bright fortnight'; they denote the fortnight, and the solar or more properly civil day in the fortnight or in the month 85 n., 92 n.

Baghkhand, inscriptions from 93, 100, 106, 110, 112, 121, 125, 129, 132, 135

Balkaitiya, 'a bull' 157 and n.

Balkaitiya, an official title 109 n., 210 and n.

Balkaitiya, a hirada or second name of Dhruvasena II. of Valabhi 41, 182

Balkaitiya, a king of Kāśi, and apparently not the first of that name, 285, 286;—another king of Kāśi, of the same name; his wife was Dīvāvalī 256

Balkaitiya, Balkitayadeva, an early king of Magadha, who is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang in connection with Mihirakula, 215, 216;—there is probably an allusion to him in the Sārṇātha inscription 286

Balavarman, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13

Balavarman parichchheda; an ancient territorial division in Baghekhand 105

Bali, one of the five great sacrificial rites 116 and n., 124, 129, 132, 170, 190, 290.

Bali, a demon, whose power was overthrown by Vishṇu in his incarnation as a dwarf 62

Bandhuvarman, a Māla feudatory of Kumāragupta (Early Gupta), 7, 80, 86;—the Mandasor inscription, which gives for him the date of the Māla year 493, 49;—the value of this record, in proving that the Gupta era runs from an epoch in or very close to A.D. 319-20 65

Bandhuvarmanasavāmin, a grantee 199

Bappa, a Prākrit word meaning 'a father' 180 n., 188, 189

Bāppadeva, a śrāpati of Pravaraśena II. 249

Bāppakara, a grantee 243

Bāppasvāmin, a grantee 105

Barbār Hill, in the Gaya District; mentioned under the ancient name of Pravaragiri, 222, 223;—the cave inscription of Anantavarman 221

Bāsa, a Prākrit word denoting 'a relative of the same generation with a father;' i.e., generally, 'an uncle' 185, 186 n.

Bayley, Sir E. Clive; the views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters, with the result that he selected the epoch of A.D. 190-91 33, 58

Beal, the Rev. S.; certain points in his translation of the Travels of Hiuen Tsiang, which may be made more clear through the Early Gupta chronology 40

Benares mentioned under the ancient name of Kāśi 286

Benares District, an inscription from the 284

Bendall, Mr. C.; the importance of his discovery of the Gālūmghatāl inscription of Sivadēva I. of the (Gupta) era 316, which proves the use of the so-called Gupta era in Nēpāl, and fixes the chronology of the early rulers of that country 96

Bengal Asiatic Society's Library, an inscription from the 90

Bengal Presidency, inscriptions from the 47, 200, 208, 211, 212 n., 213, 221, 223, 226, 254, 274, 278, 280, 281, 283

Bengalkhanda, bhāga, an ancient division in the territory of the Vaktaka Mahārājas 248

Berars, an inscription from the 235

Bhadra, a proper name 259

Bhadrāyā, a proper name 51, 52

bhāga, a territorial term 248

Bhāgabhāga, 'royalties,' a fiscal expression 120 and n., 124, 129, 132, 138, 254 and n.

Bhagadatta, the name of a king, or of a family of kings; a Nēpāl inscription allots Harsha of Gauḍa, Kaliṅga, Kāśala, Ovena, &c., to the Bhagadatta lineage, 187;—intermarriage of this family with the Īthākura rulers of Nēpāl 187

Biharpur District, an inscription from the bhagavatadhaktra, a Vaishnava sectarian title 271

Bhagavaddhāsa, a proper name 156

Bhagavat, in the sense of 'divine,' denotes the god Vishṇu, if not connected with any other specific name, 28 n.;—thus used (see also some of the sectarian titles quoted under Vaishnava inscriptions), 40, 41, 125, 124, 129, 125, 270;—applied to Buddha, 28 n., 47, 262;—to Kārttikeya, 28 n., 44;—to Jīnēdra, 28 n.;—to Śiva, 28 n., 26, 205;—to the Sun, 28 n., 71, 218;—to Vishṇu, 28 n., 56, 78, 90, 115, 142, 161;—applied to priests, in the sense of 'venerable,' 28 n.;—and to Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas 28 n., 98, 105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 171

Bhagavata, a Vaishnava sect 28 n., 123

bhagavatī, feminine of bhagavat; applied to the goddess Pīthapūrī or Pīthāpurīka 116, 123, 138

Bhagfrath, an epic hero 77

Bhāgratra, the river Gaṅga, as 'belonging to Bhāgratra,' with reference to the legend of his bringing down the river from heaven to earth 241, 248

Bhagrasa, or Bhāgra; the Dīkaka of the grants of Hastin of the (Gupta) years 156 and 163 100 and n., 105

Bhagwanal Indrajit, Dr.; remarks on, and recification of, the historical results deduced by him from the Nēpāl inscriptions 95, 96 and n., 177 to 192

Bhāgyadevī, daughter of Bhāghadeva and Śrāsaṇa or Śrāsaṇa 120

Bhairava, see Śvāmi-Mahabhairava 241, 248
Bhāndak, a village in the Central Provinces; it is not to be identified with Vaiśākha as the supposed name of a place. 234

Bhandarkar, Dr. R. G.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters. 48, 63

Bhānu-gupta, a king, perhaps of the Early Gupta stock, 7, 17, 93, 95, 152; — the Eran pillar inscription, which gives for him the date of the (Gupta) year 191, 91; — a note on the details of the date. 77 n.

Bhānu-guptā, wife of Ravi-kīrtti. 152, 156

Bhāradvāja-gōtra included the Parvīr-gōtra Mahārājās 115

Bhārāsīva, a tribe or dynasty, connected by marriage with the Vaiśākha Mahārājās. 241, 248

Bhārata, an epic hero. 77, 147

Bhāratpur State, inscriptions from the 251, 252

Bhārtipārman, a grantee. 243

Bhārulkachchha, an intermediate ancient name of the modern Broach. 95 n.

Bhāskarāchārya, an astronomer; the author of the Siddhānta-Sirīmānta, the date of which is A.D. 1150-51, 256 n.; — his rendering of the rule of the Brahmapādānta, for one of the unequal-space systems of the nakṣatras 166

Bhāskaradatta, a grantee. 97

bhāja, 'regular troops,' in composition with chāja and chhāja, 98 and n., 105, 109, 120, 123, 138, 139, 155, 199, 242, 249, 299; — used alone. 98 n., 241, 248

Bhājārka, Sēndpatt (Valabhi), 41, 167, 180; — he overthrew a tribe or dynasty named Maitraka 13, 167, 180

Bhāta, a title of respect attached to the names of learned Brāhmaṇas. 52, 190, 298

Bhātāraka, a regal title, properly applied to feudatory Mahārājās, 177, 178, 180, 181, 17 n.; — but sometimes applied to paramount sovereigns, 180, 17 n.; — applied to a Yuvārājā, 181; — used without anything to shew the status of the person whom it qualifies, 182; — in the sense of 'worthy of worship, sacred,' applied to gods, 17 n.; — thus, to the Sun, 120, 218; — in the sense of 'reverend,' applied to priests. 17 n.

Bhāṭṭārakā, a feminine of Bhāṭṭāraka, a title of the wives of Mahārājās and Mahāsīmatas. 17 n., 221, 290

Bhāṭṭīṣāma, a proper name. 67

Bhau Dāji, Dr.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters. 47, 44

Bhava, a Buddhist teacher. 277

Bhavadatta, a grantee. 298

Bhavanaga, Mahārājā, of the Bhārasīva tribe or dynasty; his daughter was the wife of Gautamiputra. 241, 248

Bhavanī, the goddess Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva, in her pacific and amiable form. 228

bhav-śrī, 'the creator of existence,' an epithet of the god Śiva. 155 and n.

Bhavasūmān, a grantee. 97

Bhēṣa, a town in Scinda's Dominions; inscriptions in its neighbourhood. 21, 34

Bhīkṣu, 'a Buddhist mendicant,' 33, 34, 47, 263, 281; — mention of Śākyamuni Bhūkṣu. 272, 279, 280, 282

Bhīkṣuṇī, feminine of Bhīkṣu; mention of a Śākyamuni Bhīkṣuṇī. 274

Bhīmādeva, a Hinda king of Kāhul; remarks on some of his coins, which have been supposed to bear dates in the Gupta era. 57 to 60

Bhīmavarman, Mahārājā, 266; — his Kōśa image inscription of the (Gupta) year 139. 266

Bhitā, a village in the Ghātpur District; the pillar inscription of Skandagupta 52

bhūga, a territorial term. 112 and n. bhūgabhūga, 'share of the enjoyment,' a fiscal term. 189, 195, 200, 299

Bhūgadēvī, sister of Ānusuvāman, and wife of Sūrāsenā or Sūrāsenā. 180

Bhūgavarman (Maukhari), son-in-law of Adityaśrīna of Magadha. 177 n., 187, 15 n.

Bhūgavarman, son of Bhūgadēvī and Sūrāsenā or Sūrāsenā, and nephew of Ānusuvāman. 177 n., 180

Bhūgavarman, Sydmin, the Dītaka of the inscription of Sīvadeva I. of the (Gupta) year 316; perhaps to be identified with the nephew of Ānusuvāman. 177 and n.

Bhūgika, an official title 100 and n., 109, 120, 124, 129, 134

bhūgā-tīthi, 'the portion of a tīthi that is still to run.' 152

Bhūjadēva of Kanauj; examination of the date of his Dēgad inscription of Vikrama-Saṅvat 919 and Saṅka-Saṅvat 784, which proves that one or other, or both, of the unequal systems of the nakṣatras continued in use up to A.D. 862. 107

Bhūja, the title of a class of priests. 218 and n.

Bhūjadevārāma, a grantee. 243

Bhūjakāta, a kingdom subject to the Vaiṣākha Mahārājās. 241

Bhūkpi State, inscriptions from the 29, 260, 279; — remarks on the spelling and derivation of the name of Bhūkpi. 29 n.

Bhrukuṭhasīhi, a proper name. 71

Bhūjangadāka, a proper name. 116

bhūtā-tīthi, 'the elapsing portion of a tīthi.' 152

bhūkti, a territorial term. 100 n., 218 and n., 293 and n., 298

Bhumak a village in the Nagāuṭh State; the pillar inscription of Hastin and Sarvanatā 110
Bhumbusapadraka, the name of some land in the village of Vajragrāma.  

bhāmā, a particular land-measure. 241 n. and n.  

bhāmicchhādra, a fiscal term. 138 and 170, 190.  

bhūta, a fiscal term, requiring explanation. 170 and 189.  

bhūtapati, the god Śivāyas 'the lord of beings'. 225.  

Bhūr, a town in the Pañta District; mentioned under the ancient name of Viśāra, and as the city of Yaśōvarman, 47 n.; — the pillar inscription of Skanda-gupta. 47.  

Bijayādā, a hill-fort in Rājputānā, near Byāndā; the fragmentary inscription of the Yaushāhāyas, 251; — the pillar inscription of the Varīkā Vishvavardhana, of the (Mālava) year 248. 252.  

Bilsad, or Bhīsānd, a village in the Pāṭ District; the pillar inscription of Kumāragupta of the (Gupta) year 96. 42.  

bird-standard on the Early Gupta coins; there is evidently an allusion to it in the mention of the Garuda-token, i.e. coins or banners bearing representations of Garuda, that were given by feudatories to Śumārdagupta. 14 and n.  

Blochmann, Mr.; his proposal for amending the translation of Alībūrīn's words regarding the origin of the Gupta era. 28 n.  

Bódh-Gayā, a Buddhist site near Gayā; the inscription of Mahānāman of the (Gupta) year 269 (the date of which, however, should perhaps be referred to the Kalachuri era), 274; — the image inscription of Mahānāman, 278; — the image inscription of Dharmagupta and Dārshisvatāna. 281.  

Bodhimaṇḍa, the miraculous throne under the Boddhitree at Bódh-Gayā, or its site. 275, 278.  

Bodhivarmana, a proper name. 272.  

Bombay Presidency, an inscription from the. 56.  

bopa, a Prakrit word meaning 'a father'. 188 n.  

bōsa, or bōsa, a termination of names. 31 n.  

Bōṣaka, a proper name. 170.  

'box-headed' characters. 18, 192, 196, 233, 238, 244, 293.  

Brahmadevavāmin, a grantee. 169.  

Brahmagupta, an astronomer; he was born A.D. 598. 172; — he is the author of the Brahmu-Siddhānta, the date of which is A.D. 628-29. 150 n., 165 n.; — and this is the text-book of the Brāhmaṇapakha school of astronomers, 145 145 n.; — his rule, as rendered by Bhāskaracārya, for one of the unequal-space systems of the naṣkatras, 166; — his rule for determining the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter by the mean-sign system. 169.  

Brahman, the god, 'the creator' of the Hindu triad (see Śvayambhū, Vēthas, Vidyārī; and, for his wife, see Sarasvati), 155 n., 208; — mentioned as the creator, preserver, and destroyer, subject to the direction of Śiva. 155 and n.  

Brahmanya, an epithet of the god Kṛṣṇa. 45.  

Brahmapatraka, a village in the Beṣāmārār para bāga. 248.  

Brahmaputra, the river; mentioned under the name of Lauhitya, 149, 148; — and of Lōhiya. 206.  

Brahma-Siddhānta, an astronomical work by Brahmagupta; it was written A.D. 628-29. 150 n., 165 n.; — and it is the text-book of the Brāhmaṇapakha school of astronomers. 145 n.  

Brihaspati, the regent of the planet Jupiter, and the preceptor of the gods. 270, 76, 86, 90 n., 157.  

Brihaspati, an astronomer, quoted by Dikabihit, in the Kīršadvali, in support of the heliocentric system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. 170.  

brihaspativasu, a particular sacrifice. 241 and n. 248.  

Bṛihat-Saṁhitā, an astrological work by Varahamihira; its statement for the naming of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter according to his heliocentric rising in particular naṣkatras, 261; — and for the grouping of the naṣkatras for that purpose. 162.  

Broach (Bharuch, or Bharach), the chief town of the Broach District; mentioned under the ancient name of Bharakachchha. 95 n.  

Buddha (see also Buddhāsa, and Sugata), the founder of the Buddhist religion, 262; — mentioned as 'the teacher' or 'the teacher of mankind', 277, 278, 281; — as 'the saint', 'the chief of saints', and 'the great saint', 277, 278; — and as 'the chief kinsman of the Śkyāvas', 277; — inscribed images of Buddha. 45, 278, 280, 281.  

Buddha-gupta, a king of Magadhā, mentioned by Huen Tsiang; he is not to be confused with the Buddha-gupta of the Erap pillar inscription. 48 n. and n. 48 and n.  

Buddhamitra, a proper name. 47.  

Buddhas, mentioned as four in number, 162 and n.; — invoked in the plural 47 and n.  

Buddhist inscriptions (for another instance of Buddhist worship, see parasmāsagatae) 258, 249, 245, 262, 271, 272, 273, 274, 278, 280, 281.  

Buddhists spoken of under the sectarian title of Parasmāsagatae. 238 and n.}
tion of the (Gupta) year 165...88; examination of the date ... 80

Bühler, Dr. G.; quoted as inclined, subject, however, to further consideration, to identify T'iu-lu-k'o-po-tu with Śīkāṭiyā VII. of Valabhi ... 51

Bulandshahar District, an inscription from the ... 68
bull-emblem on seals 164, 210, 231, 282, 283
Bundelkhand; mention of this part of the country under the ancient name of Dabhā or Dahā, 113, 114 116; inscriptions from Bundelkhand ... 233

Calcuta Imperial Museum, inscriptions in the ... 18, 36, 39, 40, 264, 267, 274, 280, 281, 284'
castes; mention of the castes and stages of religious life, 185, 221, 232; castes mentioned in this series of records: Brāhmaṇa; by the name Brāhmaṇa, 38, 39, 71, 75, 104, 105, 109, 110, 120, 123, 128, 132, 138, 170, 218, 241, 242, 249, 252, 257, 265, 290, 298; by the word brahman, in brahma-dāya, brahma-dāya, brahma-dāya, brahma-puja, brahma-hatyā and brahma-arshi, 34, 54, 171, 185, 190, 242; by the words dnyā and dnyāni, 64, 67, 71, 74, 78, 163 and n, 185, 255, 260, 265; and by the word pura, alone and in pura-arshi, 71, 85, 90, 160;
Kahārtiya; by the name Kahārtiya, 71, 129; and by the words kahārtiya
and kahārtiya ... 223, 225, 227, 251
cave-inscriptions ... 21, 34, 221, 223, 226, 258
Central India, inscriptions from 21, 29, 34, 72, 79, 99, 105, 106, 110, 112, 121, 125, 139, 149, 153, 154, 172, 180, 208, 260, 279
Central Provinces, inscriptions from the 18, 88, 91, 117, 158, 191, 196, 219, 243, 291
Ceylon, mentioned under the name of Sinhala, and as conquered by Samudragupta, 14; mentioned under the name of Amravatī, 278, 279; and of Lāhā, 277, 278; its early history and dates require to be rectified in accordance with the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman (or may be adjusted by it, if the date of it should be in the Kalachurī era) ... 26, 275
chakra, ‘a discus’; as an emblem on seals 292
Chakrabhīṭ, the god Vīshṇu, as ‘the wielder of the discus’ ... 65
Chakkadharā, the god Vīshṇu, as ‘the holder of the discus’ ... 78 n., 221
Chakrapāṭīta, the governor of the town of Girinagara in the time of Skandagupta ... 63, 64, 65
Chakrapāṇi, the god Vīshṇu, as ‘holding the discus in his hand’ ... 240, 248

Chakkavārtī, a title of paramount sovereignty ... 41, 134 n., 183 and n.
Chammak, a village in the Ilīchpur District; mentioned under the ancient name of Chāmānka, 230, 241; the grant of Pravaraśhī II. ... 235
Chandra, an emperor of Northern India, 13, 142; he may perhaps be identified with the Early Gupta king Chandra-gupta I., or he may possibly be the younger brother of Mihirakula, mentioned, but not named, by Hiuen Tsang, 12, 149 n.; he may possibly have had also the name of Dīvā; but this is hardly borne out by the construction of the record, 142 n.; his Mēharauḷ posthumous pillar inscription ... 130
Chandrāgupta I. (Early Gupta), 17, 18, 16, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257; he seems to have had the birudā or second names of Vikrama and Vikramāditya, 18; his wife was Kumudavī, of the Lichchhavi tribe or clan, 16, 28, 44, 51, 54; 257; he may perhaps be identified with the Chandra of the Mēharauḷ pillar inscription ... 12, 140 n.
Chandrāgupta II. (Early Gupta), 17, 18, 25, 28, 34, 35, 38, 44, 51, 54; spoken of as ‘the accepted son’ of Samudragupta, 27, 51, 54; this seems to indicate that he was specially selected by his father to succeed him, 13 n.; he had the birudā or second names of Vikrama, Vikramāditya, and Vikramānka, 18; he may possibly have had the title of Dēvari; but it has not been found on his coins, and it is more probably the name of one of his ministers, 33 n.; his wife was Dhravādvī, 44, 51, 55; he visited Udayagiri on a tour of conquest, 36; his Udayagiri inscription of the (trupta) year 82, ... 21; his Mathurā inscription, 25; his Śāñchi inscription of the year 93, ... 29; his undated Udayagiri inscription, 34; his Gadchāwa inscription of the year 88, ... 36
Chandrāpur, an ancient town ... 71
Chandravarmana, a king of Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta ... 13
Chandravarmana, Śūmantaka, mentioned in the inscription of Jishnugupta of the (Harsha) year 48 ... 180
Charāṇa, a sect or school studying any particular śākta of the Vēdas ... 241
Chāmānka, the ancient name of the modern Chammak ... 256, 241
Charu, one of the five great sacrificial rites 116 and n., 124, 139, 132, 170, 190, 290
chāṣa, ‘irregular troops,’ in composition with bhāṣa ... 98 and n., 105, 109, 120, 128, 132, 138, 169, 195, 199, 203
chaturdase-vidyāsthana, ‘the fourteen sections of science’ ... 115 and n.
chaturudāvi-satī-drśādā-yatās, an epithet of Samudragupta, 27, 44, 51,
54, 257;—applied also to Vijayavarja
(Chaluka of Gujarat) 

14 n.
Chaturveda, ‘a Brahman acquainted
with the four Vedas’ 

71, 190, 243
chaura-varjana, a fiscal term which is
explained by chhara-danda-varjana 

109
Chauradharshika, an official title, 218 and n.
Chedi era; see Kalachuri or Chedi era

8, 9, 10
Chhagajaga, Mahattha (Sanakantha) 

25
Chhandapallik, an ancient village in the
Nagadhya santaka 

120
chhatta, an umbrella bearer, in compo-
sition with bhuta, 242, 249;—used
alone 

241, 248
Chhatre, the late Prof. Kero Lakshman;
a method of calculating the week-days,
ending-times, and English dates, of
Hindu tithis, with his Tables, explained by
Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, Appendix II, 

145 to 159;—the results thus obtained,
may sometimes differ from those
obtained from the Sraiva-Sidhanta and
other Hindu works; but the difference
will not amount to more than 5 or 6
phalts 

155
Chhodugomika, a grantee 

132
Chhodugom, a proper name 

116
Chirbira, the Dikaka of the Miliya n
grant of Dharasena II. of the (Gupta-Valabhi)
year 252 

171
Chitrakutasvamin, the god Vishnu, as
‘the lord of Chitrakuta’ 

368 and n.
Chitravaran, a Srujpati of Pravarsena
II. 

243
\(\sqrt{\text{chura-danda-varjana}}\), a fiscal term 

98 and 124
\(\sqrt{\text{chura-danda-varjana}}\), a fiscal term which is
explained by the preceding 

116
\(\sqrt{\text{chura-varjana}}\) (see also chaura-varjana),
a elliptical expression for \(\sqrt{\text{chura-
danda-varjana}}\) 

98 and n.
\(\sqrt{\text{chura-varjana}}, a fiscal expression which
is explained by the same word 

120, 138
coins; remarks on coins of the Early
Guptas, 36 n., 12 ns., 14 ns., 15 n., 25 n.,
27 n., 28 ns., 40 n.;—of Samudragu-
pa, 12 ns., 14 ns., 15 n., 27 n., 28
ns.;—of Skandagupta, 25 n., 40 n.;
—of the Hindu kings of Kàbul, 57 to
60;—of the Kshatriyas or Mahà-
kshatriyas of Saucatsha, 36 n.;—and
of Tàranâ 

11, 12
copper-plate charters are usually denoted by
the terms iṣana, 99 n., 104, 199,
218, 240, 243, 247, 249, 266;—and
iṣām-iṣana, 99 n., 109, 116 128,
135, 136, 195, 199;—an exceptional
instance, in which such a charter is
denoted by the term prastasti, 87 n.;—
an illustration of functions connected
with a copper-plate charter, 99 n.;—the
edges of copper-plates are sometimes
left smooth, 68, 101, 106, 112, 121, 125,
126, 235, 243, 254, 292;—sometimes
fashioned thicker, to serve as rims to
protect the writing, 68 n., 117, 125, 130,
133, 135, 172;—and sometimes beaten
up, to make raised rims for the same
purpose 

68 n., 164
cows spoken of as ‘the daughters of the
sun,’ 105 and n., 200, 299;—cowen-
dacle-sculpture, with a tree, on an
inscription stone 

274 and n.
cremation of widows, an epigraphical
instance of 

92 and n., 93
Cunningham, Gen, Sir A.; the views ex-
bressed by him on the Gupta era and
connected matters, with the result that
he finally selected the epoch of A.D.
166-67 

32, 33, 38, 45, 48, 53, 51, 53, 61
current and expired years (see also ex-
pired years); the proper method of
the interpretation of the years in recorded
dates, irrespective of the question of
the application of the years for calcula-
tion, 22 n.;—current years can com-
E be ordinarily superseded by expired
years, only in the case of eras that are
actually applied by astronomers for
astronomical purposes, 143;—a distinct
instance of the use of a current year,
after the quotation of the preceding
expired year, 239, 33 n.;—instances of
the use of regnal years, which are
naturally to be interpreted as current
years, 24 n., 159, 161, 192, 197, 236, 244,
287, 293;—instances of the use of
years, of eras, which, not being specified
as expired, are naturally to be inter-
preted as current, 80, 85, 91, 93, 95, 104, 110,
114, 117, 22, 30, 37, 41, 43, 43, 57, 59,
66, 70, 119, 93, 95, 102, 107, 113, 118,
121, 126, 135, 135, 165, 173, 209, 253,
261, 263, 266, 268, 273, 274;—in-
tances of the use of years, of eras,
which apparently are to be interpreted
as current, but which have to be ap-
plied as expired for calculation, 80 n.,
85, 107 n.;—instances of the use of both
current and expired years of the Kali-
yuga, Vikrama, and Saíka eras, in Hindu
almanacs 

138 to 141
\(d\), lingual; a special and unique form
of it, from which the modern Dévandgàr
t form is derived 

72 and Plate
Dahhâl, or possibly Dahhâl, the name
of the hereditary kingdom of Hastin, the
modern Bundêlkhând 

113, 114, 116
Dacca (Dékkâ), a Division, District, and
town in the Bengal Presidency; per-
haps mentioned under the ancient
name of Dévâkâ 

9 n., 14
Dâbhâl, author of the Kirana-kvati,
a commentary on the Sraiva-Siddhanta;
his quotation of Brihaspati in support
of the helical-rising system of the
Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 170;—
his comments on a verse of the Sraiva-
Siddhanta in the same connection 

171 n.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INDEX.

dahalī, a possible reading instead of Dahalī, 113, 114, 116. n.
daiṇyana, a dynasty or tribe, conquered by Samudragupta 14

daksha, a proper name 157, 158

dakṣipatika, 'the region of the south,' a technical name for Southern India, 13 and n.; — list of the kings conquered therein by Samudragupta 13

dāman, of Bṛāṇḍapallā, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13

dāmādāra, the god Vaiṣṇava, as 'wearing a cord round the belly' 206

dāmādāragupta (Gupta of Magadha), 206; — he defeated the Maukharis 206

dāmākha, a proper name 282

dānapāśika, or dānapāśika, an official title 170 and n., 218

dānapāśika, an official title 218 and n., dānapānaka, a fiscal term, requiring explanation 299 and n.
dārāmanājula, apparently an ancient district in Bṛāṇḍaṅga 125
dāśāra, the ten offences' 189 and n., 218
dāṣāpura, the ancient name of the modern Dāṣor or Mandasor 79 and n., 84, 86
dāso, the popular and more correct name of Mandasor 79 and n.
dates (see also eras) in this series of records, in the other Gupta-Valabhi records quoted for calculation, and in the Nēpal inscriptions, recorded in — decimal figures 85, 91, 97

decimal figures combined with numerical symbols 292 n., 293

numerical symbols 81, 93, 95, 114, 117, 119, 177 to 184, 22, 39, 47, 41, 46,
89, 94, 107, 110, 118, 155, 173, 192,
197, 209, 236, 255, 261, 263, 266, 273,
274, 287, 293

words 81, 97, 104, 110, 114, 117,
22, 43, 58, 66, 70, 73, 80, 89, 92, 95,
102, 107, 113, 118, 121, 126, 133, 135,
151, 159, 161, 173, 236, 244, 258, 263, 268

datta-devī, wife of Samudragupta, 21 n.,
27, 44, 51, 54; — a reference to her, without mention of her name 21

Dāvāka, a country, perhaps the modern Dacca (Dāka); Samudragupta either included it in his empire, or else extended his conquests up to the confines of it 9 n., 14

days of the week, names of the, as used in the only three instances that occur among the Gupta-Valabhi dates:—

ravi, i.e. raviṇāra (Sunday) 85
Sōma, i.e. Sōnavāra (Monday) 91

sadgurudívāsa (Thursday) 81, 90
days, lunar (see also titri); special expressions, of occasional use, connecting them with the solar or more properly
civil days, are, ayām diwasa-pārvyām, 38, 40, 41, 44 and n., 97 and n., 104,
120, 265; — ayām diwasa-māsā-sam-
vātasa-dūpārvyām, 97 n., 210; —
ayām samvātasa-māsā-diwasa-pārv-
yām, 97 n., 108, 115; — and śāyaṃ
dūpārvyām, 160, 254; — and another method, in the Nēpal inscriptions, is the use of ātīt in composition with the
titri, 85 n., 178, 180 to 184; — lunar
days mentioned in dates of this series, in the other Gupta-Valabhi dates used for calculation, and in the Nēpal inscriptions:—

bright fortnight:—

first 95, 182, 183
second 93, 119, 179, 180, 183, 87, 104
third 104, 183, 97
fifth 101
seventh 184
ninth 184
tenth 178, 180, 182
eleventh 25
twelfth 81, 90, 248
thirteenth 117, 183, 115, 243

dark fortnight:—

third 114, 108
seventh 93
fifteenth 254
fortnight not specified:—
twelfth 298
days, solar, or more properly civil, denoted by ahañ, and by dīna, or diwasa, or their abbreviations di and dīva, and mentioned in dates of this series, in the other Gupta-Valabhi dates used for calculation, and in the Nēpal inscriptions:—

bright fortnight:—

second 91
fifth 97
seventh 210, 278
eleventh 291
thirteenth 77, 87

dark fortnight:—

seventh 93
thirteenth 85
fifteenth 171
fortnight not specified:—

third 114, 109
fourth 34
fifth 259, 262
sixth 64, 139
seventh 267
eighth 299
ninth 200
tenth 40, 129, 160, 257
fourteenth 120
eighteenth 97
nineteenth 119, 112
twentieth 134, 263
twenty-first 268
twenty-second  

twenty-fifth  

twenty-seventh  

decimal figures (see also dates): the ear-

liest epigraphical instances of the use

of them, 209 n.; — instances of the use

of them in the Varāval and Mārīl

records, 85, 91, 97; — instances of the mix-

ture of them with numerical sym-

bols, 292 and n.; — forms of decimal

figures illustrated in this series of

Plates:—

eight  

Delhi District, an inscription from the

Dēh-Parāndak, a village in the Shāhābd

District; mentioned under the ancient

name of Varuṅka, 214, 215, 218; — the

modern name is from Dēva-Varuṅka, 215; — the inscription of Jīvita Gupta II.

Dēābdāzh, a village in Central India; ex-

amination of the date of the inscription of

Bhījadeva of Kanauj, of Vikrama-

Saṅvat 719 and Saka-Saṅvat 794, which

proves that one or other, or both, of the

unequal systems of the nakshatras con-

tinued in use up to A.D. 802.

‘Deoghari,’ a village in the ‘Santli’ Par-

ganah; a late inscription at this place,

mentioning Adityaśena of Magadhā.

Dēvriyā, a village in the Allahābd

District; a Buddhist inscription.

Dērabahāta (of Valabhi)

dēta, a territorial term

Dēva, a proper name

Dēvadāṅgiras, a grantee

Dēvādhya, Mahārāja (Parivāyakā)

and n. 104, 109, 115

Dēvagupta, Dēvaguptadēva (Gupta of

Magadhā), 15, 215 n., 217, 240, 247; —
his wife was Kamaśīvarī 217; — his daugh-

ter Prabhadāvatīputpa was the wife of

Rudrāsaṇa II.  

25, 240, 247

Dēvak, a proper name

Dēvak, the mother of Kriṣṇa

Dēvamitra, a grantee

Dēvanīgha, a grantee

Dēvapattana, an ancient name of the

modern Varāval

Dēvārāja, possibly a ‘title of Chandra-

gupta II.; but it has not been found on

his coins, and it is more probably the

name of one of his ministers.  

33 and n.

Dēvārāhstra, a country in Southern India;
in the time of Samudragupta, its king

was Kubera

Dēvārya, a grantee, 242; — another of

the same name

Dēvāsarmman, a grantee, 243; — another

of the same name

Dēvāsarmārya, a grantee

Dēvāsvāmīn, a grantee, 105; — another

of the same name

Dēvātā, a proper name

Dēvāvishāyu, a proper name

dēh, a title of wives of Mahārāja (used

also as a termination of the names of

wives of both paramount sovereigns and

feudatories; see under names, proper)

Dēyī, the goddess Parvati, the wife of

Siva, as ‘the (principal) goddess,’ 229,

227; — a mention of her defeating the

demon Mahīshāṣūra

Dēyī, daughter of a supposed Mahādaitya,

an imaginary wife of Samudragupta.

dēyā-dharma, ‘an appropriate religious

gift;’ a formula used in certain dona-
tive inscriptions

Dhanada, — the god Kubera, as ‘the giver

of wealth’  

14, 21, 28, 44, 51, 54, 57

Dhanada-Varunāndāk-ākṣata-sāma, an

epithet of Samudragupta, 14, 21 n., 28,

44, 51, 54, 57; — applied also to

Vijayarāja (Chalukya of Gujara).  

n. 14

Dhanānja, of Kusāhalapura, a king in

Southern India, conquered by Samudra-

gupta.

Dhanesha, the god Kubera, as ‘the lord of

wealth’  

169, 181

Dhānyavāhika, an ancient village in

Baghēkhurā.

Dhānyavishāyu, younger brother of the

Mahārāja Mātrīvimśu.  

89, 90, 160, 161

Dīdrā, a city, the modern Dhār in Cen-

tral India; reference to the defeat of a

king of this city by a Maukhari chief.

230

Dharapāta, Mahārāja (of Valabhi)  

47, 146, 168

Dharāsena I., Sēndapāti (of Valabhi)

47, 146, 168

Dharāsena II., Mahārāja (of Valabhi) 47,

169, 171, 181; — his Māliyā grant of the

(Gupta-Valabhi) year 253.  

164

Dharāsena III. (of Valabhi)

47, 146, 182

Dharāsena IV. (of Valabhi), 47, 134 n.,

183; — he was the first paramount

sovereign in the Valabhi family; and

his power was perhaps more extensive

than that of his successors, 134 n.; —

examination of the date in his Kaira

grant of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 330.  

93

dharmachakra, the Buddhist ‘wheel of

religion,’ as an emblem on inscription

stones

263, 269

Dharmadāsa, a proper name

280

Dharmadeva (Lichchhavi of Nēpāl)

182, 186, 189; — his wife was Rājya-

vati

182

Dharmādiyā, a brīdha or second name of

Sīlāditya I. of Valabhi, 47, 181; —

and of Khara-grahā II. of Valabhi

47, 184

Dharmadevā, a minister of Vibhūvar-

dhana of Mālava

177

Dharmagupta, a proper name

282

Dharmārya, a grantee, 243; — another of

the same name

243

243

243

243

243

243

243
Dhāva, possibly another name of the emperor Chandra; but this interpretation is hardly borne out by the construction of the record . . . . 142 n.

Dhavāla, wife of the second Bālāditya mentioned by name in the Sārnāth inscription . . . . 286

Dhavashāndiś, an ancient village in
- Baghēkhand, 123; — another of the same name, or perhaps the same village, in the Vōta satīna . . . . 130, 132

Dhinnik, a village in Kāthiawār; examination of the date in the grant of Jāika-dēva, purporting to be in the Vikrama year 794, with the result that this grant must be held to be spurious . . . . 62 n.

Dhrīṣṭisāmika, the Dīṭaka of the grant of Sārvāḷaṇātha of the (Gupta) year 214 . . . . 139

Dhrūbāṇa, a metrical abbreviation of the name of Dhrūvabhaṭa . . . . 45, 172 n, 189

Dhrūvabhaṭa, a bīruda or second name of Sāṅkṣeṣa VII. of Valabhi, occurring in the abbreviated form of Dhrūbāṇa, 45, 172 n, 189; — it has been supposed to be represented by the Chinese T'iu-lu-kho-tu; but the Chinese name certainly cannot denote the seventh Sāṅkṣeṣa . . . . 40

Dhrūvabhaṭī, Mahādēṇḍakāya . . . . 16

Dhrūvadatta, Bhīkṣaṇa . . . . 120

Dhrūvadaṇḍa, Mahādēṇḍakāya (Lichchhavi of Nēpāl), 120, 121, 120, 191, 192; — he had the epithet of the 'banner or glory of the Lichchhavikāla' . . . . 181

Dhrūvadēvī, wife of Chandragupta II. 44, 51, 55

Dhrūvadēvākhaṇika, an official title 169, 170 n.

Dhrūvaśāman, the person who caused the Bilsad inscribed pillars to be set up 45

Dhruvāṣaṇa I, Mahādēva (of Valabhi), 45, 168

Dhrūvaśaṇa II, Mahādēva (of Valabhi), 45, 182; — he had the bīruda or second name of Bālāditya . . . . 45, 182

Dhrūvaśaṇa III (of Valabhi) . . . . 184

dhaṇja, 'a banner or standard,' as distinguished from lāṭākhaṇa, 'a crest' 151 n.; — used to denote the Mēhārauḷ pillar, 140, 142; — dhaṇja-stambha, 'a flag-staff,' used to denote the Eroded pillar . . . . 89, 90

di, an abbreviation of dīna, dīna, divasa, or divaṭ, 85 n, 92 n; — used in connection with in, 91, 97, 210, 277, 291; — used in connection with ba or va, 85, 93; — used by itself . . . . 114, 117, 34, 41, 109, 116, 120, 257, 262, 263

Dighū-Dulabha, a village in the Sārnāth district; the value of the grant of the Mahādēva Mahāandraḍaḷa, of the (Harsha) year 155, towards proving the epoch of the Harsha era . . . . 178 n.

Dikṣhit, Mr. Shankar Balkrishna; his calculations of dates, 34, 35, 62, 75, 76, 77, 80 to 104, 127, 128, 129, 141; — his exposition of a method of calculating the week-days, ending-times, and English dates, of Hindu tīṭha, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Appendix II, 145 to 159; — his exposition of the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter, Appendix III, 101 to 170

Dīśkhaṇṭa, a Brāhmaṇical title . . . . 110 and n, 124

dīna (see also dī, and divaṭ), 'a day'; 146, 92 n; — used to denote the solar or more properly civil day . . . . 64, 77, 87, 239

dīnāra, a particular gold coin, or weight of gold . . . . 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 262, 265

dīnē, māsvara, a proper name . . . . 273

Dīna, a proper name . . . . 184 n, 290

dīna, an abbreviation of divasa or divaṭ; used to denote the solar or more properly civil day . . . . 267

dīnē, 'by day'; an indeclinable used in some of the Nēpāl inscriptions in compound with words denoting tīṭha or lunar days . . . . 85 n, 178, 180 to 184

Divākara-datta, a grantee . . . . 97

Divākara-dāman, a grantee . . . . 105

dīvasa (see also dī, dīna, and dīna) a day, 146, 92 n; — used for the week-day, instead of the usual term bīruda, 81, 90; — used to denote the solar or more properly civil day, 119, 32 n, 38, 40, 44, 97, 104, 112, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 160, 263, 268, 299; — used in connection with words denoting tīṭha or lunar days . . . . 97, 104, 108, 115

Divīra, an official title . . . . 123 and n.

Dombhigrāma, an ancient village in Kāthiawār . . . . 170

Dōshakumbha, a proper name . . . . 157

Drāṇāka, an official title . . . . 169 and n.

drishtam, 'sight has been attained;' an invocation used at the commencement of inscriptions, 240 and n, 247; — it is the remnant of some such expression as drishtham bhagavata . . . . 25 n, 240 n.

Drāṇāṣiniḥ, Mahādēva (of Valabhi) . . . . 41, 168

Drāṇāṣingha, the engraver of the Rāypur grant of Sūdvāra . . . . 200

Dudika, a proper name . . . . 71

duplicate inscriptions . . . . 42, 142, 149

Dudākhāmra, a grantee . . . . 218

Durgamandala, apparently an ancient district in Baghēkhand . . . . 124

Durabha of Multān, an astronomer quoted by Alādūrī; his method for converting Lōkakhaḷa dates into Saka dates shows that the Lōkakhaḷa reckoning was introduced, at Multān, in A.D. 926 . . . . 26 n.

Dēla, an occasional substitute for Dīṭaka, 100, 201; — used in the sense of an ordinary message-carrier or postman 217 and n.

Dīṭaka (see also dīṭa, Dēla, and smukh-dīṭa), the technical title of an officer, in connection with charters usually recorded on copper-plates but in a few instances on stone, whose duty it was to carry the king's orders to the local officials by whom the charter was
then drawn up and delivered, 100 and
n.—instances of Dilasas for charters
recorded on copper-plates, 100, 105,
109, 120, 124, 130, 134, 139, 171, 190,
291:—and for charters which, following
more or less the same form, are recorded
on stone, 177, 191, 181:—an instance of a
second Dilata for additional orders,
100 n., 134:—an instance of more
Dilatas than one for the original
orders

Dv̄dān-a, a term requiring explana-
tion

Dv̄dān-a, the official under whose orders the
spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta
purports to have been written.

Erāṇḍapalla, a town in Southern India;
in the time of Samudragupta, its king
was Damana.

Erāṇḍapalla, a town in Southern India;
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fortnights, lunar (see Amānta, Pāramānta, days, lunar, and intercalary months); an instance of a lunar fortnight of only thirteen solar or civil days 89 n.

Gaddādhara, the god Vishṇu, as 'the bearer of the club or mace'. 78 n.

Gadhwā, a village in the Allahbād District; the inscription of Chandragupta II. of the (Gupta) year 88, 36; an inscription of Kumāragupta, 39; the inscription of Kumāragupta of the year 98, 40; a fragmentary inscription, perhaps of the time of Kumāragupta, 264; a miscellaneous inscription of the (Gupta) year 148. 267

Galla, Śālādīvīghakha, writer of the grant of Jāyānātha of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 177. 124

Ganapatindaga, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta. 13

Gandha, a grantee. 242

gana-sṛṣṭitha, 'a leader of an assembly'. 291 and n.

Gandharva, a class of celestial beings; the musicians of heaven. 8, 48

Ganḍā Dhavijāna, an astronomical writer; his Graha-Laghava was written A.D., 1520-21. 140 n.

Ganga, a grantee. 123

Gāṅgā, the river Ganges (see also Bhāgirathi, Jānāvī, and Mandakini), 16, 50, 148, 156; mentioned as flowing through the matted hair of the god Siva. 16

Ganḍhārī, a village in the Jāhākālid State; the inscription of Visavavaran of the (Mālava) year 480. 72

Garga, an ancient astronomer, quoted by Utpalā for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 170; and for a variation from the usually accepted grouping of the nakṣātrās, 163 n.; Utpalā's quotation of his rule in the Garga-Sanshīḍ, for one of the unequal-space systems of the nakṣātrās, 164; and of a verse by him, which seems to refer to the mean-sign system of the cycle. 172

Gargar, the ancient name of the river on which the village of Ganḍhārī stands. 72 n., 77

Garga-Sanshīḍ, an astronomical work by Garga; Utpalā's quotation of its rule for one of the unequal-space systems of the nakṣātrās. 164

garta, or gārtā, 'a boundary-tranch', 97 and n., 124, 125; garta as the termination of names of villages, in Kārparagarta, 107; and in Vālugarjā. 109

Garuḍa (see also Garutma), a supernaturally being, half a man, half a bird, the vehicle of Vishṇu, and the enemy of the serpent race, 62 and n.; mentioned as the ensign on the banner of Vishṇu, 90; Garuḍa-tokens, i.e. coins or banners bearing representations of Garuḍa, were given by feudatories to Samudragupta, 14; Garuḍa as an emblem on seals of grants. 255, 292

Garutma, another name of Garuḍa 14 n., 298

Gauḍa, a country, and an inhabitant of it. 208

Gauśīkā, an official title. 52 and n.

Gauptā, 'of or belonging to the Guptas,' an adjective which may possibly be used in the date of the Mārā grant of Jainia; but it does not seem probable 21, 98, 58 n.

Gaurī, a name of the goddess Pārvatī. 286

Gauridatta, a proper name. 298

Gautamputra, or Gautamputra (Vākāta); his wife was the daughter of Bhavanāga. 237 n., 241, 248

Gaya District, inscriptions from the 201, 221, 223, 226, 254, 274, 278, 281

Gaya visheṣa, an ancient territorial division in Bihār. 257

ghatī, ghatī, ghatikā, 'the sixtieth division of a mean solar, or more properly civil, day and night,' equal to twenty-four English minutes. 147

Ghatotkacāra, Mahākāla (Early Gupta), 17, 16, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257; the coins that bear the name of Kāchā cannot belong to him, 27 n.; he is not mentioned in the Tusām inscription. 270

Ghāzpūr District, inscriptions from the 53, 249 gold spoken of as 'the first offspring of fire'. 195 and n., 200, 299

Golmādhiṭhī, a village or hamlet near Kāthāmādī in Nāgpāl; notice of the inscription of Sivādeva I. of the (Gupta) year 316, 377; the value of this record in proving the use of the so-called Gupta era in Nāgpāl, and in fixing the chronology of the early rulers of that country. 96, 177, 184

Gomatiottāka, a camp of Jivātugpta II. 215, 217

Gomikavāṃśi, a grantee. 109

Gopāśārman, a grantee. 243

Gopā, a village in Kāthākālid, perhaps mentioned under the ancient name of Gopā. 98 n., 58 n.

Gopā, the ancient name of the hill on which stands the fortress at Gawlior 162, 163

Gopārdhā, a chieftain, 93; his posthumous pillar inscription of the (Gupta) year 191, 91; a note on the details of the date. 77 n.

Gopāsāvāṃśi, a grantee, 97; another of the same name. 257

Gopāsāvāṃśi, or Dyutā-Gopāsāvāṃśi, the Aṣkhatapātaladhikītraiti under whose orders the spurious Gaya grant of Samudragupta purports to have been written. 257
gopathasara, perhaps meaning 'a cattle-path'. 159 and n.
Gopsta, apparently an ancient name of a village, and perhaps represented by the modern Gop. 58 and n., 58 n.
Gorakhpur District, an inscription from the 65
Gorassamin, a grantee. 105
Gorawan, a proper name. 259
Gorodasinhubal, a proper name. 280
gōṛa, 'a family or clan' (see also Bharadvāja and Vishnuvardhana): names of gōṛas mentioned in this series of records:—

Azērya. 243
Ayanamayava 109
Bharadvāja 105, 115
Bhārandvāja 242, 243, 257, 298
Bhārgava 105
Gautama 271
Gōtam 271
Kāyāpa 120
Kāyapā 243
Kānḍinya 195, 199, 243
Kautsa 36, 97, 105
Maudgalya 248
Pārśārya 242
Sāndilya 243
Sārkarkhī 190
Sāstānēya (?) 123
Sātīlyana 242, 243
Varshagana 71
Vāsula 105
Vata 170, 199
Vatśya 242, 243
Vishnuvardhana 241, 248

Gōvardhana, or more fully Gōvardhana-dhara, the god Krishna, as 'holding up the mountain Gōvardhana'. 91

Gōvinda, the god Vishnu. 65
Gōvinda, the engraver of the Mandśār pillar inscriptions of Yaśōdharmar, and of the Mandśār inscription of Yaśōdharmar and Vishnuvardhana of the Mālava year 580. 148, 150, 158

Gōvinda III. (Rāṣṭrakūta); examination of the date in his grant of the Saka year 726, which proves that, up to A.D. 841, the Paṇḍimadana, arrangement of the lunar fortnights was used with the Saka years, even in Southern India, and also the man-sign system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. 79 n.
Gōvindasavāmin, a grantee. 109
Gōyindē, a proper name. 40
Grahā-Līghara, an astronomical work, written A.D. 1520-21, by Ganesha Dāvajha, from which, with the Tithi-Chintamani, Hindi almanacs are now prepared in the Dokkan and some other parts. 146 and n.
Grāmatika, an official title. 112 and n.
Gupta sovereignty, 31; — a curious instance of confusion, by the Jain writer Śiṅhachārya, between the Gupta and the Saka eras, 32 n.; — the epochs of the Gupta era, based, by previous writers, on Reinaud's translation of Alberdi; see by Mr. Thomas, the Saka epoch, A.D. 77-78; by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, A.D. 166-67; by Sir E. Clive Bayley, A.D. 190-91; and by Mr. Ferguson, A.D. 318-19; 31 to 33; — examination of these theories, 33 to 65; — remarks on the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 529... 65 to 68; — it proves that any statement that the Early Gupta sovereignty was extinguished in or about A.D. 319, is wrong; and that the era used by the Early Gupta kings runs from an epoch in or very close to that year, 68; — the determination of the exact epoch of the era, with the results of A.D. 310-20, equivalent to Saka-Sambat 241 expired, 99; — the scheme of the years of the era, 69, 71; — it included the Pāramindra arrangement of the lunar fortnights, 77, 85; — proof that the Gupta year did not commence with the months Kārttika or Mārgaśiśa, 80, 87, 90, 108, 111, 115, 118; — the treatment of it as a northern Saka year, gives satisfactory results for every recorded date, except two which are capable of explanation, 84, 90, 97, 99, 104 n.; and it is almost certain that it soon became identical in all respects with the Saka era, having Chaitra-sukla 1 as its initial day, 79; — the calculation of recorded dates, the results of which answer to the above conditions, 80, 84, 95, 97, 104, 110, 114, 117, 119; — the Erā pillar inscription of Budhagupta of the (Gupta) year 165, proves that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhi and current Saka years is two hundred and forty-two years; and that, in following Alberdi and adding two hundred and forty-one, what we obtain is the last Saka year expired before the commencement of the current Saka year corresponding to a given current Gupta-Valabhi year, 84; — the Verkwal inscription of Arjunadēva of the Valabhi year 945, proves that the original Pārammināta arrangement was preserved with the Gupta year, in Kāthādāw, up to A.D. 1264-'50; — the two exceptional dates are those in the Verkwal inscription of the Valabhi year 927, and in the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 330, the results for which answer to a year commencing with the month Kārttika preceding the true commencement of the Gupta year, 90, 93; — the explanation of this difference, 72, 73, 92, 93, 95; — proof as to the epoch afforded by the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in records of the Early Gupta period, 101 to 124; — summary of the results, which prove A.D. 319-20 as the epoch of the era and A.D. 330 to 334 as its first current year, 124 to 127; — proof that the years in Gupta-Valabhi dates are to be interpreted as current years, unless the contrary is distinctly specified, 127 to 130; — inquiry as to the origin of the era, 130 to 137; — its epoch, or its commencement, was not determined by the expiration, from the epoch or, the commencement of the Saka era, of an even number of Cycles of Jupiter, either of the Twelve-Year or of the Sixty-Year system, or by any other astronomical considerations, 33, 130; — but its origin must be found in some historical event, which occurred actually in A.D. 320... 130; — it was not established by any member of the Valabhi family, 130; — nor by the Maharāja Gupta, the founder of the Early Gupta family, 130; — it cannot run from the accession of Chandragupta I, the first paramount sovereign in the family, 131, 132; — it was adopted by the Early Guptas from some extraneous source, 132; — the reasons for which they would not adopt any era then in use in India itself, 132 to 134; — the so-called Gupta era was in use, outside India, in Nēpāl, by the Lichchhavi rulers of that country, 95, 96, 134, 184; — further instances of this, 178, 182, 183, 184; — the antiquity and power of the Lichhavis, and the friendly relations, including intermarriage, between them and the Early Guptas, would dispose the latter to adopt any Lichchhavi era, 135; — and in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Lichchhavi era, dating either from the general establishment of monarchy among the Lichchhavis, or from the commencement of the reign of the Lichchhavi king Jaya-dēva I. in Nēpāl... ... 136

Gupta-bhālra, an expression used by Alberdi for the Gupta era; it is a perfectly justifiable term, but there is no authority for the early existence of it, 19, 22, 24, 25, 30

Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhaktan, a technical expression in the grants of the Parivaraka Mahārāja, showing that at certain dates the Gupta sovereignty was still continuing... 42, 43, 50, 101, 104, 110, 114, 117, 95 and n. 96, 104, 108, 115

Gupta-Valabhi era; a convenient name for the Gupta era during the period when, through its use by the Kings of Valabhi, it may have begun to be called the Valabhi era... ... 23
Guptas, the Early, 7 n.;—the actual dates of their records extend from A.D. 401 to 466, 7;—but the records of the Parārājaka Mahārājasa prove that the Gupta dominion continued to A.D. 538, 8;—their final overthrow was accomplished by Mihirakula, 10;—their genealogical tree, 17;—there is nothing to support the supposition that they belonged to the Solar race, 19, 1;—their family mentioned as the Guttavāna, 20, 55, 67;—and as the Guttavānya, 259;—mention of them in the plural, as a family or dynasty, 19, 20, 63, 65, 67;—mention of them as the Gupta kings, 104, 110, 114, 117, 96, 104, 108, 115;—mention of them, in the Jñānagadha rock inscription, in connection with the reckoning of an era, 19, 20, 21, 22, 57 n., 63, 65;—but there is no ancient authority for connecting their name with the Gupta era, as the establishment of it, 19;—reminiscences on some of their coins (for the legends on their silver coins, see Ind. Ant. XIV. 65), 30 n., 12 n., 14 n., 15 n., 25 n., 27 n., 28 n., 46 n.;—allusions to a temporary obscuration of their power between the reigns of Kumragupta and Skandagupta, 55;—a further indication of this is perhaps given by Kumragupta having only the title of Mahārāja in the Maukwar inscription, 46;—mention of them in Yasodharman's pillar inscription . . . . 146, 148

Guptas of Magadha, 7 n., 14, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 212, 213 n., 217;—the family was an offshoot of the Early Gupta stock; and the founder of it, Krishna-gupta, came very shortly after Skandagupta, 14;—intermarriages of this family, with the Maukharis, 14, 187;—with the Kings of Kanaúj, or more properly of Thānēsar, 15, 232;—and with the Vākālaka Mahārājasa . . . . 15, 240, 247

Guptasya kāla, ‘the time or era of Gupta;’ an expression supposed, but quite wrongly, to exist in the Jñānagadha rock inscription of Skandagupta, 19, 44, 57 n.; and in abbreviated forms on certain Kāhul coins . . . . 19, 57 to 60

Gvālior (Gvālēha), the capital of Scindia’s Dominions; the hill on which the fortress stands, mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit name of Gopa, 162 and n., 163;—the modern name of Gvālior is derived directly from Gopa-līkēra, 162 n.;—the inscription of Mihirakula . . . . 161

Haidarkhād in the Dekkan; examination of the date of the grant, of the Saka year 534 expired, of Pulikētan 11,

which proves that up to A.D. 612, the Pānṅimūţa arrangement of the lunar fortnights was used with the Saka years, even in Southern India . . . . 79 n.

Hālārī year; a year with Ashāgha śūkla 1 as its initial day, used in the western part of Kāthikākāl . . . . 79 n.

halārāhāra, a fiscal term requiring explanation . . . . 134 n.

Hall, Dr. E. E.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters . . . . 42

Harṣaṃmitra, a grantee . . . . 218

Hanumat, the chief of the monkeys, mentioned as ‘the son of the Wind,’ and with a reference to his leap through the air from the mountain Kōsāvarādana . . . . 205

Ilāra, the god Śiva, as ‘the seizer or despoiler’ . . . . 87, 206, 208

Haradatta, a grantee . . . . 208

Ilari, the god Vishu . . . . 156

Haribāla, a proper name . . . . 272

Haribhata, a proper name . . . . 78

Harigupta, a proper name . . . . 281

Harṣarāmārya, a grantee . . . . 243

Harishēna, Sāmēthiyogarāhaka, Kumārāmīdaya, and Mahādhundandarākha, the composer of the Aļalāhālā posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta . . . . 16

Harisvāminī, a proper name . . . . 262

Haritāśta, a proper name . . . . 71

Harivarman, Mahārājasa (Maukharī), 221;—his wife was Jayavāsinī . . . . 221

Harivishnu, a proper name . . . . 90, 160

Harṣa, also called Vikramāditya, a king of Ujjain, mentioned in the Rājataramāvī, allotted by Mr. Ferguson to the sixth century A.D., and held by him to be the real person in commemoration of whom the Vikrama era was invented and named . . . . 47, 55, 56

Harsha of Gauḍa, Kalīga. Kōsala, Oḍra, &c.; in a Nēpāl inscription, he is mentioned as belonging to the Bhagadatta family, 187;—his daughter, Rājyamati, was the wife of Jayadeva II. of Nēpāl . . . . 187

Harsha, or Harṣhavardhana, of Kanaúj, or more properly of Thānēsar, 15, 232;—mentioned under the name of Harsha-deva, 207;—his name was simply Harsha or Harṣhavardhana, and not Śrīharsha or Śrīharṣhavardhana, 207 n.;—Huen Tsinag gives him the birada or second name of Śālōtya, 39, 40;—his accession, as determined by the commencement of the Harsha era, is to be placed in A.D. 606 . . . . 178 n.;—his Sōnpat seal . . . . 231

Harsha era; an early era of this name, commencing in or about B.C. 457, is mentioned by Albreŕtr, 23, 24, 30;—but there is no other evidence of its existence, 23 n.;—the only proved era of this name, is that which runs from
the accession of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, or more properly of Thānebār, 23 n.;—as far, as it can b: determin'd by means of the Dīghākūpa-Dubaulti grant of the Mahādāriya Mahendrāpiya, this era commenced in A.D. 606, with the epoch of A.D. 605-606. . . 178 n.;— an instance of the use of this era in India, 210; — another possible instance, 267; — it was adopted in Nēpāl, by the Thākuri rulers of that country, 96, 184, 189;— instances of the use of it by them, 278 to 184; — the fact of its introduction there is mentioned, in a mistaken manner, in the Nēpāl Vamsāvaḷi. 185

Harshādeva, a variant of the name of Harśāvardhana of Kanauj, or more properly of Thānebār . . . . 207 and n.

Harsha-gupta (Gupta of Magulha), 205; — Harsha-gupta, wife of Adityavarman, was probably his sister . . . . 14

Harsha-gupta, wife of Adityavarman, 221; — she was probably a sister of Harsha-gupta of Magulha . . . . 14

Harshavardhana (see also Harsha or Harshavardhana) of Kanauj, or more properly of Thānebār . . . . 15, 232

Hastin, Mahādāriya (Parīrājaka), 97, 104, 109, 111, 115; — he had the hereditary kingdom of Dībālā, and the eighteen forest kingdoms, 13 n., 116;— his Khādi grant of the Gupta year 156, 93;— his Khādi grant of the year 163, 109;— there is no necessity to alter the date of this record from 103 to 173; and, in fact, the alteration is not justifiable, 110 to 114, 102 n.; — his Majha-gawādī grant of the year 191, 106;— his Bhumar pullar inscription, 110;— examination of the dates of these records . . . . 104, 110, 114, 119

Hastivarman of Veng, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13

Hemabha, a proper name . . . . 190

Hiḍra era, a Musalmān era, commencing in A.D. 622, and dating from the flight of the prophet Muhammad; an instance of this era being quoted in a Hindu epigraphical record . . . . 85

Himālaya (see also Himavat), the mountain; mentioned as the father of the goddess Pārvatī, 147; — as the mountain of snow, 148, 205, 230; — as the king of mountains . . . . 169, 181

Himavat, a name of Himālaya . . . . 156

Hissā or Hissār District, an inscription from the . . . . 269

Hoeckel, Dr. A. F. R.;— view expressed by him on the Gupta era . . . 65

Hōpa, a tribe; a mention of them in Yaśodharman's pullar inscription, 146, 148;— mentioned as defeated by Skanda-gupta, 55;— and by the Mauklāris . . . . 206

Ijjāhāḷa, wife of Vīshūya-guptadēva . . . . 217

Illichpur District, an inscription from the images, inscriptions on the pedestals of 45, 208, 262, 266, 271, 272, 273, 278, 286, 281

Indana, a proper name . . . . 114

India, Northern;—mentioned under the name of Ayākarta, 13 and n.; — Southern India mentioned under the name of daksinādālā . . . . . 72 and n.

Indōr, a deserted village or mound in the Baulandshahar District, mentioned under the ancient name of Indarpura or Indāpura, 71; — the grant of Skanda-gupta, of the Gupta year 146. . . . . 68

Indra, the god of the sky (see also Maṅgavan, Purandara, and Sākra; and, for his wife, see Sakhī); 14, 28, 44, 50, 51, 54, 93, 155, 159, 257, 278;— mentioned as 'the lord of the gods,' 10, 62, 76, 77, 195; — as the elder brother of Vīshūya, 50, 182 n.;— as 'the thousand-eyed,' 225;— mention of the mountain Sandera as his abode, 278; — mention of the kalpa-tree in his paradise, 168, 228;— a reference to his elephant, Airvāna, 76; — deceased kings are described as going to the abode of Indra, conquering the realms of Indra, or obtaining a seat on the lap of Indra, 10 and n.; — and grants were made to secure this result . . . . 105, 199

Indrabhala, of the pĀṇḍuvaṁśa, 298;— his father was Udayana, of the Sāvāra lineage or tribe . . . . . 293

Indrapura, Indāpura, the ancient name of Indōr in the Baulandshahar District . . . . 68, 71

Indrāvīṣṇu, a proper name . . . . 90, 160

inscriptions on copper are usually denoted by the terms isāna, 99 n., 194, 199, 218, 240, 242, 247, 249, 296;— and idamvat-isāna, 99 n., 109, 116, 128, 134, 138, 135, 199;— and those on stone, by the term prāṣāṭi, 87 n.;— an exceptional instance in which the term prāṣāṭi is used to denote a copper-plate charter . . . . 87 n.

intercalary months; the present arrangement of the intercalated fortnights in Northern and in Southern India, 88;— a verse attributed to the Brahma-Siddhaṇā indicares a more ancient arrangement of a different kind, 88 n.;— intercalated months are inauspicious, and the performance of ceremonies in them is prohibited, 88 n.;— but the Kāra grant of Dharaśāna IV., of the Gupta-Valabha) year 330, shows an exception to this rule, 94;— note on a mistake which runs all through Cowasjee Patell's
Chronology, Table I., in respect of the intercalations for the southern Vikrama years, 87 n.;—instances of intercalation of the month Mārgasṛṣa, which is usually held to be not liable to intercalation, 93;—and of the month Pausha, though the same rule is held to apply, 179

Iṣa, the god Śiva as 'the lord, the powerful one', 87

Iṣagāra District, inscriptions from the 21, 34, 238

Iśavarnāma (Maukhari), 14, 206, 220, 221;—his wife was Lakṣmīvatī, 221;—he was conquered by Kumāragupta of Magadha, 206

Iśvarā, the god Śiva, as 'the lord, the powerful one', 180

Iśvarādāśka, the writer of the grant of Sāmkṣhabhā of the (Gupta) year 209, 116

Iśvarāsārman, a grantee, 243

Iśvarāsarmanrāja, a grantee, 243

Iśvaravarnāman, Mahārāja (Maukhari), 221, 220, 239;—his wife was Upa-gupta, 221;—his Jaunpur inscription, 228

Iśvarāsvāsaka, an ancient village or allotment granted to the great Sītāp at Sāñchi, 33

Jabalpur District, an inscription from the 117

Jāhmav, the river Gaṅgā, as 'the daughter of Jahn', 156, 181

Jāikādēva, a king of Saurāṣṭra, not to be identified, if his Dhiniki grant is genuine, with the Jāikā of the Mārbil grant, 61, 62;—examination of the date in his grant, purported to be in the Vikrama year 794, with the result that this grant must be held to be spurious. 62 n.

Jain inscriptions, 65, 258

Jain sect or religion; proof of its existence in the fourth century A.D. is furnished by the Kāhurum pattā inscription of Skandagupta. 16, 66

Jāṅkā, a chieftain in Kāshīwad; remarks on the reading and interpretation of the date of his Mārbil grant of the (Gupta) year 565 'expired, 21, 98, 58 n.;—examination of the details of the date, 97;—he is not to be identified with the Jāikādēva of the Dhiniki grant, if the latter is a genuine record. 62

Jāmāvatā, wife of the god Vishnu in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa, 270

Janārdana, the god Vishnu, as 'exciting or agitating men', 90, 189

Jānuḍa, 'a lord of a people or tribe', contrasted with nārādhipati, 'a chief ruler of men', 151 n.

Jāṅ State, an inscription from the 233

Jaunpur, the chief town of the Jaunpur District; the inscription of Iśvaravarnāman, 228

Jayabhāṣṭi, a proper name, 274

Jayādeva, the first historical person in the family of the Lichchhavis of Nāpāl, 185, 186, 189, 192;—calculating back from the recorded date for Mānadēva, his initial date is about A.D. 330, 192; and this needs but little, adjustment to place him in 'A.D. 340, and to make the so-called Gupta-era run from the commencement of his reign, 135

Jayādeva II., Rāja (Thākurī of Nāpāl), 185, 186, 187 to 192;—he had the biruda or second name of Parachakrākāma, 184, 187;—his wife was Rājąya-mati, 187;—notice of an inscription of the (Harsha) year 145, which is probably one of his records 183;—and of his inscription of the year 153, 183, 185 to 188

Jayādeva, Kīfajapatra, the Dālaka of the inscription of Śivadēva II. of the (Harsha) year 119, 159

Jayānātha, Mahārāja of Uchchakalpa, 110, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was Murunadēvi or Murunāvartī, 128, 132, 138;—his Kārttikālī grant of the (Gupta) or Kalachuri year 174, 117;—his Kiṅṅā grant of the year 177, 121

Jayārāja, or Mahā-Jayārāja, Rāja (of Sarabhapura), 194;—his Araṅg grant, 191 jaya-śaṅkhaṇḍa, 'a victorious camp', 180, 217, 257

Jayāvedā, Mahārāja of Uchchakalpa, 119, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was Rāṇadēvi, 119, 123, 128, 131, 138

Jayāvedāmin, wife of Harivarman (Maukhari), 221

Jayavedāmin, wife of Kumāragupta of Uchchakalpa, 119, 123, 128, 131, 138

Jayavarman, a proper name, 182

Jayāvēra, a linga form of the god Śiva, 182

Jāṅkāwād State, an inscription from the 72

Jina, a class of deified Jain saints, 259

Jishnu Gupta (Thākurī of Nāpāl), 180, 182, 180, 190, 192;—notice of his inscription of the (Harsha) year 48, 180;—and of two others, the dates of which are lost, 182

jītaṁ bhoga vartā, 'victory has been achieved by the Divine One,' an invocation used at the commencement of inscriptions, 25 n., 40, 41;—jītaṁ Vischnū, 270

Jīvanta, a proper name, 71

Jīvita, a proper name, 116

Jīvita Gupta I. (Gupta of Magadha), 205

Jīvita Gupta II., Jīvita-gupta-dēva (Gupta of Magadha), 217;—his Dā-Varadāk inscription, 213

Julien, M. Stanislas; certain points, in his translation of the Life and Travels of Hiuen Tsiang, Indians may be made more clear through the Early Gupta chronology, 39
Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, of the Gupta years 135, 137, 138, 36
Junagadh State, inscriptions from the , 56, 164
Jupiter, the planet; its regent men-
tioned under the names of Angiras, 270; — the son of Angiras, 170; —
Brijapati, 'the lord of prayer,' 170, 76, 86, 157; — Guru, 'the preceptor,'
169, 170, 171 and n.; — Ijya, 'the
teacher,' 170; — Jiva, 'the living being,'
170; — Sura-guru, 'the preceptor of the
gods,' 82, 90, 157; — Surdyja, 'the
teacher of the gods,' 773; — the coun-
selor of (Indra) the lord of the gods
(ādātpatimantri), 161; — the coun-
selor of the gods (cura-mantri),
168 n.; — and the preceptor of the
gods (cura-guru and vidisa-guru)
157, 169, 181
Jupiter, the planet; exposition of the
Twelve-Year Cycle based on its heliacal
risings, with reference to his apparent
longitude, in particular nakshatras,
Appendix III, 161 to 176; — the
authorities for this system of the cycle,
with the rule for naming the years of
it, according to the order of the lunar
months, commencing with Kārttika,
201 and n., 170, 177; — the length of
each year of the cycle, by this system,
is roughly 400 days, 102; — a practical
illustration of two cycles of this system,
167; — the years of this cycle that are
liable to be omitted, and to be repeated,
168; — this is evidently the original
system of the Twelve-Year Cycle, 172;
— instances of the later and modern
use of it, 173 and n., 175; — the helia-
cal risings of Jupiter are still noted in
Panchanga, for religious purposes,
173 n.; — there are indications that the
Sixty-Year Cycle also was originally
regulated by the same system, 170 and
n., 173, 174; — the years of the Twelve-
Year Cycle, by this system, mentioned
in records of the early Gupta period,
are, Mahā-Aśvayuja, 110, 117, 104, 115;
— Mahā-Chaitra, 114, 108; — Mahā-
Māgha, 110, 112; and Mahā-Vaishākha,
104, 96; — examination of the dates of
these records, 101, 104, 110, 114, 117,
119; — the Pausha and Vaishākha years
of a Twelve-Year Cycle are mentioned
in early Kadamba records (the absence
of the prefix māhā possibly indicates
that they are of the mean-sign system),
106 n.; — the proof that the epoch of
the Gupta era was not determined by
the Twelve-Year Cycle according to
the heliacal-rising system
34, 35
Jupiter, the planet; incidental remarks
on the Twelve-Year Cycle based on his
passage, with reference to his mean
longitude, among the signs of the
zodiac, 168, 169, 170; — the rule, as
given by the first Aryabhata and by
Brahmagupta, for determining the
years of this cycle by this system, 169;
— the years commence with the years
of the Sixty-Year Cycle by the same
system; and the length of each year,
according to the Śārya-Siddhānta, is
361 days, 1 ghaṭī, 36 pulas, 170; — (in-
stances of the use of the cycle, by this
system, indicated by the absence of the
prefix māhā, are possibly to be found
in early Kadamba records, 106 n.); — the proof that this is the system used in records of the Early Gupta period, 103, 108, 117,
115, 118, 121; — and that the epoch of
the Gupta era was not determined by it
34, 35
Jupiter, the planet; incidental remarks
on the Sixty-Year Cycle based on his
passage, with reference to his mean
longitude, among the 'signs of the
zodiac, 168, 109, 170; — the rule of the
Śārya-Siddhānta for determining the
years of this cycle by this system, 170;
— the length of each year of this
system, by this system, according to the
same authority, is 361 days, 1 ghaṭī, 36
pulas, 170; — a verse by Kasāyana
seems to indicate that the years of this
cycle also were originally determined
by the heliacal-rising system, 170 and
n.; — Varahamihira gives the rule that
Prabhava, the first year of this cycle,
commences when Jupiter comes to
Dhanishthā and rises in Māgha, 173,
174; — comments on this rule, which is
not correct for the mean-sign system,
but is nearly so for the heliacal-rising
system, 173 n., 174; — the Sixty-Year
Cycle by the mean-sign system, was
current in Southern, as well as in North-
ern, India, at least up to A.D. 804...
80 n. — the proof that the epoch of
the Gupta era was not determined by this
cycle
34
Jupiter, the planet; the use of the Sixty-
Year Cycle, according to the southern
luni-solar system, seems to have been
introduced between A.D. 804 and 866,
... 80 n. — and the epoch of the Gupta
era cannot have been determined by this
cycle...
33-34
Jyēshthāśāmrārya, a grāntee...
243
Jyēśihadarpa, an astrological work;
its date is A.D. 1552-36...
175; — a
quotation from it in support of the
heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-
Year Cycle of Jupiter...
170
ka, an affix from which certain modern
decensional suffixes are derived 60,
113, 117, 121, 125, 126, 130, 135, 197, 201
Kābul, the Hindu kings of; remarks on
some of their coins, which have been
supposed to bear dates in the Gupta
era.
57 to 60
Kācha; the name of two chieftains mentioned in an inscription in the Ajanta caves, 27 n.;—the name also occurs on certain gold coins which have always been attributed to Ghatotkacha; but, if they are Early Gupta coins, as seems probable, they must be attributed to Samudragupta, and Kācha must be his bhirud or second name. 18, 27 n. 46, 65

Kācharapallika, an ancient village in the Maniśīka paśa. 128, 207

Kāhaṇi, a village in the Gōrahpur District;—mentioned under the ancient name of Kāhuṣa or Kākuhāgārama, 66, 67;—the pillar inscription of Skandagupta. 5

Kāisa, a mountain in the Himalaya range, 78, 85, 86;—mentioned as one of the breasts of the earth, 86 and n. 65

Kāl-lastabhadhavana, the palace of the Tākūrfurler of Nēpāl. 178 to 182, 189

Kaiyara (Kaiyāra), the chief town of the Kaiyara District;—mentioned under the ancient name of Kīatāka, 95 n., 173, 189;—examination in the grant of Dharanāsā IV. of the (Gupta-)Valabhi year 330. 93

Kaiyara District, an inscription from the. 171

Kāka, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta. 14

Kākanđa, the ancient name of Sānchi in the Asōka period. 31

Kākanđadājā, the name of the great Sānchi in the Gupta period 31, 32, 262

Kakku, a proper name. 148, 150

Kakubha, Kakubhāgārama, the ancient Sanskrit name of Kādaun. 66, 67

kāla, 'time, a spare of time,' may be used in the sense of 'an era,' and is so used in respect of the Vikrama and Śaka eras; but there is no ancient authority for the early existence of the term Gupta-kāla for the Gupta era. 19, 22

Kalachuri, a dynasty of kings in Central India; their dynastic name occurs under the Sanskritised form of Kalatsdrī, in a record of the sixth century A.D.; and they are perhaps mentioned, under the name of Arjunāyana, in the Allahabad pillar inscription. 10

Kalachuri or Chedi era, an era used by the Kalachuri kings of Central India; early instances of the use of it are perhaps to be found in the records of the Mahārāja of Uchchakalpa, which, however, would seem to require for the era an epoch about twenty-five years later than the epoch of A.D. 249-50 proposed by Grn. Sir A. Cunningham, 8, 9, 10;—also in the grants of the Trajkūda, Mahārāja, 9 n.;—(and possibly in the Ilaḥ-Gayā inscription of Mahikānāman, the date of which has been referred in this volume to the Gupta era, 16, 275;)—Prof. Kielhorn quoted as having fixed the commencement of the era in A.D. 249, with the epoch of A.D. 248-49. 10

Kaiyura era, (see also Kaiyura era), the last and worst of the four Yugas or ages, of the world; the one in which we now are. 156, 168, 184

Kālandar, the river Yamūnā (Jaṅmā). 90

Kaiyura era, an era commencing, with the beginning of the Kaiyura age, in B.C. 3102, though usually represented as commencing in B.C. 3101; it is of but rare use in epigraphical records, 69 n.;—quotations of the reckoning of this era, both by current and by expired years, from Hindu almanacs, 28, 73 to 142;—its duration is 432,000 years of men; and we are still only in the sandhyād of it, 138 to 141, 139 n.;—it was the original astronomical era of the Hindus; and the substitution of the Śaka era for it, for astronomical purposes, seems to have taken place between A.D. 476 and 538. 143

kalpa-tree, a fabulous tree in Indra's paradise, granting all desires. 168, 228

Kāmadeva, the god of love (see also Smara); a mention of his two wives, Pelti and Rati, 85;—a reference to his bow of flowers, 89;—a reference to his destruction by Siva, 87;—an enumeration of the five flowers that form his arrows, 87;—mentioned as having a banner of flowers. 138

Kamaladāvi, wife of Devaguptapāda of Magadha. 217

Kānvarāpa, a country, the modern Assam, or its western portion; Samudragupta either included it in his empire, or else extended his conquests up to the confines of it. 9 n., 14 and n.

Kanauj, a town in the Fartukhūdpāl District; perhaps mentioned, in connection with Samudragupta, under the ancient name of Pusphapura. 5, 12

Kanauj, Harshavarudhana of, or more properly of Tāhōsār; his genealogy. 232

Kānch, a town in Southern India, the modern 'Conjeeveram,' in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Vishāpa. 13

Kāndārya, a grantee. 243

Kānghra District, an inscription from the. 286

Kaṇya or Kaṅvayana, a tribe, family, or dynasty; there is no foundation for the supposition that the Kaṇya prince Nārapāla, mentioned in the Viśnupurāṇa, is mentioned as the Tushāra king Vishāpa, in the Tādām rock inscription. 270

Kapilāśvāra, the god Śiva, as 'the lord who is decorated with a garland of skulls.' 290

Kapila, an ancient sage. 115
karana, 'a document' ..... 242 and n.
Karajaviraka, or perhaps Karajachira-
ra, an ancient river in the Beograd-
kārpara bhūga ..... 248
Kārtalām, a village in the Jabalpur Dis-
trict; the grant of Jayanātha of the
(Gupta or Kalgeuri) year 174 ..... 117
karte, 'a maker,' a technical term for the
composer of a record, as opposed to
the person who reduces it to writing 88, 99 n.
Karitupra, a town in the east or north-
east; Samudragupta either included it in
his empire, or else extended his con-
quests up to the confines of it 9 n., 14 and n.
Kārtikēya, the god of war (see also
Brahmaya, Skanda, and SvaMi-Mahā-
sēna), 286;—mentioned as the son of
Hara and riding on a peacock, 206;—
and as having the banner of a peacock,
155;—an ancient temple of this god at
Bilsar ..... 43
Kāśī, one of the ancient names of the
modern Benares; apparently men-
toned as the capital of Prakāśālvītya
285, 286
Kasā or Kasyā, a village in the Grākh-
pur District; the inscription on the
nirvāsa-statue of Buddha ..... 272
Kāśmir; the early history of this country,
as deduced from the Rājastaramītā,
is to be adjusted by the now settled
date of Mihirakula ..... 56
Kāsyapa, the preceptor of the god Indra
Kāsyapa, an ancient astronomer, quoted
by Upālā for the heliacal-rising system of
the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 170;
—his rule indicates that originally the
years of the Six-Year-Cycle also were
determined by the heliacal risings of the
planet ..... 170 n.
Kāṭhikāvā, inscriptions from ..... 56, 164
Kāṭhikāvā province, mentioned under
the name of Sutāshrāha, 62, 63;—a
tradition of the bards of Kāṭhikāvā,
supposed to have an important bear-
ing on the question of the Gupta era,
49;—but it is of quite recent origin,
and of no value whatever, 50;—in the
western part of this province, there is
used a year, called the Hālāki year, of
which the initial day is Ashadha śukla 1
Kāṭyāyanī, a name of the goddess Pār-
vati ..... 228
kaubōrachchanda, a particular kind of
pearl-necklace ..... 45
Kaudravādēva, a grantee ..... 105
kaustubha, a jewel worn on the breast
by Vishnu ..... 87
Kay, Mr. H. C.; his proposal for amend-
ing the translation of Altēränd's words
regarding the origin of the Gupta era
kēnda (see also nīchēkaka-maṇḍa, tithi-
kiṭhā, tithi-madhyama-kēnda, and
tithi-spasita-kēnda), or 'anomaly,'
of the moon, is taken to be her distance
from apogee, from which point it is
always reckoned by Hindu astronomers,
149 and n.;—the annual variation in the
moon's kēnda is 3 signs, 2 degrees, 6:2
minutes, or 7 tikhis, 6 ghātis, 42 palas
Kérāla, a country in Southern India; in
the time of Samudragupta, its king was
Maṭṭarjita ..... 49
Kēsāva, one of the composers of the,
Gawōli inscription of Mihirakula ..... 163
'Khadavayaka,' a Hindu king of Kābul;
remarks on some of his coins, which
have been supposed to bear dates in
the Gupta era ..... 57 to 60
Kilātyātapākika, a tribal or family name,
or an official title, applied to the
Mahādevamādyaka Harishēga ..... 16
Kharagraha I. (of Valabhi) ,41, 181, 182 n., 183
Kharagraha II. (of Valabhi), 41, 181;—he
had the biruda or second name of
Dharmābhya ..... 184
Kharaparka, a tribe, conquered by
Samudragupta ..... 14
Ḳhāmmāṇa, the capital of Nēphāl; notices
of inscriptions from its vicinity 177 to 188
Kṣēta, an ancient form of the name of
Kairā (Kīhōda); mentioned as the chief
town of an adhara ..... 173, 189
Kloā, a village in the Nāgāudha State;
the grant of Hastin, of the (Gupta)
year 156, 93;—of Hastin, of the
(Gupta) year 163, 100; there is no
necessity to alter the date of this re-
cord from 163 to 173; and, in fact, the
alteration is not justifiable, 110 to 114,
102 n.:—of Sankṣēla, of the
(Gupta) year 205, 112;—an alter-
ation in the reading of the date of this
record, 76 n., 274 n.;—its importance in
proving the Pārśmāṅdaya arrangement
of the fortinights in the Gupta year,
76;—examination of the dates of these
records, 104, 110, 117;—the grant of
Jayanātha, of the (Gupta or Kalchuri)
year 177, 121;—of Śrāvanātha, of the
(Gupta or Kalchuri) year 193, 124;—of
Śrāvanātha, without date, 120;—of Śrāvanātha, of the (Gupta or Kal-
churi) year 193, 132;—and of
Śrāvanātha, of the (Gupta or Kal-
churi) year 214 ..... 135
Kōsā, Prof. K.; quoted as having fixed
the commencement of the Kalchuri or
Chāla era in A.D. 249, with the epoch of
A.D. 248-249 ..... 10
Kinnihēkētaka, an ancient village in the
Beogradkārpara bhūga ..... 248
Kinnara, a class of supernatural beings
kīrttī, used, like kīrtana, in the special
meaning of 'any work which renders
the constructor of it famous' 212
and n., 213 n.
Kīsāvrātapaka, an ancient village in Bihār,
near Dēb-Baranārk ..... 218
28a
Kriṣṇa, the god Vishnu incarnate as the son of Vasudeva and Devaki, 55, 223;—mentioned under the name of Vásudeva, 286;—mention of his wife Jambavati, 270;—an image of Kriṣṇa was set up in the Kuruksetra hill cave by Anantuvarman.

Krisnagupta (Gupta of Magadha), 205;—he came very shortly after Skanda-gupta.

Kṛṣṇa, 'accomplished,' i.e. 'completed,' (lyra), 73 n., 254
Kṛṣṇa, the god Yama, as 'the one by whom death is accomplished' 28, 44,

51, 54, 157, 257

Kṛṣṇa-parāśa, an epithet of Samudragupta, 38, 44, 51, 54, 257;—it occurs also on his coins 51, 54, 257

Kṣatrapas or Mahākṣatrapas of Saurashtra; the family or dynastic name of 'Sah' or 'Sahā,' which has been allotted to them, is only based on the custom of omitting superscript vowels in the legends on their coins 36 n.

Kubera, the god of wealth, mentioned under the names of Dhanda, 14, 21, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257;—and Dhandaśa, 169, 181
Kubera of Dvariśvara, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta.

Kul-ākhyā, 'a family appellation' 26

Kulaputra, 'high-born' 190, 245, 248

Kumārāditya, a grantee 105

Kumārāditya, Mahārāja (of Uchchakalpa), 119, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was Jayasvāminī 119, 123, 128, 131, 138

Kumārāditya, daughter of Lichchhavī or of a Lichchhavi prince, and wife of Chandragupta I.

Kumārāditya, wife of Śrīkumārāditya of Uchchakalpa.

Kumārāditya (Early Gupta), 7, 9, 40, 41, 44, 47, 50, 51, 55, 80, 86;—he had the biruda or second name of Mahāhrd or Mahendrāditya, 28;—in the Manikūvar inscription he has only the feudatory title of Mahārāja, 40, 47;—a half illegible reference to his wife, 50;—his Gadhwa inscription, date lost, 291;—his Gadhwa inscription of the (Gupta) year 98, 490;—his Bilāsa pillar inscription of the year 96, 42;—his Manikūvar image inscription of the year 129, 45;—the Mandaś inscription, which gives the date of Mālava-Saṁvat 493 for his feudatory Bandhuvarman, 79;—the value of this record, in proving that the Gupta era runs from an epoch in or very close to A.D. 319-20, 65;—the Sāvēcha inscription of the (Gupta) year 131, which may belong to his time, 260;—a fragmentary inscription at Gadhwa, which may belong to his time.

Kumārāditya (Gupta of Magadha), 206;—he conquered Iśanavarman.

Kumārdāmīya, an official title, 16 and n., 52, 170, 218;—used in connection with Mahādandaṃyakā and Sāhādīvigrāhika.

Kumāranaga, a grantee.

Kumārsamārya, a grantee, 242;—another of the same name, 243;—and a third of the same name.

Kumārasena, a grantee.

Kumārasvarman, a grantee.

Kurus, the land of the Northern.

Kuśālaprakāsa, Nikhāpati, the Dālaka of the Nirmāṇa grant of Samudragupta.
Lichchhavi rulers of Népal; their early traditional genealogy, which is traced back to the god, Brahman through Śrīya or the Sun, 185;—in accordance with which, their family is mentioned in the Népal Vāmśavāti as a Śrīyavāni family, i.e. as belonging, to the Śrīyavāni or Solar Limsītī, 185;—but, in the code of Mānu, a Lichchhavi or Lichchhivī is defined as the off-spring of a degraded Kṣatriya, 16;—mention of their family under the names of Lichchhavikula and Lichchhavivāsiā, 177, 178, 181, 185;—and with the indication that it had originally another name, not now known, 185;—the first historical person in the family is Ṛṣyadvēśa I., 185, 186;—the palace of the Lichchhavi rulers of Népal was Mānaprīthi, 177, 178, 180, 181, 189, 190;—they used the so-called Gupta era, 96, 184, 185;—instances of this, 176, 182, 183, 184;—the dates of the known members of this family, 189;—they seem to have had the government of the eastern portion of Népal, 190;—the great antiquity of the Lichchhavi clan or tribe, 135;—the connection by marriage between the Lichchhavis of Népal and the Early Guptas, 135;—the so-called Gupta era is probably a Lichchhavi era, dating from the monarchical constitution of the Lichchhavis, or from the accession of Jayadeva I., in Népal. 136

Lichchhivī, a variant for Lichchhavi; as the personal or tribal name of the father-in-law of Chandragupta I., 54, 257;—and in the code of Manu, 16;—likhita, 'written' (see also likhaka), a technical term in connection with the manual drafting or writing of a record, as opposed to the composition and engraving of it, 99 and n., 105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 190

Līṅga, the phallic emblem, connected with the worship of Śiva 180 and n., 182, 241, 248

Lāhiyita, the river Brahmaputra (see also Lauhiyita), 206

Lākākāla, a method of reckoning by cycles of a hundred years; Alberūnī's illustration of the conversion of Lākākāla dates into Saka dates through the Gupta reckoning, 26;—it entails the use of the first current year of the Gupta era, not of its epoch, 27;—according to Kalhāna's statement in the Kādīfakaramgīn, the first year of each Lākākāla cycle coincided with the forty-eighth current year of each century of the Saka era, 26;—according to Alberūnī's statements, the first year of each Lākākāla cycle in Muliā and those parts, commenced from one to three years later, 27;—
the method of Durlabha of Mūltān, as quoted by Alburnīs, indicates plainly that the use of the Lōkakāla in that part of the country only dates from A.D. 926, and that it was not introduced by, or in the time of, the Early Guitaps.

Lōkakāla, a regent of one of the quarters of the world, 90 and n., 251 and n.

m; the forms of this letter are a useful criterion in classifying alphabets.

mihīsûla, a word requiring explanation 71 and n.

Mādhava, the god Vishnu, as 'the descendant of Madhu.'

Māhālava, Rāja, father of Gopāla; he married the daughter of a Sarasvati king.

Mādhavagupta (Gupta of Magadha), 206, 217; mentioned in connection with Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, 207;—his wife was Śrīmatī or Śrīmatīdevī.

Mādhudanīs, a river in the Bōdākāta kingdom.

Māhaṇḍusadana, the god Vishnu, as 'the destroyer of the demon Madhu.'

Māhīṣadāsa, 'the middle country;' an apparent reference to it.

Mādra, the person who caused the Kaḷaudī pillar to be set up.

Mādraka, a tribe; conquered by Samudrāgupta.

Māghārya, a grantee.

Māghasāman, a grantee.

Māgghavan, the god Indra, as 'the distributor of gifts.'

Māhā-Āsavya samvataras; one of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

Māhādhādikārita, a military title, 109 and n., 129, 134.

Māhādhādikāraka, a military title, of the officer who was the superior of the Bālādikākhas.

Māhādhāhara (see Śvāmī-Māhādhāhara).

Māhādhārata, the epic poem, mentioned under this name, the verses quoted from it being attributed to Vyāsa, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139; —a reference to a section of it, or to the whole poem, under the name of Satasasshari-Somhitā.

Māhā-Chaitra samvatara; one of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

Māhādhāitya, the imaginary name of the father of Dēvī, the imaginary wife of Śamudragupta.

Māhāduṇḍanāyaka, a military title (for a feminine form of the subordinate title Duṇḍanāyaka, see 263 n.), 16 and n., 17, 218; — used in connection with Mahākārtākritika, Mahāpratikāra, Mahārāja, and Mahāśāmanda, 41, 15 n., 296 n.; — and in connection with Kūrīśākṣma and Śrīmāhīkāritīka. 16

Māhādeva, a grantee.

Māhādeva, the god Śiva, as 'the great god.'

Māhāśāmanda, a title of the wives of paramOUNT sovereigns, 16 and n., 27, 38, 44, 51, 54, 55, 208, 212, 217, 221, 223, 227; — applied also to the wives of feudatory Mahārāja.

Māhādyot, a title of the wives of paramOUNT sovereigns, 16 and n., 27, 38, 44, 51, 54, 55, 208, 212, 217, 221, 223, 227; — applied also to the wives of feudatory Mahārāja.

Māhādevi, a proper name.

Māhākārtākrita, a feudatory title.

Māhā-Jayarāja, see Jayarāja.

Māhākāntara, a country in Southern India.

Māhākāntara, a country in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, his king was Vīghkararāja.

Māhākārtākrita, an official title; used in connection with Mahāduṇḍanāyaka, Mahāpratikāra, Mahārāja, and Mahāśāmanda.

Māhā-Kāśyapa, an ancient Buddhist saint.

Māhākārtākrita, an official title; used in connection with Mahāduṇḍanāyaka, Mahāpratikāra, Mahārāja, and Mahāśāmanda.

Māhākākūrandya, an official title 190 and n.

Māhā-Māgha samvatara; one of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

Māhānādī, a river.

Māhānāman L., a Buddhist teacher.

Māhānāman L., a Buddhist teacher, 277, 278, 279; — his Bōdhi-Gayā inscription of the (Gupta or perhaps Kālacuri) year 269, 274; — his Bōdhi-Gayā image inscription.

Māhāpratikāra, an official title, 183, 190 and n., 228; — used in connection with Mahāduṇḍanāyaka, Mahākārtākritika, Mahārāja, and Mahāśāmanda, 41, 15 n., 296 n.; — and in connection with Samudragupta.

the Eastern Ghaits, or another of
the same name in the Western Ghaits 146
and n. 148
Mahendra of Kāsala, a king in Southern
India, conquered by Samudragupta
Mahendra of Pishapatra, a king in South-
ern India, conquered by Samudragupta 7 n., 13
Mahendra, or Mahendraditya, a brāhmana
or second name of Kumāragupta 18
Mahendragupta, the ipuqiv name of
a supposed son of Skandagupta. 18, 19, 56 n.
Mahendrapāla, Mahārājā; the value of
his Dīgha-Dhūabhāṣa grant of the
(Harsha) year 155, towards proving
the epoch of the Harsha era 178 n.
Mahēśvara, the god Śiva, as the ‘great
lord’ 167, 168, 169, 180, 181, 182, 183,
184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 217, 221, 240,
248, 290
Mahēśvaranātha, Mahārājā, 283; —
his Lāhōr copper seal 282
Mahēśvarakāra, a grantee 243
Mahēśvīva (Lichchhavī of Nāvādī) 180, 189
Mahilaballī, or Mahilaballī, an ancient
village in the Kēṭaka sthāra 189
mahāimat, mahāimit, ‘a king’ 99 and n.
105, 109, 116, 124, 129, 134, 139
Mahīshāsura, a demon, defeated by the
goddess Pārvatī in her form of Dēvī
227 and n.
Mahiyar, a town and State in Baghbhālikhand;
it is not to be identified with Mahēn-
dra or Mahendragiri 13 n.
Maitraka, a tribe, conquered by Bhātāraka
of Valabhi 137, 167, 180
Maitrēya, an ancient Buddhist saint 277 and n.
Maja, a proper name 33
Majyagāvā, a village in the Nāgadhāvī
State; the grant of Hastin of the
(Gupta) year 191, 106; — its impor-
tance in helping to prove the Pān-
vīnta arrangement of the fortnights in
the Gupta year, 77, 107 n.; — examina-
tion of its date 114
Mālava, a country, the modern Mālwa;
the Rules of Mālava 7, 76, 77, 86
Mālava, a tribe, conquered by Samudra-
gupta, 14; — references to an era
dating from the tribal constitution of
the Mālavas, 66, 87, 158; — notice of
certain ancient coins of the Mālavas 67
Mālava era, a convenient name for an
era which sometimes is mentioned as
dating from the tribal constitution of
the Mālavas, 66, 87, 158; — sometimes
is spoken of as the era of the Māla
lords, 66 n.; — and sometimes is called
the Mālava-kāla or Mālava era, 66 n.; —
other dates which are to be referred
to it, 73, 74, 253; — it is in reality the
Vikrama era, under its original name 68
Māliyā, a village in the Jūnda-gāth State;
the grant of Dharasāna II. of the
(Gupta-Valabhi) year 252 164
Mālava, inscriptions from 72, 79, 142, 149, 159
Mānadēva (Lichchhavi of Nēpāl), 182, 186, 188, 189, 191; notice of his inscription of the (Gupta) year 386; 182; examination of the date, 95; notice of another inscription of his time.
Mānabhiṣa, the palace of the Tāhakūr rulers of Nēpāl. 177, 178, 180, 181, 189, 190
Mānapura, an ancient town, perhaps the modern Mānapur near the Sōn. 136, 138
Mandākini, the river Ganges. 184
Manīkā, a hill in the Bhagālpur District; the rock inscriptions of Adityaśēna. 211
Mandara, a mountain, used as the churning-stick when the ocean was churned by the gods and demons. 206
Mandāśa, a town in Ścindia's Dominions; it is locally known as Dāsār, 79 n.; mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit name of Daśāpurā, 79 n., 84, 86; the inscription of the Mālava year 529, which gives the date of the Mālava year 493 for Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, 79; the value of this record in proving that the Gupta era runs from an epoch in or very close to A.D. 249-20, 65; the pillar inscriptions of Yāśōdhāranā, 142, 149; the inscription of Yāśōdhārana and Vīśhuvārvadhana, of the (Mālava) year 589. 150
Māndhātrī, an epic king. 147, 149
Mānagalka (Early Chalukya); the value of his Bālāmī cave inscription, of Saka-Samvat 500 expired, in proving that the historical starting-point of the Saka era is the commencement of the reign of some particular king or kings of the Saka tribe. 242, 243
Mānindra pātha, an ancient division, partly in the territory of the Pārīvājakā Mahārājyā, 115; and partly in that of the Mahārājyā of Uchchakāla. 138
Mankuwa, a village in the Allahbād District; the image inscription of Kumāragupta, of the (Gupta) year 129. 45
Mandāratha, Mahaśāṃbūvīraṇa, the writer of the grants of Śravanaṭhā of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) years 193 and 197. 129, 134, 139
Māṇḍaraja of Kērāla, a king in Southern India, conquered by Śamudragupta. 13
Mānu, the traditional author or compiler of a code of law, 147, 168, 182; instance of a certain verse being alluded to him, which is usually quoted as being written by Vyāsa in the Mahābhārata. 99 n.
Mārgasītha, one of the Hindu lunar months; a rare instance of its being intercalary. 93
Mātrāra, the divine Mothers. 48 and no. 51, 78
Māthā, a religious college. 208
Mathurā, the chief town of the District of the same name; the inscription of Chandragupta II., 25; the image inscription of the (Gupta) year 133, 262; the image inscription of the (Gupta) year 230. 273
Matila, a king in Northern India, conquered by Śamudragupta. 13
Mātrīdī, a grantee. 243
Mātrānā, the horizontal top strokes of letters; early instances of their development. 43, 140
Mātrīchēta, the builder of an ancient temple of the Sun at Gwalīor. 163
Mātrīdāsā, a proper name, 38; another person of the same name. 163
Mātrīśarman, a grantee, 105; another of the same name. 243
Mātrīśarmanā, a grantee, 243; another of the same name. 243
Mātrīśīva, Uparīka, the additional Dūtaka of the grant of Śravanaṭhā of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 197. 134
Mātrītula, a proper name. 163
Mātrivindhū, Mahārājyā, 90, 160; in conjunction with his younger brother, Dhanyavindhu, he caused the Āraṇ pillar, with the inscription of Budhagupta of the (Gupta) year 165, to be set up, 90; the temple of Vīśhupu, in front of which is the boar with the inscription of Tōrāmāṇa, was finished by Dhanyavindhu, for him, after his death. 161
Maukhari, a tribe, clan, or dynasty (see also Mukhari), 14, 15, 206, 221, 223; the Maukaris were defeated by Damāragupta, 206; they had previously defeated the Hūgas, 206; an instance of the great antiquity of this tribe, 24; intermarriage of the Maukaris with the Gupatas of Māgadhā, 14, 129; and with the Tāhakūr rulers of Nēpāl. 187
Mayūrakṣhaka, a minister of Vīśvavarman. 78
Mēharaul, or Mēnharaul, a village in the Dhubli District; its name is a corruption of Māhāraul; 12, 139 and n.; the posthumous pillar inscription of Chandra. 139
Mērū (see also Sumērū), a mountain which is supposed to form the central point of the Hindu world. 77, 163
Mēṣa-Samkrānti (see also abda), 'the entrance of the Sun into the sign Aries,' this is the starting-point of the year adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatri for his processes, 145 n.; and it is the commencement of the Saka year, taken as a solar year for astronomical calculation, 101 n.; the figures for the abda, obtained by Prof. K. L. Chhatri's Tables, are for the apparent, not mean, Mēṣa-Samkrānti, 145, 147; so also those for
Môkhali, an early Pâli form of Maukhari 14
Môksâsărman, a grantee 243
months, lunar names of the, as used in this series of records, in the other Gupta-Valabhi dates quoted for calculation, and in the Nêpâl inscriptions: —
Ashikha (June-July) 61, 85, 25, 90, 120
Aśvaya (September-October) 183, 202
Aśvaya (September-October) 134
Bhâdrâpada (August-September) 181, 34
Chaitra (March-April) 110, 117, 104,
115, 116, 124, 129, 278
Jyaistha (May-June) 178, 183
Jayâstha (May-June) 95, 180, 182, 47.
67, 101, 243, 298
Kárttika (October-November) 104,
119, 182, 184, 77, 97, 112, 163, 250, 299
Mâgha (January-February) 174, 108,
109, 200, 268
Marga (November-December) 210
Mârgasîra (November-December) 93, 195
Pausha (December-January) 179, 183, 139
Phâlgunâ (February-March) 96, 97,
182, 71, 106, 243, 254
Prausnîthapada (August-September) 64
Pushya (December-January) 263
Sahasya (December-January) 87
Srâvaṇa (July-August) 182, 94
Tapasya (February-March) 87
Vaiskha (April-May) 180, 183, 171, 257, 291
moon; mention of Rôfîn as a wife of the 286; moon as an emblem on seals 282
Môrb, a village in Kâthiâwâd; the grant of 58 n.; examination of the date, 27, 97
Mothers, the divine (see muddara) 48
and n, 51, 78
mukhâra, the thirtieth part of a mean day and night, a period of forty-eight minutes, 163; — the only mukhâra mentioned by name in dates in the Gupta era, is Abhijit, in one of the Nêpâl inscriptions 95, 182
Mukhâra-Tattvâ, an astrological work; 170
its date is about A.D. 1498-99.
175; — a quotation from it in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 170
Mukhara, a variant of Maukhari 230
Môlâsărman, a grantee 243
mûlî, 'an endowment,' equivalent to akshaya-vrîti, 'a perpetual endowment' 33 and n, 71
Muradvis, the god Vishnu, as the enemy of the demon Murâ 286
Murunâ, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta 14
Murundâdevi, Murundâsvâmini, wife of Jayanâtha of Uchchakalpa 128, 132, 138

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INDEX.
Nāgāca State; the inscriptions of Prithivishēka 211
Nāga race or tribe: a possible allusion to a defeat of the Nāgas by Skandagupta, 62 and n.; — and by Tīravadeva, 298 and n.; — the Mahādāja Mahāsavarāṇa-nāga must have been of this race, 283; — other chiefs of this race are probably to be found in Gaṇapatiśēka, Nāgāchāra, and Nāgaśeṇa, who were conquered by Samudragupta 12, 13
Nāgābhaṭṭa, a proper name 283
Nāgabhaṭṭa, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
Nāgadāya santaka, an ancient division in the territories of the Mahāājasa of Uchchakalpa, 120; — it is not to be identified with the modern Nāgauḍh 94 n.
Nagara bhūkri, an ancient territorial division in Bhīr 218
Nāgājūni Hill, in the Gayā District; mentioned as a part of the Vindhyā range, 227, 228; — the cave inscriptions of Amantavarman 223, 226
Nāgāsārī, an ancient village or tank in Baghākhand 105
Nāgāsarman, a grantee, 105; — another of the same name, 243; — and a third of the same name 243
Nāgāśeṇa, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 12, 13
Nāgawāla, Mahāśālaśāhikrita, the Delhi of the grant of Hastin of the (Gupta) year 191 109
Nāgauḍh or Nāgauḍh, the name of a State in Baghākhand; it is possibly derived from nāgavaudha or nāgavantha, but is certainly not to be identified with Nāgadāya, 94 n.; — inscriptions from this State 93, 100, 106, 116, 118, 121, 125, 129, 132, 135
Nāgavatāśavāmin, a grantee 199
Nāgar Prvinsial Museum, inscriptions from the 191, 196
Nāgima, ‘an interpreter of Vēdic quotations and words’ 156
‘nail-headed’ characters 19 and n., 106
nakṣatras, ‘a lunar mansion,’ 163; — the grouping of the nakṣatras for naming the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, according to the heliacal-rising system, 106, 103; — a variation by Garga and Parāsara, as quoted by Upāli, from the usually accepted grouping, 163 n.; — the longitudes of the ending-points of the nakṣatras, according to the equal-space system, by which each nakṣatra represents the exact twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic circle; according to the Garga system of unequal spaces, governed by the same primary division; — and according to the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, governed by the moon’s daily mean motion, and introducing the additional nakṣatras Abhijīt, 165; — the proof that we must apply one or other of the unequal space systems in dealing with the records of the Early Gupta period, 100; — and that one or other of them was in use, or both of them were, up to A.D. 863, 107 n.; — Dhanishtā was the first nakṣatra for the Five-Year Cycle of the Vēḍūga-Jayatūṣha; and it seems to have been taken by Varhamihira as the first nakṣatra for the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter according to the mean-sign system, 173 n.; — the only nakṣatra mentioned by name in dates in the Gupta era, is Rūhiṣ, in one of the Nāvīl inscriptions 282, 283
Nālandā, or Nālanda, an ancient Buddhist site in Bhārā; an apparent mention of it 310
nāmas, ‘reverence,’ an invocation connected with the names of gods, &c., at the commencement of inscriptions; it usually governs a dative case, 96, 104, 108, 115, 259; — but there are instances in which it is used with the genitive 46 n., 47 names, proper, the abbreviation of, 8 n.; — the only available instance of variation in the first and distinctive part of a king’s name, 183; — special terminations of proper names in this series of records; and in the Nāvīl inscriptions, as far as the contents of them are quoted —
dīśīya; with Bāla, Dharma, Krama, Mahāndra, Prakāśa, Śīla, Vikrama.
dīśīya; with Dēva.
ākha; with Vikrama.
arka; with Bhaṭṭa, Udyōta.
drāva; with Bappā, Būjakadeva, Dēva, Dēvaśārman, Dharma, Gaya, Hariśarman, Īśvarāsman, Jyāṣṭhāsārman, Khuda, Kumārāsman, Magha, Mahāśālaśārman, Mātṛīśarman, Nandaṇa, Rēvatsārman, Rōha, Rudra, Rudrāsārman, Śarman, Skanda, Śīma, Śūklaśarman, Śvāmidēva, Śvātāsārman, Varasārman.
drāya; with Bhaṭṭa.
bala; with Gāḍhāraśārman, Hari, Indra, Vīshūya.
bhaṭṭa; with Dēva, Dhrū, Dhrvā, Hari, Pulinda, Skanda, Vīshūya.
bhatta; with Nāga.
bhṛtī; with Jaya.
bhatta; with Tila.
bhāṭī; with Vatsa.
bhū; with Dhrvā, Rudra.
bēṣa (see 31 n.); with Raṅka.
chandra; with Rāma, Suraśāni.
Nārada-Saṁhitā, an ancient astrological work, quoted in support of the heliacal rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter  170
Naradatta, Bhāgya and Amātya  100, 105, 109
nārādhipyati, 'a chief ruler of men,' contrasted with jānendra, 'a lord of a people or tribe'  151 and n.
Narayana, a Māhāva feudalory of Chandragupta II. or of Kumāragupta  76
Nārāyanā, a Kaavya or Kanvayana prince, mentioned in the Visēṣu-Purāṇa; there is no foundation for the supposition that he is mentioned, as the Tushāra king Vishāpu in the Tūṣārn rock inscription  270
Nārāyanā, the god Vishāpu, as 'he whose path or station is the waters'  161
Nārāṇārdrāvā (Thākurī of Nēpāl)  186, 187, 189, 191
Narandā, a river, the modern 'Nerbuḍa' (see also Rēvā)  90
Nāshīl,  an ancient town or village in the Sukūli dhīla  32
Nātha, Sāmhitāvīgraṭhikā, writer of the grant of Sarvanāthā, of the (Gupta or Kālačhe) year 214  130
Nēpāl, a country, the modern Nēpāl; Samudragupta either included it in his empire, or else extended his conquests up to the confines of it, 14 and n.;—the chronology of the early rulers of the country, Appendix IV., 177 to 197; their dates, 189;—the double government of the country, during this period, by the Līchhavīs of Mānagriha and the Thākurīs of Kailāsakāṭabhāvana, 188, 189;—later instances of the same system of double government, 189 n.;—the earliest eras in this country were the Gupta era, used by the Līchchhavi rulers, 95, 96, 184, 188;—and the Harsha era, used by the Thākurī rulers, 95, 96, 184, 189;—the tradition of the Varnavīṇaṇi, that Vikramādiya came to Nēpāl and established his era there, refers really to the introduction of the Harsha era, 184, 185;—but, under the name of the Nēwār era, an offshoot of the Vikrama era, according to its southern reckoning, was introduced in A.D. 880,  74, 184;—and, in more modern times, the Vikrama era itself, from Northern India  76
Nēwār era;—an era used during a certain period in Nēpāl; its years being taken as current years, it commenced in A.D. 880, with the epoch of A.D. 879-80,  74, 75;—the peculiarity of it, is, that it is an offshoot of the southern Vikrama era, with Kāṛṭikā sukla 1 as the initial day of each year, and with the Amātya arrangement of the lunar fortnights, 74, 75, 76;—the epigraphical names for the era, 74 n.;—examination of certain dates recorded in it  75
Newton, Mr.;—views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters
nickhochha-mdsa (see also bāndra), 'the anomalous month,' the period in which the moon comes from jēṣajee or apoget to the same point again; its duration is 27 days, 33 ghātis, 16½ ghātis, 59 pāta, or 27 tithis, 59 ghātis, 33½ pāta, which figures, and not the practical equivalent of 28 tithis, are taken as the governing quantities for Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Table for the tikh-bāndra  149 and n.
nickname (parīkhāta-nāman), an instance of a  290
Nikīla-patī, an official title, requiring explanation  291
Nīlārāja of Avamukta, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta  13
Nīrāmā District, an inscription from the  219
nirayana, 'destitute of precession of the equinoxes'  416
Niruṇa, a village in the Kāṭgāra District; mentioned as the ancient Nirāmā agrāhāra, 200;—the grant of the Ma- kāsamantā and Mahārājā Samudrasena  286
nirvāṇa, 'annihilation of human passion;' a stage in the Buddhist practices, anterior to parinirvāṇa or complete annihilation of personal existence by absorption into the all-pervading spirit  264, 277
North-West Provinces, inscriptions from the  1, 25, 36, 39, 40, 42, 45, 52, 65, 68, 228, 249, 262, 264, 266, 267, 271, 272, 273, 281, 284
numerical symbols (see also dates) the dates up to which they continued to be used, 209 n.;—instances of the use of them in combination with decimal figures, 202 n.;—a possible instance of the vocalisation of numerical symbols, 73 n.;—forms of numerical symbols illustrated in this series of Plates,—
one  34, 91, 107, 261, 264, 287
two  2  4, 19, 34, 165, 264, 266
three  4, 19, 30, 34, 48, 107
four  4, 19, 30, 34, 117
five  19, 34, 48, 89, 165, 172, 193, 261, 263
six  19, 209, 287
seven  19, 91, 112 (see 274 n.), 172, 209, 266, 274, 292
eight  4, 37, 41, 49, 236, 253
nine  45, 110, 197, 355, 266, 274
ten  37, 45, 110, 117, 165, 197, 236, 255, 287
twenty  46, 112, 193, 233, 263
thirty  48, 261, 263, 266, 274
forty  172
fifty  165
sixty  89, 209, 274
seventy  117
eighty  23, 37
ninety  ...  30, 41, 91, 107
one hundred      ...  46, 89, 
     91, 107, 117, 261, 263, 266
two hundred      ...  165, 273, 274
four hundred     ...  172, 253
eight thousand   ...  236
numeral words, the earliest epigraphical
and other instances of the use
of them, 79 n.;—an instance of the use
of them, in a date in the Nérára era   ...  75 n.

ocean; an invocation of the ocean, with
a reference to the legend of the sons
of Sagara, 155;—the western ocean, 148, 157;—the southern ocean, 141;—
the oceans enumerated as four in num-
ber, 27, 44, 51, 54, 86, 90, 160, 221, 257, 290;—the voyage of the four oceans is the
marriage-string of the earth, 86;—
their waters are the couch of the god
Vishnu, 90;—rivers spoken of as the
wives of the ocean, 64;—reference to
the submarine fire  ...  297, 298

Óghadéva, Mahdrája (of Uchchakalpá),
119, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was
Kumérádévá   ...  119, 123, 128, 131, 138
Oldenberg, Dr. H.; views expressed by
him on the Gupta era and connected
matters  ...  56

Öm, an invocation used at the commence-
ment of inscriptions, books, &c., and
represented throughout this series of
records by a symbol, not by actual
letters, 46 n., 47 and n. 93, 115, 119,
128, 131, 138, 160, 163, 167, 180, 199,
205, 212, 223, 224, 227, 257, 277, 279,
282, 296;—it is not of very frequent
use in Buddhist inscriptions; but there
are instances  ...  46 n., 47, 277, 279, 282
Öpháli, an ancient village in the Mai-
nágá pátaka   ...  116

pádachári, 'moving on feet; personi-
fied'  ...  169 and n., 181
pádndudhátya, 'meditating on the feet;'
a technical expression for the relations
of a feudatory to his paramount sover-
eign, 17 and n., 25;—of a subordinate to
a feudatory Mahádrája, 235;—of a
son to his father, 17 n., 51, 119, 129,
128, 131, 134, 136, 181, 182, 188, 189,
189, 217, 221, 224, 290;—of a son to
both his parents, 17 n., 159, 199, 298;—
of a nephew to his 'uncle,' 185;—of a
grandson to his grandfather, 187 n.;
and of a younger to his elder brother,
17 n., 181, 182, 232;—it is used also
in respect of the worship of gods, 17 n.,
111;—an instance in which páda is
omitted  ...  17 n.
pádnapadmápájávin, 'subsisting (like a
beet) on the water-lilies that are the
feet;' a technical expression, of very
common occurrence in southern inscrip-
tions, but of rather rare use in northern
records, for the relations of a feudatory
to his paramount sovereign  ...  98 n.
pádnapúrdpájávin, 'subsisting on the
cakes that are the feet,' a technical
expression to denote the relation of
officials to a 'feudatory'  ...  98 and n.,
195, 109, 116
páddartha, a particular land-measure 170 and n.
Padma, the name of a community of
Chaturvédins  ...  71
Pádmanáta, a proper name  ...  260
padraaka, 'common-land,' in Rhumbusa-
padraaka and Sivakapadraaka, 170 and n.;
—used as the termination of the name
of a village, in Pimparipadraaka.  ...  298
Pahádpur, a village in the Gháhpur
District; the pillar inscription of Siyu-
pála (?)  ...  249
pála, a particular weight  ...  71 and n.
pála, 'the sixtieth division of a ghana;' 
equal to twenty-four English seconds.  147
Palakka, or Pálakka, a town or country
in Southern India; in the time of Samu-
dragupta, its king was Ugraśána  ...  13
Pálnáin, a river flowing from the moun-
tain Úrjayat  ...  64
pát, 'a bridge'  ...  124 and n., 125
palimpesit grant, an instance of a  ...  126
Pallava, a tribe; a possible early record
of them in Northern India  ...  250
Pámorá, an ancient village in the Párva-
rástra or Eastern Country  ...  195
pántaka diminutives, 'the five sins that
entail immediate retribution'  ...  34 and n.
pántaka mahápántaka, 'the five great
sins'  ...  38 and n., 39, 40, 72, 120,
124, 129, 134, 138, 171, 265, 269, 297
pántaka-maháśabda, the sounds of five
musical instruments, the use of which
was allowed to persons of high rank
and authority (see also samádhigata-
pántaka-maháśabda)  ...  296 and n.
pántaka-maháśabda, the rites of the
pántaka-maháśabda or five great sacri-
fices; enumerated as bali, charu, vai-
śavada, agnikrta, and atitiki, 170, 190;
—mention of the bali, charu, and
sastra, i.e. atitiki, without the others
 ...  116 and n., 124, 129, 132, 290
pántaka-mávyáli, 'an assembly of five
persons;' equivalent to the modern
Páchél, Páchyday or Panch, 'a
village-jury'  ...  32 and n.

2 T 21
Parivarjaka Mahārājjas, 8, 95 n., 97, 104, 109, 111, 115;—they belonged to the Bharadwaja gotra, 115;—they were feudatories of later members of the Early Gupta dynasty; and the extreme importance of their records lies in their proving that the Gupta dominion continued to A.D. 328. 8.

Pāriyatra, a mountain 157.

Parādattada, Skandagupta's governor for Saurāshtra 63, 63, 65.

Pārśva, a Jain Tīrthaṅkara; mention of an image of him, with a hooded snake and an attendant female 259 and n.

Pārtha, a metronymic of Yuddhiṣṭhīra, Bhrīmaṇeṇa, and, in particular, Arjuna 86, 93.

Pārthiva, a tribal name, perhaps denoting the Pāllavas 250, 251.

Pārvatī (see also Bhrādavī, Dēvī, Gaurī, and Kātyāyani), wife of the god Śiva;—mention as the daughter of Himālaya 147.

Pāsubati, the god Śiva, as 'the lord of animals' 284, 16.

Pāsubati, a king, overthrown by Mihira-kula 163.

Pātaliputra, an ancient name of the modern Pātāla in Bihār, 36, 37, 39;—it is perhaps referred to, under the name of Pushpapura, in connection with Samudragupta and the Kāṭakas 5.

Pa-l'cha, see Tu-lu-po-pa-t'cha 40.

Pāthaka, a territorial term 173 and n., 189.

Pātāna, the chief town of the Pātāna District in Bihār; mentioned under the ancient names of Pātaliputra, 36, 39; and of Pushpapura 285, and perhaps, 5, 12.

Pātāna District, an inscription from the 47.

Pātāla, apparently a territorial term 104 and n.

Pāubhlī, the goddess Śachi, the wife of Indra, as the daughter of Pāubhlī 225.

Pauṣha, one of the Hindu lunar months; a rare instance of its being intercalary 279.

Pauṭra and Pauṭpauṭra, especially as contrasted with Nāṭpīṣṭ and Pranapāṭṭi, are properly to be rendered by 'son's son' and 'son of a son's son,' instead of vaguely by 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' 15 n., 97 n.

Pāvaraja-vatatakā, an ancient village in the Bejnākārpara bigha 234, 248.

Pēthā, a territorial term 116 and n., 138.

Phakka, a nickname 290.

Phalā-samākāra, 'the equation of the centre' 149.

Phalagudatta, Amālīya and Bhāgikā 124.

Phoṭa, a Prakṛti word 121, 125, 139.

Pillara, inscribed 1, 43, 47, 54.

Pimparipadranka, an ancient village in the Peṭhāma bhatti 29.
Pnakîn, the god Śiva, as 'having the bow called Pnakâ' .......................... 154
Pishtapura, a town in Southern India, the modern Pishtapuram, 7n., 13, 113 n.— in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Mahendra .................................. 13
\textit{iṣṭapura}, or Pishtapurikādvī, a form, 'at Mânapura, of the goddess Lakshmi .............................. 113 and n., 116, 132, 138
Pishtapuram, a town in the Gâlavar District, 'mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit name of Pishtapura 7n., 13, 113 n. posthumous inscriptions ...................................... 1, 91, 139
Prabhâlikâ, wife of Varunasena ........................................ 290
Prabhâkara-varâdhana, a king of Kanaúj, or more properly of Thâjepur, 232;— his wife was Yâsomati, 232;— his father was the Mahârâjâ Adityavarâdhana, 232;— and not Pushpabhûtit or Pushyabhûtit, or Shihitâya of Mâlakâ ................................. 15
Prabhânjana, Mahârâjâ (Parivrâjaka) 97, 104, 109, 115
Prabhâvatiguptâ, daughter of Dêvagupta, and wife of Rudrasena II. 75, 240, 247
Prakâśâditya, a king of Kâśî, 286;— his Sârânt inscription ............................................... 284
Prâkrit language, an epigraphical mention of the ......................... 157
Prâkrit names and words:—
   \textit{ajjaka} ........................................ 187 n.
   \textit{Ajjhita} ....................................... 119 and n., 123, 128, 131, 138
   \textit{boppa} ........................................ 186 n.
   \textit{bûra} ........................................... 186 n.
   \textit{boppa} ........................................ 188 n.
   \textit{Ijâ} .............................................. 217 and n.
   \textit{phuta} ......................................... 121, 125, 130
   \textit{santaka} ........................................ 118 n., 241 and n., 248
   \textit{učchhanna} ...................................... 255
   \textit{prandî}, 'a conduit' .................................. 180
Prâkrama, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta .......................... 14
Prâsastî, 'an eulogy', a technical term for an inscription on stone, 87 n., 201, 208, 286;— an exceptional instance in which this term is used to denote a copper-plate charter ........................................ 87 n.
Pratînarâkà, an official or family title, perhaps meaning 'a herald' ............................. 150 and n.
    \textit{pratâ}, 'a gateway with a flight of steps' ........................................... 43 and n., 45
    \textit{pratyaya, pratrya}, 'a holding' ...... 170 and n.
Pravaragî, the ancient Sanskrit name of the Barâh Hill .................. 222, 223
Pravarapura, the city from which Pravarasena II. issued his Chammak grant ........................................ 240
Pravarasena I., Mahârâjâ (Vâkâta), 241, 248
Pravarasena II., Mahârâjâ (Vâkâta), 240, 247;— his Chammak grant, 235;— his Siwan grant ........................ 243
Prayâga, an ancient name of Allahâbâd ................................ 206
Prins, Mr. James; his rendering of the date in the Kahânum pillar inscription of Skandagupta, from which originated the idea of an era dating from the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty .......................................................... 35
Prithivishêga, Mahârâjâ (Vâkâta), 235, 240, 248;— his Nachnê-ki-tâlê inscription ........................................ 233
prithivism-a-pratiratha (compare svaya-ya-pratiratha, applied to Chandragupta III.), an epithet of Samudragupta, 14, 27, 44, 51, 54, 237;— used partially on his coins, 14 n.;— applied also to Vijayârâjya (Chalukya of Gujarât) ................................. 14 n.
Prithu, an epic king ................................................. 20
Prî, 'affection', one of the wives of the god Kâmâditya ..................... 85
prose, inscriptions which are entirely in ...................................... 21, 25, 29, 36, 39, 40, 45, 110, 208, 211, 213, 219, 231, 251, 252, 254, 260, 264, 266, 267, 269, 271, 272, 273, 278, 279, 289, 287, 281, 282
Pulikâsin II. (Western Chalukya); examination of the date of his Haidarâbâd grant of the Saka year 534 expired, which proves that, up to A.D. 612, the Pūrâṇimudâta arrangement of the lunar fortights was used with the Saka years, even in Southern India ........................................... 79 n.
Pûlimbhâta, a grantee .......................................................... 138
Pûndarika, a particular sacrifice .............................................. 254
Purâka, 'a city'; this word is not justified by the only instance that is quoted for it ........................................................................................................... 69 n.
Purâka, as a termination of names of villages, in Brahmapurâka, Kollapurâka, and Vatapurâka ................................................................. 248
Purâmâdura, the god Indra, as 'the destroyer of cities' ...................... 286
Pûrāṇimudâta, the technical name for the scheme of the lunar months in Northern India, according to which arrangement the months end with the full-moon day, and the dark fortnights precede the bright, 70;—in astronomical works, however, it is always the Amânta arrangement that is actually taken for calculations, 148 n.;— even in Southern India, the Pûrāṇimudâta arrangement was used with the Saka years, for the civil reckoning, up to between A.D. 804 and 866, 70 n.;— on the other hand, even in Northern India, it was not used with the Nâvâ era in Nâpal, 75;— but it was adopted there, when the Nâvâ era was followed by the Vikrama era in its northern variety .................................................................................. 76
Pûrvarakshâ, the Eastern Country, subject to Jayârâjya and Sudévârâjya .................................................. 192 and n., 195, 199
Pushpabhûtâ, or Pushyabhûtâ, a king mentioned by Bâha in the \textit{Harshacharita}, in connection with the family of Harshavardhana of Kanaúj; he has been wrongly assumed to be the father of Prabhakarâdhana .................................................. 75
Pushpapura, an ancient name of the modern Pañja in Bihār, 185; — a town of this name is referred to in connection with Samudragupta and the Kōtas; but it may be Kanauj that is intended.  5, 12

Pushyabhūti; see Pushyabhūti.  15

Pushyamitra, a tībe, conquered by Skanda-gupta, 55; the correct form of the name seems to be Pushyamitra, not Pushpamitra.  55 n.

queen, widowed, selection of a successor to her husband by a.  12 n.

rakṣita, 'composed'; a technical term in connection with the composition of a record, as opposed to the writing and engraving of it.  87, 99 n.

Rāghava, a descendant of Rāghu; a name in particular of Rāmamitra, but also applied to Aja, Daśarathea, and Lakshmana.  20

Rāhula, a Buddhist teacher.  277

Rajyataku, a hill near the mountain Ujaray.  64, 239, 230

Rājyādhīrāja, a title of paramount sovereignty, properly obsolete in the Gupta period, but used in some metrical passages, both alone and in Rāju-rijārāja.  35 and n., 62, 151, 156 and n.

Rāja-kula, 'of the royal household; a member of the king's household.' 33 and n., 190

Rājāditya, an official title.  218

Rāja, or more properly Rājān, a feudatory title.  189, 194, 197, 293

Rājaputra, an official title.  180, 182, 184, 218 and n.

Rājasthāna, an official title.  157

and n., 170, 218

Rājatarāmādhi, a historical poem, of which the principal part was written by Kalhana; Kalhana's statement regarding the equation between the Lakkakā and the Saka era, 26 n.; — the early history of Kaśmīr, as deduced from this book, is to be adjusted by the now settled date of Mihrakula.  56

Rajendrašāla Mitra, Dr.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters.  50

Rājīn, a town in the Rājpur District; the grant of Tavārīda.  291

Rājśī, 'queen,' a title of the wives of paramount sovereigns.  212 and n., 217

Rājputāṇa, inscriptions from.  251, 252

Rājīyamati, daughter of Harsha of Gauḍa, and wife of Jayadeva II. of Nēpāl.  187

Rājyavardhana I., Mahādīraja, an ancestor of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, 234; the name of his wife, as read from the half-legible Sūnpat seal, is given as Mahādīvī (but Dr. Böhl's reading of the grant discovered since then, shows that her name was Apsarādīvī).  234

Rājyavardhana II., king of Kanauj, or more properly of Thākbar.  234

Rājyavat, wife of Dharmadēva of Nēpāl.  182

Rājyila, Amḍitva and Bhūgika.  120

Rākṣa, an epic hero, one of the incarnations of Vīṣṇu.  77

Rāmakandra, a proper name.  286

Rāmadēvī, wife of Jayasvāmin of Uchchashalaka.  119, 123, 128, 134, 138

raja-stambha, a column of victory in war; the Mandasṛ pillars, with the inscriptions of Vasūdharmāna, are actual instances.  145

Raṅganātha, a commentator on the Skṛtya-Siddhānta; the date of his commentary is A.D. 1004-1004.  175; his remarks on a verse in the Skṛtya-Siddhānta in connection with the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.  171 n.

Raṅkabājī, a grantee.  123

Rati, 'the pleasure of love,' one of the wives of the god Rāma-deva.  85

ratna-grika, 'a jewel-house,' a term which apparently denotes the great Štāpa at Sānci.  33 and n., 34, 262

Rāvan, wife of Vasudatta.  271

Raviddatta, Bhūgika.  100, 105, 109

Ravigupta, Saruṇadandavatika and Maṭhavatika, the Dāltaka of the inscription of Vasantasena of the (Gupta) year 435.  183

Ravikṛṣṭi, a proper name.  156

Ravishāna, Mahādēmanta and Mahādīraja.  290; — his wife was Mihrakulshēm.  290

Rājpur, a town in the Central Provinces; the grant of Mahā-Sudhārāja.  196

Rājpur District, inscriptions from the.  191, 196

regnal or dynastic years, which have furnished the origin of most of the Hindu eras, can come to be ordinarily quoted as expired years, only when the era has been adopted by astronomers for astronomical processes.  143; — instances of dates recorded in regnal years, 159, 161, 194, 197, 236, 244, 287, 932; — instances of dates recorded apparently in regnal years, but really in years of an era.  38 and n., 40, 41, 44, 71, 268

Rehatseeck, Mr. E.; his proposal for amending the translation of Ālbdīn's words regarding the origin of the Gupta era.  28

Reinaud, M.; his rendering of Ālbdīn's statements regarding the Gupta and other eras.  23, 36

Rēvā, a name of the river Narmadā.  156, 157
Rēvatikā, an ancient village in the Gayā

257

Rēvatāśraṅga, a grantee

243

Rēvatāsārmitya, a grantee

243

Rihupghna, apparently a proper name, used to denote Śatupghna or another Purānic king or hero ... 260 and n.

Rishimitra, a grantee

218

Rghupītra, an ancient Hindu astronomer, quoted by Upal the heliarc- rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 161 n., 170; he himself quotes Atrī, Parāśara, and Vasishtha, in support of the same ... 170

rock inscriptions ... 56, 269, 283

Rōhāya, a grantee

243

Rōhip, a wife of the Moon, 286; the name of a nākhatra ... 95, 182

Rōhītghad, or Rōhītghad, a hill-fort in the Shāhābād District; the seal-matrix of Sasāṅkādeva ... 283

Royal Asiatic Society's Library, an inscription from the ... 171

Rudra ... a proper name ... 280

Rudrabhīti, a grantee ... 170

Rudradēva, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta ... 13

Rudrārya, a grantee ... 243

Rudrasāraman, a grantee, 105; another of the same name ... 243

Rudrāsārmitya, a grantee ... 243

Rudrāṣena I, Mahārāja (Vākāṭaka) 241, 248

Rudrāṣena II, Mahārāja (Vākāṭaka) 240, 248

Rudrāśoma, also called Vyāghra ... 67

Rukharadēva, a grantee ... 105

'Sah,' or 'Śah,' the imaginary family or dynastic name of the Mahākṣatrapas of Saurṣṭra, based on the custom of omitting superscript vowels in the legends on their coins ... 36 n.

Śāhya, a range in Western India; mentioned as one of the breasts of the earth ... 86 n., 184 and n.

Śaiva inscriptions (for other instances of, Śaiva worship, see aytantarākṣa, aytantarāvina mahābhairavabhakti, and paramamāhābhakti) 180, 182, 184, 35, 43, 48, 140, 149, 266

Śaka, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta

Śaka era; an era of northern origin, commencing in A.D. 78, though usually represented as commencing in A.D. 79; according to the chief Hindu tradition, its starting-point was the defeat of a Śaka king by King Vikramaditya of Ujjain, 142; according to a later tradition, it dates from the birth of King Śrīvīhana of Pratisabhā; but there is no proof of his name being connected with it before the thirteenth century A.D., 142 n.; its real historical starting-point was the commencement of the reign of some particular king or kings of the Śaka tribe, 142; a curious instance of confusion, by the Jain writer Śrīvādya, between the Śaka and the Gupta eras, 32 n.; the difference in the scheme of the Northern and Southern Śaka years, both commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, 70, 71; even in Southern India, the Amunī arrangement of the lunar fortnights was not used with the Śaka era, for the civil reckoning, till between A.D. 804 and 866, 79 n.; for the civil reckoning, the Śaka year is luni-solar, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, and it is sometimes used thus by astronomers; but also, for astronomical calculations, it is sometimes taken as a solar year, commencing with the Māsa-Śamvatsāra, 101 n., 137 n.; a note on the epoch and reckoning of the era, Appendix I, 137 to 144; instances of the use of apparently current years of this era, which have to be applied as expired years, 80 n., 107 n.; quotations of the reckoning of this era, both by current and by expired years, from Hindu almanacs, which give its total duration as 18,000 years, 137 to 141, 138 n.; the present reckoning in Southern India is by current years; while the reckoning in Northern, Western, and Central India, is by expired years, 140, 141; the habitual quotation of the latter reckoning has led to the mistaken idea that the era commenced in A.D. 79, 141 and n.; but it really commenced in A.D. 78, 142; the years of the era were originally

Sāka, another name of Vṛṣeṣṇa ... 27 n., 36

sa-brahmacārin, a religious student with others who follow the same śākha ... 103, 108, 179, 256

Sachau, Prof. E.; his rendering of Alberuni's statements regarding the Gupta and other eras ... 24

Śāchl, wife of the god Indra, mentioned under the name of Pālumbī ... 225

śādyakara, a particular sacrifice ... 241 and n., 248

Śāgar District, inscriptions from the ... 91, 138

Sagara, an epic king, 21, 99, 105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 153, 171, 190, 195, 200, 291, 299; mentioned with reference to the legend of the excavation of the bed of the ocean by his sixty thousand sons ... 155

śaṅgītra, belonging to the same gotra with the person from whom the gotra-name is derived) ... 70, 96, 103, 108, 114, 118, 166, 179, 193, 198, 236, 239, 240, 245, 246, 250, 270, 295

Sāma, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta

Sāma era; an era of northern origin, commencing in A.D. 78, though usually represented as commencing in A.D. 79; according to the chief Hindu tradition, its starting-point was the defeat of a Saka king by King Vikramaditya of Ujjain, 142; according to a later tradition, it dates from the birth of King Śrīvīhana of Pratisabhā; but there is no proof of his name being connected with it before the thirteenth century A.D., 142 n.; its real historical starting-point was the commencement of the reign of some particular king or kings of the Saka tribe, 142; a curious instance of confusion, by the Jain writer Śrīvādya, between the Saka and the Gupta eras, 32 n.; the difference in the scheme of the Northern and Southern Saka years, both commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, 70, 71; even in Southern India, the Amunī arrangement of the lunar fortnights was not used with the Saka era, for the civil reckoning, till between A.D. 804 and 866, 79 n.; for the civil reckoning, the Saka year is luni-solar, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, and it is sometimes used thus by astronomers; but also, for astronomical calculations, it is sometimes taken as a solar year, commencing with the Māsa-Śamvatsāra, 101 n., 137 n.; a note on the epoch and reckoning of the era, Appendix I, 137 to 144; instances of the use of apparently current years of this era, which have to be applied as expired years, 80 n., 107 n.; quotations of the reckoning of this era, both by current and by expired years, from Hindu almanacs, which give its total duration as 18,000 years, 137 to 141, 138 n.; the present reckoning in Southern India is by current years; while the reckoning in Northern, Western, and Central India, is by expired years, 140, 141; the habitual quotation of the latter reckoning has led to the mistaken idea that the era commenced in A.D. 79, 141 and n.; but it really commenced in A.D. 78, 142; the years of the era were originally

Sāma, another name of Vṛṣeṣṇa ... 27 n., 36

sa-brahmacārin, a religious student with others who follow the same śākha ... 103, 108, 179, 256

Sachau, Prof. E.; his rendering of Alberuni's statements regarding the Gupta and other eras ... 24

Śāchl, wife of the god Indra, mentioned under the name of Pālumbī ... 225

śādyakara, a particular sacrifice ... 241 and n., 248

Śāgar District, inscriptions from the ... 91, 138

Sagara, an epic king, 21, 99, 105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 153, 171, 190, 195, 200, 291, 299; mentioned with reference to the legend of the excavation of the bed of the ocean by his sixty thousand sons ... 155

śaṅgītra, belonging to the same gotra with the person from whom the gotra-name is derived) ... 70, 96, 103, 108, 114, 118, 166, 179, 193, 198, 236, 239, 240, 245, 246, 250, 270, 295
regnal or dynastic years, and must have been used as current years, 142, 143; — the substitution of the Saka era for the Kaliyuga era, for astronomical purposes, which would introduce the ordinary use of its years as expired years, seems to have taken place between A.D. 476 and 587. ..... 143, 144

śravakā, lit. a "branch," a Vedic school, following any particular recension of one of the Vedas; names of śravakā mentioned in this series of records: —

Apaśāṃya 199
 Bahūriṣa 190, 257
 Chāḥdūga-Kautuhla 199
 Kaṭha 105
 Maṭrāmyāna 90, 160
 Rāṇayāna 71
 Taṭīti 248
 Vājaśāṇya 105, 195, 199
 Vājaśāṇya-Mādhyāṃśa 197, 120, 204
 Vājaśāṇyā-Kauya 170
 Śākya, the god Indra, as 'the powerful one' 67
 Śākta or Tāntrika worship; apparent early instances of it (see also Vaipāy- vara) 48 and n. 74, 226
 Śaktinda, a grantee 128
 Śākya, the name of the tribe or family of Buddha, 277; — mention of Śākya Bhik- shus, 272, 279, 280, 282; — and of a Śākya Bhikṣu 274
 Śālapakṣa, a Baudhākrita of Adityāsena of Magadha 210
 Śūṭura, a name of the grammarian Plāṇi 183 and n.
 Śvētāsva-Saka, an expression that is frequently used to denote the Saka era; but it is an anachronism for any period earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. 142 n.

sām, an abbreviation of the word sāmakā-sara, 'a year,' or of any of its declensional cases that can be used in expressing a date 82, 84, 93, 22 n., 30 n., 32, 89, 167

samadhigata-paṭhamahādābha, a customary epithet of feudatory nobles, indicating that they are entitled to the privilege of the paṭcha-mahādbha, 296 and n.; — three instances in which the epithet is applied to paramount sovereigns, 297 n.; — an instance of the privilege being conferred on a feudatory by his paramount sovereign 297 n., 298 n.

Śāmanta, an official title, 41, 180, 182, 148 n., 223 and n.; — used in a non-technical sense 148 and n.

Śāmanta-deva, a Hindu king of Kābul; remarks on some of his coins, which have been supposed to bear dates in the Gupta era 57 to 60

Śamaśa-Śambhū, an astrological work by Varahamihira, quoted by Utpala in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 170

samastā-rājāvyānā-dva-kha-prakākṣ-panya (see also sarva), a fiscal term 171 and n.

Samāta, a country, Lower Bengal; Samudragupta either included it in his empire, or else extended his conquests up to the confines of it. ... 9 n., 14 and n.

Śambhu, the god Śiva, as 'he who exists for happiness or welfare' 36, 155, 240, 248

Śrēdhinigraha, an official or military title, 16 and n., 120, 139, 171; — used in connection with Kumārāmdya and Mahāvātanandaka 16

sāmhyā, a period at the commencement of each of the four Hindu ages; the sāmhyā of the Kaliyuga lasts for 36,000 years of men, and is still running 139 n.

sāmhyādina, a period at the end of each of the four Hindu ages; the sāmhyādina of the Kaliyuga is to last for 36,000 years of men 139 n.

Śaṅjayaśaena, Mahāsūryaṇa & Mahārdaja 290; — his wife was Śikharavāmī 290

Śaṅkara, also called Sanghila, Āsopati 260

Śaṅkaradeva (Lichchhavi of Népal) 182, 186, 189

śakrāndī, or śakṛkramana, 'the entrance of the sun into a sign of the zodiac, the limits of the punyakāla or meritorious time for performing religious duties on these occasions, 176 n.; — the only śakṛkramādī mentioned in this series of records is the uttarāyana (the winter solstice) 199

Śaṅśabobha, Mahārājya (Parīvrajaka), 115; — his Khāb grant of the Gupta year 209, 112; — an alteration in the reading of the date of this record, 76 n., 274 n.; — its importance in proving the Parinimitta arrangement of the fortnights in the Gupta year, 70; — examination of the date 117

sāmved, 'a paramount sovereign' 147 and n.

Samudragupta (Early Gupta), 17, 28, 11, 17 n., 21, 27, 44, 51, 54, 251; — his wife was Dattadeva 21 n., 27, 44, 51, 54; — description of his musical and poetical accomplishments, 11, 12, 14, 15; — the kings, tribes, and countries, conquered by him, 12, 13, 14; — Garuḍa-tokens, etc.; coins or banners bearing representations of Garuḍa, were given to him by feudatories, 14 and n.; — reference to a city named Pushpapura, apparently as his capital, 5, 12; — Ayódhya represented, in a spurious grant, as a camp of his, 296; — he was specially selected by his father to succeed him, 12 n.; — he specially selected Chandragupta II. to succeed himself, 12 n., 27 n.; — he may have had the biruda or second name of Kāchā, 28, 27 n.; — he revived the āsambhākṣa-sacrifice, after it had been long in abeyance, 28 and n., 44, 51, 54, 257; — remarks on some of his coins, 12 ns., 14 ns., 15 n., 27 n., 28 ns.; — three of his customary
epithets are applied to Vijayaraja (Chalukya of Gujarrat), 14 n.;—his Allahabad or Kausambi posthumous pillar inscription, 1;—his Eran inscription, 18;—his spurious Gayâ grant of the year 9... 1
Samudraâna, bhadrasânta and Mahâ-
rajâ, 290;—his Nirmañâ grant... 286
samvat, an abbreviation of the word
samvatvara, 'a year,' or of any of its
decimalian cases that can be used in
expressing a date, 84, 91, 95, 97, 178 to
384, 32, 39 n., 47, 92, 108, 119, 180,
210, 257, 261, 267, 277, 289;— the
use of this word is not really confined
to the Vikrama era; and, joined with the
name of the era, it gives a convenient
method of quoting the years of any of the
different eras... 22 n.
samvatara, 'a year' [see also sam,
samvat, and year] 95 n.;—the reason
why the earlier years of Hindu eras are
quoted by this term, or by the abbrevlations sam and samvat, without
any dynamic appellation... 142
samvatara or years of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, by the heliacal-rising
system, mentioned in records of the
Early Gupta period:—
Mahâ-âsâvyuja... 110, 117, 104, 115
Mahâ-Chaitra... 114, 108
Mahâ-Magha... 119, 112
Mahâ-Vaisâkha... 104, 95, 96
Sanâkânika, or Sanâkânikâ, a tribe, con-
erqued by Samudragupta, 8 n., 14, 25;—
certain Mahârâjas of this tribe men-
tioned by name... 25
Sanasidhâ, a proper name... 262
Sâchi, or Sâchi, a village in the Bhâpil
State; its name is not derived from the
Sanâskrit word sâchi, but is probably
an alliterative vernacular word, 20 n.,
260 n.;—in the Aôsa period, its
name was Kâkânâka, 31;—in the
Gupta period, the name of the great
Stûpa here was Kâkânâkâdâmadâvish-
hâra, 31, 261;—in the inscriptions it
seems to be denoted by the term ratnagriha, 33 and 34, 36, 202;—the modern
popular name of the great Stûpa is
Sâs hâkâ hâ hîî, 30 n.;—the inscription of Chandragupta II, of the (Gupta)
year 93... 29;—the inscription of the
(Gupta) year 131... 260;—a pillar in-
scription... 279
Sandhyâpûtra, a grantee... 97
Sanâghila, another name of Sanâkara, Aî-
vapati... 260
Sanâhrikâ or Sanâhrikâ, the imaginary
name of a wife of Samudragupta... 18, 19, 1
tankha 'a conch-shell,' as an emblem on
seals... 191, 196, 262
Sanâskrit language, an epigraphical
mention of the... 157
santaka, a Prakrit word meaning 'be-
longing to,' in samvat-santaka... 118 n.,
241, and n., 248
santaka, santaka, a territorial term... 118
and n., 120, 132
'santâl' Pargâqâ, a late inscription from
the mentioning Aditya-âna of Maga-
dha... 212 n.
Santisârman, a granter... 243
upânga, 'the seven' constituent ele-
ments of a kingdom... 242 and n.
Sarabhâ, king, mention of a, as the mater-
nal grandnaiter of Gopârâja (see also
Sarabhâpura)... 14, 93
Sarabhâpura, a proper name... 33
Sarabhapura, the town from which Jaya-
rajâ and Sâliverajâ issued their chart-
ters, 192, 194, 199;—it is 'not to be
identified with Arjâ, nor with 'Sâm-
bâlpatu' or 'Sambhulatu,' 194;—the
Râjas of Sarabhapura (see also Sar-
abhâ king)... 14, 194, 199
sârad, 'the autumn,' the importance of
the use of this word in connection
with the Mâlava or Vikrama era... 66 n.
sâradhî, 'a bow-string'... 223 and n.
Sarasvatî, wife of the god Brahman, and
goddess of learning... 208
Sâttâla, Sâttâlawarman, a Maukhari
chief... 223, 225, 228
Saran, an abbreviation of the name of
Dhruvasarman... 9 n., 45 and n.
Sarârâya, a grantee... 243
Sârangâdaij, the god Vishnu, as 'hearing
in his hand the bow of horn named
Sârinâ... 147, 183
Sârgin, the god Vishnu, as 'possessing
the bow of horn named Sârîga... 56, 87
Sârâ, a village in the Benares District;
an image inscription, 281;—the
inscription of Prakâshârîtā... 284
Sarva, the god Siva... 103
Saradadudâsâyaka, a military title, of an
officer next in rank below the Mahâ-
saradadudâsâyaka; used in connection
with Mahâpratihâra... 183
Saratudda, the Dâda of the grants of
Jayanâtha of the (Gupta or Kalachuri)
years 174 and 177... 120, 124
Sarvâdhyâsanka, general superintendent,
an official title... 241 and n., 248
Sarvânâ, Vishvâyopati, a governor of
Sandragupta for the Antarvîd country
71
Sarvanâtha, Mahârâja (of Uchchakalpa),
112, 128, 132, 133, 138;—his Bhumâ
pillar inscription, 110;—examination of its date, 110;—his Khôr grant of the
(Gupta or Kalachuri) year 193;... 125;—his imperfect Khôr grant, without
date, 129;—his Khôr grant, imperfect,
of the year 197; 132;—his Khôr
grant of the year 214... 135
2 Ua
sarasvati, a deity, an epithet of Samudragupta, 27, 44, 51, 54, 257; it occurs also on the coins that bear the name of Kacha

27 n.

Sarasvāmin, a grantee

105

Sarvāja, a proper name

190

Sarvājna, Divīra, a grantee

123

Sarvaśvarman (Maukhari), 215, 218, 220, 221; his Ashraya seal

219

Sarvaśvarman, Mahāraja, mentioned in the Nārāyaṇ grant of Samudraśena

290

śaśa, 'a character' (see śatāmura-śāsā), a technical term for a deed of conveyance on copper-plates, 99 n., 194, 199, 218, 240, 242, 247, 249, 266; an illustration of functions connected with such a charter

99 n.

Sādakādeva, Mahāśimanta, 284; his Rādhāsagad seal-matrix

283

Śātanayana, apparently the name of a gośra

123

Śāśa-bakū kā bīja, the modern popular name of the great Śāśa at Śānic; with which we have to compare Śāśa-bakū kā ṛddha, which is the modern popular name of the temple at Gwalior in which there is the inscription of Mahāpala of the Vikrama year 1150

30 n.

Śatāmsaevi-Svāmī, the name of a section of the Mahābharata, or of the whole poem

139

Sātī, popularly Suttee, see cremation of widows

92 and n., 93

Śatruṅgharāja, a proper name

241

śattra, 'an almshouse,' 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 116 n., 265; one of the five great sacrifices, usually called atthi

116 n., 124, 129, 132, 290

Śātvata, a Vaishānava sect

271 and n.

Śāukiśa, an official title

52 and n.

Saurāśtra, the modern Kāthiāwār country; mentioned under the name of Saurāśtra; and as subject to Skandagupta, 62, 63; remarks on the coins of the Kshatrīyas and Mahākshatrapas of Saurāśtra

30 n.

Savirāśvin, a proper name

199

śayana, 'inclusive of precession of the equinoxes'

246

Scindia's Dominions, inscriptions from

21, 34, 79, 142, 149, 150, 151, 258

sculptures accompanying inscriptions on stone

72, 269, 274

seals of charters; emblems on them, 125, 164, 191, 196, 219, 231, 255, 292; legends on them, 94, 101, 106, 112, 125, 164, 191, 196, 219, 231, 235, 244, 255, 292; instances in which they are attached to the plates by rings, 94, 101, 106, 112, 117, 121, 125, 130, 132, 135, 164, 172, 191, 196, 235, 244, 287, 292; instances in which they are attached to the sides of the plates by soldering, 69, 219, 231, 255; an instance of a stone matrix for casting seals

283

seasons, references and allusions to the various:

Grisila, the hot season

63

Hemanta, the cold season

86, 87

Śarak, the autumn

77

Śiser, the dewy season

77, 87

Varshā, the rainy season

63

Vasanta, the spring

158

selection by kings of their successors, and by a widow of her husband's successor

12 n.

Śūlapati, a military title 41, 167 and n.

168, 243, 249

serpent-emblem on seals

283

Śēha, the king of serpents, mentioned as supporting the earth on one of his hoods

208

Śhāhālal (Ārā) District, inscriptions from the

213, 283

Śhāhānuśhāsi, a dynasty or tribe, conquered by Samudragupta

14

Śhāhi, a dynasty or tribe, conquered by Samudragupta

14

Śhāhpur, a village in the Patna District; the image inscription of Adityasena of the (Ilāsha) year 66

208

Śhashṭhitada, a proper name

156

śhūlasin, a particular sacrifice. 241 and n.

248

śiddha, 'a perfect one,' the epithet of a certain class of Jain saints; they are always invoked in the plural

259 and n.

Śiddha, a class of supernatural beings

84, 206

śiddham, 'perfection has been attained,' an invocation used at the commencement of inscriptions, 25 and n., 34, 35, 54, 61, 67, 71, 84, 154, 247, 254, 254, 262; it is the remnant of some such expression as śiddham bhagavatā

25 n.

Śiddhānta-Sirvandita, an astronomical work by Bhaskaracharya; it was written A.D. 1150-51, 150 n.; its author's explanation of the rule for the Brahma-Siddhanta unequal-space system of the nakṣatras

166

Śiddhashena, Mahāprathāhāra and Mahākṣapistakika, the Dīkta of the grant of Śilāditya VII, of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 447

190

sign-manual at the end of a charter, indicated by the word svā-hasta, 171, 191; actual representations of a sign-manual

171 n., 191

Śikharasvāmin, wife of Sāvajyāsena

290

Śīcāhraya, a Jain writer, author of the Āchardrākti, in which, in giving the date, he makes a curious confusion between the Gupta and the Śaka eras

32 n.

Śilāditya, a būrda or second name, given by Huien Tsang, Harshavaradhana of Kanauj

39, 40
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS: INDEX.

Siladiya of Malava, a king mentioned by Huen Tsang, 10, 40; he has been wrongly assumed to be the father of Prabhãkarpavarta. 15

Siladiya 1. (of Valabhi). 41, 181, 183; he had the biruda or second name of Dharmaditya. 181

Siladiya II. (of Valabhi). 41, 185

Siladiya III. Siladityadeva (of Valabhi). 41, 185

Siladiya IV., Siladityadeva (of Valabhi). 41, 185

Siladiya V., Siladityadeva (of Valabhi). 41, 187

Siladiya VI., Siladityadeva (of Valabhi). 41, 188

Siladiya VII., Siladityadeva (of Valabhi). 41, 189; he had the biruda of Dhruvabha, i.e. Dhruvabha, 172 and n., 185; his Alïna grant of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 447. 171

Sinha era, an era commencing in A.D. 114, or perhaps in A.D. 115, quoted in the Veraval inscription of the Valabhi year 945. 85

Sinhala, one of the names of Ceylon; mentioned as conquered by Samudragupta. 141

Sindhu, the river Indus; mentioned as having seven mouths. 141

Sirpur, a town in the Râjput District; mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit name of Śrîpura. 293, 296

Sirat, a village in the Dhârâwad District; examination of the date of the inscription of Amoghavarsha 1., of the Śaka year 798, which proves that the Amôdta arrangement of the lunar fortnights was applied to the Śaka years, in Southern India, between A.D. 804 and 866. 79 n.

Sisapala, an epic king. 256; probably the name of the king whose inscription is on the Phalâdhipillar. 250, 251

Siva, the god, 'the destroyer' of the Hindu triad (see also Bhutaspati, Hara, Isa, Īśvara, Jayēśvara, Kapalēśvara, Mahādeva, Mahēśvara, Mihirēśvara, Paramēśvara, Pâsûpati, Pîndîn, Sambhu, Śarva, Śåhôu, Śålapôti, Śurahâlîkôvâra, Svâmî-Mahâbhârata, and Tripûrântaka; and, for his wife, see Pârvati). 241, 248; mentioned in connection with the Āgâya, 180 and n., 182, 241, 248; mention of the river Gangâ flowing through his matted hair, 16; other references to his matted or braided hair, 87, 162; mention of him as the father of Kârttikeya, 206; a reference to his bull Nandi or Nandin, as an emblem on his banner, 147; a reference to his destruction of Kâma-dévâ, 87; spoken of as employing Brahman for creation, preservation, and destruction; and also as being himself the creator, with a necklace of skulls, a serpent round his neck, and the crescent moon on his forehead, 155 and n.; other references to him as 'the creator,' 184 and n., 186, 290; other references to the moon on his forehead, 87, 162, 206; a probable early instance of his form, in combination with Pârvati, as Ardhanârîśvara, 224; a form of Siva in combination with the Sun. 141, 288

Sivâdasa, a proper name. 112

Sivâdeva, Bhâtikraka, the Dittaka of the inscription of Sivâdeva II. of the (Harsha) year 143 (I). 182

Sivâdeva I., Mahârâja (Lichchhavi of Nârâyaṇa). 177, 178, 190, 191; he had the epithet of the banner or glory of the Lichchhavikula, 177, 178; notice of his Gîomâdhipûj inscription of the (Gupta) year 316, 177; the value of this record in proving the use of the Gupta era in Nârâyaṇa, and in fixing the chronology of the early rulers of that country, 90, 177, 184; notice of another of his inscriptions, the date of which is lost. 178

Sivâdeva II. (Thâkurt of Nârâyaṇa). 182, 187, 189, 190, 191; his wife was Vatsadâvî, 184, 187; notice of his inscription of the (Harsha) year 119, 182; and of an inscription of the year 143 (I), which is probably one of his records. 182

Sivagupta, Mahâbahlidîkîrta, the Dittaka of the grants of Sarvântaka of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) years 193 and 197. 129, 134

Sivakapradaka, the name of some land in the village of Antarâta. 170

Siwânt, the chief town of the Siwân-Chandel District; the grant of Pravârâsena II. 213

Skambhasâna, a proper name. 170

Skanda, a name of the god Kârttikeya. 51

Skandabhâta, Simhâbhugrihika, writer of the grant of Dharâsena II. of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 252. 171

Skandâdeva, Panduraraja, the Dittaka of a Nârâyaṇ inscription of the (Harsha) year 82. 181

Skandagupta (Early Gupta). 17, 51, 52, 55, 61-63, 71; he had the biruda or second name of Kramaditya, 18; mentioned as restoring the fallen fortunes of his family by conquering the Pusyamâtras, 51; as defeating the Hûnas, 56; apparently as overcoming the Nâgas, 62 and n.; and as establishing his fame in the countries of the Mîlchechhas, 62; remarks on two of his coins, 25 n., 46 n.; his Bihâr pillar inscription, 47; his Bihâr pillar inscription, 52; his Jumângal rock inscription of the (Gupta) years 130, 137, and 138, 56; his Kâlabhuma pillar inscription of the year 141, 95; his Indâr grant of the year, 146, 68; a Sâlich inscription of the year 2 U.
Sañhārika, an ancient village in the Purvvardhā or Eastern Country

Sārvāpikā, a well at Sañhārika

Śāhānu, the god Śiva, as ‘the Immaculate one’

śaktiṣaṃpradāyi, apparently meaning ‘chief of architects’

Śhāvīra, a Buddhist priestly title

stones, inscriptions on, are usually denoted by the term prasasti

Śīrā, the technical name of a certain kind of Buddhist monument, 30 and n.;—in two records the term rātana-grhītha seems to be used to denote a Śīrā, 33 and n., 34, 260;—in the neighbourhood of Śāchī, the popular term for a Śīrā is hita

Sūkhā, an abbreviation of sūkha or dūthaka, ‘the bright fortnight,’ used in connection with di (see also under ba di), 97, 95, 210, 277, 291;—used by itself 95, 101 Sudarśana, a lake at Girinagara

Śūlāvartāja, or Mahā-Sūlāvartāja, Rāja (of Sarabhupura), 191;—his Rāypur grant, 196;—reference to another grant by him, which requires to be reedited

Śagata, a name of Buddha, as ‘the one who has attained a good state’

Śukra, the regent of the planet Venus, and the preceptor of the demons

Śākśiṣmaṇī, the engraver of the Apsargs inscription of Adityaśena

Sukūli dēva, an ancient territorial division in the neighbourhood of Śāchī

Śulabha, a proper name

Śalapāṇi, the god Śiva, as ‘holding the trident in his hand’

Śūlasāgaram, an ancient village in the neighbourhood of Nīrmanda

Sumēru, another name of the mountain Mēru, 86, 147;—mentioned as the abode of Indra, 278;—and as one of the breasts of the earth

sun: inscriptions on, worship of, 68, 79, 126, 161, 208, 214, 228;—sun worship indicated elsewhere by the title paramādityabhakta, 168, 232;—invocations of the Sun as a god, 71, 84, 169;—worship of the Sun combined with that of Vīshnu, 126;—and with that of Śiva, 288;—ancient temples of the Sun, at Indor in the Bulandshahar District, 70;—at Mandaśor, 80;—at Arasmaka, 120;—at Gwalior, 162;—and at Dēḍ-Bārānākṣā, 218;—an image of the Sun at Shīhphūr, 210;—the Sun connected with Varuṇa in the name of Varuṇārtha, 215;—the Sun mentioned under the name of Varuṇavasāna, 218;—mention of the chariot and horses of the Sun, 78, 163;—cows spoken of as ‘daughters of the Sun,’ 195 and n., 209, 299;—a symbol of sun-worship, or perhaps the wheel-emblem
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INDEX.

Supushpa, a traditional and very early member, at Pushpapura, of the family of the Lichchhavis of Nāgāl 185
Sāmbhodīvara, a ñiga form of the god Siva 180 n.
Suraguru, the regent of the planet Jupiter, as 'the preceptor of the gods;' 90 n., 157, 158— the day of Suraguru, i.e. Thursday 81, 90
Sūrāśīna, or Sūrāśīna, Rājaputra: his wife was Bhūpadēvi, sister of Aṃśuvarman 180
Sūrakṣhīrā (or more usually Saurashṭra) country, the modern Kathiāwār; it was subject to Skandagupta 62, 63
Sūrāsamichandra, Mahārāja, a governor of Badhagupta for the country between the rivers Jamna and Narmada 89, 90
Sūryadatta, Mahāsūryadīvṛghūnika, the writer of the grants of Hastin of the (Gupta) years 156 and 163 99, 105, 109
Sūryadatta, a grantee 97
Sūryamitra, a grantee 218
Sūrya-Sīdhaśāstra, an ancient astronomical work; it is the text-book of the Saurasakha school of astronomers, 145 n.; — according to it, the length of the solar year is 365 days, 15 ghati, 31' 53 1/3 palas, 140; — and the length of the year of Jupiter, by the mean-sign system, is 361 days, 1 ghati, 36 palas, 170; — it rules for determining the years of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter by the mean-sign system, 170; — it rules for determining the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter by his heliacal rising in connection with the occurrence of nakshatras on new-moon days, 171; — comments on this rule by Rāgaṇātha and Dālbhālī 171 n.
Sūryavāmśa, the Solar Lineage; there are no grounds for allotting the Early Guptas to this lineage, 19, 1; but, according to tradition, the family of the Lichchhavis of Nāgāl did belong to it 185, 188
Sūravarman, the founder of the family of the Parīranka Mahārājas 115
Sūṣṭhīravarman, probably a Mauhārī king, conquered by Maṅgānagupta 15, 206
Sūttee (Sūfti), see cremation of widows 92 and n., 93
Sūvarṇa, a particular gold coin or weight of gold 205
Sūvāsikakasaka, apparently an ancient village in Baghākhaoa 125
Sva-hasta, 'a sign-manual,' 171, 191; — actual representations of a svaha 171 n., 191 and n.
Svāmīdatta of Koṭṭīra on the hill, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 7 n., 13
Svāmīdvārāya, a grantee 243
Svāmī-Mahābhārata, one of the terrific forms of the god Siva 245, 248
Svāmī-Mahāśeṇa, the god Kaṭṭīkāya, as 'the commander of a large army' 83, 84
Svāmin, a title of office or rank 277
Svāmīnaga, a proper name 128
Svāmini, 'a noble lady,' or perhaps an abbreviation of Vīhāravāmini 262 and n.
sva-mukhājī, 'the order or command of one's own mouth;' an expression, connected with charters, used when a Dālaka is not employed 100 n., 116 and n., 195, 200
Svarbhānu, a name of Rahu, the personified ascending node, as the "causer of an eclipse of the sun" 97
svaśi, 'hail,' an exclamation used at the commencement of inscriptions, 96 and n., 104, 108, 111, 119, 123, 128, 131, 138, 167, 180, 194, 199, 217, 240, 257; — used with a dative case at the end of an inscription, 88; — used as a neuter noun, meaning 'prosperity,' with asa, and governing the dative 90, 161
Śāktisarmārāya, a grantee 243
Śvāṭisvāmin, a grantee 105
śvāyamava-pratirathra (compare prithivayamava-pratirathra, applied to Samudragupta), an epithet of Chandragupta II. 44, 51, 54
Śvāyanbhū, the god Brahman, as 'the self-existent one' 155 and n.
'Syaḷapati,' a Hindu king of Kābūl; remarks on some of his coins, which have been supposed to bear dates in the Gupta era 57 to 60

Tālpura, or Tālpura, an ancient town in the vicinity of Nirmān 290 and n.
Tālkāvāka, an official title 217 and n.
Tamas, a river, the modern Tams or 'Toun' 126, 128
Tāmri-sāsana, 'a copper-charter' (see also Visanau), a technical term for a deed of conveyance written on copper-plates, 99 n., 109, 116, 128, 132, 138, 195, 199;—an illustration of functions connected with such a charter, 99 n.
Tānąga-pādpat, 'an adopted son.' 293 n., 298
Thaiṅka, or Sākta worship, apparent early instances of worship (see also Vaijisvāvara.) 48 and n., 74, 226
Thaiṅkī rulers of Nāgāl: Thaiṅkī is the name given in the Nāgāl Vaiṣṇavatī to the family to which Aṃśuvarman and his successors belonged, 189;—their palace was Kaṅkhākśita-bhavana, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 189;—they used the Harsha era, 90, 182, 189;—instances of this, 178 to 184; — they seem to have had the government of
the western portion of Nepal, 109; — the dates of the known members of this family, 189; — their intermarriage with the Mauharis, and with the Bhagadatta family.

Thomas, Mr. E.: the views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters, with the result that he held it to be identical with the Saka era.

Tilabhataka, Mahammadanmbayka, the superintendent of the work connected with the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

Tilamaka, 'a water-course.'

Tirthambaras, early Jain saints, mentioned under the epithet of Adikathri 68 and n.

Tishyamratritha, an ancient place.

tithi, 'a lunar day,' 32 n., 163; — an epigraphical quotation of the new-moon tithi of fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight, as the thirty-third tithi of the month, 110 n., — the astronomical meanings of the term tithi, 147; — one mean tithi; of time, is equal to 0/80125/952, of a mean solar day and night, 149 n.; — the mean tithis in a solar year are 371, and 3 ghatis, 534 palas. 148; — in general, the term tithi means the end of a tithi, not its beginning or duration; and the tithis are thus shewn in Paikdhangs, 148; — and so, for all ordinary purposes, the week-day of a tithi is the week-day on which that tithi ends; and consequently there may, in certain instances, be a nominal discrepancy between the resulting English and Hindu week-days, 150 n.; — the tithis given in Paikdhangs are apparent, not mean, 148; — and they are intended to be given from apparent sunrise, 155; — the method of determining the apparent tithis from the mean tithi, 154; — a method of calculating the week-days, ending-times, and English dates, of tithis, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Appendix II., 145 to 159; — the ending-time of a tithi, thus obtained, may sometimes differ from the results obtained from the Sravya-Sidhdhanta and other Hindu works; but the difference will not amount to more than 5 or 6 ghatis.

tithi-bhaga, 'the enjoyment or duration of a tithi.'

tithi-Dhruva, 'the constant of a tithi,' a term denoting the number of complete tithis that elapse from the commencement of Chaitra up to the tithi during which the Maha-Samkranti occurs.

tithi-khanda (see also khandra), 'the anomaly of a tithi, expressed in tithis,' 149; — the annual variation in the
tithi-khanda is 7 tithis, 9 ghatis, 42 palas.

tithi-madhya-yam-khanda (see also khanda), 'the mean anomaly of a tithi expressed in tithis,' a term denoting the number of tithis that elapse, up to the Maha-Samkranti, from the moon's preceding arrival at her apogee.

tithi-suddhi, 'the subtraction of tithis,' a term denoting the number of tithis that elapse from the commencement of Chaitra up to the time of the Maha-Samkranti, 148, 150; — when the tithi-suddhi, obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, is less than 19, there cannot be an intercalary month in the year.

Tivaradave, or Tivaradari, also called Mahasiva-Tivaradari, of the Parduvahia, 296, 298; — he had the title of 'supreme lord of Kshas,' 296; — he was the adopted son of Nandadeva, 293, 298; — his raja grant.

Toms, 'properly Tamas, a river in Bhojpur, and the North-West Provinces; mentioned under the ancient name of Tamasa.

Toramaka, a king of the Mihira tribe or clan among the Hapas, and the father of Mihirakula, 10, 11, 12, 169, 163; — he came, in Eastern Mawa, very shortly after Budhagupta, 10, 11; — remarks on the reading and interpretation of the date on his coins, 11, 12; — his Era hoar inscription.

Traidhakasha, a tribe (see also Trikhta); the grant of the Traidhakasha Mahardja Dharasena, and another Traidhakasha grant, perhaps furnish early instances of the use of the Kalachuri or Chedi era; but they may be dated in the Gupta era.

Trikhta, the origin of the name Traidhakasha, 234; — it has been identified with Tripura or Tripura, the capital of the Kalachuri; but this point remains to be proved.

Triparantaka, the god Siva, as 'the destroyer of the demon Tripura, or of his three cities.'

Tu-lu-h'po-tu, the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit name of the reigning king of Valabhip in the time of Huien Tsang; it has been restored as Dhruvapati, 39, 40; — and as Dhruvabhati, 57; — the king in question has been identified with one of the Dhruvavanas of Valabhip, 39, 47; — with Dharapata, 42; — with Salditya VII., 51; — with Desabhati, or one of the Dharasenas, or one of the earlier Saldityas, 57; — and with Dhrusavasena II., 64; — there are difficulties in the way of finally determining his iden-
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS. INDEX.

Uppagupta, wife of Iśvaravarmā. 220 n., 221

upakārīṇa, a fiscal term, requiring explanation. 242, 249

upapādākā, a metrical form for upa-

pādākā. 272 n.

upapādākā, 'sins of the second degree.'

Upasaka, an official title, requiring expla-

nation. 252, 120, 124, 129, 134, 138, 171, 291

Upapāraka, a fiscal term (add a reference
to Ind. Ant. VII. 60, note). 97, 98 and n.,
105, 109, 120, 128, 132, 138, 170, 189, 218, 257

Upāsaka, a worshipper of Buddha who is
not a member of the priesthood, i.e.
'a lay-worshipper.' 262

Upāsikā, the feminine of Upāsaka. 262

Upāsena I. and II., Buddhist teachers. 277

Upendra, the god Vishu, as the younger
brother of Indra. 182 and n.

Upltē or Upłatā, a village in the Kaira
District; mentioned under the ancient
name of Upalalāṭa. 173, 189

Upalāṭa, the ancient name of the
modern Uplēṭ or Upłatā; mentioned
as the chief town of a puthaka in the
Khēṭaka chūra. 173, 179

Urajay, a mountain near Gīrina, now
known by the name of Gīnār. 57, 64, 65
utkirta, 'engraved,' a technical expres-
sion for the actual engraving of an
inscription on copper or on stone. 99 n.,
148, 150, 158, 195, 200

Utpala, a commentator on the Brihats-
āsamhīta; his quotations of early astro-
nomers for the helical-rising system of the
Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 161 n.,
170; - his quotation of Garga and
Purkasa, as giving a variation from the
usually accepted grouping of the nak-
shatras. 163 n.; - his quotation of the
Garga-Samhīta for one of the unequal-
space systems of the nakshatras, 164;
- and of a verse by Garga, which seems
to refer to the mean-sign system of the
Twelve-Year Cycle. 172

Uttarakuru, the land of the Northern
Kurus. 260 and n.

Uchchārē, the capital of the Nāgadh
State; it is not to be identified with a
supposed 'Udyāra.' 93 n.

Uchchakalpa, an ancient city or hill, from
which Jayanātha and Sarvanātha issued
their grants, 117 n., 119, 123, 128, 131,
138; - the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa,
8, 9, 10, 112, 119, 123, 128, 131, 133,
138; - the dates of their records have
been interpreted as being in the
Gupta era, 8, 118, 121, 126, 133, 135;
- but it is possible that they really are
the earliest instances of the use of the
Kalachuri era, and that these Mahārājas
were feudatories of early Kalachuri
kings. 8, 9, 10

Uchchanna, a Prākrit corruption of utṣanna. 256

Udayaśēva, Yuvardī, the Dūthaka of the inscription of Aśuvarman of the
(Harsa) year 39. 210 and n.

Udayaśēva (Thākuri of Nāpāl) 180, 188, 189, 191

Udayagiri, a village and hill in the Īś-
agiri District; the cave inscription of
Chandragupta II., of the (Gupta) year
82, 21, 21; the cave inscription of
Chandragupta II., not dated, 34, - the
cave inscription of the time of Kumāra-
gupta, of the year 106. 258

Uddhava, an epic hero. 156

udrāgga, a fiscal term, 97 and n., 104, 109,
120, 128, 132, 138, 170, 185, 189, 218, 290

Udyāṭāra, the writer of the Nirmand
grant of Samudrāśena. 291

Ugrāśena of Palakka or Pālakka, a king
in Southern India, conquered by
Samudragupta. 13

ukthaya, a particular sacrifice. 241 and n., 248

Udana, a proper name. 32

Unnata, an ancient town or village. 170

Uppedhiyā, 'a sub-teacher,' the instruc-
tor in only a part of the Veda, in
grammar and the other Vedāṇgas. 271, 282

we, an abbreviation of vadya, 'the dark
fortnight,' or else a substitute for ba;
used in connection with di (see also
under ba di). 85

Vāhika, a tribe, conquered by Chand-
дра. 141 and n.

vaidīla, a word requiring explanation. 290

Vainaya, an epic king. 77

Vaishnavas inscriptions (for other instan-
cies of Vaishnava worship, see uṣanta-
bhagavat-bhakta, bhagavat-bhakta,
bhadavata, paramabhadavata, and
paramasavathyavata  23, 53, 58, 74, 89, 113, 121, 126, 268
Vaishnavi, perhaps a name of the earth, as the personification of the Śakti or female energy of Vishnu  105 n.
vaiśnavī, one of the five great sacrificial rites  170, 190
vallastika, a particular weapon; an exact explanation of the term is required  12
vajra, a particular sacrifice, 241 and n.  248
Vajragrama, an ancient village, in Kāthiavād  170
Vajeśvara, a god; Mr. Benfell (Journey in Nepal, p. 78, note) takes the name as one of the "early traces of the curious juxtaposition of Hindu and Buddhist cult that the Tantric system brought into Nepal."  181
Vākāṭaka, a tribe or dynasty, 15, 16, 215, 240, 241, 247, 248; it may be the name of a country also, but not in certain supposed cases, 234 n.; it is derived from an original form vākāṭa, and is not to be identified with the modern Bhāndāk, 234; the Vākāṭaka Mahāśāla, 15, 235, 240, 241, 247, 248; they belonged to the Vishnuvirdhā gōra, 241, 248; they intermarried with the Bhāradasivas, 241, 248; their date is determined by the marriage of Rudrasena II. with Prabhāvatigupa, daughter of Dēvagupta of Magadha.  15
Vakhkhali, a proper name  290
Vakra, Amūti  100, 105, 109
Vakravaṇa, an ancient forest, or perhaps town or village, in Baghelkhand  125
Valabhi, the ancient name of the modern Wāl in Kāthiavād, the chief city of the Kings of Valabhi and their ancestors, 167; the meaning of the name, 23 n.; there is no authority for the use by Reinaud and Sachau of the forms Balabha, Ballaha, and Ballabha, 23 n.; the Kings of Valabhi, and their ancestors, 13, 167, 168, 169, 180 to 189; their genealogy, 41; it was through their preservation of the Gupta era that it came to acquire the name of the Valabhi era, 23, 120; but they did not establish the era, 130; nor can they have introduced it into Nepal, 134 n.; list of the charters issued by them from Valabhi itself, 126 n.; Huien Tsang's remarks about the reigning King of Valabhi in his time  40
Valabhi era; the later name of the Gupta era, due to its preservation by the Kings of Valabhi, and used by Alberuni in the eleventh century A.D., and in epigraphical records of the thirteenth century, 22, 23; Alberuni distinctly states the absolute identity of the Valabhi era with the Gupta era  31
Valabhi-legends and Valabhi-sanwst, technical expressions, in the thirteenth century A.D., for the Gupta era under its later name of the Valabhi era  222, 84, 91
Valaka, apparently an ancient village, in Baghelkhand  105
Valatkushan, an official title, requiring explanation  857
Valāvī śāvaya, an ancient territorial division in Bhār  218
valaya-pāśki, a boundary-pillar  112
Vālugarta, an ancient village in Baghelkhand  109
Vanga, a country, the modern Bengal or the eastern parts of it, invaded by Chandra  114
Vangara, an ancient village in Baghelkhand  105
vāpī, vāpīdē, an irrigation-well  170, 200
vēra, a 'week-day (see also week-days), which is reckoned by the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise  146, 147
Varadhāśa, a proper name  156
Vārālādīnī, Bhāgīka  124, 129, 134, 139
Vārāhāmihira, an astronomer; he died A.D. 587, 143 and n.; his rules, in the Brihat Samhita and the Samāśa-Samhita, for the naming of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter according to the heliacal-rising system, 161, 170; his rule, in the Brihat Samhita, for the grouping of the nakshatras for that purpose  162
Vārāśārman, a grantee, 243; another of the same name  243
Varasarmārya, a grantee  243
Vārīhaka, a proper name  170
Varika, a tribe; mention of certain chiefs of this tribe  253, 254
vārsha, 'a year, the reason why the earlier years of Hindu eras are quoted by this term, without any dynastic appellation  743
Vārīṭha, an official title  180 and n.
Vāruṇa, the god of the ocean, 14, 28, 44, 51, 54, 63, 257; mentioned as the regent of the west, 63; connected with the Sun in the name of Varuṇakāra  215
Varuṇāśarman, a grantee  105
Varunāsena, Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja, 289; his wife was Prabhālīka  290
Varunavīsī, a name of the Sun  218
Varunavīshū, a proper name  90, 160
Vārūnikī, the ancient name of the modern Dēvī-Harājārk  244, 215, 218
Vasantadeva, a variant of the name of Vaśasena  183 and n., 186, 189
Vaśasena (Liechhavi of Nepal), 183, 188, 189, 191; mentioned under the name of Vasantadeva, 186; notice of his inscription of the (Gupta) year 435  183
Vaśishtha, an ancient astronomer, quoted by Rishiputra, and through him by Ut-
pala, for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter ........................................ 170
Vāsu, Grāmakī........................................ 112
Vasmātaka, a proper name ..................................... 271
Vasudevā, the father of Vīsṇu in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa ................................................................. 206
Vāsudeva, the god Vīṣṇu, as Kṛṣṇa, ‘the son of Vāsudeva’ ................................................................. 115, 286
Vāsula, the composer of the Mandāsor pillar inscriptions of Yaśodharman ................................... 148
Vasunārashāndika, an ancient village in Baghālkhand ................................................................. 97
vāṇa, a fiscal term, requiring explanation ................................................................. 179 and n., 189
Vatsapraka, an ancient village in the Bēndakhāpara bhāg................................................................. 243
Vatsabhaṭṭi, the composer of the Mandāsor inscription of the Mālava year 529 ....................................... 88
Vatsadevī, daughter of the Maukharī Bāgavaran, daughter’s daughter of Ādityasena of Madhāga, and wife of Sīvadeva II of Nēpāl ........................................................................................................ 184, 187
Vēdas (see also Ṛdāhī), the earliest sacred books of the Indus; mentioned as arranged by Vyāsa, g8 and n., 105, 109, 116, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 190;—mentioned as three in number, under the term trasy, 189;—indicated as four in number by the word Chaturvedin, 71, 190, 242;—the only Vēda mentioned by name in this series of records, is the Ātharva-Vēda ................................................................. 290
Vēdhās, the god Brahman, as ‘the creator’ ................................................................. 156
Vēṅgā, a town or country in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Hastivarman ................................................................. 13
Verāwal, a town in Kāthāhādī, the modern representative of the ancient Sōmānāthadī; mentioned under the ancient names of Dēvapattana, 91;—and of Sōmānāthadhēvapattana, or the city of the god Sōmānath, 85;—examination of the date of the inscription of the Valabhi year 927;—90;—and of the inscription of Arjunādeva of the Valabhi year 945 ................................................................. 84
Vermacular terminations, in aṣṭhamu, divasu, and samuṣṭarum ........................................ 292, 296
Vibhadatta, Mahāśāṃkhaṇivēra, writer of the grant of Hastin of the (Gupta) year 191 ................................................................. 109
Vibhuvarman, Pārīta ................................................................. 100
Vidhātri, the god Brahman, as ‘the arranger or creator’ ................................................................. 90, 160, 251
Vidura, an epic hero ................................................................. 156 and n.
Vidyādharā, a class of supernatural beings ................................................................. 71, 78, 86, 205
vīṇā, ‘a Buddhist (and Jain) temple or convent’ ................................................................. 31, 32, 262, 274
Vīṣṇu, the ancient name of the modern Bihār in the Pāṇa District; mentioned as ‘the city of the glorious Yaśodharman’ 47 n.
Vidrāsvatamī, a religious title ................................................................. 272 n., 279 n., 280
Vidrāsvatamīni, the feminine form of Vīdrāsvatamī ................................................................. 263 and n.
Vijayadēva, Yuvatakī, the Dādēka of a Nēpāl inscription of the (Harsha) year 145 ................................................................. 183
Vijayākī (Chalukya of Gujārāt); three of the customary epithets of Samudragupta are applied to him in his Kafra grant of the year 394 ................................................................. 14 n.
vīnjā, derivatives from, used in connection with the making of a grant by one person at the request, or on the advice of another ................................................................. 177 and n., 178
Vikidinnā, a proper name ................................................................. 170
Vikrama, a birūda or second name of Chandragupta II; and perhaps also of Chandragupta I ................................................................. 18
Vikrama era; an era of western origin, commencing in B.C. 58, though usually represented as commencing in B.C. 57, and supposed to date from the beginning of the reign of king Vikrama or Vikramāditya of Ujjain; Mr. Ferguson’s theory was that it was invented in the sixth century A.D., that its historical starting-point was in A.D. 544, and that it was referred to the earlier starting-point by ante-dating, 47, 55;—but the Mandāsor inscription of the year 529 proves that it existed before that time, under the name of the Mālava era, 68;—and, in Central India, it was known by this name at least up to the ninth century A.D., 66 n.—an instance of the use of this era, with the name of Vikrama, in Central India, in the eleventh century A.D., 221;—the name of Vikrama may have come to be connected with it through Chandragupta I or II, 37 n.—the difference in the scheme of the southern and northern Vikrama years, 70 and n., 71;—use of the word sarad, ‘the autumn,’ in the reckoning of this era, 66 n., 158;—this word may be used in the sense of ‘a year’ generally; but its original meaning is that of ‘the autumn,’ and the use of it with the Vikrama era is significant, in helping to show that the original scheme of its years is that still used in Gujarāt and Southern India, with Kārttika sukla 1 as the initial day of each year, and with the Amānta arrangement of the lunar fortnights; and this reckoning of the era was followed, in Central India, at least up to the ninth century A.D., 66 n.—the statement of the Nēpāl Vinavatōli, that Vikramāditya introduced his era into Nēpāl, refers really to the introduction of the Harsha era, 184;—but, under the name of the Newly era, an offshoot of the Vikrama
era, with its original characteristics, was introduced there in A.D. 880, 74, 184; and, in more modern times, the Vikrama era itself was introduced there, from Northern India, with Chaitra sukla 1 as the initial day of each year, and with the Purāṇimāsana arrangement of the fortnights, 76; — instances of the use of expired years of this era, distinctly specified as, 129; — of the use of both an expired and a current year, 22; and — of the use apparently of a current year, which has to be applied as an expired year, 85; — quotations of the reckoning of this era, both by current and by expired years, from Hindu almanacs 137 to 141, 138 n.

Vikramāditya, a biruda or second name of Chandragupta II; and perhaps also of Chandragupta I. 18

Vikramāditya, also called Harsha, a king of Mālava or of Ujjain, mentioned in the Rājadurgāmiss, allotted by Mr. Ferguson to the 6th century A.D., and held by him to be a real person in commemoration of whom the Vikrama era was invented and named. 47, 55, 56

Vikramānka, a biruda or second name of Chandragupta II. 18

Vikramasena, Mahāsarvarudandasyaka, the Dīkaka of one of the inscriptions of Anuśvarman of the (Harsha) year 34. 178 and n.

Vikramasena, Rajāputra, the Dīkaka of a Nāgāl inscription of the (Gupta) year 535. 178, 284

vīmāṇima, twentieth; two instances of the use of this form, not in composition. 134 and n.

Vindhyā, a mountain range in Central India, 156, 157, 190, 230; — mentioned as one of the breasts of the earth, 86 n., 184; and as constituting both the breasts, 185; — mentioned as extending up to, and including, the Nāgāraju Hill. 227, 228

Vinduvādin, Mahābhādāyakṣha, the Dīkaka of one of the inscriptions of Anuśvarman of the (Harsha) year 34. 179

Vinayukta, an official title. 169 and n.

Vrāsaṇa, also called Sāhā, a minister of Chandragupta II. 36

Vrāsaṇadāntikā, a proper name. 170

vishaya, a territorial term. 32 n., 52, 80, 84, 161, 173 n, 218, 257

Vishayapati, an official title. 32, 69 n, 71

Vishnu, a proper name. 190

Vishnu, the god, 'the preserver' of the Hindu triad (see also Anantavādin, Atmaabhāb, Chakrabhī, Chakradhara, Chakrapāni, Chitraikātavāmin, Dāmādara, Gāḍāhāra, Gāvinda, Hari, Jandrana, Krishna, Madhava, Madhumūrdha, Muradvīṣa, Nāyāna, Sārāgagāpāni, Sāṅgīn, Upendra, and Vāsudeva; and, for his wife, see Lakshmi), 61, 65, 76, 77, 78, 142, 164, 195, 200, 208, 270, 298, 299; — mentioned by the epithet dhavat, without the use of his name, 40, 41, 123, 124, 129, 269, 270; — mentioned as the creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe, 90; — as the younger brother of Indra, 50, 182; — as the four-armed god, 90; — as having the form of a boar, 160, 161; — as the man-lion, 188; — as, the supporting pillar of the three worlds, 160; — and as the troubler of the demons, 90; — reference to his overthrowing the power of the demon Bali, 62; — mention of him as carrying the discus, 65, 78, 207; — and the club, 78; — mention of his bow of horn, Sārāga, and his sword, Nandaka, 207 and n.; — mention of his jewel, kaustäbh, and his garland of water-lilies, 87; — references to his vehicle and ensign, the bird Garuda or Garumata, 14, 62, 90, 298; — mention of the waters of the four oceans as his couch, 90; — an allusion to his slumber during the four months of the rainy season, 77; — the earth spoken of as 'belonging to Vishnu, or as being Vaishnavi, the female energy of Vishnu,' 105 and n., 200, 209; — an instance of the worship of Vishnu connected with that of the Sun. 126

Vishnuética, a proper name. 78

Vishnuśāsa, Mahādrāja (Sanakānika). 25

Vishnuveda, a grante. 105

Vishnugopa of Kāśch, a king in Southern India, conquered by Saumundragupta. 13

Vishnugupta, Vishnuguptadēva (Gupta of Magadha), 217; — his wife was Ijādevi. 217

Vishnugupta, Yuvardāja, the Dīkaka of the inscription of Jhishugupta of the (Harsha) year 48. 180

Vishnunandin, a grante. 128

Vishnupada, the ancient name of the hill on which the Mēharauli inscribed pillar stands, or stood. 140, 142

Vishnunārā, a proper name. 271

Vishnuvardhana, a king of the Mālava country, 155; — he had the paramount titles, but seems to have been to a certain extent subordinate to Yasādharmaman, 155; — his Mandanā inscription of the Mālava year 589. 150

Vishnuvardhana, Rāja, of the Varika tribe, 253, 254; — his Bijayagāṅi inscription of the (Mālava) year 438. 252

Vishnuyuddha pūtra included the Vākaśa Charhrājg. 241, 248

Vivardha, the god Siva, as 'the lord of the universe.' 85

Vivāranā, a Mālava feudatory of Kumāragupta, 74, 77, 86; — his Gangādhār inscription of the (Mālava) year 480. 72
Vītā sanitaka, an ancient division in the territory of the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa, 132

Vṛshadhēya (Lichchhavi of Nāpāl) 182, 186, 189, 191

Vāyghra, Mahārāja (of Uchchakalpa), 149, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was Ajjihātāvī 119, 123, 128, 131, 138

Vāyghra, another name of Rudrasūna 27 n., 67

Vāyghradēva, a feudatory of Prithivivēna 235

Vāyghrapalika, an ancient village in the Maṅiṅka pātha 138

Vāyghrārāja, of Mahākāntāra, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13

Vāyghrārāta, a Varika chief 254

Vāyasa, an ancient sage, 195, 200, 242, 249, 299; — mentioned as the son of Pārabhūsara, 139;—as the arranger of the Vēdas, 98 and n., 99, 105, 109, 116, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 190;—and as the author of certain verses allotted to the Mahābhārata 120, 124, 129, 134, 139

Walk, a village in Kāthiāwārd; mentioned under the ancient name of Valabha 165, 167

water-lily-emblem on the seals of grants 191, 196

Watson, Colonel J. W.; a tradition of the bards of Kāthiāwārd, supposed to have an important bearing on the question of the Gupta era, brought to notice by him, 49;—but it is of quite recent origin, and of no value whatever 50

week-days (see also days of the week); the Hindu term for a week-day is ṭhāra, 246;—it is reckoned by the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise, 246, 147;—consequently, the English and Hindu week-days are not identical for a period of 57 minutes, 8 seconds, at the end of the Hindu week-day, when, by the English reckoning, the following week-day has already commenced; and thus, as for all ordinary purposes the week-day of a tīthi is the week-day on which that tīthi ends, there may, in certain instances, be a nominal discrepancy between the resulting English and Hindu week-days, 150 n.;—a method of calculating the week-days of tīthi, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables 145 to 158

wheel-emblem 210, 263, 269

Wright, Prof. W.; his rendering of Albērūnī's statements regarding the Gupta and other eras 27

yad atra punyam ārc, a formula in certain donative inscriptions 263, 272, 274, 279, 280, 282

Yajñavārman, a Maukhari chief 225, 227

Yama, the god of the dead, and the dealer of death, mentioned under the names of Antaka, 14, 21, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257;—Kṛitkānta, 28, 44, 51, 54, 157, 257;—and Kāla or Death 223

Yamunā, the river, the modern Jamna;—mentioned under the name of Kālindī 89, 90

Yāsāstraṇa, a proper name, 270;—another person of the same name 271

Yāśikārman, a king of Northern India, 13, 145, 149, 150, 151, 155;—the extent of his kingdom 148;—mentioned as conquering lands which not even the Guptas and the Hūnas could subdue, 148;—he had worship done to him by Mihirakula, 145, 150;—his duplicate pillar inscriptions at Mandsor 142, 149;—his Mandora inscription of the Mālava year 589 150

Yāsīmatī, wife of Prabhākhara-varadhāna 232

Yāsīrākta, a Varika chief 254

Yāsīvaradhana, a Varika chief 254

Yāsīvīhāra, an ancient monastery at Mathurā 274

Yāudhēya, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta 14;—the fragmentary inscription of a leader of this tribe at Bijayagadh 251

Yazdajird, a Sassanian king of Persia; there is an era, dating from his accession in A.D. 632, of which the four-hundredth year is used by Albērūnī as a guage year for the comparison of dates 21 and n., 30

year (see also sāvatāra and varṣa); years of Jupiter's Twelve-Year Cycle denoted by the word sāvatāra 104, 110, 114, 117, 119, 95, 102, 107, 111, 114;—years of eras denoted by the words abda 104, 110, 114, 117, 83, 95, 102, 107, 114;—sawā, 97;—sāvatāra, 25, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 60, 70, 92, 119, 123, 128, 134, 137, 180, 210, 253, 258, 373;—varṣāda, 82, 83, 67, 89, 259;—and matsara, 75, 95;—regal years denoted by the words abda, 162;—sāvatāra, 104, 199, 240, 246, 296;—and varsha, 195;—the length of the tropical year is 365 days, 4 ghatīs, 31'072 pālas, 140;—of the same, according to the Sāṃya-Siddhānta, is 365 days, 15 ghatīs, 31'523 pālas, 140;—of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter by the heliacal-rising system, is roughly 400 days, 162;—and of the Twelve-Year and the Sixty-Years Cycle by the mean-sign system, is 365 days, 1 ghatī, 36 pālas 170
| **yogā**, 'the addition of the longitudes of the sun and the moon,' an astrological element | 146 |
| **yogā**, one of the systems of philosophy | 271 |
| **Yudhishthira**, an ancient hero, of the time of the Mahābhārata, 99, 105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 195, 200, 241, 248, 299; — referred to as 'the king of justice' | 168 |
| **Yuvarāja**, an official title | 180, 181, 183 |
ERRATA.

INTRODUCTION.

Page 36, line 15, for Mr. Blochmann’s, read Mr. Kay’s.
106, note 1, line 3, for Kâdamba, read Kadamba.
117, line 3, for navô-ttarê, read nav-ôttarê.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

6, Text line 5, for ochchhri, read ochchhri (chchhri).

9, for sadrisâny, read sadrišāny.

17, for parâkkram-âṅkasya, read parâkkram-âṅkasya.

20, for māhâbhâgyasya, read māhâbhāgyasya.

20, for kula-vadhuḥ, read kula-vadhuḥ(dhā)ḥ.

21, for brijitām, read brijitām.

26, for paribhîvan(ṛ), read paribhîvan(ṛ).

26, for ochhêtthuḥ, read ochhettuḥ.

27, note 4, in lines 1 and 13, for ochchêttrī, read ochchhêttrī; and in line 1, for ochhêtta, read ochchettā.

28, note 6, line 4 from the bottom, for Purâna, read Purāṇa.

31, Text line 3, for jīvita-sādhanaḥ, read jīvita-sādhanaḥ.

35, for rmmanah, read rmmanah.

43, for shan-navatē, read shan-navatē.

48, note 1, line 2, for Visvavarman, read Viśvavarman.

59, Text line 4, for Api, read Api.

11, for an-upaskritair, read an-upaskritair.

15, for Athā, read Athā.

27, the word Guptānām should be in the thick type.

73, line 4, for appratīmēṇa, read appratīmēṇa.

74, Text line 8, for a-sahyatamān, read a-sahyatamaṇ.

19, for (?)śthā, read (?)śthā.

23, for tṛitīyam, read tṛ(ṛ)ītyam.

39, for śrīmān, read śrīmān.

17, for ābhīramāṁ read ābhīrāmaṁ.

12, for pramukhānāṁ, read pramukhānāṁ.

14, for khaṇḍa, read khaṇḍa.

6, for ādin, read ādīn.

7, for Kaṇva, read Kaṇva.

4, for drīṣṭha, read drīṣṭa.

4, for ०dapan, read ०dapan.

7, for udūḍham, read udūḍham.

10-11, for garimmas, read garimmas.

12-13, for visāṁbva(vi)dītā, read visāṁbva(vi)dītā.

17, for deśāṁ, read deśāṁ; and for gimbāṁ, read gimbāṁ.

18, for Dharmmadō, read Dharmpmadō.
I have not had the opportunity of examining the final printed sheets as thoroughly as I could have wished; and doubtless some other instances of oversight on my part will be discovered, in addition to the present corrections, most of which I owe to the kindness of Prof. F. Kielhorn. Some suggestions by him for altering my readings and translations, will be considered in the Indian Antiquary; since, to include them here, would further delay the issue of the book.