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 GOVERNED 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 3 without plates.
Presented by Sri M. A. Mallick
CONTENTS.

Preface .................................................. Page 1
Introduction ............................................. 7
The Gupta Era ............................................ 16
  Table I.—Genealogy of the Early Gupta Kings ........... 17
The Nomenclature of the Era ............................. 19
Alberuni’s Statements, as rendered by M. Reinaud ....... 23
Alberuni’s Statements, as rendered by Prof. Sachau ....... 24
The Results of the above Renderings ....................... 25
Alberuni’s Statements, as rendered by Prof. Wright ....... 27
The Theories based on M. Reinaud’s rendering of Alberuni’s Statements ........................................ 31
Examination of the previous Theories ....................... 33

Table II.—Genealogy of the Kings of Valabhi ......... 41
The Mandavdr Inscription of Malava-Sainvat 529 ........ 65
The Determination of the Exact Epoch of the Era ...... 66
The Scheme of the Gupta-Valabhi Year ..................... 67

Table III.—Comparative Table of the Vikrama, Saka, and Gupta-Valabhi Years .......................... 71
The Calculation of Recorded Dates ........................ 80
The Era Inscription of the year 165 ........................ 80
The Verawal Inscription of Valabhi-Sainvat 945 ......... 84
The Verawal Inscription of Valabhi-Sainvat 947 ......... 89
The Kaira Grant of the year 330 ........................... 93
The Naph Inscription of the year 386 ....................... 95
The Mard Grant of the year 586 ............................ 97
The Use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in Records of the Early Gupta Period .................. 100

A.—The Khdb Grant of the year 156 ........................ 104
  Table IV.—The Sainvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter ........................................ 105
B.—The Khdb Grant of the year 163 ........................ 110
C.—The Majhigawán Grant of the year 114 ............... 114
D.—The Khdb Grant of the year 209 ........................ 117
E.—The Bhumara Pillar Inscription ......................... 119
Summary of Results ...................................... 124
The Origin of the Era .................................... 130

Appendix I.—A Note on the Epoch and Rerckoning of the Saka Era ........................................ 137
Appendix II.—A Method of Calculating the Week-Days of Hindu Tithis and the corresponding English Dates. By Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit; Bombay Educational Department ............................................ 145
  Explanation of Technical Terms .......................... 145
To find the Week-Day of a given Tithi .................... 149
  Table V.—Calculation of the Week-Day of a given Tithi .................................................. 151
  Table VI.—The Times, after Sunrise, of the ending of a given Tithi ..................................... 157
  Table VII.—Calculation of the English Date of a given Tithi ............................................. 157
To find the English Date for a given Tithi ................. 158
CONTENT.

Appendix III.—The Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. By Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit; Bombay Educational Department

Table VIII.—Regulation of the Names of the Sānsvitasaras from the Nakshatras

Table IX.—Longitudes of the Ending-points of the Nakshatras

Table X.—Details of two Twelve-Year Cycles of Jupiter

Appendix IV.—The Chronology of the Early Rulers of Nepal

Appendix V.—System of Transliteration

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

THE EARLY GUPTA KINGS.

No. 1 Plate i... Allahālād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta...

... 2... ii A... Erāq inscription of Samudragupta...

... 3... ii B... Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II.—The year 82...

... 4... iii A... Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II.......

... 5... iii B... Nakic inscription of Chandragupta II.—The year 93...

... 6... iv A... Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II...

... 7... iv B... Gadhwā inscription of Chandragupta II.—The year 88...

... 8... iv C... Gadhwā inscription of Kumāragupta...

... 9... iv D... Gadhwā inscription of Kumāragupta.—The year 98...

... 10... v... Bihār pillar inscription of Kumāragupta.—The year 96...

... 11... vi A... Manukvār image inscription of Kumāragupta.—The year 129...

... 12... vi B... Bihār pillar inscription of Skandagupta...

... 13... vii... Bhartī pillar inscription of Skandagupta...

... 14... viii... Jumāgal pillar inscription of Skandagupta.—The years 136, 137, and 138...

... 15... ix A... Kalākhīm pillar inscription of Skandagupta.—The year 141...

... 16... ix B... Indor plate of Skandagupta.—The year 146...

THE RULES OF MALAVA.

... 17... x... Gangālāhār inscription of Vīsavavarman.—The year 480...

... 18... xi... Mandabar inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman.—The Malava years 493 and 549...

BUDHAGUPTA AND BHANUGUPTA.

... 19... xii A... Erāq pillar inscription of Budhagupta.—The year 165...

... 20... xii B... Erāq posthumous pillar inscription of Gopārajā.—The year 191...

THE PARIVRAJAKA MAHARAJAS.

... 21... N/II... Khād plates of the Mahārajā Hastin.—The year 156...

... 22... xiii... Khād plates of the Mahārajā Hastin.—The year 163...

... 23... xiv... Mahārajā pillars of the Mahārajā Hastin.—The year 191...

... 24... xv A... Bhumā pillar inscription of the Mahārajā Hastin and Sārvanātha...

... 25... xv B... Khād plates of the Mahārajā Sārvanātha.—The year 209...
# CONTENTS.

## THE MAHARAJAS OF UCHCHAKALPA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>xxvi</th>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>xxxiii</th>
<th>Kārttālā plates of the Mahārāja Jayantā. — The year 174</th>
<th>Page 117</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>xxvii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kōh plate of the Mahārāja Jayantā. — The year 177</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>xxviii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kōh plate of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha. — The year 193</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>xix A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kōh plate of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>xix B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kōh plate of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha. — The year 197</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td>xxi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kōh plate of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha. — The year 214</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHANDRA.

| No. | xxii A | Mēharaulī posthumous pillar inscription of Chandra | 136 |

## YASODHARMAN AND VISHNUVARDHANA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>xxii B</th>
<th>Mandalā pillar inscription of Yasodharman</th>
<th>142</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>xxii C</td>
<td>Mandalā duplicate pillar inscription of Yasodharman</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>xxii</td>
<td>Mandalā inscription of Yasodharman and Vishnuvardhana. — The Mālava year 589</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## TORAMANA AND MIHIRAKULA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>xxiii A</th>
<th>Erāng boar inscription of Toramāna</th>
<th>158</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>xxiii B</td>
<td>Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## THE KINGS OF VALABHI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>xxiv</th>
<th>Māliyā plates of the Mahārāja Dharaṇēna II. — The year 252</th>
<th>164</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>xxv</td>
<td>Ailā plates of Śiddhītya VII. — The year 447</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## THE RAJAS OF SARABHAPURA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>xxvi</th>
<th>Āraṅg plates of the Rāja Mahā-Jayantā</th>
<th>191</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>xxvii</td>
<td>Rāyapur plates of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēvarāja</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## THE GUPTAS OF MAGADHA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>xxviii</th>
<th>Apasāl inscription of Ādityasena</th>
<th>200</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>xxix A</td>
<td>Śiddhīpur image inscription of Ādityasena</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>xil</td>
<td>Mandar Hill inscriptions of Ādityasena</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>xxix B</td>
<td>Đē-Brāṇārāk inscription of Jīvātugupta II.</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## THE MAUKHARIS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>xxx A</th>
<th>Aslāngājh seal of Śarvaravarm</th>
<th>210</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>xxx B</td>
<td>Barbar Hill cave inscription of Anantavarm</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>xxxi A</td>
<td>Nāgarjuni Hill cave inscription of Anantavarm</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>xxxi B</td>
<td>Nāgarjuni Hill cave inscription of Anantavarm</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>xxi A</td>
<td>Jaunpur inscription of Śarvaravarm</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## THE KINGS OF KANAUJ.

| No. | xxi B | Sontpat seal of Harshavardhana | 231 |

## THE VAKATAKA MAHARAJAS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>xxxiiA</th>
<th>Nachāṅ-kī-tālā inscription of the Mahārāja Prithivishēna</th>
<th>233</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>xxxiiiB</td>
<td>Chammanak plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasēna II. — (For the seal, see Plate xxxiii C.)</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>xxiv</td>
<td>Chammanak plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasēna II. — (For the seal, see Plate xxxiii D.)</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10, 57 Plate xxxvi A</td>
<td>Pahlâhpur pillar inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>xxxvi B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>xxxvi C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>xxxvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>xxxviii A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>xxxviii B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>xxxix A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>xxxix B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>xxxix C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>xli D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>xli A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>xli B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>xli C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>xli D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>xli A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>xli B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>xlii A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>xlii B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>xlii C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>xlii D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>xlii A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>xlii B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>xlii C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>xlv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>xlv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Index | 301

Errata | 349
### INSTRUCTIONS TO BINDER.

<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>70</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. C.</td>
<td>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>x.</td>
<td></td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii.</td>
<td></td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii.</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>
PREFACE.

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 Gangdhâr inscription of Viśavarman, 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 Mandasôr 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 Mandasôr 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 Yaśôdharmar and Vishnûvardhana, No. 35, page 150, which gave the key to the whole history of the period, by supplying a definite date for Yaśôdharmar, who was known, from the Mandasôr 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 Kasmir, 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 mislections, 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 scribus 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, of
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 tithi 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;¹ 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 Mála; No. 17, page 72, the Gangdhār inscription of Viśvavarman, dated ¹ in A.D. 424; and No. 18, page 79, the Mándasor inscription, dated in A.D. 474, which gives us the date of A.D. 437 for Kumáragupta 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 Bhāṇugupta, 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 Purivrajaka Mahārājās, 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. Bhāṇugupta comes somewhat later; after Tūrāmāna, whose power meanwhile succeeded that of Budhagupta in Eastern Mála. But, under all the circumstances,

¹ I call the members of this family the “Early Guptas,” by way of easily distinguishing them from the later Guptas of Magadha, whose genealogy is given in the Apsad inscription, No. 42, page 200, and in the Deb-Bārgārāk 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 Mála 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. 475 to A.D. 528, which overlap, on one side, the time of Budhagupta, and on the other, the periods of Tōramāṇa, Bhānugupta, and Mihirakula. They are the records of a feudatory family, to the members of which it is convenient to give the name of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas. And the extreme importance of them lies in the fact that they expressly shew 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 shewn 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 Mahārājas 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 Mahārāja Sarvāṇaṭha, in No. 24, page 110, which proves that, at the date therein referred to, he was the contemporary of the Parivrajaka Mahārāja 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. 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 Chēḍi 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 Parivrajaka Mahārājas were feudatories of later members of the Early Gupta dynasty, the Mahārājas 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 Bhumārā 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 Mahārājas Hastin and Sarvāṇaṭha were contemporaneous in the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara that is mentioned in it. Now, for Hastin we have the extreme dates

of Gupta-Samvat (156 and 101) and for Sarvanatha, the extreme dates of the years 193 and 214 with the year 177 as the latest known date for his father Jayanatha. And, as it is unlikely that, Hastin continued alive and in power for any length of time after Gupta-Samvat 191, it seemed, on the supposition that both the series of dates were to be referred to the Gupta era, that the Mahâ-Magha samvatsara in question was the one commencing in Gupta-Samvat (180) rather than that commencing in Gupta-Samvat 20; since, the former was easily obtained by adding only four years at the commencement of the period for Sarvanatha; 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 Mahâ-Magha samvatsara occurred previously, in Hastin's period, in Gupta-Samvat 165 and 177. If the Uchchakalpa dates were referred to the Kalachuri era, with General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 240-50, Sarvanatha's latest date, the year 214, would be equivalent to A.D. 463-64, or Gupta-Samvat 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-Samvat 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 Mahâdrâjas would be naturally contemporaneous in Gupta-Samvat 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 Chêdî dates, given by General Cunningham, would work out correctly with an epoch of A.D. 288-90, 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 Mahâkât pillar inscription of the Early Chalukya king

1 Indian Eras, p. 61.
2 I do not overlook the 'Pardi' grant of the Traikûtaka Mahârâja 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 Kanheri plate (see No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archeological 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 Traikûtakas." 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 Trikûta whence these Traikûtakas derived their name, is identical with Tripura or Tripuri, the capital of the Kalachuris of Central India.
3 Prinsep, indeed (see, for instance, Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I. p. 237), found the possible mention of a Tripura in the Kartûripura 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 Kartûripura, in the inscription, with Samataja or Lower Bengal, Dávika (? 'Dacca,' if the correct spelling really is Đákā), Kâmarûpa or Assam, and Nêpâl, shews that the place was indeed very far away from Central India.
Maṅgalīśa¹ 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 Sahaśra-Arjuna ² or Sahaśrabāhu-Arjuna,³ 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 its 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,⁴ 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 Mahārdjas 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 Śākala 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 Mandsōr duplicate pillar inscriptions, No. 33, page 142, and No. 34, page 149, as having been overthrown by a powerful king of Northern India named Yaśodharman; shortly after which I obtained for Yaśodharman the date of A.D. 533-34, in the Mandsōr inscription, No. 35, page 150.

From certain details in their Ēra inscriptions, it was evident that Tōramāṇa came, in Eastern Mālwa, very shortly after Budhagupta; the proof of this is that Budhagupta's inscription mentions a certain Mahārdja named Mātrivishnu, and his younger brother Dhanyavishnu, as being both then alive; whereas Tōramāṇa's inscription mentions Dhanyavishnu as still alive, but Mātrivishnu as deceased; and these statements show that Tōramāṇa followed Budhagupta, 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 Mātrivishnu and Dhanyavishnu 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 Tōramāṇa; and that his downfall was accomplished by Yastōdharman within a very few years on either side of A.D. 533-34. In proper chronological order, therefore, Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula come next after Budhagupta; and Tōramāṇa certainly, and probably Mihirakula also, so far as Eastern Mālwa 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, Śāhīs, Śhāhānushāhīs, or Daivaputras, had established itself in the Pañjāb 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 Tōramāṇa, which is recorded in his inscription, and which fell for certain after A.D. 484, which is Budhagupta's inscriptional date, and before A.D. 510, which is Bhānugupta's inscriptional date, is evidently only the first year of his possession of Eastern Mālwa. 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

---

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 245 ff.  
to the Gupta era. I have shewn elsewhere¹ that Mihirakula's fifteenth year, which is recorded in his Gwalior inscription, must fall somewhere very close to A.D. 533–34, which is the recorded date of Yasódharman; 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 Tōramāna's coins is 52, and if we apply it as his regnal date, about which there need be felt no special difficulty, Tōramāna'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 Pañjab, from Kathiawād to the frontier of Nepāl. And it was doubtless the death of Skandagupta, that enabled the Hūnas, who had been repulsed by him, to assume the aggressive again, under the leadership of Tōramāna; 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,² that it was the founder of their family, the Śāndpati Bhaṭārka, with the date of about A.D. 500, who successfully fought, in Kāthiawād, against the Maitrakas, i.e. the Mihiras, i.e. the particular family or clan, among the Hūnas, to which Tōramāna and Mihirakula belonged. If, on the other hand, the date on Tōramāna'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 Hūnas 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 Chandra, of whom we have a posthumous record in the iron pillar inscription at Mēharauli, 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 palæographical grounds, to a fairly early date. In the palæography 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 Vāhikas, by overthrowing 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. Mēharauli or Mēnharauli, is an evident corruption of Mihirapuri, '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 Hūnas, to which belonged Mihirakula and his father Tōramāna. And it is hot

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 Bahladitya of Magadh, usurped his throne in the Panjab, and whose own name is not mentioned by Huen Tsian.

As has been indicated above, the Mandasor 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 Yasodharman, who is of extreme interest from being mentioned in them as the conqueror of Mihirakula. And the remaining Mandasor inscription, No. 35, page 150,—again a brand-new discovery,—is another record of this same Yasodharman, coupled in this case* with a king named Vishnuvardhana; and it is of extreme value from the fact that, by supplying for Yasodharman 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 Sendpati 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 Gujarat, 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 Valabhl, 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 Valabhl 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 Ēran 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 show 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 Magadha, a family of which one member at least, the great Ādityasēna, 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 Ādityasēna, 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 Ādityasēna, for whom the date of A.D. 672-73 is supplied by the Stāhpur 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 Bhānagupta, 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 Aphsād inscription of Ādityasēna, 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 shown by a clay seal in General Cunningham’s possession, obtained at Gayā, which has on it, in Asōka characters, the Pāli legend Mokkaliṇam, “of the Mokkhalis, 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 Aphsād inscription, was conquered in battle by
Harshagupta's grandson, Kumāragupta. Dāmodāragupta, again, in the same inscription, is mentioned as breaking-up the forces of the Maukharī king, which had previously overcome the army of the Hūnas. And the Sushhitavarman who was conquered in battle by Mahāśeṅagupta, doubtless belonged to the same lineage. Other, references to the Maukharīs are to be found in the Harshacharita of Bāna, and in the Nēpāl inscriptions. Nos. 48, 49, and 50, give us another minor branch of the Maukharī lineage, of evidently much less importance, belonging to the neighbourhood of Gayā.

The second of the contemporaneous families introduced by the Apsad inscription, is that of the Kings of Kauṇāja, to which belonged the great Harśhadēva 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, Prabhākara-varavardhana; and in shewing that the latter was the first paramount sovereign in the family. The verse in the Apsad inscription which mentions Harshavardhana, under the name of Harśhadēva, is partly obliterated; but it refers to Mādhavagupta either as a feudatory of the Kauṇāja king, or as seeking an alliance with him. A connection between the two families appears to be established in Mahāśeṅagupta, the wife of the Mahādrāja Ādityavardhana, who was the grandfather of Harshavardhana; it can hardly be doubted that she was a sister of Mahāśeṅagupta of Magadha, the father of Mādhavagupta. Another point of importance in this Sōnpat seal, is, that it shews that the father of Prabhākara-varavardhana was neither Pushpabhūti or Pushyabhūti, who is mentioned by Bāna, in his Harshacharita, in connection with this family; nor king Śilāditya of Mālava, who is spoken of by Hsüen Ts'iang, but the feudatory Mahādrāja Ādityavardhana. That Śilāditya of Mālava was the father of Prabhākara-varavardhana, was assumed by Mr. Ferguson, 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 Indrajī, 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 Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the paramount sovereign Dévagupta, who, it can hardly be doubted, was Dévagupta of Magadha, the son of Ādityasēna, mentioned in the Dév-Baranārāk inscriptions, No. 46, page 213, and belonging to the period of about A.D. 680 to 700. This brings
the Vācätaka Mahārājas to a period later by fully two centuries than has hitherto been allotted to them; but there is nothing in the palæography 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 Rāja Tīvaradēva, 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 Bōdh-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 shows 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 Mandasör inscription of Kumāragupta and Bāndhuvaraman, 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>King Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Married To</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gupta</td>
<td>Mahārāja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaṭotkacha</td>
<td>Mahārāja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandragupta I</td>
<td>(Vikrama I., or Vikramāditya I.), Mahārājādhīrāja</td>
<td>Married to Kumāradēvī, of the Lichchhavi family.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samudragupta</td>
<td>(Kācha), Mahārājādhīrāja</td>
<td>Married to Dattadēvī.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandragupta II</td>
<td>Vikrama (II.), Vikramāditya (II.), or Vikramāṅka, Paramabhattāraka, and Mahārājādhīrāja</td>
<td>Married to Dhruvadēvī.</td>
<td>[Gupta-Saṅvat 82, 88, 93, and 94 or 95.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumāragupta</td>
<td>Mahendra, or Mahendrāditya, Mahārājādhīrāja</td>
<td></td>
<td>[G. S. 96, 98, 129, and 130 odd.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandagupta</td>
<td>Kramāditya, Paramabhattāraka, and Mahārājādhīrāja</td>
<td></td>
<td>[G. S. 136, 137, 138, 141, 144, 145, 146, 148, and 147 or 149.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budhagupta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhanugupta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[**G. S. 165, 175, and (7) 180 odd.**]

[**G. S. 191.**]
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-Sanvats 94 or 95, for Chandragupta II.; 130 odd, for Kumāragupta; 1144, 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 Four. 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 Dévl, a daughter of Mahādāitya, as one of the queens of Samudragupta; and, as a son of Skandagupta, a young prince, whose name is suggested to be Mahendra-gupta. The entry of Dévl and Mahādāitya, appears also in the same list as republished by Mr. Thomas in the Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 19, and again in the Four. 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 ‘Sanhārīka.’ The second list repeats the name of Mahendra-gupta; but, in the third, there are substituted the words “royal issue expected at the date of this inscription,” i.e. of the Bhitarl 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 mislection of the Bhitari inscription, coupled with the real name of Mahendragupta's coins. And the existence of the independent princess 'Sanhārika,' with her unnamed daughter, and of Mahādaitiya, and his daughter Dēvi, is equally imaginary; being due, as indicated on page 1, only to early mislections of the Allahābād pillar inscription. In his first list, Mr. Thomas entered the Mahārāja Gupta, 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 shewn on page 1, the statement rests on nothing but Dr. Mill's mislection 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 **Guptas with it, as the establishers of it,** and much less for accepting the early existence of any such technical appellation for it, as **Gupta-kalā.**

It is true that this term is used by Albérūni, who speaks of the **Gāhi-kal or Gāhita-kal, i.e. Gupta-kalā.** But, in just the same manner, he uses also the expression **Śaka-kalā** for the Śaka era. In each instance, his use of the word **kalā** 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-kalā.** But Albérūni'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 **Guptasya kālād, “from the era of Gupta,”** were supposed by Dr. Bhau Daji to exist in line 15 of the **Junāgadh rock inscription of Skanda-gupta.** But the real reading there, as is quite clear even in the lithograph from which Dr. Bhau Daji worked, is not **Guptasya kālād gananām vidhāya,** "counting from the era of Gupta," but **Gupta-prakāśa gananām vidhāya,** "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas." And there can be little doubt that Dr. Bhau 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 Albérūni, in which, though translating **Śaka-kalā** by "the era of Śaka," he transliterated the original Arabic by **Gupta-kalā, with the words “era of the Guptas” added in brackets.* Dr. Bhau Daji's

---

* "Fragments Arabes et Persans, p. 145.

---
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. Bhai 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 Gupta, 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 Gupta-kâla does not occur. And,—apart from the obvious meaning of the words; and from the fact, which will be insisted on more fully further on, that the Mahârâja Gupta, the founder of the family, being only a feudatory Mahârâja, had not the power of establishing an era at all,—that, in the real reading Gupta-prakâla, 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, Gupta-kûli, governed by kâla, 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 neither 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 Kâthiâwâd, and was not the customary era of that part of the country.

In dated records, the genitive plural, Guptââm, occurs again in line 2 of the Kahâlum pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15, page 65. But there it is governed by vámsâ, in vámsâ-jasya; "of Skandagupta, who is born in the lineage of the Guptas." So, also, we have Gupt-amayânâm 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 Parivrâjaka Maharajas Hastin and Samshôbha, No. 21, page 93, to No. 23, page 106, and No. 25, page 112, we have the expression Gupta-gripa-râjya-bhukta, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." And this

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 Môrbi grant of Jâinka, 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,—पांचहृद्या युते-तिले समानं शाता-पञ्चकाश्।
Gauté daddav-adô niripah s-परागे-रका-मानिदले,—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 Jâinka 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 गौतेत al all, but गोपतेत; 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 पञ्चकाश्, at the end of the half-verse, and which had already been properly interpreted as such. It is only by the deliberate correction of 6 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, पञ्चकाश्, which it qualifies. We might, with just as much reason, correct गोपतेत, into गोपतेत,1 to the protector, i.e. the local governor;1 and this would be even more sustainable; for the word stands immediately before daddav, '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) Gôpta."

And this, I expect, will be found to be the real meaning, if ever the first plate, which is said to be now at Gângâsâgar 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 Gaupté in the date, the grant belongs to rather a late period, when, in Kâthiâwâd and Gujarât, 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 16f. w

The mistake of 6 for au does occur in the word svaubhând, for svaubhândau, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word paurvea, the au is formed quite correctly and completely.
And, finally, in a curious passage from the Achāraṭīkā, 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, Gupṭanaḥ. 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 Mārbī 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 saṁvatsara, '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 Sāñchī inscription of the same king, of the year 93, No. 5, page 32, line 11; or by the fuller abbreviation saṁvatsara, 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 Saka-urile-kaḷa, "the time or era of the Śaka king or kings;" Śaka-urile-saṁvatsara, "the years of the Śaka king;" Śaka-kaḷa, "the Śaka era;" Vikrama-kaḷa, "the Vikrama era;" Vikramāditya-oltādīta-saṁvatsara, "the years established by Vikramāditya," &c.; or even analogous to the terms Valabhi-saṁ and Valabhi-saṁvatsara, 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 Saṁvatsara 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 Kāra grants (p. 208), and on the Kāvī grant, (p. 291 ff) now require to be entirely recast.—I have shewn there that, as is now generally recognised, the use of the abbreviation saṁvatsara 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 saṁvatsara, '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 Kāṭhikāvād, 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 Alberuni, 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.

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

Until the discovery of the Mandaśr inscription, No. 18, page 79, the only direct information available as to the epoch of the Gupta era, was the statement of Alberuni, who, writing in the period between the 30th April and the 30th September, A.D. 1030, 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 Vikramāditya, of Śaka, of Ballaba, and of the Guptas. Ballaba, who also has given his name to an era, was the prince of the town of Ballaba, to the south of Anhilwāra, at a distance of about thirty yojanas. The era of Ballaba 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 Alberuni's India, Preface, p. x.
2 As is shewn by Alberuni'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 Alberuni's statement, which is accompanied by the remark that, in a Kāśmīr almanac, he had read that Śrī-Harsha was 604 years later than Vikramāditya, and that he could obtain no explanation of the discrepancy (Sachau's Alberuni's India, Translation Vol. II. p. 5).
3 Reinaud's Arabic text contains no authority for his use of the double /r/ throughout, and of the aspirated /h/ in the name of the town. So, also, Sachau's text contains no authority for his use, once of the form Ballaba, 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, friend, favourite;' which was very often used as a proper name, but not in the case of any of the rulers of Valabhi. The word vallabha 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 vallabha, in No. 66, line 2, page 268.—Alberuni 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 yojana, 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. Wallā, the modern representative of the ancient Valabhi, is about one hundred and thirty-five miles almost due south of Anhilwāra.
"the same time the cube of 6 (216) and the square of 5 (25). The remainder is the 
"of Ballaba. This era will be discussed in its place. As to the Guptakāla (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 ex- 
"timation. Apparently Ballaba 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 Kandakhādika 
"Tables of Brahmagupta are referred. This work has among us the title of Arkanad. 
"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 Vikramaditya; the 
"year 953 of the era of Śaka; the year 712 of the era of Ballaba and of that of the 
"Guptas."

Albérūnī'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 Alberunī's India, Translation,8 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) Vikramāditya; (3) Śaka; (4) Ballabha;4 and (5) 
Gupta. The era of Ballaba is called so from Balaba, 
the ruler of the town Balabha, 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 
Balaba era. The history of Balaba is given in its proper place.8 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 Balaba 
was the last of them, because the epoch of the era of the Guptas falls, like that of the 
Balaba era, 241 years later than the Śakakāla. The era of the astronomers begins 587

1This 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 Albérūnī for the comparison of dates, is one year ahead of that in which he was writing.

2It 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.

3i.e. the era of the Bhārata war and of the Kaliyuga, and certain other methods of reckoning 
time, just previously detailed by Albérūnī, who states that they had been abandoned because of the 
very large numbers involved in the use of them.

4and 8See page 23 above, note 3.

6The reference appears to be to the story of the fruit-seller Rānka 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 Khandakhâdyaka by "Brahmagupta, which among Muhammadans is known as Al-arkan. Now, the year 400 "of Yazdajîrd, 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 Vikramâditya; (3) to the year 953 of the Sakakāla; (4) to the year 712 "of the Balaba era, which is identical with the GuptaKâla."

The Results of the above Renderings.

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

In the first place, Alberuni calls this era, both "the Gupta era," and "the Valabhl era." As regards its connection with the Gâuptas, 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 Gâuptas themselves, could not be referred to this Gâupta era, but must belong to some era with a considerably earlier starting-point. And, as regards its connection with the Valabhl family, from the fact that their era had the same starting-point with this Gâupta era, he infers that the members of this family came after the Gâuptas 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\(^1\) for the epoch or year o of the era, and A.D. 320-31 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-Valabhl-Samvat 72-1 being quoted as equivalent to Śaka-Samvat 953, which is known to be intended as an expired year, since Alberuni gives it as the equivalent of the year 400 of Yazdajîrd, which is A.D. 1031-32 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

---

\(^1\) e.g. those in Gen. Cunningham's Book of Indian Eras, and Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Graha- suddhanâchar Kôshkâhin, 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,\(^1\) in mentioning the "roundabout way" in which the Hindus computed the date (in January, A.D. 1026) of the destruction of Sōmānathapātaṇa by Mahmūd of Ghazni, which event took place "in the year of the Hijra 416, or 947 Śakakāla," 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.\(^2\)

\(^1\) 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 953 (expired), as corresponding to the year of Yazdajird 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 Sōmānathapātaṇa 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 Sōmānathapātaṇa 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 Kāśmir,—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, Kālhaṇa, in the Rājatarangini, l. 52 (Calcutta edition, p. 3), makes a very explicit statement regarding the equation between the Śaka era and the Lōkakāla of Kāśmir. His words are—laukikā-īdē chatur-viṁśat Śaka-kāla-yaśa śaptātyāyākā-ki tānta sahasraḥ parivatsaraḥ,—"at this present moment, in the twenty-fourth laukika (or popular) year, there have gone by 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 Kāśmirī 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 shown 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 Kāśmirī 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 Kāśmir, 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
Alberdi's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Wright.

The leading historical item of Alberdi's information, as rendered by M. Reinaud,—viz. that the Gupta era commemorated the epoch of the extermination of the Gupta dynasty.—naturally at once attracted special attention; because of the prima-facie 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 Lokakśa-la reckoning introduced from Kasmr, an event occurring in that month can be correctly referred even to Lokakśa-la 99 expired; and, much more so, to Lokakśa-la 98 current. To suit the former case, we require a cycle commencing one year later than the Kasmir 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 Alberdi's remark that the totally different accounts of the Lokakśa-la 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 Alberdi in his first illustration, it is impossible that a centenary cycle can consist of a hundred and one years. And Alberdi himself had previously said distinctly (Alberdi's India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8) "if a centenium 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 Lokakśa-la. To that reckoning, only the six even centuries belong. I shall show hereafter that the epoch of the Gupta-Valabha era really was A.D. 319-20 current; which might be quoted either as Śaka-Saṅvat 241 expired or 242 current. If we add the odd six years to Śaka-Saṅvat 241 expired, we obtain Śaka-Saṅvat 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 Lokakśa-la cycle, as reckoned in Kasmir. 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 Alberdi has quoted Durlabha correctly. And, if so, then the first current year of each cycle in the Mūlān reckoning really was one year later than in the Kasmir 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 the Christian era. And, if the introduction of the reckoning, at Mūlān, could be carried back so far, it commenced with Śaka-Saṅvat 248 expired, and 249 current. This year might have been obtained by adding seven to Śaka-Saṅvat 241 expired. But, as will be seen hereafter, the real use of Śaka-Saṅvat 241 expired is only for obtaining the basis with which Gupta-Valabha dates have to be calculated; and it only brings us to the beginning of the Gupta epoch. The difference between Gupta-Valabha and Śaka years, both treated as current for purposes of comparison, is 242. And Śaka-Saṅvat 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 Alberdi. And this is why that year was selected as the apparent basis of the computation; the true basis being Śaka-Saṅvat 84 expired. It is evident, therefore, that the process illustrated by the figures given to Alberdi does involve a method of adapting the Lokakśa-la reckoning to the Gupta era; or, more properly, of converting Lokakśa-la dates into Śaka dates through the Gupta reckoning. So far, however, from the figures tending to support any inference that the Lokakśa-la reckoning was introduced by, or in the time of, the Early Guptas, the fact that Durlabha of Mūlān would deduce 848, with a remainder, in the particular instance, of 105, or one complete Lokakśa-la 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-Saṅvat 848 expired, equivalent to A.D. 926-27 current; had it been otherwise, Durlabha'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 Albërunt 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 Albërunt'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 Albërunt'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 Śaka-Saṅhavat 242 is a mistake for 241. But this, as I have now shewn, is not the case. And I do not agree with the manner in which he deals with the figures as a whole. Śaka-Saṅhavat 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 Śaka-Saṅhavat 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 I. 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wa-li-dhālīka} & \quad \text{a'raḍā} \quad \text{ān-hā} \quad \text{wa-ja'da} \quad \text{'ilā} \\
\text{And for this} & \quad \text{they have turned away} \quad \text{from them} \quad \text{and have come to} \\
\text{tawārīkh} & \quad \text{Sāl-Hrish} \quad \text{wa-Bigarmādīta} \quad \text{wa-Sha'kā} \quad \text{wa-Bilabā} \\
\text{the eras of} & \quad \text{[Śīr-Harsha] and [Vikramādītī] and [Śaka] and [Valabhi]} \\
\text{wa-Kūbitā} & \quad \text{.................} \quad \text{Wa-āmmā} \quad \text{ta'rīkh} \quad \text{Balba} \\
\text{and [Gupta]} & \quad \text{.................} \quad \text{And as regards the era of} \quad \text{[Valabhi]} \\
\text{wa-huwa} & \quad \text{sāhib} \quad \text{madinat} \quad \text{Balbah} \quad \text{wa-hiya} \quad \text{jānūbīyah} \quad \text{'an} \\
\text{and he} \quad \text{the lord of the city of} \quad \text{[Valabhi]} \quad \text{and it south from} \\
\text{madinat} & \quad \text{'Anhwārāh bi-kālib} \quad \text{min} \quad \text{thalāthīn} \quad \text{jōzhan} \quad \text{fa-'inna} \\
\text{the city of} & \quad \text{[Anhilvādā] by near to thirty [yūjīna] behold} \\
\text{'auwala-hu} & \quad \text{muta'akkhir} \quad \text{an} \quad \text{ta'rīkh} \quad \text{Shk} \quad \text{bi-mi'atat} \\
\text{the first of it} \quad \text{posterior to the era of} \quad \text{[Śaka]} \quad \text{by two hundred} \\
\text{wa-ihdā} & \quad \text{wa-arba'In} \quad \text{sanah.} \quad \text{Wa-musta'mil-hu} \quad \text{ya'dā'ūn} \quad \text{Shg-kāl} \\
\text{and one} \quad \text{and forty years.} \quad \text{And the users of it put down} \quad \text{[Śaka]-era} \\
\text{wa-yankusūn} & \quad \text{min-hu} \quad \text{majmūt} \quad \text{mukā'īb} \quad \text{as-sittah} \quad \text{wa-murabbah} \\
\text{and lessen from it the sum of the cube of six and the square of} \\
\text{al-khamsah} & \quad \text{fa-yabkā} \quad \text{ta'rikh} \quad \text{Balba.} \quad \text{Wa-khabaru-hu} \quad \text{atīn} \\
\text{five} \quad \text{and remains the era of} \quad \text{[Valabhi].} \quad \text{And his history is coming} \\
\text{fl mawi'i-hi.} \quad \text{Wa-āmmā} \quad \text{Gūbt-kāl} \quad \text{fa-kānā} \quad \text{kāmā} \quad \text{kīla} \\
\text{in its place.} \quad \text{And as regards [Gupta]-era they were as is said} \\
\text{kauman} \quad \text{'ashrawān} \quad \text{a'kwāyā} \quad \text{fa-lammā} \quad \text{‘inkaraḍū} \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{Bīlb} \quad \text{kān} \quad \text{‘akhra-hum.} \quad \text{Fa’innā} \\
\text{by them.} \quad \text{And as if that [Valabhi] was the last of them. And behold} \\
\text{‘auwala} \quad \text{ta’rīkh-i-him} \quad \text{‘a’dān} \quad \text{muta’akkhir} \quad \text{an} \quad \text{Shg-kāl} \\
\text{the first of their era also posterior to} \quad \text{[Śaka]-era}
\end{align*}
\]
Wa.ta'rikh al-munajjimīn yata'akhkhar 'an Shg-kāl

And the era of the astronomers is posterior to [Šaka]-era

wa-alai-hī buniya zj Kndkāt̃k li-Bhindgūpt

and on it is built the canon [Khandakāt̃aka] by [Brahmagupta]

wa-huwa 'al-ma'rūf 'inda-nā bi'l-Arkānd.

and it the known with us (ches nous) by (the name of) Al-Arkānd.

Fa-īdhan sinū ta'rikh Shrl-Harish li-sanatī-nā

And so then the years of the era of [Šrl-Harsha] to our year

'āl-mumaththal bi-hā 1488 wa-ta'-rilkh Kmāadt 1088

that is used as an example 1488 and the era of [Vikramāditya] 1088

and Shg-kāl 953 wa-ta'-rilkh Balba 'alladhī huwa 'a'dān

[and Šaka]-era 953 and the era of [Valabhi] which it * also

Gūbita-kāl 712.

[Gupta]-era 712.

Translation.

"And for this reason they have given them up, and have adopted the eras of Šrī-Harsha, Vikramāditya, Šaka, 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 Aghilvāda by nearly thirty vōjanas,—its beginning was later than the Šaka era by two hundred and forty-one years. Those who use it put down (the year of) the Šaka 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. 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 Šaka era (by) 241 (years). And the era of the astronomers is later than the Šaka era (by) 587 (years); and on it is based the astronomical canon (named) Khandakāt̃aka, by Brahmagupta, which among us is known by (the name of) Al-Arkānd. So, then, 1488 years of the era of Šrī-Harsha are in correspondence with the year (of Yasdajīrd) that we have taken as a gauge; and 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya; and 953 of the Šaka era; and 712 of the era of Valabhi, which is also the Gupta era."

The essence of the whole matter, of course, lies in the precise meaning that is to be given to the words which follow the statement that the Guptas were wicked and powerful.

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 expressively imply that this dating took place from the year of the extinction of the Guptas, 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-Valabhi,"—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 Alberuni 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 Alberuni's Statements.

Up to the present time, however, the only rendering of Alberuni'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,—Saka-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 Alberuni 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 Gupt-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 Chaulukya king Arjunartha of Anhilwād,1 in which the leading record of the year is

---

1 Originally brought to notice, many years ago, by Tod, in his Annals of Rājasthāna; but critically edited, for the first time, by Hultzsch, in 1882, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 241 ff.
Valabhi-Saṁvat 945, together with Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320, which is equivalent to A.D. 1263-64, and with the Hijra year 662, which ran* 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 Alberuni'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 Šaka era, too, dated from the overthrow of the Šakas; 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 Šaka era.

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 Guptas 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 Šakas, with the epoch of A.D. 77-78;—General Sir Alexander

---

*See Indian Eras, p. 126.

A curious instance of confusion between the Gupta and the Šaka eras, on the part of a Hindu writer, is furnished by the following two passages from the commentary named Āchārañjana, by Śilāchāra, on the Jain work called Āchārānugasāra; I have taken them from a manuscript, supposed to be about three hundred years old, shown to me in the early part of 1883 by Dr. Bhagwanalal Indrajii. This first passage, on pp. 2078 and 208a, is in metre, and runs—dvāsapatī-adhitkāhā hum ātešhāh saptasūm ghatāhū Gupṭānāṁ i saṁvatsārāh māsā cha Bh[k]a[r]*drapāde sukā[k]īa-paṁchāmyāṁ II Śilāchārāyā III śākā-sūm kṛitā Gambhīrāyāṁ sthitāna [tk-aiṣhā] samyag-upayujya sādhya mātsarya-vindākṛitair-ārtye (raiy) II. This passage gives Gupta-Saṁvat 772, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, as the date on which this portion of the Commentary was completed by Śilāchāra, at Gambhīrā (?) Cambay. The second passage, on p. 256b, at the end of the whole book, is in prose, and runs—Śāka-arjua-klītā-saṁvatsara-ātešhāhu [read ātešhā] saptasūm I aṣṭānavatā-adhitkāhāh Vaiśākha-sūḍdha-paṁchāmyāṁ Āchārañjana kṛitā-eti II Ba II Saṁvat (page 256b ends here, and the next page, containing the repetition of the date in figures, and the last final words of the author, is lost). This passage gives Śaka-Saṁvat 798, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, as the date of the completion of the whole Commentary. The two passages, indicating, as
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. Bhaub 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 Bahudhānyā saṁvatsara; and Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19) was again the same cyclic year, Bahudhānyā; 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 Āchārakēla 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 Kāthiawād, except by the Gujarāt branch of the Raśtrakūṭa 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 Umāṭā and Ilāg 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 Kāthiawād, to be called the Valabhi era,—was connected originally and specially with the Gupta kings, by whom it was introduced into Kāthiawād 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. Bhaub Daji, in 1864, to what is evidently the same manuscript, though he quoted only the Gupta date. He wrote (*Jour. As.*, Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 246) "I have a Jaina manuscript which is dated in the 772nd year of the Guptaśāl; but unfortunately the corresponding Vikrama or Śīlāvāhana'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 Wātī grant of the Rāṣṭrākāta king Gōvinda III., which records\(^1\) that in Śaka-Saṁvat 730 the Vyaya saṁvatsara was current on the full-moon day of the month Vaiṣākha (April-May), and the Rādhanpur grant of the same king, which records\(^2\) 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 Sūrya-Siddhānta, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the saṁvatsara was Aṅgiras, the sixth in the cycle; which was followed by Srāvakā, the seventh, on the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna, in February, A.D. 319. Thus, four complete cycles and three saṁvatsaras over passed between Śaka-Saṁvat 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.\(^3\) Taking first the sign-passing system, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the saṁvatsara was Mahā-Āsvayuja, 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-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, as before, the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna, in February, A.D. 319. And, by the heliacal-rising system, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the saṁvatsara was Mahā-Bhādrapada, the eleventh in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Āsvayuja, the twelfth, on the twelfth lunar day of

---

\(^1\) *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, line 46 f.

\(^2\) *id.* Vol. VI. p. 68, line 53 f.

\(^3\) For an explanation of the systems of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, see Appendix III. below.
the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, in April, A.D. 78, soon after the commencement of the year. While, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the saṁvatara 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 Śravaṇa, in July, A.D. 318. Thus, between Śaka-Saṁvat 1 and Śaka-Saṁvat 241, there had expired twenty complete cycles and three saṁvataras over, by the sign-passing system, and twenty cycles and four saṁvataras 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 understand 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 now to enter into a lengthy discussion of extraneous questions of paleography, 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 suggestion 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 sāntē, the locative singular of sānta, in apposition with rājya in the same line; “in the tranquil reign (of Skandagupta).” Mr. Prinsep, however, read sāntēḥ, the ablative or genitive singular of sānti, ‘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 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 succession 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, Mr. Reinaud republished collectively, under the title of Fragments Arabes et Persans, 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 Alberuni (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 Kāliūm 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 Alberuni'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 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of 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

As 1 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.) paramabhagavata-maharajadharaja-srav-Chandragupta-Vakramaditya, which represents paramabhagavata-mahārājadhirāja-srav-Chandragupta-Vikramaditya; "the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājadhirāja, 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) rajāḥ mahākṣatrapasa Rudradamaṇa putrasya rajāḥ mahākṣatrapasa Rudrashaha, in which the superscript vowel ı was exceptionally introduced in the last word, and which represents rajāḥ mahākṣatrapasya Rudradāmunāḥ putrasya rajāḥ mahākṣatrapasya Rudrashaya; "of the Rāja, the Mahākṣatrpa Rudrasḥa, the son of the Rāja, the Mahākṣatrpa Rudrashāman." The word śhā, i.e. simha, 'a lion,' is the termination of the names of several of the Kṣatrapas or Mahākṣatrapas. And, because the long vowel ı, or the short vowel ı with a following anusvara, is usually omitted in the coins, thus giving the readings of śhā and sahasya, these princes came to be invested with the imaginary family or dynastic name of 'Śāh' or 'Śhā.' Owing to the same fact, also, the termination of some of the names in the list has occasionally been read as śhā.
of Albérûni’s statements, and by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhi-Sâhvat 945, that the Valabhi era commenced A.D. 319 \( (id. \ p. \ 4) \) or A.D. 418–19 \( (id. \ p. \ 4, \ note \ 1) \), and, by Albérûni’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 Valabhi era, commencing A.D. 319, may have been established by the Mahâdrâja Guhasena of Valabhi, 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 "Iśvaradattâ, 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 Albérûni’s era of Harsha commencing B.C. 157; 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 Valabhi 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 Valabhi charters, are to be referred to the Sâka era. These results contained the first intimation that the rulers of Valabhi 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 \( (id. \ p. \ 13 \ ff.) \), is Albérûni’s statement,—based on, but in its application different from, Hindu tradition,—that the Sâka era commemorated the defeat and slaughter of a Sâka or Scythian king by a king named Vikramâditya, who, as Albérûni 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, "Iśvaradatta, 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 \( putra, a son \)!! The two aksharas are in reality the first two syllables of the Sanskrit word \( prathama \)—\( varsha prathama, in the first year; \) see Newton, in \( Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. \) 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 Sâka 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 Kilto to Colonel Sykes, that the grant of the Mahârâja Hastin of the year 163; No. 22, page 100, shewed,—on the supposed identity of this Mahârâja with the Hastivarma, king of Vêñj in the south, who is mentioned in line 20 of the Allahâbâd 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 Bhilsa Toper, 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 Rihan 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 Selucidæ began with the foundation of the Syrian empire by Seleukos; the Christian 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 Gupta-Kal, and must, therefore, have been called such by the people." And he suggested a different translation of Alberuni'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. Benc. As. Soc. Vol. XXIV. p. 371 ff., Mr. Thomas made a special reply to General Cunningham's views and arguments as set forth in Bhilsa Toper. 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 Sōmānāthapātan or Verāвал inscription of Valabhi-Sanñvat 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 Śaka 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 Śaka 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 Albērūnt'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 Śaka-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 italicised 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 Śilāditya of Mālava, a son-in-law of Śilāditya 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 'Dhrouvapaṭou,' i.e. Dhruvapaṭu. And it had already been suggested that this name represented that of one of the Dhruvasēnas 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 (Chī-lo-o-tie-to), king of Kanyākubja (Kīe-jo-kio-che); his name is Dhruvapātu (Tou-lou-po-po-lo-teo)." 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 a king Śilāditya (Chī-lo-o-tie-to), of the kingdom of Mālava (Mo-la-po). Now the son of "king Śilāditya (Chī-lo-o-tie-to), of the kingdom of Kanyākubja (Kīe-jo-kio-che), has "a son-in-law named Dhruvapātu (Tou-lou-po-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 Śilāditya, "the present king of Kanyākubja. Ilis name is Dhruvapāta (Tou-lu-kho-po-tou),"—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 Dhruvapātu (Tou-lou-po-pa-teh'a, and also simply Pa-teh'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-Indrarvarman, the supreme lord or governor of four vishayas and mandalas, stationed or resident at Rēvatīdpā, who is mentioned in line 4 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 Dhruvapātu of Valabhi was Tch'ang-jou'i, 'constantly intelligent,' which of course supports the supposition that

---

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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dharasena I, Sēndpati</th>
<th>Drōgaśinna, Mahārāja.</th>
<th>Dhruvasena I, Mahārāja, Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpratihāra, Mahādaṇḍānyaka, and Mahādṛḍḍhrītika.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[G. S. 230 (7237), 246, 248.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharasena II, Sāmanta, Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja, and Mahādhīrāja.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[G. S. 253, 269, 270.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śīlāditya I, or Dharmāditya I</th>
<th>Dhruvasena II.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[G. S. 286, 290.]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dērabhaṭa.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kharagraha I.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śīlāditya II, Kharagraha II.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dhruvasena III.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śīlāditya III, Paramabhūṭāraka, Mahārājādhīrāja, and Paramēśvara.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[G. S. 352.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śīlāditya IV, Paramabhūṭāraka, Mahārājādhīrāja, and Paramēśvara.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[G. S. 372.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śīlāditya V, Paramabhūṭāraka, Mahārājādhīrāja, and Paramēśvara.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[G. S. 403.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śīlāditya VI, Paramabhūṭāraka, Mahārājādhīrāja, and Paramēśvara.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[G. S. 441.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śīlāditya VII, or Dhōrbhaṭa (Dhruvbhaṭa.) Paramabhūṭāraka, Mahārājādhīrāja, and Paramēśvara.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[G. S. 447.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dharasena III, or Bālāditya. |

[ [G. S. 310.] ]

Dharasena IV, Paramabhūṭāraka, Mahārājādhīrāja, Paramēśvara and Chakravartin. |

[ [G. S. 326, 330.] ]
the termination of the Sanskrit name, the first part of which, dhruva, means 'constant,' really was pātu, 'smart, dexterous, intellectual,' rather than bhāta, '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 Hiuen Tsiang, 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 Kalidāsa," 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 Kāhāum 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 14.1st 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 *Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o* or *Tu-lu-h'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang was to be identified with the Mahārāja Dharapatā, the fourth and youngest son of the Śendpāti 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 Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin, dated in the years 156 and 163, No. 21, page 93, and No. 22, page 100, which, now that the sahovatataras 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 f., 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-bhuktaṁ, "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 Albērānī, 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 Kāhāum pillar
inscription, in which, though he adopted the correct reading, sántē, 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 Kahāun 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 *Jour. 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 Skanda-"gupta being quiescent;" with the remark "there is, then, nothing here recorded con-"cerning 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 mean-"ing; because any unbiased Sanskrit scholar will see at once what the real purport of it is. But it is curious what vitality some mistakes possess. The suggestion has been made to me, quite recently, that possibly even Alberdhīl's own apparent statement, as to the Gupta era dating from the extermination of the Gupta kings, may have originated in a misunder-"standing, by the Hindus who supplied him with information, of this same expression Gupta-

*nripa-rājya-bhuktau.* 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 con-

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 Ėrān 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 Narasīṃhadēva, 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 Gujarât," based on their coins, which, in respect at any rate of the so-called Sâh coins, were then properly examined for the first time. And his conclusions were (id. p. 30) that the dates on the Sâh 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 Gujarât, by Kumâragupta and Skandagupta, without any intervention of the Indo-Scythians there; and that these two were followed by the Valabh 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 "Sâh preceding the Guptas; and it seems clear that the Guptas preceded the Valabh "dynasty;" coupled with his acceptance of the fact that the Valabh era,—and with it I conclude, the rise of the family after the last of the Guptas,—had been satisfactorily fixed at A.D. 319; though he also held the opinion (id. p. 30) that the dates in the Valabh grants were probably to be referred to the Vikrama era.

In the same volume, p. 113 ff., Dr. Bhuâ Daji published his readings and translations of the Junâghâdh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14, page 56, and of the so-called Sâh inscription of the Mahâkshatrâpa Rudrâdâman 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-prakâḻ gaṇanaṁ vidhâya, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas," Dr. Bhuâ Daji read (id. pp. 123, 129) *Guptasya kâl[â*]-
\[\text{gan}a\text{n}aṁ \text{vidh}āya, "counting from the era of Gupta." It is upon this mislection that we are entirely dependent in any supposition that the era dates from the time of the Mahâ-
\[\text{rāj}a \text{Gupta}, who is given in the inscriptions as the founder of the family; and it is to this mislection alone that we have to attribute the supposition that the era had the technical name of *Guptasya kâla, "the era of Gupta." Attached to Dr. Bhuâ 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 Guptas were evidently dated in the Gupta era and should be referred to the Valabh epoch, which was, known from the Verâwal inscription of Valabh-Sâhvat 945, to be A.D. 318; that accordingly, with his revised translation of the Kahâum inscription, Skandagu-\[\text{pta 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 Valabh grants themselves were to be referred to the Šaka 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 Valabh family, founded by the Sêndâpati Bhaṭârka, had its rise shortly before Skandagupta.

In 1864, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 236 ff., Dr. Bhuâ 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 Mahârâjâ Dharasêna II. of Valabh, dated Šâka-Sâhvat 400, which has now been edited by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 277 ff. Dr. Bhuâ Daji fully recognised the spuri-
ous nature of the grant. But, treating the date as being in the fourth century of the Saka era,—not in specifically the Saka 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 Valabhl 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 Valabhl grants refer to the Saka era, which, he held (id. p. 238), was the era "of Nahapana, in all likelihood a Parthian monarch, and a descendant of Phraates;" (id. p. 246) that the Gupta era commenced A.D. 318, and Kumāragupta and Skandagupta succeeded the last of the kings of Valabhl; and consequently (id. p. 247 f.) that the Valabhl era of Albērṇīl, if identical with the Gupta era, was certainly not the era used by the Kings of Valabhl themselves, but was the Gupta era, introduced into Kāthiawāḍ by Kumāragupta and Skandagupta. His results led him also to the conclusion (id. p. 249 fl.) 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 Saka era; to suit this suggestion, however, he had to distinctly put aside Albernl'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 *Iour. Eng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXII. pp. ii. to cxix., General Cunningham had published his Archaeological Report for 1861-62, which was subsequently reprinted in 1871 in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. i 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 Saka era. Again, in 1865, in his paper on the "Coins of the pine Nāgas," in the *Iour. Eng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 115 fl., he stated that, from a comparison of the Gupta gold coins with their Indo-Scythian prototypes, and of the Gupta silver coins with the Sāh coins of Saurāshtra, 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 Alberdinl's information was that the Śaka era was established by a king named Vikramāditya, after a victory over the Śakas; that the name of Vikramāditya was found on coins which were properly assigned to Chandragupta I.; and that the Allahābād 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 Dharasēna IV., the first paramount sovereign in the Valabhi family,¹ who overthrew the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II., the son of Pulikēśin 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 kalāti in the Junāgadhi 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 Sāñchi 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 Magadhā, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang,—there is a good deal that is sound in the arguments employed and the results

¹ Mr. Fergusson says Dharasēna 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 Sanskrīt 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 Tsiang, Vol. I. p. 149 ff., 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-fe, which he uses so habitually for Buddha, the teacher, the holy Śākyas-Tathāgatas; 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 Valabhi era should not have been used by the Kings of Valabhi themselves; that (id. p. 89 f.), by applying the Valabhi dates to A.D. 318, we obtained a Dhruvasana, who would answer to the Dhruvapata 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 Albéroni'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 Sāhs, then the Guptas, and then the Kings of Valabhi; 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 Sāh dynasty; that this dynasty continued down to A.D. 315; that there then rose the Andhra dynasty, in which Gōtāmiputra was the king of Western India in A.D. 318-19; that the Valabhi era was established then, probably on the building of the city of Valabhi; that the Maharājā Gupta, 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 Valabhi; and that the Early Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi 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 Vikramāditya, 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 Vikramāditya of Mālwa," whom he placed (id. p. 90) about A.D. 490 to 530, "had rendered the name so celebrated, the Hindus, on the revival of Brāhmaṇism, wished to possess an era which should, at least, be older than the Buddhist era of Śālivāhana," i.e. he Śaka era. "At that time, the Sāh era, established by Nahapāna, was vacant, having fallen into disuse on the destruction of that dynasty and its supersession by the era of Valabhi; 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 Bhōja of Dārā, about A.D. 993, or to the restoration of the Western Chāluṣkya dynasty, in A.D. 973.

mistaken. Whereas, in respect of the king mentioned in the Īrān inscription, the metre, as well as the perfect clearness of the reading, shews as conclusively that the first component of that name is Buddha, the planet Mercury. Sanskrit scholars will recognise at once the thorough difference between the two names.—For my own remarks on the date of Budhagupta of Magadh, 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 Daivalputras and Shāhānushāhis, "who must have been the Turushka kings of the Pañjāb," as shewing that Samudragupta was "a contemporary of the Turushka kings, whose domi-

"nation, 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 *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., containing, in the first part of it, his Archaeological 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 Kahārum 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 Vikramāditya, mentioned by Alberdihn,—in commemoration of whose victory over the Śakas at Karth, between Multān and Lōnt, 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. That 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 *Archaeol. 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 Rājatarangaṁ, i. 168-73, as being represented by the Vikramāditya who, according to Mērutūngā, 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 Vikramāditya 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. Bhu 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

1Alberdihn's *India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 6.
being that it commemorated the coronation, as Mahárájá, of Drónasíinha, the second son of the Shídápáti Bháttárika, by a sovereign who, in the Valabhi 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 Valabhi 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 Valabhi 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 Valabhi dates must be referred to an era other than the Saka;" 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 Valabhi family there was no individual named 'Ballaba,' or Valabhi, "it is doubtful whether the "era was really of Bháttárika's family. If the era was not the era of the dynasty, but was "in use in Sauráshtra before the foundation of the dynasty, the Valabhi dates may be referred "to it. Or, more likely, since the Guptas, who preceded that dynasty, introduced their "era into the country, the grants must have been dated in that era. But there is no differen- "ce 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 Káthiáwaḍ:- "The bards relate that Vála Ráma "Rájá, son of Vála Warsingíł, reigned at Junaǵaḍh and Vanthál. 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 rupées¹ as alms to the "poor. Ráma Rájá was of the Vála race. It is said in Sauráshtra that, previous to the "rise of the kingdom of Junaǵaḍh-Vanthál, Valabhínagara was the capital of Gujárát. "The rise of Valabhi is thus told by the bards. The Gupta kings reigned between the "Ganges and Jamná rivers. One of these kings sent his son, Kumárapálägupta, to "conquer Sauráshtra; and placed his viceroy Chákrapáṭha, son of Práṇadatta, one of his "Ammás, to reign as a provincial Governor in the city of Wámanasthál (the modern Van- "thál). Kumárapálä now returned to his father's kingdom. His father reigned twenty- "three years after the conquest of Sauráshtra, and then died; and Kumárapálä ascended "the throne. Kumárapálägupta reigned twenty years, and then died, and was succeeded "by Skandagupta; but this king was of weak intellect. His Shídápáti Bháttáraka, who "was of the Gehlot race, taking a strong army, came into Sauráshtra, and made his rule "firm there. Two years after this, Skandagupta died. The Shídápáti now assumed the "title of King of Sauráshtra; and, having placed a Governor at Wámanasthál, founded "the city of Valabhínagara. At this time, the Gupta race were dethroned by foreign in- "vaders. The Shídápáti was a Gehlot, and his forefathers reigned at Ayódhyánagarí, "until displaced by the Gupta dynasty. After founding Valabhi, he established his rule

¹Nominally, half a million pounds sterling.
in Saurashtra, Kachchh, Lāṭāḍēka, and Mālava. The Vāḷās were a branch of the Geh- lots. After the fall of Valabhi, the Vāḷā governor of Wāmanasthāl became independent. Rāma Rājā had no son; but his sister was married to the Rājā 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. Thomas¹ 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,² 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 pādī into the middle of the name of Kumāragupta; and than the substitution of Pranadatta and Chakrapāṇi for the Parṇadatta, and his son Chakrapālita, of the Junagad rock inscription of Skandagupta, and of Bhaṭṭāraka for Bhaṭārka, as the name of the upstart Śenāpati. But no further attention need be paid to the matter; since I have it on the best possible authority,—that of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji 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. Rajendralala 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 Kābāum pillar inscription, by connecting the word sānt, in line 3, with varshē, in line 4; and, hankering after the meanings given by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Hall, to the word sānta 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. Bhou 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 Mahā-

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 Alberūnī'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 Alberūnī's Gupta era commemorates the expulsion of the Guptas from Gujarāt by the Kings of Valabhl.

In 1876, in the Archaol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 18 ff., Mr. Thomas published a chapter on the "Sāh and Gupta Coins, &c.," in which, as already noted, he included some strong remarks in support of the authenticity of the supposed bardic tradition from Kāṭhilāvadv, 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 Tārāmanḍa's coin, which he interpreted (id. p. 66) as 182; on the authority of the supposed tradition, he placed the Śrīnāpati Bhāṭārka, the founder of the Valabhī family, specifically two years before the death of Skandagupta; and he added a remark indicating apparently that his opinion was, that the Valabhī era, commencing A.D. 319, was established by the Mahārāja Dharasena 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 Allnā grant of Śīlāditya VII. of Valabhl, No. 39, page 171, which gives for him the date of Gupta-Saṅvat 447 (A.D. 766-67), and the biruda, or title or second name, of Dhrūbheṭa or Dhruvabhāṭa. Drawing attention (id. p. 80) to the pointed similarity of this name with the T'ū-lu-p'o-po-tu of Huen Tsiang's account, and suggesting that Huen 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 Huen Tsiang's contemporary; the result of which would be that the era used in the Valabhl 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 Dhrūbheṭa or Dhruvabhāṭa 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 Archaol. 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 Bhumara pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110; the Mahārāja Saṅkshobha's grant, of the year 209, No. 25, page 119; and, with the exception of No. 28, page 125, the grants of the Mahārājas of Uchhakalpa, 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 Saṅkshobha, he followed Prof. Wilson in giving to the expression Gupta-nṛpa-rāja-bhuktau 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 ff.) 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 Śiśādiya 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 Ērān pillar inscription of Budhagupta and the Mōrbēl grant of Jāṁkadēva, was A.D. 194-95 as the epoch of the era. Applying this epoch to the Ērān date, the result (id. p. 18) was A.D. 359; in which year the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āshāda, according to his calculation, was, as required, a Thursday; viz. the 24th June. And applying it to the solar eclipse mentioned in the Mōrbēl 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 samvatsaras of Jupiter's Twelve-Year Cycle in the grants of the Mahārājās Hastin and Saṁkshōbha. Exact information about this cycle, however, was not then forthcoming; and, in making the Mahā-Vaiśākha samvatsara correspond (id. p. 19) with A.D. 359, which, with the epoch of A.D. 194-95, would be the equivalent of Gupta-Saṁvat 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-Āsvayuja samvatsara, recorded in the same Mahārājā's grant of Gupta-Saṁvat 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-trā or Kāthiāwād, up to A.D. 333. And he expressed the opinion that the apparent inco-

1 For the full details of this eclipse, see Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 308.
2 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.
3 This is with the supposed date of 139. But the reckoned dates in the record are 136, 137, and 138; they do not include 139.
The subject was taken up again by General Cunningham in 1880, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 111 ff., in his Appendix on "The Gupta Era," and on this occasion he arrived at the final conclusion, that (id. p. 116) 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, Huvishka, and Vásudeva, 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 Gupta chronology. The second leading point was that, as already indicated by him, the Allinâ grant of Silâdîtya VII. shewed that the initial point of the Gupta era must fall between A.D. 164 and 224. Putting these two 'approximate results together, he inferred that the beginning of the Gupta 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 Éra of the 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 Gupta era. In order, however, to make all the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, mentioned in the grants of the Mahâdrâjas Hastin and Samkshôbha, 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 Alberuni’s apparent statement regarding the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty, in the Valabhl country, in A.D. 319, in which year he now placed the Śenḍapati Bhaṭṭārka of Valabhl. And he recorded the opinion (id. p.126) that the foundation of the Valabhl 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 Saurāṣṭra,—formerly called the Sāḥ kings,—and those of the Valabhl family, proved distinctly that the Guptas must have followed the Satraps of Saurāṣṭra and preceded the Valabhl 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 Stāpa at ‘Manikyala;’ 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 Śālavāhana 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 Gôtamiputra, 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 Rājataram-gini, one of which 1 speaks of Pratapāditya, who was brought from another country to be crowned king of Kaśmir, as a kinsman of a king Vikramāditya who, the book states, was wrongly thought by some to be the Śakāri or 'enemy of the Śakas,' and the other of which 2 states that, at the time of the death of Hiranya of Kaśmir, 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 Albérouti'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 Karur, was Harsha-Vikramāditya of Ujjain; that his death took place about A.D. 550, and the battle of Karur, 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

1 Calcutta edition, ii. line 6; page 15.  
2 Calcutta edition, iii. lines 125, 128; page 26.
supersede the Buddhist Śaka era of Kanishka; that, the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhl 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 Karur 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 Karur. 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 Rājatarangini. The early chronology of Kaśmir 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 Kaśmir, 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 Śaka era ran from the coronation, not the defeat or death, of a Śaka king (or kings); finding (id. p. 214 f.), from the coins, that Kanishka belonged undoubtedly to the Śaka 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 Śaka 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 Alberungi, "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

1 I am not prepared at present to specify the exact date. But the 'Gyāraspur' or 'Gyārispur' inscription (Arch. Jour. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 33, and Plate xi.) shows 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'U-lu-p'o-po-ts of Huien Tsang may be Derabhasta of Valabhl, or may indicate one of the Dharaśenas or one of the earlier Śīlādityas of that family; and that, at any rate, the occurrence of the title Dhrabhasta in the Allna 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 Šrāng pillar inscription of Budhagupta, that the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashadh of Gupta-Saṁvat1 165 was a Thursday, was quite correct by the Tables and formulæ in Warren's Kala-Saṁkalika. And (id. p. 222), referring to the supposed tradition of the bards of Kāthiāwād, 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 Šāk 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 Alberdul, shewing that eras had been established from the death of 'Alexander the Founder' and of 'Yazdajird ben Shahryār,' which were used by him as indicating that Alberdul 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 'Sylapati,' Sāmantadeva, 'Khadavayaka,' and Bhimdāva, of Kābul, 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 Sāmantadeva.2 And, pointing out that the conventional

---

1 Or, rather, of Gupta-Saṁvat 166; since he treated the record as meaning the year 165 expired and 166 current. Bgt 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 Sāmantādeva,—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 Kābul, 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 Allnā grant of Śilāditya 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 Kāthiāwād bards, was (id. p. 155 f.) that it might date from the death of Kumāragupta, and might memorialise 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 Kābul 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'1 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. 304, Pl. xxi. 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 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 adal, '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 at any rate Prinsep's Essays, Pl. xxx. 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 Śaka 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 nɔ9" and "812 nɔ9." 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, Guṇ, 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 Sāmanta'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 Gupta, 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 Gupta, 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 Gupta-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 Mahārājas Hastin and Sānkshōbha. 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-Mārgāsīra, 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-Mārgāsīra saṁvatsara of the Bhumār pillar 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-Aśvayuja (for which, by the way, Sir E. Clive Bayley again wrote Mahā-Mārgāsīra) as recorded in the grant itself, No. 25, page 112. In fact, a full examination of the original
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

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 Archael. 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 samvatsaras of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter are shewn 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 samvatsara 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-Sanvät 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 Kṛttika (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 Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty, is said;" in the supposed tradition of the bards of Kāthikawād, "to have been the governor of Saurāśṭra 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 Jāikadēva of Saurāśṭra, published by Dr. Bühlcr in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 151. This grant is dated in Vikrama-Sanvät 794, equivalent to A.D. 736-37; and, on the assumption that it is genuine, and that this Jāikadēva is identical with the Jāinka of the Morbāl grant, the date of which, (Gupta)-Sanvät 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 Jāṅka and Jāṅkadēva 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-Saṅvatara-satēshu saptasah chatur-navaty-adhitēhau-anakkalab 974 Kārtikamāsva-papakha-amādyāyām Ādiyavatrd Jyēṣṭhā-nakshatrām nāvigrahāna-parvani asyāṃ Saṅvatara-maeka-paśa-āvivasa-purāṇadhāna tithāvadyāyāhā Bhāmiliyayāhau &c.—"and 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 Kārttika; on the new-moon tithī; on Sunday; under the Jyēṣṭhā nakṣatraḥ; 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 Bhāmiliya," &c.—This gives us for calculation; Vikrama-Saṅvat 794. current according to the literal meaning of the text; the month Kārttika (October-November); the second, and as shewn 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 Jyēṣṭhā nakṣatra or lunar mansion. And, as the details of the inscription connect it specifically with Saurashtra or Kāṭhiañdā, we have to understand that the Vikrama year quoted is the southern Vikrama year, commencing with Kārttika sākla 1, and having the Amānta 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 shewn by the mention of the Jyēṣṭhā nakṣatra, which can never occur on the new-moon tithi of the Pūrṇimānta northern Kārttika.—As belonging to southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 794, the given tithi belonged, according to the Tables, to Śaka-Saṅvat 659, expired; and, if it belonged to southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 795, it would belong to Śaka-Saṅvat 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-Saṅvat 794, Monday, the 28th October, A.D. 737, when there was the Auṛālīka nakṣatra, and most probably no eclipse of the sun (none, at least, is recorded in Indian Eras, p. 211);—and for Vikrama-Saṅvat 795, Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738, when there was the Jyēṣṭhā nakṣatraḥ; 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 Kārttika 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 Śvātī and Viśākha. To complete the details, I would add that he finds that the English equivalent of the new-moon tithi of the Pūrṇimānta northern Kārttika, which fell in A.D. 737, was Saturday, the 28th September, A.D. 737, when the nakṣatras were Chitrā and Svātī, 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. Bühlcr, in publishing the inscription, on calculations made by Prof. Jacobi. In order to arrive at it, however, he translated the record as meaning Vikrama-Saṅvat 794 expired and 795 current. And in dealing with the eclipse, which, according to the same Amānta 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.

grant was actually made on the new-moon *tithi* of Áśvina, 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 Kārttika, 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 Era*, p. 48 l. His conclusions were, that the date belongs to Vikrama-Sāvīvat 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 Kārttika, but with the month Mārgaśīrṣa (November-December), in accordance with a custom which Alberdrolf tells us, was current among the people of Sind and Kanauj and other localities, and had been followed at Multān up to a few years before his own time. *By this arrangement, of course, the month Kārttika of Vikrama-Sāvīvat 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 Kārttika 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 Áśvina, instead of Kārttika; 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 Kārttika; and this might have led to the substitution of the name of Kārttika, for that of Áśvina, 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 Alberdrolf, a year commencing with Mārgaśīrṣa could only be coupled with the *Pṛyinḍata* 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 Kārttika. The *Pṛyinḍata* 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. Bühler's interpretation of the date. For, though it remains to be finally decided whether the given date in the southern Vikrama-Sāvīvat 794, current, or expired, belongs to Śaka-Sāvīvat 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 Dhiniki grant is not genuine; partly from the type of the Dēvanāgarī 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 Sāmānḍa grant of the Rashtrakūṭa king Dantidurga, of Śaka-Sāvīvat 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 Valabhi. This view, I find, cannot be upheld; as the recorded details are not correct for Valabhi-Sāvīvat 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 arrived at. 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 Jyēṣṭhā *naksatra* appears to occur always on, or within two days after, the new-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, 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 Alberânt’s statement regarding the era dating from the extermination of the Guptas, was to be attributed to nothing but the fact that, as in the case also of the Šaka 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 Valabhi era, was due only to its having been introduced into Saurārātria by the Valabhi family, who were originally dependents of the Guptas, and the dates in whose grants could, at any rate, plainly not be referred to the rise of the family under the Śudāpati Bhaṭārka. The principal tests applied by him were, the record of the week-day in the Ērāṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta; and the names of the samvatsaras of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, as recorded in the grants of the Maḥārājas Hastin and Samkshōbha. In respect of the Ērāṇ 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 Alberânt; 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 luni-solar 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'iu-lo-p'io-to of Hiuen Tsiang was Dhruvasēna II. of Valabhi. 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 bhaṭa. It was a mere title or honorific termination, as pant and ndv are among us, the Marāthās. Śena, sīmka, and bhaṭa were the Vala- bhi honorific endings; and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasimha, may have been called Dhruvabhaṭa by ordinary people, from whom Hiuen Tsiang must have got the name.” But the name of Dhruvasimha does not

---

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 Valabhl 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 सेना, सिंहा, and भाटा. And, though Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar pointed out that Hiuen Tsang seems to be referring to more than one king of Valabhl, whom he held to be the two brothers Dharasêna III. and Dhrusasêna II., yet I cannot find any authority, either in M. Stanislas Julien's translation, or in Mr. Bell's, for his assertion that Hiuen Tsang was speaking of only two kings, and that it was the younger of them whom he denoted by the name of T'ư-lu-p'o-po-in. 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 Tsang.

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 Mandasôr Inscription of Mālava-Samvat 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 Albêrêni, 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 Valabhl era, with an epoch of A.D. 319-20 or thereabouts, established, whether used or not, by some member of the Valabhl 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 Valabhit 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 Bhātārka, 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 Allna 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 Mandasör inscription, which, composed and engraved when the year 529 had expired from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, gives us, through his feudatory Bandhuvarmac, 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 Kaṇaswa inscription¹ dated when the 795th 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.² But

¹ Edited by Dr. Kielhorn, in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 162 ff. The date (from the published text; p. 164 f.; line 14 f.) runs—sa-matvavala-sat-sa-putha-pattha-sa-paṇcha-navātya-argalaih saptahīrīh-Mālavādind mandirām Dhurjasājī kritām.—"(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) Dhurjaśi 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 — Mālava-kalidāh-chharaddān skā-śrīmat-samyutāhavātāddhau navān iṣṭāhnu,—"when nine centuries of autumns, joined with thirty-six, have gone by, from the commencement 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 Mandasör inscription of Yasōdharmarman and Vishvapradhana, of Mālava-Saṅvat 589 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* that this Mālava era must be the same as the era of Vikramādiya 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 Mandasor inscription, now brought to notice, furnish any details for calculation. But, in its mention of Kumāragupta, it answers the purpose equally well.

Turning to the Gupta inscriptions and coins, the earliest and latest dates that we have for Kumāragupta 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.6 Lest, 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 129. 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 Kumāragupta 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. Car leyle,9 which have on them the legend Mālavānāth jayah, "the victory of the Mālava," in characters ranging, in General Cunningham's opinion, "from perhaps B.C. 250 to A.D. 250." These coins show that the Mālavas existed, as a recognised and important clan, long before the time when, as I consider, their "tribal

original scheme of the Vikrama years is the one commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of Kārttiika (October-November). And Kārttiika is still the second month in the Hindu autumn, according to the usual division of the six seasons. It seems, however, to be more properly the first autumn month, according to the true southern division of the seasons. And it appears also to have been the first month of a season, when the year was divided, in ancient times, into only three seasons.


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 Allahabad 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 Ashoka; which, would make the date of Malavasañvat 493 correspond with A.D. 270, or well on into the first decade of Kumāragupta'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 Kañasa inscription of Malavasañvat 795, and the 'Gyāraspur' inscription of Malavasañvat 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 Mālavas, through the name of its supposed founder, king Vikramāditya, whose capital, Ujjain, was the principal city in Māla,—that we are compelled to find in it the solution of the question, and to adjust the equation of the dates thus,—Gupta-Saṅvat 115 (the mean date for Kumāragupta) + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 432-33; and Malavasañvat 493 — B.C. 57-56 = A.D. 436-37; which, of course, falls well within the seventeen years of Kumāragupta's reign, remaining after his mean date.

My new Mandaśōr inscription, therefore, proves — (1) that any statement by Albūrūnī that the Early Gupta power came to an end in or about A.D. 319, must certainly be wrong;—(2) that, on the contrary, Kumāragupta's dynastic dates—and, with them, those of his father Chandragupta II., and his son Skandagupta, which belong undeniably 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 thereabouts, brought to notice by Albūrūnī and substantiated by the Verawal inscription of Valabhī-Saṅvat 945;—and (3) incidentally, that, under another name, connecting it with the Mālava 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. Ferguson 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 Alb-runl and substantiated by the Verawal inscription of Valabhi-Sarhhat 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 Alb-runl’s statements, we have to select, as the true and exact epoch, that of A.D. \(319-20\), equivalent to Saka-Sarhvat 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 era\(^1\) and of the northern Vikrama era have to be treated as commencing, like the years of the Saka 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 fortuitics 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 fortuitics, 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 Saka era, according to either the northern or the southern arrangement, or the scheme and initial day of the years of the southern Vikrama era.

\(^1\) This era is also of extremely exceptional use in epigraphical records. The only instances that I can quote are (1) the Aiho inscription of the Western Chalukya king Pulikeshin II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff.), which is dated when three thousand seven hundred and thirty-five years had elapsed from the Bh\(\text{\dh}\)rata war, supplemented by the statement that, at the same time, five hundred and fifty-six years of the Saka 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 Bh\(\text{\dh}\)rata war; and (2) some of the inscriptions of the K\(\text{\dha}\)dambas of Goa, ranging from A.D. 1167 to 1247 (Jour. Bo. 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 Saka era at all, though other records of the same family (see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 90 ff.) are dated in the Saka 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 Pañcāṅgār or Hindu almanacs, the northern arrangement is called Pūrṇimānta, 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 Vaiśāṅka; 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 Āṣāṅka 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 Kāṛtтика (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-Saṅvī 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 Huien 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, Pármānta.</th>
<th>Months and Fortnights.</th>
<th>Southern India, Amūnta.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaītra</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td>Chaītra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaśiśṭha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Vaśiśṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyēśṭhā</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td>Jyēśṭhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāvaṇa</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Śrāvaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhādrapada</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td>Bhādrapada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āḍvina</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Āḍvina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārttika</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td>Kārttika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārgaśīrha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Mārgaśīrha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Pausha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māgha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phālīguna</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Phālīguna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaītra</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td>Chaītra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaśiśṭha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Vaśiśṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyēśṭhā</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td>Jyēśṭhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāvaṇa</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Śrāvaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhādrapada</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Bhādrapada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āḍvina</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Āḍvina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārttika</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Kārttika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārgaśīrha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Mārgaśīrha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Pausha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māgha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phālīguna</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Phālīguna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Varānās Inscription. Ashadhā: the dark fortnight; the 13th solar day; Sunday.)

Śaka-Saṁvat 1186.
Vikrama-Saṁvat 1331.
Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 944.
A.D. 1264-65.

Śaka-Saṁvat 1187.
Vikrama-Saṁvat 1332.
Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 945.
A.D. 1264-65.

Śaka-Saṁvat 1187.
A.D. 1264-65.

Śaka-Saṁvat 1186.
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-Sarhvat 1321 current is Śaka-Sarhvat 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-Sarhvat 1321 current is the following Śaka-Sarhvat 1187 current. Consequently, if the Gupta-Valabhl year is to be treated as a southern Vikrama year, any such date as Gupta-Valabhl-Sarhvat 944, Chaitra śukla 1, up to Aśvina krishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent later by twelve complete lunations, or practically a year,² or else any such date as Gupta-Valabhl-Sarhvat 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 latter name of the Valabhl era, come from Kāṭhiaŭaḍ, where, as in the neighbouring provinces of Gujarāt and the Northern Konkaṇ, 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 adopt 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 (Khēṭā) 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-Sarhvat 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-Sarhvat 571 current, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarāt, to the southern Vikrama-Sarhvat 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-Sarhvat 706, with the month Kārttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Sarhvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Sarhvat 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

² 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-Saṃvat¹ 303, which commenced, approximately, on the 19th March, A.D. 622, about half-way through southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 679 current. Then, if the change of scheme was effected in the first seven lunations of the Gupta-Valabhl year, the Gujarâtis would make the new year, Gupta-Valabhl-Saṃvat 304, commence with their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 680, on the next KārttiKA śukla 1, or approximately the 12th October, A.D. 622; and Gupta-Valabhl-Saṃvat 303, as thus adapted and shortened by them, would contain only seven lunations, from Chaitra śukla 1 up to Āśvina krishṇa 15. If, on the other hand, the change was effected in the last five lunations of the Gupta-Valabhl year, when southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 680 current had already commenced, then the Gujarâtis would defer the commencement of the new year, Gupta-Valabhl-Saṃvat 304, until the commencement of their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṃvat'681, on again the next KārttiKA śukla 1, or approximately the 1st October, A.D. 623; and Gupta-Valabhl-Saṃvat 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 KārttiKA. Under the second condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence seven lunations later than it would in Kāthiāwād, as long as the true original reckoning was preserved in the latter country; which was the case up to at least Gupta-Valabhl-Saṃvat 945. Under the first condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence five lunations earlier than in Kāthiāwād. And the grant of Dharasēṇā 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 Margaśīrṣha of this record can be made to belong to Gupta-Saṃvat 330, instead of to 329.

The Verāval inscription, however, of the Chaulukya king Arjunadēva, dated Valabhl-Saṃvat 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 shew 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

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-Saṃvat 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 पञ्चिमुद्वतः northern arrangement of the fortnights of the months, or a northern year coupled with the अम्सुद्वतः southern arrangement. And, in proof of this position, I will here adduce some very instructive information gathered from the Nepali 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 Harshavarthana 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 Nepal, by the Newāra 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 Nepal, that the initial day of each year is the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November).

As regards the origin of the era, the Nepal *Vainīvali,* or List of Kings, states that it was established by Jayadevamalla, of the second Thakuri dynasty of Amśuvarman. 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 Śrāvana, in the ninth year of the era, coupled with Śaka-Sarhvat 811 which as an expired year is equivalent to A.D. 889-90, during the joint reign of Jayadevamalla and his younger brother Ānandamalla, there came from the south a certain Nanyadēva, who conquered the whole of Nepal, and established the Karnātaka Dynasty. The truth probably is that Nanyadēva was a minister of Jayadevamalla, and eventually usurped the sovereignty, which, according to the *Vainīvali,* remained with his descendants for five generations after him. Whether Nanyadēva 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 Jayadevamalla. 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 Karnātaka year for the year that had hitherto been used in Nepal. The available dates do not furnish absolute proof that the initial day of the new year was Kārttika śukla 1. But the *Vainīvali* gives the following two equations,—under Nanyadēva, as already noted, Nepalā-Sarhvat 9 = Śaka-Sarhvat 811 (expired), with the date of Śrāvana śukla 7; and under Ilarimandhadēva, No. 1 in the Sūryavarnī Dynasty of Bhātgām, Nepalā-Sarhvat 444

---

1 Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji tells me that this word, Newāra, is a local corruption of 'Nepal.'—In the inscriptions, this era, when it is not simply referred to in the usual way by the word *saṁvat,* is spoken of by the terms *Nepali-sarhva* (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 183, line 13 from the bottom), *Nepali-samvata* (id. p. 191, line 4 from the top), and *Nepali-abda* (id. p. 193, 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-Saṃvat 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. Bhagwantal Indrajit, 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 Kārttiika 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 Nēpāl, even a year borrowed from the southern Vikrama year, would be coupled with the Pārṣimānta northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights, yet we find that this distinctly was not the case, but the Amānta southern arrangement was preserved. This is proved, in the first instance, by the mention in the inscription of Śiddhinṛisinha, dated Nēpāla-Saṃvat 757, of Śrāvāna krishna 8 after Śrāvāna śukla 12; and still more explicitly by the provision, in the same passage, for performing the janmāshṭamī pūjā, or ‘worship on the eighth lunar day which is (the anniversary of) the birth (of Kṛśna),’ on the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight of Śrāvāna; for, a comparison of any Pañcāṅgas will show that the festival in question occurs in the dark fortnight of Śrāvāna only according to the Amānta southern reckoning, but, according to the Pārṣimānta northern reckoning, on the same tithi in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada. Further, the inscription of Riddhilakṣmī gives a date in a dark fortnight, available for calculation. The details are Nēpāla-Saṃvat 810 current; the month Kārttiika; the dark fortnight; the second lunar day; and Sunday. With the epoch of A.D. 879-80, the given tithi should fall in A.D. 1689; and, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, by the Amānta southern arrangement, it did end on a Sunday, viz. the 20th October, A.D. 1689; while, by the Pārṣimānta 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 tithi did not end on a Sunday in either A.D. 1688 or 1690, by either the Amānta or the Pārṣimānta arrangement. It is absolutely certain, therefore, that the year which was used in connection with the Nēwār era of Nēpāl, and which had Kārttiika 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-ādē gāgana-dhariṣṭ-nāga-guktē kil-ōrē māśē pakhē vidhu-virahītē su-duvidyād-tīthau sa kritau dūdilayam-āpi Rāvan Riddhilakṣmī prasāunā chaatkē dēv su-vidhi-viśiṣṭām Śaṅkarasya pratisiṣṭhām.—"in the Nēpāl year possessed of the sky (=0), the earth (=1), and the (8) Nāgas; in (the month) Īrja (i.e. Kārttiika); 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 Riddhilakṣmī, made an installation, according to all the proper rites, of (the god) Śaṅkara."—The name of the week-day is overlooked in the published version.

3 The English equivalents for those years, are, by the Amānta arrangement, Tuesday, the 30th October, A.D. 1688, and Saturday, the 8th November, A.D. 1690; and, by the Pārṣimānta 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, they introduced the Vikrama era itself from the neighbouring parts of Northern India, and adopted it in its northern variety, with Chaitra śukla,1 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.1 The dates are, Vikrama-Saṅvat 1874, Bhâdrapada krishṇa 9, Śukravāra2 or Friday; Vikrama-Saṅvat 1875, Mārgaśīrsha krishṇa 5, Buddhavāra or Wednesday; and Vikrama-Saṅvat 1877, Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 10, Râvivâra or Sunday. By the Âmânta 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 Âmânta 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-Valabhi 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 Parivrâjaka Mahârâja Saṁkshôbha, 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-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara;" and, as regards other details, in fortunately a double manner. In line 2 f. we have—Chaitra-mâsa-śukla-paksha-trय- daśyâm (where, in apposition with trयdaśyâm, we have to supply tithau),—"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 20 7 (where the abbreviation di stands for dîna, dînd, divasa, or divasâ),—"(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 printed text has śukā, which is obviously a mistake for śukrā.
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.] (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. 24, p. 15). There are, however, distinctly two symbols, meaning 20 and 7; or, together, 27.
to the regular Pūrṇimānta northern scheme. By this means only can the thirteenth

*tithi*, 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 Majhagāvām

grant of the Parīvārāja Mahādraja Hastin, of the year 191, No. *23, page 106, in

which we have, in line 2,—Māgha-māsa-bahula-paksha-tritīyāyaṁ,—“on the third *tithi*,

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 *tithi* 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 Mahādraja Sāmkshābha. And the record proves absolutely

that, in the arrangement of the fortights of the months of the Gupta year, it

is the Pūrṇimānta 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 Arjunādēvā, dated Valabhi-Saṃvat 945, is the

only instance in which the equation of the Gupta-Valabhi era and another era is accom-

panied by the full details of a month, fortnight, and day.² And the thirteenth solar day

in the dark fortnight of Asāḍha, 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 Sāka 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 Ėraṇ pillar inscription of

Gopārāja, of the year 191, No. 20, page 91, in which we have, in line 2, Śrīvāna ba di 7, “(the

month) Śrīvāna; the dark fortnight; the (solar) day 7;” and, in line 1, apparently Śrīvāna-

fortnight of the month Śrīvāna.” Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, finds that, in Gupta-Saṃvat

191, the seventh *tithi* or lunar day of the dark fortnight of Śrīvāna, 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 *tithi* ended on Tuesday, the 8th June. Accordingly, at the end of line 1, we should perhaps


² The only other instance in which the Gupta-Valabhi era is mentioned in direct connection with

another era, is Alblēguḍhā’s statement (page 30 above), in which Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 712 is given

as equivalent to Vikrama-Saṃvat 1088, and Saṃk-Saṃvat 953. It cannot be turned to any practical

use, in determining 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 sukla 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 sukla 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 Purnimanta 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 sainvatsaras of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, which are quoted in the grants of the Mahârâja Hastin and Samkhshôbha, not only confirm the above results by proving that the details of them cannot be referred to a year commencing with the month Kârttiika, but also prove that we cannot be concerned even with a year commencing with the new-moon of the month Mârgaârsha (November-December), which is mentioned by Albërôn 1 as having been in use, at any rate in connection with the Lôkakâla reckoning, by the people of Sindh, Multân, Kanauj, and other parts, and as having been abandoned at Multân only shortly before his own time. As a matter of fact, a year commencing with Mârgaârsha, and having the Purnimanta northern arrangement of the fortnights, would suit the details of every Gupta-Valabhl date,—including even the Kaira grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 330 mentioned above, and a Verâwal inscription of Valabhl-Sahnvat 927 which will be fully exhibited further on,—except one, viz. the Majhgawân grant of the Mahârâja 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 sainvatsara 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 Mârgaârsha. And thus,—having no other

1Albërôn's India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8 f.—He also, in the same place, mentions a year commencing with the month Bhâdrapada (August-September). But, from his statement, it seems to have been confined to the vicinity of Kasîml. And, under any circumstances, as Bhâdrapada is earlier than Kârttiika in the Saka year, the circumstances which bar a year commencing with Kârttiika, still more emphatically bar one commencing with Bhâdrapada.
known year of general use to fall back on, except the Śaka year; and giving due consideration to the explicit manner in which Alberfini connects the years of the Gupta-Valabhi 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-Valabhi 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 Pūrṇimānta 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 Kāṭhīvāḍa, there is current a year commencing with the Āśādhāṇa sūkla 1 that precedes the Kārttika sūkla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. This year is called the Ṭhāṭrī, or, as belonging to the Ṭhāṭrī Prānt or Sub-Division of Kāṭhīvāḍa. I do not know whether it is coupled with the Amānta or with the Pūrṇimānta 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 Kārta grant of Dhararēna IV. of the year 339 and the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Sainvati 927, as compared with the results for the other dates; and, in order to suit the dates in the Āṇjan pillar inscription of Budhagupta and other records, it ought to commence with the Āśādhāṇa sūkla 1 following, not preceding, the Kārttika sūkla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. There appear, therefore, no grounds for supposing that this Ṭhāṭrī 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 Haidarābād (Dekkan) grant of the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II., in which the details for computation (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 73, line 11 fl.) are Śaka-Sainvati 534 expired, the month Bhādrapada (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-Sainvati 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 Era, p. 210) on the 2nd August, A.D. 612; which was the new-moon tithi of Bhādrapada according to the Pūrṇimānta northern arrangement. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, however, by the Sāya-Siddhānta, that the tithi ended at 35 ghaṭis, 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, Bāḍami, to which the record refers itself, on the 23rd July, A.D. 613, which date again answers to the new-moon tithi of Bhādrapada according to the Pūrṇimānta northern arrangement. But the point to which I have to draw attention here, is, that, whichever of these two eclipses we select, the Pūrṇimānta 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 Alberdni's most specific statement regarding the equation of the two eras, and treated as northern dates, with the Pūrṇimānta 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 Ēraṅ 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 Ēraṅ pillar inscription
of Budhagupta, from the Sāgar District in the Central Provinces, No. 19, page 88; in which the date (line 2 f.) runs — satē pañcāsha-shasyādikā varṣhāpātān bhūpatau cha Budhaguptē Āśādha-māsa-śukla-dvādaśyaṁ Suragurūr-dīvasāḥ II San 100 60 5,—" in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (its) king; on the twelfth tithi, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Āśādha; on the day of Suraguru; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5."

As the palaeography of this record shows 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-Saṁvat 165, current; the month Āśādha (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 *Archæol. 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-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 194-95 = A.D. 359-60 = Śaka-Saṁvat 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

---

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 *Panchāṅgas*, 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-Saṁvat 1809 to 1808 inclusive, the position of the end of the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āśādha, varied from the 10th 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-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 318-19 = A.D. 483-84 = Śaka-Saṁvat 405 expired; and the result was derived from the same assumption as regards the position of the tiḷṭi.

In 1880, in the *Archeol. 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-Sidhānta, was a Friday in A.D. 331; but that his own result, obtained from the Arya-Sidhānta, 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-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 331-32 = Śaka-Saṁvat 253 expired, and with the same assumption as regards the position of the tiḷṭi. 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 Āśāḍha krīṣṇa 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 Āśāḍha śukla 12 of Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 355-56 = Śaka-Saṁvat 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 *tīthi*, belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 254 current, and calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Āshādha śukla 12 was a Thursday, if, following Alberoni’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-Saṃvat 165 + 241 = Śaka-Saṃvat 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. Chhatte’s Tables, with these three Śaka years as expired years. And his results are — with Śaka-Saṃvat 405 expired, Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483; with Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired, Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484; and with Śaka-Saṃvat 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 *tīthi* 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 Īrān, and (4) from apparent sunrise at Īrān, arc—by Prof. K. L. Chhatte’s Tables, (1) 5 ghātṛi, 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. 20 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 *Dṛṣṭa-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 *tīthi*, as belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, and as calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṃvat 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 *tīthi* ended, according to the different authorities, and as reckoned from mean or from apparent sunrise at Bombay, Ujjain, and Īrān, 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. Chhatre's Tables, but also by the Ārya-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 tithi, 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 542 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 tithi really belongs to Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, it shews that, in following Hbérđnī'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, *vis. 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 Veráwal Inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945.

In this connection, I will notice next the Veráwal inscription of the Chaulukya king Arjunadēva, on a stone at the temple of Harsaṭdēvī at Veráwal, the modern representative of the ancient Sōmnāthpātan, in Kāthiawād. This date furnishes a specially crucial test; partly because it is a date in a dark fortnight; and partly because, coming from Kāthiawād, 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 Kāthiawād and the neighbouring country of Gujarāt. It will be seen, however, that this has not happened.

The details of this date (from Dr. Hultzsch's published text; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 242, line 2 ff.) are — śrī-Viśvanātha-pratibaddha-naujanānān bōdhaka-rasōla-Mahāmada-saṁvat 662 tathā śrī-nripa-Vikrama-saṁvat 1320 tathā śrīmad-Valabhi-sam 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-Sarhvat 945, current; the month Ashadha (June-July); the dark fortnight; the thirteenth solar day of the fortnight, with whatever titki, 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, shews 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 Alberuni,—in accordance with the results obtained for the date in the Era of inscription, the given titki should belong to Valabhi-Sarhvat 945 + 242 = 5a-Sarhvat 1187 current (A.D. 1264-65); and, in using Hindu Tables, the calculation should be made with the basis of 5a-Sarhvat 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 Kathiawad, 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

---

1. The syllable va, in the original, either is an abbreviation of vaal'sa, whether alone or in composition with paksha or paaksh, or stands for ba, the abbreviation of bahula, similarly either alone or in composition with paksha or paaksh,—As regards the point that ba di, or va di, and su di, are separate technical abbreviations, not words in themselves, see page 92 (Text and Translations).

2. —Just as di is sometimes used with ba or va and su, and sometimes is omitted, so in the Nepali inscriptions (see Appendix IV, below) the indeclinable die, ‘by day,’ is sometimes used, and sometimes not, in connection with the number of the titki. So also sometimes di, or one of its full forms, dina, dinë, divasa, or divasë, 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 titki. If, at a subsequent period, the solar days became subject to ex-punction and repetition, with the lunar titki, then the running number in the fortnight will always be the same for both the lunar titki and the solar day. If not, then the thirteenth titki, for instance, might fall at any time on the twelfth or the fourteenth solar day, as counted without repetition or ex-punction 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.

*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 Ṭhāṣṭha 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,—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 Ṭhāṣṭha of the northern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321 current,⁸ 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-Saṅvat 1187 current, it removes any real necessity of making calculations for Śaka-Saṅvat 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,⁴ 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-Saṅvat 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-Saṅvat 945 commenced at any rate not with that day.⁶ And here I would remark incidentally, that no argument, of identity between

² According 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.
⁶ The ordinary equivalent of Ṭhāṣṭha is June-July. But the dark fortnight of the northern Ṭhāṣṭha corresponds to the dark fortnight of the southern Jyēṣṭha, which month is ordinarily May-June. And this, with the fact that Śaka-Saṅvat 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 Ṭhāṣṭha fell entirely in May.
⁶ As opposed to these results. Gen. Cunningham (*Indiana Eras*, p. 53) has quoted this record as proving absolutely that Valabhl-Saṅvat = A.D. 319 (-20); which could only be by taking the epoch as
the two years, can be based on the mere fact that the record mentions both a Valabhi 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,—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 Valabhi 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-Valabhi 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 Āshāḍha which fell in A.D. 1264,—i.e., both the Āshāḍha of northern Śaka-Saṅvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1322, and the slightly different Āshāḍha of southern Śaka-Saṅvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321,—was an intercalary month.3 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 Karttika 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 Valabhi and southern Vikrama years.

3 Cowasjee 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 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-Samvat 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 Ashadhā krishpa 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 Ashadhā included four lunar fortnights. In northern Śaka-Samvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Samvat 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 fortnights, 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-Samvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Samvat 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 fortnights, 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 Ashadhā 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-Sirimsoni of Bhāskarachārya, p. 49, note, as belonging to the Brahma-Siddhānta, indicates a more ancient custom, according to which the first (bright) and the second (dark) fortnights would belong to the natural month; and the third (bright) and the fourth (dark), to the intercalated month. The verse runs—Māsk-ādi-ātthē savallari yō yā māsah prapūrayaih chandrāḥ Chaitra-āvaya sa jāyāḥ prāti dviiteḥ-dhimāsah-ntyah,—"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 prājāsta, 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 fortnights 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-Samvat 330, the "second Māgasīra" of which is undoubtedly the intercalated month,—by which the intercalated fortnights 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 Āśādha 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 Āśādha, is at least to be assumed *prima 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. Dinshit from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, for the natural Āśādha, are— with northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired, Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264, for both the thirteenth tīthi and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired, Tuesday, the 22nd July, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth tīthi, but Wednesday, the 23rd July, for the thirteenth solar day; and the result for the intercalated Āśādha is Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth tīthi, 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. Dinshit has also given me full results, according to both the Pārṇimānta northern system, and the Amānta southern system, with Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 and 1187 expired; in order to present at once all the possible surroundings of the date. These results are—with northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 expired, Tuesday, the 5th June, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth tīthi, but Wednesday, the 6th June, for the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 expired, either ¹ Wednesday the southern month, *viz.* the first and the second of the four, were made to correspond exactly with the intercalated fortnights of the northern month, *viz.* the second and the third of the four.—I have mentioned this earlier custom here, because it is one of the general surroundings of the date. But the question is of no vital importance in this case, because the date is a northern, not a southern one.

¹ See the preceding note. ² The tīthi ended 13 ghāṭas, 30 pālas, after mean sunrise at Bombay.

¹ i.e. the thirteenth solar day counted from the commencement of the fortnight, without omitting a solar day with the lunar tīthi that was expunged (see page 85 above, note 1.)

² The doubt here is because of the interesting discovery that the dark fortnight of the southern Āśādha, and northern Śrāvaṇa, of Śaka-Saṁvat 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. Anti*. Vol. XVI. p. 81 ff. The full-moon tīthi of Āśādha, northern and southern, was on Saturday, the 23rd June; and the following new-moon tīthi of the southern Āśādha, and the northern Śrāvaṇa, was on Friday, the 6th July; which gives thirteen solar days for this dark fortnight. There was an expunction of two tīthi, and no repetition of a tīthi to make up for the loss. The authorities differ as to which were the two expunged tīthis. One of them was early in the fortnight; and Mr. Sh. B. Dinshit 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 tīthi; and upon this will depend the question whether the thirteenth tīthi, 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 tirhi, 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 tirhi and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 expired, Sunday, the 12th July, A.D. 1265, for the thirteenth tirhi, 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 shewn 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 tirhi and solar day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyēṣṭha, 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 Ėrāṇ 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-Valabhi and current Śaka years. It also proves that the true original scheme of the years of the Gupta-Valabhi era,—viz. the regular Pūránimānta northern scheme, as established at page 76 f. above,—was preserved, in Kāṭhiawād, 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-Valabhi 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 Ėrāṇ 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-Valabhi era that supply details for computation.

The Verāwal Inscription of Valabhi-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 Indrajit, 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 Harsatadēvī at Verāwal. The date, with some important words in the context, (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit’s cloth-rubbing) runs — (l. 1) śṛhitad Valabhi-sa[ṛ*]vat 927 varṣhē Phālguna šu di 2 Saumē II Ady-ēha śṛi-Dēvapattanē .......................... (l. 4) śṛi-Gōvardhana-mūrtti[h*] ......................... (l. 5) kārāpitā;—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 au 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 Bhaumnē, “on Tuesday.” Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit, 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;” Bhaumnē, “on Tuesday;” or Saumyē, “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 Indrajit was of opinion that the intended reading was Bhaumnē, “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 au instead of ā was discovered before the stroke which turns ā into au 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) Valabhi; in (this) year; (the month) Phālguna; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 2; on Monday; to-day; here, in the famous (city of) Dēvapattana ........................ (this) image of the holy Gōvardhana ........................ has been caused to be made.”

This gives us, for calculation, Valabhi-Sāṁvat 927, current; the month Phālguna (February-March); the bright fortnight; the second solar day of the fortnight; and presumably the second tithe; and Sōmavāra, or Monday. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945, the given tithe should belong to Valabhi-Saṁvat 927 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 1169 current (A.D. 1246-47); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 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 tithi, both by Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s
Tables and by the Sārya-Siddhānta; viz. with Śaka-Saṅvat 1167 expired, Monday,¹
the 19th February, A D. 1246; with Śaka-Saṅvat 1168 expired, Saturday,² the 9th
February, A.D. 1247; and with Śaka-Saṅvat 1169 expired, Wednesday,³ the 29th Janu-
ary, 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 Saumya, “on Wednesday,” then the result for Śaka-Saṅvat 1170 might be
accepted; subject only to the considerations that Saumya, though perfectly allowable,
is not often used as a synonym for Budhava, ‘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 alter-
ation in the reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhi 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 Dharasena IV. of the year 330. If, on the other hand, we take Sōmā, “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 com-
mencing with Margaśīrsha; for then, belonging to Valabhi-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
Dharasena IV. of the year 330, was taken from a Gujarāt almanac, and belongs to a year
the initial day of which was the Kartika śukla 1 preceding the true commencement of
Gupta-Valabhi-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 Dēvapattana; and Dēvapattana is well known as
another name of Śomnāthpāt, i.e. the modern Verāwal itself; and it is difficult to
understand how the corrupt Gujarāt reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhi era can have been
introduced at Verāwal in A.D. 1246, when, as we have already seen from the other Verāwal
inscription, of Valabhi-Saṅvat 945, the true original reckoning was used there up to at

¹ The tithi ended, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, 29 ghafts, 59 palas, and by the Sārya-
Siddhānta, 30 ghafts, 2 palas, after mean sunrise at Bombay.
² Here the times are respectively 8 ghafts, 33 palas, and 9 ghafts, 25 palas.
³ Here the times are respectively 31 ghafts, 57 palas, and 34 ghafts, 43 palas.
least eighteen years later. The explanation, however, is perhaps to be found in the sup-
oposition that the inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from Gujarat, who had brought a Gujarāt 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-Valabhi and current Śaka 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-Valabhi 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 Śaka year, northern or southern,—i.e. as the result for a date in a year which commenced with the Chaitra śukla 1 belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Śaka-Saṃvat 1167 expired, for a date in a year which, with the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1303 current, commenced with the following Kārttika śukla 1, still belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 1168 current, and falling five months before the true commen-
cement of Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 1303 current (A.D. 1245-46), as the nominal equivalent of the given current Valabhi 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 Verāwal inscription, of Valabhi-
Saṃvat 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-Valabhi 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 Valabhi; in which the date (from Dr. Bühler's published text; Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 339, line 57) runs — saṃvat 300 30 dvi- Mārgaśīrṣa sū 2,—‘the year 300 (and) 30; the second (month) Mārgaśīrṣa; the bright fortnight; (the lunar day) 2.

This gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṃvat 330, current; an intercalation of the month Mārgaśīrṣa or Mārgaśīrṣha (November-December), as shewn by the reference
in the text to two months of that name; the bright fortnight of the second Mārgaśīrṣa, 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 Gupt-SAṃvat 330 + 242 = 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, 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, 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 Mārgaśīrṣa. So, also, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, by actual calculation from the Śūrya-Siddhānta, that, by mean intercalation, in A.D. 648 there was an intercalated month between the natural Mārgaśīrṣa and the natural Pausha, which would be named Mārgaśīrṣa according to the verse Mēṣh-adi-sthāna satārī &c., that is quoted as belonging to the Brahma-Siddhānta, 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 Mārgaśīrṣa, 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 dvitīya, the second, qualifying, not only the word Mārgaśīrṣa, but the whole expression Mārgaśīrṣa sū 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 Mārgaśīrṣa 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 Śūrya-Siddhānta; and that, on the contrary, by the Śūrya-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 Mārgaśīrṣa or Mārgaśīrṣa, 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 Mārgaśīrṣa 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 Valabhi reckoning, but in A.D. 648; and belonged, for astronomical purposes, to Śaka-Saṃvat 571, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarāt, to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 706, with the month Kārttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṃvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 572, according to the original scheme of the years of the era.

The result, therefore, gives the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 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 Valabhi-Saṃvat 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-Valabhi and current Śaka years was not maintained, in consequence of a local adaptation of the Gupta-Valabhi to the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, made in such a way that, as pointed out at page 73 above, each subsequent Gupta-Valabhi 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 Sūryavarnā 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 Khāṭmāṇḍū; in which the date (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’s published text and lithograph; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163, line 1 f.) runs — saṃvat 300 80 6 Jyēṣṭha-m[a]sa-śukla-pakṣē pratipadi 1 [Rōhiṇī-nakshattra-yukt[כ] ] chandramasi m[u]ḥārtē praśastē-Bhijiti,—“ the year 300 (and) 80 (and) 6; in the bright fortnight of the month Jyēṣṭha, on the first tithi or lunar day, (or in figures) 1; the moon being in conjunction with the Rōhiṇī-nakṣatra; in the excellent mūhārta (named) Abhijit.”

The Nēpāl inscriptions were first brought to notice by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, 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. Bhagwanlal Indraji wrote, the fact that the Gupta era was used in some of these

1The charter was issued from the victorious camp at Bharukarvchha, i.e. the modern Broach (Bharuch); and it records the grant of some lands in the Khēṭaka dhāra, or the territorial division of which the chief town was Khēṭaka. i.e. the modern Kaira (Khēṭā).
records, was not apparent. And it only became clear on Mr. Bendall's discovery of the Gölmdhitol inscription of the Mahārāja Śivadēva 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 Nepāl 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 Mahāśīvayan Anśuvarman, as the contemporary1 of Śivadēva I. Anśuvarman's approximate date, *viz.* about A.D. 637, was very well known from Hiuen Tsiang's mention of him.2 And, as the Nepāl series included three inscriptions of Anśuvarman himself, dated in the years 34, 39, and 44 or 45 of an unspecified era, and another, of Jishuogupta, dated in the year 48, and mentioning Anśuvarman, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji very properly referred these dates to the era running from the accession of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and commencing3 in A.D. 606. This much being quite certain, it follows that the date of the year 316 for Śivadēva I., the contemporary of Anśuvarman, 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 Anśuvarman in the Harsha era, representing from A.D. 639 to 649 or 650.

As regards the present inscription of Mānadvē, 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 Gölmdhitol inscription of Śivadēva I. And, accordingly, this record gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Samvata 386, current; the month Jyēśṭha (May-June); the bright fortnight; the first tithi or lunar day; the Rōhini nakshatra or lunar mansion; and the Abhijit muhūrtā or thirtieth part of the day and night. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Samvata 945, the given tithi should belong to Gupta-Samvata 386 + 242 = Śaka-Samvata 628 current (A.D. 705-706); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Samvata 627 expired.

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

1 This is also recorded in the other inscription of Śivadēva I., No. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nepāl 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 Nepāl dates as belong really to the Gupta era,—the date of Śivadēva I. is there broken away and lost.


3 On this point see a note in Appendix IV. below.
the 28th April,¹ A.D. 705, at 57 ghatis, 12 pālas, after sunrise; that there was the Kṛittikā nakṣatra up to 11 ghatis, 3 pālas, after sunrise, and then the Rōhiṇī nakṣatra, which continued up to 11 ghatis, 18 pālas, after sunrise on the next day, Wednesday; and that, consequently, the Abhijit muhūrta, 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 Rōhiṇī nakṣatra was current. He also finds that the same conditions of the nakṣatra and the muhūrta did not occur, if the given tīthi is treated as belonging to Śaka-Saṁvat 627 or 629 current.

- The result, therefore, answers, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabha and current Śaka years; and to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year. And it gives Śaka-Saṁvat 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 Jyeṣṭha śukla 1 was the same tīthi, and ended on the same solar day, represented by the 28th April, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Saṁvat 628, and in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 762, as well as in northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 763.

The Mōrbī Grant of the year 586.

The last date that I have to notice from the present point of view, is contained in the Mōrbī grant of Jāṅka, from Kāthiāwād, 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-ṭhē samānāṁ śaṭa-paṁchakē 1 Gōptē dādāv-addō nripāḥ s-ōparāge-ṛkkā-marṇḍalē ii,—“five centuries of years, together with eighty-five (years), having passed by, the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gōpta, 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—saṁvat 585 Phālguna su(ṣu) 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—mārttanda-maṇḍalāṣṭrayini Svavbhān(mread Svavbhānau),—“while Svarbhānu (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-Saṁvat 628 current commenced rather early, on, approximately, Sunday, the 1st March, A.D. 705. And hence the reason why the month Jyeṣṭha, 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 Gauptē, instead of Gōptē; and translated "five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed." The lithograph, however, shews distinctly that the original has Gōptē; and it is only by the correction of ṭ into au that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into the passage.1 But, even then, the adjective Gauptē occupies an irregularly detached place, which any skilful composer would have avoided, from the noun, tata-pañchakā, which it qualifies. While, on the other hand, I have shewn, in my remarks on the nomenclature of the era, at page 19 ff. above, that we have no reason at all to look for the use of such an adjective as Gaupta, 'belonging to the Guptas;' and, if we maintain the original reading of Gōptē, we have a locative case, which we have every reason to expect in immediate connection with the verb dadau, "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 Gōpta was not the name of the village,2 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-Valabhi 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 Verāval inscription of Valabhi-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 Mörbi itself, or to that neighbourhood. We have, therefore, to look for a solar eclipse, occurring in Śaka-Saṅvat 828 current, and visible at Mörbi, or near that town, in the north of Kāthiāwād.

---

1The mistake of ṭ for au does occur in the word svarbhadā, for svarbhadanau, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word paunravas, the au is formed quite correctly and completely.

2We might easily find its present representative in the modern name of Gōp, which occurs in the case of a village, in Kāthiāwād, about seventy-five miles south-west of Mörbi; twenty-five miles south of Nawānagar or Jāmnagar; and fifty miles east of Dhiniki, where there was found the copper-plate grant of Jākadēva, which purports to be dated in Vikrama-Saṅvat 794 (see page 63 above, note 1).

3Of 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\(^1\) 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\(^2\) that there was an eclipse of the sun, on Tuesday, the 7th May, A.D. 905, corresponding to the new-moon \textit{tithi} of the \textit{Pārśnīdanta} northern Jyēṣṭha of Śaka-Saṁvat 828 current, which fully answers the required conditions.\(^3\) It was visible at Mārbī; over almost the whole of Southern India; and in Ceylon. The magnitude, at Mārbī, 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 Mārbī, was at 12.9 midday of the Mārbī mean civil time. This eclipse, accordingly, was very distinctly visible at Mārbī; 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 \textit{tithi} of the \textit{Amānta} southern Vaiśākha, belonged to the southern Śaka-Saṁvat 828, and to the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 962, as well as to the northern Śaka-Saṁvat 828 and Vikrama-Saṁvat 963. But it 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-Saṁvat 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, \textit{viz.} the fifth solar day in the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna (February-March), as the name of the week-day is not given, the only test that we can apply is the presumption \(^4\) that the running number of the lunar \textit{tithi} is the same as that of the solar day; \textit{i.e.} that the fifth lunar \textit{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 Śaka-Saṁvat 828. And, by calculations for that year from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables; Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon \textit{tithi}, which was that of the \textit{Pārśnīdanta} northern Phālguna, or the \textit{Amānta} southern Māgha, ended on Monday, the 27th January, A.D. 906; and that the fifth \textit{tithi} of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended

\(^1\) See \textit{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 Mārbī, 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 \textit{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, Śaka 837;" the reference being to the \textit{Amānta} southern month and the expired Śaka year.

\(^4\) 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 ānatā tithi and the solar day in Śaka-Saṃvat 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-Valabhi 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 Īran 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-Saṃvat 585+242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Pūrṇimantā northern Ashādha of Śaka-Saṃvat 827 current; and on Saturday, the 10th November, A.D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon tithi of the Pūrṇimantā northern MārgaŚrśa 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 Kāthiāwād; 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 Tīvāراء, No. 81, page 291, furnishes another similar instance. In that instance, the grant was made on the eleventh tithi of Jyēśhṣa (May-June); while the charter was written, or assigned, on the eighth solar day of Kārttikā (October-November); and there is nothing to shew specifically whether it was the following, or the preceding, Kārttikā. 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 Mahārājas Hastin and Saṃkshobha, 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 shews 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 Gupta themselves; and since the palæography of the inscriptions is entirely in favour of such a reference,—which shews 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 saṁvatsara 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 saṁvatsara of this cycle, are provided by the last remainder obtained from certain rules given by Varāhamihira and others, which in reality only shews what saṁvatsara 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 saṁvatsara on any other given date in the year.

---

1 Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has not made actual calculations for the village of Göp (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 Göp than at Māchh.

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 Jyotiṣhavā. In connection with the Jyotiṣhavā rule, however, Warren has shewn (Kala-Sankalita, p. 202) how this remainder gives the means of determining the actual commencement of each saṁvatsara.—From the use of some Tables drawn up by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, for determining the actual commencement of each saṁvatsara of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and of each saṁvatsara of the Twelve-Year Cylcle
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 Sārva-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. 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 Albērti, the Mandasor inscription of Mālava-Saṃvat 539 expired, and the Ērāṇ pillar inscription of Buddhagupta of Gupta-SAṃvat 165; and then, exactly, by the Verāwal 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 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 Brihat-Samhītā, viii. 20, 21, the Śaka years must be treated as commencing with the Mēsa-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 tithis. For instance, by Varāhamihira's rule, the Vīśvāvasu 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 Māhā-Āsvayujā samvatsara of the Twelve-Year Cycle was current on the same date. In Śaka-Saṃvat 748, the Mēsa-Saṃkrānti occurred on the 21st March, A.D. 825; and Chaitra śukla 1 ended on the 22nd February. The Vīśvāvasu samvatsara of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and, with it, the Māhā-Āsvayujā samvatsara of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, actually commenced on the 15th March; and thus they were current at the Mēsa-Saṃkrānti, but not on Chaitra śukla 1. And the same will often happen when the samvatsaras are commencing shortly before the Mēsa-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 Mēsa-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 Śāka year, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, and with the Pāyuimduia 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, Kārttiśa 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 saṁvatsaras 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-Saṁvat 163, and in the case of the grant C. dated in Gupta-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 191, the given saṁvatsara 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 saṁvatsara, 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 saṁvatsara could not be 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 saṁvatsara.

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-Saṁvat 156, and the grant D. dated in Gupta-Saṁvat 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—shatapanchâ-ottarê-bda-satê Gupta-nipa-râjya-bhuktau Mahâ-Vaisâkha-sanâvatsarê Kârttiika-mâsa-sukla-paksha-tritîyâyâm, —“in a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (year); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Vaisâkha sanâvatsara; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttiika.”

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahâ-Vaisâkha sanâvatsara, as current on the third titihi or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttiika (October-November) in Gupta-Saṁvat 156 current. And, on the analogy of the Varâwal inscription of Valabht-Saṁvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṁvat 156 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 398 current;¹ in which year the given titihi 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 Kârttiika sukla 1 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 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 Amâdata 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. Kârttiika sukla 2 did not end till after sunrise on that day. Consequently, as current titis are not quoted, unless under certain very exceptional conditions not applicable to such occurrences as this, the titihi on which he rose was Kârttiika sukla 1. And this titihi, 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>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E1</th>
<th>E2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gupta year, current</strong></td>
<td>156</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Add the difference of</strong></td>
<td>242</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Saka year, current</strong></td>
<td>398</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The given samvatsaras</strong></td>
<td>Mahā-Vaiśākha</td>
<td>Mahā-Āśrayuja</td>
<td>Mahā-Chaitra</td>
<td>Mahā-Āśrayuja</td>
<td>Mahā-Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The given date</strong></td>
<td>Kārttika śūkla 3</td>
<td>Chaitra śūkla 2</td>
<td>Māgha kṛishṇa 3</td>
<td>Chaitra śūkla 13</td>
<td>Kārttika, 19th day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Corresponding to</strong></td>
<td>19th October, A.D. 475</td>
<td>7th March, A.D. 482</td>
<td>3rd January, A.D. 511</td>
<td>19th March, A.D. 528</td>
<td>13th October, A.D. 508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jupiter's preceding rising</strong></td>
<td>Kārttika śūkla 1</td>
<td>Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 6</td>
<td>Āśvina śūkla 11</td>
<td>Chaitra śūkla 12</td>
<td>Śrāvana śūkla 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>corresponding to</strong></td>
<td>Saka 398</td>
<td>Saka 404</td>
<td>Saka 433</td>
<td>Saka 451</td>
<td>Saka 431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English date</strong></td>
<td>17th October</td>
<td>5th April</td>
<td>29th September</td>
<td>18th March</td>
<td>28th July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>longitude then was</strong></td>
<td>18th October</td>
<td>6th April</td>
<td>30th September</td>
<td>16th March</td>
<td>20th July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>position was in</strong></td>
<td>105° 24'</td>
<td>4° 21'</td>
<td>177° 47'</td>
<td>34° 46'</td>
<td>117° 32'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visākha</strong></td>
<td>Aśvinī</td>
<td>Chitra</td>
<td>Kṛēvati</td>
<td>Magha</td>
<td>Magha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>And the samvatsaras, which</strong></td>
<td>Mahā-Vaiśākha</td>
<td>Mahā-Āśrayuja</td>
<td>Mahā-Chaitra</td>
<td>Mahā-Āśrayuja</td>
<td>Mahā-Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>then began, was</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jupiter's following rising</strong></td>
<td>Mārgasīrṣha śūkla 13</td>
<td>Jyēśṭha śūkla 8</td>
<td>Mārgasīrṣha kṛishṇa 7</td>
<td>Jyēśṭha śūkla 3</td>
<td>Āśvina kṛishṇa 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>corresponding to</strong></td>
<td>Saka 399</td>
<td>Saka 405</td>
<td>Saka 434</td>
<td>Saka 452</td>
<td>Saka 431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English date</strong></td>
<td>15th November</td>
<td>12th May</td>
<td>26th October, A.D. 476</td>
<td>26th April, A.D. 511</td>
<td>30th August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>longitude then was</strong></td>
<td>16th November</td>
<td>13th May</td>
<td>30th October</td>
<td>29th August</td>
<td>30th August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>position was in</strong></td>
<td>225° 35'</td>
<td>40° 34'</td>
<td>209° 41'</td>
<td>24° 36'</td>
<td>147° 49'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jyēśṭha</strong></td>
<td>Rōhinī</td>
<td>Visākha</td>
<td>Rohinī</td>
<td>Kṛītikā</td>
<td>Uttarā-Phalguna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>And the samvatsaras, which</strong></td>
<td>Mahā-Jyēśṭha</td>
<td>Mahā-Kārttika</td>
<td>Mahā-Vaiśākha</td>
<td>Mahā-Kārttika</td>
<td>Mahā-Phalguna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>then began, was</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 samvatsara which then began (see Appendix III. Table VIII.), must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha:1 Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 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 225° 35'. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyēṣṭhā; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā. While, by the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Anurādhā; and the samvatsara 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 samvatsara. This difference as to the following samvatsara, 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 samvatsara 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 samvatsara 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 Āśeṣṭhā; but, even then, the current samvatsara 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 samvatsaras; 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 Bhaṇḍaḷ, and, accordingly, the samvatsara which then began, would again be named Mahā-Āśvayuva; which shews that, by this system, there was a repetition of a samvatsara at this period; but this does not affect the samvatsara 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 Svaṭī; the samvatsara which then began, would

---

1 I have not been able to obtain the original authority for the use of the prefix mahā (mahat), 'great.' And it does not occur in connection with the two samvatsaras mentioned in the Halflgrants of the Kādaṃba chieftain Mrgēṣavarman; viz. the Pausha samvatsara, in line 8 of the grant dated in his third year (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 35), and the Vaiśākha samvatsara, 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 Mahâ-Chaitra; and the Mahâ-Vaishâkha samvatsara would not begin till Jupiter's rising next after the given date, when, by the same system, his position was in Anûrâdhâ. 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 samvatsaras 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 Gupta period. Also, the Dēgâdh inscription of king Bhôjadêva of Kanauj, dated Śaka-Saṁvats 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 Gupta territory, down to at least the last half of the ninth century A.D.² Of the two systems of unequal spaces, whether we are to apply the Brahma-Siddhânta system, or the still more ancient Garga system, cannot at present be derided;
since, the only variation between them is in respect of the sanvatsara following the sanvatsara which was current on the given date of the present record.

Another point is, that, as the following sanvatsara did not commence till Margaśīrsha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṅvat 399, the Mahā-Vaiśākha sanvatsara 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 sanvatsara 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 sanvatsaras 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 sanvatsara 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 Margaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year,1 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 sanvatsara 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 sanvatsara then current was Mahā-Chaitra, which commenced on Jyēṣṭha krishna 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-

1 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 Kàrttika 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 saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaisākhā. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausha kṛishṇa 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 saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahā-Vaisākhā 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-Vaisākhā saṁvatsara commenced on Phālguna kṛishṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 244 current, corresponding to Friday, the 2nd February, A.D. 322; and it was followed by Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā 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-Vaisākhā 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-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 Mārgaśīrsha kṛishṇa 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 saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaisākhā. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausha kṛishṇa 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 saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā. Accordingly, with this epoch also, the Mahā-Vaisākhā 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-Vaisākhā saṁvatsara commenced on Kàrttika śukla 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 268 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 23rd October, A.D. 345; and it was followed by Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā on Mārgaśīrsha kṛishṇa 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-shashty-uttarâ-bda-satâ Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau Mah-Âsvayuja-samvatsare Chaitra-mâsa-sukla-paksha-dvîtyâyâm,—“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 titli or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Sâṃvat 163 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Sâṃvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Sâṃvat 163 + 242 = Śaka-Sâṃvat 405 current; in which year the given titli 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 place⁴ on Vaiśākha krîṣṇa 6 of the preceding year, Śaka-Sâṃvat 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,⁵ he was then in Aśvîn; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Âsvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyēsṭha sukla 8 of Śaka-Sâṃvat 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 Rûhiṣṭ; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. 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-Sâṃvat 405 current (A.D. 482-83), 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-Sâṃvat 404, or the following year, Śaka-Sâṃvat 406. The result,

---

⁴ 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 Vaiśākha krîṣṇa 5 or 7.

⁵ 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 Margaśīrṣha, 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 shewn 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 Margaśīrṣha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Śvayuṣa 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-Śvayuṣa 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. Dikshiti finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Áśāḍha kṛṣṇa 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 Rōbiṣṭa; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Áśāḍha 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 Punarvasu; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Paūsha; the intervening saṁvatsara, Mahā-Margaśīrśha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahā-Śvayuṣa saṁvatsara was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Śvayuṣa 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 in Aśvinī. 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 šukla 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-Bhāḍrapāda; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhāḍrapada. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyēśthā krishṇa 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 Bha-raṇī; 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 šukla 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 249 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th January, A.D. 327; and was followed by Mahā-Kārttiika on Māgha šukla 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 krishṇa 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 krishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 261 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 22nd November, A.D. 338; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttiika on Mārgaśīrsha šukla 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 Āśāḍha krishṇa 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 Mrīga; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśāḍha šukla 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 Purāνavasu; 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-Saṁvat 273 current, Jupiter’s rising took place on Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 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 Utarā-Bhadrāpadā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhadrāpadā. His next rising took place on Vaiśākha sukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 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 Bhrāṣṭrapā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, would be named Mahā-Āśvayuja; and there would be an omission of the following saṁvatsara, Mahā-Kārttīkā. But, by the two systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛiṣṭīkā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, would be named Mahā-Kārttīkā; with an omission of the intervening saṁvatsara, Mahā-Āśvayuja.—With the same epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 173 (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1), the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 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 Čaitra sukla 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 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 R̄vatsā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyēśhṭha kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 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 Kṛiṣṭīkā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttīkā. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bhrāṣṭrapā; 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-Saṁvat 163, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Kārttīkā kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 273 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd October, A.D. 359; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttīkā on Kārttīkā kṛishṇa 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Margāśirśha, which commenced on Kārttīkā kṛiṣṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 275 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 24th September, A.D. 352.—With the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 173, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Bhādrāpadā sukla 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 285 current,
corresponding to Tuesday, the 13th August, A.D. 362; and it was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika on Bhâdrapada ūkla 12 of Saka-Saṁvat 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-Āsvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date. But the proposed alteration of the original text cannot be justified.

C.—The Majhgawâm Grant of the year 191.

The next inscription is the Majhgawâm grant of the Mahârâja Hastin, No. 23, page 106, in which the date (line 1 f.) is—ekâ-nâvâtya-uttarê-bda-satê Guptâ-nripâ-râjya-bhâktau śrîmati pravardhamâna-Mahâ-Âchitra-saṁvatsarâ Mâgha-mâsa-bahula-paksha-tritiyâyâm,—“in a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the prosperous augmenting Mahâ-Chaitra saṁvatsara; 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 saṁvatsara, as current on the third titki or lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha (January-February) in Gupta-Saṁvat 191 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṁvat 191 + 242 = Saƙa-Saṁvat 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 Āsvina ūkla 11 of the same year, Saƙa-Saṁvat 433, corresponding to Wednesday, the 29th September, A.D. 510; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 30th September. His longitude then was 177° 47’. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Chitrâ; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Chaitra. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Mârgaśîra krîṣṇa 7 of Saƙa-Saṁvat 434, corresponding to Saturday, he 29th October, A.D. 511; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th October. His longitude then was 207° 41’. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Vîsâkhâ; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Vaisākha. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Saƙa years, the Mahâ-Chaitra saṁvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Saƙa-Saṁvat 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 saṁvatsara was not current on the given date in either the preceding year, Saƙa-Saṁvat 432, or the following year, Saƙa-Saṁvat 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 Saƙa years.
On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV., of the year 330, and with a year beginning with the month Kṛttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Magha kṛṣṇa 3, in Gupta-Saṁvat 191, would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 432. It would then fall about eight months and a half before the commencement of the recorded saṁvatsara on Āśvina śukla 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 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 Kṛttika 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 Mārgaśirsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date would similarly belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 432; and would similarly fall about eight months and a half before the commencement of the recorded saṁvatsara. This record, therefore, also disproves the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśirsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

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

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 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 Mārgaśirsha śukla 4 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 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 saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausha kṛṣṇa 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 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 Mūla; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must, according to these two systems, have been named Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Pūrva-Ashādha; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must, according to this system, have been named Mahā-Ashādha; the intervening saṁvatsara, Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahā-Chaitra saṁvatsara was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Chaitra saṁvatsara, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Kṛttika kṛṣṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 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 Chitra. 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 krīṣṇa 11 of Śaka-SAṅvat 279 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 7th September, A.D. 356; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Aśvina sukla 3 of Śaka-SAṅvat 280, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd September, A.D. 357; and this again was followed by Mahā-Jyēṣṭha on the intercalated Aśvina sukla 10 of Śaka-SAṅvat 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-SAṅvat 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-SAṅvat 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 krīṣṇa 8 of Śaka-SAṅvat 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-Ashāḍhā; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āshāḍhā; the intervening samvatsara, Mahā-Jyēṣṭha, 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 Kṛttika krīṣṇa 12 of Śaka-SAṅvat 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 Svāti. 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 Āshāḍhā sukla 8 of Śaka-SAṅvat 303 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 28th May, A.D. 380; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Jyēṣṭha sukla 15 of Śaka-SAṅvat 304, corresponding to Monday, the 24th May, A.D. 381; and this again was followed by Mahā-Jyēṣṭha on Āshāḍhā krīṣṇa 6 of Śaka-SAṅvat 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 Khôh Grant of the year 209.

The next inscription is the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Samkshobha, No. 25, page 112, in which the date (line 1 ff.) is—navô-ttare-bda-sata-dvaye Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau srmati pravardhamâna-vijaya-râjyê Mah-Âsvayuja-samvatsâre Chaitra-masa-sukla-paksha-trayôdaśâyâm,—"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 Mahâ-Âsvayuja samvatsara; 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 Mahâ-Âsvayuja samvatsara, as current on the thirteenth tithi or lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Samvat 209 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâval inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Samvat 209 + 242 = Śaka-Samvatsara 451 current; in which year the given tithi 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-Samvat 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.1 His longitude then was 349° 45'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rêvatî; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Âsvayuja. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêshthâ sukla 3 of Śaka-Samvat 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 Krittikâ; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. 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 451 current (A.D. 528-29), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

As a matter of fact, the Mahâ-Âsvayuja samvatsara was still current on the given date, Chaitra sukla 13, in the following year, Śaka-Samvat 452; as well as in Śaka-Samvat 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-Samvat 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 samvatsara 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 Kärttika, or with the month Mārgaśīra, next before the commencement of the northern Šaka year, the given date of Chaítra sukla 13, in Gupta-Saṃvat 209, would still belong to Šaka-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 Kärttika next before the commencement of the northern Šaka 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 Mārgaśīra, next before the commencement of the northern Šaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āsvayuja saṃvatsara did not commence till Āśina sukla 3 of Šaka-Saṃvat 451 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 2nd September, A.D. 528; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The saṃvatsara 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 Šaka-Saṃvat 298 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 2nd March, A.D. 375. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshiti finds that Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Vaisthaka krishṇa 12 of Šaka-Saṃvat 297, corresponding to Wednesday, the 16th March, A.D. 374; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 27th March. His longitude then was 35° 11’. By all three systems, he was then in Rēvati; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āsvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 1 of Šaka-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 Kṛiti; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahā-Āsvayuja saṃvatsara 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 saṃvatsara commenced on Śrāvaṇa krishṇa 12 of Šaka-Saṃvat 297 current, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 374; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Ashāḍha sukla 4 of Šaka-Saṃvat 298, corresponding to Friday, the 19th June, A.D. 375. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, the Mahā-Āsvayuja saṃvatsara was current on the given date.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley’s epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Šaka-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 Vaiśākhā śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṃvat 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-Āsvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Ashādha krishna 7 of Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Rōbiṇḍ; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Accordingly, with this epoch also, the Mahā-Āsvayuja 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-Āsvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Chaītra śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṃvat 321 current, corresponding to Sunday, the 14th March, A.D. 398; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Vaiśākhā krishna 2 of Śaka-Saṃvat 322, corresponding to Thursday, the 10th March, A.D. 399. Accordingly, with this epoch again, and by this system also, the Mahā-Āsvayuja 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-Māghē saṁvatsarē 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-Saṃvat 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-Vaiśākhā saṁvatsara which was current on Kārttika śukla 3 in Gupta-Saṃvat 156,—must be found in or about Gupta-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 431 current, the given date, *viz.* the nineteenth day of the month Kṛttika, 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 Śrāvana śukla 15 of the same year, Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Maṅgāḥ; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Aśvina kṛṣṇa 13 of Śaka-Saṃvat 432, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th August, A.D. 509; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th August. His longitude then was 147° 49′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Uttarā-Phālguṇī; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṃvat 189, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara was current on the given date. And this result gives Śaka-Saṃvat 431 current (A.D. 508-509), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

Again, for Gupta-Saṃvat 201 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 443 current, the given date, *viz.* the nineteenth day of the month Kṛttika, corresponds to Friday, the 2nd October, A.D. 520. Here, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. E2) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhādrapada śukla 3 of the same year, Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Maṅgāḥ; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Aśvina kṛṣṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 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-Phālguṇī; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṃvat 201 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara was current on the given date. And this result gives Śaka-Saṃvat 443 current (A.D. 520-21), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

The results for these two years, Gupta-Saṃvat 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 saṃvatsara omitted.
If the dates in the grants of the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa are to be referred to the Kalachuri era,1 then the Mahā-Māγha 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-Māγha 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 Śravaṇa 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 Aśleṣhā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttiika in the same year, must have been named Mahā-Māγha. Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 419 current, Jupiter’s rising took place on Bhādrapada 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 Maγha, and by the Garga system, in Aśleṣhā; and, by both systems, the saṁvatsara which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttiika in the same year, must have been named Mahā-Māγha. 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-Māγha 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 408 current, the Mahā-Māγha saṁvatsara commenced on Chaitra śukla 5, corresponding to Thursday, the 7th March, A.D. 485; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttiika 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-Māγha saṁvatsara commenced on Phālguna krishṇa 12, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th January, A.D. 497; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttiika in Gupta-Saṁvat 178; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Māγha 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-Māγha saṁvatsara commenced on Pausha krishṇa 3, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th November, A.D. 508; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttiika 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-Samvat 166, 178, and 190, the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara was current on the given date. But this was not the case in the next cycle. In Gupta-Samvat 201 + 242 = Śaka-Samvat 443 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara commenced on Kârttika 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 Mahâ-Phâlguna on Kârttika krishņa 1 of Śaka-Samvat 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 samvatsara 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-Samvat 188 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 354-55 = Śaka-Samvat 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 Bhâdrapada krishņa 12 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 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 Maghâ; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Mâgha. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Aśvina sukla 12 of Śaka-Samvat 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 Uttarâ-Phalguni; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with Gupta-Samvat 188 as the intended current year, the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara 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-Samvat 199 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 365-66 = Śaka-Samvat 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 Śrâvana sukla 1 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 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 samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Bhâdrapada sukla 15 of Śaka-Samvat 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°24’. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pûrvâ-Phalguni; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; the intervening Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was
then in Maghā; and the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṅvat 200. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Āśvina krishṇa 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-Phālguna; 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.

. By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṅvat 188 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 354-55 = Śaka-Saṅvat 277 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara 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 Mahā-Phālguna on Kārttika krishṇa 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 Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara 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 Mahā-Phālguna on Śrāvaṇa 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 Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara 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 krishṇa 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 saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-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 Pūrvā-Phālguna; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; the intervening Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was then in Maghā; and the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara 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 samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; and it was a repeated samvatsara by the two systems of unequal spaces, but an ordinary samvatsara 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 sukla 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 samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina krishṇa 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 Pūrva-Phâlguna; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; the intervening Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara being omitted.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṅvat 188 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 378-79 = Śaka-Saṅvat 301 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara commenced on Āshâdha krishṇa 10, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th June, A.D. 378; and it was current through the whole month of Kṛttika in the same year; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Āshâdha sukla 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 Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara commenced on Juñyātha krishṇa 2, corresponding to Wednesday, the 17th April, A.D. 390; and it was current through the whole month of Kṛttika in the same year; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Juñyātha krishṇa 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 Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara 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-Valabhl era, that furnish details for computation. And it only remains to sum up the results established by the preceding inquiries.

Albérûni tells us that there was an era, known both as the Gupta era and the Valabhl 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-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 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 Ėraṇ 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 Parivrājaka 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 Ėraṇ pillar inscription, we have obtained equally correct and uniform results. Also, the latest of these records, the Khūh grant of the Mahārāja Samkshobha, 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 Śivadeva 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 Śivadeva 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 Morbi grant of Jāṅka. 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 Valabhi 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 Dharasena 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 Sânápatis Bhāṭārka, and ending with king Śālāḍītya 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 Sânápatis and Mahādrājas, without the authority to establish an era of their own. And, as a matter of fact, the date of the year 207 for the Mahādrāja Dhruvasena I., in the second generation, proves that the era did not run from the rise to power of his father Bhāṭārka, 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 Valabhi itself, and all of them belong either to that vicinity or to the neighbouring parts of Gujarāt, is amply sufficient to explain why the era used by them should eventually come to be popularly known, in those parts, as the Valabhi era.

And, finally, undeniable instances of the actual use of an era known as the Valabhi era, as late as the thirteenth century A.D., are furnished by the Veravāl inscriptions dated in Valabhi-Sarīvat 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 Dharasena 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 Albright's statement, through the concomitant mention of the equivalent Vikrama and Hirja years; but also the details of it are such as to prove that the epoch of the era was exactly when Saka-Sarīvat 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-Valabhi 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 Guptas 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 0, 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,¹—by the Érānpillar inscription of Budhagupa, Gupta-Saṁvat 165 current = A.D. 484-85 current; ² by the Parivrājaka grants, 156 current = A.D. 475-76 current; ³ 163 current = A.D. 482-83 current; ⁴ 191 current = A.D. 510-11 current; and 209 current = A.D. 528-29 current; ⁵ by the Népāl inscription of Mānadeva, 386 current = A.D. 705-706 current; ⁶ and by the Verāwal inscription of Arjunadēva, 945 current = A.D. 1264-65 current. ⁷ And all these equations give the uniform result of Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 319-20 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period ⁸ from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320; and Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 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 Kaira grant of the year 330 and the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 927, differ slightly from the above, and are—Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 330 current = A.D. 648-49 current, ⁹ and Valabhi-Saṁvat 927 current = A.D. 1245-46 current. ¹⁰ In these two instances the difference is due to a local alteration of the true and

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

² Or, more precisely, by the Śaka year, as commencing with Chaıttra 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.

³ Or, in the same way, the period from the 21st February, A.D. 475, to the 11th March, A.D. 476.

⁴ Or, in the same way, the period from the 6th March, A.D. 482, to the 22nd February, A.D. 483.

⁵ Or, in the same way, the period from the 25th February, A.D. 510, to the 15th March, A.D. 511.

⁶ Or, in the same way, the period from the 8th March, A.D. 528, to the 24th February, A.D. 529.

⁷ Or, in the same way, the period from the 1st March, A.D. 705, to the 20th March, A.D. 706.

⁸ Or, in the same way, the period from the 1st March, A.D. 1264, to the 19th March, A.D. 1265.

⁹ 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 Kārttika śukla 1 immediately preceding the true commencement of the year with Chaitra śukla 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-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 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 śukla 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 Ėrap pillar inscription of Budhagupta, which really belong to Gupta-Saṃvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, have been calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṃvat 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.

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 Dādgaḍh inscription of Bhḍjadēva (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 Mālava-Saṁvat 529 expired, No. 18, page 79, and by line 21 of the Kadl grant of Jayantasis昌ha of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1280 expired,—yet, that, occasionally at least, the current years were used, is proved by the Gwālior Sāsampal temple inscription of Mahipāla, 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-Valabhi 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-Valabhi 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-Valabhi dates at present known, is a word meaning “expired” used in connection with the year. This exceptional instance is the Mōrbī grant of Jāṅika, in which an eclipse of the sun is recorded as having occurred when the year 585 had passed by. Unfortunately, the month and tiḥa, 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 Šaka 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 Verawal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 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 Šaka 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 Śendpati and Mahārājas, 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 Śendpati Bhaṭārka, by whom the family was founded.

In the same way, the first two members of the Early Gupta family, Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha, held only the feudatory rank of Mahārāja, and had not the authority to establish an era. The first paramount sovereign in the family was Ghaṭotkacha’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, Prabhakaravaradhana and Rājyavaradhana II., and runs from the commencement of the reign of the third paramount sovereign, Harshavaradhana himself. So, also, when the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. established a new era under the name of the Chālukya-Vikrama-Kāla,1 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 show 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 Śaka-Saṃvat930 for the commencement of the reign of Vikramādiya V., and Śaka-Saṃvat 1060 for the end of the reign, and it may safely be assumed the death, of Sōmeśvara III. in the third generation after him. If we take it that Vikramādiya V. was twenty years old in Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Kauthēṃ 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 Vikramādiyā VI., for fifty-two years, from Śaṅkha-Sahvāt 997 to 1048. If we take the whole period of the Western Chāluksya dynasty, covering one hundred and ninety years, from Śaṅkha-Sahvāt 895, the first year of Taila II., down to Śaṅkha-Sahvāt 1084, as the end of the reign and the death of Taila III., 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 Mahārājas, 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; provided 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? 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 Ghatotkacha, or of the early years of Chandragupta I. And at

1 I exclude the short reign of Sōmāśvara IV., from Śaṅkha-Sahvāt 1104 to about 1111, because there had been meanwhile an interruption of the Western Chāluksya power by the Kalachuris of the Dekkan.

8 An objection of this sort does not apply to the use of the Gupta era by the Valabhi family. The Sindpati Bhatarka 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 Dharasenā 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 Parivṛṭaka Mahārājās and the Mahārājās 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 Valabbi as a new capital of Western India, by the Andhra king Gōtamiputra, whom he placed between A.D. 312 and 333; the Mahārājā 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 Gōtamiputra 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 Saurāshtra 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 Mahārājās Gupta and Ghaṭotkacha, 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 Samudrakupa. These Indo-Scythian kings must have used the Saka 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 Kalivarga era in all probability was used only

†See page 8 ff. above.
§Early History of the Dekkan, p. 27.
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 Amśuvarman, 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 Valabhf 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 Valabhf family, for the first six or seven generations inclusive of Bhaṭārka, were mere feudatory Sēnāpatis and Mahārājas; 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 Paramabhāṭṭakara, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramētivar, in common with all his successors, and also with that of Chakravartin, 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; vis. to the commencement of the anarchy which, as Mātvan-lin tells us (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 20) attended the death of Harṣavardhana, "the warlike lord of all the region of the north." It ended in the complete disruption, for the time, of the kingdom of Kanauj. Amśuvarman became paramount in Nēpāl, and Adityaśēna in Magadha; 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 Amśuvarman 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 put, 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 Kāthiāwād and Gujarāt. But the Valabhf charters, in which a conquest so extensive as that of the whole of Northern India, 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 Bhaṭārka, 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 Valabhf 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 Vamsávali is called the Thákurl family, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Kailásakṛtabhavana, and uniformly using the Harsha era. The other was the Lichchhavi family, distinctly so named in the inscriptions, and in the Vamsávali allotted to the Súryavarná or solar lineage, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Mánagriha, 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 Hiuen-Tsiang, which connect them with events that preceded the nirvana 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 Jayadéva 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 Kumáradévi, 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 Kumáradévi, 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 Allahábád 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 Jayadéva 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 Thâkur family of Kailâsakûtabhavana. 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 Jayadéva 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.
**APPENDIX I.**

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

‘Gen. Sir A. Cunningham’s Tables,¹ 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-Saṁvat 1808. So, also, the Sāyana-Pańchāṅg shows the same period, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1808, as the ordinary nīrayana luni-solar year; the period covered by Śaka-Saṁvat 1808, as a sāyana 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-Saṁvat 1808 expired, and 1809 current. But it is quoted, for all ordinary purposes, simply as Śaka-Saṁvat 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, “Śakē 1808 Pausaha śukla saptami Śaṅivāra;” 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

¹ The proper method of applying his Tables may perhaps be inferred from his remarks (e.g. 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-Saṁvat 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 shewed the current Hindu years opposite the current Christian years, as is done in the case of the samvatasaras 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 Mēṣṭha-Samkrānti, 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 Mēṣṭha-Samkrānti. With such Tables, for any tithi connected with Śaka-Saṁvat (1809 current and) 1808 expired, up to the tithi that coincided with the solar day on which the Mēṣṭha-Samkrānti occurred, we must work with the basis of even one year still earlier, viz. Śaka-Saṁvat 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-saṁvatsaraḥ,” on the title-page; and “Śakē 1808 Chaitra-sukla-pakṣaḥ,” on the top of the page which exhibits the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra; and, in the Sāyana-Pañchāṅg, “Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ,” on the title-page, and elsewhere “amāntaḥ Chaitra-sukla-pakṣaḥ Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ.” In the same way, I find, for the same period, “Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ” on the title-page of an almanac published at Pandit Umacharan Muhatmim’s Press at Gwālior; and, for the period from the 17th March, A.D. 1885, to the 4th April, A.D. 1886, “Śālibāhapa-Śakē 1807,” on the title-page of the Jōdhur Chaṇḍū-Pañchāṅg for that year, and “Śrī-Saṁvatsa 1942 Śakē 1807 Chaitra-sukla-pakṣaḥ,” in Bapu’ DeVā 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, Ganpat Krishnaji’s and K. L. Chhatre’s almanacs, contain the passage — atha gata-Kalih 4987, śēsha-Kalih 427013; Svasti; śrīman-nṛpa-Vikramārka-samay-Āīta-saṁvataḥ 1942, Hēmalamba-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ; tathā śrīman-nṛpa-Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808, Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ; asmin varshē rājā 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 Hēmalamba 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 nirayaṇa year, the Sāyana-Pañchāṅg for Śaka-Saṁvatsa 1808 has — Kaliyugasya gata-varshāṇi 4987; śrīman-nṛpa-Vikramārka-saṁvatsaḥ 1943 Vilambi-saṁvatsaraḥ; śrīman-nṛpa-Śālivāhana-Śak-ābdah 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ; ath-Asmin varshē rājā chandraḥ,—“the expired years of the Kaliyuga (are) 4987; in the year 1943 of the glorious king Vikramārka, (there is) the saṁvatsara named Vilambin; (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. saṁvatsaraḥ, or saṁvatsaraśhu.

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 ’1 a distinction were being made in the methods of reckoning the two eras.

3 i.e. saṁvatsaraḥ, or saṁvatsaraśhu.—The figures here, and in the Gwālior almanac, 1943, differ from those in Ganpat Krishnaji’s and K. L. Chhatre’s almanacs, 1942, because the latter quote the southern reckoning, by which each Vikrama year commences with the month Kārttiḳa, ‘seven lunations later than the same year in the northern reckoning; consequently, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvatsa 1808 (expired), on the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, Vikrama-Saṁvatsa 1492 was still running, by the southern reckoning.
apparently, as a current year. **The Gwálior almanac**, however, which I have quoted above, has — gata-Kalíh 4987, ś́śśha-Kalíh 427013 ............; tan-madhya gata-Sakaḥ 1808, ś́śśha-Sakaḥ 16192 ............ Svasti; śṝ-Vikramārka-rājya-samayād attā sarvatā 1943, Śaka-gata-varśhēśhu 1808, chāṇḍra-mānēna Vyaya-nāma-sarvat-sarē; Bārhaspatya-mānēna, Śake 1807 Aśvina-krishna-7 Śukrē sūry-odayād gata-ghāṭi- shu 47 palēśhu 24 tad-avadhī, Śake 1808 Aśvina-krishna-14 Bhaumē ghat[shu*] 46 palē[shu*] 3 tāvat-paryantāḥ, Vilambi-sarvatsar-ōlēkhaḥ vidhēyāḥ; tad-agrē Vikāri- sarvatsar-ōlēkhaḥ kāryaḥ; Chaitr-ādau rājā 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) ............. Haill In the year 1943 expired from the time of the reign of the glorious Vikramārka, (and) in the expired Śaka year 1808, (and), by the lunar reckoning, in the (current) sarvatā named Vyaya, —by the reckoning of Jupiter, the Vilambil sarvatā is to be used in writings from the expiration of 47 ghaits, 24 palas, from sunrise on Friday, the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of Aśvina, in Śaka 1807, up to (the expiration of) 46 ghaits, 3 palas, (from sunrise) on Tuesday, the fourteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of Aśvina, in Śaka 1808; after that, the Vikārin sarvatā 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 **Samkrāntis**.

In the same passages for the *sadya* year, Śaka-Sarvatā 1808, **the Sāyana-Paṇchāṅg** does not confine itself to any indefinite expression, but explicitly quotes the Śaka year as a current year; thus — Kaliyagasya sarṇdhīyāyā ṛditāḥ, Śālivāhana-Śak-ārambhakāla-paryantāḥ, Nand-ādṛ-Indu-gupa-(3179)-mitānī saura-varṣhāṇy-atitānī; pravartamānā Śālivāhana-Śak-ābdāḥ asḥṭ-ōttar-āshtādaśa-(1808)-mitāḥ; amun sarvatsarat Narma-daya daḵṣiṇa-ḥāgē Vyaya-nāmā vyavaharanti, uttara-ḥāgē cha Vilambil-nāmā; athāsmin varṣhē rājā Śanīh,—"from the commencement of the *samkhya* of the Kaliyuga, up to the time of the commencement of the Śālivāhana-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 Śālivāhana-Śaka is measured by eighteen hundred, increased by eight, (1808); on the south side of the

---

1 i.e. *aśťa sarvatsarē*, or *aśťeśhu sarvatsarēnu*

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 *samkhya*, 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 *samkhya* 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 *samkhya nīta* of 360,000 years of men. These figures make up the total of 432,000 years in the age.
Narmadā, 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-Saṁvat 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 — tatō vartamāna-vatsar-ārāmbhadāla-paryantam sapt-āṭtar-āśṭādaśaśāta-(1807)-mitāni varshaḥ, gatāni; amun vartamana-samvatsaraṁ Narmadāyā dakshinē bhāgē Pārthiva-nāmnā vyavaharanti, uttarē bhāgē cha Hēmalamba-nāmnā; ath-āsmin varshē rājā Bhaumāḥ,—"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-Saṁvat 1807 to 1808, a verbal distinction, at least, was made between expired and current years; and the phraseology adopted in the almanac for Śaka-Saṁvat 1808, has been repeated in the almanac for the next year, 1809. In one instance, A.D. 1885-86, the Pārthiva or Hēmalamba saṁvatsara, each current, was treated as equivalent to Śaka-Saṁvat 1807 expired; while, in the other, A.D. 1886-87, the Vyaya or Vilambin saṁvatsara, each current, and each the next in the cycle after respectively Pārthiva and Hēmalamba, is treated as equivalent to Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 1807 expired, (and 1808 current); and A.D. 1886-87 should have been described as being represented by Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 1809, with the same saṁvatsara 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 Siddhānta-Paṇchāṅgam, 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 saṁvatsara, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 expired; and at the commencement, it quotes the expired years throughout; thus — " Kaliyuga-gat-ābdāḥ 4987; Śālivāhana-Śaka-gat-ābdāḥ 1808; Vikramārka-Śaka-gat-ābdāḥ 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 saṁvatsara, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat

3 Except for reading amun vartamāna-vatsaraṁ, and omitting atha before asmin varshaḥ, the text is exactly the same in Bāpu Deva Shastri's almanac for Śaka-Saṁvat 1807. I have not been able to obtain a copy of his almanac for the next year.
1809, Kaliyuga-Sarvāvat 4988, and Vikrama-Sarvāvat 1944, which are not specified as either current or expired, but can only be intended as current. And, in the same way, the Tamil Siriya-Pañchāṅgaḥ, 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 Śaka-Sarvāvat 1810, Kaliyuga-Sarvāvat 4989, and Vikrama-Sarvāvat 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 Śaka-Sarvāvat 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 Śaka 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 Śaka 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,

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

2 It would appear that the Tamil Vākyā-Pañchāṅgaḥ, 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 Śaka-Sarvāvat 1809, Kaliyuga-Sarvāvat 4988, and Vikrama-Sarvāvat 1945; all of which are distinctly specified as current. But this cannot possibly be correct, in respect of the Śaka and Kaliyuga years.

3 Thus, even Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, — through whose "Note on the Śaka Dates and the Years of the Bṛhataspatya Cycle, occurring in the Inscriptions" (Early History of the Deccan, p. 105 ff.) my attention was first drawn to the desirability of examining the details of the almanacs, — has written (id., p. 99; the italics are his) "191 Gupta past + 242 = 433 Śaka current + 78 = 511 A.D. current .......... 209 Gupta past + 242 = 451 Śaka 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 Śaka asta" (i.e. expired) "year be mentioned, the equation is + 791;".

4 I owe these four dates to Mr. S. B. Dikshit. Gen. Cunningham (Indian Eras, p. 139) gives from the 14th March, A.D. 78, to the 15th February, A.D. 79; and from the 18th February, A.D. 79, to the 8th March, A.D. 80. But a comparison of his initial days for the epoch and the first year, shews at once that there is some mistake. The 18th February is twenty-four days earlier than the 14th March; whereas the difference should be only eleven days. Mr. C. Patell (Chronology, p. 96) does not give the initial day of the epoch; but gives, in the same way, the period from the 18th February, A.D. 79, to the 8th March, A.D. 80, for the first year.
equivalent to expired Śaka years. It is evident from the details given above regarding Śaka-Saṅvat 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 Albérānī; 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 Bādāmi cave inscription of the Chalukya king Maṅgalīśa,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

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 Pratihārāṇa, who opposed Vikramāditya, king of Ujjainī. 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” (nirmita) 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 Muhūrtabhvandūnmārtanyaṇḍa 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-Saṅvat 1493), in (the month) Tapas (Māgha), this Mārtanyaṇḍa 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 show 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 Sachau’s Albérānī’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 Mahārājābhirāja, the glorious Tūrāmāṇa, is governing the earth," in line 1 f. of the Ėrāṇ 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 fort nights 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), who used the Kaliyuga, and in or just before the time of Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587), 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-Saṁvats 500. Let us assume that this adoption of the Śaka era was made in Śaka-Saṁvats 500, equivalent to A.D. 577-78. The astronomers would take it, at starting, as "Śaka-

Samvat 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-Samvat 511 current, after Śaka-Samvat 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-Samvat 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 Sāyana-Pañčāṅg for Śaka-Samvat 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-Samvat 1810 (expired) (A.D. 1888-89), the editors have reverted to the phraseology used in their almanac for Śaka-Samvat 1807 (expired.)
APPENDIX II.

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

By Shankar Balkrishna Dikshiti; 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-siddhantachitra Koshakhet, 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 vāra 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 Mēsha-Saṁkrānti, or 'entrance of the Sun into Aries,' in that year. The abdapa adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is the time of the spashta or 'apparent,'—lit. 'clearly perceived, distinctly visible,'—Mēsha-Saṁkrānti, as ascertained by the method given in the Sūrya-Siddhānta;² whereas, in other Hindu works of the same kind, the term abdapa

¹ Most 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.

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

³ There are three schools of astronomers in India. One follows the Sūrya-Siddhānta, and is called Saurapaksha; another follows the Brahma-Siddhānta, and is named Brahma-paksha; 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 pála). 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 Sūrya-Siddhānta, only the length of the year, and its starting-point, that is the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti; 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-siddhana, 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 madhyama or 'mean' longitude. So, also, the length of the solar year adopted by him is that of the Sûrya-Siddhânta, 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-Saṅvat 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 ghâfîs, and 31'972 palas; while the length of the year, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta, is 365 days, 15 ghâfîs, and 31'523 palas. During this time, the sun's motion amounts to one complete revolution from equinox to equinox, plus about 58'6881 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 ayandînas, lit. 'degrees of precession;' and the ayandînas for the present year, Śaka-Saṅvat 1809 expired (A.D. 1887-88), are 22 degrees, 45 minutes, according to the Graha-Lâghava of Ganâša Daivajña. As the longitudes of heavenly bodies, reckoned from the equinox, include these ayandînas, they are called sâyana, lit. 'possessed of ayana or precession.' And the places of heavenly bodies obtained by the method given in the Sûrya-Siddhânta and other Hindu works, are called, for the sake of distinction, nirayana, lit. 'destitute of precession.' The places obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables are sâyana. The titki, however, obtained by either process, is the same; but this is not the case with the nakshatra or 'lunar mansion,' and the yôga or 'addition of the longitudes of the sun and the moon.'

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 vâras, ghâfîs, and palas. Of these, the vâra, or week-day, sometimes also called dina 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

1The date of this work is Śaka-Saṅvat 1442 expired (A.D. 1520-21). At present, all the Panchâdâgas (Hindu calendars) in the Dekkan, and in some other parts of India, are prepared from this authority, and from another small work, by the same author, entitled Tithi-Chintâmani, containing the necessary Tables.

2To calculate titki, 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 sâyana or nirayana. To find a nakshatra, the ayandîñas must be applied to the moon's longitude obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables. The Sâyana-Panchâdâga, annually published, from Śaka 1806, under the patronage of His Highness the Mahârâja Hôljkar, by Mr. Visaji Raghunath Lele of Gwallor, with the aid of Mr. Janardan B. Modak, B.A. of the Bombay University, of myself, and of Mr. Krishnaraao Raghunath Bhide of Indôr, is based on the sâyana system.
the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise. The *vāra* of the *abdana* shows the week-day on which the *Mēṣha-Samkṛantī* 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 *ghāti* is also used for the sixtieth part of a *tithī*; but in that application it is not identical with the sixtieth division of a solar day and night. A *pāla* is the sixtieth division of a *ghāti*; and it is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English seconds. And the *ghātis* and *palas* of the *abdana* give the time after sunrise, on the particular *vāra*, at which the *Mēṣha-Samkṛantī* took place. Thus, the *abdana* of Śaka-SAṁvata 0 expired, is given (opposite the entry *Mēṣha-Samkṛantīchi vēl* or ‘time of the *Mēṣha-Samkṛantī*; p. 10) as 1 *dina*, 10 *ghātis*, 10 *palas*; which indicates that the *Mēṣha-Samkṛantī* 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*1/2* *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*1/2* *palas*, after sunrise. Therefore, the variation in the *abdana* in one year is given (p. 10, col. 3, under *vāra*) as 1 day, 15 *ghātis*, 31*1/2* *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 *tithī* 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 *puruṇīmā*, *puruṇamāsi*, 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 *amavasya*, lit. ‘that on which there is the dwelling-together (of the sun and moon).’ At the end of the *amavasya*, 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, *dvitiya*, *tritiya*, &c., up to *chaturdāśi*, ‘the fourteenth.’ The *puruṇīmad* and *amavasya* are called sometimes by their own special names, and sometimes *pañchadāśi*, ‘the fifteenth;’ but the *amavasya* is generally entered in *Pañchāṅga* as the thirtieth *tithi,*
even in Northern India, where the dark fortnight of the month precedes the bright. In Pañcāṅga, the ghātīs and palas of tithis are given; and, by them, it is to be understood that the tithis end so many ghātīs 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-suddhi, 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 Mēṣha-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 spashita or 'apparent' Mēṣha-Saṁkrānti. Thus, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, at the time of the Mēṣha-Saṁkrānti the sun's mean longitude was 11 signs, 20 degrees, 46'1 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 ghātīs and 14 palas, had elapsed. This, therefore, is given as the tithi-suddhi for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired. In one solar year, the mean tithis are 371, and 3 ghātīs, 53'4 palas. Dividing 371 by 360, the remainder, 11 tithis, 3 ghātīs, 53'4 palas, is given as the variation in the tithi-suddhi 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-suddhi 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 Pañcāṅga are always spashita or 'apparent;' that is, they are calculated from the apparent places and motions of the sun and the moon. The spashita-tithi differs from the madhyama-tithi sometimes by nearly twenty-five ghātīs; 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

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

2In the Śiddhānta-Sīrōmāni and other works, the term tithi-suddhi 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' Mēṣha-Saṁkrānti.

3Though 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.

4According 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-samskara, 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 kendra 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 parakhya; and it is given in Table IV., on p. 20, in the column headed parakhya. It evidently varies according to the moon's kendra. One revolution of the moon's kendra is completed in 27 days, 33 ghatis, 16'56 palas. This period is called nischôchcha-môsa; and is known to English astronomers by the name of the 'anomalistic month.' This period, converted into tithis, is equal to 27 tithis, 59 ghatis, 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 kendra is one tithi of kendra in one tithi of time; and it is called tithi-kendra, or 'the anomaly of the tithi, expressed in tithis.' The moon's mean kendra at the Mêsha-Samkránti of Śaka-Samvat 0 expired, was 10 signs, 19 degrees, 58'8 minutes (p. 87). This, converted into tithis, is equal to 24 tithis, 53 ghatis, 50 palas; and this is given (p. 10) as the tithi-madhya-mâna-kendra, or 'mean anomaly of the tithi,' at the time of the Mêsha-Samkránti of Śaka-Samvat 0 expired. It shews that so many tithis and parts of a tithi had elapsed, up to that Mêsha-Samkránti, from the moon's preceding arrival at her apogee. The variation in the moon's kendra, 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, vis.—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-kendra 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-Samvat 406

---

1 The amount of this correction, adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, in finding out tithis in his Kâla-siddhâna 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 Śkrāyā-Siddhânta and other authorities themselves slightly differ, one from the other. And, accordingly, the difference will be sometimes about five or six ghatis. 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 nîcha means 'perigee;' and nîchha, 'apogee.' And nîchchôchcha-môsa is the period in which the moon comes from perigee or apogee to the same point again.

4 One tithi is equal to 0984339573 of a mean solar day.
expired (A.D. 484-85); the month Āshāḍha (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-Saṅvat 0 expired, which are technically called the kṣēpaka or 'additive quantities; vis. in (a) the abdapa, enter vāras 1, ghāfas 10, palas 10; in (b) the tīṣṭi-suddhi, enter tīṭhis 12, ghāfas 45, palas 14; and in (c) the tīṣṭi-madhyaṃa-kṛṇḍra, enter tīṭhis 24, ghāfas 52, palas 50. Below each of them respectively, in its proper column, enter, from the same Table, the bhēda or 'variation' for the component parts of the given Śaka year; vis. for 400, in (a) vāras 6, gh. 30, p. 9½, in (b) tīṭhis 15, gh. 55, p. 49½, and in (c) tīṭhis 9, gh. 24, p. 45; and for 6 years, in (a) vāras 0, gh. 33, p. 9½, in (b) tīṭhis 6, gh. 23, p. 20½, and in (c) tīṭhis 14, gh. 58, p. 39.

Now, as the given year is anterior to Śaka-Saṅvat 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 tīṣṭi-suddhi and the tīṣṭi-madhyaṃa-kṛṇḍra. The reason for this correction, is this. As explained above, the tīṣṭi-suddhi and the tīṣṭi-madhyaṃa-kṛṇḍra 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-Saṅvat 0 expired, the correction in the moon's mean longitude is 44 seconds, and that in the kṛṇḍra is 2 degrees, 55 seconds (p. 90). These, turned into tīṭhis, are 3 ghāfas, 40 palas, with regard to the tīṣṭi-suddhi; and 14 ghāfas, with regard to the tīṣṭi-kṛṇḍra. These figures, therefore, are given as the correction in respectively the tīṣṭi-suddhi and the tīṣṭi-kṛṇḍra for Śaka-Saṅvat 0 expired. In the Table, this correction is given for intervals of 1000 years each. Taking first the tīṣṭi-suddhi, the correction for Śaka-Saṅvat 0 expired, is gh. 3, p. 40; and the correction for Śaka-Saṅvat 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-Saṅvat 0 expired. And the remainder gives us, as the sufficiently approximate correction for Śaka-Saṅvat 406 expired, gh. 2, p. 24, to be added in (b). Similarly, the correction for the tīṣṭi-madhyaṃa-kṛṇḍra, worked out in the same way, is gh. 9, p. 8, to be added in (c).

---

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

2 Properly speaking, this variation is for Śaka-Saṅvat 500 expired, midway between Śaka-Saṅvat 0 and 1000. It should be reduced first for the year midway between Śaka-Saṅvat 0 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>(b)</th>
<th>(c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abāpa.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tithi-kuddhī.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tithi-madhyama-kāṇḍra.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaka-Saṁvat 1623 expired (p. 11)</td>
<td>1 10 10</td>
<td>24 52 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add variation for 400 Saka years (p. 11)</td>
<td>6 30 9'3</td>
<td>15 55 49'2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add variation for 6 Saka years (p. 10)</td>
<td>0 33 9'1</td>
<td>6 23 20'2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add correction for a date prior to Saka-Saṁvat 1623 expired</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 2 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Week-day and time of the Māsā-Samkrānti of Saka-Saṁvat 406 expired</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>0 9 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ghatsīs and palas only, from above | 13 28 | 21 25 22 |
| Add, from (b), the mean solar day | 0 52 20 | |
| tithi-bhogyā | 1 5 48 | |

| Add:— | Deduct bhukta-tithi | Deduct as many palas as there are ghatsīs in the bhogyā-tithi |
| expired tīthis: | 0 6 47 | 0 53 13 |
| Chaitra | 15 | |
| Vaśākha | 30 | |
| Jyeshṭha | 30 | |
| Ashāḍha | 26 | |
| 101 | 0 53 24 | 22 18 35 |
| minus, from (b), tithi-dhruva | 5 | |
| expired tīthis from end of Chaitra | 96 | |
| śukla | 96 | |
| solar equivalent of 96 tīthis (p. 14) | 94 17 36 | |
| | 95 23 24 | |
| Add pārdhīya, obtained from (c) tithi-spashta-kāṇḍra of Ashāḍha śukla | 0 24 19 | |
| 12 | 0 47 43 | |
| Days elapsed up to end of apparent Ashāḍha śukla | 95 | |
| Add week-day of Māsā-Samkrānti of Saka-Saṁvat 406 expired | 1 | |
| Reduce to weeks | 36 13 | 6 19 55 |
| Remainder, the 5th day, is Thursday | 5 | 5 |
Now add together the respective quantities in (a) (b) and (c), bearing in mind that, in doing so, when the vāras 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 vāras 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, vāras 1, gh. 13, p. 28.4. The first quantity, of the days, shows that the week-day on which occurred the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, was Sunday. And the remaining quantities show that the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti took place at the end of gh. 13, p. 28.4, 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 Mēsha-Saṁkrānti of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, occurred, 5 mean tithis of the month Chaitra were completed, and also 6 ghaśis 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 or 60 ghaśis, the remainder, gh. 53, p. 13, gives the portion of the 6th tithi that was still to run. This is technically called the bhōgya-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 month's kendra, reduced to tithis, at the time of the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired.

To this, the bhōgya-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 bhōgya-tithi, viz. gh. 53, p. 13, as many palas, 53, as there are ghaśis in it, we convert it into a mean solar day, with the result of gh. 52, p. 20.

---

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 984333 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 ghatis and palas only of (a) the abdapa. 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-Samkrānti, Sunday. This quantity, vdra 1, gh. 5, p. 48, is called the tithi-bhōga, iit. '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-Samkrānti, up to the end of Chaitra sukla 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, Šaka-Saṃvat 406 expired. The explanation of this, is, that, when the tithi-suddhi is less than nineteen, it shews that the samkrānti in Chaitra occurred within the first nineteen tithis of that month. And, as, generally, the solar months are longer than the lunar months, the samkrāntis 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 samkrānti in Chaitra falls within the first nineteen tithis, no samkrānti, 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, Āṣāḍha sukla 12, there had elapsed only the usual number of one hundred and one tithis; viz. in the bright fortnight of Chaitra, 15; in Vaiśākha, 30; in Jyēṣṭha, 30; and in Āṣāḍha, 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 sukla 5 up to the end of Āṣāḍha sukla 11. But the tithi-bhōga, which we have already arrived at, is the end of Chaitra sukla 6; and the same number of tithis, 96, expire from the end of Chaitra sukla 6 up to the end of Āṣāḍha sukla 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, Āṣāḍha sukla 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-Samkrānti up to the end of Āṣāḍha sukla 12 as a mean tithi.

*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 Āṣāḍha, 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, Ashadhā 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 ghatis, at intervals of ten ghatis. 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 shewn 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 abhapa, 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, udras 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 Mēsha-Sankṛdanti, up to the end of the apparent Ashadhā sukla 12. To the days, 95, add 1, the week-day of the Mēsha-Sankṛdanti. Divide the sum, 96, by 7, and the result is 13 weeks, and 5 days over; which shows that the current week-day of Ashadhā 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, Ashadhā sukla 12, ended.

The Tables in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, however, are adapted to the meridian of Bombay. The ghatis 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 Śaka date was selected in consequence of its being the equivalent of the date, in Gupta-Saṅvat 165, recorded in the pillar inscription of Budhagupta at Eran in the Central Provinces. We have therefore now to determine the tithi for Eran itself. The longitude of Bombay is 72° 51'; and that of Eran is 78° 15'; both east of Greenwich. Ēran, therefore, is 5 degrees, 24 minutes, east from Bombay. Adding (5° 24' × 10 =) 54 palas to 47 ghatis and 43 palas, which we have obtained above for Bombay, the tithi at Ēran 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 *tithis* 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 Āraṇ. 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 Āraṇ, on the day in question, took place *gh.* 1, *p.* 56, before the mean sunrise; the latitude of Āraṇ 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*, Āśadha śukla 12, ended at Āraṇ 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 *ghatis*, 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 *ghati* 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-saṅskāra*, 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 *Śrīya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works. The difference¹ will amount to five or six *ghatis* 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 *Śrīya-Siddhānta*, the *Siddhānta*-

¹ See page 149 above, note 1.
Sirômani, and the Arya-Siddhánta of the second Aryabhata.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 Eran. The longitude of Ujjain is 75° 43', east of Greenwich. I have also calculated the ghatis and palas from the apparent sunrise at Eran; 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-Árya-Siddhánta.—There are two distinct and separate works, each bearing the name of Aryabhata as its author. The one published by Dr. Kern contains one hundred and eighteen verses in the Árya metre, and is called Áryabhátiya in general and by the author himself; but it may, and justly so, be called Árya-Siddhánta; and it is called so by many Hindu astronomers. The date of this work is Saka-Sańvat 427 expired (A.D. 499-500).

² The other, which, I believe, has not yet been printed, contains about six hundred and twenty-five verses in the Árya 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-Siddhánta of Brahmagupta (Saka-Sańvat 550 expired; A.D. 628-29); and there is a reference to it in the Siddhánta-Sirômani (Saka-Sańvat 1072 expired; A.D. 1150-51). Its date, therefore, lies somewhere between these two limits. In the first verse of it, the author calls himself Áryabhata; and his work, a Siddhánta, without Laghu or any other epithet. In a manuscript copy of it, I find that it is named Mahá-Siddhánta at the end of some chapters, and Laghu-Árya-Siddhánta 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 Áryabhata. The numbers of the revolutions of the planets &c. given, as belonging to the Árya-Siddhánta, in the Rev. E. Burgess' Translation of the Sárya-Siddhánta, 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 Áryabhata. Probably, when these gentlemen wrote, they had not themselves seen the Siddhánta of the first Áryabhata. Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, also, was not, it seems, aware of the two different Áryabhataas, when he wrote: (Indian Éras, p. 88) "according to Warren the number of days assigned by Áryabhata to a Mahâyuga 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, Áryabhata.

³ [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 (6½ A.M. and 12½ P.M. respectively), and to give, as the English equivalent, that week-day, with its civil date, which is actually running during these 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, 32 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 Sáyana-Pańchadhyāy), 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 ghatis, 22½ 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 debatable period; either for Ujjain, or for Eran, which is appreciably to the east of Ujjain.—J. F. F.]
### TABLE VI.

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

Śaka-Saṅvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Ashāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvara (Thursday).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Time, after Sunrise, at which the Tithi ended.</th>
<th>By K. L. Chhatto's method exhibited above.</th>
<th>By the Ārya-Siddhānta of the first Āryabhata.</th>
<th>By the Brahmapa-Siddhānta of Brahmagupta.</th>
<th>By the Ārya-Siddhānta of the second Āryabhata.</th>
<th>By the Ārya-Siddhānta of the second Āryabhata.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>gh. p</td>
<td>gh. p</td>
<td>gh. p</td>
<td>gh. p</td>
<td>gh. p</td>
</tr>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, , , , Ujjain ...</td>
<td>48 12</td>
<td>49 48</td>
<td>50 15</td>
<td>51 11</td>
<td>53 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, , , , Ērān ...</td>
<td>48 37</td>
<td>50 13</td>
<td>50 40</td>
<td>51 36</td>
<td>53 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>, apparent sunrise at Ērān</td>
<td>50 33</td>
<td>52 9</td>
<td>52 36</td>
<td>53 32</td>
<td>55 42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE VII.

Calculation of the English Date of a given Tithi.

Śaka-Saṅvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Ashāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvara (Thursday).

| Date of the Mēṣa-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 Mēṣa-Samkrānti in March of A.D. 484       | 18 | 13 | 26 |
| Add days elapsed from the Mēṣa-Samkrānti up to the given tithi, from col. (a) of the previous process |         |   | 95 |
| Deduct number of days in completed months from the 1st March: |         |   | 113 |
| March                                               | 31 |
| April                                               | 30 |
| May                                                 | 31 |

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 shew 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-Samkrānti* 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-Samkrānti* 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 *abdapa*, to be the number of days that had elapsed from sunrise on the day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, 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.

¹ The *ghatis* and *palas* ought to agree with the *ghatis* and *palas* of the *abdapa* of Śaka-Samvat 406 expired, in col. (a) of the previous process. Here there is a difference of 34 *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, adhyaya viii. verse 1, — nakshatrēṇa sah-ōdayam upagachchhati yēna dēvapatī-mantri śat-saṁjñatam vaktyādān varshaṁ māśa-kramēṇ-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 his 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

The reading that I give, is from an old manuscript in my possession. But the commentator, Utpala, explains the verse with the reading—nakshatrēṇa sah-ōdayam astam vā yēna yēti suramantri,—“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 copyists, however far they might go wrong in ordinary transcribing, could not, unless intentionally, turn the letters mastam vā yēna yēti sura, if they were original at all, into mupagachchhati yēna dēnapati. And Utpala himself gives the note—Rishiput-ṛṣibhibh udaya-nakshatra-māśa-saṁjñā-kramēṇa varshaṁ jñālayam ity-uktam,—“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 his note to his translation, he notices the reading sah-ōdayam astam vā yēna yēti 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.]

\[\text{\cite{Fulgine}}\]
(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 *saṁvatsara* 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 *saṁvatsara* 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 *saṁvatsara* 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 *saṁvatsaras* in twelve years; the duration of each being about 400 days, and one *saṁvatsara*, determined by the circumstances of the particular cycle, being altogether omitted.

The names of the lunar months are used as the names of the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. And the names of these months are given to the *saṁvatsaras*, in accordance with the particular *nakṣatras* in which Jupiter's heliacal rising takes place. Of the twenty-seven *nakṣatras*, 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 *Brihat-Samhita*, viii. 2, — varṣaḥapi Kārttikeyād bha-dvay-āṇuyōgini kramaṁ sa tri-bham tu pañchamam upānyam antiṁ cha yad varṣam II,—¹ the years Kārttika and others (*that follow*) combine two *nakṣatras*, from (*the *nakṣatra*) 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 Samvatsaras from the Nakshatras.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names and Grouping of the Nakshatras.</th>
<th>Names of the Months to be allotted to the Samvatsaras.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Krittikā; Rōhīṇī</td>
<td>Kārttika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mriga; Aḍrā</td>
<td>Mārgaḍṛṣṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punarvasu; Pushya</td>
<td>Paūsha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśālāhā; Maghā</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrvā-Phalgun; Uttarā-Phalgun; Hasta</td>
<td>Paūsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitā; Svātī</td>
<td>Chaitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśākha; Anurādhā</td>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyeṣṭhā; Mūla</td>
<td>Jyeṣṭhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrvā-Aśāḷāḥā; Uttarā-Aśāḷāḥā; (Abhījit)</td>
<td>Āśāḷāḥā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Abhījit); Śravaṇa; Dhanisṭhā</td>
<td>Śravaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śatātārakā; Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā; Uttarā-Bhādrapadā</td>
<td>Bhādrapada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvati; Aśvinī; Bharanī</td>
<td>Āśvina (Āśvayuṣa)</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 samvatsaras 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

1 i.e. from Krittikā. Agni is the regent of the nakshatra Krittikā, 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 Krittikā, and so on, in regular succession, except the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth years, to each of which appertain three asterisms."—J. F. F.]

3 I should state, however, that there is a little difference of opinion on this point. Utpala, the commentator on the Brihat-Samhita, 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 samvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the nakshatras. Out of these ten, Garga (not Vṛiddha-Garga), and Parāśara, as quoted by Utpala,—but these two only,—hold that the tenth and eleventh months, Śrāvana and Bhādrapada, have three nakshatras each; viz. Śrāvana, Dhanisṭhā, and Śatātārakā, are assigned to Śrāvana; and Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā, Uttarā-Bhādrapadā, and Rēvati, to Bhādrapada; and, consequently, Āśvina has only Āśvinī and Bharanī.
in Table IX. on page 165 below. And generally, whenever we meet with a nakshatra spoken of with reference to the place of a heavenly body, that nakshatra is to be taken in the above sense.

There is, however, a second method of determining the nakshatras 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 nakshatra is not equal. Fifteen nakshatras 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 Upatila in his commentary on the Brihat-Samhitā. The commentary, with the passages quoted in it, runs — tathā cha Gargaḥ I Uttarāḥ cha tAthg Adityāṁ Viṣākhāḥ ch-aiва Rōhīṇīḥ ettāṁ ṣhaṭ adhyardha-bhōgāṇī II Paushaḥ-Āsvi-Kritikā-Sōma-Tishya-Pītra-Bhag-Āhvaṭhā Sāvitra-Chitr-Anurādhā Mūlaḥ Tōyaḥ cha Vaishṇavaṁ Dhanishṭhā-Ajaikapāch ch-aiва sama-vaṅgāḥ prakṛtītaḥ ettāṁ pañcchādaśa sama-bhōgāṇī I Yāmy-Andra-Raudra-Vāyavya-Sārpa-Vārupa-saṁjñītaḥ ettāṁ ṣhaṭ ardha-bhōgāṇī I, "— and so Garga (says), 'the Uttarās (i.e. Uttarā-Phalgunj, Uttarā-Āshādha, and Uttarā-Āhḍrapadā), and Āditya (Punarvasu), Viṣākhā, and also Rōhīṇī; ’ these six (are) of one-and-a-half times (the average) longitude. ' (The nakshatras) of which the names are Paushha (Rēvati), Āsvi (Āsvinī), Kritikā, Sōma (Mrīga), Tishya (Pūshya), Pītra (Māgha), and Bhagā (Pūrvā-Phalgunj), (and also) Sāvitra (Hasta), Chiṭrā, Anurādha, Mūla, Tōya (Pūrva-Āshādha), and Vaishṇava (Śravaṇa), (and) Dhanishṭhā, and also Ajaiṣkapāḍ (Pūrvā-Āhḍrapadā); (this class of nakshatras) is called the equal class; ' these fifteen (are) of equal (average) longitude. ' (The nakshatras) which have the appellations of Yāmya (Bharanī), Andra (Jyeṣṭhā), Raudra (Āḍra), Vāyavya (Svātī), Sārpa (Āśleṣhā), and Vārupa (Śatāṭakrākā); ' 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 nakshatras is twenty-seven, as usual. The average space of a nakshatra, 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 nakshatras, 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 \( \frac{1}{2} \) in the sub-column, mark the spaces which differ from the average space. Nārada and Vasisthā 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 ydga-ṭāḍrā, of the different nakshatras, 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>$13^\circ\ 20'\ 0''$</td>
<td>$13^\circ\ 20'\ 0''$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharanī</td>
<td>$26\ 40\ 0$</td>
<td>$20\ 0\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṛṣṇikā</td>
<td>$40\ 0\ 0$</td>
<td>$33\ 20\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūṣbīkṣa</td>
<td>$53\ 20\ 0$</td>
<td>$53\ 20\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mṛgā</td>
<td>$66\ 40\ 0$</td>
<td>$66\ 40\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṅgā</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>Âśleṣā</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>Pārvā-Phalgunī</td>
<td>$146\ 40\ 0$</td>
<td>$140\ 0\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttārā-Phalgunī</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>Chitārā</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>Viśākha</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>Jyeṣṭhāḥ</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>Pārvā-Aśāḥdāḥ</td>
<td>$266\ 40\ 0$</td>
<td>$260\ 0\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttārā-Aśāḥdāḥ</td>
<td>$280\ 0\ 0$</td>
<td>$280\ 0\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Abhijit)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Balance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śravaṇa</td>
<td>$293\ 20\ 0$</td>
<td>$293\ 20\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danushīhā</td>
<td>$306\ 40\ 0$</td>
<td>$306\ 40\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śataṛākā</td>
<td>$320\ 0\ 0$</td>
<td>$313\ 20\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārvā-Bhidraperādā</td>
<td>$333\ 20\ 0$</td>
<td>$326\ 40\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttārā-Bhidraperādā</td>
<td>$346\ 40\ 0$</td>
<td>$346\ 40\ 0$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvatī</td>
<td>$360\ 0\ 0$</td>
<td>$360\ 0\ 0$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or 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 Deōghāḍ inscription of Bhūjādeva 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*. 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

¹ By this name, is to be understood, throughout this paper, the Siddhānta by Brahmagupta.
usual twenty-seven nakshatras, 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 nakshatra, placed between Uttarā-Aśādhā and Śravana. This system, which I would name the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, is best explained by Bhāskarāchārya, in his Siddhānta-Sivomāṇi, Part iii., chapter 2 (Grahagapitaspasūṭhikāra), verses 71 to 74. His text, and his own commentary on it, are as follows,— stūḷaṁ kriṇaṁ bhā-ānayanam yaḥ etāj yojyirvidāṁ saṁvyavahāra-hetūṁ 71 ॥ Sūkṣmaṁ pravakṣyati-tha muni-prāptaṁ vivāha-yātr-āti-phala-prasiddhyai adhyāyāda bhāgāni sa ṣaḥ atra taj-jñāḥ prōchur Viśākh-Aditiḥbha-dhruvaṁ 72 ॥ Shād arda-bhāgāni cha Bhōgī-Rudra-Vāṭ-Antāk-Endr-ādhipa-Varūpāni śesāṁ-ataḥ pāñchadaś-aika-bhāgānya-uktō bha-bhāgāḥ saṁ-madhyā-bhuktiḥ 73 ॥ Sarv-arksha-bhōg-ōnita-chakra-līptā Viśāv-āgrataḥ syād Abhijjīd-bha-bhāgāḥ 74 ॥ Commentary.— Iha yan nakshatr-ānayanam kriṇaṁ tat stūḷāṁ lōka-vyavahāra-ārthāṁ kriṇaṁ ॥ Ātha Pulīṣa-Vaishāṣha-Garga-ādibhir yad vivāha-yātr-āddau saṁvyak-phala-siddhyārthaṁ kathitaṁ tat sūkṣmaṁ idāṁ pravakṣyey ॥ Tatra shād adhyāyāda-bhāgāni Viśākhā Pulanāvasu Rōhini-Uttarā-trayāṁ ॥ Ātha shād arda-bhāgāni Āśléśh-Ādṛā Śvaṭāl Bharanī Jyeṣṭhā Śabathbhaskā ēbhyaḥ śesāṁ pāñchadaś-aika-bhāgāni bhōga-pramāṇaṁ tu saṁ-madhyā-bhuktiḥ 790 351 adhyāyāda-bhāgāḥ 1185 52 1/2 arda-bhāgāḥ 395 17 3/4 Sarv-arksha-bhāgāir unītānāṁ chakra-kalānāṁ yach chhēṣhaṁ so-Bhijjīd-bhāgāḥ 254 15 11 Translation.—"This bringing out of nakshatras (i.e. the method of finding nakshatras, with their ghafis 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 [Pulīṣa, Vaishāṣha, 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 (nakshatras) have (each) a space which is one-and-a-half (times of the average space); (viz.) Viśākhā, Aditiḥbhā (Pulnasa), and the dhrūvas (Rōhini, Uttarā-Phalgunī, Uttarā-Aśādhā, and Uttarā-Bhādrapādā). And six have a half space (each); (viz.) those the lords of which are Bhōgin, Rudra, Vātā, Antaka, and Indra, and Varūṇa [Āśléśh, Ādṛā, Śvaṭāl, Bharanī, Jyeṣṭhā, (and) Śabathbhaskā] (Śatatarākā). The remaining fifteen (nakshatras) have one space (each). The (average) space of a nakshatra is declared to be the (daily) mean motion of the moon [790° 35' (=13° 10' 35' )]. [A one-and-a-half space (is) 1185' 52' (=19° 45' 52 1/2°)]. A half space (is) 395' 17 3/4 ( =6° 35' 17 3/4°). The space of the nakshatra Abhijjī, (which comes) next after Vaśāva (Uttarā-Aśādhā), is [the remainder, 254° 15' (=4° 14' 15'), of] the minutes of the whole circle, diminished by the spaces of all the (other) nakshatras." The longitudes of the ending-points of all the nakshatras according to this system, are given in the last column of Table IX., on page 165 above. And, as before,

1 The system explained by Bhāskarāchārya, 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></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1780 Adhika-Jyēṣṭhā śukla 10</td>
<td>7th June, 1858</td>
<td>47° 47'</td>
<td>Rāhuṇa</td>
<td>Kārttika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781 Asvina śukla 11</td>
<td>13th July, 1859</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Pūrvarāhuṇa</td>
<td>Pausha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1782 Śrāvaṇa krishṇa 13</td>
<td>15th August, 1860</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783 Bhādrapada śukla 13</td>
<td>16th September, 1861</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>Uttar-Phalguni</td>
<td>Phalguni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784 Asvina krishṇa 9</td>
<td>17th October, 1862</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>Chṛṭā</td>
<td>Chṛṭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785 Kārttika śukla 6</td>
<td>18th November, 1863</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>Visākha</td>
<td>Visākha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786 Mārgaśira krishṇa 3</td>
<td>16th December, 1864</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>Māla</td>
<td>Māla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787 Māgha śukla 2</td>
<td>18th January, 1866</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>Uttar-Āśādha</td>
<td>Āśādha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1788 Māgha krishṇa 4</td>
<td>22nd February, 1867</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>Dhanishta</td>
<td>Śrāvaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790 Āśādha śukla 5</td>
<td>29th March, 1868</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>Uttar-Bhādrapada</td>
<td>Bhādrapada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791 Adhika-Vaiśākha krishṇa 10</td>
<td>6th May, 1869</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Asvinsūri</td>
<td>Āsvina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792 Jyēṣṭhā śukla 14</td>
<td>12th June, 1780</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Rāhuṇa</td>
<td>Kārttika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793 Śrāvaṇa śukla 1</td>
<td>18th July, 1781</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>Pūrvarāhuṇa</td>
<td>Pausha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794 Śrāvaṇa krishṇa 1</td>
<td>19th August, 1872</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795 Bhādrapada krishṇa 14</td>
<td>20th September, 1873</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>Uttar-Phalguni</td>
<td>Phalguni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796 Asvina śukla 11</td>
<td>21st October, 1794</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>Chṛṭā</td>
<td>Chṛṭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797 Kārttika krishṇa 8</td>
<td>20th November, 1795</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>Visākha</td>
<td>Visākha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798 Pausha śukla 1</td>
<td>20th December, 1796</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>Māla</td>
<td>Māla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799 Pausha śukla 15</td>
<td>20th January, 1878</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>Uttar-Āśādha</td>
<td>Āśādha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800 Phalguni śukla 6</td>
<td>27th February, 1879</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>Dhanishta</td>
<td>Śrāvaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801 Phalguni krishṇa 10</td>
<td>4th April, 1880</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>Uttar-Bhādrapada</td>
<td>Bhādrapada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803 Vaiśākha śukla 12</td>
<td>11th May, 1881</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Abhijit</td>
<td>Abhijit</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 nakshatras from which the names of the months are derived. The question, therefore, occurs,—What name is to be given to the samvat-sara, when Jupiter rises in Abhijit? It can be solved thus. Abhijit is considered to be composed of the last quarter of Uttarā-Āśādha, and the first fifteenth part of Śrāvaṇa. This is stated in the following verse of Vaisīṣṭha, as quoted in the commentary, called Pītāhadhārā, on the Muḥūrtā-Čintāmāni;— Abhijit-bha-bhūgam ētad Viṣvēdev-Antya-pādam akhilam tat ādyya-chatastrī nādyār Haribhasya,—“this (is) the longitude of Abhijit; the whole last quarter of Viṣvēdeva (Uttarā-Āśādha), (and) the first four ghaṭis (i.e. the fifteenth part) of Haribha (Śrāvaṇa).” And other later authorities give the same rule. A quarter of a nakshatra 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-Āśādha; and the last four come from, and properly belong to, Śrāvaṇa. And the name of the samvat-sara is to be determined as Āśādha 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-

---

1 See the verse varṣāhāni Kārttik-dānī, &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 Pañchāṅgs in my possession, printed in different Presses at various places. The lunar months in which the risings took place, are all given by the Andanta southern reckoning. The longitude of Jupiter at each rising, is calculated from his longitude, given in the Pañchāṅgs, 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 Mārgaśīrsha 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 Mārgaśīrsha, Māgha, Chaitra, and Jyēśthā; and those are the saṁvatsaras that are most apt to be omitted. For example, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1780 expired, when Jupiter rose, he was in Rōhinī. The following rising took place in Punarvasu; that is, from the first rising, he passed entirely through Mṛiga and Āḍrā, before the next rising occurred. And, therefore, Mārgaśīrsha was omitted. Again, by these two systems, Śrāvana 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, Vaiśākha, Āṣāḍha, 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, Vaiśākha, Āṣāḍha, 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 Āryabhata in his Ārya-Siddhānta or Āryabhaṭīya, Kālakriyāpāda, verse 4,—Guru-bhagana āśi-guṇās tv-Āsvayuj-ādyā Gurōr abdāh,—"the revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by the signs (twelve), (are) the years of Jupiter, the first of which is Āsvayuja." And it is given, in very similar words, by Brahmagupta, in his Brahma-Siddhānta, adhāya xii. verse 42,—Guru-varshāny-Āsvayujāvā dvādaśa-guṇibhur bhaganāh. In this rule, the revolutions (bhagana) are meant to be taken from the beginning of the Kalpa, or of a Mahāyuga. 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 Āsvayuja. 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 Āsvayuja, we have Āshādha, 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-

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 samvatsaras 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 (rādi) 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.
The **eleven authorities** for the heliacal-rising system, in addition to the *Brihat-Samhita*, of which I have spoken, are as follows:—(1) **Parāśara** says—Krittikā-Roḥiniḥsh-uditē kshuch-chhastr-āgni-viṣṭhi-vyādhi-prābalyaṁ ... Chitrā-Svātyōr uditē nṛpā-sasya-varsha-kshēm-ārōgya-karaḥ.—(2) **Garga** says—pravās-āntē sah-arḵēna Ḥy-uditō yuga-parc charet I tasmāt kālād ṛikṣa-pārṇvō Gūrō abdaḥ pravartatē II.—(3) **Kaśyapa** says—samvatsara-yugē ch-aiva shashīty-abdē-ṅgirasas sutaḥ I yan-nakshatṛ-udayam kuryat tat-sāṃjñam vatsaram viduḥ II.—(4) **Ṛishiputra** says—yaśmin tīṣhthati nakshatṛ saha yena pravardhatē I saṃvatsaras sa vijñeyas tan-nakshatṛ-abhidhānakaḥ II.—(5) Also, in the following, Ṛishiputra quotes **Vasisṭha and Atri**, in addition to Parāśara, who is separately referred to above,—Tishy-ādkā-yuγaṁ prāhur Vaiṣṭiḥ-Ātri-Parāśaraḥ I Brihaspatēs tu Saumy-āntāṁ sadā dvādaṣa-vārṣhikam II Udēti yaśmin māse tu pravās-ōpateṇ-ṅgirāḥ I tasmāt saṃvatsaraḥ.—(6) In the *Samāsa-Saṃhitā*, a short work by Varāhamihira, we have *—Gurur udayati nakshatṛ yaśmen tat-sāṃjñitāṁ varshaṁ.—(7) Brihaspati*, as quoted in the *Kiranāvali*, a commentary by Dādabhāl on the *Śrūya-Siddhānta*, says—yadū Gūr-udāyō bhānōṛ Gūrō abadas tad-ādītaḥ.—(8) In the *Nārada-Saṃhitā*, Guruchārādyāya, we have —yad-dhishṇy-ābhyyuditō Jīvas tannakshatrāḥvā-vaṭsaraḥ.—(9) In the *Muhūrta-Tattva*, Guruchāra, verse 7, we have —dvī-ṛikṣā-Grēḥ Kārttivā try-ṛikṣā ishu-ravi-Śivō-buḍā sa yēn-ōditā-Ējyaḥ.—(10) In the *Yāṭishadarpāṇa*, adhyāya v., we have —yasminn ābhyyuditō Jīvas tan-

---

1 From this, it appears that the *saṃvatsaras* 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 Varāhamihira, quoted further on. The above verse of Kaśyapa, evidently applies to the Twelve-Year Cycle also.

2 I have taken this, and the preceding five quotations, from Utpala's commentary on the *Brihat-Saṃhitā*. 
naksatrasya vatsaraḥ. — It is unnecessary to translate these ten quotations; as the general purport of all of them is the same; viz. that "a saṁvatsara is to be named after that naksatra 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—Vaiśākhādīghu kṛishṇe cha yōgaḥ pāñchadvśe tithau I Kārttikeyadīni varshaṇi Gurūr ast-ōdayt tathā II,—"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 naksatras)" 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 as Kṛttikā and other naksatras,—evidently those in which the sun and the moon stand,—occur on the amārasya of Vaiśākha and others, immediately preceding or following the day on which Jupiter rises; that is, on whatever day Jupiter may rise, the naksatra on either the preceding, or the following, amādasya, gives the name to the saṁvatsara. 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 possibly 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 his heliacal-rising. And, if the rising referred to is the heliacal-rising, then no astronomer can deny that, in the period of about twelve solar years, there are only eleven conjunctions of Jupiter.

1I should remark that Raṇanātha, 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 Bṛhatsamhitā, vii, 1, that ast-ōdayt means "from the setting or rising." He adds, however,—iddhaṁ udaya-vārsha-cāyakāhārō gacchait gacchati,—"at the present time, the practice of (naming) the year by the rising, is taken into account by astronomers." For the sake of consistency, it is justifiable to translate the expression ast-ōdayt as I have translated it above; and the use of the compounded base in the singular, supports that translation. I also find that Dādābhaṭṭ, in his commentary on the Sūrya-Siddhānta, explains it in the same way; his words being—tathāstād udaya-kālā Gurūs tād-yukta-nakshatra-saṁjñā ēhūr adhī jāhāḥ,—"so the year of Jupiter is to be known as having the appellation of that nakshatra with which he is joined at the time of (his) rising after setting."—[There can be no doubt that ast-Ōdayt is used here in the sense of "from the rising after setting;" compare such compounds as supt-ōthika, 'having arisen from sleep,' lit. 'having slept and then having risen.'—J. F. F.]

2These words, in connection with yōgaḥ, 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 amārasya is intended. But it seems that Utpala, in his allusion to this rule, takes the preceding amādasya.
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 Aryabhata (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, Aryabhata 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 Parāśara, Garga, and Kaśyapa, are earlier than Aryabhata, cannot be denied. Utpala quotes a verse of Garga, which, with some proposed emendations, I give as it stands in my manuscript copy,—ένα Αśvayujam chaiva Chaitraṃ chaiva Bṛhaspatib 1 samvatsara(7ram) nāma(7sa)yatē sapaitēda (7 sapaty-abda)-Satē-dhike II. 3 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 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 nakshatra, then commences the year of Jupiter, of which the first part (of the name) is the (name of that) nakshatra."

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 Varahamihira, is simply a mistake I cannot enter into this point at present; but would refer any who hold that view, to Varahamihira's Pañchara-Siddhāntikā, and to Kern's Preface to his edition of the Bṛhat-Samhitā.

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

3 pravānta may be translated by "after having completed his journey;" i.e. having completed a révolution 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 śaṁvatsaraś after the nakshatras 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 Āryabhata. 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—adyāṁ Dhanishtāṁ samabhāprapannō Māghe yad-āyaty-udayaṁ Surṣṭyāḥ

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 Pañcāṅgaś 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 Pañcāṅga printed in Mahārāṣṭra, the custom of naming the śaṁvatsaraś after the months is not in use; in fact, the Twelve-Year Cycle is now almost unknown to the people at large at the Dekkan. But in a Pañcāṅga prepared by Jvalāpati Siddhānti, and printed in the Jñānādhyādaya Press at Madras, I find that the author, in the śaṁvatsara-phala, after giving the two śaṁvatsaraś of the Sixty-Year Cycle, according to the northern and the southern reckoning, goes on to say—sarvatra Gur-ādaya-vaiśād (Chaitra)-dabā grāhyah, "all over (India) a (certain) year (i.e. such śaṁvatsaraś as Chaitra, &c.), which depends on the rising of Jupiter, is to be taken;" from which it is evident that such some rising-system, as that described above, is followed in this Pañcāṅga from Madras. Also, in the Chandu-Pancang, prepared for the meridian of Jōdhpur in Mārāṇḍ, and used there and by Mārāṇḍaś in other parts of India, the śaṁvatsaṛs are named as Chaitra-Vardha, Vaiśākha-Vardha, &c.; the system adopted in that Pañcāṅga, however, for naming the śaṁvatsaraś, is the mean-sign system.

1 The reading that I give, is from my manuscript copy. But, 2 and 3 being very liable to confusion, the reading adyum Dhanishtāṁnam abhiprapannō, 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 Dhanishtā, at the time of his rising at the commencement of the Prabhava samvatssara. And I think, therefore, that the reading which I give, is the author's original reading. I take adyum to qualify the word nakṣatram understood. And Varāhamihira calls the nakṣatras in question "the first," because its opinion was, I think, that Dhanishtā was the first nakṣatra of the Sixty-Year Cycle, as it was of the Five-Year Cycle of the Vēndāṅga-Jyaotisha [see its verse—sarvādramāt vēm-ārkau yadda sākha vēsavi suyādādhi-yuyam Māghe, "when the moon and the sun, being in (the nakṣatra) Vēsava (Dhanishtā), go together in the heavens, then there is the beginning of the Yuga (and of the month) Māghe"], which two he intends to reconcile.—[Kern would seem to have known only the reading adyum Dhanishtā-āṁsain. His translation (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 49 f.), which follows also the reading of pravartataḥ for prapodyat, is—"when Jupiter, on reaching the first quarter of Dhanishtā, 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
and leaving Jupiter, 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 sanvatsara has occurred thirty times. And, by approximate calculations, I find that Varāhamihira's assertion, though not quite correct, is nearly so by the heliacal-rising system. Out of the thirty occasions, Jupiter rose, according to the Amānta southern arrangement of the fortnights; 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 Dhanishthā nakshatra; 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 sanvatsara, which always begins when Jupiter, by his mean longitude, enters Kumbha or Aquarius, he evidently always stands in the middle of Dhanishthā. But the Prabhava sanvatsara 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 shewn 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 udāya itself is used in it. It might be argued that Varāhamihira's rule (Brihat-Samhitā, viii. 22; ek-aikam abdēshu nav-ahateshu, &c.) for finding the nakshatra 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 sanvatsara is to be named from the nakshatra in which Jupiter rises, did not know that the nakshatra, 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 ahargana, 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 longitude. 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—"cf. Davis, Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. p. 220. The word anīsa also means 'degree,' but is here rendered by 'quarter,' according to Utpala, who explains it by pdda."—J. F. F.

1 See page 148 above, note 1.

2 The sign Kumbha commences in the middle of Dhanishthā, and ends at the end of the third quarter of Pūrva-Bhāḍrapadā.
astronomer to make more detailed calculations, when absolute accuracy is required. But, even supposing that the said verse of Varāhamihira 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 *Mukhrta-Talva* and the *Jyotishadarpana* are comparatively modern. The author of the first is the father of the well-known Ganeśa Daivajña, the author of the *Grahaldghava*; and, therefore, its date is about Śaka-Saṁvat 1420 expired (A.D. 1498-99); and it was written at Nandgāum 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-Saṁvat 1479 expired (A.D. 1557-58); and it was written at Kōṇḍapalli, somewhere in the Karnāṭaka 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 Raṅganātha's commentary on the *Śārya-Siddhānta*. The date of this commentary is Śaka-Saṁvat 1520 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. Āryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta, as quoted above. If to these we add an interpolated verse in the *Śiddhānta-Sirāmani*, and also hold that Garga and Varāhamihira 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 *Mahārājas* Hastin and Saṁkhāśa; and the two grants of the Kadamba chieftain Mrigāśiṣavarman, referred to at page 106 above, note 1.

2 A verse containing a reference to the system, is given, as belonging to Śrīpati, in Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri's edition of the *Śiddhānta-Sirāmani*, p. 13, note; but I do not find it in the *Rainamālā* of Śrīpati.

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 vitiated 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-Sánvat 153; and partly to the want of the key-note supplied by Mr. Bendall's inscription of Gupta-Sánvat 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 Amáuvvarman, 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 Mánagriha (line 1). The inscription is one of the Bhajdraka and Mahdrája, the illustrious1 Śivadéva I. (l. 2 f.), the banner or glory of the Lichchhavikula.2 And it records a grant made by him on the advice, or at the request,3 of the Mahdsámantha Amáuvvarman (l. 6 f.). The Dittaka is the Svámin Bhógavarman (l. 15).4 The date

1 śrī.
2 Lichchhavikula-kétu, line 2.
3 mahdsámantha-Ámáuvvarmaná vijñádpitena mayá; line 6-7.
4 This person would seem to be Amáuvvarman's sister's son, who is mentioned in inscription E. below.—He must not be confused with Śivadéva II.'s father-in-law, the Maukharí Bhógavarman, who is mentioned in inscription R. below, and was at least a full generation later.—See page 180 below, note 3, on another point.
(l. 15), in numerical symbols here and throughout the series, is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 316, Jyaishṭa-śukla-diva-daśāmyām; which, with the epoch of A.D. 319-20, answers, approximately, to the 3rd May, A.D. 635.

B.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’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 *Bhaiṭāraka* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Śivādeva 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 *Mahādāmanta*, the illustrious *Āṃśūvarman* (l. 8 f.). The date, and the name of the *Dīvāraka* are broken away and lost in line 11 ff.

C.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’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 *Mahādāmanta*, the illustrious *Āṃśūvarman* (l. 2). The *Dīvāraka* is the Mahāsarvas[daṇḍanā]yaka Vikramasena (l. 14). The date (l. 14) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 34, Jyaishṭa-śukla-daśāmyām; which, with the epoch of A.D. 605-606, answers, approximately, to the 18th May, A.D. 639.

---

1 As in page 177 above, note 3.

* This is the name as completed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. But, if we accept it as correct, we must be careful not to confuse this person with the *Rājaputra* Vikramasena who was the *Dīvāraka* of inscription S. below, more than two hundred years later.—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

2 This epoch is taken from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit’s calculation of the date in the Dīghvā-Dubault grant of the *Mahārāja* Mahendrapāla. At the end (l. 113, line 14) we have, for the assignment of the charter, the year 155, Māgha śu 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 (*Albérūnī’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 Vikramāditya. 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 529 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 *Śrīya-Siddhānta*, 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 Dīghvā-Dubault grant may work out correctly. Thus, with the basis of Harsha-Saṁvat 155 + Śaka-Saṁvat 527 expired = Śaka-Saṁvat 682 expired, the *Kumbha-Saṁkrānti* occurred at 43 ghāfs, 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 ghāfs, 15 palas, on the same day. Or, by the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, the times were, for the *Saṁkrānti*, 42 ghāfs, 30 palas; and for the *tithi*, 52 ghāfs, 41 palas. In both cases, the ghāfs and palas are from mean sunrise at Ujjain. And he adds the note—"the punyakāla or meritorious time for performing religious duties in connection with *saṁkrānti*, is, according to some authorities, from sixteen ghāfs before, to sixteen ghāfs after, the time of the *saṁkrānti*; and, according to others, in the case of some *saṁkrāntis*, from ten to
D.—Mr. Bendall’s inscription No. 2; Journey in Nepal, p. 74 f., and Plate ix.—

The charter is issued from Kailasakutabhavana (line 1). The inscription is one of an illustrious Mahdsamartha, whose name is effaced, but may with tolerable certainty be restored as Amshuvarman (l. 2). And it records the grant of two fields, for the purpose of providing for the repairs of some building. The Dataka (l. 17) is the Mahabaishhyaksha Vindusvamin. The date (l. 16) is (Harsha)-Samvat 34, prathamapau-shukladvityayam; which should answer, approximately, to the 3rd December, A.D. 639.

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

sixteen or even forty gafts before the sanakrdanti, up to the time of the sanakrdanti, and, in the case of the other sanakrdantis, from the time of the sanakrdanti, up to from ten to sixteen or even forty gafts after it. But generally, when a sanakrdanti occurs at midnight, as it did, roughly, in the present instance,—the punyadala 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 Magha sukla dasami. With other years, the given sanakrdanti cannot be brought into accordance with the given day and tithi. Thus, with Saka-Samvat 680 expired, the sanakrdanti occurred six or seven days after the given tithi, on the Purvimanta Phalguna krishna 2; with 681 expired, on the Purvimanta Phalguna krishna 13; with 683 expired, on the Purvimanta Phalguna krishna 5; with 684 expired, on Magha sukla 1; and with 685 expired, on Magha sukla 12. It is certain, therefore, that the correct English equivalent is the one obtained with Saka-Samvat 682 expired. And, taking the given Harsha year as a current year, and treating it as having the same scheme with the northern Saka year, the epoch is Saka-Samvat 527 expired, or A.D. 605-606 current; and 528 years have to be added, to convert current Harsha years into current Saka years, and 527, to convert them into expired Saka 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 4. 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 interpreted as 8, then the epoch of the era would be A.D. 602-603; and its first current year would be A.D. 603-604, for which year, as the commencement of the reign of Harshavardhana, there seems to be no authority whatever.—I should also point out that the next inscription, D. below, of Harsha-Samvat 34, refers to an intercalation of the month Pausha; and that Prof. Adams of Cambridge, and Prof. Schram of Vienna, as reported by Dr. Bühler in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 338 (see also Journey in Nepal, p. 76), obtained a mean intercalation of Pausha in A.D. 640; which would necessitate the adoption of A.D. 606-607 as the epoch. But this intercalation remains to be examined in detail; and, for the present, I have only a note by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit that, according to the verse Medhadi-sthik savitari &c. (see page 88 above, note 5), the intercalated period should be called Maghastrasha; and that, in calling it Pausha, exactly the contrary is done of the process by which we obtain Margastrasha as the name of the intercalated period that is referred to in the Kaipa grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 330 (see page 93 ff. above).—The question will, I hope, be treated more fully by Mr. Dikshit hereafter. Meanwhile, for present purposes, I adopt A.D. 605-606 as the epoch.

1 As regards the equivalent English date, however, see a remark, in the preceding note, on the indicated intercalary nature of this month Pausha.
Anśuvarman's sister Bhōgādevī, who was the wife of the Rāja-putra Sūrasenā,1 and the mother of the illustrious Bhōgavarman2 and Bhāgayādevī. It records certain orders addressed by Anśuvarman to the officials of the Western Province (paśchim-ādhikarana-vṛtītibhujah, lines 5-6; and paśchim-ādhikarana, line 14), in connection with three līnga forms of the god Īśvara or Śiva. The Dātaka is the Yuvardja Udayādevā.3 The date (l. 22) is (Harsha)-Śaṅvat 39, Vaiśākha-śukla-diva-daśamāṃ; 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 Anśuvarman (line 2), a prāndli or 'conduit' was caused to be built by the Vārtha4 Viśuvarman, for the increase of his father's religious merit. The date (l. 1) is (Harsha)-Śaṅvat 44 or 45, Jyesthā-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 tillamaka or 'water-course,' which had been constructed by the Bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārāja-dhīrāja, the glorious Anśuvarman (l. 6 f.), was made over by Jishnugupta to Chandravarman, to be repaired; &c. The Dātaka (l. 21) is the Yuvardja, the illustrious Viśuṇghuṣṭa. The date (l. 21) is (Harsha)-Śaṅvat 48, Kāṛttika-śukla-2; answering, approximately, to the 30th September, A.D. 653.—Lines 1 and 2 of this inscription mention Mānagriha,5 and, in connection with it, the Bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārāja Dhruvādeva; but the passage is much mutilated, and does not in itself suffice to explain the connection between Dhruvādeva and Jishnugupta.6

1 The original is somewhat damaged, but it has undoubtedly ṣ in the first akṣara of this name; not ś 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 Sūrasenā family published by him in the Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 34 ff. But very probably ś is the more correct spelling; especially as line 8 of the present inscription mentions the līnga named Śrābhbhāgavara.

2 See page 177 above, note 4.

3 The dates seem to prevent the identification of this person with the Udayādeva of the Thākurī family, mentioned in inscription R. below.—He was perhaps a Lichchhavi, as suggested by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. If so, in this Lichchhavi Dātaka of a Thākurī charter, we have an instance parallel to the Thākurī Dātaka of a Lichchhavi 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 vṛtītibhuj of inscription E. above; and that the correct form is vṛtta (with the double ṣ) 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 shew 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 Indraj’s inscription No. 10; Ind. Ant., Vol. IX. p. 173 t.—The charter is issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana (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 Mahātāmanuṭa, the illustrious dēva. 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 Bhattāraka and Mahārāja, the illustrious Dhruvadēva, the banner of the Lichchhavikula. Between mānagriha and dīta-chittra 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 ṭa) is distinct enough; and this, and the whole construction, shows that we have here,—not Mānagrihā, the formal ablative of issue,—but the base Mānagriha, as the first member of a compound, ending with santi, which qualifies sīr-Dhruvadēva, and means something like “who belonged to a lineage which had its thoughts [gladdened by residing] at Mānagriha.” As regards the connection between Dhruvadēva and Jishnugupta,—in line 5, after sīr-Dhruvadēva, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj read purassārē sakala, and interpreted the passage as shewing that Jishnugupta acknowledged Dhruvadēva 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. But, 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 Dhruvadēva, &c. And the expression Dhruvadēva-purassara-sakalajana is analogous in its purport to the sa-nripatēr-ṣjagatō (hitaya), “(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 Indraj’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 Nepal, page 77 ff. and Plate x.—The charter is issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana (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 Bhattāraka, the Yuvardāja Skandadēva. The date (l. 29) is (Harsha)-Saṅvats 82, Bhādrapada-ṣukla-divā . . . . . ; which has its equivalent in the month of August, A.D. 687.

In the original rubbing, irt is very distinct at the beginning of line 14. Two akṣharas are illegible between it and dēvaṇa.
K.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajii's inscription No. 1; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.—This furnishes the following short genealogy:—**Vrishadëva** (line 8)—his son **Sånkara-dëva** (l. 12), with a reference in lines 9 and 10 to other sons, who, however, are not mentioned by name;—Sånkara's son, **Dharmadëva** (l. 16), who with justice [governed] a greater hereditary kingdom (kula-kram-ágatam . . . . . . . . . rójjan mahal, line 17), and whose wife was Rójjavati;—and Dharmadëva's son **Mánadëva** (l. 20), who was appointed to reign by his father's will. The inscription then records that Mánadëva made an expedition to the East, and reduced to obedience some "roguish," ill-behaved, or rebellious Såmantas there; and then went back to the West, where also he heard of misdoings on the part of a Såmanta. Here, unfortunately, the available part of the inscription terminates, the rest being buried underground. The date (l. 1 f.) is (Gupta)-Saññvat 386, Jyêshthâ-mâsa-şukla-pakshë pratipadi 1 Róhisp-nakshatra-yukte chandramasi mûhûrte prañastâ-Bhiñjû; 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 Kailåsakûtâbhavana (line 1). The inscription is one of the Paramabhatâdharma and Mahârijadhiraja, the glorious Sivadëva II. (l. 3). The Dàtaka (l. 23) is the Râjaputra Jayadëva. The date (l. 23) is (Harsha)-Saññvat 119, Phálguna-şukla-divâ-daśamâyam; 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' Mánadëva (line 1), a certain Jayavarman erected a linga named Jayësvara, for the welfare of the world, (i.e. of all the people), together with the king,¹ and endowed it with a permanent endowment.² 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.³ 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 Paramabhatâdharma and Mahârijadhiraja, the name was probably that of Sivadëva II., as in inscription L. above; and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajii filled up the lacuna in that way. This is a Buddhist inscription. The Dâtaka (line 36) is the Bhatâdharma, the illustrious, or perhaps the venerable, Sivadëva. The date (l. 37) is somewhat doubtful;⁴ but

¹ sa-ū-patë-ra-jagatë hi-tāvë; line 2.
² akshaya-nītë; line 2.
³ I have not seen the rubbing of this inscription.
⁴ In Såka-Saññvat 672 current, or 671 expired, the month Jyêshthâ was intercalary (see Indian Eras, 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 Såka-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)-Saṁvat 143, Jyaṁśṭha-śukla-divā-trayōdasa-yām; 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; \textit{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 \textit{Dīṭaka} (line 17) is the \textit{Yuvārāja Vijaya-deva}. The date (l. 17) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 145, Paśāra-śukla-divā-trītyāyām; answering, approximately, to the 6th December, A.D. 750.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit, taking Vijaya-deva as a “vicarious” name of Jayadeva II., allotted the inscription, chiefly on this account, to Śiḍvēva II. As far as the date goes, the inscription may be one either of him, or of \textit{Jayadeva II}. But Vijaya-deva cannot be a “vicarious” name of Jayadeva 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 \textit{Vaiśādvalī}, as Vasantadēva; and Jayadeva I. of R. line 8, perhaps appears in the \textit{Vaiśādvalī} as Jayavarman. But even this is rare enough. And, apart from the substitution of \textit{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 Kauṭhēnī grant\footnote{\textit{Ind. Ant.} Vol XVI. p. 23.} of the Western Chālukya king Vikramadītiya V., of Śaka-Saṁvat 930, where the Daśavarman of other inscriptions is called Yaśōvarman. But that instance is not a very satisfactory one.\footnote{See \textit{id.} p. 19 f.} 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 Śiḍvēva II., then Vijaya-deva was another son of his; if, as seems to me more probable, it is one of Jayadeva II., then Vijaya-deva was a son of the last-mentioned person.

P.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit’s inscription No. 3; \textit{Ind. Ant.} Vol IX. p. 167.—The charter is issued from \textit{Mānagriha} (line 1). The inscription is one of the \textit{Mahārāja}, the illustrious \textit{Vasantasēna}.\footnote{In inscription R. below, line 10, he is called Vasantadēva.} The \textit{Dīṭaka} (l. 21) is the \textit{Sarvaśaṇḍhaṇyaka} and \textit{Mahāpratītiḥaka} Rāvīgupta. The date (l. 20 f.) is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 435, Aśvayuji śukla-divā-1; answering, approximately, to the 23rd September, A.D. 754.

Q.—Mr. Bendall’s inscription No. 4; \textit{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 \textit{Pāṭehaka} or Committee. The date (line 1) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 151, Vaiśākha-śukla-dvītyāyām; answering, approximately, to the 8th April, A.D. 756.

R.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit’s inscription No. 15; \textit{Ind. Ant.} Vol IX. p. 178 ff.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. The inscription, which gives a
good deal of genealogical information, to be commented on below, is one of Jayadeva II. (line 14), who also had the second name or biruda of Parachakrakamā (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 Vatsadēvi. The date (l. 35) is (Harsha)-Sanvat 153, Kārttika-sukla-navamyām; 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 Dīlaka (line 17) is the Rājaputra Vikramasēna. The date (l. 18) is (Gupta)-Sanvat 535, Śrāvaṇa-sukla-divā-saptamyām; 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 Amśuvarman, 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 Gōlmādhitōl inscription, furnished the key-note for the interpretation of the whole matter. For, mentioning Amśuvarman as the contemporary of Śivadeva 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. 635-36, which is in the closest possible accordance with the first recorded date of Amśuvarman, 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 Nēpāl Vāṃśāvali states that Vikramāditya came to Nēpāl, 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 Nēpāl in A.D. 880. But the statement of the Vāṃśāvali refers to the time of the predecessor of Amśuvarman; 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)-Saṃvat 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 Nēpāl,—are to be found in his erroneous treatment of R., the inscription of Jayadēva II. of (Harsha)-Saṃvat 153.

Starting with a mythological genealogy, this inscription carries the descent from the god Brahman (line 3), through Śūrya or the Sun,² Manu, Ikshvāku, and others, down to Raghu, Aja, and Daśaratha (l. 6). After Daśaratha, there were eight kings, in linear succession of sons and sons' sons, who are passed over unnamed; and then there was the illustrious Lichchhavi (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;”—svachchhaḥ Lichchhavi-nāma vi(bh)rād=aparam vaṁśah, (l. 7). Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his lithograph, text, and translation, gave aparād vaṁśah “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 (vaṁśah), “another race, a new race.” This verse, therefore, is of some interest, in shewing that,—in addition to the appellation of Lichchhavāṃśa or Lichchhavānkalikula, 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 another⁴ king, the famous

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 421 f.
² In accordance with this, the Vaiṣṇāvali enters the historical Lichchhavis of this inscription as members of a Śūryanāyikā family.
³ But the number was probably twelve, as kito=dpa[rdn=dvadasa] seems to suit best the metre and such traces as are discernible in the rubbing.
⁴ i.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.
⁵ As no previous Jayadēva, with whom 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 Indraji 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, Sarhkaradeva;—his son, Dharmadeva;—his son, Mānadēvā (l. 10);—his son, Mahidēvā;—and his son, Vasantadēvā. The first four of these names have already been made known by inscription K. above; and the sixth, in the form of Vasanta-sēna, 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 Lichhavi-kūla.

Then follows, in lines 10 and 11, the eleventh verse, which was entirely misunderstood by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and which, through that misunderstanding, led to the erroneous reference to the larger dates of his inscriptions to the Vikrama era. He read this verse—aṣy-antaré-py-Udayadēva iti kshitiśaj-jātās-trayōdaśa [tata]ś-cha Narēndradēvāh mān-ōmata nata-samasta-narēndra-mauli-mālā-rajō-nikara-pāṁsula-pādapiṭhāḥ; and translated—"afterwards came thirteen (rulers), sprung from king Udayadēva (l. 10), and then Narēndradēvā (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 pāṁsula, not pāṁsula, 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, aṣy-antarē does not mean 'afterwards,' or 'after him.' The literal meaning of antara is 'an interval;' and in anantaram 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. Aṣy-antarē can only mean "in an interval of this;" and, supplying vaisāsya, from the vaisāh of line 7, in apposition with aṣya, 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 Indraji's reading of kshitiśaj-jātās cannot be maintained. In the two syllables jātās, the rubbing shews distinctly the double j, of which, in the lithograph, the lower one is only sketched in faintly, as if it were doubt-

ful; but the second is as distinctly ta, not ̆tā, 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-obliterated ̆, and that the stroke for ̆, for which in fact there is no room, never was engraved here. The reading of the original, in short, is jātas, the nominative singular; not jādās, the nominative plural. This is the first objection to the more serious error, the introduction of trayōdasā, 'thirteen,' immediately after jātas. The second is, that, of the six following aksharas which are read s-trayōdasā [tata], the only parts that can be pronounced 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 and recognisable; and, — with the exception that the first probably had a t below the s; and that the second looks more like thā (thāda), or dā (tadd), or pō (tapō), 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 trayōdasā [tata]-cha is, that, in the passage, as thus read, there is no such word as vyantīya, vihāya, hitīya, or tyakīya, "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 lacunā 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 Narendradēva; and that, so far from thirteen rulers having intervened between him and Udayadēva, he was the son of Udayadēva.

Narendradēva's son was Śivadēva II. (line 12), who married Vatsadēvi, of the family of the Maukhāris who abounded in strength of arm,¹ the daughter of the illustrious Bhāgavarmā, and the daughter of "the great" Ādityaśena, 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, Ödra, &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. Bhagwanal Indrāji's acceptance of Udayadēva as the successor of Vasantadēva, and insertion of thirteen rulers between him and Narendradēva, led of necessity to the reference of the dates for Manadēva 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 Māna-

¹ The original has dēvī vā(ha)nu(ma)lī-ādhya-Maukhari-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 that era would meet them. For, on the Vikrama-Saṅvat theory, Mānadeva’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 Mānadeva’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 Mānadeva, 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 Amśuvarman; and, though not his direct lineal descendants, belonged, like him, to the family which in the Vamsāvali is called the Tākhuri 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 Amśuvarman; 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 Śūryavamśi 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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Lichhavi or Śakyavamsi Family of Mānagriha.</th>
<th>The Thakuri Family of Kailāsakūṭabhavana.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Jishnugupta.—A.D. 653.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Names not recorded in the inscription.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 355-630.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śivadēva I., Mahārāja.—A.D. 635.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhruvadēva, Mahārāja.—A.D. 653.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Śankaradēva, son of preceding.—About A.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>655-680.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Dharmandēva, son of preceding.—About A.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>680-704.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Mahādēva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 733-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>753.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Vasantasena, or Vasantadēva, Mahārāja, son of preceding.—A.D. 754.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udjayadēva.—About A.D. 675-700.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narāndradēva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 700-724.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śivadēva II., Mahārāja, and afterwards Mahārāja, A.D. 635, 639, 644, and 649 or 650.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayadēva I, Rāja, son of preceding.—A.D. 750 (?) and 758.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jishnugupta, in A.D. 653 by Jishnugupta, in A.D. 725 and 748 (?) by Śivadēva II., and in A.D. 750 (?) and 758 by Jayadēva II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Śivadēva I., (in A.D. 653 by Dhruvadēva), in A.D. 705 and 732-33 by Mānandēva, and in A.D. 754 by Vasantasena 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 Vamāvali 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), 639, 644, and 649 or 650, by Amāsvarman, in A.D. 653 by Jishnugupta, in A.D. 725 and 748 (?) by Śivadēva 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 Khāṭmāṇḍu 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 Śivadēva 1.
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 Anśuvarman, 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 Sāman-tns there, and then returning to the west, it seems pretty clear that the Lichchhavikula or Sūryavanśi 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 Anśuvarman as if he was at first the feudatory of Śivadēva I. There is, however, nothing in the inscriptions to support this. The inscriptions of Śivadēva I., it is true, record acts that were done by him "on the advice," or "at the request," of Anśuvarman; but this expression, though often used in respect of feudatories and officials, does not of necessity imply any state of subordination. And, whereas Śivadēva I. uses in respect of himself only the feudatory title of Mahārāja, in his own inscriptions he allotts to Anśuvarman the equal title of Mahādsamanta; not simply Sāmanta, as represented almost throughout by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. Śivadēva I. and Anśuvarman were only co-ordinate feudatories of a paramount sovereign, viz. Harshavardhana of Kanauj. During the time when Anśuvarman was a Mahārdādhirāja 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 srī, "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 Harshavardhana; when, as Matwan-lin tells us, the kingdom of Kanauj fell into a state of anarchy, and the minister Na-fo-ti-a-la-na-shun usurped the supreme power. And Anśuvarman 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 Dhruvadēva and Jishnugupta, it is possible that the Thākuri family may to a certain extent have acknowledged the Lichchhavis as superior to them. But Śivadēva 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 Jayadēva II. in this inscription of no title but that of Rāja (line 14), with the epithet srī, '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 Śivadēva I. and Jishnugupta.
In the Lichchhavi family, the earliest name for which we have as yet a definite date, is that of Sivadeva I., A.D. 635. And either Sivavriddhivarman, No. 14 in the Varnashvari list of the Suryavamshi family, or Sivavaranvarman, No. 16 in the same, seems to be intended for him. The next name is that of Dhruvadeva, A.D. 653, who is not given or represented in the Varnashvari. The connection between Sivadeva I. and Dhruvadeva, 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 Vasantadeva and his ancestors. Their contemporaries of the Thakuri family were respectively Anshuvarman 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 In-rajji) by Vrishadeva, who was the contemporary of Sivadeva I.; and represented, as far as definite dates go, by Mânadeva in A.D. 705 and 732-33 (not A.D. 329 and 356), and by Vasantasena or Vasantadeva in A.D. 754 (not A.D. 378). The six names from Vrishadeva to Vasantasena, are given correctly in the Varnashvari, as Nos. 18 to 23 of the Suryavamshi family. If inscription R. is to be accepted throughout, this branch of the family was founded by Jayadeva I. He is doubtless the person who is intended by Jayavarman, No. 3 in the Varnashvari list of the Suryavamshi family. And, calculating back fifteen generations, at the average rate of twenty-five years, from Mânadeva, whose generation is represented by his recorded dates, we have for Jayadeva I. the initial date of about A.D. 330 (not A.D. 1). But, if Vrishadeva was a direct lineal descendant of Jayadeva 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 Jayadeva 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 Anshuvarman, with the extreme dates of A.D. 635 and 649 or 650; and the next is that of Jishnugupta, A.D. 653. Anshuvarman is mentioned in the Varnashvari, 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 Udayadeva (about A.D. 675, not A.D. 400) and his descendants, who, from there being no mention of Anshuvarman and Jishnugupta in inscription R., plainly belonged to another branch of the family. Udayadeva was contemporaneous with Dh: adeva of the Lichchhavi family; he is not mentioned in the Varnashvari, being certainly not the Udayadevavarman, No. 24 in the Varnashvari list of the Suryavamshi family. His son, Narêndradèva, is possibly the person intended by Narêndradèva, No. 7 in the Varnashvari list of the Thakuri family. His son, Sivadeva II., A.D. 725 and 748 (?), is not mentioned in the Varnashvari. His son, Jayadeva II., A.D. 750 (?) and 758, is possibly the person intended by Jayadeva, No. 11 in the Varnashvari 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Kanarese</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Kanarese</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ए</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>इ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ई</td>
<td>ui</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ई</td>
<td>ui</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उ</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>उ</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऊ</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ऊ</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऋ</td>
<td>lri</td>
<td>lri</td>
<td>ऋ</td>
<td>lri</td>
<td>lri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ए</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऑ</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ऑ</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>औ</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>औ</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विसर्ग</td>
<td>Visarga</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>विसर्ग</td>
<td>Visarga</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तिथिमूल्य, अर्थात् विसर्ग बीती</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>तिथिमूल्य, अर्थात् विसर्ग बीती</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उपचारमूल्य, अर्थात् विसर्ग बीती</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>उपचारमूल्य, अर्थात् विसर्ग बीती</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अनुवृद्ध</td>
<td>Anuvrata</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>अनुवृद्ध</td>
<td>Anuvrata</td>
<td>र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अनुद्विप्त</td>
<td>Anundvipat</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>अनुद्विप्त</td>
<td>Anundvipat</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इ</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>इ</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td>kha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ई</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>ई</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उ</td>
<td>gha</td>
<td>gha</td>
<td>उ</td>
<td>gha</td>
<td>gha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऊ</td>
<td>ha (net)</td>
<td>ha (net)</td>
<td>ऊ</td>
<td>ha (net)</td>
<td>ha (net)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऋ</td>
<td>cha (ca)</td>
<td>cha (ca)</td>
<td>ऋ</td>
<td>cha (ca)</td>
<td>cha (ca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>chha (cha)</td>
<td>chha (cha)</td>
<td>ओ</td>
<td>chha (cha)</td>
<td>chha (cha)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 the omission of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules. When 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 the double hyphen 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 oldest 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 samādi 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 palaeographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial a, is but rarely to be met within 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 shewn 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 akṣara or syllable.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

No. i; PLATE I.

ALLAHABAD, POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SÁMUDRAGUPTA.

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 Sāmhārikā, 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 dhakshāṇa isva bhuvaḥ bdhur-ayam-učchhṛitraḥ stambhah, "this lofty column (is) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming (the fame of Samudragupta)," he read rīmā-charmaṇāḥ ravi-bhuvaḥ bdhur-ayam-učchhṛitraḥ stambhah, 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 1837, 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.
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 Ashoka 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, it was first set up at the ancient Kausambi, now represented by the village of Kosam on the left bank of the Jumna, 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 Muslim kings of Delhi, just as the two Ashoka columns now at Delhi were brought there from original positions at Mêrath and in the Siwalik hills. The points in favour of the latter supposition are (1) that the column contains a short Ashoka edict addressed to the rulers of Kausambi; and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang makes no mention of this column in his account of Pa-lo-ye-kia, i.e. Prayâga or Allahabad.

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' 0" 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

---

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. Bhai 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 Karâ, the chief town of the Karâ Pargâ in the Manjhanpur or Manjhandpur tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 20' N.; Long. 81° 37' E.

4 *Corp. Insr. Indic.* Vol. I. pp. 39, 116, 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. 230 ff.; Stanislas Julien's *Huen Tsang*, Vol. II. p. 276 ff.—At the same time, it must be noted that Huen Tsang also makes no mention of any such column in his immediately following account of Kiao-shang-mi or Kausambi.
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 \( \frac{1}{15} \) 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 Pañjab. 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,\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) 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 \textit{mahārāja} 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

\(^1\) 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 \textit{mahārājasya} 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 \textit{Aśoka} period. This particular form was not confined, however, to the Indo-Scythian records. We have it, in all its angularity, in the word \textit{sūrd} in the Sākā pillar inscription, No. 73 below, Plate xliiiA.; and, with very little modification, in the early inscriptions from Nāsik and that neighbourhood published in the \textit{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 Sākā pillar inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 5 below, Plate iiiB., \textit{e.g.} in \textit{mahāvihārī}, line 1; the \textit{Gaṅgadhar} inscription of Visvavarman, No. 17 below, Plate x., \textit{e.g.} in \textit{apparitimāna}, line 4; and the \textit{Mandaśār} inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xi., \textit{e.g.} in \textit{bhavanam=idam=uddṛ hi}, 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 \textit{Ērag} inscription of Samudragupta, No. 2 below, Plate iiA., \textit{e.g.} in \textit{samara}, line 21; and throughout the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB., \textit{e.g.} in \textit{mahārājja}, at the beginning of line 2.—The \( m \) of the inscription now under notice must also be simply a development of the \textit{Aśoka} \( m \), arrived at by forming the left part of the letter in a different way, \textit{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, \textit{mahārājja}, 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, 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 \textit{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 Ėrāṇ 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 Vākṣṭaka Alphabet, and which, in addition to the very distinctive form of m, has all the leading characteristics of the southern alphabets. The Sāñchi inscription of Chandragupta II., again, No. 5 below, Plate iiiB., is distinctly in the characters of the southern alphabets. And the Junāgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta is in a somewhat later modification of the Saurāśṭra or Kāṭhīawād alphabet, exhibited with all its leading characteristics in the inscription of Rudradāman, on the same rock, of which we have a lithograph in the *ArchaoL. Suru. 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 palaeography, 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 ɗ, exhibited in *krīḍāt*, line 14, *daṇḍa*, line 22, and *vṛīḍā*, line 27; and the lingual dh, exhibited in *vṛūḍhā*, line 18. On the other hand, in the ʃ which occurs in *vṛūḍhī*, line 8, *kaunḍāka* for *kairalaka*, line 19, *sainhālāka*, line 23, and *laṛyīha*, 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 *aṭr*, 'a bee,' in line 1 of the Tusām rock inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xIA. In *sōbdh*, line 18, *viśnugōpa*, line 19, and *gaś-tata*, line 25, the vowel ə is formed in rather a peculiar way, which, so far as the right-hand stroke is concerned, is followed also in the vowel ɗ as attached to the same consonants, *e.g.* in *śāsana*, lines 23 and 24, and *gaṇam*, 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 *vīryya*, 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 *marydayd*, line 6-7, and *kuryd*, line 12, of the Majhgawād plates of the *Mahārājā* 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 *vakrāna*, line 30; (2) the doubling of dh (by d, as required by the rules), in conjunction with a following y and v, in *addhēya*, line 16, and *sādhāv-asadhā*, line 25; and (3) the use of the southern l, 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 Bihār, on the Ganges; the original city, Pātaliputra itself, stood on the opposite south bank of the river, at the place where, in ancient times, the Śoṅ used to flow into it. The antiquity of the name Kusumapura is vouched for by Hiuen Tsiang, who speaks of the city under both names.—K'ū-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 Hiang-hu-kong-sh'ing, 'city or royal precinct of the scented flower;' and Po-ch'a-li-su-ch'ing, 'the city of Pātaliputra.' 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 Daśajmdraśakhita 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 Pātaliputra. (2) Though Pātaliputra 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) Hiuen Tsiang mentions another ancient Kusumapura,—for which the synonym Pushpapura would be equally acceptable,—far distant, and quite distinct, from Pātaliputra. He tells us that the old capital of Kanyākubja, 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 Kanyākubja, seems to indicate that he understood Kusumapura to be the ancient name of the very site which, in his time, was called Kanyākubja. 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 Allahābād or at Kauśāmbi, 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

---

2 I exclude intentionally, of course, the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.
3 The Udayagiri cave inscription, No. 6 below, Plate ivA. 1. 4; and the Gadhwā inscription of the year 88, No. 7, Plate ivB. 1. 12.
made the point quite clear. As it is, we must look for the clue in the identification of the Kôta 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. [Yah] kulyaih svai .......... atasa
2. ya(?)-syai(?)
4. sphā(?)-ra-dva(?)
7. [Ā]jryyā h-ity-upaguhya bhāva-piśuṣunair-uttarppitai rōmahīḥ sabhyēś-
   dhichhvasitiśesu tulyakulaśaj-mān-ānān-ōdviksh[a]h
8. sn[e]-ha-vyālūtiśena bāspha-guruṇa tattv-ēkṣināḥ chakshushā yaḥ pitr-
9. [Dri]ṣṭihatvā karmmaṇy-anēkān-amaṇuja-saṅrisānād abhūtu-ōdviṅhina-harsha
   bh[a*]vair-āsvādaya[=-----=-----=-----=-----] [kē]chit
10. vṛṛyā-ōttaptās-cha kēcchh-čchharaṃ-upagata yasya vritte prāmē-
11. Sāngrāmdshuḥ svā-bhuja-vijitā nityam-uchch-āpakārāḥ svāhā-śvō māna-
    pra[=-----=-----=-----=-----]
12. tōsh-ōttuṅgaiḥ sphuta-bahu-rasa-sūhe--phullai-mmanaōbhīḥ paśchāttāparām
13. Udveṅ-ōdita-bāhu-vṛṛya-ṛbhasā-ēkēna yēna kshaṇād-unmāy-Āchyuta-
    Nāgasēna-g[=-----=-----=-----=-----=-----]
14. daṅḍār-grāhayaṭ-āiva Kōtā-kula-jām Āuha-āhvayē kṛdātā śṛyṛē
    nē[=-----=-----=-----=-----]=tata[=-----=-----=-----=-----] [11*] [7]
15. Dharmaṇa-prāchīra-bandhāḥ šaśi-kara-śuṣhayāḥ krttayaḥ sa-pratāṇā vaidu-
    shyaṃ tattva-bhedā praśama[=-----=-----]=jukū[=-----]=ky k[?][=-----]=t[=-----]=yārthām[?]
16. addhyēyāḥ sūkta-mārggaḥ kavi-mati-vibhav-ōtśaraṇām ch-āpi kāvyāṃ ko nu
17. Tasya vividha-sama-ra-śat-avaraṇa-dakshasya svā-bhuja-bala-parakkram-aikā-
    bandhoḥ parākkram-āṅkṣya paraśu-śara-śaṅku-āṅkṣ-āṅkṣ-āṅkṣ-āṅkṣ-āṅkṣ-āṅkṣ-

---

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, Sragdhaharā.
4 Metre, Sragdhaharā.
5 Metre, Sragdhaharā.
6 Metre, Sragdhaharā.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 1, PLATE I.

1. Read kairofaka, for which the word in the text is obviously a mistake. — The text, as it stands, would give "the country, or city, of Kurala;" but, though kurala 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. Keraja, 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 kauralaka, by mistake for kairofaka, through a stroke on the right of the top of the k in kaur 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 Pishatpura, which is the modern Pitapuram of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17° 6'; Long. 80° 18'), the chief town of the Pitapuram Zamindar or Estate, twelve miles north by east of 'Cocanada' in the Godavari District in the Madras Presidency,—the syllables mahendragiri suggest at once a reference to the famous Mahendra-mountain in the Gajam District, among the Eastern Ghats, the "Mahendragiri" of maps (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103; Lat. 18° 58' N.; Long. 80° 36' E.), which is mentioned in other early inscriptions; for instance, as Mahendralcha, in lines 1 and 3 of the two 'Chicacole' grants of the Mahatra Indravarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. pp. 120, 123). And this tempts us to divide the passage thus, Pishatpura-Mahendragiri-Kauftdra-Kauftdra-Svamidatta, and to translate "Svamidatta of Pishatpura and of Kottura on Mahendragiri." — Another rendering that might suggest itself is "Svamidatta of Pishatpura, Mahendragiri, and Kottura," which, in fact, except in respect of his mistake of Kudura, for Kouttura, was adopted by Dr. H. Dale (Jour. As. B. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. excviii.) But this is not admissible, because it would require mahendragirika in the text, instead of mahendragiri; 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 Kottura (Kottura), which is a Dravidian name of frequent occurrence, Oottu, for which I can find no authority at all, or Hottura (if we assume an omission of the initial h), which occurs, but not in connection with any place of importance.—If mahendragiri is to be taken as one word, and 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 Kottura on almost the same range of hills as that to which the Mahendragiri belongs; viz. the 'Kailaskotta and Kylascttah' of the map (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 107; Lat. 17° 14'; Long. 83° 36' E.), which represents Kailasa-Kotta or Kailasa-Kottura, and seems to be a place of importance. — But the objection to this interpretation is, that none of the other kings' names, mentioned in this inscription, are coupled with more than one locality. This leads us to connect Svamidatta with Kottura only, and to find the name of another king in connection with Pishatpura. — The first inclination then might be, to divide the text thus, Paishatpura-Mahendragiri-Kauftdra-Kauftdra-Svamidatta; and to translate, "Mahendragiri of Pishatpura, and Svamidatta of Kottura." But, though girı or gir is a very common termination of proper names in the present day, my experience is, that it is used only as a religious title, and is affixed only to the names of Gods; and even among the Gokhals (see H. H. Wilkins' Dictionary, s. v. girı; and Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. girı). I think, therefore, that in the instance, it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suitable name.—I accordingly divide this passage thus, Paishatpura-Mahendragiri-Kauftdra-Kauftdra-Svamidatta; and translate, "Mahendra of Pishatpura, and Svamidatta of Kottura on the hill." — At any rate, there is no Kauftdra-Kauftdra; or "Kottura on the hill," may either be found in the
22 Samatata-Davaka-Kamaropa-Nepala-Karttipuradi-pratyaanta-nish

Mmala-Arjunayana Vaubhya-Madra-Ahira-Pranjuna-S

nika-Kaka-Kharapakik-advibhisa sarvavakaranad-adhakaranapragamana-

23 paritoshita-prachanda-sasanasya aneka-bhrastha-ravishthana-ravajana-avishthath

pan-odbhata-nikibhi-bhuvana-vichara-santa-yasash Daivaputra-Shah

Shahhunashahi-Saka-Munindai Samihajal-advibhischa

24 sarvav-dvipa-avisibhir-armanivdana-kanyopayanadana-gurutmadhata-savishyabhub

kati-sasanayachan-ady-upaya-sevaka-krita-bahu-vrtya-prassaranai-bandhasya

pri pri thiyyam advaratryasya

25 sucharita-sat-dhakpit-aneka-guna-gan-otsukthibhi-charata-tala-pramrish-anya-nara-

pati-krtte svadh-asaadh-odya-prala-prayet-pruluprasa-svaccya-bhakti-

avantana-matra-graha-vidhuhrdayasya-anuka-pavatv-aneka-go-sata-sahasra-prad

dayinah

26 kripa-din-anath-ataura-jan-odhara-sas(ma)trd Luksh-ady-upagata-manan sa-

samiddhasya vigravatvata lok-anugrahasya Dhanada-Varna-Endr-Antaka-

sasnyava-svabhajala-vijit-aneka-narapatyabhiravat-prayarpamata-nitya-uviprit-

aayuktapurashasya

27 niista-vidagdha-mati-gandharvav-lajitav-vridita-tridasapiguru-Tumburu-Narah-

adhar-vvidvaj-yan-papathy-aneka-kavya-kkriyabhipravishthitha-kaviraja-abadasya

suchira-stotavany-anek-adhutvada-charitasya

28 loka-samaya-kkriyuvanidhdana-matra-manusyasya loka-dharmdo-dvaya maharan-

ja-sr-Gupta-prapaturasya maharaja-sr-Ghatottkacha-paurasya maharaja-

rardhiraja-sr-Chandragupta-putrasya

29 Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya mahadevyam Kumarddevyam-utsaha(tpa)mansya

maharadjahruraja-sr-Samudraguptasya sarvaprameityavaya-janit-odya-

vyapta-nikhilavamitali-krttim-itrasisapati-

Kailasa-Kottja, mentioned by me above; or, Kotthar (from Kotthapura) being a very common Dravidian name, may be looked for in any Kotthar of note, in a mountainous part of Southern India, e.g possibly Kotthar in the 'Coimbatore' District, at the foot of one of the passes in the 'Anaimalais' 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 vizara 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 this name was not simply Gupta, as it is usually accepted, but Sr Gupta, which form he has used throughout; i.e. that, in this instance, sri is an integral part of the name, not the honorific prefix. His grounds for the opinion are (1) that the past participle gupta, 'protected,' can hardly stand alone for a proper name, whereas Sr Gupta, 'protected by the (goddess) Sr or Lakshmi,' would be a complete name, giving a suitable meaning; and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim Li-ting (in India from about A.D. 67 to 693) speaks of a king or Mahardaja called Sr Gupta, who preceded his time by about five hundred years (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII, p. 571; Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 118; and who has been identified b some with the founder of the Gupta family.—In the instance quoted just above, SrGupta occurs as the name of a precurser of Buddha (Beal's Buddhist Rec. West. World. Vol. I. p. 151 f.); as the name of a Jain saint (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 350); and as the name of a merchant (Nepali inscription, No. 13, line 14; id. Vol. IX. p. 1261). But, with regard to the present passage, I have to point out (1) that, as it is now certain that the engraver was the Early Guptas commenced A.D. 319-50, the Mahardaja Sr Gupta, mentioned by li-ting and referred by him to about A.D. 175, cannot be identified with the founder of the Early Gupta family, who lived in
the fourth century A.D. in the well-known name of the Buddhist saint Upagupta (e.g. *Buddh. Rec. West. Wt.* i. 182; Vol. II. pp. 88, 93, 227), we have a precisely similar instance of a past participation, a noun, "hidden, concealed," standing by itself as a proper name; as also, in its feminine form, Upaga,

the Aśoka seal of Śravavarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA. (3) that, when *ari* is an integral part of a proper name of importance, it was customary to emphasise it and prevent the possibility of doubt, by inserting the honorific prefix before it; thus: *mahādāyaḥ* *ari-Śrīrājajit-ārya-śrīrājajit-ārya-śrīrājajit-ārya*- (in line 2 of the Dēś-Bārānārāk inscription of [It]wagupta II., No. 45 below, Plate xxixB.; *ari-Śrīpaṭipatīyaḥ* *purī*; "at the famous city of Śrīpatī"), in verse in line 6 of the Byāna inscription of Vikrama-Sanhvat 1100 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 10); and *ari-Śrīpaṭipatāyaḥ*; "at the famous Śrīpatī," in prose in the Byāna inscription of Vikrama-Sanhvat 1503 (id. Vol. XV. p. 239). The analogy would require here the reading of *gāndhāra-ari-Śrīgupta-prapoutrasya;* which, however, does not occur in the Early Gupta inscriptions. And (4) the word *gupta* does not appear at all in the name of Gāndhārika 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 full name.—There is, therefore, no objection, but on the contrary every reason, to read the present name as simply Gupta. The possibility remains, however, of its being an abbreviation of some fuller original name, other than Śrīgupta. And on this point I will produce here a note with which Dr. Bühler has favoured me:—I should say the name of the founder of the family was Gupta, not Śrīgupta in the sense of *śriya gupta* "(protected by the goddess Śrī). The name Rakshita occurs repeatedly among Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists; and means the same thing. The origin of such names as Datta, Gupta, Rakshita, &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 practice is alluded to by *Kātyayana,* in a *Vārttika* on *Pāṇini.* 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 "ā; thus, the feminine form of *Dvādattaka* is *Dvādatakkā;* but, if Dēvaka is substituted for "Dvādattaka, then the feminine is to be Dēvākā, not Dēvikā. The second shortening also is common; thus, we have *nākkī* for *mrīghanākkī, 'musk;* tāla for karīdēnī, a kind of tree; *vādī* for "khāthāpī, 'the post of a threshing-floor;' and *Bhāmā* for *Satyabhāmā,* 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 *Śrīgupta* for Dēvagupta in line 11 of the Bilsad 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. *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5, and p. 173;—of *Saumitra* and *Kumāra,* for Chandragupta II. and Kumāragupta, in the same series;—of *Vikram and Mahendrā,

for their full titles Vikramaditya and Mahendra-

bītya, illustrated partly in the same series, and partly in Kumāragupta's silver coins (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 66);—of *Sādhu* and Ananta, for *Sādhuvarman* and *Antavanvarman,* in the *Bādar* and *Nājikunj* Hill inscriptions, No. 48 below, Plate xxxB. ll. i, 4, 5, and No. 49, Plate xxxA. ll. 1, 8;—of *Kūkustha* and *Mrigā* for *Kūkusthavarman* and *Mrigēśavarman* in one of the Hālī grants (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 28, ll. 3, 4);—of Harṣa, for Harśavarman of Kanauj, e.g. in the Kauṭāṃ grant of Vikramaditya V. (id. Vol. XVI. p. 22, l. 26);—of Vikrama, for the Western Chañukya king Vikramaditya VI., e.g. in one of the Narēgal inscriptions (Jour. Bo. Br. R. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 226, l. 24);—and of Padma and Śrīra, for Padmapāla and Śrīrāpāla, in the Gwalior inscription of Mahāpāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 36 ff., ll. 1, 9, 22, 38.)

This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
Khadyapatikasya mahadanda’nyaaka-Dhruvabhuti—putrasya sandhivigrahastu
kumaramatya-mahadanda’nyaka—Harishena sarva-bhuta-hita-sukha
astu (II)

Anushithitam cha paramabhattarakad-pand-anudhyate mahadanda’nyaaka
Tilabhattakena (II)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 29.)—This lofty column (is) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming the fame,—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 (hers) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,—of the Mahabhadhiraja, the glorious.

1 By taking an alternative meaning of uchchhrita, 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 sthda’ta would have been a better word to use than uchchhrita, and the word would have stood better after, instead of before, stambha. 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. 507 f.) are, that there are several names on it which he considered to be in characters of a type intermediate between those of the Asoka 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 Kardak grant of Kakka III. of Saka-Saunvat 894; ‘and when (his) elder brother, the glorious Krishnabhadra, 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 Gwalior inscription of Mahipala of Vikrama-Saunvat 1150 (id. Vol. XV. pp. 37, 43).—Padmapāla, still a youth, through the adversity of fortune, obtained a seat [on the lap] of Saṃkṛandana (Indra).’

3 Mahābhādhiraja, lit. ‘supreme king of Mahādaja’ (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 according to the idiomsynracies of the translators, and which can never suffice to give exact and complete equivalents for the original titles.—The present title, Mahābhādhiraja, in somewhat later times, is almost always coupled with two others, Paramaśiva, ‘supreme lord,’ and Paramabhādrika, ‘most worshipful one;’ e.g. in line 50 ff. of the Alhā grant of Shādiyā VII. No. 39 below, Plate xxv. And the connection of the three titles was so constant, that a Rvā grant (unpublished) of Trailokyamalla, dated Vikrama-Saunvat 1297, considers it unnecessary to give all three titles in full, and contents itself with describing him as paramabhādhakṣatāty-adigujām-traya-dīptā, ‘possessed of the three kingly titles (lit. succession) commencing with Paramabhādrika.’ Other titles of paramount sovereignty, occurring in this series, are Rājādhiraja and Chakravartin.

*Irl, ‘fortune, majesty, glory,’ and irlmāt, ‘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 feudalatories 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 irl before a consonant, and irlmāt before a vowel; thus irlmāt—Indrabhāsānand... irl-Namandāsya tasa’ya-prāpita... irl-Mahādīva-Tvārāṇḍa, in the Rājim grant of the Rājā Tvārādēva, No. 81 below, Plate xlv. l. 16 ff. But instances of deviation from this occur; thus, without saṁkhā or the euphonic joining of vowels, irl—Adityāsthādeva, in the Shāhpur image inscription, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA. l. 2 f., and irl—Adityāsthādeva and irl—
THE GUPTA

INSCRIPTIONS; No.

PLATE

i,

I.

II

Samudragupta,^—
I.)— [Who]
1

.

by his own kinsmen

whose

.

3*MWho]

(L.

X 7i^Tig\Tig{pftkeb(m'String)

’burst open and

scattered

dishevelled

5*)""Whose happy mind was accustomed

(L.

who was

to associate with learned people

the supporter of th^ real truth of the scriptures
;

—who, having overwhelmed,

lective merits of

;

.

.

with the [force of Ihe)

commands

of the

fame [produced) by

and of clear meaning

poetry,

(L 7.)—Who,

bfeing looked at

[mth envy) by

rejectim of themsehes)^ of others of equal

birth,

the faces, melancholy [through the

while the attendants of the court breathed

deep sighs [of happiness)^ was bidden by (Aw) father,— who, exclaiming

forth

coU

(Aw) learned men, those things which obstruct the beauty of excellent

poetry, [still) enjoys, in the world of the wise, the sovereignty of the

much

;

firmly fixed

;

.

Verily

[he w) worthy,” embraced [him) with the hairs of (Aw) body standing erect [through pleasure) (and thus) indicative of (Aw) sentiments, and scanned [him) with an eye turning

fjjddSvydm, in the DAA-Bara^Ark inscription of Jfvitagupta IL, No. 46 below, Plate xxixB., lines 2 f.
f.
and, on the other hand, paramabhattdraka-mahdrdjddhirdja-paramisvara-irimat;

and 5

Suvar^avarshaddva-prithvivallabha-srimad-ValiabhanarendradSvahf used
trakflta king GAvinda V. in his S^ihglf grant (Ind, Ant Vol. XII.
p. 251,

1 .

other instances.— It has been suggested that only

in the

But

sovereigns.

this is not the case.

iri^

not trlmaty

is

used

in the

;

the Rish>

and numerous

case of paramount

connection with

in

DA6>6aranirk

ifimad^Adityavarma-prithvivallabha-mahdrdjddhirdja’paramSsvarabi
in his

f.j

39

In addition to the passage noted above

GAvindaV., we have paramdivara-srimad-Avantivarmandf
Chalukya king Adityavarman

in respect of

inscription,

applied

to

1.

15;

Western

the

KarnAl grant tjour. Bo, Br, R, As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p.234,

1.

12

f.)

f.);
33

irimad-Amdghavarsha-Nfipatukga^ used of king AmAgliavarsha
inscription (id, Vol. XII. p. 219,

I.

of the

same dynasty,

in his

Sirur

srimad-Vikramdditya-srimat-Tnbhuvanamalladiva^ used of
the VVestern ChAlukya king VikramAditya V., in his KauthAm grant (id. Vol. XVI. p. 24,
1. 73); and
.

many

1.

i6);

other examples of the same usage.

^As regards

the termination guptuy the

“ (The termination)

iurman

is

prescribed for a

Vishnu- Pjjrdn a, Book

BrAhman

;

iii.

Chap.

varman belongs

10, verse 9,

to a Kshatriya

says
(and) a

;

name characterised hy gupta or ddsa is approved of in the case of (respectively) aj^aisyaand a SAdr^.'*
The commentary in the Bombay edition gives, as examples, SAmaSarman, Indraviirman, Chandragupta,
and SivadAsa. (See
also in the
is laid

—

also F. E, Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson’s Translation, Vol. III.
So
p. 99 f.)
(Burnell's Tra mjation^ p. fQ)r a rule of thtt same tendency

Mdnavadharmasdstra /\\. 31

down, though without^ecifyin

g

any particular termin ations.— On

this authority, it

has been

suggested that the Early Guptas were not of high rank, hfiingjt the-beatollhe.VaiAya-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

and by the

name

of

KumAradAvt and

of her family

on some of the gold coins of Chandragupta

1.,

epithet, ‘‘daughter's son of Lichchhavi (or of a Lichchhavi king)," that is always applied

passages.—No doubt some such rules as those prescribed by
iUmyodharmsdsi^^ 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
to

Samudragupta

in the genealogical

the Viski^u-Purdoa and

it,

CM

hardly be doubted was a BrAhmao
tlie

inseriptionsy No. ao);

were

;

and DAsavarm an occurs, as the name

of a

fidhman,

NerAr grant of VijayAditya dated $aka-Saifavat 627 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX.
,

and doubtless numerous similar instances

lAight

be found,

if

p. 131

;

in line

Indian

proper indexes

available.

C2


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 Nāgasenā ......... .... .... (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, vaitastikas, 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 Mahendrā 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 tathāparijñātā. "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 IIIa.—And, that occasionally the widow of a deceased king selected his successor, is perhaps indicated by the way in which, in one of the Nāyāl inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. pp. 164, l. 18 ff. and 165, v. 8 ff.), Rājyavati, the widow of Dharmadeva, is described as bewailing the uselessness of her own life after her husband's death, and as directing her son, Mānadeva, to reign, that she may follow her deceased lord.

2 With this expression, compare the legend on some of Samudragupta's gold coins,—Samarāsata-vitā-vijayād jita ...... dhv 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 parārakṣamā, 'prowess,' found on the 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 vītasti, 'a long span, measured by the extended thumb and little finger.'
Kôsala, Vyâghrarâja of Mahâkántâra, Manârarâja of Kêrâja,1 Mahêndra of Piahtapura,2 Svâmidatta of Koottûra on the hill,3 Damana of Érandapalla, Vishnugôpa of Kâñchi,Nilarâja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vêngi, Ugrasêna of Palakka,4 Kubêra of Dêvârâshtra, DhanaÂmijaya 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 Rudradêva, Matila, Nâgadatta, Chandravarman, Gañapatinâga, Nâgasesa, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman, and many other kings (of the land of) Aryavarta;4— who made all the kings of the forest countries to become (his) servants;—

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

* Or perhaps Palakka, with the long vowel â in the first syllable.

1 dakhindacpatha, 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 uttarpâtha, 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 Kanauj, e.g. namarasamukta-sakhalitadarspatâdhivayair-Harshavardhana, ‘the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north,’ in line 8 of the Nérdr inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vijâyâditya, dated Saka-Samvat 622 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 127); and, in line 20 of the same grant, it is contrasted with the dakhindâpatha, which is there mentioned under the synonym of dakhindatid, ‘the southern quarter or region.’—A perhaps better known name of Northern India is Aryavarta, ‘the abode of the Aryas, or excellent or noble people,’ which occurs in line 21 of the present inscription.—In the Mahânadhamardistha, ii. 22 (Barnell’s Translation, p. 18) Aryâvarta is defined as the land between the Himâlaya and Vindhaya mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western sea. But a more precise division between the uttarapâtha and the dakhindapâtha is given by the poet Râjakshâkara, who, in the Bâladrâmâyana, Act 6 (see V. Sh. Apte’s Râjakshâkara: his Life and Writings, p. 21), speaks of the river Narmadâ (the ‘Nerbudda’), which rises in, and runs along close to the south of the Vindhaya range, as ‘the dividing-line of Aryâvarta and the dakhindapâtha.’

4i.e. ‘of northern India;’ see the preceding note.

* Compare the passage in line 8 f. of the Khôgh grant of the Mahârâja Sâmshâbha, No. 25 below, Pl. xvb, describing his ancestor Hastin as ruling over his hereditary kingdom of Dabhâl, together with the eighteen forest kingdoms.—I have not been able to trace any definition of the terms ñârâkha-râjya, ‘forest-kings’ or ‘kings of forest countries,’ and êfârâ-râjya, ‘forest-kings;’ much less to obtain any enumeration of the eighteen forest-kings referred to in connection with the Mahârâja Hastin. But Hastin’s territories lay in the direction of Bundêlkhând, Baghêlkhand, Ritâ, and other neighbouring parts of the Vindhaya range. And I notice that the term Vindhyâvat, the ‘forests of the Vindhaya 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 Mathurâ to the Narmadâ. 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-râjya, ‘forest-countries,’ and vana-râjya, ‘forest-kings,’ occur in the Brihata-Sâmhitâ, xiv. vv. 29, 30. But the countries there spoken of, in the north-east division of India, as mapped out by Varâhamihira; and they are, at any rate, not the countries referred to in connection with the Mahârâja Hastin.
(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, Daśās, Kāmarūpa, Nēpāla, Kartāripūra, and other (countries) and by the Mālavas, Arjunaṇyanas, Yaudhyas, Mādrakas, Abhiras, Prārajunas Sanakānīkas,² Kākas, Kharaparakas, 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 Daiyavapatras, Shāhīs, Shāhānushāhis, 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 Niṇāda, 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 Garuḍamad-anaka.—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. — Garuḍa 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 Rājim grant of the Rāja Tīvraḍēva, No. 31 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 i of the Bihārī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii., are applied, curiously enough, to the Chakukya chieftain Vijayārāja of Gujarāt, 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-prabhādva, instead of simply sama.—Of the present epithet, the latter part, apratiratha, was used on some of Samudragupta’s coins; e.g. Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. No. 6.

¹ 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 vīḍā or lute; and, with this reference to him and to the musical accomplishments of Samudrāgunta, 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 Samudrāgunta playing the lute.

2 Compare lines 6 and 16 of this inscription.—The title kaviśrāja, '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. pautra for a grandson through a son, and daśūktra for a grandson through a daughter; the status of the two lines of descent differed even 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 Nāpāl inscriptions, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 181) spoke of 'Vatsadevī . . . . the daughter of illustrious Bhāgavarman . . . . . . . . . . . . . and the grand-daughter of great Ādityasena, the illustrious lord of Magadha.' From this, Gen. Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 163) naturally enough treated Bhāgavarman, who belonged really to the Maukhari family, as a son, instead of a son-in-law, of Ādityasena. This mistake could not have occurred, if daśūktra 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 napūtṛ and tranapūtṛ. They both occur in the grants of the Mahārājas Hastin and Sāmkhshobha, Nos. 21 to 23 ind 25 below; and napūtṛ occurs in line 5 of the Bhunak pillar inscription, No. 34 below, Pl. xvii. 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 Vasudha, who here is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 9, 30, and 82 (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Ant. Vol. III. p. 31, Pl. xiii. No. 4; p. 32, Pl. xiv. No. 9; and p. 34, Pl. xv. No. 16); and, in conjunction with the higher title of Rājātātāra, 'superior king of kings,' by the same three kings in their inscriptions of the years 11, 47, and 87 (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Ant. Vol. III. p. 33, Pl. xiv. No. 12, and p. 35, Pl. xv. No. 18). So also, in conjunction sometimes with Rājāśeṣa, 'king of kings,' the two together representing the Greek basileus basileos, it was used, in Prakrīt, on the bilingual coins of earlier date; e.g. in conjunction with Rājātātāra, on the coins of Hemakadphises (Gardner and Poole's Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, p. 124 ff.), and, in conjunction with Rājāśeṣa, on the coins of Ajas (id. p. 73 ff.). And, before then, it was used by itself, to represent the Greek basileus, at a time when apparently the fuller title of basileus basileos 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 Samudrāśena and his ancestors in the Nirmanda grant, No. 8o below, Plate xxi., the title Mahāśeṣantō, lit. 'great chief of a district,' appears to have been exactly co-ordinate with that of Mahārāja.—A third title, Mahāśeṣāpatī, lit. 'great lord of the army,' seems to have denoted equal rank with these two; since it is coupled with Mahārāja in the fragmentary Bijayasagā inscription of the Yaudhyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxiB., and also in the Wall day seal of Pushyāna (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 274 f.).—And three other offices, viz. those of Mahāpratihāra, Mahādauryyadhyaksa, and Mahākārtikātika, would seem to have been sometimes held by Mahārājas and Mahāśeṣantas;—since we find all five titles applied to Dhruvaśena I. of Valabhi, in line 13 f. of the Wall grant of Gupta-Sadhat 216 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 105).

5 As regards this name, see page 9 above, note 3.
Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghaṭōtkacha;—who was the son of the Mahārājadhārī, the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhavi,¹ begotten on the Mahārājadevi² Kumārādevi;—

(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) Gāṇḍā, flowing quickly on being liberated from confinement in the thickets of the matted hair of (the god) Paśupati.²

(L. 31.)—And this poetical composition,—(the work) of the Khāḍyatapākīkā,³ the son of the Mahādāndāndvyaka⁴ Dhruvabhūti, the Sāndhīvigrāhika⁵ and Kumārāmdātya,⁶ the Mahādāndāndvyaka Harishēṇa, who is the slave of these same feet of the

¹ 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 Bhātār pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate xvii.; in line 5 of the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; and in the Mēnāvdharmaśāstra, x. 22 (Burnell's Translation, p. 308), where a Lichchhivi, with others, is defined as the offspring of a degraded member of the Kshatriya caste.

² Mahārājadevi. 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 Kāṭṭālī grant of Jayañātha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.—As applied to the wives of paramount sovereigns, we have it again in the present volume, in conjunction with Paramabhattdrikad and Rājātī, in the Mandār Hill inscriptions of Adityasāhana, Nos. 44 and 45 below, and throughout the Dēṅ-Barpārā grant of Jivatigupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxix.B. In other series it occurs, for instance, as part of the name of Lōkamahādevē, the queen-consort of the Western Chalukya king Vikramādiyita II., in some of his Paṭṭādačāl inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 164 ff.); and as the title of Gāmuṇḍabbe, the wife of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., in line 5 of the grant of Sāka-Samvat 726 (id. Vol. XI. p. 127).

³ When, under the circumstances referred to in the note on line 3 f. of the Mandaśār inscription of Yaśūdharmas and Vishvuvardhana, 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 (Paśupati) received it in the matted hair called above his forehead and projecting like a horn; and its waters wandered there for a thousand years, before they eventually reached the earth.

⁴ It is doubtful whether this is a tribal or family name, or an official title. The etymology of it is not apparent.

⁵ Mahādāndāndvyaka, lit. 'great leader of the forces,' is a technical military title.—The officer who held this rank was the superior of the Daṇḍāndvyakas, or 'leaders of the forces.' This latter title occurs, for instance (together with that of Piriyādāndāndvyaka, which is the Old-Kanarese translation of the Sanskrit Mahādāndāndvyaka), in line 17 ff. of the Baḷagāvite inscription of Saṅkamadeva (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 46).—We constantly meet with Daṇḍāndika, Daṇḍāndikā, Daṇḍāndhipati, Daṇḍāśī, and Daṇḍāśvara, as synonyms of Dāndāndyaka.—Prinsep translated Mahādāndāndvyaka in the present inscription by 'administrator of punishments (magistrate)' and 'criminal magistrate,' and this rendering has sometimes been adopted by other translators. As daṇḍa means 'fines' 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 shown (1) by the way in which the words Chamūṇḍāka, Chamūṇḍa, Chamūṇḍatī, &c., in which chamūṇḍa means only 'army,' are occasionally used as synonyms for Dāndāndyaka, &c., e.g. in line 33 ff. of the Kargudari inscription of Vikramādiyita VI. and Tailipa II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 252), where the Daṇḍāndikā and Daṇḍāndhipaī Iśvarayya is also called Chamūṇḍa; and (2) by the definition of the Daṇḍāndyaka Kavaṇpayya as samasto-tēn-ṭeṅgṛ̣svara, 'or the leader of the whole army,' in line 19 of the Baḷagāvite inscription referred to above.

⁶ Sāndhīvigrāhika, lit. 'an officer for peace and war,' is a technical official or military title. Other synonymous titles were Samāddhigrahikatīra (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 70, line 17 f.); Sāndhīvigrāhādhikarandādhipatī (e.g. id. Vol. IV. p. 175, line 18); and Sāndhīvigrāhīn (e.g. id. Vol. VIII. p. 20, where it is coupled with Mahārājadhānā and Dāndāndyaka).—The next grade above this was that of the Mahāsāndhīvigrāhika, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 29 f. of the Kōhī grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 163, No. 22 below, Plate xiii.

⁷ Kumārāmdātya, lit. 'counsellor of the prince,' is another technical official title.—The next grade above it was that of the Mahākumārāmdātya, who is mentioned, for instance, in line 33 of the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 306.).
Bhaftdraka, (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 Mahaddangandayaka Tilabhattachaka, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaftdraka.

1 It is somewhat doubtful whether this title here denotes Samudragupta, or his successor; but on the whole, eshām, 'these,' being used, not esham, '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.—Bhaftdraka, 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 Sivadeva I. in two of the Nāpā 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 mahā, at the end of the line, are omitted in the published text).

So, also, we find the feminine form, Bhaftrdrīkā, used as the termination of the names of wives of Mahārājas; e.g. in line 3 ff. of the Asfrag seal of Saravarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA, and in line 4 of the Nirman grant of the Mahārāja and Mahāsāmta Samudraseṇa, No. 80 below, Plate xlv.—As applied to paramount sovereigns, the fuller and more usual title is Paramabhaftrdraka, 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 Nāpā inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 172), Ashavarman has the titles of Bhaftrdraka and Mahārājadhārā; in line 17 ff. of the Wokkalārī grant of Kṛttivarami II. (id. Vol. VIII. p. 26 f.), the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I. and his successors, down to Kṛttivarami II., all have the titles of Mahārājadhārā, Paramadhavara, and Bhaftrdraka. And we have the same title in Old-Kanarese inscriptions, in the abbreviated, or perhaps original, forms of Bhaftrā and Bhaftrā; e.g. in line 2 f. of the Mahākūta inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vijayāditya (id. Vol. X. p. 103), in which he has the titles of Mahārājadhārā, Paramadhavara, and Bhaftrā; and in line 2 of the Paṭtagadakal inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Drhuva (id. Vol. XI. p. 124), in which he has the titles of Mahārājadhārā, Paramadhavara, and Bhaftrā. In the sense of 'reverend,' bhaftrdraka was also a priestly title; e.g. it is applied to the Jain priest Kumudachandra, in line 2 of the Nārsāgī inscription (id. Vol. X. p. 189, note 16).—And, in the sense of 'worthy of worship; sacred,' it was also applied to gods; e.g. to Pāṇḍapati (Śiva), in line 1 of No. 6 of the Nāpā inscriptions (id. Vol. IX. p. 169); to the Sun, in line 15 of the Khō grant of the Mahārāja Sarvadānī, No. 28 below, Plate xvii; and to Varunāvadh (the Sun), in line 13 of the Dē-Baradark inscription of Jīvavatamu II., No. 45 below, Plate xxixB.

*padamudhyata.—This is a customary technical term, used of the relations between a paramount sovereign and his feudatory chieftains, officials, &c.; e.g. in the Udhyāgirī 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 Rājīn grant, No. 81 below, Plate xlv, the Rājī Tīrvaḍēva is described as meditating on the feet of his mother and father. It is also used in connection with kingly successions, whether the natural relationship is that of fathers and sons, or of older and younger brothers; e.g. throughout the Kālakalī grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi; and in lines 6 and 8 of the grant of the Mahārāja Vinayakāpāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. pp. 140, 141), who is described as meditating on the feet of his father, Mahārājadhāpa, and of his elder brother, Bhīdā. 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 gods Śvēmāhārēna.—In one solitary instance, line 33 f. of the Khārbhadāgī grant of Śaka-Saṅvat 530 (Jn. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. I. p. 218), anudhyata occurs without pāda preceding it, and the Śilāhāra chieftain Raṭṭarāja is described as śrī-Śatyaśrayaṁudā-nāndahyata, 'meditating on the glorious (king) Śatyaśraya.' But the omission of pāda here is probably due only to carelessness on the part of the drafter of the record.

1 i.e. Chandragupta II.—Paramabhaftdraka, 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 Māmāpur in the Belgum District (Indian Inscriptions, No. 1), where it is applied to a Śaiva priest named Vimalaśīva or Vimalāśambu.—The feminine form, Paramabhaftdrīkā, was one of the titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns; e.g. in the Māndār Hill inscriptions of Adityasēna, Nos. 44 and 45 below.
No. 2; PLATE II A.

ERAN STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

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 Khurâl, 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 Tûramâna, 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 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) broad by 3' 1" 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 padha 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 padha of a verse; but the following lines contained originally two padhas 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 \(\frac{3}{4}\). 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 iiB.; the Arâng plates of Mahâ-Jayârâja, No. 2.

1. The 'Airan, Ehrin, Eran, and Erun,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 52. Lat. 24° 5' N.; Long. 78° 15'.—The name is now written and pronounced both Erâq and Eran; but, as is shewn by the ancient name, Airikia, the first form, with the lingual \(\bar{\mu}\), is the correct one.—The name is no. unique; for the maps shew another 'Eran' seven miles almost due west of Bhêlâ, and another thirteen miles to the north-east of Bhêlâ.

2. So far as the passage in line 25 of the present inscription goes, we might take this name as either Airikina or Erikiña, in consequence of the euphonic absorption of the final \(\bar{\mu}\) of vihâya. But the real form of the name is shewn by line 7 of the Boar inscription of Tûramâna, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiiA., where we have vihâya=\(\bar{\mu}\)min=Airikina, without any \(\bar{\mu}\)âhëi or joining of vowels.—The autonomous copper coins of the Aûrâka period, found at Erâq, give us an earlier Pali or Prâkrit form of the name, which is either Erakaëa or Erakaša; 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 'Khorye, Khurai, Korai, Kurai, and Kurai,' of maps, &c.

4. The 'Sâgar and Saugar' of maps, &c.

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 2, PLATE II A.

40, Plate xxvi.; the Râypur plates of Mahâ-Sudêvarâja, No. 41, Plate xxvii.; the Vâkâtaka inscriptions, Nos. 53 to 56, Plates xxxiii., xxxiv. and xxxv.; and the Râjim plates of Tîvra dêva, 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 & copper in the centre of them. We have a variation of this characteristic, represented in this volume by the Majhgâwân plates of the Mahârâja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23, Plate xlv., 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-ddýakh, line 8, and samudragupta, line 10; and the 'box-headed' tops in, for instance, bahu-putra-pautra, line 19, and samara-karmma parákkramśadham, 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 Nachhê-kt-talât inscriptions of the Mahârâja Prithivishêna, Nos. 53 and 54, Plate xxxiii.A. 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 indifference about this is certainly observable even in the Chammak plates of the Mahârâja Pravarasêna 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 anusvâra, before h, in parivr̥hīhāpa, line 26; and (2) the doubling of k and dh, in conjunction with a following r, in vikrâma, line 1, and parâkkrama, lines 17 and 21; and in ddhrutom, 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 babhâva 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 Airikâpa, i.e. Êrao, of something or other of which the stone was either a portion or the separate record. The lacuna 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 Nêpâl, in which, differing from the present forms, the apex of the triangle is placed uppermost; see his Journey in Nêpâl, 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 [---] pta(?h) suvarṇa-dānē
8 [---] nripataya Prithu-Rāghava-ādyāh [II*] 2
9 [---] bhābūva Dhanad-Antaka-tushi-kōpa-tulah
10 [---] ma-nayēna Samudraguptah [I*]
11 [---] pārtthiva-ganās-sakalāh prithivyām
12 [---] sta(?v)ā-rājya-vibhava-ddhutaṁ-āsthitō-bhūt [II*] 3
13 [---] bhakti-naya-vikkrama-tōshitēna
14 [yō] rāja - šabda - vibhavair - abhisēchan - ādyāḥ [I*]
15 [---] nitaṁ parama-tushi-purāskṛtēna
16 [---] nripatīr-apratiyārya-vṛtyaya [II*] 4
17 [---] pauruśa-parākkrama-dattas-śākā
18 [hasty - a]sva-ratna - dhana - dhānya - samriddhi - yuktā [I*]
19 [---] gṛihēśu muditā bahu-putra-pauruṣā
20 [sa]nkramit kula-vadhuh vratinā nivishtā [II*] 5
21 [---] Yaśy-ōṛjjitam samara-karmma parākkram-ēddhah
22 [---] yaśa su-vipulam-paribambhramti [I*]
23 [---] yasya ripavas-cha raṇ-ōṛjjitāṁ
24 [sva]pā-antarēśhāv-hipster paritrāsanā [II*] 6
25 [---] [-]pradhā [I*]
26 [---] [sam]sthāpitas-sva-yāsasah paribhīṁhan(p)-
27 [---] yō nripatē-āha yadā [---] [I*]

(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 Archwol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 89, and Plates xxvB. and xxviB.
2 From the original stone.
3 Metre, Vasantatilaks, throughout.
4 With this exception, the lines of this inscription, as far as line 24, contain exactly a padā of each verse. Lines 25 ff. contained exactly two padas of each verse.
5 Or perhaps charas-ōṛjjitāṁ.
(L. 9.)— .............. there was Samudragupta, equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Antaka in (respectively) pleasure and anger;¹ ................. by policy; (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,² 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 Airikinā,³ 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 f., 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 Archæol. 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.)

¹ 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.

² Samudragupta's wife was Dattadevi; but the metre prevents her having been mentioned by name in this verse.

³ See page 15 above, note 2.

⁴ The lacunae in this verse render it impossible to say whether here, and below, su, 'his own,' refers to Samudragupta, or to some feudatory of his, who may have been mentioned here.
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 Bhélṣā, the chief town of the Bhélṣā Tahsíl or Sub-Division of the Iságadh District in the dominions of Scindia (properly Śindé) 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 2' 4½" broad by 1' 6" 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, Mahishásur, i.e. Durgā, 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 2' 3½" broad by 4½" 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 Mahārāja whose gift is recorded. —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, 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 āḍḍāḥa, 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 anvāḍhyāta, 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 1

---

1 The 'Udaygiri 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 'Isagar' 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 aśīṣ, 'having gone by, having passed by,' or any similar word, in apposition with saṃvatsarī 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 Śāskāh temple inscription of Mahārāja, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150, which gives (Ind. Ant. 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 Ashadh (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.—Ekadasasamvat=attisehu samvatsara=sathshu cha it-bha-parshadati cha gatishu=avishkrami Vikramad = Paschad = Ch=Avividek sarasvapaksh=mpir=shyadi rakhib MansiKanthan=pratiasti-yamayuji=and Akath=pi 1150 samvatsariki=prathitya=avakshak=chandakal=pati=sweta=prasham=vyakhyaniya=and Aasha+huhul=prashakhyaniya=and in 1150 samvatsariki=prasham=vyakhyaniya=and in the month Aasha; in the dark fortnight; by order of the king, this brilliant eulogy was composed by ManiKanth; or, in figures, (in the year) 1150, on the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight of Aasha.”—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), samvatsar= 1000 = 30; (b) the Goa grant of Satyakaraya-Dhruvaraja-Indravaran (Jour. Br. R. A. Soc. Vol. x. p. 395, l. 17 ff.), pravardhamana=vijaya=rajya-samvatsarani vijinatitamam, saka=kal=pa=parsh=varsha=taani dedirn达人; (c) the Digvīd-Dubautī grant of the Mahākrāta Mahendrapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. xv. p. 113, l. 4), samvatsard (i.e. samvatsar=100 5 Māgha=pi di i 10; (d) the Benāl Assiatic Society’s grant of the Mahākrāta Vīṇākapāla (Ind. Vol. xv. p. 141, l. 17), samvatsar (i.e. samvatsar, for either samvatsara or samvatsard) 1008 8 Phāḷguna=da=di i 9; and (e) the second date in the ‘Deogarh’ inscription of Bijjadeva of Gwalior, dated Vikrama=Samvat 919 and Saka=Samvats 784 (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. x. p. 101, and xxiii. No. 2, l. 10), saka=kal=kṛṣṇa=apta=taani chatur=āsya=ādhiḥkuṇi 784. And, for early times, we may compare, though they relate to years of government, instead of eras, (f) the nominative in the Banaskali Prakrit inscription of Hariputra-Sattakari (Ind. Ant. Vol. xiv. p. 333, l. 1), raḥṣ hādarpustam... Sādīkamṣa... savacchārama to 1 Hēmaṇaṇa pakṣ= 7 divisava; (g) the nominative in the Rājim grant of the Rāja Tivaradeva (No. 81 below, Pl. xiv. l. 35 ff.), pravardhamana=vijaya=rajya-samvatsar=ā Kṛṣṇika divisu asamjīam 8; and the crude form in (h) the Aṇra grant of the Rāja Mahā-Jayāraja (No. 40 below, Pl. xxvi. l. 24), pravardhamana=vijaya=rajya-samvatsara=ā Maṇgaśa= 20; and (i) the Rāypur grant of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēvaraja (No. 41 below, Pl. xxvii. l. 27), pravardhamana=vijaya=rajya-samvatsara=ā Māgha= 9. Compare also, for later times, the crude form in (j) the ‘Dewal’ inscription of Lalla of the Chhinda family (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. l. p. li. l. 24), samvatsara=sahasra=1049 Māgha=da=di 3 Gurudin; and in (k) the Kālipur inscription of Sīghaṇa II. (Indian Inscriptions, No. 47, l. 1 ff.), Śrī-Saṅka 1157 Manmatha-samvatsarĪ Sādva= bahu= 30 Gauṣu; 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 respect of the nominative singular, (a) a Balaghati inscription of Bījala (Pādi, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 183, l. 62), saka=samvatsar=1080neyu Bahuṇihāṇya=samvatsaraṇa= Puṣyadhya puṇamī Sōmadvrut=uttarāyāsāvamārṇi-vyatpa-sōma-grahaṇaṇa=andṣu; and, to illustrate a numerous class of instances in which the crude form is used to represent the nominative singular, (b) a Balaghati inscription of Sōmeśvara II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 209, l. 30 ff.), Saka=samvatsara=997neyu Rākhasa-samvatsaraṇa= Puṣyadhya sūdbhā=ī Sōmadvrut=andṣu=uttarāyāsāvamārṇi-parava-nimittadīm; and, in respect of the nominative plural, (c) the grant of Gōvinda III. (id. Vol. x. p. 126, l. 1 ff.), Saka=samvatsara=1081neyu Bahuṇihāṇya=samvatsaraṇa= Puṣyadhya puṇamī Sōmadvrut=uttarāyāsāvamārṇi-vyatpa-sōma-grahaṇaṇa=andṣu; and, to illustrate a numerous class of instances in which the crude form is used to represent the nominative singular, (d) the Adaragūṣchi inscription of Köṭiṣa or Köṭiṣiga (id. Vol. xii. p. 226, l. 7 ff.), Saka=samvatsara=1081neyu Bahuṇihāṇya= samvatsaraṇa= Puṣyadhya puṇamī Sōmadvrut=uttarāyāsāvamārṇi-vyatpa-sōma-grahaṇaṇa=andṣu; and, to illustrate a numerous class of instances in which the crude form is used to represent the nominative singular, (e) the Samghā grant of the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (No. 18 below, Pl. xi. l... Malājyadāna gaya-sūthikā yādi śaṭa-chatukṣṣayādī tri-nātuti-ādhiḥ=bdhānd=viśuṣa sūkṣma sūkṣma- rugh-sundarī Śaṅkarcyā-sudhsvānī pratiṣṭhāni kiṇi trayyādai; and (f) the Samghā grant of
cations,—by a Mahārāja of the Sanakānika 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.), pañca-saptāty-adhiḥka-Saṅkṣidā-saṃvatsara-lata-
śatē navāstā samvat 675 pañcā[pūrṇa samyā]nākhyaḥ Mahāgaṇa-māṣa-rathastaṃpaṃyān tuld-purusha-
śthiḥ. And, in respect of the locative plural, (c) the Bhādmi cave inscription of Mahāgalla (Ind.
Ant. Vol. VI. p. 363, l. 6 f., 11), Saṅkṣipta-rājyādhipiḥkā-saṃvatsaraśkuḥ atikāntēśkhu pañcās-
u satēku . . . . . . mahā-Kārttika-paūrṇamāṣyān; (d) the Harisgarh grant of Vinaya-ditya (id. Vol. VII. p. 302, l. 23 fl.), shāhās-ūtara-śaṭ-CHATrēśku Mahā-varshēkhu-atikāntēśku pravardhamāṇa-vijaya-rājyā-
śaṃvatsarē caturduśālī varmatāmān . . . . Kārttika-paūrṇamāṣyān; and (e) the Kauṭāyēn grant of Vi-
kramāditya V. (id. Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 61 f.), Saṅkṣipta-kā-śatā-saṃvatsara-lata śatēkhu navasū trimād-
adhiśkhu gatēku 930 pravardhamā-Saṃyā-saṃvatsarē paūrṇamāṣyān śaṅkṣaρṛṇaḥ-patvāya—

(4) The use, as in the present instance, of the simple locutive single or plural, without any participle
signifying ‘elapsed or gone by,’ in apposition. Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (a) the Gānda
inscription of the Kihatrāṇa Rudrasinha (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 157, l. 3), varshē dvī-uttara-
śatē sam 200 2 Vaiśākhā-suddha-pañcāḥam-Dhana-sūtha Śravaṇa-nakhaṭha-mahārē; (b) a Mathura
inscription of Vāsudeva (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20, l. 1), saṃvatsarē 98 Varsāḥ-māsā sivasā 10; (c) the Majāṅgāna grant of the Mahāraja Hastin (No. 23
below, Pl. xiv. l. 1 f.), bha-navaty-uttara-śaṭ-śatē-śatē Gupta-nṛṣija-vijaya-bhukṣu irlmati pravardhamā-
Mahā-Chaitra-saṃvatsarē Mahāganda-bhulabhṣa-triṣṭhyāḥ; and (d) the Allān grant of Śīkādīya
VII. (No. 39 below, Plate xxv. l. 77 f.), saṃvatsara-lata-CHATrēśkāyāva saṭpa-CHATrēśkāyā-viṁśatādhiśkē
Jyotikā-śuddha-paṅcāṃyām anākataḥ samvat 400 47 Jyotikā śatē. And, in respect of the loci-
tive plural, (e) the Wani grant of Gōvinda III. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 46 f.), Saṅkṣipta-kā-
śatā-saṃvatsara-lata śatēkhu saṃvatsarē trimād-adhiśkē Mahāvyā-saṃvatsara Vaiśākhā-sīta-pauṃśkā-
śomāṅgraṇaḥ-mahārōvra; and (f) the Pātān grant of Bhitā II. (id. Vol. XI. p. 71, l. 17 fl.), ātramad-
Vikramādityā-bhāpa-dīta-saṃvatsara-lata śatēkhu dvūdiśkēśaḥ śatā-paṅcāś-uttaraś-śatēkhu Bhadrapaṃ-
dama-kṛishnāvān-śmaṇdvāsyāṃ Bhaumāvarē-trāṅkati-pi samvat 1236 laukika Bhadrapada ba 15 Bha-
umē. (g) It is the use in the same and samvat, standing alone, and not explained
by a full record in words as they are in instances (3, 8) and (4, a, d, f) above. This method, however,
throws no light on the question now under discussion; and the use 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 Bahuḍhāṇa saṃvatsara, (which is) the 180th Śaka
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 Gwālior 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 ‘elided
or gone by’ in apposition, whereas in another class of instances (4, a to f) any such word is as uni-
formly 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 Nāsk inscription (Archæol. Surv.
West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 108, l. 1, 109), sīrī-Pulumlīvyā saṃvākhaṛ Pūlamāya 19,—in the nine-
teenth (19) year of the illustrious Pūlamāyī.” 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 exten-
sion of regnal dates, and that the system of expired years can only have been devised when a con-
siderable advance had been made in astronomical science.

1 In the fourth syllable, the vowel here is the short ī; but in the same word in the Allāhābad
pillar inscription, No. 1 above, line 22, page 8, it is long.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 4, PLATE IIIA.

TEXT:
1 Siddham II Samvatsare 80 2 Ashadhá-mása-sukl-ë(ai)kádaśyám I
paramabhättàraka-mahárájådhí-śrî-Chandra[g]upta-pâd-anudhyàtasya I
2 mahárájå-Chhagalaga-pautrasya mahárájå-Vishnudásæ-pautrasya Sanakâ-
nikasya mahár[a]ja... dha(?)lasy=iyarh déya-dharmmañ II

TRANSLATION.
Perfection has been attained In the year 80 (and) 2, on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashadhá,—this (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Sanákànaka, the Mahäråja... Maháraja-Vishnudásæ, who mediates on the feet of the Paramabhättàraka and Mahäråjådhíråja, the glorious Chandragupta (II.)

No. 4; PLATE IIIA.

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 first Archæo-

1 From the original stone.
2 Read mahárájådhíråja.—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 marajå-
dha, i. e. maháradhdhí, or mahárájådhíråja, on one of the silver coins of Skandagupta (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 66 f.)
3 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
4 siddham.—On the analogy of an inscription (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. V. Plate xiiiH.), which commences Siddhå Śrîth Sàvat, &c., to which we may add another inscription (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXIX. p. 18, and Vol. XXX. p. 13) commencing Siddhå Samavat, &c.,—Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 972) 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 jatam bhagavan, "victory has been achieved by the Divine One," of, for instance, the Gadgâ inscription of Kumâragupta, No. 8 below, Plate iv.C, and the grant of the Pallava Yuvamahârájå Vishnu-gôpavaran (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 51). We may also compare jatam... Vishnu in the Tsûkin inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xi.A. And we have the remnant of another analogous expression, in driskham, “sight (i.e. clearness of perception in religious matters) has been attained (by the Divine One),” at the commencement of, for instance, the Chammak and Siwân plates of the Mahârájå Pravarasëna II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plates xxxiv. and xxxx.—In his remarks referred to above, Dr. Bühler tells us that, in the Mahâbhâshya (Kielhorn’s edition, pp. 5, 6) siddham is quoted as a mangala or ‘auspicious invocation,' and refers us to some remarks, 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 xxxviii.A. line 1.

5 dyâ-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;’ Dowson, by ‘votive offering’ (e.g. Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 184); and Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji, by ‘meritorious gift, or benefaction’ (e. g. Archæol. 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 cxix., 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\(^{\circ}\) broad by 114\(^{\circ}\) high, cracked across the lower proper right corner, which was found, with its face downwards, forming part of the pavement immediately outside the Katra\(^1\) gateway at Mathura,\(^2\) the chief town of the Mathura District in the North-West Provinces. The original stone is now in the Provincial Museum at Lâhor.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 10\(^{\circ}\) broad by 114\(^{\circ}\) 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 \(\frac{1}{8}\) to \(\frac{1}{4}\). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They are of radically the same stock with those of the Allahâbâd 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 \(\text{m}\), which I have noticed, at page 3 above, as belonging originally to an earlier form of this letter than that which occurs in the Allahâbâd inscription; (2) a slanting straight stroke, instead of a circular loop, at the bottom of the left downward stroke of \(\text{z}\); and (3) the formation of the lower part of \(\text{h}\) 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 prativxa in line 9, immediately after the mention, in the genitive case, of Samudragupta, shews 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  
2  
3  
4

\[\text{[Sarvya-râ]-ôchhêttuḥ} \text{ prithivy}[\text{âm-apratriathâ}]-\]

\[\text{[sya} \text{ chatur-udadhi-sali]}-\text{aśvâdita-ya}[\text{[sasô} \text{ Dha}]-\]

\[\text{[nada-Varun-ôndr-ôntaka-sa]masya} \text{ Kritânta-[paraôbô]}\]

\[\text{[nyây-ôgat-ônêka-gô]-hiranya-kôti-prada[sya} \text{ chir-ô]}\]

\[1\text{ katra} \text{ is the common word used in that part of the country for 'an enclosed market-place.'}\]

\[2\text{ The 'Matra, Muthra, and Muttra,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30. Lat. 27° 30' N.; Long. 77° 43' E.}\]

\[3\text{ From the original stone.—The passages that have been broken away are supplied from the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from lines 1 to 4 of the Bhitâr pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.}\]
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 4. PLATE III A.

27

5 [tsann - āśvamēdh - āharttur-mma]hārāja - śrī - Gupta - prapau[t]r[asya]
6 (mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭotkac]a-paurasraya mahārājādhīra[ja]-
7 [śrī-Chandragupta-pu]trasay Liĉchhavai-dauhitrasaya mahā[de]-
8 [vyām Kumāra][d]e]vyām-utpansasya mahārājādhīra-
9 [ja-śrī-Saucudragupa]sraya putreṇa tat-parigri-
10 [b[Ite]'na mahādev[y]ām Da[t][ad]ev[y]ām-ut[pa]n[ja]-
11 na paramabāgavatāna mahārājādhīra-śrī-
12 [Chandraguptena]..............................

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

TRANSLATION.

(Line 8.)—By him who is the son,—accepted by him,8 (and) begotten on the Mahādēvi Dattadēvi,— of the Mahārājādhīra[ja], [the glorious] Samudragupta,—

(L. 1.)—[Who8 was the exterminator of all kings;8 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 shew the continuation of the construction of this record.
2 See page 12 above, note 1.
3 i.e. Samudragupta.
4 sarva-rāj-śeṣakartī—In the nominative case, sarva-rāj-śeṣakartī, this epithet occurs on the reverse of some gold coins, hitherto always classed in the Early Gupta series (see Four. 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 Kāccha, in the place where the king's name usually stands on coins, with the marginal legend kacalo gām=avajitya karmabhīr=uttamair=jayati, "Kāccha, having conquered the earth, is victorious by (his) most excellent deeds," and which have always been attributed to the Mahārāja Ghaṭotkaccha, the grandfather of Samudragupta.—But, in the first place, the name of these coins is distinctly Kāccha, and nothing more; and kāccha, which means 'glass, crystal; the string of the scale of a balance; alkaline salt, black salt; wax; &c,' is a totally different word from utkaccha, 'having the hairs (of the body) standing erect (through pleasure),' which is the second component of the name of Ghaṭotkaccha. Secondly, Ghaṭotkaccha, being only a feudatory Mahārāja, was not entitled to issue a coinage in his own name. And thirdly, the epithet sarva-rāj-śeṣakartī on the reverse, is, in the inscriptions, always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only.—There is nothing distinctive in this epithet, sufficient to shew 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 Ghaṭotkaccha; and Kāccha 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 Vīraśena, a minister of Chandragupta II. (No. 6 below, Plate ivA. line 4); Vāgghra, 'a tiger,' applied to a Jain named Vudraśarma (No. 15 below, Plate ixA); and Permaci (also Parmaci, Parmaći and Paramardi), a name of the Western Chālukya king Vīramahidīya VI. (Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. pp. 235, l. 9, 233, l. 14; Bühler's Vīramahākāsugovardha, Introdt. p. 30, note 2; and Rājatarangini, vi. 1122, 1124).—The only other instances, known to me, in which the name Kāccha occurs, are in the case of two rulers or chieftains, Kāccha I. and Kāccha II., mentioned in one of the inscriptions in the Ajaśit caves (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 129, lines 4, 5), belonging to a period that is at any rate longer after that of the Early Guptas.

8 i.e. "whose fame extended up to the shores of the four oceans."—Jambudvīpa, 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 Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka]; who was [the very axe] of (the god) Krīḍānta;¹ who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows] and gold; [who was the restorer of the asvamedha-sacrifice,² that had been long in abeyance];—

(L. 5.)—Who³ was the son of the son’s son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Gupta; the son’s son of [the Mahārāja, the illustrious] Ghatotkacha; (and) the son of the Mahārājadhirāja [the glorious Chandragupta (I.)], (and) the daughter’s son of Lichchhavi, begotten on the Mahādev Kumāradēvi;—

(L. 11.)—By him,⁴ the most devout worshipper of the Divine One,⁵ the Mahārājadhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II.) ................................

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

¹ Krīḍānta-parāsin.—This is another of the formal epithets which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. In the nominative case, Krīḍānta-parāsin, 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.

² 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 asvamedhas was supposed to raise the sacrificer to a level with the god Indra.—The present epithet, asvamedhakārti, is another of those which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. With it we have to compare the legend asvamedha-parākramaḥ, "he who has displayed prowess by a horse-sacrifice," of 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 Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. ii. p. 37 f., and Pl. vii. No. 4.

³ i.e. Samudragupta.

⁴ See page 27 above, note Ⅱ.

⁵ paramabhāgavatā; 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 paramamāthīśvarā (e.g. No. 38 below, line 3), paramādatāṅga (e.g. No. 52 below, line 8), paramavatiśhava (e.g. lines a and i of the Dighākāsā-bullaut grant of the Mahārāja Mahāndrapāla; Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 112), paramapādīpata (e.g. line 8 of the Verawal inscription of Arjunadeva; id. Vol. XI. p. 242), and paramadaśavata (e.g. line 1 of the Nēpāl inscription of Vasantasēna; id. Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3). Other similar epithets, but not formed in quite the same way, are paramabrohana (e.g. line 39 of the grant of Amma II.; id. Vol. VII. p. 16); paramādītyābhakta (e.g. No. 38 below, line 10); and paramabhāgavatībhakta (e.g. lines e, i, k, 3, 6, and 7 of the Dighākāsā-bullaut grant referred to above); also atyantamāthīśvarā and atyantaśuddhīmabhāhairavabhaṭṭa, e.g. No. 55 below, lines 9 and 4; and atyantabhāgavatībhakta, 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 Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya II., where it is applied to two Āchāryas (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 Vyāsā, the arranger of the Vedas. 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 Vishṇu, in line 6 of No. 33 below; to Śaṅbhū (Śiva) in line 5 of No. 7 below; to Svāmi-Mahāśēna (Kārttikīkṣa), in line 7 of No. 10 below; to Varuṇapāvāsin (the Sun), in line 13 of No. 48 below; and to Jīnēnda, in line 1 of the Aihole Mēguṭi inscription of Pulikēśin II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 241). But it seems to belong most particularly to the god Vishṇu (see, for instance, the Vishṇu-Parāsa, vi. 5; Hall’s edition of H. H. Wilson’s Translation, Vol. V. p. 211 ff.) and to denote him whenever 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 Bhagavadgītā, the name of an episode of the Mahābhārata devoted entirely to the subject of devotion to Vishṇu as Kṛṣṇa; Bhagavata-
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. V. pp. 488 ff., where a lithograph of it was published (id. Plate xxvii.), 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 rest, therefore,—and in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., Mr. Prinsep published the reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers (id. Plate xxv.)

Sānchei, or Sāchi, is a village about twelve miles to the north-east of Diwāngañj, the chief town of the Diwāngañj Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Native State of Bhāpāl or Bhāpāl in Central India. It is sometimes called Sāchni-Kānakēḍā, 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 2'61" 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

Purdya, the title of one of the Purṣas, dedicated especially to the glorification of Vishṇu; and Bhāgavata, which occurs in line 7 of the Khōh plates of the *Mahārāja* Jayānātha of the year 177, No. 27 below, Plate xvii., and is, to the present time, the name of one of the Vaishṇava sects. —It may be taken, therefore, that Paramābhāgavata is exclusively a Vaishṇava title.


2 Indian *Atlas*, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 22° 28' N.; Long. 77° 46' E.—The Sachi, Sacha Kana Khēya, and Sacha Kanakera, of maps, &c.—The name is pronounced both Sānchi 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 *Bhilas 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-sammha, 'the community of tranquillity,' occurs in the Asoka inscription at Sānchi (*Bhilas Topes*, p. 299 ff. and Plate xix. No. 177); and since the Chinese transcribed śānti by ɔâ-chi. But the ancient name of Sānchi, at least from the Asoka to the Gupta period, was Kākanēḍā (see page 31 below, para. 9); and this seems to indicate that the name Sānchi 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 Sānchi or Sātchi, with no Buddhist remains at them. And this,—with the analogous names of Kāchi-Kānakēḍā, a village about one and a half miles to the south-west of Sānchi (in which ɔâ-chi is either an Urdu, or a Rāngāṭī or local vernacular, word, meaning 'gardener'), and of Māchi, 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 Sānchi or Sāchi is probably a vernacular name, connected in no way with the Sanskrit.

3 This name is written and pronounced Bhāpāl by Musalmāns, and Bhāpāl by Hindus. It has been suggested that it is a corruption of Bkhy-pal, 'the tank or embankment of king Bhoja.' But I think it is far more likely that the original and correct name is Bhāpāl, from the Sanskrit bhuvāla, 'a king, or the king.' The State, however, is a Musalmān State, and Bhāpāl 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 \( \frac{1}{8} \). The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and approximate most closely to, in the present volume, those of the Māndasār inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xi, and, elsewhere, those of the Ahole Mēguṭ inscription\(^a\) 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 upadhyānya, in conjunction with \( p \), in yasas-patika, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year\(^b\) ninety-three (A.D. 412-13) on the fourth day, without any specification of the lunar fortnight, of the month Bhādrapada (August-

---

\(^a\) Stūpa, '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 Pāli phrase thūpa.—In the country round Sāñchī, I found the popular term for a Stūpa to be bīḍa (Hindī, bijaurd), which means literally 'a heap of dried cow dung-cakes to be used as fuel.' The great Stūpa at Sāñchī is known as Sās-bahā kī 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 Sās-bahā kī dīhrd, '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 Kachchhapagātha prince Mahīḍhara, dated Vikrama-Saṅvat 1150 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 33 ff.)

\(^b\) Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 241 ff., and the accompanying plate.

The text has the abbreviation sam, which may stand either for the crude form samudrata, 'a year,' or for any decennial case that can be used in expressing a date (see page 22 above, note 3). The same remark applies to the form samvat, which occurs, for instance, in samvat 1000 90 1 Sāvana ba di 7, in line 3 of the Ērau posthumous pillar inscription of Gopārjha, No. 20 below, Plate xii B.—It was formerly thought that the word samvat was used only in connection with the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 57. But fuller experience has shewn that both the forms are used freely in the respect of the years of any era whatsoever.—They are used sometimes by themselves, as in the present passage, and in the instance quoted above for samvat; and in instance in composition with the name of the era; as, for instance, in the Ambarnāth inscription of the chieftain Mānūṣā (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329, l. 1), Śaka-samvat 782 Jyotśhika buddha 9 Śukr, and in the Sāmātth-Pāthap inscription of Arjunaḍeva of Aśvālīkā (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII p. 242, l. 2 ff.), Mahamadā samvat 662 tathā śrī-nipa-Vikrama-sam 1220 tathā śrīmad-Valabhi-sam 945 tathā śrī-Simha-sam 137 varāh Ashādha va di 23 Ruvu.—The form samvat represents the genitive plural, samvat-śardham, in such passages as Śaka-nipa-kī ditta-samudrata-satśhuk-asktar chatur-navātī-adhiśekhav-aṅkāṭi śamvat 899 Ērc, in the Kārd grant of the Rāṇṭrākṣita king Kakka III. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 206, l. 47 ff.), as contrasted with Śaka-nipa-kī ditta-samudrata-satśhuk-asktar patika-patika-adhiśekhav-aṅkāṭi,p samvat-śardham 835 Ērc, in the Śāṅgīl grant of Gōvinda V. of the same dynasty (id. Vol. XII. p. 351, l. 44 ff.); the latter is the only passage that I know of, in which the whole genitive case occurs in connection with the numerals. And it evidently stands for the full locative singular and plural respectively, in such passages as Śamvat ptaṭaka-saptadhiśekhav-dvākāsat-śārād 1275 Ērc, in the Chārvā inscription of Devapāla of Dhar (No. 19 of the separate publications of the Archeological Survey of Western India, p. 111, l. 4), and in Śaka-samvat dva-navātī-adhiśekhava satśhuk śamvat 992 Ērc, in the Bassein grant of Śaṅcarandra II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 120, I. 24 ff.)—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives samvat 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 declinable; (1) in verse 30 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit's Néplā Inscription, No. 19, of Pratāpamalla, dated Néplā-Saṅvat 773 (A.D. 1658-59); Néplād samvat-tāmin kṣaya-girī munishikā
It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the grant, by Amrakárdaya, the son of Undána, and apparently an officer of Chandra-gupta, of a village, or an allotment of land, called févaravásaka, and a sum of money, to the Árya-Samgha, or community of the faithful, at the great vihára or Buddhist convent of Kákanádabótá, for the purpose of feeding mendicants and maintaining lamps.

The Kákanádabótá 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 bótá in this name; but it is probably another form of pótá, '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 Aóka period in the neighbourhood, to which my attention was directed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji; 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 Kákanádyá bhagavatá pamána-latí, "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 Sapurisása Gótíputasa Kákanáda-Pábhásanasas Kósína-gótasa, "(i.e. relics) of the virtuous Prabhásana of Kákanáda, the Gótíputra, of the Kauṇḍinya gótára."

TEXT:

1 Siddhám [II] Ká[kaná]dabótá-stí-mahá-vihárá śíla-samádhí-prajñá-gupa- bhávit-endriyáya parama-punya-
2 kri... tayá chatur-ddig-abhyágatáya śramaña-púngav-avasatháy-árya- saḿgháya mahárájádhi-
3 rá[a]-ś[;][;]-Chandragnúpta-páda-prasad-apáyáita-jívita-sádhanáh anujví-satpurusha- sádha-báva-
4 vi[i[tín][?]] jagati prakhýapayan anéka-samar-avápta-víjaya-yášas-pátáka Śukuli-dása-Na- Č
5 ahti... vástavya Undána-putr-Ámrakárddavó Maja-Śarabhang- Ámráráta-rajakula-múlya-kri-
6 tam[?] ya... févaravásakaṁ pañcá-mándalyá[m*] pranipatya dadáti pañcíha-viṁśatiṣ(th)-cha diná-

Saññiyáta &c. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 191); and (a) in an unpublished Chambá inscription which contains several dates in the Vikrama-Samvat and Lákakála, commencing with Vikrama-Samvat 1915 (A.D. 1858-59); in line 11 f. we have Sánvaté 34 Srovana-pra° 17 lāz sánvaté 36 dd Srovana-śvádha......&c.

1 In the present series of inscriptions, bótá or vótá occurs again (1) as part of a proper name in Rákabótá, in line 8 of No. 27, Plate xvii. below; and (2) as a territorial name, in the Vótá sántika in line 6f. of No. 29, Plate xix.A. below.—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives pótí, bótá, and vótá, in the sense of a woman with a beard; a hermaphrodite; a female servant or slave. — And we have Bótaka, as a proper name, in line 25 of No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.

2 From the original stone.

3 In the original, this word, which is very much damaged and hardly recognisable, stands above the first two akharas of line 1.

4 These two aksharas 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.
Perfection has been attained! To the community of the faithful in the holy great vihâra of Kâkânâdâbôta,—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 are 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 Sramanas,—having prostrated himself in an assembly of five persons,1 Amrâkârdava,2 the son of Undâna,—whose means of subsistence have been made comfortable by the favour of the feet of the Mahârâjâdhirâja, 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 dêta,—gives (the village or

1 We might very suitably supply the lacune by reading Dâvarâja iti priya-nâm=[âmâtyâh bhavat]ya[=f]tasya.
2 See page 30 above, note 3.
3 i.e. dina, dinâ, divasa, or divasâ. And the word properly denotes the solar day, from sunrise to sunrise, with which a week-day name would be coupled; not the lunar sīthi, which may coincide with, or more or less may differ from, the solar day and week-day.
4 Árya-Sângha.
5 pañcha-mandâla is evidently the same as the Panchâlî, Panchâyat, or Panch, 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 pañchâlî (perhaps a mistake of the engraver for pañchdli), which seems to be used in the same sense, in line 10 of Bhagwanlal Indrâji’s Nâpâl Inscriptions, No. 10 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 173).—So also pâchâlîka, 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 Panchâyats which are in each instance specified by name.
6 Of Ámrâkârdava.
7 dêta, 'a region, country, province, &c.' is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning and bearing of which have not yet been determined. So, also, khanda, 'a section,' mandala, 'a circle, district, arrondissement, province, &c.;' râstra, 'a kingdom, district, country, region, &c.;' and vishaya, 'a country, region, district, province, &c. —Dêta is sometimes used as a synonym of mandala. Thus, in line 7 of a grant of Amma II. of about Sâka-Sahâvat 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. 74), the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas is called the Vehgât dêta. While, in line 17 of a grant of Amma I. (id. Vol. VIII. p. 79), and in line 8 of another of Bhilâma II. (id. Vol. XIII. p. 213), it is called the Vehgat mandala. These charters record grants made in the Pennâtavâd吉, Gudrânu, and Pâgunâvana vishayas; which would point to vishaya being a subdivision of a dêta or mandala, and this is in accordance with line 5 of the Kapâlêswar grant of Mahâ-Bhavagupta (id. p. 213, where the correct reading is viskhyâya-Rajâgdrâmâ), recording a gift of the village vishaya, i.e. a portion belonging to the Pôva or Yôvâ viskhyâ in the Khâla dêta. On the other hand, the inscription of Saka-
Handwritten text
half, which is mine,\(^1\) let the same number of five *Bhikhus* 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 Brāhmaṇa,\(^*\) and with *the guilt of* the five sins that entail immediate retribution \(^9\)

(L. 11.)—The year 90 (and) 3; (the month) Bhāḍrapada; the day 4.

---

**No. 6; PLATE IVA.**

**UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSRIPTION 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 *Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X.* p. 51 f., where he published his own version of the text, and a translation of it by Rājā 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 “Tāmā Cave,” from the resemblance of the large flat stone, on the top of the rock in which it is excavated, to a gigantic tawd, 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 \(\frac{3}{4}\) to \(\frac{1}{2}\)”. The *characters* belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of radically the same type with those of the Allahbad 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 *jihvāmālīya* and *upadhmanīya* in *jāha-kavih-pāsilī*, 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 Allahbad 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

---

\(^1\) It is not quite apparent who is speaking here; but probably Amrakārdava is intended.

\(^*\) *brahmaṇa*; see Childers’ Pāli Dictionary, s.v. *brahmaṇa*.

\(^+\) *vīś. matricide, patricide, killing an *Arhat*, shedding the blood of a Buddha, and *causing* division among the priesthood (see Childers’ Pāli Dictionary, s.v. *paśchānantaryahamman* and *abhiḥkarmam*.)

\(^*\) 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 Virasēna, otherwise called Śāba, who was one of the ministers of Chandragupta II.

TEXT.

1 Siddham [II*] Yad = a[m] tarjiyōtir-arkk-āhham-urvyyām [— — — — — — — — — — — — — ] yāpi Chandragupt-akhyam-adbhutam [II*] 1


4 Kautsa-Śāba iti khyātō Virasēnāḥ kul-akhyaya śabdārthha-nyāya-lōka-jñāḥ-kaviḥ Praliputrakāḥ [II*] 4

5 Kritṣna-prithvijāy-dṛttihēna rājā-siv-ēva sah-agataḥ bhaktyā bhagavatāṁ Śambhū-gṛhām-ētām-akrayat [II*] 5

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained........................ which shines like the sun,8 radiant with internal light, ........ upon the earth ............. pervades . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . (and) has the appellation of Chandragupta (II.), (and it) 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, possessed of inconceivable ........ (and) [has been appointed to] (the office of arranging) peace and war; (vis.)—

1 See page 27 above, note 4, for some similar instances of second names.
2 From the original stone.
3 In the original this word stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.
4 Metre, Śītaka (Anuśūlubh) throughout.
5 From the use, in line 5, of the imperfect past tense akrayat, '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 Virasēna. 'Accordingly, in translating, I have given a present sense to the contents of lines 1 to 4.
6 There seems to be intended a play on the words 'sun' and 'moon,' the latter of which (chandra) forms part of the king's name.
7 Rājādhikāraṇa; lit. 'superior king of Rājas or kings.'—This was, in earlier times, one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty. In its Pāli or Prakrit form of Rajadhiraja, it occurs as the representative of the Greek basileus basileon, sometimes by itself, e.g. on some of the coins of Māues (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 12); and sometimes in conjunction with Maharaja (Mahārāja), e.g. on some of the coins of Azes (id. p. 85 ff., Nos. 136, 140, and 157). And another almost identical title, viz. Rājādhikāraṇa, lit. 'superior king of Rājas or kings,' occurs in the same
(L. 4)—He who, belonging to the Kautsa (gôtra) is well-known under the name of Śāba, (but is called) Virasena 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) Pātaliputra,—

(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.

GADHWĀ 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 Rājā Siva Prasad, and were first brought to notice by General Cunningham in his Archaeological Reports.

Gadhwā,1 which means literally 'a fort,' is the name of several villages in the Arail and Bārā Pargānas in the Karchhanā Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. The particular Gadhwā, where these inscriptions were found, is in the Bārā Pargana, eight miles to the west by south from Bārā, and one and a half miles south of the village of Bhatgadh.2 It is entered in the map simply as a "Fort."3 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 9' by 4' thick and 6' 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 Hūvishka of the year 47 (Archaeol. 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 Mahārājadhirāja (see page 10 above, note 3). The form Rājādhirāja cannot be traced at all. And Rājādhirāja 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 Mandaśrī inscription of Yasbudhāran and Visishtavardhana, No. 33 below; in line 62 of the Alhā grant of Śālāyāna VII., No. 39 below; and, in the derivative Rājādhirāja, in line 24 of the Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14 below, in line 2 of which we also have, again for metrical reasons, another variety of the title, viz. Rājājadhirāja.

1 The 'Garhwa' and 'Gurhwa' of maps, &c.
2 The 'Baraw' of maps.
3 The 'Badgarh, Bhatgarh, and Budgudh' of maps, &c.
4 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' 43" 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 86.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Allahábád 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 7 and 7 after the anusvra, in *samvatsara*, line 9, and *samvatsarē*, 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 *paramabhágavata* in line 10, followed by the beginning of the title *Mahdrájádhirája*, 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 [Paramabhágavata*-mahdrájádhirája-šri-Chandragupta-rájya*-]

2 [sahvavatsarē] ........................................... [asyām]

3 divasa-pūrvvévāyām

---

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 rājya *sahvavatsarē*; see page 38 below, note 5.
4 Supply *tithau*. 
ka-Mātridāsa-pramukha ........................................... [puny-A]-
pyāyan-ārtham rachita ............................................. [sA]-
dā-sat[*]ra-sāmānya(nya)-brāhma[na] ............................... [II]
dinārair-dāsabhāt 10 .................................................. [II]
Yaś-ch-āinaṁ dharmma-skanda(ndha')m [vyuchchhindyāšt-sa
pañccha-mahāpātakaṁ sam]-
yuukta[h*] syād-iti (II)

Second Part.
Paramabhaśavata - mahā[rajasūdhāra - śri - Chandra Gupta - rA]-
[jya-samvyatsare] 80 8 ........................................... [asyaṁ divasa]-
pūrvvyaṁ[ Pātā[ta]liput[ta]ra ........................................... [gri]-
bhasthasya bhāryā y .................................................
-ātma-punya-ōpachay-[ārtham] ..............................
sadā-sattra-sāmānya-b[rahma[ṇ]a] ..................................
dināraḥ daśa 10 .......................................................... [II] [Yaś-ch-āinaṁ]
dharmma-skanda(ndha)ṁ vyuchchhindyā[t-sa pañccha-
mahāpātakaṁ samyuktaṁ syād-iti [II]

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

[In the reign of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārajaḥdāhirāja
the glorious Chandra Gupta (II.); in the year] .............................................
(on this) (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (et c.)—

(Line 3)— .......... headed by Mātridāsa ................. for the purpose of
increasing [the religious merit] ............. fashioned ............. the Brāhmans
of the community of a perpetual almshouse ................. by ten dīndras, (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]*1!

Second Part.

(L. 10.)—In the reign* of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the
Mahārajaḥdāhirāja, [the glorious Chandra Gupta (II.)]; in the year 80 (and) 8; .............
(on this) (lunar day), (specified) as above [by the day, (&c.)]:—

*1 In line 17 below, the reading is again skandam. But this is undoubtedly a mistake for skandham, which we have distinctly in the same imprecation in line 12 of the Gaḍhwa inscription, No. 64 below, Plate xxxixB.—We also have a similar expression, punya-skandham; in line 9 of the Kadham pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15 below, Plate ixA.

* Supply itkau.

*The pañccha mahāpātakaṁ, 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 Mahaodharmaliśtra, 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 Chandra Gupta." 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-
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 8, PLATE IV C.

(L. 12.)— Pātaliputra ................................................. the wife of the householder ..................... [for the purpose] of adding to (her) own religious merit ........................................ the Brāhmaṇs of the community of a perpetual almshouse ........ ten dindras, (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 IV C.

GADHWĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

This is another of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Rājā Siva Prasad, in 1871-72, at Gadhwā, in the Allahahād District in the North-West Provinces. It was first brought to notice, in 1872, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text in the Archæol. 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 ½”. 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 Kumāragupta.
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 dindras, 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 Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 below, Plate v., “in the year ninety-six of the augmenting victorious reign of Kumāragupta;” (2) line 3 of the Indor 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 Gadhwā inscription of the year 148, No. 66 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 Gūndā inscription of Rudrasimha (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 157), “in the year one hundred, increased by two, or in figures 100 and 2, of the Mahākṣatapa, the Śudmin Rudrasaḥ;” and (5) line 1 of a Mathurā inscription of Vāsudeva (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20), “in the year 90 and 8 of king Vāsudeva.”—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 rṣya-saṁvatsār instead of rṣya-saṁvatsār.

1See page 36 above, and note 1.
the other of an uncertain number,—as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a 
sattra, or charitable hall or almshouse.

TEXT:

1 Jitāṁ bhagavatā I Pa[ramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja]-
2 śrī-Kumāragupta-rajya-[saṁvatsarē]
3 divasē 10 [asyāṁ divasa-pūrvvāyāṃ]
4 
5 ... sada-sat[t]ra-sa[mānya]
6 [da]ttā dlnārā 10 ta(?)
7 ti sattrē cha dlnārās-trayā[nt]-[Yaśa-ch-aināmah-dharmma-skandham-vyuchchhi]-
8 ndyat-sa pañcha-mahāpārakaiḥ saṁyuktaḥ syād-iti [it]
9 Gōyindā Lakshmā

TRANSLATION.

Victory has been achieved by the Divine One! In the reign* of [the most devout 
worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājādhirāja], 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 ........

(L. 7.)—[And whosoever shall interfere with this branch of religion],—he [shall 
become invested] with (the guilt of) the five great sins 1

(L. 9.)—Gōyindā, Lakshmā, ........

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 Allahābad 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 1880, published 
his reading of the text in the Archaol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 9, with a lithograph (id. Plate 
v. No. 1.)

1 From the original stone.

* This epithet is completed from line 5 of the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 
below, and line 5 f. of the Bhitarī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below.

Read rdjṣ [saṁvatsarē]; see page 38 above, note 5.

* This may be completed into either trayāḥ, trayādās, trayānimatā, or any other numeral 
commencing with traysas.

* See page 38 above, note 5.

* 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
\(\frac{1}{4}\) to \(\frac{1}{2}\). 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 shows that the record must belong to the time of the Early Gupta King
Kumāragupta. 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
dīndras, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a sattva, a charitable
hall or almshouse.

TEXT.¹

1. [Jitāry bhagavatā Paramabṛghavatāmabja-
2. [rāja-sāth-Kumāragupta-rājya-saṁvatsa]te 90 8
3. [asyāṁ divasa]-pūrvvavām
tatt
4. nē(?)-n-ātma-jihū-pa[cha]-
5. [y-ārththām] kālyām satya-satGA-ra-
6. kasya alakśhivanṣe(?)
7. tyā(?)-m dīndrāh dvādaśa
8. sy-āmku-odbha(?)-stucchha
9. [saṁ]yukta[1]* syād-viti 1(I)

TRANSLATION

[Victory has been achieved by the Divine One, by the reign of the most devout
worshipper of the Divine One, [the Mahārājādhi] the glorious Kumāragupta]; in
the year 90 (and) 8; [consonant] (lunar day), (specified) as above
by the day (&c.)—

(Line 3)—[for the purpose] of adding to (his), own religious
merit (to endure) for the same time with

a perpetual almshouse.

(Line 9)—shall become added with

¹ From the original stone.
² To be corrected into ṛṣiyd samvatsaraḥ; see page 38 above, note 5.
³ Supply tithau.
⁴ The measure of the lines of this inscription seems to shew 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.

BILSAD 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 *Archwol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 191., accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate viii.)

Bilsad or Bilsand¹ is a village,—consisting of three parts, called respectively Bilsad-Puvâyam, or Eastern Bilsad; Bilsad-Pachhâyam, or Western Bilsad; and Bilsad-Pattā² or Bilsad Suburb,—about four miles towards the north-east of Aliganj,³ the chief town of the Aliganj Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Éta⁴ District in the North-West Provinces. At the south-west corner of Bilsad-Puvâyam, 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 svaddita-yaksād of line 1 of the one now published;—line 3, with the gati-dakṣa of line 2;—line 12, with the parshād of line 9;—line 13, with the kaubhrachchanda of line 10;—line 14, with the [ṣa]itra of line 11;—line 15, with the . . . subhā of line 12;—and line 16, with the yān-dārūva of line 13.

With this pair of duplicate inscriptions, we may compare the duplicate inscriptions of Yaśodharman on the two columns at Mandasor, Nos. 33 and 34 below. But Yaśodharman'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 Kārttikeya, referred to in the inscription.

The writing of the inscription now published covers a space of about 2' 1½" broad by 1' 10½" high. The first four lines are almost entirely destroyed, and a good deal of

¹ The 'Beelsur and Bilsar' of modern maps, is shown on the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 68. Lat. 27° 33' N.; Long. 79° 16' E.—The name is written and pronounced optionally with or without a nasal in the second syllable; compare Apsaad, and Apsad in place of the inscription of Adityasēna, No. 42 below.
² The 'Beelsurpowa, Beelsurpuch,' or 'puttee,' of maps.
³ The 'Ali ganj' and Ulleegurje' of Cunningham.
⁴ The 'Eeta, Etah, and Etyub,' of maps.
The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Kumāragupta. 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 Saiva form of worship; and the object of it is to record the accomplishment by a certain Dhruvaśarman, at a temple of the god Karttikeya under the name of Svāmi-Mahāśeṇa, of certain works, viz. (1) the building of a pratoli, 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

. . . . [Sarvā-raj-ochchhēttuḥ prithivyām-a-pratirathasya chatur-uda]dha-sa-ṃil-āsvādita-yaśasā
3 [mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapattraṣa mahārāja-śrī-Ghātottkacha-pattraṣa mahārāja-śrī-Chandragupta-pattraṣa
4 Līchchhavi-dauphi[tt]rasaḥ mahādēvyām Kumāradēvyām-utpānnyāsā mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudragupta-pattraṣa
5 mahādēvyām Dattadēvyām-utpānnyāsā svaya[m=a-pratirathasya] [parama]-bhāgavatasā mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-pattraṣa
6 mahādēvyām Dhruvadēvyām-utpānnyāsā mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptasya-abhivaraddhamāna-vijaya-rāja-saṃvatsarā śaṅ-navatē [1*]

1 As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham, pratoli, 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 Pañḍit. 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 pratoli 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).'

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.

3 Probably siddhaṃ stood here.

4 Read Samudraguptasya puttraṣa, the separate genitive Samudraguptasya being required in apposition with the genitives ending in pratiraṭasā, pauttraṣa, puttraṣa, daunhitrasā, and utpānnyāsā, 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-pattraṣa, which is quite correct, at the end of line 3.

5 Read Chandraguptasya puttraṣa, the separate genitive Chandraguptasya being required in apposition with the genitives utpānnyāsā, a-pratirathasya, and paramabhāgavatasā in this line.— See the preceding note.

6 Read rājya samuṅgaśarā; see page 38 above, note 5.
7 Asyan-divasa-puruvayam
dhagavatas-trailokyay-tejas-sanbhara-sanatata-adbubta-
muuttet-Brahmanyadavesa

8 ....... nivaisnab

svami-mahaesnasyayatanse-simin-Karattayug-acharya-
saddharma-vartm-anuyayin

9. ata ....... [pa]rshada

Dhrusammanad

karma maha-krit-vidam I(II)


munivasati[w — ] svargga-sopana-ri[va]pam

karberachhandambimbhaphatikamajb-dabhasa-gauram

prasad-agbhirpamgunavara-bhavanan[daharma-sa(?)]vram

yathavat

puyeshyev-ebhirama,vrajaububha-matis-tata-Sarmam

bhaktirahna-sat[st]samaata

kas-tanaha samdopajay
t

11 yen-apurvavivbhuti-safchayachayi

ten-ayan

Dhrusammanah

sthira-varasastjambh-ochchhrjayah

khatih I(II)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 6.)—In the ninety-sixth year, (and) in the augmenting victorious reign1 of
the Mahardja-bhiraja, the glorious Kumragupta,—

(L. 5.)—Who is the son, begotten on the Mahadeto Dhruvadvi, of the Mahardja-
bhiraja, 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.)—Who2 was the son, begotten on the Mahadeto Dattadvi, of the Mahardja-
bhiraja, the glorious Samudragupta,—

(L. 1.)—[Who3 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 Varuna and Indra and Antaka; who was the very axe
of (the god) Kritanta]; who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows and]
gold; who was the restorer of the aswamedha-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance;
(and)

(L. 3.)—[Who4 was the son of the son’s son of the Mahardja, the illustrious Gupta;—
the son’s son of the Mahardja, the illustrious Ghatottkacha];—(and) the son of
the Mahardja-bhiraja, the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (and) the daughter’s son of
Lichchhavi, begotten on the Mahadeto Kumradeli;—

(L. 7.)—On this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (Et),5—at this temple of
the divine (god) Svami-Maheshna, whose wondrous form is covered over with the acu-

1 Supply tittha.

2 Read kritam-idam.
3 Metre, Sragdhara.

The reading is gauram, instead of the usual form gaurin, also in the original duplicate of this
inscription on the other column.

5 Metre, Chrdalavikridita.

These four aksharas are supplied from the ink-impression of the duplicate inscription, in which
they are quite distinct.

We should expect sthiratara; but the duplicate inscription also reads sthira-varas.

See page 38 above, note 5.

6 i.e. Chandragupta II.
7 i.e. Samudragupta.
8 i.e. Samudragupta.
mulation of the lustre of the three worlds; who is the god Brahmânya; (and) who resides at ..................... —this great work has been accomplished by Dhruvaśarman, who follows the path of the customs of the Kâta 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 [jewel]-necklace of the kind called kaubhrachchhanda, (and) white with the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems;—(and having made), in a very proper manner, a [religious] almshouse(?) 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 Šarman endure for a long time!  

(L. 12.)—This lofty pillar,5 firm and excellent, has been caused to be made by that same Dhruvaśarman, 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.

No. II: PLATE VI.A.

MANKUWAR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 129.

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.

Mankuwar6 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 Karchhana Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd 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 Gôstâli of Dôriyâ or Dèwariyâ; 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 Pâanch-Pâhâd, 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 pratîlî; 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 'Mankûwar and Muhowar' 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 'Devalia.'
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 1' to 1½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate very closely to those of the Allahabád 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 Guptá king Kumáragupta. For some reason or other, it gives him the subordinate feudatory title of Mahárdája, instead of the paramount title of Mahárdájadhárí. But we know of no feudatory chieftain of the name of Kumáragupta; and the date fits exactly into the period of Kumáragupta, of the Early Guptá 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 Kumáragupta, towards the end of his life, to feudal rank by the Pushyamitrás and the Hánas, whose attacks on the Guptá power are so pointedly alluded to in the Bhírati inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below.1 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 Jyéshtha (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 Óm* Namó Buddhána [19] Bhagavatś samyak-sambuddhasya sva-mat-áviruddhasya iyam pratimá pratishthápitá bhikshú Buddhámitréna

---

1 We may compare the rather doubtful legend on one of Skandagupta's coins,—Mahárdája-Kumáragupta-paramamákáditya-mahárdája-Skanda; see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 67.

2 From the ink-impression.

As was usual throughout the whole of the period covered by this volume, this word is represented by a symbol, not by actual letters.—Óm is not of very frequent occurrence at the commencement of Buddhist inscriptions. But another instance is afforded by line 1 of the Shérsgáth (Kótá) inscription of the Sánanta Dévadatta (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 45.)

4 Read bhágavatá; unless bhudhána, as also the following bhagavatś, is to be regarded as a Prákrit form, used through carelessness.—This use of the genitive after namó is not usual. But we have other instances; e.g. in the Khandagiri rock inscription, which commences Namó arahanténam namó sava-sidhdinám (Corpus. Inscr. 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 Amarávatí (Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, Pl. xxiv. No. 3), commences Sidhám Namó bhagavatś; and the second, from Mathurá (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20) Siddhám Namó arahatá Mahádáryasya; and in the Amarávatí Sítá inscription, which commences Sidhám Namó bhágavatá savasatāmasa Budhána (Archaeol. Surv. South. Ind. Vol. 3, p. 12, No. 12B., and Plate iii.; see also other instances on pp. 8, 18, 45, 47, 52, 53, 54, of the same volume).
Om! Reversion to the Buddhás! 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 Bhikṣhu Buddhámitra,—(in) the year 100 (and) 20 (and) 9; in the reign of the Mahārāja, the glorious Kumāragupta; (in) the month Jyēṣṭha; (in) 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. VII*. 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 Bihār, 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. Rajendralalā 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 *Arch. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 37 f. and Plate xvii., General Cunningham published his own lithograph of the inscription.

Bihār is the chief town of the Bihār Sub-Division of the Paṭaṇa 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 Bihār, and was set up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihār Court-House, where it still stands. Mr. Broadley perpetuated

---

1 See page 30 above, note 3.  
2 Read dākkha.  
3 *Om* is an auspicious exclamation, used at the beginning of books, &c. It is made up of the three letters a, m, 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, Vishnū (a), Sīva (m), and Brahmā (m).—The efficacy of the exclamation is detailed in the *Mānasavadharmasūtra*, ii. 74-85 (Burnell’s Translation, p. 25 ff.).  
4 With this plural, compare the mention of four Buddhás in the Sāकhi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxviiiA.; and also *Bhagavatād miṃyasakṣaṃbhūdānāṃ Buddhānāṃ*, "of the divine Buddhás, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge," in line 22 of the Vākā grant of Dhruvaśeśa I. (*Ind. Ant. Vol. IV.* p. 105).  
5 See page 46 above, para. 4.  
6 The ‘Behar and Bihār’ 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 Bihār, with the vowel i in the first syllable, from the Sanskrit vihāra, 'a Buddhist (and Jain) temple or convent;' and this is the form that is used by the people of the Paṭaṇa District.—The Sanskrit name, Vihāra, occurs in line 9-10 of the ‘Pesserawa’ inscription, now stored in the collection at Bihār, where the place is called "Vihāra, the city of the glorious Yakṣvarman." (*Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XVII.* p. 492 ff.).  
7 *Arch. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 192 f.
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. Broadney, stands now in the
middle of a house, the roof of which is supported by it; and the last eight lines of the in-
scription, shewn in Dr. Rajendralala Mitra and General Cunningham's lithographa, 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' 14" broad by 3' 5" high,
and is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The size of the letters varies from \( \frac{1}{5} \) to \( \frac{3}{5} \).
The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate closely to those
of the Allahabad 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 19, 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 anusvara, before \( \delta \), in \( \text{anta} \), lines 11 and 13;
(2) the doubling of \( \eta \) and \( t \), in conjunction with a following \( r \), e.g. in \( \text{chakr} \), line 10
(but not in \( \text{vikram} \), line 3), and \( \text{pauitrasya} \), line 17; and (3) the doubling of \( \text{dh} \), in
conjunction with a following \( y \), in \( \text{anudh\text{\'y}da} \), 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 jāpa or 'sacred 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 Kárttikeya, 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.\footnote{Compare the undoubted instance of this, in the same period, in the Gāndhār inscription of
Visavarman, No. 17 below.—The mātrah or mātrigama, 'the divine Mothers,' are 'the personified
energies (śakti) of the principal deities.' They are closely connected with the worship of the god
Śiva. Originally they were seven in number,—Brha\( \text{\'m} \), Brha\( \text{\'m} \, \text{\'t} \), Vaipava, Māhe\( \text{\'v} \), Kaumālaya,
Vātālī, Aindrā or Indrā and Māhe\( \text{\'v} \)ār, and Chāmpūṇā, as representing the Pleiades, the seven
mothers or nurses of Kārttikeya, the son of Śiva. Afterwards the number was increased to eight,
nine, sixteen, and various other figures. The chief object of the Śākta or Tántrika worship now is
Pārvatī, Durgā, or Māhe\( \text{\'v} \)ār, the wife and female energy of Śiva; especially under the name of
Jagadambā, 'the mother of the universe.'—Not long after this period, Svāmī-Mahāsena, 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. 27), and of the Early Chaulukyas
(e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 162; Vol. VI. p. 74; and Vol. XIII. p. 137 f.)}
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 1a, PLATE VI.B.

TEXT:

First Part.
1 [— ] b1 niñt'-chandra Indrānuja-tulya-vrīyyō gunāir-a-tulyaḥ
   [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ }
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; 

(Line 3)— whose sister, indeed, [was espoused] by Kumāragupta, of unequalled prowess.

(The rest of the inscription had been broken away and lost, before the time when it was discovered.)
(L. 4.)—............ both the deceased ancestors and the gods, with the oblations proper for each of them;\(^1\) 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.)—............ 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 (?), 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 Mahārājādhīrāja, 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) Kṛiṣṇa; [who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold]; who was the restorer of the avamādhō-sacrifice, that had been [long] in abeyance; [who was the son of the son's son of the Mahārājā, the illustrious Gupta]; who was the son's son of [the Mahārājā, the illustrious] Ghatotkacha; (and) who was [the son] of the Mahārājādhīrāja, [the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhavī], begotten on the Mahādēvi Kumārādēvi,—

(L. 19.)—(was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājādhīrāja, [the glorious Chandragupta (II.)],—who was accepted by him;\(^2\) [who was begotten on the Mahādēvi [Dattādēvi]]; (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 Mahādēvi Druvādēvi, (was) [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One], [the Mahārājādhīrāja, the glorious Kumāragupta].

(L. 22.)—[His] son, who meditated on his feet, (is) [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājādhīrāja, the glorious] Skandagupta.

\(^1\)lit. "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 Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Skandagupta, issue a command] .................................. of the town of Ajapura in the ....... gisaya ................................ a perpetual endowment of a village-field ................................ the Uparīka, the Kumārdolīya, ........... acquired by the merchant, ................ in the seat (of office) (? of the Agrahārika, the Sāulkika, and the Gauḍimika, ................................ and others who subsist on Our favour;—

(L. 31.)—"I have been requested by ...... varman,—'By my father's father, ................ by the Bhāṭṭa Guhilavāmin, ................. belonging to Bhadrāryā ..........................

No. 13; 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.  


—and finally, in 1885, in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 349 ff., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajia has given his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, with another lithograph reduced from his hand-copy.

Bhitari is a village about five miles to the north-east of Sayyidpur, the chief town of the Sayyidpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Ghaţpur District in the North-West Provinces. The red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands just outside the

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 Sāulkika is a technical official title, which might be rendered by some such term as 'superintendent of tolls or customs (sūlkā).'
4 Gauḍimika is a technical official title, which might be rendered by 'superintendent of woods and forests (guṇāma).'
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 Bhitarī,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103, Lat. 25° 35' N.; Long. 83° 17' E.
8 The 'Sayyidpur and Sydpooi' of maps, &c.
9 The 'Ghazeepoor' 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 $\frac{1}{4}$" high by $\frac{1}{2}$" 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 $\frac{1}{2}$" to $\frac{3}{4}$". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though more squarely cut, are of the same type with those of the Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iii A. 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 ś, in vañṣa, lines 7, 13, and 14; (2) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in vikramāṇa and kramāṇa, line 9; (3) the doubling of ī, under the same circumstances, in paultrasya, line 3 (but not in pratiputra, line 2; putras, line 4; and other places); and (4) the doubling of ḍh, in conjunction with a following r, in anudhyāta, 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 Vishṇu, under the name of Śāṅgin or "the wielder of the bow of horn named Śāṅgi," and the allotment, to the idol, of the village, not mentioned by name, in which the column stands.

**TEXT:**

1 [Siddham] [II*] [Sar]vya-rāj[Ś]chchh[Ś]ttubh prithiyām-a-pratirathasya chatur- 

2 Kriṭānta-paraśōḥ nyāy-āgat-[Ś]nēka-gō-hiranyā-k[Ś]ti-pradasya chir-ō[Ś]san-
āsvamedh-āharttur-mahārāja-Śrī-Gupta-prapautra[Ś]syā

3 mahārāja-Śrī-Ghaṭokṛchā-pauutrasya mahārājādhīrāja-Śrī-Chandragupta-
putrasya Lichchhivī-dauhitrasya mahādēvyān Kṛm[Ś]rad[Ś]vyā

4 m-utpannasya mahārājādhīrāja-Śrī-Samudraguptasya putras-tat-parigrihitō 
mahādēvyān-Dattādēvyām—utpannam svayam-a-pratirathā

5 paramabhagavatō mahārājādhīrāja-Śrī-Chandraguptas-tasya putras-tat-pād-
anudhyātō mahādēvyām Dhruvadēvyām—utpannam parama-

6 bhagavatō mahārājādhīr[Ś]ja-Śrī-Kumāraguptasya tasya [I*] Pratihāt-prithu-
mati-svabhāva-saktēḥ prithu-yaśasah prithivipatēḥ prithu-śrīh

7 pi[Ś]tri-paraśāgata-pādapadam-varṇṭ pratihāt-yaśasḥ prithivipatēḥ sutō-yam [I*] 
ḥagatiḥ bhu[ja]-bal-ādyō(dhyō) Gupta-vaṇś-aika-vrīṇḥ pratihāt-vipula-

8 dhāmā nāmateḥ Śrīnandaguptah sucharita-charitānām yēna vṛttēna vṛttam
na vjanam-amal-amātā tāna-dhīḍaḥ (?)-vintah [I*] Vinaya-

9 balā-suntār-vikramāṇa kkramāṇa pratidinam-abhiyogad-ipsitam yēna 
la[b]dhvā svabhūmata-vijīgāhā-prōdyatam pāraśeṁ prapi

10 hita iva lē[bhē sa]nvidhad-opadēsaḥ [I*] Vichalita-kula-lakṣṁi-stambhanamvāy-
ōdytatēna kṣhititala-sayanily yēna nīta triyāmā samu-

*From the original column.

* There are some faint marks above the sarvasa, which seem to be remnants of this word; but it is not quite certain.

* Metre, Pushpitāgrā.
TRANSLATION.

[Perfection has been attained]! The son of the Mahārāja-dhīhirāja, 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) Kriyānta; who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who was the restorer of the asvamedha-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; who was the son of the son’s son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghatotkacha; (and) who was the son of the Mahārāja-dhīhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (I), (and) the daughter’s son of Lichchhivi,1 begotten on the Mahādevi Kumārādevī,—

(Line 4)—(was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārāja-dhīhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II), who was accepted by him;2 who was begotten on the Mahādevi Dattadēvi; (and) who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power).

1 Metre, Śārdulavikrīḍā; and in the next verse.
2 Metre, Śloka (Anuśṭubh); 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 Mahárajabhiraja, the glorious Kumáragupta, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the Mahádevá Dhruvadévi.

(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; 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 Pushyamitrás, 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 Krishna, when he had slain (his) enemies, betook himself to (his mother) Devakī:

(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) showed mercy to the conquered peoples in distress, (but) has become neither proud nor arrogant,

1 This expression is very analogous in its purport to the tat-padd-budhyata of line 5 above. Compare Amoghavarsahadeva-paddapankasa-brhamara, "a bee at the waterlilies which are the feet of Amoghavarsahadeva," in line 17 f. of the Śrīdr 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 pradasya, line 2, and dauhitraya, line 3; and contrasting it with the subscript p, e.g. in tat-parigrhid, line 4, and tat-padd, line 5,—it is plainly y. This passage, therefore, shows that the correct form of the first part of this name is pushya, not pushva; a point which Dévanágari manuscripts have not sufficed, and cannot suffice, to settle. And it bears out the Prákrit form, Pusamita, of the name of the early king Pushyamitra, the contemporary of Patañjali, in the passages given by Dr. Bühlcr from the Prákrit Gāthás according to Mārvutuqa, Dharmaśāra, and Jayavijayagaṇi (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 Hánas; among enemies... arrows... proclaimed... just as if it were the roaring of (the river) Gâṅgâ, 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) Śârîgâ, [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.

(L. 19)—Accordingly, this image of the Divine One, and (this village) which has been here agreed to,¹—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. 347.¹—In 1844, in the Jour. Bo. 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 Brâhman assistant, which had been submitted to the Society two years previously.—In 1862, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 111 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 Indraji.—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. 154 ff., accompanied by a slightly reduced reproduction of the original lithograph from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's copy (id. Plate xv.)

Junâgadhi is the chief town of the Junâgadh Native State in the Kathiawâd² Penin-

¹ Or, perhaps, "having here set up this (pillar)."

² It was through reading mahâsa-prîta-gupta, "the Gupta attached to, or beloved of, Śîva," instead of iham sa vidadhî pîthub, line 18,—and through failing to see that pîrâri dîpam = upâtë, "when (his) father had attained the skies," line 12,—refers to the death of Kumâragupta,—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 Mahândragupta (sic.; but in reality Mahândrâkâtya, a title of Kumâragupta), 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 (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. II. p. 19). And Mahândragupta'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 'Joonaghur, Junagad, Junagarh, and Junagurh,' of maps, &c. Indias Atlas, Sheet 13. 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 Rudradaman's 'inscription,' as Girinagara, or 'the city of, or on, the hill.' This name subsequently passed over to the mountain itself, Girnar, which in the inscriptions is called Drjayat; 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 Rudradaman, 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 Girnar.

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 where the rock has actually peeled off, that there are any extensive lacunæ 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 3 to 15'. 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 Rudradaman on the same rock; it may be called the Saurāsha or Kāthiawād alphabet of the fifth century A.D. One of its most marked characteristics is the way in which the subscript य 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; vyasaṁ, 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 nasal consonant, instead of the anusvāra, before त, in vanta, line 24; (2) the doubling of ख in conjunction with a following य, in buddhyā, line 5; and (3) the indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding र; e.g. the consonant is doubled in dūthām, line 1, dṛttīr, line 2, and dārpaḥ, line 3; but not in vṛṣyō, line 2, paryanta, line 3, sarvāṁ, line 5, drjaou, line 7, and drjaun-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 Saurāsha or the Kāthiawād 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 Guitas," in the year one hundred and thirty-six (A.D. 455-56).

1 Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 128.
2 These blank spaces lie especially on each side of the large natural fissure running almost down the center of the inscription.
4 As is quite clear even in the lithograph with which Bhai Daji worked, the correct reading here (line 15) is Gupta-prabhāya-ganandaṃ-viśhyā; not Guptaṣaḥ-kālaṃ-ganandaṃ-viśhyā, "counting from the era of Gupta," as it was taken to be by Bhai Daji and was afterwards specifically confirmed.
at night, on the sixth day of the month Prausñhpadā (August-September), the lake
Sudarśana (formed in the valley round the foot of Girnār, 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
effectuated under the orders of Chakrapālita, 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
Parnadjatā again, if 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), Chakrapālita caused to be built
a temple of the god Vishnu under the name of Chakrabhbit 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,3

First Part.

Siddhā [II*] Śrīyam-’abhimata-bhūgyām naikā-kāl-apanāntām trīdaśapati-
sukh-ārthām yā Balēr-ājahāra I kamala-nilayanāyāh śaśvataṁ dhāma
Lakṣmyāḥ

by Thomas (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 538).—In the present series of inscriptions, this
passage, and the genitive plural Guptāntām, governed apparently by kāla, in line 27 below, are the
only ones that tend in any way to connect the name of the Guptas with the era used by them. But
not either of them suffices to show that the era was established by the Guptas 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 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 Jāthika, as it has always been accepted up
to now in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar’s reading and translation,—Punah-ditrya pyaṁ-śītā
samāntām iata-paṇchakā | Gaṇe’ti daddu-adə niśpaḥ s-āparagd=vrha-maṇisādā I;—“five hundred
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 gaṇeṭh at all, but gopśe. It is only by the correction of ṣinto ṣu
that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into this passage. But we may with just as much
reason correct gopśe into gopśe, ’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 daddu,
‘he gave,’ in connection with which we have every reason to look for a derivit (or some other) case
Or, again, without any correction at all, we may translate “the king gave this (charter) at (the village
of) Gopța;” 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 Kāthālādā, about seventy-five miles south-west
of Mōrbī, twenty-five miles south of Nawāṅagar or Jāmnagar, and fifty miles east of Bhājikā, where
we also found the copper-plate grant (genuine or spurious, as may be settled hereafter) of a king
named Vikrama-Saṅvat 794 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 153 ff.).—I must not be understood as in
this note, that the Mōrbī date is recorded in the era that had been used by the Guptas, but
is only to shew that there is nothing in the passage containing the date, that conclusively
names the Guptas 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 examination at all; and now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid and is not forthcoming.

1 From the original stone.

3 Metre, Mālini; and in the next two verses.
2 sa jayati vijit-āttir-Vivishpur-ayanta-jishpuḥ II Tad-anu jayati śaśvat śiśi- parikshipta-vakhṣāḥ sva-bhujja-janita-viryō rājarādhīrājaḥ I narapati-
3 bhujagānāṁ māna-darpṇ-dōṭhanāṇaṁ pratikriti-Garud-ājñāḥ[m] nirvīṣha[m]
4 avanīm-avanat-ānir-yāḥ chakār-āṭma-samābhām pitāra sûra-sakhitaṁ
5 Ṛtvajjya-saktyaḥ II Āpiḥ cha jitam-[śe]ya tēna prathayaṁti
6 Kṛmaṇaḥ bhūḍḍaḥ nipaunaṁ pradhārya dhyatvā cha kṛtān-guṇa-dōṣha-
7 matimān-vini[ṃ]tō mādhā-smitiḥbhāṁ-anapetā-bhāvāḥ I saty-ārjya-audāra-
8 Nyāy-Ārījanē-rthasya cha kaḥ samarthaḥ syād-arjitasya-āpy-atha rakṣapāṇe
9 Chakrapāli-tō bhūḍḍaḥ nipaunaṁ upaskritair-yudh[ai]b pitāri-yaścha
10 Chakrapāli-tō bhūḍḍaḥ nipaunaṁ upaskritair-yudh[ai]b pitāri-yaścha
11 Chakrapāli-tō bhūḍḍaḥ nipaunaṁ upaskritair-yudh[ai]b pitāri-yaścha
12 Chakrapāli-tō bhūḍḍaḥ nipaunaṁ upaskritair-yudh[ai]b pitāri-yaścha
12 ity-evam-ête-tiśayena yasmin=â-vipravāsenā gunā vasantī i(i) Na vidyate=sau sakalē-pi lôkē yatâ-opama tasya gunâhā kriyeta i sa eva kârtyena gun-âvîtanam babhûva nri(n)/nîm-upamana-hûtâb i(i) Ity-evam-êtân-adihkâm=âtō-nyâṅ gunâṅ-par[i]keśa svayam=âvâ piṭrā. i yâ saṁniyuktō nagarasya rakshāṁ viśisya pûrvân-prachâkâra samyak i(i)

13 Aśrita1 vi(v)ryam , su(?)-bhu(?)ja(?)-dvayasya svasya-âvâ na-ânâyasa narasya darpanā n-oëvējâyâm-āsâ cha kamchid-ēvam=âsmin=pūre ch-āvâ śâsâsa dushtâh(n) i(i) Visrambhâm=âlpē na śâsâma yō-smin kâlē na lôkēsu sa-nâgrâgreshu i yō lâlâyâm-āsâ cha paura-vargân [— — ]putrān-sū- parśkhyâ dôshân i(i) Sâmarâjâyân cha prâkridr=babhûva pôrvasmitâbhaṣâma-mâna-dânâiḥ i


15 Athâ2 kramâm-âmbuda-kâla âgat[ê] n[j]\dâga-hâ-kalâm pravidârya tōyâdaiḥ i vavarsha tōyâm bahu smâtattan chirâm Sudârâsânam yēna bibhēda ch-aâtvart i(i) Sârvâsârâpâm=âdihkē satē tu trimâsadbhir=anyair-âpī shâdbhir-ēvā i râtrau dinē Praushâthapadasya shashâthê Gupta=prakālē gâpanâm vidhâyâ i(i) 


17 nadimâyō hasta iiva prâsatârât[1] i(i) Vishâdyâh mânaḥ khalu sarvatō jaînâb katham-katham kâryam=iti pravâdinaḥ i mîthō hi pûrvâ-parâ-râtram-ûttihât vicintâyām ch-âpi babhûvur-ûtsukâh i(i) Apô-cha lôkē sakalē Sudârâsânam pûrânâm(n) hi durdârânâtân gataḥ kshanaṭ i 

18 bhâven-nu s-âm âmîdhi-tulya-darâsânâm su-darâsânâm [— — — — — — — ] [i(i) [— — — — — — ]vanē sa bhûtvâ putub paraṁ bhaktim-âpī pradârṣya i dharmam pûrâ-ôdhâya subh-ânubandhaṁ rājâḥ hit-arthâm nagarasya ch-âiva i(i) Sârvâsârâpânam=âdihkē satē tu 

19 trimâsadbhir-anyair-âpī saptabhîs=ca i pra [— — — — — — ]sûstra-chettā vi(?)svō(?)-py-ânu jñāta-mâhâ-prabhâvâh i(i) Ājya-pranâmâi viûdhânân ath-êshâvâ dhanaṁ=âvâjîatām=âpī tarpayîtâ v paurânt-tath=dhâryachya yathârâh-mânaîḥ bhûrityān=ca pûjyân=sûhidrâs=ca kshaṇîṣ i(i) 

1  Metre, Indravajrā; and in the next four verses. 
2 Metre, Varsâsthā. 
3 As regards the reading here, see page 57 above, note 4. 
4 Metre, Varsâsthā; and in the next three verses. 
5 Metre, Upâjîîī of Indravajrā and Upêndravajrā; and in the next five verses.
Graishmyasva masasva tu purva-pa[ksh] — — pratham-hni
samyak I mása-dvyay-en-adarav-an—sa
hanasya kritva
vyayam-a-praméyam I(II)
Ayamato hasta-satam samagram västäratah
shashthir-ath-api
ch-ashtau
utsedhatva-nyat purushahh sa[?]pta[?] [ — — ] — hajsta-sata-dvayasya I(II)
Babandha yathan-mahata nirdévän-[abhyarchya[?]]
samyag-ghaśit-
opalena I
a-jati-dushtam-prathitam taṭakam
Sudarśana
śāvata-kalpa-kalam I(II)

Api[1] cha sudrijha-sētā-prānta (?)-vinyasta-tōbha-rathacharana-samāhva-kraunche-
hamsa-sa-dhūtām I vimala-salila[ — — — — — — — — ] bhuvä ta-
Nagararam-api cha bhūyād-vriddhimat-pāra-jusṭaṁ dvija-bahu-sata-gita-
brahma-nirmahā-pāparā I satam-api cha samānam-īti-durbhiksha[ — —
[ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ] I(II) [ I]I Sudajṛsana-taṭaka-
samskāra-ghoṇīthā-racanā [sa]māptā II

Second Part.

kriptā-ari-darpa-prapudah prithu-śrīyaḥ sva-vaṇśa-kētōḥ sakal-avant-patēḥ I
raja-devyā-jā-bhūtata-punya-[karmaṇaḥ] [ — — — — — — — — — — — ] I(II)
[ — — ] dvapaya
goptā mahatā cha nēta daṇḍa-dri(?)[— — ]nāṁ
vishatām damaya I(II) Tasy-ātmajēn-ātma-guṇ-anvittēna Gōvinda-pād-ārpa-
jaṅjātēna I [ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ] I(II)
[ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ] gṛdham Vīśṇuṣ-cha pāda-kamlē
samavāpya tatra I artha-vyayēna
mahatā mahatā cha kālēn-ātma-prabha-vata-paurajaṇēna tēna I(II)
Chakrāṁ bibharti ripu[ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ] tasya sva-tamhra-viḍhi-
kāraṇa-mānushaśhya I(II)
27 Kārītaṁ-savakra-matina Chakrabhjitah Chakrapālītēna griham I varsha-
śatē-shta-trīṁśe Guptāṁ kāla' . . . . . . . . . I(II) [ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ]
Vupūrdu-satāṁ sakaUAvanī-patāh
28 kurvat-prabhutvam-viva bhāti purasya mūrdhni I Anyach-cha mūrdhṇa
su [ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ] I(II)
29 ruddha-vihaṅga-mārgama vibhrājate [ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ] I(II)

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

Pa[1] has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Vīṣṇu,—the perpetual
goddess) Lakṣmiñ, whose dwelling is the waterlily; the conqueror of distress;

Mālinī; and in the next verse.

Vatasaṣṭha,—The metre is faulty in the first akṣara of the first and third pādas, which
is not long.
Indravajra; and in the next verse. * Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.
Ārya; or of this class. * Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the following verse.
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 Garūdas, (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 kindly 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 Mitāchchhas . . . . . . . . . (having (their) pride broken down to the very root, announced 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; endowed 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 also) to dispense it on worthy objects, when it has been increased,—shall govern all (countries of the) Surāshtras? I have it; (there is) just one man, Parāndava, competent to bear this burden."
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; NO. 14, PLATE VIII.

(L. 9.)—(And it was this same Parpadatta) 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 Surâshtras. (And) just as the gods became comfortable, (and) not disturbed in mind, when they had appointed Varupa to the western point of the compass, so the king was easy at heart, when he had appointed Parpadatta 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 Chakrapâlita; 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 acquaintance 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 entireness, 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 Parpadatta, 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) Sudarsana suddenly burst,—making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas, 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) Prauṣṭhapada. And these (other rivers) which take their source from (the mountain) Raivataka,¹ (and also) this Palāśini, 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 bewildenment, caused by the excess of rain, (the mountain) Urjayat, desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, stretched forth as it were a hand, consisting of the river (Palāśini), 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 appearance² 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.)— .................. he³ 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 obligations of clarified butter and with obceisances; 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,⁴ 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 defiances 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 (Skandagupta), who destroyed the pride of (his) haughty enemies; who is of great glory; who is the banner of his lineage; who is the lord

¹ Raivataka is the hill opposite to Urjayat or Girnār.
² There is a play on the words su-darśina, "having a good appearance," and dur-darśina, "having a bad appearance."
³ i.e. Chakrapālita.
⁴ Gṛṣṭha, the hot season, consists of the two months Jyēṣṭha (May-June) and Āșāḍha (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)— .................. (Parpadatta), 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) Govinda, ....................... ;
—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) Vishnu, with a great expenditure of wealth and, time [there was built a temple] of that famous (god Vishnu) who carries the discus, ............... enemies, (and)
who became (incarnate and) human by the exercise of his own free will. (Thus) by Chakrapalita, who is of a straightforward mind, there has been caused to be built a temple of (the god) Chakrabhirit, in a century of years, together with the thirty-eighth (year), ............... the time of the Guptas.¹

(L. 27)—...................... uprisen, as it were, of the mountain Urajat, 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

No. 15. PLATE IX A.

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,² 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 Archæol. 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 Kahāwn, the ancient Kukubha or Kakubbhagrama of this inscription, is a village about five miles to the west by south of Salampur-Majhaulī, the chief town of the Salampur-Majhaulī Pargāna in the Déoriyā or Dēwariyā Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Góarakhpur 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.

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 Tirthakaras,—Adinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśva, and Mahāvīra. And they are in all probability the five images of Ādi-karta-riś, or Jain Tirthakaras, referred to in the inscription itself.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2 23 2 4 wide by 1 8 2 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 3/8 to 2. 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 t, in vania, line 2, and trīṇat, line 4; and (2) the usual doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in chakard, line 9 (but not in sakrd, line 3), and putrdr, 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 Gupta king Skandagupta. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-one (A.D. 460-61); and in the month Jyēshtā (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 tenour 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 Ādi-karta-riś or Tirthakaras,—i.e. apparently the five images in the niches of the column,—and the column itself, at the village of Kakubha or Kakubbhagrama, i.e. Kahāum.

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 Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 91 ff. and Plate xxix., and id. Vol. XVI. p. 129 f. and Plate xxix.
TEXT:

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 obeissance) of the heads of a hundred kings; who is born in the lineage of the Guptas; whose fame is spread far and wide; who excels all others in prosperity; who resembles (the god) Śakra; (and) who is the lord of a hundred kings;—in the one hundredth year, increased by thirty and ten and one; the month Jyēṣṭha 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 Bhātiṣṭoma, who (was) the son of Sōmila, that receptacle of many good qualities. His son (was) Rudrasōma, of great intellect and fame, who had the other appellation of Vyāghra.º His son was Madra, who (was) especially full of affection for Brāhmans and religious preceptors and ascetics.

---

† From Gen. Cunningham’s ink-impression, together with the lithograph from which my lithograph is reduced.

‡ 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.

§ Metre, Sragdharā, throughout.

® 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.

¹ and ⁴. In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

† śantē. — It is unnecessary to explain in detail the interpretation of this word. The difficulty is—not the correct rendering of it, which is perfectly obvious,—but to comprehend how it ever came to be read śantē, and to be interpreted by “of the repose, i.e. death,” i.e. “after the decease (of Skandagupta);” or, being read śantē correctly, to comprehend how it ever came to be interpreted as meaning “(the empire of Skandagupta) being quiescent,” or “(the empire of Skandagupta) being extinct (for the hundred and forty-first year).”—The correct interpretation appears to have been first pointed out by Bhau Daji; “in the year one hundred and forty-one, in the peaceful reign of Skandagupta” (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 246.)

ªThe proper context is—“(there was) Madra;” who is mentioned in line 8. The intervening genealogical matter is by way of a parenthesis.

ºFor some similar instances of second names, see page 27 above, note 4.
(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 Arkats 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. (465-665 A.D.)

This inscription was discovered in 1874 by Mr. A. C. E. Carley, 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 Dibhal, the chief town of the Dibhal Pargana in the Anupshahr 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 khurd or deserted mound, and is not shown 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 8½" by 5½" at the ends and 5½" 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. *indrāna.*—Bhagwanlal Indraji, 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. *dikārīn; *lit., 'originators.'—Bhagwanlal Indraji first pointed out the correct meaning of this word, as referring here to five of the *Tirthamkāras* or sanctified teachers of the Jains.
4. The 'Dabhai, Dhubhai, Dibai, and Dubhaee,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 67. Lat. 28° 12' N.; Long. 78° 18' E.—The position of Indor, with reference to Dibhal, is shown in the sketch map given in *Archzol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XII. Plate i.
5. The 'Anoopshahur and Anupshahar' 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 Palaeography*, 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 Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; illustrated also, in the present series by the Aśīrgadh seal of Sarvarvarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxv.; and the Sūnpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxixB.; and, elsewhere, by the Dighwā-Dubaul grant of the Mahārājā Mahendrapāla1 and the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārājā Vīndyākapāla,2—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 \( \frac{1}{4} \). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and in essential details are of the same type with those of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iiiA. The initial \( \text{k} \) has an entirely different form from that of the other northern type; contrast it in indrapura and \( \text{itō} \), line 8, with \( \text{ī} \)a in Plate i. page 9 above, line 30, and \( \text{ī} \)i in Plate ixA. page 67, line 7. In line 10, we have a form of the numerical symbol for \( \text{a} \)—The language is Sanskrit; and all the formal part of the inscription, from paramabhaiḍāraka, line 3, to samakādiṣyam, line 10, is in prose. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice the affix \( \text{ka} \), in chandrapura, line 5, indrapura,\(^3\) line 6, and especially pratishṭhāpītaka, line 7. It is a weaker form, without \( \text{vṛiddhi} \) of the vowel in the first syllable, of the \( \text{ka} \) with which the adjectives of locality, used in lines 19 and 20 of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, page 7 above, are formed; and it is the origin of the modern Hindī genitive terminations \( \text{kd}, \text{kd}, \text{kt} \), and \( \text{kt} \), and of similar declensional forms. Other instances of it are given by No. 25 below, Plate xvB. line 13, \( \text{kd} \); No. 26, Plate xvi. line 10, utpadamānakṣa; No. 27, Plate xvii. line 9, pratishṭhāpītaka, and line 12, utpadamānakṣa; No. 28, Plate xvii. line 13, anumādītaka, line 14, upariḥkṣitaka and pratishṭhāpītaka, and line 18, utpadamānakṣa; No. 29, Plate xixA. line 10, upariḥkṣitaka, and line 15, utpadamānakṣa; No. 31, Plate xx. line 9, utpannakṣa, lines 9 and 16, utpadamānakṣa, and line 11, \( \text{kd} \); No. 41, Plate xxvii. line 11, atisrīṣṭaka; and No. 62, Plate xxxviiiB. line 4, praviṣṭhāta.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before \( \text{s} \) and \( \text{h} \), in chatvārīṣad, line 3 f., and śīṅka, line 6; (2) the doubling of \( \text{k} \) and usually of \( \text{i} \), in conjunction with a following \( \text{r} \), e.g. in apakramaṇa, line 8 f., and pautrak, line 5, (but not in \( \text{pūтр} \) in the same line); and (3) the doubling of \( \text{v} \) after the anusvāra, in saṃvāṭasara, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta, whose feudatory, the Vīṣhaya,\(^4\) Sarvanāga, was governing Antarvedi\(^{5}\) or the country

---

2 Id. p. 138 ff.
3 As regards these two words, Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives puraka as another form of pura, 'a city'; but refers only to 'Arghāshāpuraka' as an authority for the word. This city, however, only owes its existence to one of the early misreadings of Mantārāja-Pātikāpuraka in line 19 of the Allahābād inscription, No. 1. page 7 above.
4 Vīṣhaya is a technical official title, meaning 'the lord, or governor, of a vīṣhaya.'—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. 466-66), and in the month Phalguna (February-March), but without any specification 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 Brahman named Devavishna, 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.


as the name of a village, in ‘Anterbed,’ about thirty miles west of Uchhari, in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70; Lat. 24° 25' N.; Long. 80° 13' E. And also we have it in Antarvēd, Antarvēd, or Antarvēd, the name of a shrine at the mouth of the Vasishṭha branch of the river Gā Animated, seven miles south of Narāpur, in the Narāpur Tīlukā or Sub-Division of the Gā Animated district.

1 From the original plate. * Metre, Śāradālāvākṣa.*

2 The form śt is rather unusual; the customary form being stut. But Dr. Bühler has given me the analogous instance of dyata-śt, which is mentioned by Kātyāyana in his comments on Pāṇini, iii, 2, 76. The meaning of dyata-śt is not given in the Mahābhāṣya; but Monier Williams explains it by ‘panegyrist.’

3 This is rather an anomalous akṣara; but it can mean nothing but dhī. * Read rājya samvatātara-śt; see p. 38 above, note 5.—Gen. Cunningham (Arch. Ind. Vol. XII. p. 40) considered that there is a faint trace of the vowel ū of rājya; but the vowel was not engraved.

5 Read prayachchhata.—That the marks after ti are the visarga, and not marks of punctuation, is shown 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.

7 tulyena seems to be a mistake for tulyena. * i.e. tulyena (tulyena).
The Guptas Inscriptions; No. 16, Plate IX B.

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! May that Sun, the rich source of rays that pierce (the darkness which is) the envelope of the earth, protect you,—whom Brāhmaṇas, 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 Paramabhaṭṭaraṇaka and Mahā-stādhirāja, the glorious Skandagupta; in the year one hundred, increased by forty-six; (and) while the moon Phālguna is current for the increase of the enjoyment, in (the land of) Antarvedi, 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 Chandrāpura,—who is the son of Deva, (and) the son's son of Haritrāta, (and) the son of the son's son of Dudika; who always recites the hymns of the agnihotra-sacrifice; who belongs to the Rāṇayanya (tāhā); (and) who is of the Varshagana gōtrā,—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 Kshatriyas Achalavarm and Bhrikunthinsha, merchants of the town of Indrāpura, on the east of the settlement, (and) actually touching...... of 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 Ivanta 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 pālas 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)

1 Metre, Indravajrā.  8 Read yō vikramēd; or, better, yō=tikkramēd.
2 Read sa.  9 Read dhō gachchhēn.
3 Supply sanātīraṇa, from the third pāda of the verse.
4 See page 38 above, note 5.
5 i.e. Skandagupta's.
6 agnikātra, an oblation to the god Agni, consisting chiefly of milk, oil, and sour gruel, offered every morning and evening; the maintenance of the sacred fire.
7 Here, line 6, the vowel of the second syllable is long; in lines 7 and 8 below, it is short.
8 The meaning of mdhāṣyadya is not apparent.
9 pāla, a particular weight, = 4 sūvarnas (gold-pieces), or 64 māshas (beans); see the Mahāvadānāmalāstra, viii. 135, Burnell's Translation, p. 200.
the slayer of a Brāhman, shall go down (into hell), invested with (the guilt of) those (well-known) five sins, together with the minor sins.

No. 17; PLATE X.

GANGDHAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF VISVAVARMAN.

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 Kōṭā in Central India.

Gangdhāra is a village about fifty-two miles south-west of Jhālāpātan, 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' 6" 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 ½ to 3½. 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 khadga, 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 siddhir-astu at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihvāmūlīya, e.g. in chakītāk-kriyātāk,

1 i.e. the pañcaka mahākṣatkādī; see page 38 above, note 4.
2 The upaniptakādī—or more usually upapātakādī; 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 Mānavadharmaśāstra, xi. 60 to 67, Burnell's Translation, p. 333 f.
3 The 'Gangrā, Gungra, and Gungurā,' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 25° 56' N.; Long. 75° 41' E.—The modern name must be connected with Gargrā, the ancient name, according to line 35 of this inscription, of the small river, now called 'Kalisind,' 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 subhajak-khadga, line 26; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvara, before ı, in vaṁsa, line 29, and anusumā, line 35; but not in vaṁsa in line 2; (3) the frequent doubling of k, g, t, and p, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in vikramāṇa, line 8; samaggre, line 42; vittarā, line 13; and appratinēka, line 4; and of bh, in vyabhāra, line 9; and (4) the same in respect of kh, ṭ, bh, and s, in conjunction with a following y, e.g. in prakhyāṭa, line 2, and vikhhyāpyāna, line 26; bhirītya, line 4, and prattvasta, line 14; abhhyudyata, line 15; and yassyā, lines 11, 12, 14, 16, and 31.

The inscription is of the time of a prince named Viśvarman. It is dated, in words, when four hundred and eighty years had expired, i.e. in the fourth 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 Viśvarman's son Bandhuvarman, shows 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 chatvārṣu, an amphibrach where a dactyl is required; and (2) that it leaves kriitāku, '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, 'kriitāku occurs in line 1 of the Byāna inscription of Vapisuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59 below, Plate xxxviC. But, though this use of it is unusual, it is justifiable there, as it is not accompanied by yadeśu, 'having gone by,' or any similar word.—My first inclination about the present passage was, that kriitāku was used in the sense of 'made, effected, established by;' and that the three akhamas 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 kriita 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 the tsapu kriitāku, which would satisfy the metrical requirements, and may be justified by the appearance of the original; and to look upon tsapu as intended for a vocalisation of the numerical symbol for four hundred; 'made by (the utterance of) tsapu.' The very peculiar expression, sītarapadāsīkha, which follows, seems to point to something of this kind being intended. And Dr. Bühler has given an instance of a pronunciative value 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 tsapu. — Dr. Bhandarkar also suggested that the word 'four' is expressed by kriita (in kriitāku). But this would leave the preceding two or three akhamas altogether unexplained. And, though Kritā 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 Varkhamihira (died A.D. 587; Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. I. p. 407), is shown by his employing, in the Brihat-Sanhita, viii. 20, 21, the words Rudra for 'eleven,' Rama for 'three,' ağa (mountain) for 'seven,' and sara (arrow) and viṣhaya (object of sense) for 'five.' And it has been supposed that it was used by Aryabhata (born A.D. 476; id. p. 409); but Dr. Bha Daji (id. p. 404) has pointed out, from his own MS., 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 Aryabhata's (a point that is supported also by the metre; for the two lines together make up a verse in the Upagati metre; whereas Aryabhata used the Árya metre, and the first line is the second half of a verse in that metre), but is an addition, in all probability by Upala or Bhatatapa (about A.D. 966; id. p. 410). The earliest epigraphical instances, at present available, are, in Cambodia, the Bayang inscription, dated Šaka-Sasvat 526 (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 Kâmâdeva), Dasra (one of the two Ávisinás), and the (six) flavours, 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, Bandhuvaram, the feudatory of Kumāragupta. This Mālava era is the Vikrama era,1 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 Tantrika form of religion; the object of it being to record how a certain Mayūrakshaka, a minister of Viśāvarman, built a temple of Viṣṇu,—also a temple of the divine Mothers,—and also a large drinking-well.

TEXT:2

1 [- - - - - - - - - - - - - ] masya Vishyār-bhujjas-surapati-dvipa-hasta-
[sa]rpa[- - - - - - - - - - - - ] [II] Prakākhya-vtyya-yaśas[Artha ksh[i]lip-
ādhipātanām vamś-ōdbhavo [ ] ātivī [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

2 [- - - - - - - - - ] kantaś-śrmān-babhya Naravarnaṃ[ ] ātivī prakāsah II
Yajñais-sūran-muni-ganā[n]=-[n][ya]mair-udārā[i] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ }
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 17, PLATE X.

11 [sôbhâI]h II(I) yassy-ãri-kâmini-mukhâmburuhair-bbalasya pûrvam pratâpa-
chakitaI-kriyâtê pranâmaII Rûn-ôdghama-dyuti-
12 [vira]jÎjita-kôlã-talãr-uutrassa-nakka-makara-kshata-phi[ê]na-malaiII II(I) chaND-
ânîl-oddhata-taranâ-samasta-hastair-yyassy-â-
13 [tÔpavair]X-apî balâni namâkhriyantê II Bhûr-uddhri(ddhrito-druma-
[ükampita]-saille-ôl-ôtttassa-viDrata-viDrata-mriga-dvija-ôtuna(ña)-gu-
14 [Imâ] [I] yassy-ônnata-pravisham[II]kri(kri)ta-râjamârggag-ssainyâ-prayâna-samayê
vinimajjat-Iva II Prattyasta-maunî-
15 [ma]ni-rasni-nakka-prabh-ôndhair-abhyudyat-ônjaliyâ sabal-agragandaiII(I)
16 [ddhâir=yya]ssy=ôdarôd-divi yâsâ[ñ]si namâkhriyantê II Agrê-pi yâ(yô)
17 yâvaii samparivaarttamânas-sâstr-ânusâra-pari-
18 [vârddhiita]-sûddha-buddhîII(I) sad-dharmma-mârggag-iva râjasa darâ-
yishyan-raksha-viDhihim Bharata-raj-jagataI-karôtII TaIms-pra-
19 [sâse]I mahîn-nîripat-prâvîr svârgagam yathâ surâpaII-ama-prablâvâ II(I)
1-nôbôd-adharma-niratô yâsân-ânîtô
10 [vâ lôkê] kadachana janas-sukha-varjîtô vâ II Yâtëshu chatu[ñ]shuâ
[akk]IteIshu ssauyaishv(?) SîthâIstâ-sôtîrapadesvIshva vatâ-
12 [rëshu]II(I) sukôl trâyôdasa-dînê bhuvî Kârttikasya mâsasya sarvâ-ja-
hitta-sukh-ôvahasya II Nilôpala-prâ-
nidrê-yyapâya-samayê Madhusûdanasya kâ-
14 [le prabu]ddha-kumud-ôgara-sûddha-târê II VâpI-tâdaga-surasadasmah-ôdûpanâ
15-nâpaIvid-ôpavana-saikrama-dirghikâ[ñ].
16 [bhih]II(I) sô(i)stâm=îv-abharanaI-jâtibhûr-ânangâm svâm yô Garggara-
tata-purâm sakka(ma)Ihan-ôchaktra II Râjñas-tritIyam-iva chakshur-udâ-
17 [ra-vritI]I=ôdêva-ôdvijI-guru-b[ñ]havia-sadhûI(?)-bhaktiIl(I) ôsâstraI[ñ]tô stutô
châ vinay[ñ] vyavahâra-ôhne yô-pakshapâtaI-râhitô nidadh[au]
18 [sva-chintIam]II Sarvasya jÎvitaI-nâyitam-a-sâravach-châ-dola-chalâm-anû-
vichitya tathâ vidôtam II(I) nyâI-âga[ñ]tô-
19 [na vi]bhavêna pariI-chach bhaktin-vikkhyapayann-ùpari chakkra-gadda-
harasaya II PnâI-yyavataI-vrittaI-lambI-ôsubhuI-khâdga-vran[ñ]I-
20 [r=anîktaIam]II karôô-ánta-pratisarppamàna(ñ)I-nayanaI[ñ] gyâI(ñ)IvI-ôvadatâ-
chchhaviII(I) darpp-IvishkriIshkriI-sô(sô)raô-IatrîI-mathanô dushthIIshI-
davá-
21 [âI] ball II(I) bhaktyI ch=ôsuhidîrI-chà bandhava-samô dharmm-ôrtthâ-
êkâm-bîditaII Prajñâ-ôauryyaI-kul-bêgatô diśI-
22 [diI] prakkhyâta-ôvryô vaI(I) puttrô VishnuôhâI tathâ Harîbhaôtê
sambaddha-vânâI-kriyaIh II(I) étâ-

* The final long I of kâmini is shortened for the sake of the metre.
* Read saimya. See page 73 above, note 1.
* Read sauMyôshu=aita; which, however, entails another violation of the metre, since aIIta,
  'the eightieth,' gives us an amphibrach where an antibacch is required.—We might satisfy the require-
ments of the metre by reading sauMyôshu=shI-dîta, which would give the 'eighty-eighth (year).' But
this would also give us a locative singular, sauMyôshu, where the locative plural, sauMyôshu, is
required in apposition with ñatêsâhu.
* Read ôdôpana, or ôdôpana. Metre, Śârdôlavikrîdita; and in the next verse.
TRANSLATION.

the arm of (the god) Vishnu; the serpentine movements of the trunk of (Airavata) 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; beautiful there was the illustrious king Naravarman, the famous one;—who pleased the gods with sacrifices, the saints with observances of a noble nature ————(his) servants with honourable treatment that was unequalled in the world, and the whole earth with excellent achievements;—[who] ———— the appliances of elephants 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.

(L. 5.)—[His son] ———— magnanimous; equal to Bhihaspati in intellect; possessed of a countenance like the full-moon; the standard of comparison, as it
were, for (even) Rāma and Bhagratva; .................... on the earth, (mes) Viśvavarman;—who surpassed (the mountain) Mēru in firmness, Vainya in hereditary virtue, the moon in development of lustre, (the god) Viṣṇu 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 palmya-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 protuberances, 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 Vidyādhāras, 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, (governs) 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 Kārttika 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 bandhākā3 and bāna4-trees; when there is the time of the awakening from sleep of (the god) Madhusūdāna;5 (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. Śarad, the autumn, consisting of the two months Aśwayuja (September-October) and Kārttika (October-November).
3 bandhākā: 'a shrub bearing a red flower; Pentapeetes Phoenicia; Terminalia Tomentosa.'
4 bāna: 'the blue-flowering Barleria.'
5 Viṣṇu, who sleeps during the four months of the rainy season. His slumber commences on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Aśhādha (June-July), and ends on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika (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 Mayurâkshaka,—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 Vishnuabhata and also Hariabhata, 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) Kailâsa, the Vidyâdharas, accompanied by their mistresses, come and gaze into it with happy faces that are like waterlilies, as if it were the very lustrious 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 Mayurâkshaka, 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 Mayurâkshaka remain abundant! Let there be success!

1 This compound combines two well-known names of Vishnu,—Chakradhara, and Gaddâdhara.
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 Mandasôr, a hand-copy of the fragmentary pillar inscription of Yaśödharman, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC. 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 Yaśödharman, No. 33 below, Plate xxiB, which had escaped the notice of Mr. Sullivan.

Mandasôr, or more properly Daśôr, the ancient Daśapura, on the north or left

1 The 'Mandesar, Mandesor, Mandesur, Mandisore, Mandosar, Mandsaur, Mundesor, and Mundesoor,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 24° 3' N.; Long. 75° 8' E.

2 Daśôr is the name by which, in preference to Mandasôr, the town is habitually spoken of by the villagers and agriculturists of the locality and neighbourhood, and even as far as Indôr. And in some bilingual sansads or warrants, of about a century and a half ago, I found this form, Daśôr, used in the vernacular passages, while the Persian passages of the same documents give the form Mandasôr. So also, Paṇḍits still habitually use the form Daśapura in their correspondence; a practice with which we may compare the use, also by Paṇḍits, of Ahipura and Nakkaphura 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 Purânic king Dasaratha. But, on this view, the modern name should be Dāsrathôr. The true explanation evidently is that,—just as now the township includes from twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions; Khilichpur, Jankâpurâ, Râmputiyâ, Chandapurâ, Bâlgâñj, &c.,—so, when it was originally constituted, it included exactly ten (daśa) such hamlets. (guce.)—As regards the fuller form of Mandasôr, 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 Indrají suggested to me that it may perhaps represent Manda-Daśapura, the distressed or afflicted Daśapura, 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 Nâgar Brâhmans of the place will not drink the water there. And, as tending to support this suggestion, I would mention that one of the Paṇḍits whom I questioned on the spot, gave me Mannandasôr as another form of the name. Another suggestion, by Mr. F. S. Growse, is that the name combines the two names of Mâd and Daśapura; 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 Mandasôr, from which, it is said, were brought, from ruined Hindu temples, the stones that were used in the construction of the Musalmans fort at Mandasôr. The true explanation, whatever it may be, would probably be found in the Daśapura-Mâdhdmya, which is extant, but which I did not succeed in obtaining for examination.—In addition to the present inscription, the ancient Sanskrit name, Daśapura, occurs also in line 2 of an early Nâsik inscription of Uhabadatta (Archaeol. Surya. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 99, and Plate liii. No. 5); and in another inscription at Mandasôr itself, dated (Vikrama)Saññvat 1421 (A.D. 1264-55) Guru(vâra) or Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhâdrapada, 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-Samhitâ, 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 Mandaśor 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 mediaeval 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 7\(\frac{2}{3}\)\; ft by 1\; 4\(\frac{1}{2}\)\; ft 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 \(\frac{1}{3}\)\; in. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include two letters borrowed from the northern alphabets; \(\textit{vis.}\) the separate form of the lingual OutOfRange; as distinct from the dental \(d\), \(\textit{e.g.}\) in \(\textit{tadif}\), line 6, and \(\textit{chadda}\), line 17; and also the rare lingual \(dh\), \(\textit{e.g.}\) in \(\textit{dridha}\), 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 Sanskrit; and, with the exception of the opening \(\textit{siddham}\) 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 \(\textit{jihvāmālīśya}\) and \(\textit{upadhīmānīśya}\); \(\textit{e.g.}\) in \(\textit{jagataḥ-kshaya}\), line 1; \(\textit{gaṇaik-kham}\), line 8; \(\textit{pravisritiḥ-pushndti}\), line 2; and \(\textit{abhidhmrāḥ-pāydi}\), line 3; but not, for instance, in \(\textit{avabhugnaḥ-kvačhit}\), line 5; \(\textit{parah kripānt}\), line 14; \(\textit{rajah-pīyārītis}\), line 5; and \(\textit{pratimānātāḥ pramudītāḥ}\), line 9; (2) the occasional doubling of \(t\), \(dh\), and \(bh\), in conjunction with a following \(r\); \(\textit{e.g.}\) in \(\textit{chitrēna}\), line 12; \(\textit{rddhra}\), line 18; and \(\textit{abbhra}\), line 6; (3) the same of \(th\) and \(dh\), with a following \(y\); \(\textit{e.g.}\) in \(\textit{patthya}\), line 9; and \(\textit{svaddhyāya}\), line 8; and (4) the same of \(dh\), with a following \(v\); \(\textit{e.g.}\) in \(\textit{addhuddhi}\), 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, 2 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 Lāta viśāya, or central and southern Gujarāt, into the city of Daśapura; 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 Daśapura, 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 thirtieth 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

1 The ‘Sau, and Seu,’ of maps.
2 See the Preface.
From the ink-impression.

2. *Metre, Vasantatilaka.*


5. *Metre, Upājyati of Indravajra.*


8 rahasi kucha-sālinibhyām Prati-Ratibhyām Smar-dāgam-iva II Satya-
kshamā-dama-sama-vrata-saucha-dhairyā-svādhdhyāya-vṛttā-vinayā -sthiti-bud-
dhy-upētaḥ I vidyā-tapō-nidhibhir-a-smayitaś-cha vipitay-yeyā-bhrājatē
graha-gapain-kham-iva pradiptaiḥ II Atha sāmyta nirantara-saṅgatai-
ahrakahā-pravijimbha-

9 sauhridāh [*] nirpaibhis-suṭa-vat-pratim[ā]nītaḥ pramudita mūvavasita
parimśhitaḥ sucharita-śat-āśaṅgah-kēchid vichitra-kathā-viḍhā vinaye-
nibhiritas = sāmyag - dharma - prasānga - paśyāṇāḥ = priyām = a - parushām e
pathyam ch-ānye kshama bahu bhāsibhitum II

10 kēchitā suvā-karmmany-adhikās-tathā-ānyair-vividhātyatē jyotisham-ātmavadbhibhi I
adyāpi ch-ānye samae pragālabhā-kurvyanty-artām-a-nītaṁ prasa-
ḥya I (II) Prājātā manojīha-vadhavaḥ prathit-bru-vāṁśa vāṁ-anurūpa-
charit-ābhāranas-tathā-ānye I satya-ṛratāḥ praprayāṁ-upakāra-dakṣa
visrumbha-

11 [pūrva]m aparē drīḍhā sauhridās-cha II Vijita-viṣhayā-saṅgair-dāharmā-
śais-tathā-ānyair-m[ṛ] dubhir-adhikā-śat[ī] vair-lōkasyāt-āmaraiś-cha I sva-
kula-tilaka-bhūtaḥ-muktā-rāgair-udārair-adhikam-abhivibhāti śreń-śau-
prakāraḥ II Tārunyā kaṟṇy-utpāchitō-pi suvarṇāhaṁ-tāṁbāla-pushpa-
vidhā śama-
[laṅka]tō-pi nārī-jañāḥ priyām-upaiti na tāvad-agṛyā (āryaṁ) yāvan-na-
pattamayā-vastra-yuṛgāni dhattē II Spārṣa[va]tā varōṇānta-
vibhāga-chittrenā nētra-subhageṇa I yais-sakalām-īdah kshititaś-ama-
krītam pāṭa-vastreṇā II Vidyādhatu-ruchira-pallava-karṇapura-vat-ērit-
āśāṃtra māvatā sama-

13 [lō]kam I mānushyam-artha-nichayāntaṛ-chathā viśālaṁ-tēṣahām subhā
matir-abhūd-achalā tatas-tu II [Chatus meaning-samudr-ānt]a-vītāla-mēkhalāṁ
Sumēru-Kaiśās-brihat-payōdharām I vananta-vānta-sphuta-pushpa-hāsaṁ
Kumāraguptē prithivinā prāsātā II Samāna[ā]-dīṣa-Sukra-Brihas-
patahūryam lalama-bhūto bhuvī
t

14 pārthivānāṁ ranaśhu yaḥ Pārthha-samāma-karmma babhūva gopātā
ripa-Visvavarmā II Dhim[ī]-ānukepamana-parah kripap-ārtta-vargga-
śandha[ā]-pradōdhikā-dayālur-anātha-nāthah I kalpa-drumah praprayām-
abhayam pradaś-cha bhītasya yāṃ janapadasya cha bandhur-āstt II

[ Tasyātmaśāṁ sthairyā-nay-ōpappāṇā bandhu-priyō

15 bandhur-iva prajānāṁ I bandhur-ārtti-haritā nirpa Bandhuvārmmā drī-
drīpta-paśka-kshapana-aika-dakṣaḥ II [Kānto]m uva rana-patura-vinay-
ānvitaś-cha raji-āpi sann-upasīrito na madaiḥ smay-adyaḥ I śringāra-

1 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
2 Metre, Hariṇī.
3 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
4 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
5 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
6 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
7 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
8 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
9 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
10 Metre, Upendravarāja.
11 Metre, Indravajrā.
12 Metre, Drutavilambita.
13 Metre, Indravajrā.
14 Metre, Mālinī.
15 Metre, Ayākā.
16 Metre, Vaiṣṇavatha.
17 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
18 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
murtir-abhībhāty-an-alamkārito-pi rūpēṇa yāh-kusumāchārapa iva dvītyāḥ ll Vaidhayā-udvā-vyasana-kshatānām


23 lēkha-damturam pīṅgalānāṁ pariṇaḥati samthām yāvad-īśo jātanām I vīkaṭa-kamalā-mālam-aṁśa-saktām cha Śaṅgī bhavanam-idam-udārām

---

1 Metre, Upaṣāti of Indravajri and Upēndravajri.
2 Metre, Māndākrānta.
3 Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next two verses.
4 Metre, Āryā.
5 Metre, Śūkṣa (Anushtubh); and in the next three verses.
6 Metre, Āryā; and in the next verse.

5 sprīṣā is the nominative singular of the masculine; whereas the neuter sprīṣaṭ, 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 nabhāḥ sprīṣaṭ-īva.

7 Read viṁśatī.
8 Read viṁśatī.
9 Read viṁśatī.
10 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
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 Brahmaical 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 Dānapura 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 waterlilies. The lakes are beautiful (in some places) with the

1 Metre, Ślokā (Anushtubh).
2 Supply prāśasth.—See page 87 below, note'to.
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, (and) are very white. (and) 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 (like those) of the Gandharvas; having pictured representations arranged (in them); (and) being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees. Here, clearing asunder the earth, there rise up houses which are decorated with successions of storeys; which are like rows of aerial chariots; (and) which are as pure as the rays of the full-moon. This (city) is beautiful (through) 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) Priti and Rati, possessed of (heaving) breasts. Like the sky with the brilliant multitudes of planets, it shines with Brähmans endowed with truth, patience, self-control, tranquillity, religious vows, purity, fortitude, private study, good conduct, refinement, and steadfastness, (and) abounding in learning and penances, and free from the excitement of surprise.

(L. 8.)—So assembling together, (and) day by day received into greater friendship by (their) constant associates, (and) honourably treated like sons by the kings, in joy and happiness they settled in (this) city. Some of them (became) excessively well acquainted with the science of archery, (in which the twanging of the bow is) pleasing to the ear; others, devoting themselves to hundreds of excellent achievements, (became) acquainted with wonderful tales; and others, unassuming in (their) modesty (and) devoted to discourses of the true religion, (became) able to say much that was free from harshness (and yet was) salutary. Some excelled in their own business (of silk-weaving); 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, (and) belonging to a famous and mighty lineage, are decorated with achievements that befit (their) birth; and others, true to (their) promises (and) 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; (and) possessing most abundant goodness,—(are) very gods in an earthly habitation.

(L. 11.)—(Just as) a woman, thought-endowed with youth and beauty (and) 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,—(so) the whole of this region of the earth, is (almost superfluously) adorned through them, (as if) with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours, (and) 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 ‘Sumi,’ 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 Vidyā-
dharas; (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) Sumêra and Kailâsa; (and) whose laughter is the full-blown flowers
showered forth from the borders of the woods;—

(L. 13.)—There was a ruler, king Viśvarman, 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) Pârtha; (and) who was very compassionate to the
unhappy; who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and the distressed; who was exces-
sively 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 states-
manship; beloved by (his) kinsmen; the relative, as it were, of (his) subjects; the
remover of the afflictions 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 (Kâmadèva) armed
with the bow that is made of flowers. Even to-day, when the long-eyed lovely women of
(his) enemies, pained with the fierce pangs 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
causd 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

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.

Conf. Brihat-Samhitâ, xiii. 35, where the earth is described as having the mountains of
sunrise and sunset for lips, and the Himâlaya and Vindhya for breasts.—Compare also line 34 of the
Alhâ grant of Śûdâlitya 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.

This, again, is a second parenthesis, the real context of the preceding verse being the description
of Bandhuvarman in line 14 ff.

lit. 'high-shouldered.'

i.e. Hêmanta, the cold weather, consisting of the months Mâgadhrâ (November-December)
and Pausha or Sahasya (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 rādhra¹ and priyāngu-plants⁴ and the jasmine-creepers; in which the lavali-trees⁵ and the solitary branches of the nagand-bushes⁶ 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 fall 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 season⁷ 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 aśoka⁸ and miśaka⁹ and sindudra-trees,⁸ and the pendulous atimuktaka-creeper,⁸ and the wild-jasmine;—when the solitary large branches of the nagand-bushes are full of the songs of the bees that are delighted by drinking the nectar; (and) when the beautiful and luxuriant rādhra-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) Śārṅgīn 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) Śārṅgīn (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 (etymology)¹⁰ that preceded was, with particular care, compos-

¹ rādhra, also lādhra; the tree Symplocos Racemosa.
² priyāngu; a medicinal plant and perfume; Panicum Italicum; Sinapis Rama; saffron.
³ lavali; the Averrhoa Acida.
⁴ nagand; the Cardiospermum Halicacabum.
⁵ i.e. Śātra, the cool or dewy season, consisting of the months Māgha (January-February) and Phalguna or Tapasya (February-March).
⁶ aśoka; the tree or shrub Jonesia Aśoka.
⁷ miśaka; the tree Pandanus Odoratissimus.
⁸ sindudra; the tree or shrub Vitex Negundo.
⁹ atimuktaka; a certain creeper, tree, or shrub, with apparently white flowers.
¹⁰ praisati.—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 Apsaṣa inscription of
ed by Vatsabhäti. 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 BUDHA GUPTA
THE YEAR 185,

This inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain 1. S. Burt, or the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 633. 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 *Archaeol. 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 Surāshtri; and which Dr. Hall read as samsurabhā, 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 *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 127, note.

This is another inscription from Eran in the Khurāl Sub-Division of the Sāgar 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 Tōrāmanā, No. 36 below.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 63" broad by 1' 7" 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 1" to 2". The characters belong to the norther class of alphabets; they approximate in some respects to the type of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and in others to that of the Mathurā 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

Adityāsena, No. 42 below, Plate xxviii.—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).

2 See page 18 above, and note 1.
The inscription refers itself to the reign of Budhagupta, whose feudatory, the Mahārāja Surāśāchandra, was governing the country lying between the river Kālindī, 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 Ashādha (June-July), and on Suraguruvāra or Thursday. It is a Vaśīnāva inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection of the column, which is called a dhaṇḍa-stambha or flag-staff11 of the god Vishnu, under the name of Janārdana, by a Mahārāja named Mātrivishnu and his younger brother, Dhanyak-
vishnu.

TEXT.

1 Jayati2 vibhuṣḥ-chatur-bhuiṣā-chatur-arṇāva-vipulā-salīla-paryāyaṅkaḥ jagataḥ sthity-uptaḥ-hya-yā-ādiḥ]-
2 hētur-Ggaruda-kētuḥ [I] śatē paṇcha-shashṭi-adhikē varshaḥṇām bhūpatāv cha Budhaguptaḥ āśādha-maṣa-śukla].
3 dvādaśyām Suragurūr-dīvasa l [I] . Sam 100 60 5 [II*] Kālindī- Narmμμadāva-maṣadham pālayati lōkapāla-guṇair-jjagati mahārāja]-
6 tasya-āvān-ānunjēna tad-anuvīdhāyin[a] tat-prasāda-parīṇaḥ[ī]ḥ[ī]ṭenasya C Dhanyav-
7 viṇūṇa cha l mātriḥ[ät] pīturāḥ puny-āpyāyān-artham-ēṣaḥ bhagavatāḥ 11- 
8 punya-jan-ārddanasya ḷ Janārdanaśya dhaṇḍa-stambhé-bhyuchhchhribat[II*] 
9 Svasty-astu go-brāhmaṇā-pūrṛgābhīyaḥ sarvya-praṇābhyāḥ iti l [II]

1 Compare dhroja, 'standard,' as applied to the Mēharaulī column, in line 6 of No. 32 below, Plate xxiA.
2 From the original stone.
3 Metre Āryā; and in the next verse.—In the first ṣddha 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 y is quite distinct, and the consonant above it seems to be a broken n; and the requirements of both the metre and the sense are properly met by supplying ṣddha for the effaced syllables.
5 This akshara is somewhat damaged; but it is very distinctly ṣddha. Prinsep's reading of tṛyaḍāsyaṁ is proved to be wrong by the metre, if by nothing else.
6 Metre, Āryā.
7 Supply tikhau.
8 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
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 Garuḍa!

(Line 2.)—In a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (is) king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āśāḍha; on the day of Suraguru; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5—

(L. 3.)—And while Surāśmicandra is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world; (the country that lies) between the (rivers) Kālindi 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 Mātrivishnu, who is excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Viṣṇu, 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 Indravishnu, who was attentive to his duties; who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (of the scriptures); who was a Brāhmaṇa saint; (and) who was the most excellent (of the followers) of the Maitrāyanīya (fākha);—who is the son’s son of Varṇavishnu, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (his) father;—(and) who is the son of Hariyavishnu, who was the counterpart of (his) father in meritorious qualities; (and) was the cause of the advancement of his race;—

(L. 8.)—(By him) and by his younger brother Dhanyavishnu, 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, 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.’—Suraguru, ‘the preceptor of the gods,’ is another name of Bṛhaspati, from which latter name the day takes its customary appellation of Bṛhaspatīvāra.
2 lōkapāla.—The lōkapālas, or guardians of the points of the compass, are sometimes reckoned as eight, viz. 1, Indra, of the east; 2, Agni, of the south-east; 3, Yama, of the south; 4, Nīrūti, or sometimes Sūrya, of the south-west; 5, Varuṇa, of the west; 6, Vāyu, of the north-west; 7, Kuβera, of the north; and 8, Īśāna, or sometimes Chandra, and sometimes Pṛthivī, of the north-east;—and sometimes as four, viz. Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 7, above.
3 pītaram-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 Pañcatantra; viz.—

Jātāḥ 1utrā-nujiṭāsa-cha atijātās-tathāiva cha l
apajātās-cha lōkād-smin-mantavyāḥ śastra-vedāribhī II
Mātri-tulya-guṇo jātās-tv-anujiṭāḥ pituḥ samah l
atijātā-dhikas-tasmād-apajātād-dham-ādamahām II

“By those who know the scriptures, (sons) are to be understood among men as being a jīta son, or an anujiṭa, or an atijīta, or an apajīta. A jīta (is) one whose virtues are equal to (those of his) mother; an anujiṭa (is) equal to (his) father (in virtue); an atijīta surpasses that (father); and an apajīta (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 1875-77 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 Éran,¹ in the Khurá Sub-Division of the Ságar District in the Central Provinces. It is on a small pillar, afterwards converted into a linga or phallic emblem of Śiva, which stands under some tall trees near the left bank of the Píná, about half a mile to the south-east of Éran, and half-way between it and the neighbouring village of Pehélajpur.² 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 Góparája 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 Góparája 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 ablution-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 Góparája'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 Éran 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 pártha, line 5, and bháry, line 7; but above it in sárdáham, 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 anusvára, before t, in vaná, lines 1 and 4; and (2) the doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r; e.g. in vikṛánta and puttra, line 3.

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 7 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 Bhānugupta, a chieftain or noble named Goparāja came to the place where the pillar was set up, and fought a battle; that Goparāja was killed; and that his wife accompanied him, by cremating herself on his funeral pyre.

**TEXT:**

2. rāj-ēti-viśrutā tasya putrā- ti-vikrāntō nāmnā rāj-ātha Mādhavāhā II
3. Goparāja[ḥ] e
4. sutas-tasya śrīmaṇ-viśvakāma-paurashāḥ Śarabharāja-dauhitraḥ svā-vānā-tilakō-dha(?)nā(?) II
5. Śrī-Bhānugupto jagati pravirō rājā mahān-Pārtha-samōti-sūrāḥ tēn-ātha sārdūhan-tv-īha Goparāj[ḥ] e

1 The day is indicated as a solar day, as well as lunar, by the use, in the numerical-symbol record, of di, instead of the abbreviations of dina, dinā, divasa, or divāsā, in addition, to, in the fuller record, saptamī, which denotes the lunar tithi. — The abbreviation di is preceded by ba, which stands for bahula-paksha or bahula-pakṣā. Sometimes, instead of ba, we have va; e.g. in line 17 of the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahādrāja Vīrakapāla, samvatsāra (sic) 100 80 8 Phāligma 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 vaṣya, 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 iṣu, which represents indra or iṣṭha, similarly in composition with paksha or pakṣā; e.g. in line 14 of the Bādh-Gayā inscription of Mahāmāman, No. 71 below, Plate xii A., samvat 200 60 9 Chaitra iṣu di 8. — These abbreviations, iṣu di and ba di or va di, are often quoted as if they were words in themselves (iṣu, ba, va, vadi), meaning respectively 'the bright fortnight' and 'the dark fortnight.' And Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives vadi as an indeclinable word, meaning 'in the dark half of a month'; with the remark that, according to some, it stands for bādī, and is a contraction of bahula-dīna; but with an intimation of his own opinion that it represents vadāya. 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 Marāṭhī 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.

2 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 Bhāgwanal Inḍrajī's Nēpāl inscription No. 1, of Māṇḍāvē (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 164, line 7 f. and p. 165), when Rājyavati, the widow of Dharmādeva, bids her son Māṇḍāvē 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 Eran.

3 From the original stone.

4 Metre, Śūkha (Aḥnḥūṭḥḥ); and in the next verse.

5 Metre, Indravajrā; and in the following verse.

6 i.e. bahula-pakṣa.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 21.

6 mitrâν-uva(?)tyâ(?)ra(?) kil-ânyâvâtaḥ II Kriyâ cha* y[ui]ddham su-
mahat-prakâ[s]ârâm swarggah gatiâ diya-narâ(?)[ndrâ-kalpah]
7 bhakt-ânumâktâ cha priyâ cha kântâ bhâ[â][y]-â[vâ]lag[n]-âñugat=

TRANSLATION.

Om! In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; on the seventh lunar day of
the dark fortnight of (the month) Srâvâpa; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 90 (and) 1;
the month Srâvâpa; the dark fortnight; the day 7:

(Line 2.)—(There was) a king, renowned under the name of . . . rája, sprung from
the . . laksha(?) lineage; and his son (was) that very valorous king (who was known) by
the name (of) Mâdhava.

(L. 3.)—His son was the illustrious Gôparâja, renowned for manliness; the
daughter's son of the Sarabha king; who is (even) now (?) the ornament of (his) lineage.

(L. 5.)—(There is) the glorious Bhûnâgupta, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty
king, equal to Pârtha, exceedingly heroic; and, along with him, Gôparâja 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 com-
panionship, accompanied (him) onto the funeral pyre.

No. 21; (No PLATE.)

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 156.

This inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1852, by Colonel Ellis, Poli-
tical Agent at Nâgaudh, and was first brought to notice in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition
both this and the next inscription of the year 163, from Mr. Thomas' reading of the texts.

In 1861, in the Jour. Beng. 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 Archaeol. 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 Uchaharâ, the present capital

1 The metre is faulty here, as the cha, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following
double consonant, pr.

2 Gôparâja.

3 The 'Kho' of maps. It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, but is not shewn there.
—Khôh means literally 'a cave.'

4 The 'Oochaira, Uchahara, Uchara, Uchera, Ucheyra, Uchehara, Uncehara, Uncehrah, Unchera,
Urchara, and Urcharah,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 23' N.; Long. 80° 51' E.
of the Native State of Nâgaudh or Nâgaundh in the Baghâkhând 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 Allahbâd 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, śrī-mahârâja-hâstihânaḥ, "of the illustrious Mahârâja 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 Mahârâja 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 khurdu, line 14-15, the r is written within the top line of the writing, with only a single y below it, as in kurut, line 12, and sūryadatta, line 19, of No. 23 below, Plate xiv; while in sūryadatta, lines 10 and 21, and maryyâdha, line 19, 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 vâkkrã, line 20; and sagôtra and pattta, line 9; (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in avaddhyâdha, line 15; and (4) the occasional use of b for v, in sâmbatsare, line 2; and barsa, line 19.

In addition to 'Uchahara,' Gen. Cunningham uses three other forms, 'Uchahâra,' 'Uchahada,' and 'Uchahadâ,' (Archeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 5); but, in my inquiries at Satnâ, I could not obtain anything in support of them.—He has also proposed (id. p. 10) to identify Uchahara with 'Udyâra,' the supposed capital of Sâmidatta mentioned in line 19 of the Allahbâd pillar inscription, No. 1; but the real reading there (page 7 above) gives Giri-Koṭīṭa, or "Koṭīṭa 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 'Ocharah,' 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 'Nâgoûde, Nâgaûnd, and Nâgaûdh,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70. Lat. 25° 33' N.; Long. 80° 37' E.—On the badges of the Police Sepoys, I found the name written Nâgaûdh. But the correct form is undoubtedly Nâgaûndh, which is sometimes nasalised and pronounced Nâgaûndh.—The Râjâ is officially called the 'Râjâ of Nâgoûndh;' and Nâgaûndh was formerly the capital of the State. The present capital is Uchahara. And the Political Agency is now at Satnâ, 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 Bardâlî.——Gen. Cunningham has proposed (Archeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 12) to identify Nâgoûndh with the Nâgaûdeya that is mentioned in line 5 of the Karhaṭa plates of the Mahârâja Jayânâtha of the year 174, No. 26 below. But the name would rather seem to be derived from ndga-vadha or ndga-bandha, 'the slaughter or the capture of the hooded-serpents or of the Nâga tribe;' whereas Nâgaûdeya would mean 'the gift to the hooded-serpents, or to the Nâga tribe.'
The inscription is one of the Parivrajaka Mahârâja 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 Mahâ-Vaisâkha samvatsara, and on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Karttika (October-November). The inscription is non-sectarian, except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahâdeva. The object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahârâja Hastin, of the village of Vasuntarashandika to Gopavâmın and other Brahmans.

TEXT.1

First Plate.

1 Namô Mahâdevâva II Sastl Shatpañchâśottarâ-hda-satê Gupta-nripâ
2 Aiva-bhuktau Mahâ-Vaisâkha-sambhasare1* Katttika-mâsa-sukla-paksha-tritiya-
3 yam-asyan-divasapûrvâyârâ nripatiparivrajaka-kul-ôtpannêna I mahâ-
4 raja-Dvâdhyâ-prana$mtrâ maha$mâr$a-Prabhâjana-napîrnâ mahârâja-
Dâmôdara-sutêna

1 parivrajaka 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-parivrajaka, 'a kingly ascetic,' is of the same class with rishi-archi, 'a royal saint, a saint of royal descent.' Compare also rajadhîrî-archi, 'a saintly sovereign,' which is applied to Chandragupta II. in the Udayagiri cave inscription, No. 6, page 35 above, line 3.—The particular kingly ascetic, from whom Hastin's family derived its origin, was Subarman (see No. 25 below, Plate xvB. line 5.)—The word parivrâjaka 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.

2 Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau; line 1f.—The same expression occurs in Nos. 22, 23, and 25. It indicates clearly that the Gupta dynasty and sway 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 153rd year of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta kings." And this was substantially correct. But he added a note that bhuktau might be read muktau, from the end or cessation.—In publishing this translation, Mr. Thomas pointed out that the reading muktau could not possibly be admitted. And, following this, Dr. Hall (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. pp. 3 i., note, and 6, 12) adopted the reading bhuktau or bhukti; but laid down the dictum that bhukti, "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 (Archaeol. 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 sâtâ, in line 3 of the Kâhâkû pillar inscription of Skandagupta (see page 67 above, note 7), it is impossible to imagine how bhukti, lit. 'the act of enjoying or eating; enjoyment, eating; fruition, possession, sustent,' 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.

3 samvatsara, '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.

4 From Gen. Cunningham's hand-copy. 5 Read samvatsaré.
5 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary. 6 Supply titkau.
6 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary. 7 See page 97 below, note 4. 8 Read napîrnâ.
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-

Second Plate.

pûrvva-bhūktāṃ mā(ma)yāyādāḥ [II*]
Sāmndhyāputtra-pramukhānām
sūdraṅghah sūdārakaraḥ

Tad-asmat-kul-ottthaiḥ mat-
pādapind-ōpajī
ciivhit-vvā kālāntrēshv-āpi na vyāghṭaḥ kāryaḥ [I*] ēvam-aṅjāpta'
yō-nyathā ku-
ruyāt-taṃ-ahānām déhāntara-gatō-śi pi maḥāt-avaddhyānāna nirdabdēh'=Uktām
cha bhagavatā pa-

ram-arśhēnā vēḍa-vyāsēna I Pūrvva*-dattām dvijātibhyo yatnād-
rakṣhya(ksha) Yudhishthirāḥ.

mahi(hi)m mahimattām śrēṣṭha dānāch-chhreyō-nupālanaṁm[II*]

Bhubhīr-vvasudhā bhuktā ra-

jabhīh Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs-tasya tasya tādā phalām [II*]

Shasṭhirm-ba(va)ra-sahasrāṇi svargge mōdati bhūmi-dāh āchchhētā
cch-anuma-

ntā cha tānē-śa narākā yāsēd-itī II Likhitaḥ-cha Vakkr-āmatyā-

[pra*]naptā bhūgik-āmatyā-Naradatta-naptā bhūgīka-Vaidatta-putrēnā*]

Sūrya-
dattēn-īti [I*] Dūrāko Bhaṅgrahāḥ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

1 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
2 Read saha.
3 Read vājrasāṁhya.
4 Read, in composition, Gōpasvāmi-Bhavasvāmi-Sandhyāputtra-Dīvkaradatta-Bhakara-datta-Sūryadattēkhyā.
5 Read bhūktē.—F. E. Hall read bhūktē. But the bhūktē (for bhūktē) of Gen. Cunningham’s copy, seems preferable.
6 Read sandhyā.
7 Read either djñaptē, or djñāḍāptē.
8 Read nirddakhyām.
9 Read, in composition, Gōpasvāmi-Bhavasvāmi-Sandhyāputtra-Dīvkaradatta-Bhakara-datta-Sūryadattēkhyā.
10 For some various readings here, see page 99 below, note 1.
11 Read aṇḍhātyā.
12 Read, in composition, Gōpasvāmi-Bhavasvāmi-Sandhyāputtra-Dīvkaradatta-Bhakara-datta-Sūryadattēkhyā.
13 Reading, in composition, Gōpasvāmi-Bhavasvāmi-Sandhyāputtra-Dīvkaradatta-Bhakara-datta-Sūryadattēkhyā.
14 This gi is omitted in Gen. Cunningham’s copy.
15 Like siddham (see page 35 above, note 4), this word of constant use as a mantrā, or auspicious invocation, at the commencement of inscriptions—
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; NO. 21.

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 Mahārdāja, the illustrious Hastin,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahārdāja Dēvādhyā;—who is the grandson of the Mahārdāja Prabhāṣjana;—who is the son of the Mahārdāja 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 Brāhmaṇs;—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 Vasunārashandika is granted to the Brāhmaṇ Gōpasvāmin, of the Vājasanēya-Mādhyaandina (śākhā) and the Kautsa gōra, and to Bhavasvāmin, Sandhyāputra, Divākaradatta, Bhāskaradatta, and Sūryadatta.

(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 adhanga and the upari-

It also occurs, governing a dative case, at the end of the Mandasor 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 Būdhanāgupta, No. 19, page 89 above, line 9, and at the end of the Eran inscription of Tōrāmāja, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiA, line 8.

1 The text (line 3) has asyānā-divasa-puruṣvādīṁ, in apposition with which tilhau has to be supplied.—The same expression was used in the Gaśāhā 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 sandhyāguna-divasa-puruṣvādīṁ, "on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the samvatsara (or year) and month and day," which occurs, for instance, in the Majghāwān grant of the Mahārdāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv, line 2 f.—Another variety of the expression is asyānā-divasa-māsa-samvatsar-dapuruṣvādīṁ, in the Shāhāpur image inscription of Adityadhana, No. 43 below, Plate xxiiA, line 2.—In the Hilsai pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10, page 44 above, line 7, we have asyānā-divasa-puruṣvādīṁ, without the specification of any details except the year.

2 See page 95 above, note 1.

3 In this and the other three formal inscriptions of this family, Nos. 22, 23, and 25 below, pranaptri and nāpṛi are used, instead of the more customary and stricter terms, praputra, or 'son of a son's son,' and pautra, 'son's son;' see page 15 above, note 3. Pranapatri and nāpṛi 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.

4 F. E. Hall (Four, Ren. As. Soc. Vol. XXX, p. 6, and p. 8, note) read this name as Dēvāhva, and rejected H. H. Wilson's reading of Dēvāhva (which is evidently a misprint for Dēvāhva, i.e. Dēvāhva) with the remark—'in both inscriptions, the name is most probably 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 Sankhshobha, the name is unmistakably Dēvāhva; as, indeed, would be recognised at once by any careful reader, acquainted with Sanskrit, since aha or dhya is no real word or termination at all; and Prof. H. H. Wilson was right, and Dr. FitzEdward Hall was wrong.

5 gavī; lit. 'a hollow, a hole, a cave.'

6 adhanga is a technical fiscal term.—Dr. Bühler has brought to notice (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 189, note 39) that in the Śāhāpurāka, Zacharias's edition, pp. xxix., 260, it is explained by adhāra
kara; (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops; (but) with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves.¹

(L. 13.)—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.² 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. 15.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage,³ the arrangement of the and udgrantha ( Udgrdha), and thus 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 Atha grant of Śālīditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv.—In this passage, as it is given in line 46 of the grant of Śālīditya III. of the year 352 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 308), it appears to be spelt with a double $d$, uddraja; so also in line 10 of the grant of the Mahārāja Guhaśēna of the year 246 (id. Vol. IV. p. 175).

¹ uparājya is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which has not been made clear. But I would suggest that the first component is the Prākrit word upar or upr (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.'

² a-chāda-bhāta-praśvēya; a technical term of constant occurrence.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrājī (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 175, note 41) takes chāda-bhāta as meaning chāda prati bhāta, 'soldiers against robbers,' and as denoting the royal police. But, that chāda is not governed by bhāta, seems to be made clear by the analogous but differently arranged expression, a-bhāta-chēkhāra-praśvēya, in line 26 of the Chammak grant of the Mahārāja Pravarasēna II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv, and in line 27-28 of his Siwan grant, No. 56, Plate xxxv. And, in line 6 of the Goa grant of Satyārāja-Dhrvārāja-Indravarmā of Śaka-Saṅvat 532 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365), we have the simple expression a-bhāta-praśvēya.—Follow Dr. Bühler's interpretation (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. 115 and note).—A slightly different expression, but of exactly the same purport, viz. pratiniṣheartha-chāda-bhāta-praśvēya occurs, for instance, in l. 10-11 of the Kapalēśwar grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 56).—Other expressions, which help to indicate the bearing of the term, are samastā-ṣajjyādāna-a-praśvēya, "not to be entered by any of the king's people," e.g. in line 17 of the Ila grants of Datta II. of Śaka-Saṅvat 417 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 117); and raja-sthānakānta-sajjyādāna-prajjyādāna na sthā, in line 97 of the Paṭhan grant of Rāmaśandra of Śaka-Saṅvat 1193 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 318). The latter expression 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.

³ This elliptical expression, chōra-varjyam, lit. 'with the exception of thieves,' is explained by the fuller expression chōra-dvāda-varjyam, 'with the exception of fines (imposed on) thieves,' in line 14 of the Khādra grant of the Mahārāja Jayaśātha of the year 777, No. 27 below, Plate xvii.

¹ mat-pādāpadm-pājītvam; lit. 'subsisting on the cakes which are my feet.' Compare tath-pādāpadm-pājītvam, 'subsisting (like a bee) on the water-lilies 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 Khāḍarājī inscription of Śaka-Saṅvat 997 (Archzol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 102)—Compare, also, an expression of very similar purport, tat-pādāpadm-pājītvam, 'whose head is adorned with the fresh sprouts that are his feet,'—in line 5 l. of the Balagāṅe inscription of Śaka-Saṅvat 970 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 179).—See also page 55 above, and note 1.

⁴ Vēdas; 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 Mahāgādh 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,\(^1\) 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 Sagaras; 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!'

(L. 20.)—And (this charter)\(^1\) has been written\(^2\) 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 Mahabhārata. And in line 19 of the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Sanikshobha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx, it is also added that they are in the Satasadhasri- Sañkhist of the Mahabhârata.—These verses are nearly attributed, in the inscriptions, to Vyåsa. But, in line 27-28 of the Karpûl grant of the third year of Vikramadiya I. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 237), the verse commencing Bahubhinv-asasudha bhukid, 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. Bühler's discovery (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 324) that about one-tenth of Manu's verses occur in the Mahabhârata.

\(^1\) mahimmat, or mahimat, 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 kshitiibhratîm, which occurs in the same verse in line 32 of the Chhâkôll grant of a Râshrakâta king Kakka of Sáka-Sañvat 679 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 109). Another various reading, in a slight variety of the same verse, is matimâtam, 'wise, prudent,' in line 40 of the Nauśâr grant of Jaya-bâpta II. of the year 456 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 79).

\(^2\) idasana, a charter; or tdmra-idasana, a copper-charter.—These were the technical terms for conveyances of this kind. The first word, idasana, occurs, for instance, in line 4 of the legend on the seals of the Chammak and Siwan grants of the Mahârâja Prâvasarâna II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plate xxxiii C. and D. The second, tdmra-idasana, occurs, for instance, in line 10 of the Majhâgâwan grant of the Mahârâja Hastin 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 praistâti, which word is properly the technical term for an inscription on stone.

\(^3\) likhítam.—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. 23 below, Plate xiii. line 29 f. has the title of Mahâsâmâdhisivahithika, that the writing was done by one of his clerks, not by himself.—The process of engraving is always denoted by utkhrâd (praistah), e.g. in line 25 of the Mandasad inscription of Yâdhâharman and Vishnupardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.; or utkhrâm (idasanam), e.g. in line 23 of the Ārâng grant of the Râja Mahâ-Jayarâja, No. 40 below, Plate xxvi.—It might be thought that likhítam 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. praistâhih kardâ, in line 17 of the Aihole Mârâj inscription of Pulikèsin II. of Sáka-Sañvat 556 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 242); or râch, 'to compose,' e.g. râchitd (praistah), in line 23 of No. 18 above, page 84. And in line 32 of a grant of Alâhanâdva of Vikrama-Sañvat 1218 (Indian Inscriptions, No. 10), we have the double expression râchâyän-chakrâ likhîth ch-dâm mahâ-idasanam.—Some of the functions connected with a copper-charter are very well indicated in line 46 of the Kapâlavar grant of Mahâ-Bhavâgaptha, (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 Mahâbha.—the son of Priyamkardhitâ.—a writer (Kâya-dha) belonging to (the office of) the Mahâsâmâdhisivahith, the Kôsaka, the illustrious Mahâ-dattâ. (This charter, presented by the lord of Kôsâla, by which the village-headman (Mahâstama) is to be informed,—Punârdiklisha received it (apparently to superintend the engraving), transferred to copper. It has been engraved by Mahâbha, the son of Vâs."
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 Prinsep'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'

1. Amitya, lit. 'an inmate of the same house; a counsellor,' is a technical official title.

2. Bhagika, 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 bhoga and bhukti. If we may judge by the passage in line 8 of the KVI grant of Jayabha II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 114), the Bhagikas came in rank below the SamaJas and above the Vishyayapatis.

3. Ditsaka, and occasionally Dita (e.g. in line 14 of the Nirmand grant of the Mahashamanta and Madhuraja Samudrasena, No. 80 below, Plate xiv.), 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. Bhagwantl Indraji's Nepali 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 Ditsaka's 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 Ditsaka when we have such expressions as dirdyavam, 'the order (is) (that of the grantor's) own self,' e.g. in line 19 of the 'Chicacole' grant of the Madhuraja Indravaran of the year 128 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 121); samukh-dj̣ḍ, 'the order (is) (that of the grantor's) own mouth,' e.g. in line 24 of the Khoh grant of the Madhuraja Sankshobha, No. 25 below, Plate xvi.; dj̣naptih sva-mukham, with the same meaning, e.g. in line 34 of the Cottleford grant of the Raja Prithivimala (Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 178); and sva-mukh-dj̣napti uttarnam, 'engraved at the order of (the grantor's) own mouth,' e.g. in line 23 of the Arring plates of the Raja Mahâ-Jayarka, No. 40 below, Plate xxvi.—As pointed out by Dr. Kelchorn (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 161. note 29). Ditsaka, lit. 'conveyor of orders,' in line 29 of the Ujjaian grant of Vâkpaterana of Dhâr (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 dj̣napti mahâmahattare Gauri sharman, 'the order (is) (conveyed by) the Mahâmahatara Gaurisharan, in line 24 of the Chicacole grant of the Madhuraja Indravaran of the year 146 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 121); dj̣napti-siyasarm, in line 28 of the 'Pedda-Madall' grant of Jayasinha I. (id. Vol. XIII. p. 138); and dj̣napti Dâmakhritihôjakah Cc., in line 12-13 of the Halaf grant of the eighth year of Mrigeshavarman (id. Vol. VI. p. 24 f.)—Line 13 of the Khoh grant of the Mahâshamanta Svarundhara of the year 197, No. 30 below, Plate xixB., mentions, in addition to the ordinary Ditsaka, another Ditsaka, 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 Ditsaka carried the orders for the drawing up of a charter, not the charter itself.

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 bhâ, 'light, splendour, lustre,' or bhâ, '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 *Archaeol. 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 
v. No. 2.)

The inscription is on another set of copper-plates that were found, with the plates 
containing the inscription of the same Mahdrāja Hastin of the year 156, No. 21 above, 
somewhere in the valley near the village of Kāhā, in the Nagadūth State in the Baghēl-
khand 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 5½" 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 part* of each plate for a 
ring, with a seal attached to it; but the ring and seal are not now forthcoming. From 
the original accounts, the seal appears to have had on it the legend Śrī-Mahdrāja-
Hastinah, “of the illustrious Mahdrāja 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 3½" and 4½". 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 sāryadatta, line 30, on the one hand, and, on the other, in kāryya, 
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 
brāhmaḍhrine and ela, line 8, chāḍa, line 16, and dhndich, 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.

* 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 Mahdrājas 
of Uchchakalpa, 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 anusvara, before १, in vata, line 6; (2) the doubling of ।, in conjunction with a following ०, in vahka, line 28; (3) the doubling of १, under the same circumstances, in ttri, line 1; chatitra, line 2; and other places; but not in putrêna, line 29; (4) the doubling of ०, in conjunction with a following ू, in madhyena, line 18; but not in avadhyena, line 21; and (5) the use of ० for ५, in lamksha, line 14.

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 sixty-three (A.D. 482-83), in the Mahā-Āsvayuja samvatsara, and on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (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 agrāhāra of Kṛparika to certain Brāhmaṇas.

TEXT.  
First Plate. 

1 Namō Mahādevāya (II) Svasti Ttri-shaśty-uttarē-bda-śatē Gupta- nirapatiruvrājaka-kulātipannēna mahārāja-Dévādhyāya- 

2 Mah-Āsvayuja-sāmvat senators Chaittra-māsā-sukla-paksha-dvityy[a*]yām-asy[a*]n- 

3 pūrv[a*]yādin[a*] nripatiruvrājaka-kulātipannēna mahārāja-Dévādhyāya- 

1 In respect of the date of this inscription, Gen. Cunningham (Archæol. 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-Vaśākha, leads prima facie to the conclusion that 163 would be Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa, and that Mahā-Āsvayuja would be (either 161 or 173): especially since the record of No. 25, page 112 below, that 209 was Mahā-Āsvayuja, points to the names of the samvatsaras running in regular succession, without any adjustment by expunction, through this period of fifty-four years. But Gen. Cunningham's suggestion that the apparent error is "a mistake of the engraver, who has written shaśī" (sic) "60" instead of sapt "(sic) "70," which in Gupta characters might easily happen," takes no account of an additional akshara that must then have been omitted altogether. "Increased by seventy-three" would be, not ttri-saptā-uttarē, but ttri-saptāt-uttarē. And it would not be an easy matter for the engraver to turn this full and correct form into ttri-shaśty-uttarē. Gen. Cunningham's present tables for the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter (Archæol. 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 ttri, 'three,' having been engraved instead of dvi, 'two,' and perhaps of the drafter of the record having 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. 323) 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.

* From the original plates.  
* Read sāmvatsārē.  
* Supply tithau.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS: No. 22, PLATE XIII.

103

mahārāja-śrī-Prabhāśajñā-naptra, mahārāja-Śāmūdaya, sutēna go-sahasra-
stasy-śrī-mihāki-Anēka-bhūmi-pradeṇa guru-pitṛ-matri-pīyā-tantraparēn.¹

2

tyanta-dēva-brahmaṇa-bhaktēna naika-samara-śata-vijayinā svav-anē-āmodaka-
renā mahārāja-śrī-Hastinā sva-puny-apyōjan-ārtham-āgnisv[a] miputta-

3

Bharadvāja-

4

sagotṭra-Vājī[a]śanēya-sabrahmācharinē (Dēvasvāminē) Śarvavsvāminē

5

cha

gōrīsvāminē (Vājī[ca]śanēya-sabrahmācharinē Kautsa-sagotṭrāya Di-

6

vēkarasvāminē cha sv[a] lītsvāminē Vājāsanēya-sabrabraḥmācharinē

7

Bhārga-

8

va-sagotṭrāva Varuṇaśarmānag (Bappasvāminē) Vāsula-sagotṭrāya Ṣa

9

Katha-sabrahmācharinē Kumāradēvarēva Vājī[ca]śanēya-sabrahmāchari-

10

na Mat[ri]sarmma(Nāgasa[r]ma Rukharadvēvah Kauḍravadvēvah

11

Vishn[u]dēvah

Second Plate.

14

Dēvanāga Kumārasēna²¹ Rudrāsarmma¹³ Dēvādat(?) nāgar(?)¹³ Lamvō(mbō) shīta Dēdamita¹⁴

15

Mahādeva Guoṭhaka ity-ēvam-ādibhyō brāhmaṇēbhyō-ōttare¹⁵ patti-

Kārpaṇi-

16

ka-grāhṛah s-ōdrāṅgrah s-ōparikarah qā-chāṭa-bhāta-prāveśyō-tisrīshita-

17

s[a]-Tasy-āghatāh pūrveṇa Kārparagartī Ṣa uttarēp-Ānūsūkakakōnakah

18

Vaiṅgara-grāmakasya dakshina-pl[a] ṣvē Valaka-maddhyēma vrikah

amvṛta-sāmīṭara-

19

kahi[¹] pāṣchimēna Nāgasalā dakṣinēṇa Balavarmma-parichchhēdah [l[a] Tad-asama-

20

[t[a]-kul-ōṭhāir-mām-pādami(pi) ṣūj-ōpajīvibhir-vvā¹ kālāntareśhv-api na

vyāghātah kāryē[a] [l[a] [l[a] R

21

ēvam-ājñāpta yō-nyathā kuryyān(t) tam-ahān déhāntara-gatō-pi mahat=

avadvayēn-

¹Read ṁḍā-ṭatparē.—The engraver omitted to cut the ṁ of ṁḍa; 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.

²⁰Read chārīnē.

²¹First nai was engraved; and then it was corrected into nd, by partial erasure of the upper stroke of the ai.

²²Read tarmmaṇē.

²³Read dēva.

²⁴Read dēvāya.

²⁵Read chārīnē.

²⁶Read tarmma.—From here, down to ity-ēvam-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.

²⁷Read nd, and Ṛ Read dēva.

²⁸After this na, some letter, which is not quite certain, was engraved and then cancelled.

²⁹This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³⁰Read dēvadāṅgirath (?).

³¹This is perhaps a mistake for dēvamitra.

³²Read brāhmaṇēbhya ittarē.

³³Read tisrīkṣtār.

³⁴Read maddhyēmē.

³⁵Read amṛta; and probably sambhāraka.

³⁶First rma was engraved, and then it was corrected into rvā.

³⁷Read ṛjñāte or ṛjñāpitē.
Reverence to (the god) Mahādeva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by sixty-three;* in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahā-Aśvayuja samvatsara; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (Oe).—

(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 Dēvādhyā;—who is the grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Prabhaśijana;—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 Brāhmaṇs;—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 agrāhāra of Körparika, in the northern patta,¹⁰ is granted, with the utraṅga and the

---

¹ Read nirddahēyam. ¹¹ Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and in the following three verses.
² Read yudhisthiram. ¹² Read yasya; the engraver repeated the ya by mistake.
³ Read pītṛbhūḥ. ¹³ Supply Ṛṣanām.
⁴ Read pranapatrā.—Mistakes of this kind would occur through the engraver not spacing the aksharas out as far as they were spaced in the painted arrangement on the copper. He would thus come to engrave naptra (for naptrā) two aksharas before the place intended for it; and he then ignorantly, and also imperfectly, repeated the aksharas, by engraving the painted marks still remaining on the plate.
⁵ Read śrīyadattāna. ⁶ See page 102 above, note 1.
⁷ patta, as used here, is apparently some technical territorial term. Compare pāṭṭa, for pāṭṭi, in line 8 of the Halsi grant of Bhimāryan (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. pp. 249 and 29, note), which, both in Kāparaka and in Mahārāja, is used for a strip of land, a division, or a village.¹⁴ Compare also pāṭṭiḥ in line 16 of the Karśā grant of Vījayarāja of the year 394 (ib. Vol. VII. pp. 248 and 230, note 17), and in line 11 ff. of the cancelled grant on the same plates (ib. p. 253).
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 22, PLATE XIII.

uparihara, and (with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops, to (certain) Brahmans, commencing with Dēvasvāmin, the son of Agnīsvāmin, or the Bhāradvāja gōtra (and) a student of the Vājāsanēya (tākhā), and Śārvāsāmin, and Gōrisvāmin, Dīvākarasvāmin, of the Kautsa gōtra, a student of the Vājāsanēya (tākhā), and Śvātisvāmin, Varuṇasārman, of the Bhārgava gōtra, a student of the Vājāsanēya (tākhā), and Bappasvāmin, Kumāradēva, of the Vāsula gōtra, a student of the Katha (tākhā), Mātrīsārman, a student of the Vājāsanēya (tākhā), Nāgāsārman, Kukhāradēva, Kauḍravādēva, Vishnudēva, Dēvanāgā, Kumārāsena, Rudraśārman, Dēvadāṅgīras, Lambōśthha, Dēvamītra, Mahādēva, (and) Guṇthaka.

(L. 17.)—The boundaries of it (are)—on the east, (the boundary-trench or village called) Körparagartá; on the north, Animalkakōnaka, (and) a vrika-tree in the centre of Valaka on the south side of the village of Vāngara, (and) a clump of amṛtā trees; on the west, (the tank or village called) Nāgasārl; (and) on the south, the parichhēdha of Balavaran.

(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 Vēdas,—"O Yudhishthīra, 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)! 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! 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 Mahādhāndhivigrāhikā Sūryadatta; the great-grandson of the Amātya Vakra; the grandson of the Bhāgika Naradatta; (and) the son of the Bhāgika Ravidatta. Bhagrapa (is) the Dātāka.

1 vrika; the Sesbana Grandisflora.
2 Or,—if we keep the original reading of samdraka,—'the ferry (at the place) of the amṛtā trees.'
3 amṛtā; the hog-plum, Spodiias Mangifera.
4 parichhēdha; lit. 'division, separation,' is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which cannot be at present suggested.
5 Mahādhāndhivigrāhikā, lit. 'a great officer entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war,' is a technical official title denoting an official superior to the Śāndhivigrāhikās (see page 16 above, note 6). Another of his titles was Mahiśāndhivigrāhakādhīrādhīpātī; e.g. in line 18-19 of the grant of Gōvinda III. of Saka-Saṃvat 736 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 127.)
6 See page 100 above, note 4.
No. 23, Plate XIV.

MAJHGAWAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 181.

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 Majhgawam, about three miles towards the south-west from Uchahra, the capital of the Nāgaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgaudh, 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\frac{3}{4}" by 5\frac{3}{4}". 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\frac{3}{4}" by 1", with the legend Śrīr-mahāprāja-Hastinā, “of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastin.”—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 14 oz.—The average size of the letters is between \frac{1}{8}" and \frac{1}{4}". 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 aupamanyāva, line 8. In kuryā, line 12, and sturyadatta, 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 cchreyō, line 14, yē, line 16, apānhyēṣhu, line 17, and yē, 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 trītyēṣdm, 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. 7 below, Plate xiiA.; but it is perhaps indicative of the current form of the letter in this period.1 The characters also include, in lines 20 and 21, forms of the numerical

1This name, given in maps, &c., as ‘Majgama, Majgowa, Majhgwān, Majgawān, Muygoah, Mujgawān, and Munigowā,’ 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 ‘Moghami’ (Lat. 24° 22’ N.; Long. 80° 47’ E.) is intended for it.

2Read sri-mahā.

3To quote another early instance, the same form occurs also in vījaya, 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
beneficive and imprecatory verses in lines 13 to 18, the entire inscription is in prose.—In
respect of orthography, we have to notice (i) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the
anusodra, before h, in śīṅka, line 20; (2) the doubling of k, g, and ū, in conjunction
with a following r, in vakkṛā, line 18; viṅgrahika, line 19; and chaitra, line 2,
and pītrā, line 7; but not in other places, e.g. in saṅgārībhyaḥ, line 8; (3) the doubling of
dh, in conjunction with a following y, in avadhyāṇa, line 12; (4) the occasional
use of b for v, in sambatsara, line 2 (twice), and sambat, line 20; and (5) the occasional
use of v for b, in vrāhmaṇa, line 5, and vaṁhubhīr, line 14.

The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin. It is dated, both in
words and in numerical symbols, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings,"
the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), in the Mahā-Chaitra samvat-
sara, and on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight, and the third solar day of the
whole month, of Māgha (January-February).1 Except 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 Vālugartha to certain Brāhmans.

TEXT.

First Plate.
1 Namā Mahādevāya 11 Svastyā śīka-navaty-uttara-bda-satē Gupta-nipar-
rāiva-bhuktaṁ śīmati pravṛddhamānaṁ.
2 Mahā-Chaittra-sambha(mva)tsaṁr āgha-maśa-bahula-paksha-trītiyādāṁ-asya[m*]
  samba(mva)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvā.
3 yāṁ[1] Nagapatiparivrājaka-kula-otpāṇnena mahārāja-Dēvadhyena-pranaptrapā
  mahārāja-sūta Mahā-Chaittra-sambha(mva)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvā.
4 rāja-sūtṛā Dāmodaracentana go-sahasra-hastyā-svārya-anēka-bhūmi-pradēpa
  guru-pitrī-mātri-pijā, P R P R R.
5 taparēṇa Ayantamā νa-vaṛa(brā) māna-bhaktēn-anēka-samarā-sata-vijayīna
  svamē-āmodakaraṇa mahā-
6 rāja-sūtṛā Hastinā Mahādevīdeva-sukha-vijnāpyā Vālugartho nama grāmah
  pūrvv-āghāta-parichabhēda-ma-
7 ryādayā ēondraṅgah s-ēparikārō-ch[a*]ta-bhata-pravēṣyāh mātā-pittrtrōr-
  śīmati pravṛddhamānaṁ Mahādevē-

rect ancient form of the letter is used throughout the rest of this inscription also, e.g. in yuvaa, line 2, and vijayē, line 3.

1 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
shewn as the third day of the month, without any specification of the fortnight. So, again, in No. 25
below, page 114 ft, the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (line 2 ft), is shewn in
line 24 as the twenty-ninth 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 fort-
nights of the months of the Gupta year followed the northern custom, with the dark fortnight
preceding the bright.

2 From the original plates.

3 The vowel d, of nd, appears to have been engraved and then cancelled here. In Plate xvb,
l.3, the reading as I transcribe it here.
4 Supply tīkhau.
Reverence to (the god) Mahâdeva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Guptâ kings; in the prosperous augmenting Mahâ-Chaitra samvatsara; on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the samvatsara and month and day;—

1 Read mîhîyô.
2 Read gîvindasvâmi-gômîka.
3 Read djûnapî, or djûdpîtê.
4 Metre, Šîkâ (Anushtubh); and in the following four verses.
5 Supply tâsanam.
6 This must be a mistake for either naptrî-naptetrî or pranaptrî-putrêna; 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 Mahârdràja, the illustrious Hastin,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahârdràja Dévâdhyà;—who is the grandson of the 'Mahârdràja, the illustrious Prabhâfäjana;—who is the son of the Mahârdràja, the illustrious Dâmôdara;—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 Mahâdevídëva, the village named Vålugarta, in accordance with the usage of the specification of (its) ancient boundaries, with the udraäga 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 agrâdha, 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 Mahâdevídëva,—to these Brâhmans, of the Aupamanyava kûtra, students of the Chhandogá-Kauthuma (stâh), (viz.) Góvindavsämin, Gómikasvâmin, and Dëvasvâmin,—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, Vyàsa, 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 Mahâdsâmhdhivigráhika Vîbhudatta, the son 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 Mahâbaldhikrita* Nâgësînâ (ii) the Dâtaka. The year 100 (and) 90 (and) 1; (the month) Mâgha; the day 3.

1 See page 108 above, note 6.

* Mahâbaldhikrita, lit. 'a great officer placed at the head of the forces,' is a technical official title, denoting an officer superior to the Bâldhikritas.—The latter title, Bâldhikrita, occurs in line 2 of the Shâhîpur image inscription of Adîyasaîha, No. 43 below, Plate xxix A. —A synonym for Mahâbaldhikrita was Mahâbaldhikyaksha, which occurs in Mr. Bendall's Nêpâl inscription of Harsha-Sâvat 34 (Journey in Nêpâl, p. 75, line 17.)
No. 24; PLATE XV A.

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 *Archael. 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.)

*Bhumarā* is a village about nine miles to the north-west of Uchharā, 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 *Ambiōda*. The inscription is on one of the faces of the bottom and rectangular part of a small red-sandstone pillar, popularly called *ṭhāṭī-pattahar* or "the standing stone," in the lands of this village.

The *writing*, which covers a space of about 103" broad by 1' 62" high, is in a state of very fair preservation throughout.—The *size* of the letters varies from 1" to 11/2". 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 *anuddhyāta*, line 2; and (3) the use of *b* for *v*, in *sambatsarē*, line 8.

The *inscription* is one of the two *Mahārājas Hastin*, of the *Parivarṣājaka* 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.), but it could have been the 2nd day of the last week of the month. This is thePLANEX; PLATE XV A.

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 *Archael. 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.)

*Bhumarā* is a village about nine miles to the north-west of Uchharā, 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 *Ambiōda*. The inscription is on one of the faces of the bottom and rectangular part of a small red-sandstone pillar, popularly called *ṭhāṭī-pattahar* or "the standing stone," in the lands of this village.

The *writing*, which covers a space of about 103" broad by 1' 62" high, is in a state of very fair preservation throughout.—The *size* of the letters varies from 1" to 11/2". 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 *anuddhyāta*, line 2; and (3) the use of *b* for *v*, in *sambatsarē*, line 8.

The *inscription* is one of the two *Mahārājas Hastin*, of the *Parivarṣājaka* 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.), but it could have been the 2nd day of the last week of the month. This is the...
November), in the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara, without any reference to an era. But the choice lies only between Gupta-Sarvad 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 Amblôda, 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 Parivarajaka 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, and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified.

TEXT:

1 Svasti Mahâèêva-pâd[â]-
2 nuddhyat6ta-mahârâja-Hasti-
3 râjyê Amblô'dê mahârâja-
4 Šarvanâtha-bhûgê Indana-
5 naptrâ Vâsû-grâmîka-putrâ-
6 Šivadâsêna vala-ya-
7 shti uchchhrita4 [1*] Mahâ-
8 Maghê samba(mva)tsarê Kârttiâ-
9 mása divasa 10 9 [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In (the boundary of) the kingdom of the Mahârâja Hastin, who meditates on the feet of (the god) Mahâèêva; at (the village of) Amblôda; (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 fortnights, 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.

1 A marked instance of the distances to which copper-plates and seals may travel, is afforded by the finding of the seal of the Maukhari Sarvarvarman, No. 47 below, at Asravag in the Nimâd District in the Central Provinces. Its original locality must have been some hundreds of miles to the east of this.

2 From the ink-impression.

3 The engraver seems to have first engraved th6, or perhaps dhi6, and then corrected it into m6.$

4 Read balaya-yaâshîr=uchchhrita. — As regards the correction of vala into valaya, vala-yaâshî or bala-yaâshi gives no meaning; whereas the appropriateness of valaya-yaâshi, '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 bhoga of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha,—(this) boundary-pillar has been set up by Śivadāsa, the grandson of Indana, and the son of the Grāmika Vāsu,—in the Mahā-
Māgha samvatarsa; the month Karttika; the day 10 (and) 9.

No. 25; PLATE XV.B.

KHÖH 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 Archaeol. 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 Kḥōh, in the Nāgauḍh State in the Bāghēlkhand division of Central
India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of
Nāgauḍh, 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 2″. It must have had a
legend, on a countersunk surface; but it is now perfectly illegible, and not worth repro-
ducing by a lithograph. Also, from the shape of the seal, as contrasted with that of
the Kḥōh grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv.,
and compared with the seal of the Kḥōh grant of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha of the
year 193, No. 28 below, Plate xviii., it would seem to be a seal of one of the Mahārājas
of Uchchakalpa, rather than of one of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas.—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 d, in śpāṇī, line 14. In kṛyāt, line
17, and in kṛyāyāh, 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 bhoga, lit. ‘enjoyment, possession, government,’ is a technical territorial term, probably
much the same purport as the bhukti of other inscriptions.

2 Grāmika, ‘a villager, the headman of a village,’ is a technical official title corresponding to
the modern Kanarese Gaunda and Mahārāja Pāṭii.

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 XV.B.

The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictory and imprecatory lines 18 to 23, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice in *kṛtakā*, 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 *b* for *v*, in *sambaisara*, line 3; and (2) the occasional use of *v* for *b*, in *avda*, line 1; *vrūdana*, line 7; and *vakubhik*, line 19.

The inscription is one of the *Parivṛṣajaka Mahārāja Samkṣhobha*. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the *Gupta kings*," in the year two hundred and nine (A.D. 528-29), in the Mahā-Asvayujja *sāṃvatsara*, 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 Vāsudeva, it is a Vaishnava inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja Samkṣhobha*, at the request of a certain person named *Chāndragominī*, of the village of *Śāpāṇī* to a temple of the goddess *Pītaṭapura*,—apparently some local form of Lakṣmī, the wife of Vishnu.2

One point of importance in this inscription is, that it mentions the *Mahārāja Hastin* as governing the kingdom of *Dabhāla*, or possibly *Dahāla*, 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 *Dabhāla* or *Dahāla*, we have

1 On the extreme importance of this double record, see page 107 above, note 1.

2 Through his identification of *Pītaṭapura* with the place that he writes 'Pīthaora,' and which is entered in maps as 'Pataora' and 'Putoura,' nine miles north of Uchchahāra, Gen. Cunningham (Arch. & Lit. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 10) identified this goddess *Pītaṭapura* with the local goddess *Pataiṇḍdevī* of this 'Pīthaora.' But this identification will not hold good; if only for the reason that 'Pīthaora' is in reality Pataurā, probably from *pitrī-pura*, 'the town of deceased ancestors.'—Pataurā and Pitaūrā, in passing, are evidently common names in that part of the country; as the maps shew *Pataura,* 'Pītoura,' 'Patora,' and 'Pītoura,' respectively 29 miles west by a little north, 18 miles west, 13 miles north-west, and 24 miles north-west, of Uchchahāra.—Of *Pītaṭapura* we have already had an earlier mention in line 19 of the Allahāhād pillar inscription, No. 1, page 7 above, as the capital of a king named Mahāndra, who was conquered by Samudragupta, in the *dakśināpatha* or 'region of the south.' And we have another later mention of it, as being conquered by the Western Chalukya king Pulikalīśa, II., in line 13 of the Ahihō Meṃṣi inscription of Saka-Sahvat 536 or A.D. 634-35 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. pp. 242, 245). It is the modern Pīṭāppuram, the 'Pīṭāppuram and Pīṭapooram' of maps, &c. (Indian Atlas Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17°6' N., Long. 82°18' E.), twelve miles north by east of 'Coconada,' in the Gōdāvārī District in the Madras Presidency. It is the chief town of a Zamindār, 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 Pīṭāppuram of this inscription must be a local form of some more famous and original goddess at Pīṭāppurama itself. She is mentioned again, under the slightly different name of *Pīṭapurikādevī*, 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 south-east from Uchchahāra.

3 This seems to be shown (1) by the general Vaishnav tendency of the present inscription; and (2) by the fact that,—whereas in the year 177 the village of Dhavasampkāṅka was allotted by the *Mahārāja Jayanātha* 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 Sarvanātha*, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pīṭapurikādevī (No. 29 below, Plate xixA.)

4 See page 13 above, note 7.
undoubtedly the older form of Dahalā, Dahala, Dahala, or Dahalā, which seems to represent the modern Bundālkhand, and which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Tripura near Jabalpur, whose original capital was Kalaijarā in Bundālkhand. This, therefore, is another item of evidence connecting the Parivrājaka Mahārājas with this part of the country.  

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Om Namō bhagavate Vāsudevaye II Svasti Nav-āttarē-vda(bda)-ṣata-dvaye Gupta-nripa-ṛ[ṛ]ya-bhuktau  
2 Ṣrīmati pravardhāmanā-vijaya-rājye Mah-Āśvayuja-ṣa[m*]vatsarē Chaitra-māsā-śukla-  
3 paksha-trayādaśa-ām-asyāṁ sambha(va)tsara-māsā-divasa-pūrvvāyā[m*] [1*] Chaturdāśa-vidyāsthānā-viḍī-  
4 ta-paramārthasya Kapilasya-[ai*]va mah-arthēḥ sarvva-ta[t*]va-jañhasya Bharadvāja-sagyāsraya nripa-  
5 pi-parivrājaka-Suṣūrmanapāḥ kul-ōtppannēṇa mahārāja-śrī-Dēvādhyasa-pratā-pranaptrā mahārā-  
6 ja-śrī-Prabhāṣajana-pranaptrā mahārāja-śrī-Dēmōdara-naptrā gō-saharas-  
7 bhūmi-pradasya guru-piṭri-mātri-pūjā-tatparasya-ātyaṇta-dēva-vṛt(br)hmaṇaṃ bhaktasya-anēka-samarā-  
8 sāta-vijayināḥ s-āśhaṣda-ātavi-rājya-āḥhyantararāḥ Daḥbāḥ(Phā)lā-rajyaṃ-anvay-āgaṭah samaṇā-  
9 pālayippō(ḥṅḥ)ra-anēka-gūṇa-vikhyāta-yaṣasāḥ mahārāja-gṛ(ṛ)a-Haṣtināḥ sutēna  
10 xarpu-āśrama-dharma-sthāpanā-niratēna paramabhāgayatēn-ātyaṇta-piṭri-bhaktēna sva-van-  
11 s-amōdakarēṇa mahārāja-śrī-Saṃkṣhobhēna(pa) mātāpirītṛ-ātmanapāḥ-cha puny-aḥhi-  
12 virdhāyē Chhōḍugōmī-viṇāṣṭyā tam-ēva cha sva[r*]gga-sōpāna-pamkātim-ārōpaya-  

Second Plate.

13 tā bhagavatāyaḥ Pīṣṭapuryāḥ kārītaka-dēvakulē va(ba)li-čaru-sat[ṛ*]-ōpayō.

---

1 It is perhaps worth mentioning, that there is in this neighbourhood a station on the Allahābād-Jabalpur railway, called Dabhaūr (the 'Dabura' and 'Daboora' of maps), about fourteen miles east of Māníkpur, and fifty miles east by north of Kālaṇjara.

2 From the original plates.

3 Supply tithau.

4 Read mripati.—In the second syllable, first ti was engraved, and then it was corrected into po.

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 sapadi. I do not suggest samadhipālayīnḥayē, because I cannot find any authority for the composition of sam and adhi with po, 'protec'.—In the third syllable, di was certainly engraved; but the i may perhaps have been cancelled.

7 Read ḍākhivīrīdāhayē.

8 The mark over this ra is only a fault or rust-hole in the copper. There are several similar faults or rust-holes in these two plates; e.g. after syaṛddhām in line 13.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 25, PLATE XV B.

14. g-ārthaḥ(m) khandā-sphuṭita-samākār-ārthaḥ-cha Maṇiṇāga-pēṭhē Opāni-

15. sy-ārddhaṁ chōra-drōhaka-varjiḥ(m) tāmra-tāsanēn-ātisirṣthām [*] tad-

16. t-pādapiṇḍ-ōpajīvibhir-vvā kālantarēsvy-αν na vyāghātah kāryyah [*]

17. pta'yō-nyathā kuryāt-tam-aṛhaṁ dēhāntar-gatō-pi mahat-āvadhyānēna

18. Uktam cha bhagavatā param-ārshiṇa vēdā-vyāsena Vyāsēnāh [*]

19. Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyō

20. yatnād-rakṣa Yudhisthirāḥ mahīm-mahīmatā[m] śrēṣṭha dānāḥ-

21. chhrēyō-nupālanah(m) [*] Va(ba)hubhiḥ

22. vasudhā bhuktā rājabhīṣ-Sagar-ādībhīṣ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-

23. phalam [*] Shaahtiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-dāḥ

24. kaśeśēta ch-ānumantā cha tāny-e-

25. va narkē vasēt [*] Bhūmi- pradānān-nd(ā) param pradānam dānād-

26. viśisṭam paripātan-cha[*]

27. sarvve-tisirṣṭā[th] paripālya bhūmi[m] nipā Nṛṣig-ādyas-tridivam

28. prapanthā II Likhitam[ḥ]-cha

29. Jitvā-napṭrā Bhujāntgādasa-purtāśvaradāsēn-ēti [*] Sva-mukh-ājīṭā [*]

Chaitra di 20 9 [*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Reverence to the divine (god) Vāsudēva! Hail! In two centuries of years, increased by nine; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Guptā kings; in the glorious augmenting and victorious reign; in the Mahā-Aśvayuja samuatsara; on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the samuatsara and month and day,—

(Line 3.)—By the Mahārāja, the illustrious Sambhobha, who was the family of the kingly ascetic Sūtarma, who had learnt[1] about the sections of science, who was of great age, (being) indeed (an incarnation of) Brahma, who knew all the eight principles, (and) also was of the Bharadvaja gōḍra; who is the great-grandson of the illustrious Devādhyā; who is the great-grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Prabhāṣīṇa; who is the grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dāmbāra; who is the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Hastin, who was the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and

---

[1] Read either ājñāptī, or ājñāpitā.
[3] Metre, Ślokā (Anuśṭubh); and in the following two verses.
[7] Read likhitam.—And supply ānaṃsah.
[8] chaturveda-tīvṛtīdhaḥ: viz. the four Vēdas, the six Vēdāṅgas, the Purāṇas, the Miśrāmā 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 Brahmans; who was victorious in many hundreds of battles; who sought to govern properly the kingdom of Daabhâl, 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 Chvârugâmî, and (with the object of) causing him to ascend the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—half of the village of Īpâñi, in the Maninâga pētha, 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 bâli, charu, and sattrâ, at the temple, which (he) has caused to be built, of the divine (goddess) Piṣhtâpur, 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, Vyâsa, the arranger of the Védas,—"O Yuddhishtîra, 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 Sâgara; 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 Nriga, have attained heaven, (by) preserving land that had been granted!"

(L. 23.)—And (this charter) has been written by Īvaradâsa, the grandson of Jivita, (and) the son of Bhujamadâsa. The order (is that) of his own mouth. (The month)

Chaitra.

1 Possibly Daabhâl; but the second syllable, though not badly formed, seems to be bh, rather than bh.

2 pētha; a technical territorial term, represented in modern Marâthî by péth. Another form of it, vēthâ, occurs in line 30-31 of the Harîhar grant of Bukharia of Sâlîvâhana-Sâka 1256 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XII. p. 347); and we also have vēthâra or vēthâya in line 24 of the Harihar inscription of Achyutarâya of Sâlîvâhana-Sâka 1460 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 331).

3 bâli 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 sattrâ, the giving of alms and refuge. They are three of the patîcha-mahâdyajña, or 'five great sacrifices,' which are usually (e.g. in line 27 f. of the Mâlikâyâ grant of the Mahârdja Dharañâna II., No. 38 below, Plate xxv.) enumerated as bâli, charu, vaîsvâdeva (the offering to all deities), agnimûtra (see page 71 above, note 8), and aîtikî (hospitality; the sattrâ of the present inscription).—The sattrâ-rite was the special object of the sattrâ, or 'charitable hall or almshouse,' which is mentioned for instance, in No. 7, line 6, page 38 above.

4 Samshabdâha's. These words imply that he employed no Dâtaka to convey the orders to the local officials, but gave them in person; see page 100 above, note 5.
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,1 a village about twenty-three miles north-east of Muḍwāra,2 the chief town of the Muḍwāra 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 6½, and the second 9½ 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 ½

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 xx A., and No. 25, Plate xvii, 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 ḍhāḷa, line 1, and ḍh, in ḍhitād, line 5; also, in lines 24 and 25, forms of the numerical symbol 1, of the language.

A linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in vanta, line 10; (2) the constant doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in, putra, line 2; sagotra, line 7; and tirāṭī, line 20; and (3) the occasional use of b for v, in sambatsara, line 21, and sambat, line 24.

The inscription is one of the Maharaja Jayanatha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa.4 The date of the writing of the

---

1 The 'Karitalai and Kareetullace' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 3' N.; Long. 80° 46' E.
2 The 'Moorwarl, Moorwarra, and Murwara,' of maps, &c.
3 See page 101 above, note 2.
4 The literal meaning, 'that which is but little short of being a high 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 Ashadhā (June-July). There is no information given as to the era. But the Bhumā pillar inscription of the Mahārājas Hastin and Śrīvatsa, No. 24 above, page 110, shows that the Parivrataka Mahārājas and the Mahārājas 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 Mahārāja Jayanātha, to a Brāhma, of the village of Chhandapallikā in the Nāgadeya santaka.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Om Svasti Uchchakalpaṃ-mahārāja-ōgahātvas-tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō mahā-  
5 dévyāṃ-Ajñāhitadēvyāṃ-utpānṇō mahārāja-Jayanāthaḥ kuśalā Nāgadeyaṃ santaka-Chha-  
6 ndāpallikāyāṃ brāhmaṇ-ādin-kuṭumbināḥ kārakaṁ-cha samājāpayati [18]  
Vadātathām-बोधस् stu  
7 yath-aisha grāmō mayā svā-puny-ābhividdhayē Kaṇvasagotra-Vāja-  
8 sanēyaMādhyā-  
9 ndina-brāhmaṇa-Mitrasvāmināḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ a-chāta-bhaṭa-  
prāvēṣyaḥ  
10 chōra-varjījīt-īśīśiṃ-.less=Tē yūyam-asya samuchita-bhāgabhaṅga-kara-pratyāy-  
opa-  
11 nayāṃ kaka(ṛ)shyatha ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyāḥ-cha bhavīṣhyatā [19]. Yē  
ch-āsmaṃ-vanś-ōtpadyat(ā)-  
12 mānakā-rajānas-tair-arjyaḥ dattir-nna vilōpyānūmōdanāya samuchita-raj-a-  
bhāvyā-kara-pratyāyā na grāhyāḥ [16] Yaś-śch-aimāṃ dattir lōpayēt  

1 As regards Gen. Cunningham's desire to identify Nāgadeya with the modern Nāgauḍ, 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 Vākātaka inscriptions, No. 55 below, line 8, and No. 56, line 35—in No. 29 below, line 7, we have the slightly different form, as a territorial term, of santaka.  
3 From the original plates.  
* Read ra-j-auska.  
Read viditam vō.
Second Plate.

13 mahâpâtakair-upapâtakaśiṁ̄-chā sanjuks[lī]* syān(d)—UKtam cha Mahâ- bhâratē bhagavātā
14 Vyâsena [lī]* Sva’-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ v yatnâd=raksha Yudhishtîhira mahîm=mahîmatâṁ śreśhtubha
15 dânâc-chhrêyô-nupâlanâṁ [lī]* Bahubhir-vvasudhâ bhukta râjabhîh Sagar-âdibhih yasya
16 yasya yadâ bhûmis-tasya tasya taddâ phalâm [lī]* Prâyêna hi narendrâpânâṁ vidyâte n-â-
17 sâbhâ gatiḥ pîyatânte té tu satatăṁ prayachchhântō vasantâh dharâṁ [lī]* Shashî-varsha-sahasrâ-
18 ni svarggâ mûdati bhûmi-daṁ āchchhêtta ch-anumântâ cha tâny-êva narâkâ vaséâ [lī]*
19 âspîtâlas(ya)nti pitaraḥ prâvalgânti pitâmahâḥ bhûmi-dô-smâ[tī]* kulê jñâtaḥ sa nô(naḥ) ,
20 trâtâ bhavishyahyâ [lī]* Sarvâ-sasya-samrîdhhanâ tu yâ harêta vasantâh dharâṁ sva-vishhâyâñh krimi-
21 r-bhûtvâ pîtrîbhis-saha majjati l(lî) Samba(mva)tsara-ga(śa)âte chatah-
22 saptatâ Ashâdha-mâsa-
23 l-ântâya-naptri-bhûgika-Dhruvadatta-puttra-bhûgika-Guñjakîrttipā [lī*] Dâtak-
24 dikshita-gripati-sthapatisamrâṭ-Chchha(chha)rvvadatta iti l(II) Samba(mva): l 100 70 4 Ashâ-
25 ãhā di 10 4 l(lî)

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! .Hail! From (the city or hill of) Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahârâja Òghadâvâ. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahârâja Kumârâdâvâ, begotten on the Mahâdêtî* Kumârâdâvî. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahârâja Jayasvâmin, begotten on the Mahâdêtî Jayasvâmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahârâja Vyâghra, begotten on the Mahâdêtî Râmâdêvî.

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahârâja Jayanâtha,—begotten on the Mahâdêtî Ajjhitadêvî;—being in good health,* issues a command to the

---

1. Metre, Śîlka (Anushtubh); and in the following five verses.
2. Supply tīhanu. — Supply īśanam.
3. Read ēdūka uparika. — Dūtaka should be a word by itself, in the nominative singular; not in composition with uparika.
4. The context is in line 5 l.,—“the Mahârâja Jayanâtha . . . . . . issues a command.” The genealogy that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.
5. See page 16 above, note 2.
6. The first part of this name, ajjhita, must be a Prâkrit word. There might be some temptation to correct it into the Sanskrit ajjhita; but there is not the slightest approach to the vowel u below the final s of the preceding word Ñâyam, in any of the passages in which it occurs.—Gen. Cunningham read the name as Majjitadîvî; but this is incorrect, as there is no trace whatever of an anusodra over the syll. of Ñâyam, in any of the passages.—We have another Prâkrit name in Iljâdêvî in line 5 of the Dēb-Baṇârâk inscription of Jyotîgûpta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.
7. Ñutâna; a technical expression of constant use in charters.
cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmans, and to the artisans, at (the village of) Chhandāpalika in the Nāgadēya santaka—

(L. 6)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, this village is granted by me,—with the udranga and the uparikara, (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 Brāhman Mitrasvāmin, of the Kāyva gōtra and the Vājasaneyā-Mādhyāndīna (Jāhād).

(L. 9)—"You yourselves shall hand 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 Yudhishṭhīra, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (seriously) 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 orude 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 Ashādha,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (Śrī).—(this charter) has been written by me, the Bhāgika Guṇjakirtī, the grandson of the Bhāgika, the Amātya Rājyaśīla, and the son of the Bhāgika Dhruvadatta. The Dattaka (is) the Uparika, Dikshīta, householder, and chief of architects, Śarvadatta.

(L. 24.)—The year 100 (and) 70 (and) 4; (the month) Ashādha; the day 10 (and) 4.

1 bhāgabhāga; lit. 'enjoyment of shares.' My rendering is on the authority of Monier Williams' explanation of bhāga-bhuj, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, by 'enjoying taxes; a king, sovereign.'

2 See page 97 above, note 1.

3 Dikṣīta; 'one who has received initiation, or by whom the preparatory ceremonies have been observed.'

4 grihapati; 'the master of a house, a householder; a man of the second class, who, having finished his studies, is married and settled.'

5 śrayatāsannātā; the meaning, however, is not quite certain. Perhaps it may mean 'superintendent of the attendants of the women's apartments.'
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; NO. 27, PLATE XVII.

No. 27; PLATE XVII.

KHOH 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 Khoh, in the Nagaudh State in the Baghelkhand 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 9½" by 6½", and the second 9¾" by 6⅞". 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 ½. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of the same Maharaja of the year 174, No. 26 above, Plate xvi. In rājnas, line 12, the vowel ā is attached, in a very unusual way, to the top stroke of the j; instead of to the centre of it, as in rāj (for rāj), 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 ajjhita, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prakrit word phulla, in line 10; and (2) in pratishṭa-plate, line 9, and utpadyamānaka, line 12, the affix 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 kramena, puttra, and praputra, line 9; and (2) the use of v for b, in vati, line 10.

The inscription is one of the Maharaja Jayanātha; 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 Maharaja Jayanātha, to some Brahmanas, of the village of Dhava-śāndikâ, 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-Uchchakalpān-maharāj-Aughadēvas-tasya putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō mahā-

dēvyāṃ Kumārad[ē]vyām-utpannō maharāja-Kumāradēvas-tasya putras-tat-p[ā]d-ānudhyātō mahā-

2 mahādevyāṃ Jayasvāminyām-utpannō maharāja-Jayasvāmi(ml) tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō mahā-

3 devy[ā]m-Ajñhitadēvyāṃ-utpannō maharāja-Jayanāthah kuśalī(ī)

Dhavashanḍikāyā[m] vrā(brā)hma-

4 n-Ādin-kuṭumvi(mbi)naḥ kāruṇkāḥ-cha samajñāpayati [1*] Viditaṁ vō-stu

yath-aisha grāmō may-ā-

5 chordr-ārka-samakālikāḥ Śāstānēya-Sarvvaṅgha-dvītra-tatputtra-bhāgavata-

Ganga-ta[t]puttra-


7 ebhiś-ch-āttra pratisṭhāpītaka-bhagavat-pādānāṁ puttra-[pautra] prapauttra-

8 pratputtra-Āḷī-kramēṇa hāṃga-


10 karttavyā [1t] Tē yōyam-ēshāṁ samuchita-śu[1*]ka-bhagabhūga-kara-hirany-

ādi-pratīṣṭīpāyanāṁ

11 karīshyath-ājñā-śravaṇa-vidheyaḥ-cha bhavishyatha [1*] Yē ch-āśmad-

vāriṁ-ōpadyamānaka-rājānas-tair-īyāṁ

12 datt[ī]r[ē]na vīloṇā anumōdan[ī]ya samuchita-śrō(ṛ)āj-ābhyāva-kāpa-

pratīṣṭā na grāhyā[h] [1*]

Second Plate.

13 chōra-danda-vāryāmā lāk-ānukālāṁ cha pratipālanīya [1*] Yaś-ch-

aimān dattīṁ lōpayēt-sa pa[m]cha-

14 bhir-mahāpātakair-upapātakais-cha saṁyuktaḥ sy[ād] [1*] Uktanā cha Mahābhāratē bhagavatē vēda-yaśēṇa

15 Vyāsēna [1*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vē yatnād-ṛakṣā Yudhisēṭhītra mahl[m] mahāmatāṁ śrēṣṭhā dānāc-chhṛēyō-nupālā-

16 nāṁ [1*] Prāyēna hi nārēndrānaḥ vidyātē n-ā-suḥbā gatiḥ pūyatē(nte) tē tu satatā[m] prayaruchaḥhantō vasundha-

17 rā[m] II Šaśiṭṭhī varsha-sahāntenā śvargge mōdati bhūmi-daḥ l āchchhitētā cha-anumantā cha tāny-[ē]va narak[ē]va vasēt [1t]

1 From the original plates.  
2 Read bōt-dāja.  
3 Read śphūṭa-.—Phūṭa is a regular Prākrit formation; but is not admissible in a Sanskrit passage.

4 This anusvādra is so high above the ya, that it seems to have been omitted at first, and inserted subsequently, somewhat at random.

5 Metre, Ślokā (Anuṣṭubb); and in the following four verses.  
6 Read sahasrāpi.
Bahubhir-vasudhā bhuktā rājabhis-Sagar-adibhiḥ I rya(ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [11*]


21 Samvatsara-śatē sapta-saptat-ū[īta]ṛē Chaitra-māsā-divasē dvā-
viniṣṭatīme likhitāḥ bhagīka-Phālahuṛdatt-amātya

22 mātya'-napātra bhogīka-Varahādīnna-puttarā-sadhīvagrahika-Gallunā I dātāk-

23 pati-sthapatisamaṛta-Chārvvadattaḥ II Yattrā-gaḥāṭhā Dhānyavāhika-

24 Durgamandala-pradēṣe pāḷ [1*] Suvarṇakakshaka-pradēṣe gopatha-

25 Āmuka-pradēṣe gartā [1*] Dāramandala-pradēṣe(ē) pāḷ [1*] Vakra-

26 grāmē yāvat-kōpaṁ pravishṭā iti [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārāja Īghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahārāja Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahārāja Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahārāja Rāmadēvi.

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāja Jayanātha,—begotten on the Mahārāja Ajjhitadēvi,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmaṇas, 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 Sarvavādha, of the Śāśātanēya (gōtra) (?), and his son the Bhāgavata Gaṅga, and his sons Rankabōta and Ajagaradāsā. 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

1 Supply śasanam.
2 Read phalgu.—The name occurs again with the long vowel ā in the first syllable, in line 30 of No. 28 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.
3 Read mātya'-napātra. The syllables mātya are repeated by mistake.
4 Read dātākā uparika; see page 119 above, note 4.
5 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 Vishu, which would be denoted by the use of pada, not pada. *
6 Divira is a technical official title, explained by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI. p. 10) as meaning ‘clerk, writer, or accountant,’ on the authority of a passage in the Lōhaprakīṭa of Kālidāndra, 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 Mahâbhârata by the venerable Vyâsa, 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 assesses (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 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 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 Sâmhitavigrahika Gallu, the grandson of the Bhôgika, the Amâtya Phalgudatta,1 (and) the son of the Bhôgika Varâhadinna.2 The Dûtaka (is) the Uparika, Dîthkîta, householder, and chief of architects, Sârâvdatta.

(L. 23.)—The boundaries in this matter (are),—in the direction of Dhânya-vâhika,3 a boundary-trench and a bridge;—in the direction of Durgamaṇḍala, a

---

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 Indradîna, a Jain teacher (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. pp. 247, 251), and perhaps in Vîkidîna, in line 25 of the Mâliyâ grant of Dharasêna 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 Nirmanâ grant of the Mahâdmanata and Mahâd Bândra Samudrasena, No. 80 below, Plate xlv., 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 Dinnâgrâma (Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v.) Also, we have a village or town named Dinjaputra, either a mistake or a local variation for Dinnaputra, or more probably a mistake for Dinnaputta, in line 54 of one of the Dânkh grants of Stâditya V. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 345; and Indian Inscriptions, No. 15.)

3 šhapati-samraj: see page 120 above, note 5.

4 Dhânya-vâhika must have been a very common village-name in those parts, as the maps give 'Danvall,' 'Dhanwahi' (three times), 'Dhunwah,' and 'Dhunwal,' all within a distance of thirty-two miles from Uchârâ, on the south-east, south, and south-west.

5 pâli; 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 Uchârâ.
bridge;—in the direction of Suvarnakshaka, (partly) the place where the reeds grow by the cattle-path,1 and partly a bridge;—in the direction of Āmuka, a boundary-trench;—in the direction of Dāramandala, a bridge;—(and) in the direction of the district at the entrance of Vakrāvāna, 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 Khoṭ,2 in the Nagaūdh State in the Baghēlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nagaūdh, 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 7½" by 6½", and the second, 7½" by 6¼". 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 ¼" thick and 1½" 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 1¼" by 1½". 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, Garuḍa, the bird-vehicle of Viṣṇu, with outstretched wings, just as on the copper-coins of Chandragupta II.; and below this, in two lines, the legend, very much damaged, Mahārājā-Śrī[va[r]va[n]d]ha.—The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs. 4 oz., and of the ring and seal, 2½ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 6½ oz.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kiṅṭalā grant of the Mahārājā Jayaṇātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117 ff., and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare ḷh, in ajjhita, 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 phuṭṭa, in line 15; and (2) in anumādītaka, line 13 f.; upariśikhitaka, line 14; pratīshṭhdpitaka, line 14 f.; and

1 gopaha-sara, line 24; the meaning, however, is not quite certain.—sara, in one of its meanings, denotes the reed or grass called Saccharum Sara.

2 See page 93 above, and note 3.
In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmānīya, in sah-paṇchabhir, line 31; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anuvādra, before t, in kārṇa-scha, line 8; anṣa, in various forms, in lines 10 to 12; and vasta, line 18; (3) the constant doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in anukkrama, line 13.; krama, line 14; putra, line 1; satrā, line 16; and kshatriya, line 31; (4) the doubling of g, under the same circumstances, in vigrāhika, line 31; (5) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyāta, lines 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6; (6) the occasional use of b for v, in bd (for vd) line 33; and sambatsara, line 29; and (7) the use of v for b, in vali; line 16; and valadhikrita, 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; Ajjhitadevī, in line 5; Jayaṇātha, in line 6; and Śarvanātha in line 7. And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words Tamasā-nadyā uttara-śārīrā, between mahārāja-Śarvanāthaḥ kusaśī and brāhmaṇ-adim-kusuśubhāṅkāḥ, 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 Čaitra (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 Āśramaka on the north bank of the river Tamasā, 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 Āśramaka. But the river Tamasā is, of course, the modern 'Tamas' 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 Rīmām) 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 Bhumarā.

**TEXT.**

*First Plate.*

Om Svasty-Uchchakalpat(na) mahārāj-Aughadēvas-tasya putrāyāt-pād-
Anuddhyātō mahādēvyā[m*]

1 From the original plates.
2 Kumáradévyáṃ-utpánno mahárája-Kumáradévas-tasya puttras-tat-pád-ánu-
3 ddhyátd mahádévyáṃ Jayasváminyáṃ-utpánno mahárája-Jayasvámi tasya
4 puttras-tat-pád-ánu ddhyátd mahádévyáṃ Rámadévyáṃ-utpánno mahárája-
Vyághras-tasya
5 puttras-tat-pád-ánu ddhyátd mahádévyáṃ Ajjhitadévyáṃ-utpánno mahárája-
Jaya-
6 náthas-tasya puttras-tat-pád-ánu ddhyátd mahádévyáṃ Murundadévyáṃ-
utpánno mahárája-
7 Śarvanátha kuśál Tamasá-nadyá uttara-páre Áśramaké bráhman-á-
8 dín-kutumbínas-sárvva-káróné-chá samájñápayati [I*] Viditam-bá(vó)-stu
yath-aisha
9 grámo may-á-chandr-árkka-samakálíkas-s-[d*]draángas-s-áparikarah a-cháta-
10 bháta-právéṣyáṣ-chorá-dánda-varjítá chátu[r*]bhir-ánstí pratipádítá [I*]
ató-
11 ná-dvayahí Vishúnandínah aparó-py-ánsáh Sváminága-púttra-vánija-
12 Śaktinágasya aparó-py-ánsáh Kumáranága-Skandanágayóh [I*] état-pu-
ttra-[páutra*]-prapáutra-tatputtr-ády-anukraména* támra-sásanén-áti-
13 srístha[h*] [I*] ébhir-ap[p*] may-[d*]-
14 námbdítačáṃ yath-óparilikhitaka-ksrámen-aiva sá-púny-ábhívrríyáyé svá-
15 pratí-
16 shtíápítaka-bhagavat-pádánám-ádítsá*-bháttáraka-pádánañ-cha khañḍa-phúttá*
pratísam-
17 skára-karánáya va(bálli-charu-sáttra-gándha-dhópa-málya-dlípa-pravarttánáya cha-
[a*]isrishtáh [I*]
18 Second Plate.
19 Taí(té) ýóyaṃ-ésháñ samuchita-bhágabhógá-kara-hiranyá-ádi-prátyá-ópa-
20 naya[r*] karishyath-ajjá-srávana-vidhíyáṣ-cha bhavíshyatha [I*] Yé ch-
21 ásmad-vánás-ótpadáya-
22 máñaka-rájánas-tair-iyán-dattir-na vilópy-ánumódánhá yathó(thá)-kálañ-cha
23 pratipálandýá samuchita-ráj-ábhávya-kara-prátyáyáds-cha na gráhyáh [I*] Yáh
24 ímán-dattin-lópayét-sah-pañchabhír[m*]-mahápátaikair-upáptákaíṣ-cha sánuyukta[h*]
25 syád-Uktáñ-cha Mahábháraté bhagavátá védá-vyádése Vyáśéna [I*]
Sá'-dattám-para-dattá-

*Read anúaḥ.
*We have to supply upabhógáyaḥ, or some similar word, here.
*Read áditya. — ádító is a regular formation, in the sense of 'a desire to seize or take,' from the desiderative of ád, 'give;' in composition with the prefix á. But it is not known as a proper name; and there can be no doubt that the engraver has written it by mistake for áditya, 'the sun.'
*Read śphúṣita. See page 122 above, note 3.
*This skáh is inserted below the ch-[d*], from want of space at the end of the line.
*Read yá ímán=dattin-lópayét-sa páñchabhír.
*Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh); and in the following four verses.
23 m-bā(व) yamād-raksha Yudhishṭhira mahim-mahimmatān-chhrēṣṭhaṁ
dānācch-chhṛēyō-nupālanam [I1*]
24 Prāyēna(ना) hi nareṇḍrānāṁ vidyātē n-[4*]-śubhā 'gatiḥ' pāyantē
tē tu satatāṁ pra-
25 yachchharaṃ vasundhārāḥ[m*] [I1*] Bahubhir-vasudhā bhuktenā rājabhis-
Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya
26 yasya yadā bhu(bhā)mis-tasya tasya tadā phalāṁ [I1*] Shashtiṁ
varsha-sahasrāṁ svargge mōda-
27 ti bhūmi-dah ācchchhēttā ch-anumantā ta tāny-ēva narakē vasēt-
Sarvvaś-sasya-samrāṇī
dhūṁtya vasundhārinī
28 ddhān-tu yō harēta vasundhārāṁ śva-visṣṭhāyām kṛimi-bhūtvā pitribhisa-
saho majjatē [I1*]
29 Likhitamā samba(mva)tsara-satē tri(tri)-navaty-uttarē Chaityā-māsa-divasē
dasāmē
dhūṁtya Varahadinna putrāṇā mahā-
30 bhōgika-Phālgu'datt-āmatya-napṛtā bhōgika-Varahadinna-puttrēṇa mahā-
sāndhivigrahaṇa-Manorathēna [I*] Dūtak[ō*] rma(ma)hāva(bs)ādhihrīta-
31 kshattirēya-
32 Śīvagū'ptaḥ [I1*] 

TRANSLATION.

Öm ! Hail ! From Uchchalāpa ; — (There was) the Mahārāja Oghadhēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēvā, begotten on the Mahārāja Kumāradēvī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahārāja Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahārāja Rāmādēvī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jyanātha, begotten on the Mahārāja Ajjhatādevi.

(Line 6.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāja Sarvanātha,—begotten on the Mahārāja Murundadēvi,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmans, and to all the artisans, at (the village of) Aśramakā 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 udraṇga and the uparikara ; (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 Vishunandin; and another share belongs to the merchant Saktināga, the son of Svāmināga; and another share belongs to Kumara-nāga and Skandnāga. 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

---

1. Read mahimmatān īrēṣṭhaṁ.
2. Read vastē [I1*] Sarvvaṁ.
5. This gu is very much blurred in the original, but is quite legible.
6. In No. 29, line 6, and No. 31, line 6, she is called Murundasvāminī.
7. See 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 bāli, charu, sattra, 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 Vēdas,—"O Yudhishṭhīra, 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 Mahāśāṃkhīvīraghūka Manḍratha, the grandson of the Bhōgīka, the Amṛtya Phalgudatta,1 (and) the son of the Bhōgīka Varāhadīnna. The Daṭṭaka (is) the Mahābalādhikṛita, the Kshatriya Śivagupta.

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 Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 8, where he published a translation of it,1—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 Khoṁ,4 in the Nagaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of the Rāja of Nagaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

---

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 Mahāraja Śarvanatha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate XX.

4 See page 132 below, note 3.

5 See page 93 above, and note 3.
The **plate**, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about \( \frac{7}{10} \) by 6\( \frac{1}{2} \). 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\( \frac{1}{4} \) 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 Kārtalalī grant of the **Mahārāja** Jayanaṭha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare \( \text{j}h \), 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 *uparilikhitaka*, line 10, and *utpadyamnaka*, line 15, the affix ka, that I have commented on at page 69.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anuvāra*, before \( k \), in *kārānas-cha*, line 7, and *vānsha*, line 15; (2) the doubling of \( k, g, \) and \( t \), in conjunction with a following \( r \), e.g. in *anukrama*, line 10; *ggrāma*, line 8; and *putra*, line 1, and *sattira*, 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 *vālī*, 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 Dhavashandikā, 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 Pīṣṭapurikādēvi.

This village of Dhavashandikā seems to be the same one that was granted by the **Mahārāja Jayaṇātha**, in the year 177, as recorded in No. 27 above, page 111, 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 Pīṣṭapurikādēvi, furnishes one item of proof that this goddess was a form of **Lakṣmī**, the wife of Vishnu.1

**TEXT.**

**First Plate.**

1. **Om** Svasty- Uchchakalpa\( \text{n} \)-mahārāj-Aughadēvas-tasya puttras-tat-pād- anuddhyātō mahādevyām
2. Kumāradēvyām-utpannō mahārāj-Kumāradēvas-tasya puttras-tat-pād- anuddhyātō
3. mahādevyā[m*] Jayasvāminyām-utpannō mahārāja-Jayasvāmi tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānu-
4. ddhyātō mahādevyā[m*] Rāmadēvyā[m*]t-sattirā-putrā[m*] mahārāja-Vyāghras- tasya puttras-tat-p[ā*]d-ānuuddhyātō

1 See also page 113 above, note 2.

* From the original plate.
TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From Uchchakalpa,—(There was) the Mahärajä Öghadëva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahärajä Kumäradëva, begotten on the Mahädevi Kumäradëvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahärajä Jayasvâmin, begotten on the Mahädevi Jayasvâmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahärajä Vyâghra, begotten on the Mahädevi Rämädëvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, was the Mahärajä Jayanâtha, begotten on the Mahädevi Ajhítadëvi.

1This anusvāra is omitted also in line 6 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and thus, as Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives Urunda as a proper name of a demon and of a man, as well as Murundâ, we might have read mahäddevyâm-Urundaśvâminâyâm. In line 6, however, of the newly-discovered grant, No. 28 above, page 127, the reading is very distinctly mahäddevyâm Murundâddevyâm.

* Read sarvva-kara-tyâgaḥ.
* Read gòmikâya.
* We have to supply upabhûtyâ, or some similar word, here.
* Read dâmrâ.
* See line 11 of No. 31 below, page 137, and Plate xx., in which the long vowel ā was duly engraved, and is quite distinct.
* Read spûhitâ. See page 122 above, note 3.
* Read pravarttanda. 
(Line 5.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Maharaja Sarvanatha,—begotten on the Mahadev Murundasvamini,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brähmanas, and to the artisans, in half of the village of Dhavasandika in the Vota santika:

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that this half village is, by (this) copper-plate charter, given to Chhođugomika, [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 uparikara; (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 Pishtapurikadévi, and for the maintenance of the bali, charu, and sattra.

(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 Archaol. 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 Khôh,‡ in the Nagaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examin-

---

*In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called Murundadévi. In No. 31 below, line 6, page 136, the termination of her name is svdmini 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 grdhah, line 2, guptah, line 13, and ddiakah, line 14, as contrasted with ndihah in line 6, s[ds]drangah in line 8, and sanUlah 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.
The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 7½" by 5½". 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 13 oz.—The average size of the letters is between ½" and ⅛".

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kârthâlî grant of the Mahârâja Jayanâtha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictory 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 upadhândâya, in saḥ-pañchabhir, line 2; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in vinātā, line 11; (3) the doubling of g and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in vigrahātika and pultreṇa, 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 vālādhikṣita, line 13.

The first plate, containing the name of the Mahârâja 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 Mahârâja Śarvanâtha of Uchchakalpa. 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 Asvayujâ (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 Yathâ-kâlaḥ=cha pratipâlanîya [1*] samuchita-râj-âbbâvyâ-kara-pratyâyâs-chaḥ.

2 na grâhyâḥ [1*]. Ya imân-dattin-lôpayêt-saḥ-pañchabhir=mahâpâtakair-upapâta-.kâ=

3 kais=cha sanâyuktas=sâyâd-Uktaṇ=cha Mahâbhâraté bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vîyâsêna [1*].

4 Svâ-dattâm=para-dattâm-bâ(vâ) yatnâd-raksha Yudhishthira mahîma mahîm= mahlmatân=chhrâshtha[1*] dânâ-5 ch=chhrêyô-nupâlana[1*] Prâyêna(ṇa) hi narêndrâṇâm vidyâte n=[A*]-subhâ gatiḥ pûya-

1 From the original plate.
2 Read cha.
3 Read dattin lôpayêt=sa pañchabhir.
4 Metre, Śīkâ (Anuśṭubh); and in the following four verses.
5 Read mahîmatân irâshtha.
6. ... tu satataṁ prayachchhantō vasundharāṁ [II*] Bahubhi-
vraṣudhā bhuktā rājabhīṣa-Sāgar-ādi-
7. bhīhi 'yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā pha[ha][m*] [II*]
Shashṭi-va[r*]isha-sahasrā-
8. ni svarggē mōdati bhūmi-dāḥ ācchhētāt āchānuntā cha tāṁy-eva
narakāṃ vasē-
9. [I*] [II*] Sarvva-sasya-samriddhān-tu yō harēta vasundharāṁ śva-
visheśyānāṃ krimir-bhūtvā
10. pitṛbhīs-saha majjatē [I*] [II*] Likhitam[1] samba(mva)tsara-śatē satpa-navaty-
uttarē Āśva-
11. yuja-māsa-divasē vināśatīmē bhōgika-Phałgu[da]tt-āmātya-naptrā bhō-
gika-Varahadinnā-puttrēpa mahāsāndhīvīgrahikāa-Manārathēna [I*]
12. Dūtakaḥ mahāvā(cha)lahdhikītra-Śīvaguptaḥ [I*] Halir-ākara-kumbha-dapḍa-
13. pratimē(mō)chan-ātīlēkhīnē-pi dūtakaḥ upari-kā Maṅkri(tri)sīva[ha*] [I*]

TRANSLATION.

(The opening part of this inscription, on the first plate, is not forthcoming.)

"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. 3.)—And it has been said in the Mahābhārata, by the venerable Vyāsa, the ar-
ranger of the Vēdas,—"O Yudhishthīra, 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 expe-
rienced 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 con-
tinue 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 Aśvayujā, by the Mahāsāndhīvīgrahikāa Maṅbāratha, the grandson of the Bhōgika, the Aṁtya Phalguḍatta, (and) the son of the Bhōgika Varahadinnā. The Dūtaka (is) the Mahāsāndhīvīkītra Śīvagupta. Moreover, the Dūtaka to an additional writer[2] for the remission of the fines on ... and water-pots, (is) the Upārīka Māṭrīśīva.

[2] We should perhaps correct this into vināśatīmē, as the base vināśatīma seems to be properly used only when in composition with another numeral, e.g. dov-vināśatīma, in No. 27 above, line 21, page 123. But vināśatīma, by itself, occurs again in line 18 of the Gaṅga grant of Satyārāya-Dhūravāṣa-
No. 31; PLATE XX.

KHÔH 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, 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 Khôn, in the Nagaund 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 \(8\frac{3}{8}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{8}\), and the second \(8\frac{3}{8}\) by 5\(\frac{1}{8}\). 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 \(\frac{1}{6}\)\(\frac{1}{8}\). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārtitālī grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare \(j\kern 1pt\)h in *ajñāta*, 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 *utpannaka*, line 9; *utpadya-mānaka*, lines 9 and 16; and *kāritaka*, 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 *upadhmaṇiya*, in *sah-paṇḍhabhir*, line 18; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anuvṛtra*, before *s* and *k*, in *svaṅga*, line 16, and *sahhit*, line 19; and (3) the doubling of *g* and *t*, in *vīgraḥaṅka*, line 29, and *puttra*, lines 1 to 3; but not in *putra-pautra*, line 12.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha; 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 two hundred and fourteen (A.D. 533-34), and the sixth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pausha (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.
Mahārāja Śarvanātha to the transfer, among private grantees, of two villages named Vyāghrapallika and Kācharapallika in the Maippināga pāṭha, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pishṭapurikādēvi at the town of Mānapura.

This town of Mānapura is possibly the modern Mānpur, near the river Śop, about forty-seven miles in a south-easterly direction from Uchchakalā, and thirty-two miles south-east of Kārttalā. And, if this identification is accepted, we have here another item of evidence tending to connect the Mahārājas 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 Śarvanātha on the pillar at Bhumarā, No. 24 above, page 110; and the mention of the river Tamasā, in Śarvanātha’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 Mahārāja 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 Ὅν Svasty-Uchchakalp[ā]*in=mahārāj-Aughadēvas-tasya puttras-tat-pād-
Anudhyātō mahādēvyā[ṃ*]
2 Kumāradēvyām-uppanā mahārāja-Kumāradēvas-tasya putt[r*]as=tat-pād-
Anudhyātō
3 mahādēvyā[ṃ*] Jayasvāminyām-uppanā mahārāja-Jayasvāmi tasya
puttras=tat-pād-
4 nudhyātō mahādēvyāṃ Rāmadēvyām-uppanā mahārāja-Vyāgras-tasya
putt[r*]as=tat-pād-anudhyā-
5 tō mahādēvyām-Ajihitadēvyām-uppan[ṃ*]ō mahārāja-Jayanāθhas-tasya
puttras=tat-pād-anu-
6 dhyātō mahādēvyā[ṃ*] Muruṇḍasvāminyām-uppannō mahārāja-
Śarvanāθah kuśall Maṇi-
7 nāga-pēthē Vyāghrapallika-Kācharapallika-grāmayō[r*]-brāhmaṇ-ādīt(n)-
pratīvāsinai*²
8 samājāpayati [ί*] Vidita[ṃ*] vō-stu yath-aisha(tau) grāmau mayā
s-ōdraṅgau s-ōparikarau
9 a-chāta-bhaṭa-prāvēṣyō[śyau] raj-ābhāvyasa-sarva-kara-pratay-ē(t)tpannak-ōtpadya,
maṅka-samō(mē)-
10 tau a-chandr-ārka-samakālikau chōra-ta(da)pā-vaṛjjitau Pulinda*bhaṭaysia
pras[ā*]dikītau

1 The ‘Manpoor, Manpora, and Mānpur,’ 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.
11 tén-āpi Mānapurē kāritaka-dēvakul[e*] bhagavatyāḥ Pasūtha'purikā-
dēvyāḥ pājī-ni-
12 mittam' khanda-spūṣita-pratisaṁskāraṇāya cha Kumārasvāminē putra-
pauru-s-ānvay-īpa-
13 bhājyō(jyau) pratipāditaum [1*] may-āpi bhūmichechhidrā(dra)-nyāyēṇa tāma-
śasan[e*]n-ānumōditaum [1*]
14 Tē yōyam-ēv-ōpālabhyā-ājñā-śravana-vīdhēyā bhūtvā samuchita-bhāgabhōga-
 kara-hirany-ā-
15 vāt-dy-[a*]di-pratyāyān-ūpanēshyatha [1*]

Second Plate.
16 Y[e*] ch-āsmad-vāṇ-ōtpadyānamaka-rājānas-tair-īyaṁ dattī[r*]-nna vi-lōpyā
 yathā-kāla[m*] sa[m*]vārdhi-
17 nē-ānumōdanyā pa菩提ānyā, cha [a*] rāj-ābhāvyā-kara-pratyāyā[ḥ*]
 sarvē na grāhya[ḥ*] [1*] ,
18 Yaś-ch-aśtar māṭiyē-śaḥ-pañcābhir[a*]-mahāpātakair-upapātakaiś-cha
 sānyuktaḥ bhūtyā
19 d-Uktān-cha Mahābhratāte satasāhasrā[y[ā*]m saṁhitāyām param-arshiṇā
 Parāśara-sutēṇa
20 vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [1*] Pūrvvā-ādattāṁ dvijātibhyō yatnād-raksha
 Yudhishthirā mahī[m*] mahī-
21 vata śrēṣṭhā dānāch-chhrēyō-nupālanam [11*] Prāyēṇa hi narēndrāṇām
 vidyatē n-[a*]-śubhā
22 gatiḥ pūyatē(ntē) tē tta(tu) satatāṁ prayachchhanto vasu[nḍharām*] [11*] [Bahubhīr=vvasu*]jāh bhukta rājabhis-Sagar-ādibhibh[ḥ*]
23 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tādā phalam [11*] Shashti-
varsha-sahasraṇī
da
24 svargge mōdatī bhūmi-daḥ ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakē
 vaset [11*] Sva-da-
25 ttāṁ para-ādattām vā yō harēta vasundharā[m*] śva-visṭhāyāṁ
 kṛmīr-bhūtvā piśṭhibhis-saha
26 majjati [11*] A-ṇālīyēsvh-aranyēshu sūshka-kōṭa[ra*]-vāsināh krishṇ-āhayō
 hi jā-
27 yamtē pūrva-dāyaṁ haranti yē [11*] Likhitam[a*] sa[m*]vatsara-sata-
dvāye chaturddas-ōttarē
28 Pausha-māsa-divasē šapṭhē śaṇṭhē Phalgudatt-āmātya-pranapt[r*]d Varāha-
dīn[m*]a-napt[r*]d
29 Manḍrathā-sutēṇa sāndhivigraha-ha-Nāthēna [1*] Dūtakō Dhṛiti-
svāmikah [11*]
TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārāja Ṭghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādevi Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahādevi Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vṛyāghra, begotten on the Mahādevi Rāmadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vaiṣṇavātha, begotten on the Mahādevi Ajjhitadēvi.

(Line 6.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāja Śarvanātha,—begotten on the Mahādevi Murūḍasvāmini,—being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brāhmaṇas, at the villages of Vyāghrapallika and Kācharapallika in the Maṇināga pēṭha:—

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that these two villages were bestowed, as a mark of favour, upon Pulindabhaṭa,—with the adraṇgā and the uparikara; (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 Pishṭapurikādēvi at the temple which he has caused to be built at (the town of) Maṇapura, 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 bhāmichchhidra."

(L. 14.)—"You yourselves, understanding (this), (and) being obedient to (their) commands, shall render the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, ṛddita,4 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 none 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.

---

1 In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called Murūḍavēḷ. In No. 29 above, line 6, page 131, the termination of her name is ṣubmini, as here.

2 bhāmichchhidra, 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 Yadavapratāsa's Vaiṣṇavānti, in the Vaiṣṇavānti, verse 18, where it is explained by krīṣya-yāgyābhā, 'land fit to be ploughed or cultivated.'

3 ṛddita is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not apparent. It is derived either from ṛd, 'to blow,' or vṛd, 'to become dried or withered,' in connection with the prefix ṛ-. The more usual expression is similarly vṛta; e.g. sa-vṛta-hāta-dhānya-kirany-ddāya, in line 36 of the Māliya grant of Dharasena II., No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.

4 ṛddya, 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.
(L. 19.)—And it has been said in the Mahabhârata, in the Satasthasrt-Samhitâ, by Vyâsa, the arranger of the Védas, the supreme sage, the son of Parásara,—"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! 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 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 Sândhivigrahika Nâtha, the great-grandson of the Amâtiya Phalgudatta; the grandson of Varâhadinna; (and) the son of Manâratha. The Dâtaka (is) Dhritisvámika.

No. 32; PLATE XXI A.

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. 494, 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. Bo. 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 Indrají.²

*Méharaull, or Mémharaull,*—an evident corruption of Mihirapurl,—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 'Mahacoli, 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. Mihirapuri, '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 Dehli, the chief town of the Dehli District in the Pahjab. 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 Pithorara within the limits of this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2'9" broad by 10' 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' 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 ॐ of the opening word ॐस्य, and in the ॐ of ॐसल in the same line. — The size of the letters varies from 1" to 1/. 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 Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i. But, as a distinguishing feature, we have to notice the very marked मृद्रस or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, which we have already observed in the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumragupta, 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 anusvāra, before त, in प्रणित, line 6; (2) the doubling of त, in conjunction with a following र, in सत्रु, line 1; and (3) the very unusual omission of the second ठ, which is formative and not due to the preceding ॠ, in मृद्य for मृद्य, and किर्त्य for किर्त्य, 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 द्वाज, or 'standard,' 2 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 Dehli 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

---

1 Mr. Prinsep 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 (India Architecture, p. 208), drawing special attention to the Persian form of the capital, expressed a conviction that the inscription is of one of the Chandraguptas of the Early Gupta dynasty, and consequently belongs to A.D. 350 or 450. My own impression at first, on independent grounds, was to allot it to Chandragupta I., the first Mahārāja 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 Hiuen Tsang.

2 Compare द्वाज-स्तंभ, 'flag-staff,' as applied to the Iron column in line 9 of No. 19 above. There is another iron column, at Dhār, the ancient Dhār, now the chief town of the Dhār 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 Musalmāns 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 *Aん想象শান*, the founder of the Tômarâ dynasty,¹ lays it quite open to argument whether this is the real original position of the column, or whether, like the Aśoka columns at Dehli, and possibly the Aśoka (and Guptâ) column at Allahâbâd, 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-ôdvarttayatah pratipam-urasâ satrûno-samâtya-âgatân-vañgéshvâhava.-varttino-bhilkhitâ khadgêna krttir-bhujê

2 tîrtvâ sapta mukhâni yêna... samâre Sindhôr-jiyitâ Vâhlikâ³ yasya-âdyâpys-adhivâyastatâ (jalanidhîrvytry-ânilair-adakshinah [I*]

3 Khinnasya-êva visriyja gâm nárapatê-ggâm-âsritasya-êtaññam mûnt[1*]jya karma-jit-avâmanî gatavatah krt[1*]jya sthitasya kshita

4 ñântasy-êva mahá-vanê huta-bhujô yasya pratâpô mahân-âdyâpya-utsriyata praçâsita-rîpî-yatanasya ñëshah kshithim [I*]

5 Prâptêna sva-bhujô-àrijyitâ-cha suchirâ-chaitakdhiryâna kshita Chandr-âhêna samagra-chandra-sadríshâm vakra-sräyam bibhîrata

6 têna-âyâ praçâsita bhûmipatinâ dhâvêna⁴ Vishnhô(shhau) matim prânshur-Vvishhupadê girau bhagavatô Vishnhô-dhvajah thâpitañ [II*]

**TRANSLATION.**

He, on whose arm *fame* was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in the Vañga countries, he kneaded (and *turned*) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (him)—he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vâhlikas 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, even 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;

¹ Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 171. ² id. Vol. IV. p. 28, and Plate v. ³ From the original pillar. ⁴ Metre, Śârâdîavikrîñita, throughout. ⁵ Prinsep also read vâhlikâ; but Bhau Daji, varying in also the first syllable, read adhilkâ. 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 *dhava*, line 4 and *mahâkshen* and *mahôn*, line 4. But, that the *akshara* is hI; not hI, is certain; because h can only be turned 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 huta-bhujô, line 4, and *dhvina*, line 5. ⁶ See page 143 below, note 2. ⁷ See note 5 above.
(L. 5.)—By him, the king,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty1 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 faith2 fixed his mind upon (the god) Vishnu, this lofty standard of the divine Vishnu, was set up on the hill (called) Vishnupada.

No. 33; 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,3 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 Bandhuvarman, 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,4 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 Sōdana or Sōndan, but not shewn in the maps as a separate village, between two and three miles to the south-east of Mandasor.

1 *Aikāvadyā; lit. 'the condition of being the sole Adhirājā.'—*Adhirājā, lit. 'supreme king,' is a technical feudatory title, probably denoting the same rank as *Mahārājā.* It occurs, for instance, in line 5 of the Byāna inscription of the Adhirājā Vijaya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10). Its derivative, *dhāvityā,* however, is here used in a general and non-technical sense, in accordance with its original etymological meaning.

2 In line 6, *dhāvāna,* as read by Prinsep, is what really engraved; not *bhāvāna,* as read by Bhau Daji. But, as *dhāvā,* 'cleansing, washing, making bright, polishing,' appears to be used only in composition, the word seems to be a mistake for *bhāvāna,* which is equivalent to the *bhātyā,* 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 Kācha, 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;" 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' 6"* 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 8 1/4" 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' 6"; and the present inscription, occupying five of the sixteen faces, is on this fragment, the bottom line being about 2' 2 1/4" 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 Gupta 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 11 3/4" 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 Éranī 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 kirita 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 kirita 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 xx1C, 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 2'93" 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 11" 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;² with the head of a conventional simha or mythological lion in the centre, over the backs of the lions. In the bottom of this stone there is a socket-hole, about 10" 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 Ėraḍ column, as shewing

¹ There 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.  
² Compare the lions on the upper part of the square portion of the capital of the Ėraḍ 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 torana 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 Kaushekhon's grant of Vikramaditya V., dated Saka-Saṃvat 930 (A.D. 1008-9) expired, speaks of as having been set up by the Rāṣṭrakūta king Karkara or Karka III., and as having then been cut asunder in battle by the Western Chalukya 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 1" to 8". Differing from the Mandalā inscription of Kumāragupta 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 Allahābad 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 upagūḍha, line 4. In vṛṣṇa, line 4, and sāmantair-yaṣya, line 5, the r is formed on the line of writing, with only a single y below it; in combination with other consonants, e.g. in sumbror-vaṁghatita, line 1, and dharmmsya, 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 upadhmaṇya in sikhīraṇah-paśchimad, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before τ, in anuṣṭa, line 5, and vaṃśa, line 8; and before ṣ, in ṣeṇaissance, line 1, and pahasu, line 3; (3) the doubling of k and ṣ, in conjunction with a following r, in ṭhvaṅka, line 4; chaktka, line 7; ṣaṭṭra and yattra, line 3; anyatra, line 6; and ndyaṭa-ṭtra, line 7; but not in kriyamāṇa, line 5, and ṣatru, line 1; and (4) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in addhyāsint, line 4.

The inscription is one of a king named Yaśodbhaṃraṇa, whose dominions are described as including the whole of the northern part of India, from the river Laubhiya, 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, ṣaranam occurs as the termination of proper names, and to the rarity of dharman,—there might be some temptation to suggest that Yaśodbharman should be corrected into Yaśowarman. 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 xxvC.; and again in line 8 below; and again in the same name in line 4 of the inscription of Yaśodbharman and Vishṇuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxvi.—The form dharman is not of frequent occurrence. But we do meet with it in other proper names; e.g. Kṛitaḥṣtarman, Kṣhatrīḍharman, Kṣemāḍharman, Jayāḍharman, and Sudharman. And it also occurs in ordinary composition; e.g. in Mauṣṇ-di-prasita-viśi-ti-viśi-dharmmd, in line 5 of the Māliyā grant of the Mahārāja Dharasena II. of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.; and in ṭhādhīr-daṭṭa-sāṃdha-dharmmd, in line 29 of the Kaushekhon's grant of Vikramaditya V. of Saka-Saṃvat 930 expired (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 22).
TEXT:

Vépante3 yasya bhima-stanita-bhaya-sanjñabhranta-dātayā digantāḥ śring-?
ṛaghataih Suméro-r-vvighatita-drishaddāh kāndāra yaḥ karoti 1
ukshanām tāh dadhānah kshiti-drishataranyā datta-paṇch-āṅgulāṅkāṁ drghishthāh Śulapāṇēk kshapayatu bhavatām satru-tējānāi

2 Avirbhūt-āvalēpair-avinayā - paṭubhir - llāṁghiṭ-āśhārā - mārghāir - mmohād aiśand-āṅgulāṅkāṁ paṭubhir - yugnair-apa-subha-raftibhī pḍyamanā nareṇdraiḥ 1 yasya kahmā
dṛṣṭāngumber-iva kaṭhina-dhanur-jyā-kiṅ-āṅka-prakōṣṭhām bāhum lōkāpākāra-vrata-saphala-parisplanda dṛtṛh prapannā 1


4 Yē bhukta Gupta-nāthir-asma sakalā-vaśud-hākkrānti-drishṭa-pratāpāṁ-nnā ṣāṁjñē Hūn-adhipānām kshipti-pati-mukht-adhyāśiṁ yān-praviṣṭā detāṁs-tān dhānya-śila-druma-ka(m)a(ha) hara-vastrā-mahāprājñān-vyāva-sūkṣāna-rājñāb sva-grīha-parisar-avajñāya yō bhunakti 1

5 A Lauhity-ōpakaṇṭhāt-tala-vana-gahan-ōpaya-kad-ā Mahēndrād-ā Gangā-

6 Sthānop-anyattra yēna pranāti-kripapataṁ prāpitāṇ m-ōttamāṇag yasya-

1 It is doubtful whether this denotes here the famous Mahādrāgrī or Mahānandarā, in the Gaṇḍhāra 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 Nasik inscription of the nineteenth year of Sīra-Puśumayi (Arcaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV, No. 14, pp. 108, 109), and in the Bṛhatta-Saṁhitā, iv. vv. 11-16 (Kern’s Translation, Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 83), and must be located somewhere in the Western Gaudas.

2 From the ink-impression.

3 Metre, Sṛgddhā; and in the next seven verses.
May that very long banner of (the god) Śūlapātī destroy the glory of your enemies;—

(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 1.)—He, to whose arm, as if (to the arm) of (the god) Śārīgapaṭā, 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 reprehensible course of conduct,—just as an offering of flowers (is beautiful if 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)

"Śūkra (Anushtubh)."

*Supply praistik.

a sovereign who rules over kings and has performed the ṛajasya-sacrifice.'—For a description of ṛajasya, which is a great sacrifice or religious ceremony performed, at the coronation of a supreme or universal monarch, by the king himself and his tributary princes, see the ṛajasya-Pārva in the Mahābhārata; Protap Chandra Roy’s Translation, page 95 ff.
prowess,—which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Gupta, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (remainder of the) earth, (and) which the command of the chiefs of the Hūnas, 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) Lauhitya up to the (mountain) Mahêśdra, 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) Gaṅgā, 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 obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthānū;—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) obeisance:

(L. 7.)—By him, the king, the glorious Yasodharmar, 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 Yasodharmar, 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 Vasula, the son of Kakka. (This eulogy) has been engraved by Gôvinda.

1 Śâmana, 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 Mahâdâmana, which title occurs, for instance, in several places in the Niramâ grant of the Mahâdâmana and Mahârâja Samudrâsena, No. 80 below, Plate xliv.—Śâmana 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 Chadda 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 uka, the negative particle na from the first pada 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 Yäsodharmar on the second inscribed column, described at page 144 above, at Mandasör, or more properly Dasaör, the chief town of the Mandasör District of Scindia’s Dominions, in the Western Mála-va 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 duplicate copy of this inscription No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxiiB, and of the inscription of Kumáragupta and Bandhuvarman of the Mála-va years 493 and 529, No. 18 above, page 79, and Plate xi.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1’ 1” 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 1”. The characters belong, as before, to the northern class of alphabets, and were engraved by the same person, Góvinda, 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 d in upagádha, line 4. And the two methods of forming r in combination with a following consonant, are very well illustrated by virya, line 4, and ópahra-rumáhirakula, line 6.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1), as before, the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvára, before s, in anśu, line 5; and before s, in tisánsi, line 1; and (2) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in yattra; line 3, and náyita-titra, line 7; and also in satru, line 1, where it is not doubled in the entire copy.

This fragmentary inscription preserves the names of Yäsodharmar and Mihirakula. But the passage mentioning the Guptas and the Húsás has been lost; and also that which gives the boundaries of Yäsodharmar’s dominions.

**TEXT.**

1. . . . . . [dā]ttapāñ-chándu-ñi-kāraṁ dhágishṭṭhāh Sūlapāñeh kshapayatu bhavatām sattru-tisánsi kētuḥ II
2. . . . . . jy[ā]-kñi-kñaka-prakoshtāh bāhurum lōk-ōpakāra-vrata-saphalā- parispaṇḍa-dhīraṁ prepannā II
3. . . . . . [Ā]larka-Mándhàtri-kalpē kalyānē hēmni bhāsvān-mañjīr-iva sūtaram bhrajātē yattra sābdaḥ II
4. . . . . . [v]ra-bāh-ōpagūdhan-vrīty-āvaskan-rājīnāh sva-griha-parisar-āvajñayā yō bhunaktī II

---

1 See page 79 above, and note 1.  
2 From the ink-impression.  
3 Metre, Saragdharā; 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 Yasodharmar, complete in line 7, and partially preserved in line 8; the name of Mihrakula, 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 ff., 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 Mandasör, or more properly Dasör, the chief town of the Mandasör District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Malwa 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 Grunniens, or a sakhia 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, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).
2 Supply praśastiḥ.
3 See page 145 above, note 2.
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 1" 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 Yaśodharmar, No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxiB., and No. 34, page 149, and Plate xxiiC. They include the very rare initial au, in aulikara, line 5; and the linguistic dh, in uddāha and gāḍha, line 7; rāḍha, line 11; and adha, 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 vaṇīa, lines 6 and 9; anṣu, line 9; anṣa, line 11; and abhrāsnī, line 12; (2) the use of the dental nasal, before s, in bhūyānsī, line 2, and yāṭhānsī, line 4; though we have the more usual anusvāra in manānsī, line 22; (3) the doubling of ṛ, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in tāṭrī, line 4; kalattra, line 11; and pāṛīyāṭrī, line 16; and (4), the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y and v, in addhyāṣīta, line 16-17, and addhavāni, line 18, though not in other places.

The inscription refers itself, in the first instance, to the time of Yaśodharmar, 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 Rājādhikāra and Paramēśāra, would appear to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yaśodharmar. 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

1 See page 145 above, note 2.
2 Janēndra; lit. 'a lord of a people or tribe.'
3 nārādhikāpi; lit. 'a chief ruler of men.'
4 aulikara-lāṭchhana.—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 lāṭchhana, '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 dhvajas or banners. Thus, the Raṭhas of Saundatti and Belgaum had the suvarna-gaurā-bhadra or 'banner of a golden Garuḍa,' but the sindhura-lāṭchhana or 'elephant-crest' (e.g. line 43 of the Tardāl inscription of Saka-Saṅvat 1045, &c.; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 18, and p. 24, note 24). So also the Kādambas of Banawasi, and also those of Goa, had the ādakẖarēndra-bhadra or 'boar-crest,' or yamā-bhadra, 'the banner of a monkey, or of (Hanumat) the king of monkeys,' but the lāṭchana, or 'lion-crest,' which latter appears on the seals of their grants and on their coins (e.g. line 28-29 of the Kargudāri inscription of Saka-Saṅvat 1030, Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 253; and line 9 of the Golihāli inscription, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 296.; see also, for the seals of their grants, id. p. 330, No. 8, and Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 288; and, for their coins, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. xxiv.) The Chaluṣyas, in all their branches, had the varḍa-lāṭchhana or
eighty-nine had expired from the tribal constitution or castle, and, therefore, when the year five hundred and ninety (A.D. 533-34) was cut, but no further details of the date are given. The opening invocations are addressed to the god Śiva. But the record itself is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the construction of a large well by a person named Daksah, the younger brother of Dharmadāsā, who was a minister of Vīshnuvardhāṇa, in memory of their deceased uncle Abhayadatta, who had previously held the same office for the tract of country bounded by the Vindhyas and the Pārīyātra mountain, and the (Western) Ocean.

The genealogy of this family of ministers is given; and it includes a somewhat noticeable name in that of Bhanugupta, the wife of Daksah’s grandfather, Ravikṛtti. Her date would be just about one generation before that of the king Bhanugupta, for whom we have the date of Gupta-Saṅvat 191 (A.D. 510-11) from the Ēraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gopārāja, 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. Bhanugupta, of course, must have been a Kayatiya; and Bhanugupta’s husband, Ravikṛtti, was evidently a Brahman. But the ancient Hindu law authorised the marrying of Kayatiya wives by Brāhmans. And we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Gaḥḍotkacha cave inscription of Hastibhāja, a minister of the Vākātaka Mahārāja Devasena; it tells us that Hastibhāja’s ancestor, the Brāhmaṇa Soma, “in accordance with the precepts of revelation and of tradition” married a Kayatiya wife, through whom Hastibhāja was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brāhmaṇ caste, whose sons, and their descendants, applied themselves to the study of the Vedas.1

TEXT.

1 Siddham [II*] Sa⁴ jayati jagatāṁ patiḥ ∑ (Pinaki) smita-rava-ṭīṭhuy cha sputayati-aga-ṭhuy viṣvam II Swayambhur-bhūtanāṁ sthitilaya-[samu]-

tpati-vidhihū prayuktō yēn-ajñāṁ vahati bhuvanānāṁ vydhram 1

2 piritvam ch-anāṁ jayati garimāṃgamayāt sa śambhur-bhuvāṇāṁ pratidishatu bhadrānap bhava[tām] II Phana-ṣaṁ-huṣṇa-bhū-[akṣara]-

3 ni-dūr-āvanaram sthagayati rucham-indōr-maṃḍalāṁ yasya mūrdhām [I*] sa śārasi vinibadhan-randhirpaṁ-astiḥ-mālāṁ śrijatu bhava-srijō vah

kṛṣṇa-bhāgam bhujāṅgaḥ II Shashtyaṭ sahasrāniḥ Sagar-ātmājanāṁ khāta[h]

1 ‘boar-crest,’ which appears on the seals of all their charters, and on their coins; and the special connection of the Ṛṣikhuṇa with the śūsana 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) Vīshṇu, which lifted up the entire circle of the earth on the tip of (its right-hand) tūnak, became in a pleasing way the crest.” (Ibid. Vol. XIV. p. 85).

3 From the original stone.
4 Metre, Pushpīṭhāra.
5 Metre, Šikhariṭ.
6 Metre, Mālīṅk.
7 Metre, Upajīt of Indravajra and Upendravajra.
kha-tulyām rucham-ācandhānaḥ 1 asy-ōdapan-ādbhūtēs-chirāya yaśaṃsi pāyāt-
payaśam vidhātā 2 Atha1 jayait janendraḥ śrī-Yāśodharmac-
nāma śramada-varaṁ-iv-āntaḥ sattra-suñyaṁ-viśīyā ya wyma-
5 kisalaya-bhaṅgār-yyo-ṅga-bhāṣāhāṁ vidhattē taraṇa-taru-latād-vṛra-kṛttirn-
vīṇāmyāḥ 2 ājaś1 jīva-ājataṁ-punaḥ-cha śrī-Viśnubhārddhana-
narādhipatiḥ sa cēva 1 prakhyāta aulikara-lāḥchāna ātma-
6 vaśāḥ yēn-ōdīt-ōdīt-padaṁ gamito giryaḥḥ 2 Prāchōḥ nripiṇ-su-brihataś-
cha bahuḥ-udcīchāḥ sāmāḥ yudhā cha vaṣa-gāṇ-pravīdhāya yena [1*]
7 nām-āpanā jāgati kāntam-ādō durāpaṁ ṛajādhipā-paraṁ-
7 śvara ity-uddhām 2 Snigdha-śyaṁ-ambud-ābhāṁ sthagita-dīnākritī
yavānaṁ-āśya-dhūmāṁ-anbhō-mēghyaḥ Mahgōn-aavadhiṣu vidadhata-
gādha-sampanna-sasyāḥ 1 samharśād-vāṇināṁ kara-rabhasa-hritis-ō
8 dyāna-chūt-ānikur-āgrā rājanvantō ramanēṣe bhujā-vijita-bhuvāḥ bhūrayo yēna
2 2 Āṣyā-ōḍēkutbhir-unmadā-dvipa-kara-yavīvidhā-lōḍhā-drumār-
uddhūtenā van-ādhvani dhvāna-nadān-Vindhyaḍri-śandhrāi-bbalaṁ bāle-
9 ya-ccchedhavi-dhūmārena rajasa mand-ānū saṃlakṣhyate paryāvṛtto-
śīkhaṇḍi-chandraṁ iṅva dhvāmaṁ rāvṛ-ṃmanḍalam 2 Tasyā
prajñor-yaṅnaśa-kritāḥ nripiṇāṁ 1 (pāda)ārayaḥ-śvrūtra-puṇya-kṛttreiḥ 1
bhṛtyāḥ 2 svya-naibhṛtya-jitā 2 ?
10 ri-śaṅkā āstā-vasylaṅ-kila Śhaṣṭhidattāḥ 2 Himavata 2 iṅva Gāṅga-
tunga-namrāḥ pravāhāḥ saśaṇadhṛita iṅva Rēva-vārī-rāśni prathlyān [1*]
param-abhigamanāṁ śuddhimāṁ-anvavāyo vata 2 udita-gari-
11 mnas-tayaṭe Naigamānām 2 Tasyāṁ-anukolāḥ kulajāt-kalattṛt-sutaḥ
aprastū ṛaṣaśāṁ prastūtīḥ 1 Harēr-iv-āśaṁ saṃnāma vār-ārah
Varahārasanām yam-uddāharantī 2 Sukrīti-vishayi-śuṅgarāḥ rōdha-mūlān
12 dharāyāṁ shtīm-im-apagata-bhāṅgāṁ sthēyaśaṁ-ādādhānam [1*] guru-śhikharm-
įv-āṛdrēs-tat-kulaṁ sv-ātma-dbhūtā vārī-iva śravīkṛttīṁ 2 su-prakāśaṁ
vyadhatta 2 Bhīruttā 2 suḥbrāhmaṁ-bhṛtiḥ smārttaṁ vartī-ōcītaṁ
satām [1*] na visanvbā(va) 2 viṣṇêsāmānāṁ kulaṁ teṣaṁ-
13 ditā yēna Kalāv-āpi kūlattā 2 Dhūta-dh-śldhitī-dhvāntām avirbhuja
iy-ādāvānaṁ [1*] (bhāṅgūpūta) 2 tataḥ sādhvi tanayāṁ trīn-ājjanat 1
(Bhagavāddōgha ity-āṅkita-prthaṁham kāryya-vartmasu 1 āla-
14 mbanām bāndhavānam Andhakānam-iv-ōḍēdhavaḥ 2 Bahu-āṇa-vidhi-Vēdhā
gaharēp-ūṛya-ṃgarōgī Vidura iṅvā vidūrāṁ prēkṣhayā prēkṣhamāṇāṁ 1
vachana-ṛacanā-śanḍhe śamskrita-śrākritē yah kavibhīr-udī-
15 ta-ṛagāṁ gyāte gīt-ābhijñāḥ 2 Prāpūdhi-dīg-anugantarā yasya bauddhēna
ch-ākshāḥ na nīśi tanu dāvīyō v-āstya-ādisṣṭham dharīṇyām [1*]
padām-udayī dadhanō-ṇantaṁ tasya ch-ābhūt-sa bhayaṃ Abhayadātṛ
nāma

1 Metret, Mālinī. 6 Metret, Vasantaśīla; and in the next verse.
2 Metret, Sroghardhī. 7 Metret, Srd lodāvikrīdīta.
3 Metret, Indravajrī. 8 Metret, Mālinī.
7 Metret, Upāṣāti of Indravajrī and Upendraśīla.
9 Metret, Mālinī. 10 Metret, Mālinī; and in the next verse.
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Pinâkin, the lord of (all) the worlds,—in whose songs, hummed with smiles, the splendour of (his) teeth, like the lustre of lightning sparkling in the night, envelops and brings into full view all this
May he, (the god) Śaṁbhū, 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) Svayaṁbhū 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 serpents 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 Sarasā, (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 Yasodharmān,4 who, having plunged into 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 Vishnuvardhana, the conqueror in war; by whom his own famous lineage, which has the auhikara-crest,7 has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and

1 bhava-srīj.—Originally, Brahman was the creator; Vishnu, the preserver; and Śiva, the destroyer. But of course the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas invested their own special gods with all three attributes. As regards Śiva, we may also refer to line 51 of the Almā grant of Śilāditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xx., where, under the name of Pāramēśvara, he is again clearly referred to as the creator. While, as regards Vishnu, in the Vishnu-Purāṇa, 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-srīj 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 Sarasā in their search for their father's atmanātha-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 Sarasā. The obsequies, however, of the sons of Sarasā 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 Sarasā. 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 sāgara in commemoration of Sarasā and his descendants.

3 janāndra; see page 151 above, note 2.

4 See page 145 above, note 2.

5 This expression looks at first sight as if Yasodharmān and Vishnuvardhana were one and the same person. But the general structure of this verse, as well as the use of the two distinct titles janāndra and nardādhīpati and of the expression dīma-vanī, shows that this is not the case. "This same" simply means "this reigning king," in whose time and territory the inscription is written.

6 nardādhīpati; see page 151 above, note 3.

7 auhikara-lādhāhana; 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 ¼ supreme king of kings¼ and supreme lord,¼ 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 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 ḍāṭra-trees (trees) tossed about in all directions by the tusks of (their) infuriated elephants; (and) which have the crevices of the Vindhya 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.4

(L. 9.)—The servant of the kings who founded the family of that lord, was Shash-thidatta,—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) Gaṅga (spreads abroad) from (the mountain) Himavat, (and) the extensive mass of the waters of (the river) Révâ 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) Vatadhada, (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, Ravikṛtti 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,—(Ravikṛtti), 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 Bhāṅgugupta 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 Bhagavaddoṣa, the prop of his relatives in the paths of religious actions, just as Udhava (was) of the Andhakas,—who was a very Vēdhā 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

1 Rājadhārṣya; see page 35 above, note 7.  2 Paramēṣvara; see page 10 above, note 3.  3 ḍāṭra, also ḍātra; the tree Symplocos Racemosa.  4 i.e., looked at from the wrong side of the feathers.”  5 The ṛiṣṭhaka or ṛiṣṭhada-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 Dṛiṭarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, described as the wisest of all prudent and sagacious people.
pleasure sung by the poets, in Sanskrit and Prakrit construction of the arrangement of sentences, as the well versed in speech.

(L. 15.) After him there came that (well-known) Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position on earth, (and) collecting (in order to dispel it) the fear of (his) subjects (?);—his eye of intellect, which served him like the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remain, remained undetected, (even) at night;—(Abhayadatta), of fruitful actions, who like (Brahmachari) the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the (four recognised) castes, with the functions of a Rājadhānya1 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 (their) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys, (and stretches) up to the (western) Ocean.

(L. 17.) Now he, Dharmadōsha, 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;—(Dharmadōsha), 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, Dākaha,—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) Kuṭānta, 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, (monstously) destroyed by a lordly elephant.

1 Rājadhānya, lit. ‘one who belongs to a Rājadhāna or, king’s abode;’ or perhaps ‘one who occupies the position of a Rāj,’ is a technical official title, the exact grade of which remains to be determined. The explanation of the word in Khemendra’s Lākāpadikā, iv., as given by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 207) is praśā-dānam-drtham-uḍvahati rakhayatichā sa rājasthānayah, "he who carries out the object of protecting subjects, and shelters them, is called a Rājasthānaya, i.e. ‘a viceroy.’" But, though ‘viceroy’ 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 Máliyā grant of the Mahārāja Dharaśēna II. of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv., and in line 9 of the Dēb-Barāpak inscription of Jīvatagūpa II., No. 46 below, Plate xxiB. (where Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī proposed to render it by ‘political agent, or regent’), the Rājasthānaya is mentioned rather low down in the list of officials; so also in line 33 of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyanapāla (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 Dharmadōsha, must be the younger brother of Abhayadatta, and the third and youngest of the sons of Raviśrītra and Bhiknahupāt.

3 Mahulīya; 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 of the tribal constitution of the Maliyas, (and) being written down in order to determine the (present) time,—in the season 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 Kamadeva) 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 Daksha 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 Govinda.

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 *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 651 ff., where Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,* 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 Khurâl Sub-Division of the Sagar 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.

The Boar is covered all over with elaborate sculptures, chiefly of Rishis or saints.

---

1 *vadī*; but it is very difficult to find a really satisfactory meaning for this word in this passage.
2 *i.e.* the spring.
4 See page 18 above, and note 1.
5 *Arch. Ind. Vol. X. page 82 ff., and Plates xxv. and xxvi.*
clinging to its mane and bristles. It has the earth, represented as a woman, hanging on, in accordance with the legend, to its right-hand tusk; and over its shoulders there is a small four-sided shrine, with a sitting figure in each face of it. There are several very serious cracks in the Boar; one of which, right through the centre of it from front to back, shews in the lithograph published herewith. The surface on which the inscription is, is slightly concave. — The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 9'' broad by 103'' high, has in one or two places suffered a good deal from the weather; but, except where a few letters have been entirely destroyed through the stone breaking away at the edges of the crack mentioned above, it can be read with certainty throughout. The bottom line is about 6' 0'' above the level of the ground. — The average size of the letters is about 3''.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are very similar in type to those of the Ėran pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19 above, Plate xiiA. The two methods of forming the letter r, in combination with a following consonant, are illustrated, on the one hand, by paryanta, line 5, and, on the other, by ghūraṇita, line 1, pūrvvāyam, line 3, and artha, line 7. — The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as the end of the date in line 3, and the rest in prose. — In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of k, t, and dh, in conjunction with a following r; e.g. in kṛiyena, line 6; maśtṛtyaṇya, line 3; paustrasya, line 4; (but not in bhrārd, line 6); and mahāṭṭha, line 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Tūrāmāna. 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 Phālguna (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 Mahāṛāja Mātrivishṇu.

The mention of Mātrivishṇu in this inscription as deceased, is of importance, as showing that Tūrāmāna 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 [IIa] Jayati2 dharany-uddharanē ghana-ghoṣṭa-ghūṣeṇa-mahāṭṭhaḥ
dēvo varāha-mūrttita-trailokyā-mahā-grīha-stambhāḥ [IIa] Varṣhe4 prathamē
prīthivm
2. prithu-kṛttāu prithu-dhyāntāu mahārājādhirāja-śrī Tūrāmānē prāśasati (II)
Phālguna-divasē5 daśamē 1 ity-evaṁ rājyavarsha-māsa-dinaṁ [Ii6] ētasyām
3. pūrvvāyam 1 svā-lakśhanair-yukta-pūrvvāyam5 (II) Sva-karm-Abhiratasya
kratu-yājñā-dhiṭa-svādhyāyasya vigra-arṣeṣe-Maitrīvṛṣaṇya-vrishabhasya
4. Ėndravigōṇaḥ prauṭtrasya 1

1 I noticed a similar boar, almost entirely buried, by the roadside, about half way between Sākṣi and Udayagiri; 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 tithau.
4 pitur-gup-ānukārīṇo Varuṇavishṇoḥ pautrasya pitaram-anu-jātasya
   sva-vamśa-vriddhi-hētōr-Harivishṇoḥ putrasya-ātyanta-bhagavat-bhaktasya
   Vidhātṛ-ichchhayaṁ. *

5 svayamvara-eva ṛṣi-lakṣhmī-ādbhigatasya chatub-samudra-RARYYANTI-prathita
   yatāsāṁ akṣhipa-māna-dhanasya-ānēka-sattu-samara-jīśhoṁ mahār(ā)*ja-
   Mātrivishṇoḥ.

6 svar-ggatasya bhṛṭr-ānūjena 1 tad-anuvidyāṁīna tat-prāsāda-pariprighiṁena1
   Dhanyavishṇuṇa tēn-aiva [sa]h-āvivhaṭa-punya-kkriyena mātāpitrōḥ
   pavy-āpyāyan-ārthāṁ-ēśa bhagavatō varāha-mūrttēr-jagat-parāyaṇasya
   Nārāyaṇasya śilā-प्राव[adāh] sva-vi$hay[e]-śminn-Ātrikinē kārītāh 1(II)
   Svasty-astu gō-brāhmaṇa-pūrṇābhyaḥ sarvva-prajābhyaḥ [1][1] II

TRANSLATION.

Om! 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 blows
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 Mahāṛājādhīrāja, 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 Dhanyayishnu,—the younger brother, obedient to him (and) accepted
with favour by him, of the Mahāṛājā Mātrīvishnu, who has gone to heaven; who was ex-
cessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vidhātṛi, was approach-
ed (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
oceans; 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 Iindravishṇu, 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 follow-
ers) of the Maitrāyaṇya (tātha);—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-aiva [sa]h-āvivhaṭa-
punya-kkriyena should have stood here, before dhanyavishṇuṇa.
1 Prinsep read nāḍyangasy-dītirna; and Hall, nāḍyanaṁ-dītirna.* 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.
4 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 Hiranyakaśha.
5 Compare the similar invocation of Śiva, in Śaiva inscriptions, as “the foundation-pillar for the
erection of the city which is the three worlds;” e.g. in line 1 f. of the Aihohe inscription of Śaka-Samvat
* pitaram-anu-jātasya; see page 90 above, note 3.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 37, PLATE XXIII B.

(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 Airikīna.

(L. 8.)—Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇs!

No. 37; PLATE XXIII B.

GWALIOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF MIHIRAKULA.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1861, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXII. 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 Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXII. 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 a' 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 Gwalēh), 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". 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 Tōrāmāna. 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 chakrb-ṛtti-hartṭa, line 2, and abhivarddhamāna, 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 upakśatiya once, in amubhit-pamkajāndə, line 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mihirakula. 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 Mātrичēta, on the mountain called Gopa, i.e. the hill on which the fortress of Gwalior stands.1

TEXT.

1 [Om] [II2] Jalyati1 jalada-vāla-dhvāntam-utsārayan-svaiv kiranā-nivaha-jālair- vyōma vidyōtayadbhih u[daya-gi-][I]-tat-agra[m] maṇḍayan' yas- turā[hm] gaih chakita-gamana-khēda-bhranta-chardha-sat-āntaḥ 11) Udaya- g[i][i][i]-


7 ....... pā[?]dēna [II*] Yē kārayanti bhānōḥ-chandrā-nāsu-san-.. prabhān griha-pravaram tēṣhāṁ vāsaḥ svargge yāvat=kalpa-kṣayō bhavati ll Bhaktāyā ravē-vvorachitām sad-dhamma-khyāpanāṁ su-kṛttimayān nāmnā cha Kēśāv-ēti-prathitēna cha l"
TRANSLATION

[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; dispersing 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 Tāramāna; 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 Mihiarakula, who, (himself) unbroken, [broke the power of] Paśupati.

(L. 4.)—While [he], the king, the remover of distress, possessed of large and pellucid eyes, 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) tīthi and nakṣatradā and muḥārta,—having arrived;—

(L. 5.)—The son’s son of Matridasa, and the son of Matridasa, by name Matridesha, 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 Kesava and by . . . . . dītya.

(L. 8.)—As long as the moon shines on the thicket that is the knot of the braided hair of (the god) Sarva; and as long as the mountain Meru continues to have (its) slopes

---

1 Metre, Śārdūlavikrīdita.
2 See page 162 above, note 6.
3 I.e. by the Brāhmaṇas.
4 Read śrīm ārvad.
5 i.e. in the bright fortnight of the month.
6 I.e. this inscription.
No. 38; PLATE XXIV.

MALIYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA DHARASENA II.

THE YEAR 252.

This inscription, 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 Māliyā, the chief town of the Māliyā Mahāl or Sub-Division of the Junāgadh State in the Kāthiawād Peninsula in the Bombay Presidency. The original plates are, I understand, in the possession of the Junāgadh Darbār. I obtained them, for examination, through the kindness of the Diwān, Mr. Haridas Vihārīdas.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 11\(\frac{1}{2}\)" by 7\(\frac{3}{4}\)". 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 letters are marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—The plates are copper rings, passing through holes in the lower part of the first plate, and through the second. Both of the rings had already been cut, when the plates were found. One of them is a plain copper ring, roughly circular in shape, about 1 3\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in diameter. The other is of the same thickness, but of an irregular form, and customary with the rings of the Valabhi grants. The inside of each was engraved in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, a bull, reckoned in the Valabhi system of notation; and a symbol on the Valabhi date, which shows it, separately, to have been 176 B.C. The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 1 oz., and the letter size is about 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)" by 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)". The size of the letters varies from 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 2 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)". The cursive lettering belongs to the southern class of alphabets; but they include, e.g. in *chāḍḍa*, line 10, and *dombhi*, line 24, a separate form of the lingual d, as distinct from the dental d, borrowed from the northern alphabet. They furnish a very good specimen of

---

1The 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 Dhrubhaṭa or Dhruvabhaṭa, as a title of Śūdārya VII.

2The 'Māliya and Mallia' of maps, &c.; about twenty-three miles south by west of Junāgadh. It is also called 'Māliya-Hātti,' to distinguish it from another Māliya, called 'Māliya-Miṅna,' in the north of Kāthiawād.
The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Dharasena II., of the family of the Kings of Valabbi; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city of Valabbi, the modern Walā, 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., and the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśākha (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 Brāhman, for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites, of some lands at the villages of Antaratrā, Dombhigrāma, and Vajragrāma.

**TEXT:**

First Plate.

1. Ōm Svasti Valabhiṭaḥ prasabha-prapat-āmitrāṇāṃ Maitrakānāṃ-atula-bala-sa[...]

2. balapārakramēṣa para-gaja-gaṭā-anākānām-ekā-vijayā śaraṇ-aiśhāṇām śaraṇam-aavobdha śastra-ārthā-tatvānāṃ kalpatarur-iva suhitr-pra-

3. payināṃ yathābhīlalṣita-kāṁa-phaḷ-pabhōga-ḍaḥ paramabhāgavaṭāḥ śrī-mahārāja-Dhruveśaṇas-Tasyānūjas-taḍh-charanārāvinda-prapti-pra-


---

1 The 'Vala, Wala, Waleh, and Wulleh' of maps, &c.; eighteen miles west by north from Bhāwngar. Lat. 21° 53' 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 prastatātara-vimala-mauli-manir.

4 Read aubuddha.
This t was at first omitted, and was then inserted rather above its proper position.

*The Jhar grant, mentioned above, gives here the better reading of *atīsāyānaṁ śravangat-ābhaya praddāna; so also in No. 39 below, Plate xxv. line 5.

1 This *vīṣarga was forced rather low down by the size of the shō above it.

*The vowels of these two *ākṣaras 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 *ākṣaraś properly, and forced him to leave a blank space before the next line.
167

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 38, PLATE XXIV.

1 and 2 In each case, the engraver seems to have formed the mark of punctuation by mistake for a visarga.

1 Metre, Slōka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.

1 and 2 In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

1 Read ibi.

1 Supply śānamam.

1 i.e. dānakh.

1 The proper context is “the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dharasena, being in good health, issues a command,” &c., in line 19 ff. The intervening genealogy is by way of a parenthesis.

1 Śndapati, ibi, ‘lord or chief of the army; a general,’ is a technical military title. The next grade above this was that of the Mahāśundapati, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the Bijayagad inscription of the Yaudhēyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxviB.

1 The correct interpretation of this important passage was first conclusively pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, in re-editing the Wall grant of Śāliditya 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 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 344 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—“Bhāṭārka, who obtained greatness by a hundred wounds received in the midst of, circle of leaders of matchless might, who, with main force had subjugated their enemies.” Dr. Bühler’s (id. IV. p. 106) was—“Bhāṭārka, 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 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., XI. p. 246)—“(Bhāṭārka), 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 Śendpata Dharasena (I.), a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēṣvarā,—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.

(L. 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 Drūnasima, like unto a lion, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēṣvarā,—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 besprinkling 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.

(L. 6.)—His younger brother (was) the illustrious Mahārāja Dhruvasena (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.

(L. 8.)—His younger brother, whose sins were all washed away by doing obeisance to the waterlilies that were his feet, (was) the illustrious Mahārāja Dharpatta, 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.

(L. 10.)—His son, who acquired an increase of religious merit by doing service to his feet, was the illustrious Mahārāja Vinaśena, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēṣvarā,—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 suitable the 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. 303) was—"(in the lineage) of the Maitrakas, who by force compelled their enemies to bow down before them, there was Bhajárka, 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."
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 strength, surpassed (respectively) the (god) Smara, the moon, (Himalaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Brihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, and (the god) Dhanesha; 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) Jahnati 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) habitation 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 Mahdrdya, the illustrious Dharasena (II.), a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahesvara, who, being in good health, issues a command to all the Ayuktakas,1 Viniyuktakas,2 Drangikas,3 Mahattaras,4 irregular and regular troops, Dhrvaddhika-

1 pdda-charin, lit. 'moving on feet or legs;' see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's translation of line 7 of the grant of Dharanesa IV. of the year 326 (J. Ant. Vol. I. p. 14.)

2 The abhidharmik gundh are explained by Kamandaka in the Nitisdra, iv. vv. 6 to 8 (Calcutta edition, p. 78), as quoted by V. N. Mandlik in the 'Jour. Br. R. A. 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 parikshobha; other grants, drafted from the same form, and also No. 39 below, line 10, give paribhadha, '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, Ayuktaka, we may compare the expression ayuktapuruṣa in line 26 of the Allababdd pillar inscription, No. 1, page 8 above.

5 Viniyuktaka; compare the use of nitya, 'to appoint; to commission,' in line 9 of the Junagadh rock inscription, No. 14 above, page 59; also compare tan-nayakta in line 76 of No. 39 below, Plate xxv.

6 Drangika; other forms are drangika (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 205, line 14; where, however, it may be a mistake for drangika), and drägäin (id. Vol. IV. p. 105, line 15). The present form, drangika, occurs again in id. Vol. IV. p. 175, line 6; and, in line 10 of the same grant, we have dranga, which is the origin of these terms, in Mapallaldranga. Dr. Bühler, in the places quoted, proposed to render dranga by 'township,' and drägäikä, &c., by 'heads of towns;' and Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives dranga as meaning 'a town, a city.'

7 Mahattaras 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 adjectival formation, Mahattama, used in the same technical way.
ranikas,^  Dândapāsikā,^  Rdjasthāntyas, Kumārdmātyas, and others, according as they are concerned;—

(L. 21)—"Be it known to you, that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents, and in order that I myself may obtain the reward that is wished for both in this world and in the next, there is given by me, with libations of water, in accordance with the rule of bhūmichchhidra, to the Brāhmaṇ Rudrabhatti, an inhabitant of Unnata, (a student) of the Vājrasanēyi-Kavya (śāhā), and a member of the Vatsa gṛha,—for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites of the bali, charu, vaisvādeva, agnisthūtra, and atithi; to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth; (and) to be enjoyed by the succession of (his) sons and sons’ sons,—at (the village of) Antaratrā, in the common-land^ called Śivakapadraka, one hundred pddavartas (of land), (known as) the holding^ of Vrasnendanantika; (and) fifteen pddavartas on the west of this; also, in the western boundary, one hundred pddavartas, increased by the twentieth,^ (known as) the holding of Skambhasēna, (and) ten pddavartas in the eastern boundary;—in the village of Domghigrama, in the eastern boundary, ninety pddavartas, (known as) the holding of Vardhaki;—in the village of Vajragrama, in the western boundary, one hundred pddavartas in the highest part^ of the village, (and) an irrigation-well with an area of twenty-eight pddavartas, (known as) the holding of the Mahāttara Vikidinna;^ (and) in the common-land called Bhumbhusapadraka, one hundred pddavartas, (known as) the holding of the cultivator Bōtaka, and an irrigation-well;—(the whole of) this (being given) together with the udranga and the upākara; with the vāta,^ bhūta, grain, gold, and ādēya; with (the right to) forced labour as the occasion for

1 Dhrwaddhikaraniya; 'one who has the superintendence of the Dhrwas.'—Dhrwas has been explained by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 205) as being still used in Kāthiāwār and Kachch to denote 'a person who, on the part of a Rāja, superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue.'

2 Dândapāsika, or dandapāsika, is explained by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'one who holds the fetters or noose of punishment; a policeman.'

3 pādra seems to be a fuller form of pāra, 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 pādr, 'a grazing-place.'

I do not know what authority he has for this meaning. But, in H. H. Wilson's Glossary of Indic Terms, pādar (i.e. pādr) is explained by 'common-land, land adjacent to a village left un-cultivated.'

And this seems more likely to be the correct meaning.

4 pddavarta, 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 pddavartas' 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 pratydya occurs.

6 i.e. 'one hundred and twenty pddavartas.'

7 ikkara; lit. 'peak, top, summit.'

8 See page 166 above, note 6.

9 The meaning of vāta, bhūta, and ādēya, is not apparent.—vāta is derived either from vā, 'to blow,' or from vai, 'to become dried or withered;' compare dōvita in line 14 f. of No. 31 above, page 137.—bhūta is the past participle of bhd, 'to be, to become;' but no suitable meaning suggests itself.—ādēya seems to mean either 'that which is to be given,' from ḍ with in composition with ḍ, 'to give;' or 'that which is to be cut, reaped, or mown,' from ḍ with ḍ. But it is possible that, instead of the prefix ḍ, we have the negative particle ḍ, 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."

(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 Brâhman, (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 sins, who may confiscate this (grant), or assent to its confiscation."

(L. 32.)—And it has been said by the venerable Vyása, the arranger of the Vedas:—

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 Yudhisthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (or truly) the preservation (of a grant) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagarâ; 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 Sândhiivigrâhika Skandabhâta. (This is) the sign-manual of me, the Mahârdâja, the illustrious Dharasêna. The Dâtaka (is) Chirbira. The year 200 (and) 50 (and) 2; (the month) Vaiśâkha; the dark fortnight; (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

No. 39; PLATE XXV.

ALINA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SILADITYA VII.

THE YEAR 447.

This inscription was discovered by Mr. Hariwallah, Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector, Kaira and Broach; and was first brought to notice in 1878, in the Indian Antiquary, 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, Alinâ or Aliâ, a village about fourteen miles north-east of Nadiâd, the chief town of the Nadiâd Talukâ or Sub-Division of the Kaira (Khêda) District in Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency.
When they first came to light, they had been lying for some time in a merchant’s shop at Allnâ. 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' 2½" by 1' 1⅞", and the second, which is rather irregular in shape, about 1' 3½" by 1' 0⅞". The edges of them were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surfaces; with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as **rim**s 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. 3½ oz. — The **size** of the letters varies from ⅛ to ⅜". The **characters** belong to the southern class of **alphets**; they are a later development of the type of those of the preceding grant of the *Maulâra* Dharasîna II. of the year 252, No. 58 above, page 164, and Plate xxiv., and illustrate what may be called the Saurashṭra or Kâthiâwâd alphabet of the eighth century A.D. They include, from northern sources, a separate form of the lingual *d*, as distinct from the dental *d*, e.g. in *chudd*, line 4; also the rather rare lingual *dh* in *adudha*, line 11, and *samud̄da*, line 56. They also include, in line 78, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 5, 7, 40, and 400. — 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 anuvôdra, before *i*, in *vanta*, lines 45 and 62, and *nîstra*, line 51; (2) the use of *singha* for *vinhâ* in line 56; (3) the use, once, of the dental nasal, instead of the anuvôdra, before *s*, in *ansa*, line 11; (4) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *vikhrâma*, line 11; and once in conjunction with a following *r*, a very exceptional occurrence, in *prakrîti*, line 26-27; and (5) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, lines 10, 14, 19, 23, 50, 53, 54-55, and 58.

The inscription is one of *Śîlāditya VII.*, who also had the title of *DhrâbhatAndhrâbhatî*, *i.e.* Dhruvabhâtî, of the family of the *Kings of Valabhi*; and the charter recorded

---

1 As pointed out by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 80*), Dhruvabhâtî 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 *Dhrâ* was no doubt at that time, just as now, the vernacular Gujarât form of *Dhruva*, especially in its meaning. In Kâthiâwâd and Kachch (*id.* Vol. V. p. 205), as a technical official title denoting *persons who, on the part of the Rîjâ, 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 Rîjâ, 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. 566-67), on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēṣṭha (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by Silāditya VII. himself, to a Brahman, for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and other rites, of the village of Mahilabhāli or Mahilābali in the Uppalabhadha pathaka in the Khētaka dhāra.

Of the places mentioned in this grant, Khētaka is of course the modern Khēdā or Kaira itself. Uppalabhadha is evidently the modern Uplēt or Uplētā, in the Thāsra Tahukā, about thirty-five miles almost due east of Kaira. And Anandapura must be the modern Ānand, the chief town of the Anand Tahukā, about twenty-one miles southeast of Kaira.

TEXT:

First Plate.


7 māhēṣvarah śṛ- Guhasēnaḥ [II*] | Tasya sutah tat-pāda-nakha-[mauykha].-
śatā-viśr̥ja:[1a] āhāvij-jal-augha-prakshālīt-dēśa-kalmaṇaḥ | prapaṣ- 
śata-sa-
8 has-opajyuvāma-sampad-rūpa-lōhbhād-[y-ā]'ṣṛ(ṣi) ṭaḥ | sarabhaḥ(ha)sam-abhi-
smākaḥ | gunaḥ sahaja-saktiḥ-sīkṣā-viśeṣa-viṃṃapita-labhaḥ-dhanuḥ-
dhāraḥ | prathama-[na].-
9 rapati-samatiṣṭhānān-anupālayīta | dhammā[da-yā]nāṁ-api(pā) kartā praj-
opagāhā-kāriṇān upapāvanām | samavaitā | śṛ-sarasvatvāry-ek-ādhivāsasya-
10 ksha-lakṣhṇa-paribhoga-dakṣa-vikramaḥ | vikram-āpama-sāmp[r]āptā-vimala-
pārthiva-ṣṛt śaramamaḥēṣvarah śṛ- Dharasēnaḥ [II*] | Tasya sutah 
tat-pāda-anuddhyātāh | sakala-jaγ-ānandān-ātyā(ya) ddhu-
ta-guna-samudra'-'sthagita-samagra-dīgmanḍalat 
samāra-śata-viṣayā-sōbhā 
śanātha-maṇḍalā-ga-ṛ[y][u] ti-bhāsur -ānsa-puth-avyāt(ā)[d]ha | guru- maṇorātha-
maḥābhāva(rā)= sarvā-vidyā-pāra-parama-
12 bhāg-ādhigama-vimala-mātr-āpi svā |
svayā(chha)-rit-atīṣaya-suvyakta-parama-
13 kalyāṇa-svabhāvah | kh[i]* lībhitā-Kṛitayauga-nipati-patha-viṣṭodhan-ādhiṣṭat-ādāgra-
ktṛtiḥ dharmm-ānugā(ṛḥ)d-a(ā)jj[i]* jalatarikārt-ārthāa | sukha-sa[m] pad-ul[p]a*
sēva-nirahāda'h | Varjāmadītya[10*]vi(dvi)tya-nāmā 
p[ā]pa ramam[a*]bh[e*]sva raḥ grt[ṛ] | G[ṛ] (ā)(ā)[l]ādīdītyah [II*] | Tasya sutah tat-
pāda-anuddhyātāh svayav(m)-Upēndra-gurum-epa(ya) gurub | gurun-
ātyadāravaṭ samabhisahmyātām[14*] api rāja-lakṣmī[11*] 
15 skandh-āsakt[ām] parama-bhadrāṇāṃ | dhub[r]līyase-tad-śi[i]kṣ[a]siṃs[ā]*lōpaṇ-
a(ā)i)-ka-rasatay-ōdvahana[na] | kṛṣṇa-sukharathībhyaṃ | aprahya-sattva[1*] | 
saṃpaṭti[b*] prabhāva-sa[sa]mpad-vā(ṣa) | krisṇa-nipati-śata-śirṣ-
6 ranā(ṇa)-vṇa(chchha)'yopatga(dha)-pādap[ti]-pi | param-āvaṇī[9]*-abhīmāna-
śahā[9]*-anāśrī[9]*-aṇaṇa-vṛtiḥ prapaṭṭrōtā[9] | paṛīṣya prakhyāta-
pauruṣ-ābhimānāīr-(绦)[a]py-(a)rāṭ招投标-anāśa[9]*
prasabha-vigahita-sakala-Kali-vilas[i*]ta-gatir-mattra[2*] jan-abhidṛṛ(ṛḥ)bhirbh-
āśashaiḥ[2*] dōśhar-anāṃpi-

1 Read śakti.
2 Read vīṃṃapita-svavā, or vīṃṃapīt-ākha.
3 Here, and after samavā 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 anusvāra (except that it is not in the proper place for the anusvāra), or half a visarga.
4 Read darśi.
5 Read dāpasampṛpta, or dākarama-sampṛpta.
6 Read asvādaya.
7 Read sukha.
8 Read nirūṣha.
9 Read dharmmādītya.
10 This visarga is imperfect, only the lower part being engraved.
11 Read sām-śudya;
12 Read 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 other grants also (e. g. Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 149, line 17, and Vol. VII. p. 74, line 18.)
13 Omit this word.
14 Read samabhilāsahāvyām.
15 Read paramabhadra tvā.
16 Read ras.
17 Read ṭrāvānum.
18 Read parāvajā.
19 Read pratikrītya.
20 Read nīcha.
21 Read dāshīh.
svayam-atispashta-chēṣhtam-āśiṣh-āṅgayaḥ [tṛ-]atiruchātara-charita-garima-pankalita-sakala-na-rap[a][i]-ati-
41 prakrṣit- ānurāga - [sa]raḥbhāsa - vaśkṛita - prañāta - sāmaśā - sāmanta - chakra-
chāḍānapī-ñayokha-[ka]chita-charapa[kma]-yugalaḥ] prōddām-(ādāra)-
dō-[rddanḍa]-dalia-dvishad-vac-
42 rgga-darppaḥ prasarpita-pratyāḥ-prātāpa-ḥōśh-dāśa-satu-[vā]m[*]sah pranayi-
paksah-[ni]-[kṣipta]-lakshmikaḥ prērīta-gaṇ-ōtkṣī[pt]-pa-su-[dārāna]-cha[kra]h pariḥṛita-
43 [bala-kṛt]dō-anadahaktṛita-dvijātir-ēkā-vikrama - prastādhita - dharirītālō - nām-yuktṛita-
 jalāsaya[dv-pūrvva-purushottama]mah [sākṣhād-dharmma iva samyag-
yyā]vastḥa-
44 pita-varop-āśram-ācāraḥ pūrvvaiy-[ap]-urvv[i]v(vv) [patibhiḥ trīṣṇa]a-[lava]-[lubhdi]aḥ
yāny-apaḥrit[i]-ni dēva-brahma]-[d][ē]y[ni tē]uṣm-apy-[a]tisaralā]-manah-
pra-
45 [sa]ra-muṭ-sa[r]ka[la]-n-ānu-ma[n]ādhyāh parimudita-trī(ri)bhuvañ-ābhīnandita-
ōchchhṛit-ōtkṛṣṭa-haṭhava-ḍa[hma]-d[ha]-[vaj]a]h [prakāṣita-ni]-ja-van[a]-
d[ē]va-dvija-gura[n]-pratipōya yathārka[m]-ma-nanavarata-
46 pravartita - mah - ēḍra[n]g - [ā]di - dāna - vyavasan - ānupajata[sa] - samtōṣh - ōḍāra-
kṛttih[*-param]-para-[danturita[ni]-k[i]-a]i-dikakravālah [spashtam-eva
ya-ḥ-ṛttih[m Di]dharmaṃ[ytya]-
47 [dvṛ]-yā-nāma para [ma]ṃḥēśvarah sṛ-kuhagrahah [iit] Tasyāgra-
dhavali-s]a[kla]-[dīgma]pāda-
48 lasyā khaṇḍit-Aguru-[vi]-lēpana-viḍa[ś]-syāmala-Vindhya-[sa]i-va[pi]-[p]ayōdharayah
kṣi[tē]h pātyu]h sṛ-Śi[lādityasya] sōnu[m]-r[a]-prālēyakirāna iva
49 pratidina-saṃvāddhamāna-hrīdaya[ka]-kāla-chandra-[ka]vālaḥ [kesā]-[in]-[s]u[r]-iva
raja-lakṣmībhaḥ sakala[v-]a[n][wa]th[i]l-m-i y-ālānkkurvavyāh [śikha]ādiketana
iva ruchi[m]a-ma[na]-chūḍā]-ma[ṇḍana]-
50 prachanda-ṣakti-prabhāva[cha] śrād-āgama iva* dvishatām parama-

It is rather peculiar that the elder brother should be mentioned after the younger. The reading, agraj, 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.

*Read vyavasthān-āpajja, or vyavasīty-āpajja.
*Read ātṛti.
māhēśvarah paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajādhirāja-paramesvara-sṛt-bappa-pād-anuddhyātah paramabhaṭṭāraka-[mahāra]-

51 jādhirāja-paramesvarah sṛt-Silādityadēva] Tasya sutaḥ pāramāśrayya[h]


53 vihit-ātatparāh parama[māhē]*śvarah paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajādhirāja-paramesvara-sṛt-bappa-pād-anuddhyātah paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajādhirāja-paramesvara-sṛt-bappa-pād-

56 nuddhyātah paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajādhirāja-paramesvara-sṛt-Silāditya-dēva[h] [II*-] Tasya-ātma-jayah prajāṃṣita-(r?)pu(?) bala-darrpah vipulajaya-mamgal-āṣryah śrī-samālā[ga-lāli]-ta-


60 [-][j]ma(?) sukhah sukha-dāh sad-āiva jñān-dlaya[h]* sakalavandita-lōkapālo vidyādharaṁ-anugataḥ prathitoḥ pri[prī]thivyāḥ [II*] Ratn-ōj[ī]*valo vara-tanu-

1 Read bōva, in accordance with the grant of line 46 of the preceding text. After this, that of Śilāditya IV. of the year 372 (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 212; and Archiv. Ind. Soc. Vol. III. p. 99); with lines 45 and 46 of the two grants of Śilāditya V. of the year 403 (Journ. Br. Br. R. Asia Soc. Vol. XI. p. 345; and Indian Inscriptions, Nos. 15 and 16); and with the explanation that I give below, on the translation of this passage.—In line 51 of the grant of Śilāditya VI. of the year 441 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 20), the reading is bappa, as here, wrongly.—In line 51 of the grant of Śilāditya III. himself of the year 352 (Ed. Vol. XI. p. 309), the whole passage between paramamāhēśvarah and sṛt-Silāditya-dēva, including both the reference to bōva and his own regal titles, is omitted.

* Several words are omitted before this. The full reading is tasya subh-praśthā,-nimmāna-ayavāsya-didda-praratisvarvyaḥ. A Read cāḍāmanta-mayukha. B Read prajāta-prabhāda. C Read dirśa. D Read paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajādhirāja.

* This epithet is repeated unnecessarily, as we have already had it in the preceding line.

* Metre, Vasantaśākaka; add in the following three verses.
61 [r-ggu]pa-ratna-rāśiḥ aśvavrya-vikrama-guṇaḥ paramām-upetāḥ sat[1*]y-

opedakāra-karapē satatām pravrittaḥ s[2*]kṣa[3*]ja- [1*]sān[4*]rddanāḥ (na) iy-

ārddita-dushta-darppah [1*] [1*]

62 • Yuddhāḥ1 sakrid-gā(ṣ)a-[1*]ha-ghaṭa-ghaṭam−aika−dakshaḥ puny-ālayo ji gita-

mahā-ḍaratāḥ rājaḍhīra-jā param[1*]śvara-vanṣa-jaṁmā śrī-Dhṛubhatō 
jayati jā-

63 ta-mahā-śramōdām*[1*] [Sa cha*] paramēśvarah* paramabhajantara-ka-mahārāja-

dhīrājā-pramēśvara-śrī-pa(ba)ppa-pap(di)-ānuddhyataḥ para (ra)mabhāttāra-

na (ka)− mahārāja−

dhīrāj- paramēśvara-śrī-Śi[lā]dityādēvāḥ sarvva-eva samājñāpayaty−Astu 
vah sanvīditaḥ[5*] yathā mayā m[6*]tātiprōc−ātmana−cha punya-yaśo-

bhivri-

66 ddhayē anihk-āmushmika-phal-āvāyita-artham śrīmad Ānandapuravāṣastavya-

tachchāturvidyasāmāmya. Ś[7*]kṣa[kṛ]tāhīkasagūtra (tra)− bahvichasabr的形象chāri-

bhāṭ-Ākhandalāmirīdyē ya bhaṭṭa-Vishnu-purāṇy bali-chara-vaishva-dēv-

āgниhītra-krau̲k̲i̲(k̲r̲i̲)y-ādy-utsarppan-āṭthē11 grī(śrī)-Khêta-k-thārē 

Uppalāhēta−

68 bhūga-bhūgaḥ sa-dhānya-hirany-āḍ[8*]yaḥ sarvva-rājakṛtyānāḥ a-hasta-

prakshōpāsyaḥ11 pūrva-pradatta-dōpadāya−prahmadaya-vartja[8*] bhūṭa (bhuṭ)mi-

chchhidra-nīyā[8*] n-a-chan(dr)-ā[5*]kk-k-

69 rūpaya-kṣiṭi-parvva-samakālīnāḥ putra-pautr-ānvyava-bhūgya uday(k)-

ātisarggēna brahmadāyatvēna pratipāda[9*] yato-bhy (sy)−ōchitāya 

brahmadā[ya-sth]-

70 tyā bhunjatāh kriṣhataḥ kārniḥpayataḥ pratidīṣatō va na kaiścid=

vyāśedēḥ varttītavya[9*]i[6*] Āgaṁ-bhadra-nri[9*]patibhiḥ a−

71 smad-vakhā-jaīr-anvaiy-va-a-nityānityāny[9*] aśvavryyany-ā-sthīra[9*] mānuiya-

(ṣhya)kan sāmyāṇaḥ ca bhūmi-dānam[10*] phalaṃ avagachchhadbhīḥ 

ayām−a−

72 smad-dāyō-numantavyaḥ pālayitavya−cha[11*] Uktan−cha pē(ve)da-

vyāsō[10*]a-sena Vyā[12*]stena [15*] Bahubhi[18*]−vyāsūrdāḥ bhukta rājabhiḥ 

Sagar-ādibhiḥ
73 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phala[m\*] 1(II) Yān\*tha
dattani purā nna(na) rendra i dhanāni dharmāya tanākriatāni
nirmālya-vāntat\*

74 prati[m\*]ni tāni kē(kō) nāma [sā]\* du[h\*] pratir-aḍādtaθa[\*] [II\*] Śhasaṭhī\* varva(rsha)-sahasranāṇī sva[r\*]gg[ē\*] tishtaṁi bhu(bhū) mañi-dāh
a(ā) chchhēttā chānumantā[ā\*] chchha(chha) tāñyā eva nara-

75 [kē va]sēt II Bhushv-aṭāvishv/awsa(tō) yāsava kōtara-vāsinaḥ krishn-
[ā\*] Hayō hi jāyantō(ntē) bhūmi-d[ā\*] yānaḥ hārantī y[e\*] II Dutakē\* tra
mahāpratīthī-

76 [ra]... h[ā\*] kshapaṁata-ka-tra-rājakula\*-[srī-Śiddhasēna[h\*] ] gri(sṛ)-Śarvaṭa-
sutah [I\*] tava(ta) tanniyaṅkta-pratinat takka-kulaputṛ-āsā(mā)-

77 tya-G[ūjēna] Hembata-putṛṇa likhitam\*-iiti II Sārcharv[a\*]sara-śata-
chatushtaye sapta-chatvāriṇād-adhikē Dyēptha\* sūdha-paṁchanmāyaṁ
anka-

78 ta[h\*] sama\* 400 40 7 Śrē(ṛyē) ṣēthā gu(śu) 5 [II\*] Sva-hastō
mama\* [II\*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From the victorious camp located at the famous town of Ananda-
pura.14—In unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvarā, 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) Mahēśvarā, 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;16 the test

---

14 Metre, Upājāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.
15 Read dyātanākṛitāni.
16 Read vaṇta.
17 Read punar=āḍāṅğa.
18 Metre, Śīkha (Anusupertā); and in the following verse.
19 Read vindhy-āṭāvishv.
20 Read āsuhū.
21 Read śukṣa.
22 Read ādattāb.
23 Two very doubtful akṣharas, or perhaps three, are engraved here. Dr. Bühler read them as srī-
dēa, giving the proper name of Dēṭaha. But we ought to have simply the ma of mahākṣe-
patālīka.
24 Read patālīka-rājakula. The tra is meaningless; and it is not easy to see how it came to be
introduced.
25 Supply taṇanām.
26 Read jyōṣṭhā.
27 Read saṁvata.
28 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.
29 The proper context is in line 64,—“The glorious Śilādityadēva (VII.) issues a command to all
people.”
30 See page 168 above, note 2.
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 traditionary laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and wealth, surpassed (respectively) the god Smara, the moon, (Himālaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Bṛhaspati) 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 Dhārasēṇa (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 Kharagṛha (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 amongheroes, 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) Maheshvara, 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) Maheshvara, the illustrious Dhruvasena (II), whose famous second name of bailadiya 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

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, Shiladitya I. and Kharagraha I., had some dispute about the leadership of their family; and that eventually Shiladitya 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 bailadiya, '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 packed 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 euphonic joining of letters and the analysis of words and composition, was thoroughly well versed even in both the rituals of sovereignty and of Šālavatulāya,² (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 guna³ and vriddhi⁴ 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 Paramabhaṭṭāraṇa, Mahāraja, Ṛṣabha, Paramēśvara, and Chakravarthin, 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 Śilādiṭya (I.),⁶ who was the (elder) brother of his father's father (Kharagraha I.), (and) who, was, as it were, (the god) Śāṅgara-

¹ The grammarian Pāṇini, as having been born in the town of Śākṣṭura. The play on words here rests on the ordinary and grammatical meanings of saṁdhī, vigraha, and the other terms employed.
² The formative change of ı, and ī, u and ē, ri and rī, and lī, into ē, ē, ar or ra and al.
³ The formative change of a, ı and ī, u and ē, ri and rī, into ē, ē, au, ar or rā, and ēī.
⁴ Chakravartin 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 Vishnus Purāṇa, book I. chap. xiii. verse 46 (see Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. I. p. 183, and note 1). viś. "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 are (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).
⁵ See page 176 above, note 5.
⁶ Mentioned in line 14 above.
⁷ I.e. of the father's father of the last-mentioned king, Dharasena IV.
pāpi,—(viz.) 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) Mandākinī, by the very dazzling lustre, proceeding from the water-liillies that were his feet,† of the jewels that were the nails of (his) feet; who, as if the very feet of Agastya, was a royal saint, displaying courtesy on all sides; who with the exceedingly 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 Vīndhyā for (its) lovely breasts, the nipples of which are (their) summits that are made of a dark-blue colour by the clouds (resting upon them),—the son* (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Dhruvasēna (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,3 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 gleaming bracelets and covered with beautiful insects and rays of jewels, was as 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. 37) — His elder brother (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Kharagrāha (II.), who, in a very clear and suitable manner, had the second name of Dharmadītya—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 faces of other kings; who surpassed all (other) kings by the greatness of (his) exceedingly brilliant achievements; who had the water-liillies 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 (insufficient) 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;† 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-

† i.e. the feet of Dharaśēna IV.
* See page 86 above, note 2.
3 See page 176 above, note 9.
* As being suitable for campaigns, and also for marriages, as indicated by the meaning of this sentence, in which para-bhusā means "his enemies’ daughters."
† The aquatic plant, Vallisneria Octandra.
* See page 177 above, note 1.
‡ In this and some of the following sentences, he is, through their secondary meanings, compared and contrasted with the god Viśnū.
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 Brāhmaṇs 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 Brāhmaṇs 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 udraṅga¹ 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 Śilāditya (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 colour like cakes of ointment made of pounded aloe-bark,—the son (was) the Paramahāṭāraka, Mahārājaḍhīrāja, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Śilādityadēva (III.),—who day by day increased (his) circle of accomplishments, like the new cold-rayed (moon) daily by day increasing (its) digits; who adored 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 Paramahāṭāraka, Mahārājaḍhīrāja, and Paramēśvara, (his) glorious uncle:⁴

(L. 51.)—His son (was) the Paramahāṭāraka, Mahārājaḍhīrāja, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Śilādityadēva (IV.),—[who achieved*] supreme lordship⁵ [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. 26), this Śilāditya, 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 Śilāditya VI., instead of Śilāditya 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 probability require that he should be duly numbered, quite as much as his grandfather and descendents of the same name.
⁴ See page 177 above, note 8.
⁵ Note.—See page 178 above, note 1, and page 186 below, note 1.
⁶ See page 178 above, note 2.—In this passage, Śilāditya 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) Maheshvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Paramahashtraka, Mahardidhraja, and Paramesvara, (his) glorious father.¹

¹ bappa.—This word has already occurred in line 50 above, where, however, it is a mistake for bhava, 'uncle.'—The word bhava, qualified by the paramount titles, in the epithet paramahashtraka-mahardidhraja-paramesvara-ird-bava-pdd-adrunyada, actually occurs (1) only in respect of the Paramahashtraka, Mahardidhraja, and Paramesvara Siddhitiya III., a most devout worshipper of the god Maheshvara (Siva), in line 46 of the grant of his son Siddhitiya IV. of the year 372 (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 212; and Arch. Surya. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 99), and in lines 45 and 46 respectively of the two grants of Siddhitiya V. of the year 403 (Jour. Be. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 343). No other instance of the use of bhava is known to me.—The word bappa is of far more frequent use. In the Valabhi grants it occurs, qualified by the same paramount titles, in paramahashtraka-mahardidhraja-paramesvara-ird-bappa-pdd-adrunyada, an epithet that is applied (9) here and in lines 54-55, 57-58, and 63 below, and in other grants as far as they go, to Siddhitiya IV. V. VI. and VII., each of whom came in direct succession after his father, and each of whom had the paramount titles of Paramahashtraka, Mahardidhraja, and Paramesvara, and was also a most devout worshipper of the god Maheshvara. Among the inscriptions of other families, the same expression, bappa-pdd-adrunyada, without any qualifying titles of bappa, is used as an epithet (3) of the Bhattraka and Mahardrja Sivadeva I. of Nerval (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 1-2); (4) of the Mahadidhrja Anusvarman of Nerval, who was also favoured by the feet of the god Pasupati, i.e. Siva (id. Vol. IX. p. 156, No. 6, line 2, and p. 170, No. 7, line 4-9); (5) of Jishugupta of Nerval, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Pasupati (id. Vol. IX. p. 171, No. 9, line 4, and p. 173, No. 10, line 6-7); and (6) of the Paramahashtraka and Mahardidhrja Sivadeva II. of Nerval, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Pasupati, and was a most devout worshipper of the god Maheshvara (id. Vol. IX. p. 174, No. 12, line 2, and p. 156, No. 13, line 2).—The same expression bappa-pdd-adrunyada, with the feudatory titles of Mahardrja and Bhattraka qualifying bappa, occurs in paramaravarta-bappa-bhattrakamahardrjai-ird-pdd-adrunyada, an epithet (7) of the Bhattraka and Mahardrja Vasantaasha of Nerval (id. Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3, line 1-2).—And finally, a compound of almost identical import, viz. bappa-pdd-bhakta, "devoted to the feet of bappa," occurs, with the title Bhattraka qualifying bappa, in the epithet bappa-bhattrakapdd-bhakta, which is applied (8) to the Pallava Mahardrja Sinhavarman II., who was a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat, i.e. the Divine One, or Vishnu (id. Vol. V. p. 155, line 13); (9) to the Veerti Mahardrja Vijayanandivarman, also a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. V. p. 175, line 1); and (10) to the Pallava Mahardrja Nandivarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. VIII. p. 168, line 14-15); and, with the further qualifying title of Mahardrja, in the epithet bappa-bhattrakamahardrjai-pdd-bhakta, which is applied (11) to the Pallava Yuvamahardrja Vishnuopavarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. V. p. 51, line 14).—In publishing the two grants of Siddhitiya V. of the year 403, Mr. V. N. Mandlik (Jour. Be. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 355, note) treated the words bappa and bhaka quite unnecessarily, as identical, and considered that they denoted "some great teacher of the Siva 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 Hindustan." So, also, Dr. Bhawangal's Indraji (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 paramesvara of the Siva faith in instances 1 to 6 above. But Nos. 8 to 11 show that it was applicable just as much to followers of the Vaishnavaya faith.—In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler (id. Vol. V. p. 208 f.) the feudatory title Mahardrja which qualifies bappa in Nos. 7 and 11 above, and, still more, the paramount sovereign titles of Paramahashtraka, Mahardidhrja, and Paramesvara, 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 bappa being a proper name, the word does occur in this way, as the name of an official, the Balahikrita 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-padhyata-vibhara, or "Buddhist monastery of the feet of Bappa," at Valabhi (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 12, line 19); in Bappapavina, one of the grantees in the Kshh grant of the Purivarajaka Mahardja Hustin, of the year 163 (No. 22 above, p. 103, line 11); in Bapparya, one of the grantees in line 53 of the Chamak grant of the Vakhjaka Mahardja Pravarasena II. (No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv. line 53); and in Bappabhati, a Jain teacher, allotted to Vikrama-Sahivat 800 to 895 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 253). The same word is probably a component of Bappadh, the name of the family to which, as recorded in an unpublished inscription of Mahagallika (Dynasties of the Kanaarese Districts, pp. 19, 22), Durlabhakdv, the wife of the Early Chalukya king Pulikeshi I., belonged. A similar word bappag, probably derived from it, occurs in Bappadeva, the name of a Sinvat in the Siwan grant of Pravarasena II. (No. 56 below, Plate xxxiv. line 35). And, finally, Bappa has been preserved by tradition, in 'Mewar,' as one of the most familiar appellations of a early Gahila chief, who is said to have established the power of that tribe on the overthrow of the Bhillas or Bhils (see Tod's Annals of Rajastha, chapter II., Calcutta Reprint, Vol. I. p. 238 ff.; see also pp. 121, 253, 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 Saiva or Vaisnavya 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 bappa vary in accordance with the titles of the persons to whom the epithet bappa-padd-daundhyad is applied; and it is fully borne out by the epithet 'jajaka-padd-daundhyad, which is applied only to Dharaesena 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 Dharaesena IV. himself of the year 330; probably on account of something in the official relations between Siddhita 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 Kanaarese, and ajd and ajd in Marathi, are the ordinary words for 'a grandfather' in the present day. And it is evident that ajjaka is the older Prakrit word, from which these have been derived. — On this analogy, bappa suggests itself at once as the old Prakrit form of the modern bdp, 'a father.' And now it becomes clear why the word is qualified by the paramount titles in its connection with the paramount sovereign Siddhita 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 qualification title at all, or only the feudatory titles Mahardja and Bhakfirdaka, as in the case of Vasantasena, Sinhavarman, Vijayanandivarman, Nandivarman, and Vishugpadvarman. The rule thus disclosed also shows why, in the case of Sivadeva II., himself a paramount sovereign, bappa has no qualifying term; for, in the way in which he is introduced in lines 11-12 of the Nepali inscription No. 15 (id. Vol. IX. p. 178; see also Vol. XIV. p. 348) shews that he brought in a new branch of the Takhur family, and that his father Narendradeva, even if he held the rank of Mahardja, was at least not a paramount sovereign. And the same rule explains why, in connection with the paramount sovereign Dharaesena IV., ajjaka is qualified by nothing more than the ordinary title ird; for, he himself was the first paramount sovereign in the family; and his grandfather, Kharagraha I., was at the best only a Mahardja. — The analogy of ajjaka and bappa now suffices fully to clear up the meaning of the word boda. It suggests at once that it is nothing but the older Prakrit word from which have been derived, with somewhat differing significations: in Marathi, boda, 'a term of respect-
splendour; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēṣvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārājaḍhīrīḍa, and Paramēṣvara, (his) glorious [father].

(L. 55.)—His son (was) the Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārājaḍhīrīḍa, and Paramēṣvara, the glorious Śīlādityadēva (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 Vishnu] who assumed the form of the man-lion; (and) 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) Mahēṣvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārājaḍhīrīḍa, and Paramēṣvara, (his) glorious father.

ful mention for a father or an elderly person; bhūn, a term of respectful mention for a Gōvā, Guru, father, or elderly person; and bhūr, a husband's brother, especially an elder brother; and in Kanarese, bāny, 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 bhūn, a husband or wife's elder brother, a maternal uncle's son (similarly, in every case, if older than one's self). Looking for its application in connection with Śīlāditya III., we note, in the first place, that the grants shew very clearly that his father Śīlāditya II. did not reign at all, which explains why the epithet boppa-pḍ-dānuḥdyāta 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 bhōva was used, here at least, to denote 'a male relative, of the same generation with a father,' or roughly 'an uncle,' and explains why bhōva is qualified here with the paramount titles. And the fact that, after the first adoption of this technical expression, the Valāthī succession was in each instance direct from father to son, explains why the expression bhōva-pḍ-dānuḥdyāta does not occur again.—In Kanarese, boppa appears in the form of boppa (marked in Sanderson's edition of Reeve's Kanarese Dictionary as a word common to most Hindi languages, in boppa-siṅga, 'the lion of (his) father,' an epithet applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Lalakshīdēva II., the son and successor of Kārtavīrya IV. (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 113, line 63-64). In confirmation of this I may quote, with the analogous introduction of terms of relationship, eyyana-siṅga, 'the lion of (his) father,' a title of the Śīlāhāra chieftain Gaṇḍarāditya of Kōlkāpur (Jour. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XIII. p. 3, line 21), and also of his son Vijayāditya (Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 105); māvana-siṅga, 'the lion of (his) father-in-law,' applied to the Daṇḍēyaka Kēśarādityadēva (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 106, line 17-18); eyyana-gandhikāraka, 'the choice elephant of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Daṇḍēyaka Smēvvarabhāṭṭa in the same inscription (id. line 11-12); eyyana-anakārā 'the warrior or champion of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Sinda chieftain Āchūgi II. (Jour. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 247, line 3); and bhōva-anakārā, 'the warrior or champion of (his) uncle or other relation of the same generation with his father,' applied to a Śīlāhāra chieftain named Gōṇidēva (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 16, line 49). Other similar titles, which help to explain the preceding, through the introduction of proper names instead of words of relationship, are Śōna-siṅga, 'the lion of Śōna,' applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Kārtavīrya II., the son and successor of Śōna I. (Jour. Br. R. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 213, line 7); Taiāna-siṅga, 'the lion of Taiā,' applied to the Kāḍambha chieftain Kṛttīvarman II. of Banawski, the son and successor of Taiā I. (Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 89); Taiāman-anakārā, 'the warrior or champion of Taiāmā,' applied to Kāḍādeva of the same family, the son and successor of Taiāmā (id. p. 86); and Gonkān-anakārā, 'the warrior or champion of Gonkā, and Gōṇhāna-siṅga, 'the lion of Gōṇhā,' applied to the Śīlāhāra chieftain Māraśīmha, the son and successor of Gonkā, and the nephew of Gōṇhā or Gōṇvālā 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 Hiranyakasīpū, 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 Dhruubhata,1 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 fortune; 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 (Vedas); 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) Janardana incarnate, humbles the pride of wicked people;—who is always most skillful 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 he2], the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahesvara, the Paramabhatitra, Mahardjadhiraja, and Paramesvara, the glorious Siladyadiva (VIL.), who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhatitra, Mahardjadhiraja, and Paramesvara, (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,3 in the Uppalahastra pathaka in the famous Khetaka dhera,—with the udranga (and) the uparikara; with (the right to) forced labour as the occasion arises; with the revenue of the bhata and vata;4 with (the fees for) the ten offences;5 with (its) enjoyments and shares; with the grain, and gold, and adhya;

---

1 See page 172 above, note 1.
2 Or perhaps Mahilabali, with the long vowel a in the third syllable.
3 See page 170 above, note 9.
4 sa-daiparpadahak.—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 Dharmaingesvara of Kashtadharpadhyaya, chapter ii. verse 19 ff., we have—Adattanam=apdhanam hma=ch=sav=aversatah II Para=dar=prasad ca kopyahan trividham smritam I parushyam=anjSham ca avai paiyunam =ch=spi sarvasatah II Asambaddha-pradpa=cha vaham vas=chutus=vidham I parasramavesu=abhikhydham manas=anshika-chintama=nam II Vitak=abhinivita=cha mame=cham trividham smritam I bShani dasa padhas kara tvam mama Jahnava II Daipar-papa-hara yasmi=jasad=Daipar-shriti,—"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 which that is not true, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the mind; do thou, O Jahnava (Ganga), take away these my ten sins; because thou takest away (these) ten sins, therefore art thou called "Daipahara."—These verses occur in connection with the Daipahara (popularly Dasar or Durah) a festival in honour of the river Ganges, held on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyeshtha.—So, also, in the Ashdhdagirdaya of Vagbhata, Sudrsthona, chapter i. verse 21 f. (Bombay edition of 1880, p. 39) we have, in only slightly different language,—Hind-sutya-mahakshama=paruunam =parush-vruttei I sanambihd-dhapa-syaphdham= abhidhyd drigviparyaram II Padah karm=iti daspadd kopa-nda=mahasata=tyajete; 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 Brāhmaṇ, in accordance with the rule of bhūmichohhidra,—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 Bhāṭja Akhandalāmitra, the son of the Bhāṭja Vishū, an inhabitant of the famous town of Anandapura, belonging to the community of Chaturvedīns of that (place), a member of the Śārkarakshi gōra, and a student of the Bahvricha (śākhā), for the maintenance of the rites of the bali, charu, vaisvādevat, agnihdrā, and atithi 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 Brāhmaṇ (and) cultivating (it), (or) causing it to be cultivated, or assigning (it to another).

(L. 70.)—"(And) Our gift should be asserted 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 asssents (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 Vindhyas mountains, destitute of water!

(L. 75.)—The Dīṭaka in this matter (is) the Mahāpratihāra, the Mahākṣapatalika, a member of the king's household, the illustrious Siddhasēna, the son of the illustrious Śārvatā; and (this charter) has been written by his deputy, the Pratinartaka, the high-born Amāṭya Guha, the son of Hembata, who was deputed by him (to write it).
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 40, PLATE XXVI.

(L. 77.)—In four centuries of years, increased by forty-seven; on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Jyēṣṭha; (or) in figures, the year 400 (and 40 (and) 7; (the month) Jyēṣṭha; 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,8 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 5\(\frac{3}{4}\) in by 2\(\frac{3}{4}\) in 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 1\(\frac{3}{8}\) in 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 3'' in diameter; and, like the seal of the Rāypur grant of Māhā-Sudēvaraja, 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 Lākṣmē
facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant standing on a water-lily, 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 sankha 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 3\(\frac{1}{8}\)''

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.

8 The 'Airing and Arang' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21° 12' N.; Long. 82°
1' E.—Gen. Cunningham was first informed (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 55) that the plates
were found at Ārāṅi (see page 192 below, and note 4); then (id. p. 59), that they were actually
obtained at Rāypur, but were most probably found at Āraṅgi; and finally (id. Preface, p. iii.),
that they were found at Āraṅgi.

8 The 'Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor,' 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 chāḍ̪ṭ̪a, 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 i; see, for instance, sīmantī, line 2, and rāṣṭ̪rīya, line 4; the burr of the copper, raised in the process of engraving, gives in a few places, in the ink-impresion and consequently in the lithograph, a faint mark, very similar to this, inside the short i proper, e.g. in bhāmpī, line 17; 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 5 and 20.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imperative verses in lines 13 to 23, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihādamātya and upadhāmarṣya, in yah-kāṭ̪hchanam, line 18; and pradāh k-paraśa, line 3, and dhiyāh-pravadan̄nī, line 14; (2) a constant use of the anusvāra, instead of the dental n, and the doubling of ī after it, e.g. in sīmantī, line 1; udākāmarṣya, line 17; and bhavami, line 18; (3) the doubling of v after the anusvāra, in samvatsara, line 24; (4) the insertion of a superfluous anusvāra, in prasammana, line 1 of the seal; t̪hmabhūhair, line 1-2; kutummbin̄ah, line 5; and pravadan̄nī, line 14; (5) the doubling of ṝ, in conjunction with a following r, in vikram-akṣardānt̄a, line a of the seal, and vikrama, line 1; (6) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyāta, line 4; (7) the introduction of a superfluous sibilant, in pradāh k-paraśa, line 3; anudhyāta ś-cr̪ī, line 4; and kutummbin̄ah s-samajñāpayati, line 5; and (8) the use of singha for śin̄ha, line 24, and of t̪m̄bra for t̪m̄ra, 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 Śarabhapura. 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 Mārgasīra (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 Pārvarāśтра or Eastern Country.¹

As regards the town of Śarabhapura, whence the charter was issued, General Cunningham¹ has suggested—in the first place, that, by elision of the initial ś, it may, through the forms of 'Arabhpura' and 'Arbi,' be represented by the modern Arvi, the chief town of the Arvi Taḥsīl 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-  

¹So called, perhaps, from 'ś' lying on the east of the range of mountains, identified by Gen. Cunningham with the Mēkala mountains, which commences near 'Amarkantak,' runs to the south, passing about half-way between Nāgpur and Rāypur, and then, near 'Wairagarh,' takes a sharp turn to the east, and comes to an end about sixty miles south-east of Rājim.


³The '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 Rāypur.
Svasti ṭīripu*vaśi-kara-visarjjita-vad vAsi-kututnhi

Viditam»astu

The Seal.

a Prasāmnaśa[h][r]ada[yasya]āiva vikram-ākkṛt[a]m]ita-vidvisha[h]

b śṛmatā Jāyārājasya śása[naṃ] ripu-śasanān [II*]

First Plate.

1 Svari Śarabhapurat d-vikram-ōpanata-sāmaṃtta-chuḍāmap[i]-prabhā-prasēk-

āmt-

2 mbubhir=dhō(duh)ta-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsinīl-sīmamttō-ōddharaṇa-hētu-

3 r=vasu-vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ ħ-parama'b'hāgavato mātāpitrī-pā-

4 d-ānudhāytāḥ ś-sīrtē-Mahā-Jāyārājāḥ Pūrvarāṣṭriya-Pamvāṃ-prati-

5 vāsi-kutumâmbi'nah s=sam[ā]jñātāpayati i Viditam-astu vō yath=ā-

Second Plate: First Side.

6 smābhir=ayam grāma-1 s=trīdasāpati-sadana-sukha-pratisṭhā-akārō yāva-

7 d-ravi-śāsi-tārā-kirāṇa-prathitata-gōhṛ-āndhakārām jaga[d=a]vatsītḥatē

8 tāvad = upabhōgyas = sa = nidhis = s = ōpanidhir = a = chāta = bhaṭa = prāvēṣyas = sa

9 rva-kara-visarjitāḥ Vāji[ja]sanēya-Kaundīnyasagotraḥ Brahmaṇdēva-

10 svāmine II(I)14 mātāpitrōr-ātmanaḥ-cha puny-c(ā)bhipr[d]hayē II(I) udaka-

pūrva[rīn]*

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 Rāypur.

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 prasāmna.

4 Metre, Ślokā (Anuśuubhū).  

5 Read purā=viṣkram.—The ṭō of purā is so small and shallow, that it plainly was only inserted as an afterthought. It is quite superfluous; since its representative by sanēḥi, viz. d, had already been duly engraved in conjunction with the following vi.

6 Read dmbubhir, or ṭāmbubhir.

7 Read pradāḥ=paraḥ, or pradāḥ paraḥ.

8 Read ḫudidyatī=irī, or ḫudidyātāḥ irī.

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 pamvūraṁ pratīvīṣṭi.

10 Read kusūmbi, or kṣusūmbi.  

11 Read nas=saṃ, or naḥ sam.

12 Read grāmas, expunging the mark of punctuation.

13 Read sagōtra-brahma.

14 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, formed in the same way, and impossible to be mistaken for anything else, in lines 5 and 6, and 22 below, and in lines 5, 15, 16, and 17, of No. 41, page 198 below.
TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of the illustrious Jayarāja,—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 Sarabhapura, the illustrious Mahā-Jayarāja,—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
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 mediates on the feet of (his) parents,—issues a command to the cultivators residing at (the village of) Pámä 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 Ourselves, to Brähmadêvasvâtman, of the Vâjasanêya (ṭâkha) and the Kauṇḍinya gadra,—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.

(–L. 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."

(L. 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 Brähmaṇ of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also."

(L. 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) Vīshṇu; 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 Yuddhisṭhira, 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)!

(L. 23.)—At the command of (Mahā-)Jayarâja's own mouth, (this charter) has been engraved by Achalasingha, (in) the year 5 of increasing victory, (in) (the month) Mārgaśira, (on the day) 20 (and) 5.

---

1 Dr. Hultsch (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 239, note 46) has explained this, by saying that, "according to the Naiyâyikas" or followers of the Nyâya philosophy, "gold consists of fire (tējus)."

2 This is the customary reading. In line 39 of the Kârêpâtan grant of the Śilâha chieftain Râṣṭrâja of Śaka-Sanjvat 930 (Jour. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. I. p. 218) the reading is dyauk, 'the sky;' instead of bhâk, 'the earth;' but I know of no other instance of this variation.

3 Or, perhaps, "the earth (is) Vaishnavi (the personification of the sakti or female energy of Vīshṇu)."

4 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. 111 f.)

5 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 Śûrya, 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 Pitris 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 Raypur, the chief town of the Raypur 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 shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew 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 ¼" 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 Arāng grant of Mahā-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 Lākshmi, facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant, standing on a water-lily, with its trunk lifted up over her head, to pour water over her; in the proper right corner, an expanded water-lily, on its stalk; and, in the proper left corner, a śankha 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. 7¼ 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 Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi. The most noticeable difference is in the formation of the superscript long vowel ो; the stroke, similar to an anusvāra, which distinguishes it from the short i, 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, vīlasīnī, line 2, and rākṣābhyā, line 4. The separate sign for the lingual ılan, as distinct from the dental d, occurs in chāḍā, line 1.

1 The '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 *auṣpamanyava*, line 10. And forms of the numerical symbols 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 benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 15 to 24, is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in *atiyijshaka*, line 11-12, 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 *jihvdśūlīya* and *upadhūdīya*, in *yah-kākṣhamaḥ*, line 20; *visarṣijitah-bhūtάya*, line 9; *pradāh-paraṃa*, line 3; and *dhiyāh-pravadaṃnti*, line 16; (2) the doubling of *v*, after the anusvāra, in *sahvavatara*, line 24; (3) the insertion of a superfluous *anusvāra*, once only, in *pravadaṃnti*, line 16; (4) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkrama*, line 1; (5) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 4; and (6) the use of *siṅgha* for *siṁha*, line 28, and of *tāmbra* 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-Jayārāja, from the town of *Śarabhāpura*. The occasion of its issue was the *uttarāyuṇa*, 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-sectaian 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 *Pārvarāśṭra* or Eastern Country.

**TEXT.**

The Seal.

a Prasanna-hṛdayasya-aiva vikram-ākṛṣṭanta-viḍvīṣhaḥ
b śrutat-Sudēvārājasya śāsanaṃ riṇu-śāsanaṃ [II*]

First Plate.

1 Om Svasti Śarabhāpurād-vikram-āpanata-sāṃanta-makuta-chudā-manipraha-prasēk-āmbu-dhūj(dhau)ta-pāda-yugalō
2 ripu-vilāsinī-slīmant-oddha-
3 rāga-hētur-vasva-vasudhā-gō-pradāh*-paramabhaṅgavatō mātāpiśri-

1 The symbol for the day may 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 Dēvanāgarī 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. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table in the *Ind. Ant. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 44 f.

* From the original plates.

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.

* Metre, Śūkta (Anuṣṭubh).

The lithograph in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. Plate xxvi. shows *śrī-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.

* Here, and in line 16 below, the *jihvdūlīya*, 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*.  
Pád-ánuddhyātaś-srī-Mahā-Sudēvārājāḥ
Pūrvarāṣṭriya-Śrīśāhi-
kāyām
prativāśi-kuṭumbinām-samājītāpayati
Viśdī maśtu. vO
yath-āsmābhīr-ayam
grāmas-trī(tri) daśapati-sadana-sukha-pratishṭ-aka-

Second Plate; First Side.

rō yāvad-ravi-śaśī; tārā-kīraṇa-pratihata-ghūr-andhakāraṁ,
jagad-ava-
sarva - kara - visarjītah - Kō(kau)ṇḍinayasagōtra - Vājasaṇēya - Savit[ṛ*] -
svāma [A*]tmlyā-kanyā-pradāṇē[na*] Aupamanyava-[Va*]tasagōtra yāṁ-
trō[h*] Nāgavatsavāmi-Bandhuvatsavāminī-ṛtāma(mra)-aśanān-āti-
stri(srī)ṣhtāko bhūtv-āsmābhīr-apy-uttarāyanē mātāpitṛr-ātmanaś-cha

Second Plate; Second Side.
punya-ē(ā)bhiruddhaya-numōdītaḥ [I*] Tē yūyam-ēvam-upalabhy-asy-ajitā-śra-
va-pidēhyā bhūtvā yath-ōchitaḥ bhūga-bhāgam-upamupanayantā[su-
ḫaṁ prativaṣṭyaṭha [I*] Bhavishyataś-cha bhumīpā[n-ā*]nudarāyati

Dānād-avisishta-

m-anupālana-jaṁ purāṇē(nā) ddha(dha)rmēshu nischiita-dhiyāḥ-pravadaṃntī
dharmanā i tasmā-

d-[d*]vijaya suśuśdha-kula-śrutāya dattāṁ bhuvāṁ bhavatu vO matir-
ēva gūptam [I*] Ta-

d-bhavadbhīr-apy-ēśhā dattīr-anupālayitavyā [I*] Vyāsa-gltā[ṃ*]ā-ch-ātra
silōkān-udāharanī [I*]

Third Plate; First Side.
agnēr-apatyam prathamāṁ suvarṇa[m*] bhūr-vaśivanaś sūryya-
sutāṁ-cha gāva[h*] dattā-

s-trayas-tena bhavanti lōkā yah-kāṇchanaṁ gān-cha mahiṁ-cha
dadyāt [I*] Shashī[†]-va-

rsha-sahasrañi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhitā ch-ānumanta
ta tāny-ē-

va na[ra*]kē vasēt [I*] Bahubhīr-vvasudhā dattā rājabhi[h*] Sagar-
adibhiḥ yasya

yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [I*] Sva-dattā[ṃ*] para-
dattā[m] [vā*] ya-

tnād-rakṣa Yudhishtīra mahī[ṃ*] mahimatā[m*] śreṣṭha dānāḥ-chhrēyō-

nūpāla[†].

1 Before this word, yāmadvī, 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 Savitrisodmina dimīya-kanyā-pradāṇēṇa yāmātrīr-Aupamanyava-Vatsasagīr-Nāgavatsavāmi &c.

2 Before this trō mi was engraved, and then cancelled; and ba seems to have been engraved and cancelled in the place where the trō stands.

3 Over this visarga, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here; vis.

the passage commencing with asminnē-ēva grāmā, in lines 25 and 26 below.

4 Read upalabhy-aśayōṛ-ōjṛā. 6 Read bhūgam-upamanyas.

5 Metre, Vasantatilaka. 7 Read pravadantī, or pravadanti.

6 First si was engraved, and then s was added, without the i being sufficiently cancelled.

8 Metre, Indravajrā. 9 Metre, Śūkṣa (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.

10 Read mahīm.

11 The proper context is lanam-iti, in line 27.
Third Plate; Second Side.

25 Asmin[an]eva grāmε pūrvα-tāṭākasya paryayattaḥ(dr) bhumi-vapra-baddha Śrī-
26 vāpiκα panthānam yāvaj-jā(jye)ṣṭhaḥ iti kṛtvā Naγa[va]tsavāminē grām-
ārddhasya-adhiṃkā dattā
27 lanam-iti II Sva-mukhibājyā prayardhamāṇa-vijaya-śanvivatsara 10
Māgha 9

ukt[āḥ] anta[ḥ] Drṇāsīnghā(āghē)na [IIa]

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.

Om! Hail! From the town of Sarabhapura, the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja,—
whose two feet are purified by the waters which are the flowing forth of the radian
cle 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 Śristhikā 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 Naγavatsavāmin and Bandhuvatsa-
vāmin, of the Aupamanyāvā (ṣākṣa) and the Vatsa gōtra, who, by the gift in marriage of
his daughters, are the sons-in-law of Savitrisvāmin of the Kaupḍinya gōtra and the Vājasa-
néya (ṣākṣa); 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 va, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here,
or, more properly, before the śrī; viz. grāmārd̘dhasya-adhiṃkā, from the end of the line.—
The reading intended in these two lines was—Asmin[an]eva grāmε pūrvα-tāṭākasya paryanta-
abhumi-vapra-baddha grāmārd̘dhasya-adhiṃkā Śrīvāpiκα panthānam yāvaj-jyeṣṭhaḥ iti kṛtvā Naγa-
vatsavāminē dattā. And this passage should properly have been inserted after anumāditaḥ, 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 dhi dattā, which are placed between the lines, below minē.

* This is the proper context of nupē, at the end of line 24.

* Supply śrīsanam.

* 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 104."
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 Brāhmaṇ 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 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 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!"

(L. 25.)—In this same village, the irrigation-well called Śṛṭvāpikā, constructed within the mound on the land that skirts the eastern tank, (and) extending up to the road, is given to Nāgavatsasavāmin, in excess of (his exact) half of the village, because he is the elder.

(L. 27.)—At the command of (Mahā-Sudēvarāja's) own mouth, (in) the year 10 of increasing victory, (in) (the month) Māgha, (on the day) 9, (this charter) has been engraved by Drōnasīṅgha.

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 Archæol. 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 lalā Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from a transcript of the original, in modern Dēvanāgarī characters, which Major Kittoe had given to General Cunningham in 1850.—In 1882, in the Archæol. 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 Hashkagupta, as read by Major Kittoe.—And in 1883, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI. p. 79, he further notified that Dr. Bhagwanḍā Indraji, apparently in a letter to him, had indicated that
the name of Isānāvarman should be substituted, in line 7, for the Sāntavarman of Major Kittoe's transcript.

Aphsad or Apsand, also called Jāfarpur, is a village near the right bank of the Sakari river, about fifteen miles towards the north-east of Nawadā, the chief town of the Nawadā Sub-Division of the Gaya 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 Varaḥa" in Aphsad. According to the local statement, Major Kittoe removed the stone to Nawadā; 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 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' 5½" high, with a corresponding rim from 3½" 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 Mādhavagupta and Harshadēvā, i.e. Harshvardhana 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 shewn 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 1½" to 1½". 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 Kuṭilā has come to be attached, in consequence of the upright strokes having at the bottom a small tail which is 'crooked, curved, or bent' (kuṭilā) to the right. The term Kuṭilā actually occurs in the 'Dewal,' inscription of (Vikrama)-Sahvat 1049; in the last line of which it is recorded that "this (eulogy) has been written by the scribe Takshādīya, —(a native of) the (country of) Gauḍa; and the son of Vishvuhari,—who is well acquainted with the curved letters." The term used here for "curved letters" is kuṭilā-dikshārdni. 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 vihkāt-dikshārd, "(an eulogy) in beautiful letters," is used in that way in line 27 of the present inscription; and ruchir-dikshāra-panktibihk, "(this eulogy has been engraved) in lines of pleasing letters," in line 27 of an inscription in the Provincial Museum at Nagpur; and sad-aurṇā, "(an eulogy) in excellent letters," in line 41 of the Sāsbahā temple inscription of Mahipāla. But the term Kuṭilā fits this type of letters so well, that, as the name has been.

1 The 'Apsar, Ufsund, and Ufsund-Jafurpoor,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 4'. N.; Long. 85° 44'. E.
2 The 'Nawdā, 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 gāthā, line 1, and adṛṣṭha, line 2, is almost quite identical with the modern Devanāgarī form. The form of the lingual ṇ, which occurs in chuddā, 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 ḍ. And the most antique remnant in the whole inscription is the form of ṛ, in conjunction with a following consonant, e.g., in harsha, lines 2 and 15, dhanur-bhūta, line 2, sindu-kalshmi, line 7, and artha, line 12; following the custom noted at several places above, but practised in the earlier inscriptions in respect only of ṛ in combination with a following y, it is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it; and in the rya of taurya, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before, e.g., in kurydī in line 12 of the Majhabāwā 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 Ṱ, in conjunction with a following ṛ, once, in atapatri, 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 ṛ for b, e.g., in viniudha, lines 9 and 11; valinā, line 14-15; vabhāvā, line 15; and vihratā, line 17.

The inscription is one of Ādityasena, of the family of the Gupta 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 Viṣṇu. But it also records the building of a religious college or monastery by his mother Śrīmati, and the excavation of a tank by his wife Kopaṭēvī.

TEXT.


1 From Major Kittoe's impression; so, also, the lithograph.
2 Metre, Śārdūlavirākti.
3 Metre, Āryā.
4 Metre, Sragdhāra.
5 Metre, Āryā.
6 Read śrī.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III.

15 linod ḍārmanantah kṛitya(m) na m[e]-sty-āpam-ity-avadhārya vṛtro [1]
16 pataala-pānsula-mandala-gaḥ | ādityasena iti tat-tanayah kṣhīta ca
17 sarvā-dhanushmatām purā iti slabhant parāṃ vi(bi)bhratī 1 āśīrvaḍapa
18 jā-pata-sikhyā mārjñatō dāna-paṃkām khaḍgāṃ kṣhupena muktā-sakalā-
19 yatāyā parīhāsa-sīlaḥ 2 Satyaḥ-bhāṛtī-vrataḥ yasya mukh-ōpahd[ka]-
20 kapālaḥ 2 Ajauṣ matta-gajendra-kumbhā-dalana-sphīta-sphurad-dōr-yugō
dhvastra-anē(?) ka(?) ri-pu-prabhāv-v[i(?)] -yō yādha maṇḍalāḥ 1 nyast-
21 ka' grih-ōpamaḥ 2 Sanjñih-śūnṣa-vṛata-pratīṣṭhavṛata-prathā-pratāpān-āna-
22 Yēn-yēyäm sarad-indu-vimva-dhara prakhyāta-bhūmaḍalā laṅkham-saṁgha-
23 Yēn-yēyäm sarad-indu-vimva-dhara prakhyāta-bhūmaḍalā laṅkham-saṁgha-
24 sarad-indu-vimva-dhara prakhyāta-bhūmaḍalā laṅkham-saṁgha-
25 sanjñh-śūnṣa-vṛata-pratīṣṭhavṛata-prathā-pratāpān-āna-
26 Yēn-yēyäm sarad-indu-vimva-dhara prakhyāta-bhūmaḍalā laṅkham-saṁgha-

1 Metre, Śārdulavikrīṭā. 2 Metre, Śārdulavikrīṭā. 3 Metre, Śārdulavikrīṭā. 4 Metre, Śārdulavikrīṭā.

28 [ — — — ] maḥ(?) mita samyag-dhārmikēna sudhīmatā ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om! 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 bamboo; (and) in that he was firm (and) lofty; (and) whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (his) haughty enemies, (and) in being victorious by (its) prowess over countless foes.

(Line 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 Harṣa-gupta, who,—raining down a terrible flight of arrows from (his) firm bow that was bent with ease at the befitting proper time, (and) being gazed upon with copious tears by (his enemies) who, averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being with (him, her) 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, caused by wounds from many weapons, on (his) chest.

(L. 3.)—His son was the illustrious Jivita-gupta (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 scorching 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 plantation trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra-palms; (or) even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himālaya) 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 Wind8 from the side of (the mountain) Kāśavardhana.9

1 Metre, Śīlka (Anuśṭubh).

9 Hanumat was one of the most celebrated of a host of semi-divine apes, who were created to become the allies of Rāma in his war with Rāvaṇa. The leaders of this army of monkeys were supposed to be the offspring of various gods; and Hanumat was the son of Pavana or Māruka, the Wind. One famous leap taken by Hanumat was from the mainland, over the sea, onto Ceylon, in order to discover the whereabouts of Śiṣa. Another was his leap back from Ceylon to the mainland, after setting Rāvaṇa'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 Gandhamādana, to procure a medicinal herb to cure the wounded Lakṣmaṇa. 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.

8 The only other mention that we have of a mountain Kāśavardhana, is in line 17 of the Śāhra-gāthā (Kaś) Buddhist inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 46), where it seems to denote the hill on which the Fort of Śāhryād 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, (Karttikēya) 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 Śāṇavarman, a very monarch among kings, (and) which had for (its) spreading rows of waves the plantain-trees that were wantonly 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 Pravāga; (and there), honourably decorated with flowers, plunged into a fire (kindled) with dry cow-dung cakes, as if (simply plunging to bathe) in water.¹

(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 waterilies that were their hands. He, (while he was) king, gave away in marriage a hundred daughters of virtuous Brāhmaṇas endowed with many ornaments and with youth, (and) dowered with agrahāra-grants.

(L. 10.)—From him there was a son, the illustrious Mahāsēnagupta, 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 Susthitavarman, (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) Lōḥitya, 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) Śīrā (was born) from Vasudēva, so from him there was (a son), the illustrious Mādhavagupta, 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-

¹One of the names of Kārttikēya was Kumāra; hence the comparison between him and Kumāragupta.

²The 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, Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune and wealth, sprang from the froth of the sea.

³This 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; (and), 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 Harshadeva.

(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, (used) 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 Śārīga, and to his sword called Nandaka.
3 Harshashvardhana of Kanauj.—The present form of his name occurs also in the Harshakarita (Kaśmir edition), p. 119, line 5.—I notice that he is often called Śrīharsha, and Śrīharshashvardhana; as if Īrī were a component part of his name, instead of being only the honorific prefix. But I cannot find any authority whatever for this. I cannot trace a single instance in which the reading of any inscription or book is Īrī-Śrīharsha (see page 8 above, note 3); while, in line 26 of the Kauthēk grant of Vikramaditya V. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 22), he is distinctly called Harsha-mahārāja, “the great king Harsha.” So, also, Būzā's book about him and his history is always called simply Harshakarita, not Śrīharshakarita, in the colophon of each division of it; and the Īrī, which is prefixed on the title-page of the Kaśmir edition, only qualifies Harshakarita, as the name of the book, in the sense of “the famous history of Harsha.”
4 The belief, to which there are constant allusions in Sanskrit poetry, was, that there are pearls to be found inside the foreheads of elephants.
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 Mahâdevî Srimâti, 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 Kôpadêvi, 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 tankha-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) Śrî on the breast of Vishnu, (and) (the goddess) Sarasvatî . . . . . . . in the mouth of Brahman; as long as the earth [remains] on a hood of (Śesha) the king of serpents; and as long as there is lightning in the interior of a cloud,—so long shall the king Adityasena display here (in these works) (his) dazzling fame!

(L. 27.)—(This) eulogy, (written in) beautiful letters, . . . . . . . [has been composed, or engraved] by Sâkshmaśiva, (a native of) the Gauḍa (country), who is thoroughly religious (and) very intelligent.

No. 43; Plate XXIXA. 4129h.

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 Archæological 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).

Shâhpur,1 also known as Shâhpur-Têtarâwâ, is a village on the right bank of

1 Krttī, 'fame,' and Lakshmi, '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 Krttī becoming at length jealous of Lakshmi, and leaving her husband's house in order to dwell far away from her rival wife.

2 The 'Shahpur, Shapoor, Shahpoor-Tetranwan, and Shahpoor-Titarawa' 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 Bihar, the chief town of the Bihar 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 ft. 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 copies 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° 43′ 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 7°. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kutila type as those of the preceding Asaphad inscription of Adityasena, No. 43, Plate xxviii. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols 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 6 for 6 in valdhikrita, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the time of Adityasena, of the family of the Guptas 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 notified 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 Harsha-Sahvat 188 (A.D. 794-95) as shown by the Bengal Asiatic Society’s grant of the Mahārāja Vinayakapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 135 ff.); and in the neighbouring country of Nāpāl, as late as Harsha-Sahvat 153 (A.D. 639-60), as shown by the inscription of Jayadēva II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 178 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345), and Gupta-Sahvat 535 (A.D. 854-55), as shown by another Nāpāl inscription (id. Vol. IX. p. 168 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345). In the west of India, it continued, in Gujarāt, as late as Śaka-Saḥvat 679 (A.D. 757-58), as shown by the Kārīḷ grant of Kakka of Gujarāt (Jour. BR. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 105 ff.). In Central India, as late as Vikrama-Saḥvat 879 (A.D. 822-23), as shown by the Shēgagha (Kōhā) inscription of the Šāmanī Dēvadatta (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV, pp. 45 ff., 351). And in the South, as late as Śaka-Saḥvat 549 (A.D. 627-28), as shown by the Vizagapatam grant of the Eastern Chalukya Mahārāja Vīkramavardhana I. (Burnell’s South-Indian Pictography, p. 137 ff. and Pl. xxviii.; 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 epigraphic instances of the use of them that I can quote, are, in the north, the Gāumlā inscription of Bhāgabha dated Vikrama-Saḥvat 533 or A.D. 876-77 (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 407 f.); see also Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 106, note 23) and the ‘Pehew’ inscription of the same king, dated Harsha-Saḥvat 276 or A.D. 882-83 (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXII. p. 677 ff., and Vol. XXXIII. 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-Saḥvat 919 and Śaka-Saḥvat 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 Gujarāt, the ‘Bagumrā’ grant of the Rāsakrāṭaka chieftain Dhrumā III., dated Śaka-Saḥvat 789 or A.D. 732-33 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 185); in Kākhīvād the Māhā grant of Jānaka, dated (irrespective of the actual reading in line 17) Guptha-Saḥvat 585 (A.D. 804-5); and in the Dekkan, the Śāmungād grant of Dantidurga, dated Śaka-Saḥvat 675 or A.D. 753-54 (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 108 ff.).
seventh (?) day of the bright fortnight of the month Mārga, i.e. Mārgasirā or Mārgaśīrṣa (November-December). The era is not specified; but, from the known facts of Āditya- sēna’s history, it is that of Harshavardhana of Kanaun, commencing⁴ A.D. 606 or 607; 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 Bāldhikrītā⁵ Sālapakṣa, in, apparently, the agraḥāra 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 Cunningham⁶ with the modern ‘Baragaon,’ seven miles due north of Rājghāt, 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. \( \text{Om Samvat 60 6 Mārgga ṣu di 7(?) asyan-divasa-māsa-samvatsar-ānupūravyyaṁ} \)
   \( \text{āśī-Ādityaśēna-} \)

2. \( \text{[dēva]-rāj[y]ē Nā[?]landa[?] mah-āgrahāre sād[?]va[?]va[?]adhipikrita-} \)
   \( \text{Sālapakṣāḥena de[ya*-]dharmō-yaṁ pratisēthitham(h)} \)

3. \( \text{[mātāpitro]-ā]tmanāś=cha puny-ābhivṛddhayē [II*]} \)

**TRANSLATION.**

has been granted, to endure for the same time with
and the moon and the earth.

(Line a.)—Om! 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 Ādityasēnadēva, this appropriate religious gift has been installed by the virtuous Sālapakṣa, the Bāldhikrītā, in the great agraḥāra of Nālanda (?), for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself.

---


²* Bāldhikrītā is a technical military title, meaning literally ‘one who is appointed to (a com-
mand of) the troops.’ The superior of the Bāldhikrītās was the Mahābāldhikrītā; see page 109,
above, note 2.


⁴Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 23° 8’ N.; Long. 83° 49’ E.—In the map, the name is written ‘Burgaon.’ The correct form of the name would therefore seem to be Baḍgaum.

⁵From Mr. Beggar’s pencil-rubbing; so also the lithograph.

⁶Supply *tīthau.*

⁷Read *ṣrī-āditya.*

⁸The text here has the abbreviation *su,* which represents *sūdha,* or *sukla,* in composition with *pakṣa* or *pakṣā;* see page 92 above, note 1.

⁹See 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.

Mandār or Mandāragiri1 is a famous hill about seven miles south-east of Bāṅkā, the chief town of the Bāṅkā Sub-Division of the Bhāgalpur 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 Adityasena. 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 Patpaharī, 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 Kutilā type as those of the Apsad inscription of Adityasena, 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 Adityasena, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha. They are not dated. But the paramount titles of Paramabhāṭṭāraka and Mahārajadhīrīja applied here to Adityasena, show that they belong to the period of confusion and anarchy that attended the death of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, when Adityasena 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 Adityasena's wife, Kāpadevi, caused a tank to be made.

1 The 'Mandar, Mandargiri, Mundar Hill, and Mundar H. Temple, of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 24° 50' N.; Long. 87° 4' E.
2 The 'Banka' of maps.
3 The 'Bhagalpur and Bhaugulpoor' of maps, &c.
TEXT:

No. 44.

1 Ōm Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mah[ā]r[a]jādh[ī]r[a]j[ā]-
    2 śṛt-Aditya'seṇadēva-day[i]t[ā] parama-
    4 pushkariṇī-ktṛt[tim]-im[a]n-k[ā]j[i]tava[t] [11*]

No. 45.

1 Ōm Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mah[ā]r[a]jādhirāja-śṛt-Ād[i]tya'seṇadēva-
    day[i]t[ā] āra
    2 paramabhaṭṭārak[ā]-r[ā]l[mahād[ē]v][a]-śṛt-[Kō]nad[ē]v[i] pu[shkariṇī-
    3 kṛt[i]m-im[a]n-kāritavat[ā] [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! The Paramabhaṭṭārakā, the queen, the Mahādevī, the glorious Kōnadēvi,—
the dear wife of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājadhirāja, 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 śṛt-Aditya.
3 Here, again, read śṛt-Aditya.
4 Paramabhaṭṭārakā, lit. 'she who is supremely entitled to respect or veneration,' is the femi-
nine of paramabhaṭṭāraka (see page 17 above, note 3), and was one of the customary technical titles of
the wives of paramount sovereigns.
5 ṛājī; also in line 2 ff. of the following Déś-Baraṇārak inscription of Jīvagupta II.—The word is
only the feminine form of ṛājan; but it does not seem to have been so exclusively and technically
used as a subordinate feudalatory title, in the way in which ṛājan was used. In the present day also
Ṛājī, which is the Prākrit form of ṛājī, is the proper title of a wife of a Ṛājī; but is also used,
equally with Mahārājī, as a title of the Queen-Empress of England and India.
6 Hṛtti.—Mr. K. T. Telang (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 36, note 13) first brought to notice, on the
authority of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit, that in certain connections Hṛttya has the meaning of a
temple;' e.g. in line 18 of the Kharēpapta grant of Anantadēva, dated Śaka-Saṅvat 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 of the word,
I had fallen in translating the passage in lines 14 f. of the Barōḍa grant of Kākā II., dated Śaka-
Saṅvat 734 (id. Vol. XII. p. 159), was able to quote three passages from the Agni-Purdas (in the
Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. I. p. 111), Bāpta's Kādambari, and Sōmavara's Kṛttikāmudha, in which
the word evidently has the same meaning.—And to these instances I have since been able to add the
'Duddali' inscriptions of Dévalabdi (id. Vol. XII. p. 289), and the Udayagiri inscription, dated
Vikrama-Saṅvat 1093 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 185).—On the analogy of these authorities, there is every reason
for allotting the same meaning, when required, to Hṛtti, which is a derivative from the same root.
Dr. Bhandarkar has, however, recently suggested to me that Hṛtti and Hṛttana 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 Hṛtti 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 Vaidyakabha at 'Deoghar' in the 'Santī' Pargahs in the
No. 46; PLATE XXIX B.

DEO-BARANARK INSRIPTION 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 *Archaeol. 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. 190, No. 3. It is a Vaiśhāvya inscription; and, therefore, as pointed out by Dr. R. Mitra, it does not belong properly to the temple of Vaidyanātha, which is a Śaiva shrine; and, from the concluding words, it seems to have been brought away from some building on the Mandāla 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.**

1 Šāstā samudr-antā-vasundharā-yā tāḥ āsāvamēdh-ādyā-mahā-
   kratānām | Ādityasēnaḥ prathita-prabhā-

2 vō babhūvā rājāmara-tula-yājñāh I Māgyām Viśākhā-pada-
   saṁyuktāyām Kṛtā yuge Chōla-purād-a-

3 pātya mahā-maṁśānam ayuta-trayaṇa trilaksha-chāṁśika-tanakaṇa II
   Iśita-āśvamēdha-trīta-

4 yēna dattvā tulā-sahasraṁ haya-kōṭi-yuktam I īrī-Kōshadēvyaḥ
   sahitō mahishāyā achīkarat=kl-

5 rttim-imān sa sarvām II Kṛtvā pratishtānām vidhi-vad-
   dvijendrāḥ svayaṁ yathā vēḍa-pathanā narendrāḥ I
   kalyāṇa-hē-

6 tēr=bhuvana-trayaṇa chakrā sanāstham Nīharēḥ sa ēva II
   Śhatāpīṭh Balabhadrēṇa varāhō bhukti-muktī-

7 daḥ I svarg-ārthē pitri-mātrīṇān jagataḥ sukha-bētavē II Iītī
   Mandārāgirī-prakaraṇām II

**TRANSLATION.**

There was a king, Ādityasēna, 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 āśvamēdhā and other great sacrifices. On the full-moon day of (the month) Māgha, coupled with the sign of (the lunar asterism) Viśākhā, in the Kṛtā age,—having arrived from the Chōla city,—having sacrificed with three āśvamēdhā-sacrifices, (and) having given away his own weight a thousand times over, together with a crore of horses,—he, with (his) consort, the glorious Kṛṣṇadēvī, caused to be made the whole of this famous work (Hṛṣīt), with three myriads of large jewels (and) three lakhs of gold (coins of the kind called) sankakas. Having consecrated (it) according to due rite (through the ceremonies performed) by Brāhmanas, 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 Balabhadrā, in order that (his) parents may attain heaven, (and) for the happiness of the (whole) world. Thus runs the chapter on the Mandārāgirī.
Déo-Baranár, or Déva-Baranár, the ancient Váruniká of this inscription, is a village about twenty-five miles south-west of Arrah (properly Ará), the chief town of the Sháh-bád 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 Vishnu.

The writing, which covers a space of about 3\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 4\(\frac{3}{4}\) 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 Mādhavagupta, in line 2, which can easily be supplied. In lines 7 ff., however, there was a good deal of historical information that is not now quite perfect.—The average size of the letters is about 1\(\frac{1}{6}\). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost the same Kutía type as those of the Apsála inscription of Adityasénâ, No. 43 above, Plate xxviii.; but they do not shew 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 s\(\hat{h}\) instead of the jihodmáiyá or the visarga, in antashpáti, line 7; (2) the use of the dental n, instead of the anusvátra before s, in kanaSA, line 14; (3) the doubling throughout of \(t\), in conjunction with a following \(r\); e.g., in praya, line 1; puttra, line 5; and mithra, line 16; and (4) the use of \(o\) for \(b\), in saládátita, 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 Gámatikottaka. 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 Váruniká or Kisóravatika, to the Sun, under the title of Varunavasm, a name which is of some interest, as apparently preserving the ancient belief, in accordance with which varuna, it is 'that which encompasses, meant 'the all-compassing sky,' before it became the name of the ocean-god Varuṇa, who himself was origen of the great Adityasénâ of Magadha. The antiquity of the allusion is indicated by its being referred to the Krita age. And though the name of Adityasenâ's wife is here given as Kshatradvi, instead of Kshatradvi, 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.

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 Kṛta age. And though the name of Adityasena's wife is here given as Kshatradvi, instead of Kshatradvi, 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.

The 'Deo-Baranár, Déo-Baranár, Déo-Barunkrák, and Deonar Narooj, 'of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 23° 15' N.; Long. 84° 31' E.


The name of Kshatradva, instead of Kshatradva, is no sign of Aryanisation, but is part of a Persian loan, and would be ns-dáz-dádáha, i.e., 'the chief of the dás-dádáha.'

The name of Kshatradva, instead of Kshatradva, is no sign of Aryanisation, but is part of a Persian loan, and would be .ns-dáz-dádáha, i.e., 'the chief of the dás-dádáha.'

The name of Kshatradva, instead of Kshatradva, is no sign of Aryanisation, but is part of a Persian loan, and would be .ns-dáz-dádáha, i.e., 'the chief of the dás-dádáha.'

The name of Kshatradva, instead of Kshatradva, is no sign of Aryanisation, but is part of a Persian loan, and would be .ns-dáz-dádáha, i.e., 'the chief of the dás-dádáha.'

The name of Kshatradva, instead of Kshatradva, is no sign of Aryanisation, but is part of a Persian loan, and would be .ns-dáz-dádáha, i.e., 'the chief of the dás-dádáha.'

The name of Kshatradva, instead of Kshatradva, is no sign of Aryanisation, but is part of a Persian loan, and would be .ns-dáz-dádáha, i.e., 'the chief of the dás-dádáha.'

The name of Kshatradva, instead of Kshatradva, is no sign of Aryanisation, but is part of a Persian loan, and would be .ns-dáz-dádáha, i.e., 'the chief of the dás-dádáha.'
of the twelve Adityas, or forms of the sun, the offspring of Aditi. The importance of this inscription consists, first, in its continuation, for three more generations, of the genealogy of the <strong>Guptas of Magadh</strong>a, including the name of Déva-gupta, which, as will be seen hereafter, gives the clue to the date of the Vakătaka Mahdrjras; 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 Bājāditya, who, as is known from the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsiang, played so important a part in connection with Mihirakula; Šarvavarma, who is evidently the Mauskhari king Šarvavarma, whose copper-seal we have in No. 47 below; Plate xxxA.; and Avantivarman, who is probably the Mauskhari Avantivarman, mentioned in Bapa's Harśacharita as the father of Grahavarna who became the husband of Rājyaśrī, the sister of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Gomati-kottaka, 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 Ghațpur, and about eighty-five miles to the west of Déō-Baranārk. And Vărūpīkē is plainly the modern Déō-Baranārk itself. In the modern name, the first component is dévā, 'a god,' and the second, a corruption of Varūpīka, evidently gives the name of a later conception of the original god, embodying the attributes of the Sun (śrīka) with those of Varūpa.

**TEXT.**

```
| 1 | [na]mah [II*] Svasti Śakti-tray-ōpātta-jayaśabdan-mahā-nau- |
| 2 | [kāt] [srī-Mādhava] Gautpasa- tasya puttras-tat-pād-anudhyātah |
| 3 | [nadēvas-tasya] putrās-tat-pād-anudhyātāḥ paramabhāttārikāyām |
| 4 | [dhirā] paramēsvara- putrās-tat-pād-anu- |
```

---

1 See, for instance, Monier Williams' <em>Indian Wisdom</em>, pp. 12 f. and 68; and Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I. p. 27, note 42.

2 See FitzEdward Hall's preface to the <em>Vāsavadattā</em>, p. 52; and the <em>Harśacharita</em>, Kaśmir ed., p. 311 ff.

3 From the ink-impression.

4 Bhagwanlal Indraji supplied varuyavādi-bhaṭṭārakāya here. But only about five aksharas, 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 paramabhādavata or paramamahēśvara.

6 Read śry-āditya.

7 This name of Dévaguptadēva,—which is of considerable importance, from its bearing on the date of the Vakātaka Mahārājas,—is very indistinct; but I agree with Bhagwanlal Indraji that it can be read with sufficient certainty.
dhyātāḥ paramabhāttārākāryāḥ[mā] rājñyāḥ[mā] mahādevyāḥ[mā] śrī-

Kamala[devyam]-uptapnaḥ parammahā[mā]  

śvaram-paramabhāttāra-ka[mā]hāṭarā[mā]hi-rajav-paramēśvara-śrī- Vaiṣṇuguptavētāv-
tasyaḥ putraḥ-śat-pād-anudhyātāḥ paramabhāttārākāryāḥ[mā] rājñyāḥ[mā] mahādevyāḥ[mā] śrī-

śrī-īd[devyā]ḥ  


[pr]a[ṃ]-mātasaḥ k[u][ṃ][ā]rāmāyaṇa-rajāsthānī- ṭyārāka dhīka-chaurōḍharaṇikā-śandikā-da[ṃ]-nāpā.  

[pāṣīka[ṃ]] ka. rṣhi[ṃ]-vala-vyāyata-Kīśöḥ[ṃ]rvāṇ[ṭa]h[ṛ]-g[ṛ]-āma-h d. t. yanika-gaḥ-paṭika[ṃ].  

[ra]sakaḥ t-āsā[ṃ] ṭhāḍa-prasād-ōpajivinaḥ-ṣa pratī[ṃ]v[ā]śināḥ-ṣa vr[ṛ]-hr[A]-mā[ṃ]-vētā[ṃ]-[nā] maṃṭṭara-ha[ṃ]-kṣ[i]-hṣ[i]-hṣ[i]-purā-  


[ṃ]-vā[ṃ]-śā[ṃ]-mā[ṃ]-vēṭa[ṃ]-mahēśvara-śrī-Vā[ṛ]-vēṭi[ṃ]-dādiṭya-dvēnā śva-śasanēnā bhagava-śrī-Varunavasi-

bhātārāḥ  

[ṃ]-ka va-parivāḥ[h]akaḥ bhōjaka-Hansā- mittrasya samāpat[mā] yā yathākāl-ādhyāsībhī-ṣa ēvaṁ paramēśvara-

śrī-Śarvaṃvarmaḥ bhōjaka-Rishi[ṃ]-mitraḥ yatakan ēvaṁ paramēśvara-śrī[ṃ]-da-Avantivarmanamā pūrva-dattakam-āvāla-  

[ṃ-ba]yā śa[ṃ]-vē[ṃ]-mahā[ṃ]-jājā[r]ā-dhī[ṃ]-ja-paramēśvara-[ṃ]-śā[ṃ]-dānēnā bhōjaka-Durē[ṃ]-bhaka[ṃ]-[ṃ]-mē-trasaya- ānuṅmā-  

[ṃ]-dita[h] tē[ṃ]-na[ṃ] bhu[ṃ]-jyātē[ṃ] [ṃ]- tad-aḥam kimpi[ṃ] ēvaṁ matimān ānuḥ-māḥ-ditam-āti sa[ṃ]-ṛvva[ṃ]-śa[ṃ]-jāmāfāpa[ṃ]-na[ṃ] [ṃ]-[ṃ]-eti  

[ṃ]-payu  

Varunavasy-ayatanaḥ tad-anu ātattam.  

1 Bhagwandal Indrājī read kunāra; but the three aksharas are distinctly kamala.  

2 Read srī-jājā.  

3 Either bhagavata or māhēśvara is illegible here.  

4 Bhagwandal Indrājī read sva[ṃ]-ṛ[ṃ]-ṛ; but the three aksharas are distinctly jīvita, as, in fact, was recognised by Gen. Cunningham (ArchaoL. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI. pp. viii., 68).  

5 Read ṭājāmāyaḥ.  

6 Read bhagavach-chāhā.  

7 Read bhōjaka-rishiḥ; or, according to the more usual custom, bhōjaka-arshiḥ.—In the case of a final a, followed by an initial ī, it is usual to join the vowels in regular sāmāki. But Dr. Hultsch has drawn my attention to the fact that the commentary on Pāṇini, vi. 1, 128, ṭīty-ahāk, states that the sāmāki here is in accordance with the opinion of Śākalya, and thus seems to intimate that, according to other grammarians, the sāmāki is optional, and a hiatus is equally permissible.
Reverence to .........! 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 Gomatikottaka:—

(Line 2)—(There was) ......... the illustrious Mādhavagupta. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the glorious Adityasena-deva, 2 begotten on the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the queen, 3 the Mahādevi, the glorious Śrimatī Devi. 4

(L. 3)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahāśvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārāja-devi, and [Paramēśvara], the glorious Devaguptadēva, 4 begotten on the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the queen, the Mahādevi, the glorious Kōpadēvi. 5

(L. 4)—His son, who meditated on his feet, was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahāśvara, the [Paramabhaṭṭāraka], Mahārāja-devi, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Vīhaguptadēva, 4 begotten on the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the queen, the Mahādevi, the glorious Kamaladēvi. 6

(L. 5)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the most devout worshipper of .........., the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārāja-devi, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Jivitaguptadēva 4 (II).—[begotten] on the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the queen, the Mahādevi, the glorious Ijjadēvi, 7—being in good health, [issues a command] to the herdsmen, Talaṭaṇakas, 8 messengers, 9 makers of boundaries, 10 ..........

1 sākhi-traya.—The three sāktis, or 'constituents of regal power,' are prabhūtya, 'majesty'; mantra, 'good counsel'; and utṣāha, 'energy.'

2 The omission, in the case of Adityasena, of the paramount titles,—which are duly attached to his name in the Mandā Hill inscriptions, Nos. 44 and 45 above, page 211, and to the names of his mother and wife, and all his successors, in the present inscription,—is rather peculiar.

3 rājā; see page 212 above, note 5.
4 See page 215 above, note 7.
5 See page 216 above, note 1.
6 See page 216 above, note 4.
7 This is a Prākrit name, in which ijjā represents the Sanskrit ājñā, 'a sacrifice.'—We have had another Prākrit name of a female, in Ajjhitadēvi; e.g. in line 5 of the Kālakūta grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117.
8 Talaṭaṇaka is an official title, the etymology and meaning of which are not apparent.—Dr. Bhagwantāladinraji, in his treatment of this inscription, read the word with the short vowel a in the second syllable, and explained it as meaning the modern Tālāṭī or Tālāṭhī, 'the village accountant; but of course some authority requires to be cited, before this explanation can be accepted.

9 Dēsī; the word seems to denote here simply ordinary message-carriers or postmen; not the special officers called Dēśakas, employed in connection with copper-plate charters (see page 100 above, note 3).

10 Śrakarmakāra.
By the Bhôjaka Śâyamitra, belonging to (the establishment of) the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varunavâsin, who was requested, the above-mentioned [village] together with the village, &c., was formerly bestowed by the Paramësvara, the glorious Bâlîdîtyadêva, by (his) own charter, the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varunavâsin, by restoration to the Bhôjaka Hamsamitra, and by those who presided at different times, viz. the Paramësvara, the glorious Śaravârman, [to] the Bhôjaka Rishimitra, by the Paramësvara Avantivarman. In accordance with this practice, assent to its enjoyment by the Bhôjaka Durdamiramitra was given, by the grant of a charter, by the Mahârâjâddhîrjâ and Paramësvara; and it is now enjoyed by him.

(L. 12.)—Therefore I [now announce] that it is assented to; such is (my) command to all people. the altar of (the god) Varunavâsin; after that, there is given, with the udvânga and the uparikara, with (the proceeds of fines for) the ten offences, the five.

1 Râjaputras, lit. '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 Prakrits we have, in Marathi, râjî or râjî, and in Gujarâti, râjî, in the sense of 'a horse-soldier, a trooper.' And these words would seem to be derived from Râjaputra, and so to indicate its technical meaning; rather than, as given by Molesworth and Candy in their Marathi Dictionary, from râjâ-ôla, 'a king's messenger.'

2 Mahâpratîthdrâ, lit. 'a great door-keeper,' was the technical title of the officer next in grade above the Pratîthdras (see page 190 above, note 1).

3 Chaurôddhärânika, lit. 'one who is entrusted with the extermination of thieves,' is evidently the technical title of a certain class of police officers.

4 Dânâdikâ, lit. 'a chastiser, a punisher,' may denote either a judicial functionary, from dânga in the sense of 'a fine;' or a police officer, from the same word in the sense of 'a rod (of punishment).'

5 Bhûkti, lit. 'enjoyment,' is a technical territorial term. From the arrangement of the text here, as also from the mention of 'the village of Pânîyaka, in the Śravastî bhûkti, and belonging to the Vâlavik vîshâya which lay in the Śravastî sâñcâmala,' in the Digha-Dhârma-grant of the Mahârâjâ Mahândrâpalâ (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 112, line 7 f.), and the mention of 'the village of Tûkkarikâ, in the Pratîshthâna bhûkti, and attached to the Kâlpâra pâthaka which belonged to the Vâlavik vîshâya,' in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahârâjâ Vinîyukapâlâ (id. Vol. XV. p. 141, line 9 f.), the term bhûkti seems to have denoted a larger extent of territory than a vîshâya.

6 Bhûjaka 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 Bhôjâ race. — Childers, in his Pâli Dictionary, gives the same word as meaning 'a village-headman.'

7 The construction of the original is Bâlîdîtyadêva . . . pûrvâ-dattakâm-avânuma, 'having relied on (i.e. having adapted himself to) the former grant that was made by Bâlîdîtyadêva (and the others mentioned).' I have broken up the construction for convenience of translation.
No. 47; PLATE XXX A.

ASIRGADH COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF SARVAVARMA.

This inscription was first brought to notice, through two independent channels, in 1856. In the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. V. p. 482 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 Maharaja 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 Burhanpur,2 the chief town of the Burhanpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Nimar District in the Central Provinces. As is shewn by the Soespat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxii B, and the seal attached to the spurious Gayà 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 ahdaja 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 chaunis-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

1 The 'Asirgarh and Asseer Gurth' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 21° 28' N.; Long. 76° 20' E.
2 The 'Burhanpur and Boorhanpoor' of maps, &c.
3 The 'Nimar' 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 *upadhmānīya*, in *uppanaḥ-parama*, line 7; (2) the doubling throughout of *l* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *āṭikrānta*, line 1, and *puttra*, line 3; and (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *j*, in *anuddhyāta*, lines 3, 4, 5, and 6.

The **seal** is one of the *Maukhari* king *Śarvakarnā*, whose approximate date is fixed very closely by the mention of his father *Īsānavarman*, as the contemporary of Kumāragupta of Magadha, in line 7 of the Aphṣad inscription of *Ādityasena*, No. 42 above, page 200. The mere finding of the inscription at Āśīrgaḍh of course does not suffice in any way to connect the members of this family of Maukhari 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 *Śarvakarnā*, 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-āṭikrānta-kṛttib * pratāp-anurāg-ōpanat-ānya-rājā(ī) * varpa-

2  pana-pravṛttā-chakkṛs-Chakkṛdṛhara * iva prajānām-ārtti-hara[h*] * śri(sṛt)-

3  putras-tat-pād-anuddhy[ā*]tā * Jayavāminś bhattārīka-dvya[ā*]m-uppannah

4  rmmā [11*] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-anuddhyātā * Harṣaguptā-bhättārīka-

5  j-śavarvāṛmā [11*] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-anuddhyātā * Upaguptā-

6  bhattārīka-dvya[ā*]m-uppannā * mah[ā*]rājādirāja-śṛ(ṛt)-śrā[ṇī]navārmanā [11*] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-

7  ānuddhīyātā La(ḥ)kab[ā]*m[ā*]va *

8  [ṭ]*bhattārīka-mah[ā*]dvya[ā*]m-uppannah-paramahēśvarā(ī) * ma-

9  hāra[rā]*dṛjā-śṛ-Śrāvakarnāmā * Maukhariṁ [11*]

---

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, *w* and *p* are very much alike in the lithograph. But the letter here seems to be *p*, rather than *w*; and there is certainly no *ā* 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 *śrā-śīna*.

5 Sir Charles Wilkins read *harṣini*; but there are four *aksharas* to be accounted for, not three. The first *akṣara* is very doubtful; the second is certainly not *rṣi*, but seems to be *ṭṣi*(*m[*]*), rather imperfectly copied; the third is *au*; 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 Mahārāja 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) Chakradhara, 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 Mahārāja Ādityavarman, begotten on the Bhāṭṭārika and Deō Jayasvāminus. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious Mahārāja Īsānavarman, begotten on the Bhāṭṭārika and Deō Harshagupta. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārājadhirāja, the glorious Īsānavarman, begotten on the Bhāṭṭārika and Deō Upagupta. His son, who meditates on his feet, (is) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the Mahārājadhirāja Śarvarvarman, the Maukharī, begotten on the Bhāṭṭārika and Mahādēśot Lakshānīvati.

No. 48; PLATE XXX B.

BARABAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

This inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harintosh, and was first brought to notice, in 1798, 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. Harintosh. In 1837, in the Fourth. 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 xxvi. Nos. 15, 16, and 17) reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Harington. And in 1884, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 428, note 55, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has incidentally published his own reading of the text.

The Barabar Hill, the ancient Pravaragiri of this inscription, stands about a mile and a half away on the north side of the village of Pandāri, which is about fourteen miles to the north by east of Gayā, the chief town of the Gayā 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 "Lōmāśa 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 Bāṭṭārika, etc. 'she who is entitled to reverence or homage,' is the feminine form of bhaṭṭākara [see page 17 above, note 1]. It is used here as a technical title of a wife of a Mahārāja; but, in line 7 below, it occurs also as the title of a wife of a Mahārajādhīrāja.
3 Deō, etc. 'goddess,' is another technical title of a wife of a Mahārāja.
4 See page 220 above, note 3.
5 See also the Calcutta reprint of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 128.
6 The 'Punaree-Feroxpoor' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 24° 55' N.; Long. 85° 7' E. The hill itself is entered under the name of 'Barabur Hill,' and is a Trigonometrical Survey Station.
7 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 engraved. 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' 9½" 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 140 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 ṭ, in conjunction with a following r; e.g. in puttŗa, line 1, and yattra, line 5; and (2) the use of v for b, in vabhāvā, line 4.

The inscription is one of a Maukharī chieftain named Anantavarman; but, from the way in which his father Śārdūla or Śārdūlavarma 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 Kṛishṇa.

(The hill itself is mentioned in line 5, under the name of Pravaragiri. 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 Chamnaka 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 it in the modern name Barbār, for which, at any rate, General Cunningham’s proposed etymology of bard dvara, ‘the great enclosure,” does not suffice to account.


2 Kṛishnaśya-ākṛishna-kṛttih Pravaragiri-guha-saṁśritam vinivam-ētāt mūrttaṁ lōke yaśaḥ [II] svam rachitam-iva nud-achikarat-kāntimat-sah II

¹ Gen. Cunningham (Archaeol. 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 id. p. 43.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ In the original, the symbol for this word, ॐ, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

⁵ Metre, Sragdhāra.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁷ The engraver first formed ṭti, and then partially cancelled the ṭ.
3 Kālāḥ śattu-mahābhujāṁ praṇayināṁ ichchā-phaṇaḥ pādaṁ 1 dipāḥ
kabattrā-kulāya paika-samara-vyāpā-ra-tobhāvataḥ [1]

4 kāntā-bhitā-ḥahah Śmarā-pratisamaṁ pāta va(ba)bdāva kṣihēḥ 
śrī-Śārūla iti pratiṣṭhetā-yasa[h] [h] samānaṁ [tāmañjhī] II

5 Utpakṣhaṁ-antavillāt-āra-tāra-la-spasht-ēśṭa-tārāṁ rūshaḥ 1 
śrī-Śārūla-nripaḥ karōti viṣhāmāṁ yattra sva-drīṣṭimaṁ ripō(pan) I

6 tattār-ākārnā-vikriṣṭha-sārāṇī śraddhā-vyastas-sārō-ṛtt(nte) ṛvacah 
pataty-ananta-sukha-dasyān-Śrāntavarmā-srūteḥ II

TRANSLATION.

Öm! He, Antavarmā, who was the excellent son, captivating the hearts of 
mankind, of the illustrious Śārūla, (and) who possessed very great virtues, adorned by 
his own (high) birth the family of the Maṅkharī 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) Kṛśṇa.

(Line 3)—The illustrious Śārūla, 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) Śmarā.

(L. 5)—On whatsoever enemy the illustrious king Śārūla 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, dis- 
charged from the bowstring drawn up to (his) ear, of his son, the giver of endless 
confidence, who has the name of Antavarmā.

No. 49; PLATE XXXI A.

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 ff., where Sir Charles Wilkins published its translation of it, apparently from 
a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington. 1 In 1847, in the Jour. Beng. 
As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 401 ff., Major Markham Kittoe published a lithograph of it

1 Metre, Śārūlavīra-kṣita; and in the following verse.
2 and 3 These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.
4 As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note 3.
5 Sdmanta; see page 148 above, note 1. The use of the word here perhaps indicates the 
exact status of these Maṅkharī chiefs.
6 Saradhi, 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.
The Nagari Hill, which, in line 8 of the following inscription of the same chieftain, No. 50 below, is spoken of as (a part of) the Vindhy range, is about a mile away on the north side of the village of Japhra, 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 Aśoka period by an inscription, in four lines, of Dasalatha-Dēvānāmpiya on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has been named the "Vadath 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' 2½' broad by 1' 5½' high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. 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 inscription of the same chieftain, No. 48 above, Plate xxxB., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed mātrás. The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word bom, 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 ansa, 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 Bhūtapatī or "the lord of beings," and his wife Pārvatī, under the name of Dēvī. The image was probably of the kind called Ardhanaśīvara, combining Śiva and Pārvatī in one body; the right half being the male god, and the left the female.

TEXT. 3

1 Ōṁ [h*] Āśtā-sarvva-mahkṣhitām-Anuṛ-siva kṣattra-sthitēr-ddeśiḥkaḥ
sṛmān-mattā-gajendra-khēla-gamanah śṝ-yaṭṭha-pitāṁ nṛpiḥ [l*]
yasy-ahāta-sahasrānta-viraha-śkhamā sad-aiś-adhiṣyaṁ Paulamā chiram-  
aśru-pāta-malināṁ dhā(dha)ttē kapola-sriyaṁ II

---

1 The 'Kootunpur-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.
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, Śārdulavirākṣita; and in the following verse.
6 Sir Charles Wilkins and Dr. R. Mitra both read mahkṣhitām Manur-siva; but there is no anusvāra over the ōṁ.
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) Paulomì, 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 Sārdula, 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) Bhūtapati and (the goddess) Dēvī, 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 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 4 These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.
2 These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.
3 Read danta-yakyata, omitting the mark of punctuation.
4 Metre, Sragdharā.
5 Read yantra, omitting the mark of punctuation.
6 Metre, Mandakrāntā.
7 This aksara is partly mixed up with the ō of ē in vīdiavasu, which was subsequently engraved below this inscription, but has no connection with it.
8 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
9 This visarga was at first omitted, and then was inserted on the first stroke of the following mark of punctuation, when the text was altered from nāma to nāmnaḥ.
10 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 (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. II. p. 14 ff.) with the 'Janjñāhas, who now occupy 'Mahyalla' and other places in the Salt Range, in the Paññāḥ.

---

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 shewn 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 "Gopil 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 xxxi A., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed mātrās.

The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word ṣm, the inscription is in verse throughout. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anuvṛtta, before s, in anuṣu, line 2, and before k, in anuhas, line 9; (2) the customary doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in vi ḍhrama, line 4, and puttṛṇa, line 7; and (3) the use throughout of n for b, in lavdham, line 5; vandhu, line 6; and amuvbhik, line 9.

The inscription is another record of the Maukharī 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 Parvati, the wife of Śiva, under the name of Kātyāyanī, and also the grant to the same goddess, under the name of Bhavānī, 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. 236 ff.
3 See page 324 above, and note 1.
In line 8 of this inscription, the **Nágárjuna 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 Gaya, their easternmost spurs reach and disappear in the valley of the Ganges at Rājmāhāl.

**TEXT.**

1. **Om [l]²** Unnidrasya² sardrūhasya sakalām-aśkhipya sōbhān ruchā l² s-avajitam Mahish-āsurasya śirasi nyastah kvanan-nūpurbā [l]²


**TRANSLATION.**

Om 1. 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 water-lily, was disdainfully placed, with its tinkling anklet, on the head of the demon Mahishāsura.

(Line 3.)—There was a king, the illustrious Yajñavarman, 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.

---

1. From the original stone.
2. Metre, Śārīḍālaṁvāṭi, 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 Sārdālavarmān, 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) Kātyāyanī has been placed in (this) wonderful cave of the Vindhya mountains.

(L. 9.)—He has given to (the goddess) Bhavānl, 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 priyaingu* and vakula-trees in (its) groves; *(and) from which the radiance of the sun is screened off by (this) lofty mountain.

No. 51; PLATE XXXII.A.

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 aksharas,—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 1/8". The characters belong to the

1 i.e. Anantavarman.

* We might find in this verse a reference to "the pure waters of (the river) Mahānādī." But the Mahānādī, which rises in the Rāypur District, flows into the Bay of Bengal, without coming anywhere within two hundred and fifty miles of the Nāgārjuna hill. The small river that runs past this hill, is named the Phalgu; and it flows into the Ganges, not into the Mahānādī. Under the name of Phalgu, it is mentioned in an inscription, belonging to about the twelfth century A.D., of a prince named Yakshapāla, at the Satī Ghat at Gayā (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 64, line 2).

* priyaingu: the Panicum Italicum; a medicinal plant, and perfume.

* vakula: the Minusops Elengi.

* 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 Asīrgadh seal of Śarva-varman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxii A.; but the execution is, in some details, still more florid. In dörbhyaṁ, line 1, kirttēr, line 4, karaṁ-gunaṁ-gunaṁvatām, line 5, and other places, we have to note that the superscript r 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 khrurā, line 5; kshatrēṇa, line 1; and upādṛavaṁ, line 5; and (2) the use of v for b, in lavdhā, line 1.

The inscription mentions, in line 4, a 'king' named śīvaravārmaṁ, of the Maukharī, or as it is here called the Mūkharī family, who is evidently the Mahārāja śīvaravārmaṁ, the grandfather of Śarva-varman, who is mentioned in line 5 of the Asīrgadh 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 śīvaravārmaṁ, 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 Dhārā 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 Andhrā family. It would probably give us also the name of a king of Sau-rāṣṭra or Kathiawarā, in connection with the mountain Raivataka 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(?). ksha(?). I(?). gam 1  Dörbhyaṁ-śrītmabhuvō  dhanuḥ
saha-bhuvā kshatrēṇa lavdh(bdh)-ātmanā  vistār-
2. [u]dayinī  Mukharānāṁ  bhūbhujāṁ-anvāvyē  lakāla-
purusha-sakti-vyakta-sāṅgā-pratāpā
dh[ā] ma-vitāma-mēgha-nivahāḥ
3. karmmapā  yājanī  vitēnē  divī  I
pupyāṁ
4. lakaśrāst-ālakāgraṁ  kulaiḥ  Tasyāṁ  dikshu  [v]jitat-
   Amala-kirittēr-atmājō  nripati-śīvaravarmā 1

1 From the ink-impression.
2 If (since we have a half-mark of punctuation after anvāvyē in line 2) we accept the double mark of punctuation after the fourth extant akṣara of this line as marking properly the end of a verse, seventy-two akṣaras have been cut away and lost here. If, however, it marks only the end of the second pāda of a verse, then only thirty-eight akṣaras are lost.—I have tried several ways of arranging the verses, in order to determine exactly how many akṣaras 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.
3 Metre, doubtfull.
4 Metre, Śārdulavikrīḍita.
5 Metre, Mālinī.
6 Metre, Śārdulavikrīḍita.
7 This mark of punctuation is followed by some scroll-work, to fill up the line.
8 Metre, Śārdulavikrīḍita.
9 Metre, Svāgata.
TRANSLATION.

with (his) arms the bow of (the god) Ætrimbhō, 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 oblations) 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 Ísvaravarman, 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 Vindhyā 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 scabards), bathed with the waters, fragrant with benzoin, of the torrents of and cleansing the lands, full of cool waters, of (Himálaya) 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 Metre, Šārdūlavikrājita, and in the next three lines.
2 Metre, Sragūhārā.
3 Metre, Šārdūlavikrājita, and in the next line.
4 lit. ‘the self-existent one;’ an epithet of Brahmā, Vishnu, and Śiva. From the mention of a bow, it must here denote Vishnu; who carries the bow of horn named Šārāga.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 52, PLATE XXXII B.

No. 52; PLATE XXXII B.

SONIPAT COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF HARSHAVARDHANA.

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 Sonipat or Sonpat, the chief town of the Sonpat Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Delhi District in the Pafijab. 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 $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$". All round it there runs a rim, about $\frac{1}{4}$" 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 shewn by plain indications of soldering on the back of it, and also by the spurious Gayâ plate of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii., 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 $\frac{3}{16}$". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of much the same type as those of the Asgradh seal of Sarvarman, 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 *pattta*, lines 2 and 7.

The seal is one of Harshavardhana, king of Kanauj, who began to reign 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.

---

1 The Sonipat, Soonput, and Sunput, of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28\degree 59\' N.; Long. 77\degree 3\' E.

2 Other forms of the name are Sonëpat, and Sunpat.

TEXT.

1. paramäditya

2. putras-tat-päda

3. [d-anudhyatä]

4. varddhanah [II*]

5. sarvya[v]a-varam-ârama-vyavasthâpana

6. paramabhattâraka

7. mahârâjâdhirâja srit Prabhâkaravardhana [II*]

8. [paramabhattâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-srit-Râjyavyarddhanah [II*]

9. [paramabhattâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-srit-Râjyavyarddhanah [II*]


11. m-utpannab [pa-]

12. [yamabhattâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-srit-Harsha-]

13. varddhanah [II*]

TRANSLATION.

(There was) the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the Mahârâja, the illustrious Râjyavardhana (I). His son, [who meditated on] his feet, (was) the [most devout] worshipper of the Sun, the Mahârâja, the illustrious Adityavardhana, [begotten] on the illustrious Mahâdévî(?). His [son, who meditated on his feet], (was) the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the Paramabhattâraka and Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious Prabhâkaravardhana, begotten on the Lèvi, [the illustrious] Mahâsena[uptâ, (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 Paramabhattâraka and Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious Râjyavardhana (II), begotten on the glorious Yasômatî. [His younger brother], who meditated on [his feet], (is) the Paramabhattâraka and Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious Harshavardhana, [begotten] on the Mahâdévî, Yasômati.

1 From the original seal.

2 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.

3 These two aksharas, mahâ, are very indistinct; but I think they may be accepted as certain.

4 These three aksharas, varddhanah, are rather small and cramped, in the centre of the bottom of the seal.

5 See note 2 above.

6 paramasau-gata 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 *Archaeol. 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.)

Nachne-ki-talai, 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 Bundélkhand 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 'Lakbura, Lakhuria, or Lakháwara,' 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 Nachné-ki-taláí 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 Nachné-ki-taláí 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' 9½" broad by 7½" high; and of No. 54, about 1' 9" broad by 1' 1½" 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 ½" to 1½". 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 dh, before y, in anuďhyáta, in line 2 of No. 54.

As regards the contents of the inscriptions, No. 53 gives simply the name of the Maharaja Prithivishena of the Vákáta-ka 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, Jusso, and Jussoo,' 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 Parganā in the Chánda District in the Central Provinces, fifteen miles north-west of Chándā, and eleven miles south-east of Waródā. 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 t 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 *mahātva*; for, like, for instance, Mahākāntāraka from Mahākāntāra, Kausalaka from Kōsala, Kaiśakā from Kērāla, and Paśītaparakā from Paśītpura, in line 19 of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above; and like Traikūṭaka from Trikūta, 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 Wakāt, Bakāt, Bakāt, Baktōr, or Bakṭauli; and it might possibly be found in ‘Waktapur,’ in the Rēwa-Kānṭhā Agency.

**TEXT.**

1 Vākātakānāṁ mahārāja-śri(srl)-Prithivishēna

2 Vyā(r?)ghra(r?)

No. 53.

1 Vākātakānāṁ mahārāja-śri(srl)-Prithivishēna

2 Prithivishēṇa - pād - ᾱṇuddhyatō

3 Vyāghradēvō mātāpitrō[ḥ*] puny-

4 kritam[ṛ]tthāṁ

No. 54.

*Ariholt. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 121 f. 1

*The ‘Bhanduk’ of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 73.* Lat. 20° 6’ N.; Long. 79° 9’ E.

*The ‘Chandah’ of maps.* 2

*The ‘Warodā and Wurroda’ of maps,* &c.

*Ariholt. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 117 f.; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 239 f.—Dr. Bühler speaks of Vākātaka 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, ‘Pavarajā-Valākāta,’ which exists only in the original misreading, for Pavarajavātaka, in line 22 of the Siwān grant, No. 56 below, page 246. Vākātaka has also been supposed to occur as the name of a place or country in line 161 of the Anamkoṇḍ 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 Kātaśka, as is shown by the lithograph published with my own reading of this inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 11, 16, 20).


*From Gen. Cunningham’s ink-impressions; so also the lithographs.* 4

*This ḋ was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.* 5

*These two aksharas 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.* 6

*This ḍ was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.* 7

11 *Read kritavān.*
TRANSLATION.

Vṛṣṇa, who meditates on the feet of the Mahārajā of the Vākāśa, the illustrious Pṛthivishāna, 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 Indrají's reading of the text, published in *Notes on the Baudhā Rock-Temples of Ajanta*, 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 *Archaeol. 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, the ancient Charmānka of the inscription, a village about four miles south-west of Ilichpur, the chief town of the Ilichpur District in the Commissionership of East Berar, in the Haiderabād 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 7½" to 7¾" by from 3½" to 3¾". 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 ¾" thick and 3½" 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 seal is a flat disc of copper, rising slightly towards the centre, about ¼" thick and 2½" 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 'Chumuck' 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 *Archaeol. 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 xxxiii C.
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 14 oz.; total 7 lbs. 12 oz.—The average size of the letters is about 14". 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 18 of 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 benedictive 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 upadhmana, in rājaḥ-pravara, line c; pānduḥ-prasadā, line 13; tambhōḥ-prasadā, line 16; and rakshitasyaḥ-pari, line 32; but not in kāliyaḥ putra, line 30; (2) the occasional doubling of k and d, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in kṛrama, line b; kriyāḥbhis, line 31; and dārōka, line 4; (3) the doubling of th and dh, in conjunction with a following y, in bhagratthya-amala, line 6, and sarvuddāhyaksha, line 21; and (4) the doubling of v after the anusvāra, in sāmvaatādē, 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 Jyēṣṭha (May–June). It is a non-sectarian 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.†

The Seal.

a Vākātaka-lalāmasya
b kṛrama-prāpta-nipātīśya

c rājaḥ-Pravarasēnasya

d śāsanāṃ rīpu-śāsanāṃ [II*]

First Plate.

1 Drīṣṭiṃ [II*] Svasti Pravarapurād-agniṣṭhōm-āptōryām-ōkthya-phāṣā-kītātrāṇa.

2 vājāpēya - bhīhaṃsasāva - sādyakṣra - chatuṣṭyavāmādhī - yājinaḥ


4 sūnōḥ sūnōḥ atyanta-[Ś]vāmi-Mahāhāravara-bhaktasya bhāra-santi(ṇṇi)vēśī.

5 ta-Śiva-līṅg-[ō]dvahana-Śiva-suparitushṭa -samutpādi-[ta] -rājāna[m*]ūṭa.

† From the original plates.

‡ Metre, Śīlka (Anushṭubh).

§ See page 241 below, note 6.

‖ Read samrād Vākātakānāṁ, in composition.—The final d of samrād (or possibly t of samrāt), rather small and faint, stands below the line, and just above the ni of svāmi in the next line.
Second Plate; First Side.

6' nām-paraśkram-ādhipata Bhagratthya-d(a)manala-mūrddhna(rddh)-ābhi-
shiktanān-daśā-

7 śvamēdh-avabhīrtha-svāmān-ṃ-ṃhārāja-śrī-ṃhava-

nāgā-ṃ-

8 hitrasya Gautami[putrasya] putrasya Vākāṭakānāṃ mahā-

rāja-śrī-Rudrasē-

9 nasya sūnōr-atyatana(nta)māhēśvarasya saty-arjjava-kārunya-

śauryya-vikrama-

10 ya-vinaya-māhātmy-ādhima(katha) tva-hā'(pā)tr-āgata-bhakti(kī) tva-

dharmavat(vi)jay(yi)tva-

Second Plate; Second Side.

11 manōnairmm(ṛmma)y-ādī-ṃguṇais-samupētasya varsha-śatam-ābhi-

varddhamānā-kośa-

12 daṇḍasādhanā-sānam(nta)na-putra-pauriṇaḥ Yudhishtīrṇa-vritiṇe(ttē)r-

Vākāṭaka-

13 nāṁ mahārāja-śrī-ṃhīṣṭivēṇasasya sūnōr-bhagavatasa-Chakra-

pāṇeḥ-prasā-

14 d-ṃpājijita-ṃś-ṃmudasya Vākāṭakānāṃ mahārāja-śrī-Rudra-

sēna-

15 [asya] sūnōr-ṃmahārājadhirāja-śrī-ṃDēvagupta-sūtyaṃ Prabhāva-

Third Plate; First Side.

16 tiguptāyāṃ uyuttapanasasya Śambhō-ṃprasāda-dhrīti-kārttyuyagasya-

Vākāṭakānām = paramamāhēśvara- mahārāja- śrī- Pravarasēnasasya-

vachana[asya] -

18 Bhōjakata-rājiyē Madhunad(id)-tadē Charmmāṅka-ṃmā-

gr[asya] maḥ ṛajāmāṇika-bhū(bhū)ml-

19 sahasrār-ṃsābhiḥ 800 Satṛ(u) khanārā-jputra-Kondarāja-

vijñaptāya nāṇā-gō-

20 tra-ṃcharanēbhūyō brāhmaṇēbhūyō sahasrāya dattāḥ [asya] -

Third Plate; Second Side.

21 Yatō-smat-santakā[asya] sarvādhi-ṃḥakṣ-ādhiyōga-niyuktā ājñā-

saṇch[asya]ri-kulaputṛ-ādhikrītā
bhaṭāch(ś)-chhātrās-cha viśruta-pūrvvay-ājñay-ājñāpayitavyā Viditam-astu vā yathē-

h-āṃśākam-manō dharmm-āyur-bva(bba)la-vīḍay-āśīvarya-vivṛddhayē,

ih-āṃutra-hit-ā-

ṛttham-ātṛ-āṅugrahāyā vaijaikē dharmmasthānē apūrvvadat[ī]yā
dudhak-purvva-

m-ātisirshṭa[ī] ath-āsy-ōchitām pūrvva-rāj-āṇumatām chātur-
vvaidya-grāma-ma-

ryyādān(m)-vītarāmas-tad-yathā a-kaṇḍāyē a-bhaṭa-chhchha-

(chchhā)trā-prāvēṣya[hē]

Fourth Plate; First Side.

27 a-pārampara-gō-balivaraddha[hē] a-pushpa-kśhtra-satdō(ṇdō)ha[hē] a-

ch[a]+rā-

28 sana-charmm-āṅgāra[hē] a-lavaṇa-kliṇa-kkṛēṇi-khanaka[hē] sarvva-
vē(vi)shti-pāri-

29 hātra-parahṛṣita[ī] sa-nidhi-s-ośpanidhiḥ sa-kli(kli)pt-opakli(kli)ptaḥ


na-ke-

31 nachi[ī]+vāyāḥātām(h) kafttavyas=sarvva-kkṛyābhisa[sa]hē+rkshī-
tavyaś=par[i]vardyāyi-


Fourth Plate; Second Side.

33 n(ī)=kuryyāt-kārayītā vā tasya brāhmaṇaipreetvādasya sa-

va(da)uḍa-nigrāhāṃ kuryā-

34 ma II Asmi[ī]ṃ+hē=cha dharmm-āvara-kaṇaṇē ati(tt)t-ānēkā-ṛa-jad-

atna(tta)-saṇchitāna(na)na-

35 paripālanam kṛita-puny-ānukrittana-parthār-āṛthaṁ na
kṛttayāmah [ī]*

36 Vyāśa-gṛtau ch-ātra ślokJau praṃāni(ṇi)kṛttavyāu [ī] Sva-
datnā(tta)m=para-datnā(tta)m

37 vvā(vā) yo harēta vasundharām gavāṃ śata-sahasrasa
hantu-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

38 r-harati dushkṛitām [ī] Shashtīṃ varsha-sahasrāṇi(ṇi) svargge

mōdati bhū-

1 Read yathē=aiṣṭha āḍmāṇō.
2 Read vaijñayikē.
3 The engraver first formed yai, and then corrected it into yt.
4 Read parahṛṣitaḥ.
5 Read yai=chēdām. The cha of ścha closed up again, almost entirely, after the engraving.
6 After this word, kuryyā was engraved and then cancelled.—The anusvāra is not required;
since, in the next line, we have n, by mistake for n, connecting paribādhāṁ in sanāthī with kuryyāt.
7 The engraver first formed ṇ=pra, and then cancelled the ṇ.
8 Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the following verse.
39 mi-daḥ āchchhēttā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakē vasēd- iti [I*] Śśā(śa)sana-
40 sthitis ch-ēyan brahmaṇaśī śvarāśi-ch-ānumpālanīyā tad yathā ; rājñān sa-
41 ptāṅgē rājy ā-dṛāha-pravrintāttānām [a*]-brahmaghaṇa-chaura- pāradārika-rājā-
42 pathyakārī-prayāhrtī(ī) nām [a*]-saṅgr[a*]mā-kurvavatām anya- grāmēshv-an-ā- II

Fifth Plate; Second Side.
43 par[a*]ddhānām A-chandā-āditya-kāśīyāḥ [I*] a-tō-iyathā kurvavatām- anumōdatām vā-
44 rājñāḥ bhu(bhā)mi-chchhēdāṁ kurvavatāḥ a-stēyam-itī [I*] Prā(pra)tigāḥhināḥ=ch-ātra
45 vārā-nilukṭāḥ [I*] Śatyāyanaḥ Gaṅga-yāḥ Vātasya-Dēvāryyāḥ
46 Kumārāsarmaḥrāyya[h*] Pārāśarya-Guhasarmā Kaśyapa- Dēv[a*]rīyāḥ Mahēśvarāryyā[h*]
47 Mātrārīya[h*] Kaunḍīnaya-Rudrārīya[h*] Sōmārīya[h*]
Harīśarmārīya[h*]

Sixth Plate; First Side.
48 Bhāradvāja-Kumāra[r]mm[a*]rīya[h*] Kaunḍīnaya(nya)-Māṭrī(tri)- sarmā Varaśarmā[a*]
49 Gopaśarmām Nāgaśarmām Bhāradvā[ja*]-Śantiśarmām Rudra- sarmām Vātasya
50 Bhōjakad[e*]vārīya[h*] Maghaśarmām Dēvāsarmām Bhāradvāja- Mōkshaśarmā[m*a*]
51 [Nā]gaśarmām Rēvatiśarmām Dharmārīya[h*] Bhāradvāja- Šarmārīya[h*]
52 Nandaṇārīya[h*] Mūlaśarmām l śvaraśarmām l Varaśarmām

Sixth Plate; Second Side.
53 Chāṇasya-Śaṅkārārīya[h*] Bhāradvāja-Bappārīya[h*] Dharm- mārīya[h*] Āṭrēyā-Śaṅkārārīya[h*]
54 Gautama-Sōmaśarmārīya[h*] Bha[r*]trīśarmām Rudraś[a]rmā-m- rīya[h*] Maghārīya[h*] Māṭrī-
55 śarmārīya[h*] śvaraśarmārīya[h*] Gautama-saṅkta-Māṭrī- śarmām-
56 rīya[h*] Kaunḍīnaya(nya)-Dēvaśarmārīya[h*] Varaśarmārīya[h*]
Rāhārīya[h*]

1 The engraver first formed chcha or chchha, and then cancelled the lower ch, or the chha.
2 The engraver first formed rd, and then cancelled the d.
3 Read an-apar[d*]ddhānāṁ, omitting the mark of punctuation.
4 The engraver first formed vod, and then cancelled the lower v.
5 The engraver first formed grd, and then corrected it into grd.
6 This rīya stands at the end of the line, below the rd of mahēsvarā; but this is evidently its place to which it properly belongs.
7 Read vātasya.
Seventh Plate.

57 Gautama-sagotra-Svâmidê[vâ]ryya[h*] Râvatiêarâmâryya[h*]
58 Jyéshthâsaarmâryya[h*] Sândîlya-Kumârasarmâryya[h*] Švâtiê sarmaâ.
59 rryya[h*] Š[â]*yâya(na)-Kând[â]*ryya-prabhritayaḥ [ll*] Šenâpatau
60 Chitravarmmanïi sarâvatsarê-shtâdaâsa[me*] io 8 Ṣyéshtha-
masa,ñukla.
61 paksha-trayôdaśyâ[rm*] ñâsanam likhitam-itih[ll*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of king Pravarasëna, the ornament of the Vâkâtakas, 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) Mahêsvara, the Mahârâja of the Vâkâtakas, the illustrious Pravarasena (II.), who was begotten on Prabhavati-guptâ, the daughter of the Mahârdjâdâhîrdja, the glorious Dévagupta; who, through possessing the favour of (the god) Sambhu, is (as virtuous as) one belonging to the Krita age;—

(Line 13.)—(And) who is the son of the Mahârâja of the Vâkâtakas, the illustrious Rudrasena (II.), who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapâni;—

(1. 9.)—Who was the son of the Mahârâja of the Vâkâtakas, the illustrious Prithivishêna, who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêsvara; 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

1 Read itî.—Two forms of the double mark of punctuation are used in this inscription; the upright form, after anyagrâmêšwor-ana in line 42; and the horizontal form, after kuryâma 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 itî.
2 As regards the Text and my Translation here, Dr. Böhler, while admitting that the opening aksharas looked like driksham or driptam, interpreted them as jîm êm.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrâji read them as driksham.—The mark over the dries is not an anusvâra, but only a rust-mark. And the reading is as indisputably driksham here, as it is driksham 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 Goa grant of Satyâsraya-Dhrurâjå-Indravarman (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 driksham 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.
3 The context is the word named Charmâtka” &c., in line 18 ff. below.
4 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 Rudrasēna (I), who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Svāmī-Mahābhairava; who was the daughter's son of the illustrious Bhavanāga, the Mahārāja of the Bhārāśivas, 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 sprinkled 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 aṣṭamāsī-sacrifices,—who was the son of Gautamputra;—

(L. 1)—(And) who was the son of the son of the Mahārāja of the sovereign Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Pravārasēna (I), who celebrated the agnishōma, aptōryāma, ukthyā, śabdāsīn, dīrīdṛa, vājāpēya, bṛihāspatīsava, and śādyaskrā sacrifices and four aṣṭamāsī-sacrifices, (and) was of the Vishnuvṛiddha gōra;—

(L. 18)—The village named Charmānka, on the bank of the river Madhunadi, in the Bhōjakata kingdom, (measured) by eight thousand bhadus; (or in figures) 8000, according to the royal measure, is, at the request of Kondarāja, the son of Śatrughna-rāja, given to one thousand Brāhmana of various gōtras and charanas.

(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. Prithivishēṣa.
2 i.e. Rudrasēna I.
3 See page 257 above, note 1.
4 i.e. Rudrasēna I.
5 The agnishōma, 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 Jyotishōma, which was one of the principal sacrifices connected with the sacred Sōma plant and juice. Other parts of the Jyotishōma sacrifice were the aptōryāma, ukthyā, śabdāsīn, dīrīdṛa, and vājāpēya ceremonies, which are mentioned in the text here; the seventh, and last, part being the aṣṭamāsī-sacrifice, which is not here mentioned.
6 Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives only the form atīdṛa, 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 bhadgṛutīkhy-āmala, in line 5 of the same, shews that there also the vowel d is intended.
7 The bṛihāspatīsava was another sacrifice, lasting a day, apparently connected with Bṛihāspati, the priest and preceptor of the gods.
8 The śādyaskrā was another sacrifice, of which I have not been able to find any explanation in the books of reference available.
9 bhadus, lit. 'land, the earth,' is evidently used here as some technical land-measure, the value of which is not known.
10 asmatsantaka, lit. 'belonging to Us;' see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s. v. santaka.
11 kulaputra.
12 Sarvādhvāksa.
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 Chavurdéttins; 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 klípta and upaklípta;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 Brāhmans."

(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 Brāhmans and by (future) lords; namely (the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brāhmans) 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 Brāhmans, 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):—Gaṇārāya, of the Śātyāyana (gōtra). Dēvārāya, of the Vātsyya (gōtra). Kumāraśarmārāya, of the Bhāradaṇā (gōtra). Guhaśarman, of the Pārśārāya (gōtra). Dēvārāya, of the

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 (Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 123, note 8).—As regards karana in the sense of a document, it is borne out by Karanika, 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-Saṅkant 1049, referred to at page 201 above. —Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to correct the text into hṛarum-ddarā, probably meaning "in this act of respect for religion."
4 The saṁphāla, 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 Kaundinya (gōtra); (and) Sōmārya, (and) Hariśarmārya. Kumārāśarmārya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra). Mātrīśarmāny, of the Kaundinya (gōtra); (and) Varaśarmā, Gōndāśarmā, (and) Nāgaśarmā. Śantīśarmāny, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Rudrāśarmā. Bhōjakadēvārya. 

of the Vātsyya (gōtra); (and) Mahāśarman, (and) Devāśarman. Mōkhaśarman, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Nāgaśārman, Rāvatiśarman, (and) Dharmārya. Śarmārya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Nandaśārman, Mūlaśārman, Īśvaraśarman, (and) Varaśarman. Skandārya, of the Vātsyya (gōtra). Bāppārya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Dharmārya. Skandārya, of the Aṭrīya (gōtra). Sōmaśārman, of the Gautama (gōtra); (and) Bhattīśarman, Rudrāśarman, Maghārya, Mātrīśarman, (and) Īśvaraśarman. Mātrīśarman, of the Gautama gōtra. Devāśarman, of the Kaundinya (gōtra); (and) Varaśarman, (and) Rōhārya. Sāvānīśarman, of the Gautama gōtra; (and) Rāvatiśarman, (and) Jyēśhāśarman. Kumārāśarman, of the Śundilya (gōtra); (and) Svātīśarman. (And) Kāṇḍārya, of the Sātyāyana (gōtra); and so forth.

(L. 59)—(This) charter has been written, while Chitravārman is the Śundāpatī, in the eighteenth year, (or in figures) 10 (and) 8, on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēshtha.

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 (ib. 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 Malguzar, living at the village of Piḍārāl, in the Siwani Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Siwani-Chhapār 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 Siwani 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 8.5 by 4.5 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 show 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 Siwan; the ‘Seoni and Seonee’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 79 Lat. 22° 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 $\frac{1}{2}$" thick and $3\frac{1}{2}$" 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 seal came into my hands. "The seal" is a thin flat disc of copper, about $3\frac{1}{2}$" in diameter. A bolt in the centre of it secures it to a thin band of copper, about $\frac{1}{8}$" broad and $3\frac{1}{2}$" 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. $4\frac{1}{2}$ 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 $b$; one, the customary form of this alphabet, occurs in $brihaspati$, line 1, and in other places in this and the preceding inscription; the other, a square and more antique form, occurs only in $bennd$, line 17; in the lower $b$ in $dyur-bbala$, line 26; and in $bdppa$, line 36.—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 39 to 42, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmânya, once, in $r\tilde{\ddot{d}}j\tilde{\ddot{h}}a-h-pravara$, line 1; (2) the use of the dental $n$, instead of the anusvâra, before $s$ and $s$, in vanta, 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 $bhdgtraty-ama\ddot{l}a$, line 5, and in $sarvadddhyaksha$, line 24; (4) the doubling of $dh$, in conjunction with a following $v$, in $addhvarya\ddot{s}e$, line 19-20; and (5) the doubling of $v$ after the anusvâra (which, however, was omitted in the actual engraving), in $samvotasar\ddot{r}$, line 18.

The inscription is another record of the Mahârâja Pravarasêna II., of the Vâkâtaka 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 Phâlguna (February-March). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant to a Brâhma, by Pravarasêna II., of the village of Brahmapûraka, in the Bhennâkârpara bhâga.¹

Of the villages mentioned in defining the position and boundaries of the village that was granted, Kollapûraka is possibly the modern 'Kolapoór' of the map,² twenty-one miles south of Ilichpur.

¹ See Plate xxxiiiD.

² bhâga, 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 Kollâpura of the southern inscriptions (e.g. line 48 of the Tûrdâl inscription; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 18; see also id. p. 23, note 22), as the ancient name of the modern Kolâpur, the chief town of the Kolâpur State in the Bombay Presidency.
TEXT.

The Seal.

a Vākāṭaka-lalāmasya
b krama-prāpta-nripa-śriyāḥ
c rājñaḥ-Pravarasēnasya
d śāsana[m*] ripu-śāsanam [II*]

First Plate.

1 Drishtam Siddham II Agnishṭom-āptoryyām-ṅkṛṭhya-shoḍasya-ātirātra-vājyē(pha)-brihaspatisava-
2 sādyaskra-va[cha]turaśvamēdhā-yājinaḥ Vishṇuvriddha-sagōtrasya sashraḥ Vākāṭakanā-
3 m̐-mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya sūṇoh sūnōḥ atyanta-
4 bhairava-bhaktasya ansa-bhāra-sanniv[ca]sīta-Sīva-ling-ōdvahana-Sīva-
5 samutpādita-rājavanśānām parākram-ādhigata-Bhāgiratthy-ā(a)mala-

Second Plate; First Side.

6 shiktaṁ daśaśaṃmadḥ-avabhṛtha-snānānam=Bhārasivānām=mahā-
7 ga-dauhitrasya I Gautami'putrasya putrasya I Vākāṭakanāṁ-
8 Rudrasēnasya sūnōḥ atyantamāhēśvarasya I saty-ārjaya-
9 ryya - vikrama - naya - vinaya - māhātmya*-[*][A*]dhima(ka)tvā-pāt[va]-[A*]gata-
10 tvā-manōnairmmalya-ādi-guṇa-samuditasya I varsha-śatam-ahbivarddha-
11 daṇḍasādhana-santāna-putra-pautrinah Yudhisṭhira-vṛttēr-Vvākāṭa-

Second Plate; Second Side.

12 śrī-Prithivihēnasya sūnō[ḥ*] bhagavataś-Chakrapānēḥ prasād-
13 śrī-samudayasya I Vākāṭakanāṁ-mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-Rudrasēnasya sūnōḥ

*From the original plates.

1 From the original, this word, siddham, stands between the lines, below drishtam.—As regards drishtam, see page 240 above, note 2.
2 See page 241 above, note 6.
3 Read samṛddh-vādākāndam.
4 This and the following marks of punctuation, down to line 23, are unnecessary.
5 See page 237 above, note 1.
6 In this compound, the t is formed very anomalously; but the character cannot stand for anything else.
COPRIS INSRIPTIONUM INDICARUM, VOL. III.

14 pūrvva-rāj-ānuvritta-mārgg-ānuśārīṇaḥ sunaya-bala-parākkram-ō-

15 chchhinn-a-sarvva-dvishāḥ mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dēvagupta-sūta-āvām-

Prabhāvati-

16 guptāyām-uptannasya Śambhō[h*] prasāda-dhriti-kārttayugāsyah' Vākātaka-

Third Plate; First Side.

17 vanś-Ālaṅkāra-bhūtasya 1 mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya vachanāt

Bennā-

18 kārp Farr-bhāgē pravarddhāmāna-rājya-sa[n*]yvatsarē 1 ashtā-

daśamē 1 Phālgu-

19 na(na)-sukla-dvādasyām Maudgalya-sagotrāya 1 Taittiri(ṛ)yāy-

āddhuvarya-

20 vē Dēvaśarmm-ṭhāṛṛṛyāy-ōdaka-pūrvvam sa-korātaḥ sa-

pañcāśaṅkāh

21 Brahmapūrakānak-nāma grāmō-tiṣrīṣaḥ Vatapūrakasy-

ottaraṇa 1 Kiniḥikhē-

22 ṭakasy-āparēṇa 1 Pavarajjavātakasya dakshinēta(na) 1

Kollapūrakasya

Third Plate; Second Side.

23 purvveṇa 1 sva-simā-par[i*]chchh[c*]deśa Karαnja(ḥi)rakα-

taṭē 1(Īīī) Atr-āsamā-santakaḥ

24 sarvābbadhyaksha-n[i*]yōga-n[i*]yuktāḥ ājñāsaṅchāri-kulaputrādhi-

kṛitah bhaṭāb-

25 s[=]-chhātrās-cha viśruta-pūrvvayā ājñayā ājñāpayitavyah [1*]

Vidita-

26 m-astu ta(va)ḥ yath-aishō-smābhīḥ ātmanō dharmm-āyur-

bbala-vijay-āisvarya-vi[ṛi][d*]dhaye

27 ih-[ā*]mutra-hit-ārthθm-ātv(tm)-ānugrahāya 1 vajayikē dharmma-

sthānē[ī] 1 a-bhata-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

28 chchh[ā*]tra-prāvēśyāḥ a-pārampara-gō-balivarddāḥ a-puṣpa-

kṣira-sandōhā[h*] a-chā-

29 rāsana-ḥarmm-āṅgaraḥ a-laṅvaṇa-tlinva'-krēṇi-khanakāh 1 sarvva-

vishṭi-parīhāra-

30 pārīhitāḥ sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ sa-kli(kli)pt-ōpakli(kli)pṭaḥ

4-achandr-āditya-

¹ Read kārttayugāsyah.
² Read bhataḥ.
³ First veṛi was engraved here, and then, it was corrected into vi, by adding the i and parti-

erasing the ri.
⁴ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
⁵ After this word, we require atisṛiṣṭah, or some similar word, as in line 24 f., of the preced-

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.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 56, PLATE XXXV.

31 kali(i)yah putra-pautra-anugami l bhujyamano na kénachid- vyághatayi-

62 tayyah sarvva-kriyábhiih sanirakshitavyah parivaruddhayitavyá(vya)š- cha [i*] yaś-ch-asma-

33 ch-chhásanam-a-gañayamánañh svalpam-âpi paribádhán(n)-k[u*]jyyátt-

kárayita1 

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

34 tasya bráhmañair-āvéditasya śadaña-nigraham kuryyáma kárayéma v-eti [II*]

35 Sénápatau Báppadévé likhitam ácháryéya [II*] 'Atsmi[n*]š-cha
dharmm-ådikara-.

36 pe l3 ati(iil)t-ánéka-rája-dattás-sámphintana-paripálana[n*] krita-

37 ny-anukirittyamah [i*] éshyatantkála-prabhavischnúnam gauravád-

38 jhápâyamah II Vyása-gitau ch-átra śókau prámáñi(ni)-

kárttavyau [II(1)]

Fifth Plate.

39 Shashti³-varsha-sahasráñi svarggé, módati bhúmi-dah áchchhétá

40 cha tány-éva naraké vaséta(t) II Svá-dattám-paradattáv(m)-

41 ta vasundharáma(m) gavám sáta-sahasrasya hantur-haráti
dushkáritam-iti II

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of king Pravaraséna, the ornament of the Vákáṭakas, 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 Mahádja, the illustrious Pravaraséna (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 Prabhávatagusóta, the daughter of the Mahárdjádhirája, the glorious Dévagupta; who, through possessing the favour of (the

1 Read kárayita, as in line 33 of No. 55 above, page 238 ; or kárayéta.

2 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary; also that in the next line.

3 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

4 Read datta.

5 Read krita-punny-anukérttana-parhár-árttham na kérttayámah, as in line 35 of the preceding inscription, page 238 above.

6 Read éshyatáktála-prabhavischnúnam.

7 Metre, Sóka (Anushtubh); 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 Rudrasēna (II.), who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapāni;

(L. 8.)—Who was the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Pṛithivishēna, 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 Yudhishtīrīra;

(L. 3.)—Who was the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Rudrasēna (I.), who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Svāmi-Mahābhairava, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious Bhavanāga, the Mahārāja of the Bhāraśivas, 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) Bhāgirathīlī that had been obtained by (their) valour, (and) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten avamādha-sacrifices;—who was the son of Gautamiputra;—

(L. 1.)—(And) who was the son of the Mahārāja of the sovereign Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna (I.), who celebrated the agniśīla, aṭṭorēya, ukthya, shōdasin, diṭirātra, vijajēya, bhraspatīsava, and sādyasakra sacrifices, and four avamādha-sacrifices, (and) was of the Vishnuvṛiddha gṛtṛa;

(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) Karaṇjavāraka,' on the north of (the village of) Vaṭa-pūraka, on the west of (the village of) Kiniḥikśhētaka, on the south of (the village of) Pavavajjavātaka, (and) on the east of (the village of) Kollapūraka,—is given, with libations of water, together with the koraṇṭa and the fifty (hamlets?), to the Adhvaryu, the Āchārya Devasarman, of the Maudgalya gṛtṛa, (and) of the Taittirya (ukha).

(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

1 i.e. Rudrasēna II.
2 i.e. Pṛithivishēna.
3 i.e. Rudrasēna I.
4 See page 237 above, note 1.
5 i.e. Rudrasēna I.
6 Or, perhaps, Karaṇjavāraka.
7 sa-korafu is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not known. But koraṇṭa has a Drāvidaian appearance and sound, and is perhaps an old form of the Kanarese koraṇṭa, koraṇṭu. koraṇṭu, 'a pollard, the trunk of a lopped tree; a log, stump, short stick.'—In Marathi we have, kōraḷ, 'spun silk, while still raw or unboiled;' kōraṇṭa, kōraṇṭa, 'Barleria or Amaranth;' and kōraḷa, 'dry, empty, yielding no returns of profit.'
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 57, PLATE XXXVI A.

249

(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 Brâhmans."

(L. 35.)—(This charter) has been written by the Athrya, while Bappadêva is the Sânâpati.

(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 Vyâsa, 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 Prinsep published the text of it, as read by Pandit Kamalakanta from Captain Burt's facsimile, and, with the text, his own translation.

Pahlâdpur is a village near the right bank of the Ganges, six miles east by south of Dhânapur, the chief town of the Mahâtâch Pargâp in the Zamânlâ Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Ghâzlpur 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 'Puharpoo or' the other side of the river; but it is not entered there.

2 The 'Zamania, Zaminea, 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 Zamān, 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 pdla 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 \( \frac{1}{4} \) to \( \frac{3}{4} \). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indo-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 pdla of the verse, that his name was Lōkapāla. From the rhyming ends of the four pddas, it seems that his name must have ended in pdla. But, in the third pdla of the verse, we have certainly the well-known name of Śīnapāla; and, whether the name as it stands here is that of the king himself, or is that of the Pāñcic king Śīnapāla of Chêdī, with whom he is compared,—the inference seems to be that the name of the king, whose inscription is on the pillar, was Śīnapāla. 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 Pallavas in Northern India. The king is called pārthiv-aṇīka-pālāḥ. This might be rendered by simply "the protector of the armies of kings." But pārthivā 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 Pārthivās." 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.**

\[
\text{Iha [1\*] Vipula-vijaya-krt[-t\*]bh kṣatrapa-saddharma-pālah satata-dda(da)yita-} \\
\text{p[a\*]rthiv]ah P[a\*]rthiv-āṇīka-pālah disi-dis[i] Śīnapāla[-]timā} \\
\text{[-[ ç]pau(?)lah vihita iva Vidhātṛa paṇḍharmo lō[kapā]lah [1\*]}
\]

\(^1\) As a Hindu name, it denotes one of the families of the Kauśikas, descended through Vāsāmitta from Kauśika, who was brought up among the Pahlavas (see Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I. p. 351 ff.).

\(^2\) See Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 188, note 201.

\(^3\) From the original pillar.

\(^4\) Metre, Mālāin.
TRANSLATION.

Here, the—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 Pārthivas, who day after day Siṣūpāla was created, as if he were a fifth Lākapāla, by (the god) Vidhātṛ.

No. 58; PLATE XXXVI 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 Vishnuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59, Plate xxxviC, in the hill-fort of Bijayagadh or Bejegadh, about two miles to the south-west of Byānā, the chief town of the Byānā Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bharatpur State in Rājputānā.

The writing, which covers the whole front of the stone, about 1' 5½" broad by 2½" 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 1. Every effort was made to discover the rest of the inscription, but without success.—The average size of the letters is about ½". 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 Mahāsāmpati whose titles occur in line 1, are lost. The interest of the inscription lies in its being a record of the tribe of the Yaudheyas, who are mentioned elsewhere in this volume only in line 22 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1 above, where they are included among the tribes subjugated by the Early Gupta king Samudragupta.

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, Sūrya 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 'Bāna, Bayāna, Bāna, and Bānā; but this is wrong; the name, of which the mediæval form is said to have been Bēhūyān, is dissyllabic.—As regards Mr. A. C. L. Carliyle's utterly untenable derivation of Byānā from the name of the demon Bājasura, see my remarks in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 9. The ancient Sanskrit name of the place was Śrīpathā; see id. pp. 8 f., and 10; and Vol. XV. p. 239.
4 The 'Bhurtpoor' of maps, &c.
TEXT:

1 Siddham [I1\*] Yaudh[éya-gaṇa-puraskṛitasya mahārāja-mahāśeṇapateḥ
   pu ........................
2 brāhmaṇa-puṟṇaṁ ch-ādhisṭhānam śafr-ādi-kuśalam priśṭvā likhaye.
   Asti Rasāṇa ........................
3 ........................

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained of the Mahārāja and Mahāśeṇapati, who has been
made the leader of the Yaudhēya tribe, and having asked the settlement, headed by the Brāhmaṇs, as to the health of (their) bodies &c., writes—

“There is

No. 59; PLATE XXXVI.

BIJAYAGADH STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE YEAR 428.

This inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, 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, from an ink-impression supplied by himself, with a lithograph (id. Plate viii). It is on a monolithic 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, 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' 6" 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 23' 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 downwards; 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-
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 Devanagari characters of about the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., Śrī-yaśagī Vṛ(ṇa)brahmaṇḍagāra, "the holy ascetic, Brahmatāgāra, 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' 6¾" high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from 1½" to 2½". 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 jihvd-mālāya in yaśah-kula, line 4; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, in vīṇēśhu, line 1, and vanita, line 4; (3) the doubling throughout of t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in puttrēna, line 2; (4) the doubling of ρ, once, under the same circumstances, in suppratishṭhita, line 2; (5) the exceptional doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r and V, in śrīyōṣ, line 4, and pāṇḍasaśyām, line 2; (6) the doubling of bh in conjunction with a following y, in abbhuyodaya, line 4; and (7) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following v, in puttrattva, 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 Phālguna (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 shews 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 yāpā or 'sacrificial post,' on the completion of a pūrṇa-kārti-sacrifice.

TEXT:²

1 Siddham [1*] Kṛiteṣhu chaturṣhu varsha-śatēṣhavya-āṣṭāvaṁśēṣhu 400 20 8
2 Phālgunā(ṇa)-bahulasya pancharāṣṭrāyē-āṇāyaṁ-ṝ-resultsam-pūrvvāyaṁ [1*]
3 Kṛitaṃ puṇḍartē yōpā-yaṁ-pratishtāpitas-suppratishtēṇa-ṛjā-ṇāmahēyēṇa śrī-Vishnuvarddhahānēṇa Varikēṇa Yaśōvaddhahāna-sat-pūtrēṇa Yaśōrātē-sat-pūtrēṇa Vyāghraratē-sat-prapūtrēṇa ³

¹If 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 Mandasōr inscription of Mālava-Saṅvat 580 (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 shewn by his titles of Rājdhāhrāja and Paramēśvara, as well as by the general tenor of his inscription, the Vishnuvardhana of the Mandasōr record was a far greater person than this Vishnuvardhana, the Varika.

²From the original stone.

³Supply tīkhau.

⁴The form of 33 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.
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; 8 on the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Phalguna; — on this (lunar day), (specified) as aforesaid: —

(Line 3.) — On the ceremony of the punarāka-sacrifice (having been performed), this sacrificial post has been caused to be set up by the Varika, the illustrious Viśnupāradvhana, whose royalty and name are well established,—who is the excellent son of Yasōvardhana; (and) the excellent son's son of Yasorāta; (and) the excellent son of the son's son of Vyāghrarāta,—for the purpose of increasing (his) splendour, sacrifices, religion, welfare (in the other world), prosperity, fame, family, lineage, good fortune, and enjoyment. 6

(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! 7 May there be faith and wealth!

No. 60; PLATE XXXVII.

SPURIOUS GAYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

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 Gayā, 8 the chief town of the Gayā 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 75. 8 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

1 As is seen in the lithograph, there is no foundation whatever for the additional letter 40 which, in Mr. Carley's published lithograph, follows this tī; or, rather, the Ad into which the tī was so gratuitously converted by him. The result was naturally such as to puzzle Dr. Bühler as to the close of the inscription.
2 kritēsa; see page 73 above, note 1.
3 Or, more technically, 'condition of being a Rāja.'
4 Or perhaps bhāgabhāga should be taken as one word, meaning 'enjoyment of taxes; lordship, royalty;' see Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. bhāgabhāja, which is explained by 'enjoying taxes; a king, a sovereign.'
5 The Gya' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104 Lat. 24° 45' N.; Long. 85° 3' E.
word viśakā; 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 shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew 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 2 by 3 in. 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 Śaṃuderagura, very faintly, at the end of line 5. It must have contained a succinct restat of the genealogy, after the fashion of the Āśtragaṇ seal of Sarvarman, No. 47 above, page 219, and the Sōnpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 above, page 231.—The weight of the plate, with the seal, is 2 lbs. 10 oz.—The average size of the letters is 3 in. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 14, forms of the numerical symbols1 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 uisanna, the word uchchanna, which, as used here, is, according to Sir Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, a Prākrit corruption of the Sanskrit uṣantisna.—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; pitrtra, line 8; and sagottṛasya, line 9; (2) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in ayoddhyā, line 1; (3) the occasional use of b for v, in bō, line 8, and sambat, line 14; and (4) the use of n for b, in vrākṣana, lines 7 and 10; vāhrichāya, line 9; and saṃvarāmahāvardīṇī, 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 Ayodhya.1 It purports to be dated, in numerical symbols,2 in the year nine (A.D. 328-29), on the tenth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Vāsākha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it simply being to record the grant to a Brāhmaṇ, ostensibly by Samudragupta, of the village of Révatikā in the Gayā vishaya.

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 shewn conclusively, if by nothing else, by the fact that from uchchhandhā, line 1, to dauhitṛasya, line 5, the epithets of Samudragupta are uniformly in the genitive case; the drafther of the inscription was copying from a grant of Chandragupta II. or some other descendant of Samudragupta;4 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 Ājōdhya or Ajōdhya (the 'Oudh or Ajoockia') of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 87, Lat. 26° 48' N.; Long. 82° 14' E., on the south bank of the river Ghagra 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 Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II. No. 4 above, page 25, and in the Bhītār 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, utpannah . . . . . . . . Samudraguptah, 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 k, p, m, and r, and particularly h; on the other side, others are comparatively modern, especially the in valathushabhyam, line 7-8. 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 uchchhanna, in line 3-4; and (a) the opening expression mahâ-nau-hasty-aśva &c., in line 1; the other instances of similar expressions being in line 1 of the Déb-Baranârâk inscription of Jñitagupta II., No. 45 above, page 215, and in line 1 of the Dighâ-Dubauli grant of the Mahârâjâ Mahândrapâla, of A.D. 761-62, and of the Bengal Asiatic Society’s grant of the Mahârâjâ Vinâyakapâla, of A.D. 794-95.

**TEXT.**

1. Óm Svasti Mahâ-nau-hasty-aśva-yajakandhâvârâj(d)-Â(a)yoddhyâ-vásakat-sarvâ-râjâ-ôchchhêttu[h*] pri-
2 thivyâm-a-pratirathasya chatur-ûrâdhî-sâlil-âsvâdita-yaśa[œ*] Dhanada-Varun-Èndr-À.
3 ntaka-samasya. Kritânta-parašûr-nyây-âgat-ânêka-gô-hiranyâ-koṭi-pradasya chirôchchha-
4 nmâ-āsvâmêdh-âharttu[h*] mahârâjâ-sûl-Gupta-prapauttrasya4 mahârâjâ-śûl-
5 Ghatôtkacha-pauttrasya2 mahârâjâ-dhâîrâjâ-śûl-Chandrâgupta-pauttrasya Lichchhivi-dauhitrasya6 mahâ-
6 dēvyâ[r*] Ku-
7 m«râdêvyâm-utpannahu[œ*] paramabhâgavato mahârâjâdhirâjâ-śûl-Samudra-
8 guptah Gayâ-bhâyika-Rêvatîkâ-grâmê vrâ(brâ)hâma-pûrâga-grâma-vala-
9 kaushabhâyâm-âha Êva ch-ûrtha[œ*] viditam-bô(vô) bhavatvēśa(sha) grâmô mayâ mâtêpittrê-â.ô
10 tmanâsâ-châ puny-âbhîvîdhhayê Bhâradvâja-sagôttrâya Va(ba)hvîrcyâya savr[ra](brâ)hîmachâ.ô
11 rinê vrâ(brâ)hâma-Gopâdêvasvâminî s-ôparîkâr-ôddêśêm-Agrabhûtrvîn-âti-

---

1 *Ind. Ant.* Vl. XV. p. 112.  
2 *Id.* p. 140.  
3 From the original plate.  
4 There is a mark over the is, which may be only a rust-mark, but which renders it a little doubtful whether yaśa-dhanada was engraved, or yasa dhanada with an omission of is. The other inscriptions, however, shew that the correct reading is yastas dhanada etc.  
5 The other inscriptions all read utsanna.—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, suggests that uchchhanna,—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 utsanna, from ad + sad.  
6 In order to render the inscription capable of translation, read  pratruṭṭaḥ. And, at the same time, correct all the preceding genitives into nominatives.  
7 Read  pratruṭṭaḥ.  
8 Read  pratruṭṭaḥ.  
9 Read  dauhitraḥ.  
10 This ad was first engraved closer to the margin of the plate, and then, being indistinct there, was repeated.
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) Kriśṇa; who is the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who is the restorer of the asvamedha-sacrifice, that has been long in abeyance; who is the son of the son's son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Guptā; who is the son's son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghaṭotkacha; (and) who is the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Chandragupta (L. 1.), (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhivi, begotten on the Mahādevi Kumāradēvi,—says to the two village Valakaushans, together with the Brāhmaṇs, at the village of Revatikā belonging to the Gayā vishaya;—

(L. 11.)—"Be it known to you! For the sake of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents and of myself, this village is granted by me, as an agrahāra, with the assignment of the uparikara, to the religious student, the Brāhmaṇ Gopāsvāmin, of the Bhāradvaja gōtra (and) the Bahṛicha (śāṭhā).

(L. 15.)—(This deed) has been written by the order of Dyūta-Gopāsvāmin, the Aksapataḥalādhikrita of another village.

---

1 sa was engraved here, and then corrected into cha.
2 cha was engraved here, and then corrected into sa.  
3 Read ṣnya.
4 As regards the interpretation of the first symbol, see page 255 above, note 1.
5 Supply wītikha-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 Aksapataḥalādhikrita, meaning lit. 'he who is appointed to (the duties of) a depository of legal documents,' is an official title that is evidently synonymous with Aksapataṭika (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 Rajá Siva Prasad, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xix).—And in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 309 f., 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 Bhêlsâ Sub-Division of the Isàgaôh 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 Amrita 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 Kumâragupta. 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 Kârttika (October-November). It is a Jain inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the Tirthamkara Pârśva, or Pârśvanâtha, at the mouth of the cave.

**TEXT.**²

Namaḥ siddhebhyaḥ [10] Śrī-sanyutânām guṇa-tôyadhânām Gupt-ánvayânām nîpâ-sattamânām

¹See page 32 above, and note 1. ²From the original stone. ³Metre Indravâjâ.
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 Kartika; 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 Parsva, the best of the Jinas.

(Line 4)—He is, indeed, the disciple of the saint, the Acharya Góśarman, who was the ornament of the lineage of the Acharya Bhadra (and) sprang from a noble family; but he

1. The allusion is to the ari-śatka or ari-śadh-varge; see page 156 above, note 5.
2. Dr. Hultsch wrongly read šphuṣa, and thus missed the meaning of this passage. For vihāṭa, 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 Bāḍāmī, described in Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. I. p. 35. It represents the same Jina, Parsvanātha, with a five-shouldered 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 Arunāpati; the soldier Saṅghila, who, unconquerable by (his) enemies, took himself to be a very Ripughna;—by his own appellation, he is spoken of under the name of Saṁkara;—(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 xxxvi.), 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 Saṁchi, in the Diwānpafi 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 a 5" broad by a' o" 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 \( \frac{3}{4} \)" 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,

---

1 See page 259 above, note 3.

2 *Aśvapati,* lit. 'lord of horses,' appears to be a technical official title.—See Prof. F. Kielhorn's note on the analogousterm 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 Ripujhaya, which was the name of three or four Purānic kings, and heroes; or for Saṁrughna, which was the name of one of the brothers of Rāma. We may also compare the name of Saṁrughnārāja, in No. 55 above, line 19, page 237.

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 Himalaya mountains, and is described as a country of everlasting happiness.

5 Here, again, the allusion is to the *ari-chad-varga*; see page 156 above, note 5.

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 Śāñchi and Kāchi, such instances as Tōṇḍal and Bōḍal, two villages next to each other, separated only by a stream, in the Māḷisiras Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Shōḷāpur District; and Hīrā and Phārā, two contiguous villages in the Kārnalāṅ Tālukā of the same District. Similar rhyming names may be found all over the country.
allowing for this, the details show no particular development. In line 1, 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 य, after the anusvāra, in samvivat, 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 Asvayuj (September-October). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record, by the Upāsikā or lay-worshipper Hariśvāminī, the wife of the Upāsaka Sarasiddha, of certain sums of money to the Arya-Saṅgha, 1or community of the faithful, at the great vihāra or Buddhist convent of Kāraṇābodha. — i.e. the great Stūpa at Sāthadi, 2 for the purpose of feeding one Bhikṣu by day, and of maintaining lamps in the shrines of Buddha.

TEXT.

1 [[1]] स[iddha]मं[2] उपासक-सनासिद्धाबृहययाय उपासिक[†]-हरिश्वामिन्यां
2 पितर-उद्दित्या कालाणादबोधा-सात-माह-विहारे चातुर्दस्य-अर्यासान-
3 गायाकाश्याय-न्यव दत्ता दिनारा द्वादशा 1 ईशान दिनारानाम
4 र-उपाजयते तयादिवास्-दिवासे सांग्हा-मध्या-प्रविश्तका-भिखुर-केहा
5 भोजा- 1 रतन-ग्रीह-पि दिनारा-ट्रायम् दत्तां 1 दिनारा-ट्रायसया व्रिद्धिया
6 भगवतो बुद्धसया दिवास-दिवासे द्पा-ट्रायम् प्रायवलयितवयाम 1
7 र सहुरुपाजयते तयादिवास्-दिवासे सांग्हा-मध्या-प्रविश्तका-भिखुर-केहा
8 भोजा- 1 रतन-ग्रीह-पि दिनारा-ट्रायम् दत्तां 1 दिनारा-ट्रायसया व्रिद्धिया
9 भगवतो बुद्धसया दिवास-दिवासे द्पा-ट्रायम् प्रायवलयितवयाम 1
10 उपासिक[†]-हरिश्वामिन्यां
11 सांव्वत् 100 30 1 अस्वयुग-दी 5 11

1 Gen. Cunningham (Bhikṣa 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 mālāpitarā." 
6 The initial श of this word is badly formed, and is partly run into the iva of saṅghāya. Perhaps saṅghāya=काश्याय was being engraved, as required by saṃdhī, and then the initial श was inserted.
7 As regards the reading of the first symbol, see note 1 above.
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! By the Upasika Harisvāmini, the wife of the Upasaka Sanasiddha, for the sake of (her) parents, twelve dīndras are given, (as) a permanent endowment, to the community of the faithful, collected from the four quarters of the world, at the holy great vihāra of Kālanādabota. With the interest that accrues of these dīndras, day by day one Bhikshu, who has been introduced into the community, should be fed.

(Line 5)—Also three dīndras are given in the jewel-house.1 With the interest of these three dīndras, day by day three lamps of the divine Buddha should be lit in the jewel-house.

(L. 6)—Also, one dīndra is given in the place where (the images of) the four Buddhas are seated.2 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 Upasika Harisvāmini, the noble lady;3 the wife of Sanasiddha.

(L. 11.)—The year100 (and) 30 (and) 1; (the month) Aśvayuj; 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. Dowsom 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 Archael. 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 Mathura,4 the chief town of the Mathura District in the North-West Pro-

1 ratna-griha; see page 33 above, note 5.
2 chatur-Buddha-āsana.—As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in his Bhilsa 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 Stūpa, inside the railing. Owing, I suppose, to alterations made in the course of the restorations that have been carried out at Sāschi, 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 sādāmin.—Or perhaps the word stands here for the fuller title, Vihārasādāmin, 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.
vines. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahābād; 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" by 2"; 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 1". 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 anusvāra, in saṃsvātasa, line 1.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king; but, from its date, it appears to belong to the time of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta; since his father, Kumāragupta, having commenced to reign in at least the year 96, 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 in 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.

1. Saṃsvātasa-ṣat [ ] paća-strīśottaratamē 100 30 5 Pushya-māsē 
2. Bēvatāya[7] [1*] Yad-ātra punyāṃ tad-bhavatu mātāpirōh sarvva-
sat[1*] yānā-cha anuttara-jhān-āpātye[0] II K. 1
vibhāvā bhavā[1*] sukha-phaḻa niśvānam-anītē śivam
4. a-stabdhā(?) ni bhavanti dāna-niratau chitaṃ niyōjī-aiṅkāda [−] I [− −] 
vichā(?)rāṇa[− − −] dhīyāṃ [− − −] i [− −] yām [1*] K.

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 Vihārasvāminī's Bēvatā. Whatever religious

---

1. From the original stone. 2. Read triṃī. 3. Read dhūtāṇyaḥ.
4. This m 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 avāplye.
6. Metre, Śrīrdālavikṛḍāta.
7. Vihārasvāminī, līt. 'mistress (lady-superintendent) of a vihāra;' seems, not to be a technical religious title denoting an office held by females, but to mean simply 'the wife of a Vihārasvāmin;' see page 279 below, note 5.—We may compare Daṇḍanikātī; in line 40-41 of the Kargudari 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 (?) and 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 Karchhán 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 1½" high; and, on the other side, the remains of eight lines, covering a space of about 6½" broad by 11½" 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 ¾" to 1¼". 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 ivB. 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 reesome, in viśkṣati, 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-Saṁvāt 1050 (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 252, and note 20); it means, not 'a female Leader of the Forces,' but 'the wife of a Daudanḍyaka.' Modern instances of finding appellations for women in the official titles of their husbands, are afforded by the Kanarese Gauḍaṇā, and the Marathi Pāti or Pāṭi, as used to designate the wife of the Gauḍa or Pāṭi, the village-headman.

1 The allusion is to the arīvād-varga or arī-śakṭa; 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 sattra, or charitable hall or almshouse:

TEXT.1

First Part.

1 .................................................. śr. ku-
2 .................................................. sattra yā(?). 9(?)
3 .................................................. [di]vasa-pūrvvāyāṁ ma,-
4 .................................................. guptasya-aiva da'. y.
5 .................................................. [A]nantaupatenya(ṛ)ya
6 .................................................. puny-āpyāyan-ā-
7 [ṛṭtham] .................................................. sattra-s[a]ma*]nya-bhōja-
8 [na] .................................................. [di]nāra[i]h
9 .................................................. vāsō-yugā-
10 .................................................. parō di-
11 [nāra] .................................................. dināra[ī]h dē(?)[va-
12 .................................................. [Yaś=ch-aināh] dharmma-śkandham vyu-
13 [chchhindẏāt-sa] pañchabhir-mahāpāt[a]kh kai[h] sa[m]yu-
14 ktaḥ syād-iti [II] 

Second Part.

15 .................................................. sat[t*ra-sāmānyَا-bhōjanē
16 prati suvānapair-ṛkān-na-viṁśatibhi[h]
17 kāritaḥ [I*] Brāhma(ṛ)no mayika
18 dvayaṁ 2 karōṭa 2 bra
19 yugāṁ 1 koṭṭayba sukun
20 dakṣiṇa-kūla-kañcachād[ā]n paksha . . . . . . [II*]
21 [Yaś-ch-aínāh] vyuchchhin[dy]a[t=sa] pañchabhir-mahā-
22 [pā]takais-sa[m*]yuktaḥ [s]y[ad-iti II]

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 Anantagupta in line 5, evidently belonging to some private person; and that lines 7 to 12 appear to have recorded certain grants, fixed in dināras, for the purpose of providing food in a sattra 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 suvarṇa. Other details follow, including two karaḍas 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.
No. 65; PLATE XXXIX C.

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 Kausambi, is a small village near the left bank of the Jamna, about eight miles to the south of Karal, the chief town of the Karal Pargana in the Manjhanpur or Manjhandpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahabad District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the broken base of a sculptured standing group of Siva and Parvatii 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 101" broad by 4" 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 2; 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 1/6". 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 extinct portion of the inscription is all in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription is one of a Mahadhyas named Bhimavarmman, 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 Siva 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.

1 The Kosam and Kosim Kheraj of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 20' N.; Long. 81° 27' E.—Kheraj is a mistake for khiraj; the village consisting of two parts, of which one is inam or 'rent-free,' and the other is khiraj or 'rent-paying.'

2 See note 4 below.

* Before the word diva there are two marks which seem to be the numerical symbol 3; and the passage might be completed either in accordance with the method of, for instance, the date of the Nasik inscription of Pulumayi, "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 Mathur inscription of Vasudeva, "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 3.
TEXT:

1. ... Mah[âs]r[a]jasya śrī-Bhimavarmmanah saṅhva[1*] 100 30 9

2. ... 2(?)* diva 7 [1*] ētad-[d*]jivasa, kumaramē

3. ... pa .........................................................

TRANSLATION.

............... (In the government) of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Bhimavarma;
—the year 100 (and) 30 (and) 9; .......................... 2 (?);* the day 7;—(on)
this day ..........................................................

No. 66; PLATE XXXIX D.

GADHWA 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. Hultzsch 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 Gadhwa, in the Karchhanā Sub-Division of the
Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It is on a sandstone fragment that
was found in the pavement of the Daśavatāra temple of Vishnu, and is now in the Imperial
Museum at Calcutta.

With the exception of a margin of about 1 ½” 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 1 5/8”. 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 t, in
chatudrīntaṇd and viṣṭāti, line 1; (2) the doubling of ṭ, in conjunction with a following r,
in chitra, line 3; and (3) the doubling of v, after the anusvāra, in saṃvatsara, line 1.

1 From Gen. Cunningham’s ink-impression; so also the lithograph.
* See page 366 above, note 4.
+ See page 266 above, note 4.
* See page 36, above, and note 1.
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 Skanda-gupta, 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 Vaishñava 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**.

1. sya pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara[4]-śatē-shtā-

2. chatvārinād-uttara Māgha-māsa-dvāsā ēka-viniśatim [1]*

3. punyābhivyādhya-artham vaḍabhām-kārayayīt√a Ananta-


5. s[phu]ta-pratisarhsk^ra-karap perfumes,

6. gandha-dhāpa-srag

7. Māya-śrīvāmin, Chitrakītasvāmin...

8. gandha-dhūpa-srag

9. shews ganła-avasthitā

10. chaturāśramad-uttara.

11. increased their fame.

12. inscription august.

13. and—incess.


15. Chitrakūṭa-svāmin...

**TRANSLATION.**

In the augmenting victorious reign of Chitrakūṭa,...

(Line 2.)—Having caused a temple having a flat roof to be made, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of Ananta-svāmin... perfumes, incense, garlands... for the purpose of repairing whatever may become... top; 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° 12' 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 rāṣṭra śaṁvatsara; see page 38 above, note 5.

4 Read vadabhāṁ kārayīt√a, or vaḍabhāṁ kārayīt√a.

5 Read pādān or pādān.

6 Read ya bhaṁ, or yās-ch aināṁ. Read sa.

7 See page 38 above, note 5.

8 vadabhā (also vaḷabhā, 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.'

9 i.e. 'having installed an image;' see page 123 above, note 5. The use of the word pāda, not pāda, 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 Hisar District in the Pānjab. 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 eight 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 *Fitam bhagavatā bhagavat-pāda-dētē,* "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. — The writing covers an extreme space of about 4' 2" broad by 2' 2½'' 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 ½" to 1½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; but in the word *āli,* 'a bee,' in line 1, there is, the southern *i/*, 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 *y,* in *apddhyāya,* line 5; and (2), as noted above, the use of the southern *i/* in *āli,* line 1, which is probably due to Sōmatrātā, whose record this inscription is, being a Sātvata from Central or Southern India.  

---

1 The *'Toosham and Tosham'* of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 51' N.; Long. 76° 1' 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 *Tushār-ārāna,* '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 Vīshhu, 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 representation of the original.

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 Vishṇu under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One.

The manipulation of General Cunningham’s ink-impresion, as shewn by the published lithograph, led to the introduction of the name of E. Gupta Mhārāja-Ghātōtkaḍa in line 2; and to the supposition that the name Vishṇu, in the same line, was that of a Tushāra king who conquered Ghātōtkaḍa, and who might be identified with the third Kaṇva or Kaṇvāya prince Nārāyaṇa.1 As is to be seen, however, in my lithograph now published, there is no foundation whatever for this; the aṣṭharas that were supposed to give the name of Ghātōtkaḍa, being, in reality, nothing but dāna-v-āṅgana, “(the women) of the demons;” and tushāra here has no meaning but that of ‘frost.’

**TEXT.**

1 | ṇitam-vaḥṣhṇam-eva Jāmbavatī-vadanāravind-dvijit-dinā  
2 | dāna-v-āṅgana-mukhāmbhoja-lakṣhmī-tushāreṇa Vishṇunā (?)  
3 | Anēkapurushahbhyyogat - āryaSātvata - yagāchāryya -  
4 | bhagavadbhaṅka-Yaśastra-ta-prāpyaṣya - āchāryya - Vishṇutrāta -  
5 | pautrasya-āchāryya-vā-  
6 | Vasudatta-p[ur]trasya Rāvanyām-utpannasya Gōtama-  
7 | bhagavat-pād-bpayā-  
8 | jyam kundam-uparasya-vasaṭṭhah kundam-ḥ-praparam [!]  

**TRANSLATION.**

Verily victory has been achieved again and again by (the god) Vishṇu, who is a mighty bee on the waterlily which is the face of Jāmbavat, (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 Yaśastraṭa, who was the successor of many men (of

---

2 From the original stone.
3 Over this m, there are the vowel-marks for o. 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 om, and they are altogether superfluous and unmeaning.
4 This y is rather an anomalous one; but the character cannot stand for anything else.
5 See page 123 above, note 5.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 68, PLATE XL B. 271

proceeding generations); who was a highly esteemed Sâtvata; who was an Āchārya of the Yoga philosophy; and who was a devotee of the Divine One;—the son's son of the Āchārya Vishnúrāta;—the son, begotten on Rāvaṇa, of the Āchārya Vasuḍatta;—a member of the Gòtama gòtra;—(and) the younger brother of the Āchārya and Upādhyāya Yasaśrātā.

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 f., where he published his reading of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xviii D).

Deoriya or Dewariya is a small village on the right bank of the Jamnâ, about eight miles towards the south-west of Arail or Araya, the chief town of the Arail Pargana in the Karchhanâ Sub-Division of the Allahabad District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the pedestal of a stone standing image of Budhâ, 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 Allahabad; 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 2'5" high, is in a state of good preservation throughout. The size of the letters varies from 0.04" to 0.06". 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 Boddhivaran, of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT:

1 Déya-dharmô-yaṁ Šākya-bhikhshô[\textsuperscript{a}]-Boddhivarmmanâh. [\textsuperscript{b}] Yad-atra
   puṇya[m]n\textsuperscript{c}[\textsuperscript{d}]

2 tad\textsuperscript{e}bhava[t\textsuperscript{e}]-mátâpitrô[\textsuperscript{f}]-sarvva-sat[t\textsuperscript{g}]-vánâm ch-dhun[t\textsuperscript{h}]-ara-jñân-
   avâptayê [\textsuperscript{i}]\textsuperscript{h}

---

\textsuperscript{a} Sâtvata is explained in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary as being a name of Visnù or Krishna, and also of a people, inhabiting a district in Central India, said to be the descendants of outcaste Vaishyas. It seems to be, as used here, the name of some special sect of Vaishnavas or Sâtvatas, probably from Central or Southern India.

\textsuperscript{b} The 'Deoriya and Deorya' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 19' N.; Long. 81° 51' E.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajal writes the name 'Devali' (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI., p. 354).

\textsuperscript{c} From the original stone.

\textsuperscript{d} This \textsuperscript{d} was at first omitted, and was then inserted above the line.
TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya Bhikṣu Ṛbodhivarmā. 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. Carllyle, 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 1) by my own reading of the text (of course mutilated in publication), and my translation as it then suggested itself to me.

Kasiā or Kasyā is a village thirty-four miles due east of Gőrakhpur, in the Paːraṇā Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Gőrakhpur 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. Carllyle in the course of excavations in a large mound of ruins at this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 3½" broad by 2½" 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 1¼". 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-vihārasvāminī named Haribala, of the figure below which it is engraved.

TEXT.*

1 Déya-dharmō-yam mahāvihārasvāminī Haribalasya
2 Pratimā ch-eyam ghaṭitā Dinē .. mā(?)śvarēṇa ḍ(ī)

---

* The 'Kasia, Kassia, Kasya, Kesiya, and Kusya,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 102. Lat. 26° 45' N.; Long. 83° 58' E.

* The 'Paraona, Farauna, and Purdrownan,' of maps, &c.

* Mahāvihārasvāmin, 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 Vihārasvāmins or 'masters (superintendents) of the vihāra.' The latter title occurs in the Śāchi pillar inscription No. 73 below, Plate xlii A.

* From Mr. Carllyle's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.
TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Mahāvihārasudrīmin Haribala. And this image has been fashioned by Dīnē maśvara (?)

No. 70; PLATE XLE.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 230.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the Fourth 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 Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 37, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (id. Plate xvi. No. 23).

This is another inscription from Mathura, the chief town of the Mathura 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 1/4" 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 3/4". 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 rṣa of bhātīya-yad, 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 dharmō and rjaya, 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. 549-55), 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 Jayabhata, to a monastery called the Vāsūvihāra, of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT. ²

1 Déya-dharmo-yaṁ Yaśā(só)vihārē Śākyā-bhikshunyar-Jayabhattāyār-
Yad³-stra punyam tad-bhavatu sarvva-sa-

2 tvanam²-anuttara-jñān āvāptayē 1(II) Sarvavatsarah 200 30 1(II)

² See page 26 above, note 2.
¹ From the original stone.
² Read bhikshunyā Jayabhattāyaḥ 1 Yad.
³ Read satvedām.
No. 71; PLATE XLI.

SôDH-GAYA INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

THE YEAR 268.

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 Bôdh-Gayâ,1 the famous Buddhist site about five miles due south of Gayâ, the chief town of the Gayâ 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 1¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. The form of य, throughout this inscription, is a slightly older variety of the fully developed Dévanâgarî form exhibited throughout the Añsâd inscription of Adityaśena, No. 42 above, page 200. In the conjunct letter र, in yatir-yatah, line 7, we have to note that the र is formed on the line, with a single य 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 जम, 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 क and ष, in conjunction with a following र, e.g. in chakkrai, line 13; tantra, line 2; and chaîtra, line 14; and (2) the use of र for ब throughout, e.g. in vandhu, lines 2 and 8; vabhâva, 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,2 is the year two hundred and sixty-nine (A.D. 588-89), on the seventh

---

1 The 'Bodh-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 Bhumâr pillar inscription of the Mahârajâs Hastin and Sarvanâtha, 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 Bôdhimânda, or, rather, within the precincts of it; i.e., at the modern Bôdh-Gayâ.

With regard to the places mentioned in this inscription, Lanka is, of course, one of the most well-known names of Ceylon. And General Cunningham tells me, that Amâdripa, 'the mango-island,' is another of its names, derived from its resemblance in shape to a mango. Bôdhimânda is the name of the miraculous throne under the Bôdhi-tree at Bôdh-Gayâ, also called the sajrâsana or 'diamond-throne,' on which Buddha and his predecessors sat, when attaining Bôdhi 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 Bôdhi-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 Mahâmânusâ, 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. 388-89. On the other hand, from the Ceylonese records, Mr. Turnour arrived at A.D. 450 to 477 as the period of the reign of Mahânâman's nephew (sister's son) Dhâtuseâ; 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 Khôôh grant of the Mahârâja Sâmkshôbha, 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 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 Môgbh 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 Sâmkshôbha. And an examination of the lithograph (Plate xvi 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 Nêpâl inscription of Jishugupta (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 173, 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. 116.

The recorded date of the present inscription, therefore, shews,—if the identification suggested as above is accepted,—either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be; or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working them out, and that they now require considerable rectification.

TEXT.¹

1. Öm [II*] Vyaqa² yën-ā-praméyah sakala-śaśi-ruchá sarvataha sat[*]va-
dhátuḥ kshunñáḥ pásançāda-yodhás-sugati-patha-rudhas-tarka-śastr-
ābhuyaktáḥ sampúrṇó

dharmma-kóshaḥ . práktí-ripu-hřítaḥ sádhitá lóka-bhátyai I² sástaḥ Śáky-aika-
va(ba)ndhór-jjayati, chiraratam tad-āyasás-sára-tanttram II Nairódhin³
śubha-bhávaná-

m-anusritah. sánšára-sánkliśa-jiñ-Maitrtyasaya karé vimukti-vaśité yasya-
ādhbhatá vyakritá I nirváñ-āvárasé cha yéna charápa druṣhtau munéh

4. pávañau I páyád-vab sa munIndra-sásana-dharah stutyó⁴ Mahá-Káśyapa II
Sanýukt-ágaminó visuddha-rajasáya sat[*]v-ānukámp-ódyataḥ śisyáh

5. yasya sakrid-víchérur-amarálañ Lánk-āchál-āpátyakám tébyahá śila-gun-
āvítas-cha sátañá Śishyá-prásaśiyáh kramáj-játas-túngá-naréndre-

6. vamśa-tilakaḥ prótsrijya rājya-śriyam II Dhyán-óday-āhita-hitah śubh-
āśubha-vivēkakrid-vihata-moháḥ sad-dharma-ātula-vibhávó Bhavó
va(ba)ndhóva

7. śramañas-tatah II Ráhuḷ-ākhyáś-cha tach-chhíshya Upáṣeṇó yatiyarataḥ
MaháNáma kramád-évam-Upáṣeṇás-tató-parah II Vátsalyam⁵ sáraḥ-

gatasya satatam dinañya vaiśéshikam vyápat-sáyaka-sántati-kshata-dhírté-
ārttasya ch-āpátyakáṃ I kruñásy-āhita-káriṇáḥ pravítatam va(ba)ndhó-
yathá-

9. bhávataḥ évam sañc-charit-ōdbhávéná . yásasa yasy-āchitam bhútalam II
Ámradvip⁶-ābháváṣ príthu-kula-jaldhis-tasyá śisyó maháyán

10. Lánk-ādvip-prástitáh para-hita-nirátaḥ san-MaháNáma-náma I tén-ōchchair-
Vvó(bb)ó-dhampañcá śáśi-kara-dháválay śarvatá mahápañcá I²

11. kántaḥ prášada ésha Smara-va(ba)la-jayinaḥ kárító lóka-sástaḥ II
Vyapagata⁷-vishaya-sného hata-timíra-daśáḥ pradípa-vad-a-saṅghá
dhántá-satájáh sañc-o-śtañóḥ śarvatá bháti bhásvan-yávat-ābhópan-

12. kuññálañ-anéna jánó vó(bb)ó-dhi-sukham-anuttaram bhájavam II Yává³-
dhvánt-āpáharí pravítata-kiráñáḥ sarvátó bháti bhásvan-yávat-ḍurnó-
mu(bu).

¹From the original stone.
²This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
³This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
⁴My original reading was stútai. I owe the correction, as also that of amañáh, for atulhám, in line 5, to the kind suggestion of Dr. Kielhorn.
⁵Metre, Áryá.
⁶From the vowel ǐ being partially engraved over this ə, the engraver seems to have begun to form the ə here.
⁷Metre, Srádhlavikrótita.
⁸This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
⁹Metre, Áryá.
¹⁰From the vowel ǐ being partially engraved over this ə, the engraver seems to have begun to form the ə here.
¹¹Metre, Srádhlavikrótita.
¹²This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
¹³Metre, Áryá.
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 Śramaṇa 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 Upāsēna (L.) then in succession (there was) Mahānāman (I.) (and) after him another Upāsēna (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 Boddhisattva, 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 kāśyā or yellow robe (and with it the transmission of the Buddhist doctrine) to Maitrēya, when he should attain the condition of a Buddha (see Beal's Budd. 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 wonderful 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), (it) he who has the excellent name of Mahānāman (II.) ; an inhabitant of Āmaravīpa; a very ocean of a mighty family; born in the island of Lanka; 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) Sumēru, 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 day3 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 Gayā 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 Sthāvira named Mahānāman, who is obviously the second Mahānāman mentioned in the preceding inscription.

As pointed out to me by General Cunningham, this inscription shews that Mahānāman must have been at least thirty years old when he visited Bōdh-Gayā; by the Buddhist rules, he could not receive the upasamāṇḍa-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.
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 Bôdhi-Gâyâ probably occurred before the time when Dhâtusâna became king of Ceylon,—during the flight of the uncle and nephew to avoid the persecution of the usurper Pâmû; according to Mr. Turnour’s deductions, this was between A.D. 434 and 439.

**TEXT.**

1 Om Dêya-dharmmâyam Šákya-bhikshôh Amârdvîpa-vâsi-sthavira- Mahânâmasya’ [II*]. Yad-âtra punyaṁ ta-pad-bhavatu sarvâ- sat[i*]vánâm-anuttara-jînân-âvâptaye-stuś [II*]

**TRANSLATION.**

Om! This (iu) the appropriate religious gift of the Šákya Bhikshu, the Sthavira Mahânâma, a resident of Amârdvîpa. Whatever religious merit (there iu) 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 Bhûsâ Töpes, p. 199, where he published his reading of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxii. No. 199).

This is another inscription from Sâñchi,1 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 Sâtpa.

The writing covers a space of about 10” broad by 2½” 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 ½”. 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 puttra.

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 Vihârasvâmin,2 the son of

---

1 From Mr. J. D. M. Beglar’s ink-impression; so also the lithograph.
2 Read mahâdâmanah.
3 This stu (astu) is redundant, as we have already had bhavatu. The same redundant astu occurs also in line 2 of the Bôdhi-Gâyâ image inscription, No. 76 below, page 282.
4 See page 29 above, and note 2.
5 Vihârasvâmin, lit. ‘master of a vihāra,’ is a technical religious title of office, applied to certain functionaries, who came next in rank below the Mahâvihârasvâmin; see page 272 above, note 3.
Gosuraśimhabala, whose name is partially destroyed, only the first two syllables, Rudra, remaining.

**TEXT.**

1 A(?),ka... vihārasvāmi-Gosuraśimhabala-puttra-Rudra.......

**TRANSLATION.**

........... the Vihārasvāmin Rudra......., the son of Gosuraśimhabala....

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 9½" broad by 3½" 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 ½" to 1½". 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 attā and pitrā, 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 Déya-dharmō-yaṁ Sākya-bhikṣhō-Dharmadāsasya [1st] ya-
2 d-attra puṇyaṁ tanaṁ-mātāpitṛō[ḥ] sarva-sat[ṛ]\ jvānāṁ chā-
3 [nuttara-]jñānāvāpātyā[ē]-stu II

**TRANSLATION.**

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Sākya Bhikṣhu 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.
2 From the original stone.
3 This n was at first omitted, and then inserted above its proper place.
4 This last line has been entirely cut away and lost, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose.
No. 76; 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 Bānāras), 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. Gurum' pārvvan-gamaṁ kriyā 1' mitaram pitaram tathā 1 kārīta
2. pratima śāstuḥ 1' Hariguptena bhikshuṇa 1

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 Bōdh-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 2" high, towards the top of the pedestal, is in a state of very good preservation throughout.—The average

* From the original stone.
* Metre, Śākta (Anushtubh).
* and * In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
* See page 274 above, and note 1.
size of the letters is about \( \frac{1}{2} \)". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Bôdi-Gayâ image inscription of Mahândrâman, No. 72 above, page 278, Plate xli B. But, as, contrasted with the form in Mahândrâman's inscription of the year 269, No. 71 above, page 274, Plate, xli A, we have to notice that, in conjunction with a following \( y \), 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 attra, 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 Sâkya mendicants named Dharmagupta and Damshîtrasêna, natives of Tishyâmratirtha, of the statue on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

**TEXT.**

1 Óm Déya-dharmmâ-yañh Sâkya-bhikshvâs=Tishyâmratirtha-vâsika-
   Dharmagupta-Damshîtrasenyâtîr-Yad-attra puñyâ[\( \text{[\text{?}] } \) tad-bhavatu
   mâtâpi[\( \text{[\text{?}] } \) râv-âchâryy-âpâdhyâyau pûrvvaângama[\( \text{[\text{?}] } \) kritvâ
   sarvva-satvanâm=anuttara-jñân-âvâptayê-stu\(^{*} \)

**TRANSLATION.**

Óm! This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the two Sâkya Bhikshus, Dharmagupta and Damshîtrasêna, residents of Tishyâmratirtha. 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) Ächârya and Upâdyâya.

**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 Lâhôr,\(^{*} \) the chief town of the Lâhôr District in the Pâñjab. 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 \( \frac{1}{4} \)" thick, and slightly oval in shape, about \( 1\frac{1}{2} \)" 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

\(^{1}\)From the original stone.  
\(^{2}\)Read sattva\( \text{nâm} \).  
\(^{3}\)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.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 78, PLATE XLIII B.

283

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 nága 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 \(3\frac{1}{2}\) 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 Mahádrája Mahéśvaranága, the son of Nágabhatta, belonging, it may be presumed, to a branch of the well-known Nága family or tribe. On palæographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the end of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT.¹

1. Mahádrája-Nágabhatta-
2. putra-Mahéśvaranágá

TRANSLATION.

The Mahádrája Mahéśvaranága, the son of Nágabhatta.

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 Róhtásghadh or Róhitásghadh,² twenty-four miles south by west of Sahasarám,³ the chief town of the Sahasrám Sub-Division of the Sháhábád (Árá) 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 \(\frac{1}{2}\) wide, the legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; the whole being enclosed in a circle, about \(4\frac{1}{2}\) in diameter, with a breadth of circumference varying from \(\frac{3}{4}\) to \(\frac{5}{4}\). 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 \(\frac{1}{4}\).—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.

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 ‘Sahasram, Sahseram, and Sasseram’ of maps.—The name is understood to be a corruption of the Sanskrit sahasragédma, ‘the (circle of a) thousand villages’

---

N. 3
The inscription simply records the name of the **Mahāsāmanata Śaśānkadēva**. The age of the characters would justify us in identifying him with the **Śaśānka (She-shang-kia)**, king of **Karnasuvardha** (*Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na*) in Eastern India,—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-mahāsāmanata-
2 Śaśānkadēvasya

**TRANSLATION.**

Of the illustrious **Mahāsāmanata Śaśānkadēva.**

---

**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' o½" 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 Indrají, 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 ¾. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, except that the Kutíla characteristic is only discernible in a few places, e.g. in **nitardim nishkampah**, line 7, they are of almost precisely the same type as those of the **Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasēna,**

---

1 **Mahāsāmanata**, *i.e.* '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 **Mahāsāmanata** came the **Śdmanata.** 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.
No. 4a above, page 200, 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 Ọ, in conjunction with a following  bào, once, in *putrēṇa*, line 16; and (a) the use of v for ṣ throughout; e.g. in *vālādītya*, and *lavādha*, line 3.

The **inscription** is one of a king named **Prakāṭa-dītya**, whose **capital** appears to have been **Kāśi**, *i.e.* Benares, which is mentioned in the first line. It is not dated; but, on paleographical 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 ṇ it 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 Bālādītya. One of them was the father of Prakāṭa-dītya. The other was an ancestor of the same name; and, as he himself is called "another" Bālādītya, 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 Bālādītya. And the probability is, that the first Bālādītya is the one who is so well known in connexion with the history of Mihirakula.

**TEXT:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dé(?)vō(?) ................................... II Kāś-ṭi-vikhyātāṁ puram kā(?)mē(?)na bhūshitām I ...................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[II] [Pu]raṇḍara [va] pataty-ahō(?) II T[ra]ṅga-ta(?)raṅga(?)va. .. sāstra-vidō, .. taṭānām I kari ..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>rān(?)madvāya-da. .. mām-ānītaḥ I tad-varṇā-sambhavō-ñyō Vā(bā)lādītyō nriṇaḥ prītyā II Tad-gōtra-lavādra(bdha)-janmā Vā(bā)lādītyō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>patiḥ II Tasya* Dhavaḷ-ēti jāyā pati-vrata Rōḥin-iva chandrasya I Gaur-iva Śulapāṇēr-L[L]akshmir-iva Vāsu(devasya II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>nu(?)h sutā-vatsala .......................... suṭāḥ śauryya-vinaya-sampannāḥ I śrīmān-prakāṭa-dītyō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>[dvija]a-vara-nikar-āśrayāḥ pravri(?)ddha(?)-guṇaḥ I &quot;kalpa-druma iva nitarāṁ nishkampāḥ prakāṭa-mālā-pi II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>pā(?)vṛyāḥ Kārttiṭēya iva II Yasya .. va .. nirgata luvādra(bdha)-hrisha-bhramad-bhrama[ra] .. vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ta(?)dīnām prītu-pushkarīnyāḥ II Ye(?)na(?)I ripu-sundarāṇām malināni kṛītāni v([?)pu[la].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 From the ink-impression.  
2 Metre, Ślōka (Anushtub).  
3 Metre, Ārā; and probably in the next verse.  
4 Metre, Ārā.  
5 Metre, Ārā; and probably in the next verse.  
6 Metre, apparently Vasantatilaka.  
7 Metre, probably Ārā.
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 Madhyadēśa or Central Country. In his lineage, there was born "another" king Bālāditya (I. 3). In the family of the latter, there was born yet another Bālāditya (I. 3). His wife was Dhavaḷā (I. 4), who is compared with Rōhini, the wife of the Moon, Gaury, the wife of Śūlapāṇi, and Lakṣhmi, the wife of Vāsusēva. Their son was the glorious Prakaṭāditya (I. 6), whose virtues and prowess, including a comparison of him with the god Kārttikēya (I. 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 Muradvish. 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.

NIRMĀND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHAṢĀMANTA 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 Pañjab, 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.

Nirmānd is a village, near the right bank of the Sātīaj, twenty-one miles north-east of Plach,* the chief town of the Plach Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Kullā\(^4\) Division of the Kāṅgra District in the Pañjab. The inscription is on a copper-plate, which belongs to a

---

1 Metre, probably Śīloka (Anushtubh).
2 The Tristis of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 47. Lat. 31° 25' N.; Long. 77° 38' E.
3 The Plāch of maps. "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 kindliness 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 8¾". 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 Mahārāja, 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 1/8" to 1/8". 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 kurydlt, 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 jihvāmālya and upadhmānya, in yugalāh-krau, line 2; dūkha, line 6; anudhyāh-para, lines 2, 3, and 4; utpānnaḥ-piśā, line 2; and dayādhy-para, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusodra, before t, in vānla, line 1; (3) the occasional doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, in samatikṛkṛta, line 1; and atta and vāḍītra, line 15; and (4) the use of v for b throughout, in lāvda, line 3; vām, line 7; kūtumvind, lines 8 and 9; and kusumvind, line 9.

The inscription is one of a Mahāśānta and Mahārāja named Samudrāśena. 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 palæographical 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 Harśavardhana'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 Samudrāśena himself, as in the Āraṅg grant of the Rāja Mahā-Jayārāja, No. 40 above, page 191, the Rāypur grant of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēvarāja, No. 41 above, page 196, and the Chammak and Siwant grants of the Mahārāja Pravaraśena II., Nos. 55 and 66 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 (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XIV. p. 120 ff.) has referred this inscription to Vi-krama-Saṅhvat 1297 (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 Sûlîsagrâma by Samudrasâna, to a body of Brâhmans who studied the Atharvâ-Veda at the agrahâra of Nirmanda, for the purposes of the god Tripûrântaka or Śiva, who, under the name of Mihirâgâra, had been installed by his mother Mihirâlakshmi at a previously established temple of the same god under the name of Kapâlîsvara. It is therefore a Śâiva 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 Śâiva rites.

TEXT.

1 .......................... bhikhyâta - narapatì - vahsâ - jas = sama bhavach = chatur - udadhî-
sâmatikkrânta-kttrîr-anêka-sâmant-ôttamâng-åvanata-mukutâ - mañi - mayûkha-
vîchchhurita-charapâravinda.

2 yugalaḥ = krâtu-yâjñî mahâsâmanta-mahâräja-śrî-Varupasânas-Tasya putras-tat-
pâd-anudhyâtaḥ = paramadévyâp(m) = Pravâ(bh)likâ-bhât(†)ārikâyam = utpannaḥ= 
pitr-aiva tulyô guñair-mma-

3 hâsâmanta-mahârâjâ-śrî-Śanjhayasânas-Tasya putras-tat-pâd-anudhyâtaḥ=parama-
dévyâm Śikharasvâmin-bhât(†)ārikâyam = utpannaḥ-samara-sata-lawdha(bdhas)- 
jayas-tyajati ma-

4 hâsâmanta-mahârâjâ-śrî-Ravishânas-Tasya putras-tat-p(†)anudhyâtaḥ=parama-
dévyâm Śrî-Mihirâlakshmi-bhât(†)ārikâyam = utpannas-saarad-amala-sakala-
rajanikara iva prâni-

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 samvêt, he has obtained his reading of the date by interpreting, among the words that precede samvêt, arka as 'twelve,' and gaña as 'twenty-seven.' According to the numerical-word system, arka certainly does stand for 'twelve,' and gaña might possibly be used for 'twenty-seven,' though I can find no authority for the second component of the name of the writer of the grant; and, whatever gaña 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 samvêt; and that symbol is a 6.—Gen. Cunningham found some corroboration of his interpretation, in the fact that the accepted genealogy of the 'Mandi' and 'Suket' families contains a Samudrasâna, whose date, reckoning backwards at the rate of thirty years to the generation from A.D. 1500, would be about A.D. 1140 to 1156, and who might, therefore, on his interpretation of the date, be identified with the Samudrasâna of this inscription. But this identification cannot be accepted for a moment; it is wholly impossible to accept the names of Vitrâsâna, Savâhanâsâna, Kanavâhanâsâna, and Naravâhanâsâna, which precede him in the genealogy, as being identical with, or even intended to represent, the Ravishâna, Śanjhayasâna, and Varupasâna, 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, bhi, is visible; but it is impossible to say what the entire letter may have been.

5 The mark over this ma 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.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 80, PLATE XLIV.

5 nām. samāhladana-kaaras-samutkhāt-āsēsha-ripur-āṣāvatām-apratṛthita-phala-pradō. din-dānath-ātura-dayāluḥ-paramamābhēśvarī-ṭi-vaṇa(h) ṣaṃyataḥ-ṝṣṭhīthry(rth). alka-ratō mahāsāmanta-.

6 mahārāja-srī-Samudrasēnō janant-srī-Mihirālaṃkhyā dharmm-ārthīhān bhagavatās-Triprāntakasaya lōk-ālōka-kaarasō i praṇat-ānukāmpinas-sarvva-
duhkhē-kshaya-karō Kapalē.

7 śvarē. janant-prasāṭjitryasaya srī-Mihirēsvarasaya Kapalēsvara-vvā(bal)ī-charu-
sat[1] ra-srag-dhōpā-dlipa(pā)-dānaya sataṭaṁ śirṇa-khadha-sphūṭita-
sadhanaya cha. Ni-

8 rmmand-agṛhār-āhavvāna-vvā(brā) ṭyama-stōmāya Sūlijasgrāma-navaavaidla-
karmm-ānta-Vakkhalika-kutumvi(mbi)nā dvēsā-bhūmī-paryanta . paribhōta-
: Phakka-scha Tālāpura-


10 ralakshmyā dattasaya sam-audaka-jaṅgala-bhūmī-samētam-āsēshaṁ sa-pratvāsi-
: jana-samētamā s-ōdrangā rahā[3] svadvrā-sī-as-kāṭha-prasarāvāna-yūṭīt(i)- paryantaṁ dēvāgrāhāratiṁ-ācha-

tad-āṛṣī(st)tajanēn-āṃdhikrītāṇa hitam-ichchhātā pratipālayā[1] yō-nayathā kūryāt-paripāthānam-āpaha-


dattām para-dattām-va yō hoṛṭa vasundharān shashtī-varṣa-

14 sahasrāṇi viśhyātām jāyatē kṛṣīma iti II Dūtō-tra Nihilapati-

Kusala-prakāsa-cha I lēkha-kō-tra Uḍyotā-arkka-sstral-cha gana-


16 kagala-laṃchē(?)tika dvaśya(?) Mih(i)ralakshm(i)ks̄-pratipād[*]ta iti [11] }

TRANSLATION.

Born in the lineage of the famous kings ................................ there was the Mahd-
sāmanta and Mahārāja, the illustrious Varūnasēnā, whose fame stretched out over the

1 Read karasya. * Read sarvavarmanē.
2 Metre, Ślokā (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses. 8 Read udyādṛkṣai.
3 This seems to be intended for gana-stāhāh. 9 This is what is engraved. But of course it is a mistake for vai, i.e. vaiddhā; and it is easy tō see how the engraver made the mistake in copying from the draft before him.
4 The mark that follows this vv is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.
5 The mark before jaws is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.
four oceans; the waterlilies of whose feet were covered over with the rays of the jewels in the bowed-down tiaars 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 Mahâsâmanta and Mahârâja, the illustrious Sanjbjasâna, begotten on the Paramâdevâ, the Bhâstrikâ Prabâlikâ.

(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 Mahâsâmanta and Mahârâja, the illustrious Ravishâna, begotten on the Paramâdevâ Śikharasvâmi.

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahâsâmanta and Mahârâja, the illustrious Samudrâsâna, who was begotten on the Paramâdevâ, the Bhâstrikâ, the illustrious Mihirâlakshmî; 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) Mahâesvara; who is extremely friendly to Brâhmans; (and) who is entirely intent upon the supreme good,—for the sake of the religious purposes of (his) mother, the illustrious Mihirâlakshmî, has allotted, as an agrâdhâra of the god, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun and the stars, to the body of Brâhmans who study the Atharvâ-Veda at the agrâdhâra of Nirmanda, for the purpose of giving, at (the temple of the god) Kâpalâsvâra, the boti, charu, satra, garlands, incense, and lights, of the holy (god) Mihirâsvâra, who is the divine Tripurântaka, 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) Kâpalâsvâra; and for the purpose of always repairing whatever may become worn-out and broken and torn,—the whole of the village of Śâlisâgrâma, that was granted by the illustrious Mihirâlakshmî, together with the level and irrigated and forest lands; together with the inhabitants; with the udraana; (and) including all its boundaries, grass, timber, and springs,—(this) (the land) including theā.ra-land (that had been given) by the cultivator Vakkhalika, (whose holding was) on the edge of the newly-constructed vâdîla of the village of Śâlisâgrâma; and the āra-land, with the udraana and including the edges of (its) boundaries, (that had been given) by a cultivator of the town of Tâlavura, who under a nick-name (was called) Phakkâ; and the holding of Sulabhaka and the holding of Dâna; (and) the land that had been given by the Mahârâja Śarvasâman at the former installation of the god Kâpalâsvâra.

(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

1 Paramâdevâ, lit. 'supreme goddess,' was a technical title of the wives of Mahârâjas. The more usual title, however, was Mahâdevâ (see page 16 above, note 3).
2 āra-land.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of this word, which is probably a local term. Dr. R. Mitra translated it by 'grazing-ground,' but quoted no authority for this. The purport of the passage from Śâlisâgrâma-nâya, line 8, down to bhûmî dattâ, line 9, is not quite clear. But it seems to specify certain previous grants which make up the aśekham or 'entirety' of Śâlisâgrâma, as now bestowed by Samudrâsâna.
3 vâdîla.—This is another word of which I have not been able to obtain any explanation.
4 Or perhaps Tâlavura, with the short vowel a in the first syllable.
5 lit. '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 Dāta1 in this matter (is) the Nihilapati2 Kuśalaparākṣa; and the writer in this matter (is) Udyōtārka, the leader of the assemblage (?).3 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 TIVARADEVĀ.

This inscription was discovered about 1785 by a Marathā chief named Hammantrao 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.

Rajim4 is a town on the right bank of the Mahintadā river, about twenty-four miles to the south-east of Rāypur,5 the chief town of the Rāypur District in the Central

1 Dāta; see page 100 above, note 3.—An Ujjain grant of Vikrama-Saṁvāt 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 Purōhita, the Thakura, the illustrious Vāmanasvāmin; the Thakura, the illustrious Purushottama; the Mahāpradhāna, the Rājputra, the illustrious Devadāra; and others,"—without any such circumstances as those indicated in No. 30 above, page 134, which necessitated the despatch of a second Dātaka to authorise the insertion of additional privileges in the charter.

2 Nihilapati.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the first component of this official title.

3 guṇa-śrēṣṭhā (?).—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 ai(f)gig(f)k̄-dita, in line 15, is too corrupt to be capable of translation. But it appears to record two other grants made by Mihiralakshman; 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 'Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor' of maps &c.; see page 196 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 $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. 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 interior 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 $7\frac{1}{16}$ thick and $4\frac{1}{4}$ 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 $3\frac{3}{16}$ 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 Gāruḍa, 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 śaktiha 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. 6 oz.; total, 5 lbs. 5\frac{1}{2} oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{16}$. 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 vādkavāndala, line 6, and gūḍdā, 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 $i$, in nistriṃśa, line 4; vanta, line 16;

---

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 Bodd-Gayā 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 (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 17) interpreted it as 6; probably on account of its resemblance to the modern Bengālī 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.

4 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 aśṭamū, '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 Shērgadh Buddhist inscription of the Śīmanta Devadatta of Vikrama-Saṃvat 879, 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 niitans, 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; abhibriddhayat, line 22; pratibastavyam, line 25-36; byados, line 30; and bd, line 34.

The inscription is one of the Rāja Tivaradēva, of the Pāṇḍuvamśa or lineage of Pāṇḍu. In line 18, he has also the name of Mahāśiva-Tivararāja; and, according to the legend on the seal, he was the lord of the Kōsala country. The charter recorded in it is issued from the town of Śripura, which is evidently the modern, Śirpur, about forty miles east by north from Rāypur. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by Tivaradēva, to a Brāhattan, on the twelfth lunar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Jyēsṭha (May-June), of the village of Pīmparipadra ka in the Penthāma 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 Kārttika (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 Tivaradēva.

Tivaradēva'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. Tivaradēva was the adopted son of Nannadēva, who was the son of Indrabala. Nannadēva and his father Indrabala are mentioned again in an inscription at Śirpur itself, discovered by Mr. Beglar, and brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 25 f. and Plate xviii A.; and from this we learn that Indrabala's father was Udayana, of the Sāvara lineage. The Śirpur 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 Sāvara king or chieftain, Udayana, is the one who was conquered, captured, and released again, by the Later Pallava king Pallavamalla-Nandivarman. 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 Chōja king Koppara-Kēsavarman, 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 Tivaradēva 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 Tivaradēva. But this is based upon his identification of Nannadēva's great-grandson Śivagupta with a certain Śivagupta of the Sōmavamśa, a king of Kahta, who, according to the Orissa

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 tamaya-prāpta, line 16; lit. 'acquired as a son.'—Nannadēva's son by birth was Chandragupta,

4 as recorded in line 5 of the Śirpur inscription referred to in this paragraph.


palm-leaf records, was reigning in the time of Yayati or Yayatikésarin; and upon his acceptance of Stirling’s date of A.D. 474 to 526 (or 473 to 520) for Yayatikésarin, as correct. I shall discuss the matter at length hereafter. It is sufficient to say, here, that the date of Yayatikésarin, 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 Tivaradéva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800.

**TEXT:**

The Seal.

a Śīmat-Tivaradévasya Kósal-

b Śasanam dharmma-vriddhy-arthath[ṃ] sthiram-ā-chandra-tārakam [I*]

**First Plate.**

1 'Om [I*] Jayati¹ jagat-[I*]raya-tilaka[h*] kshitibhrīt-kula-bhavana-

mahagala-sūtra[h*] śrī(śrī)mat-Tī[ti]varadēvō dhaurya[h*] sa-

2 kala-punya-kriyām [I*] Sta(ṣva)sti Śrī(śrī)purāt-śamadhigatapafncha-

mahāsad-bānēka-nata-nripati-kirī(ṛ)ta-

3 kotti-ghrīpta(shta)-charaṇa-nakha-darpan-odbhāsī-ṭo pi kāṇṭhad-unmukha-prakāta-

ripu-rāja-lakṣ̣mi(kṣ̄ml) 

4 kēśapāś-ākarshāpa-durlalita-pāniṅpalla[vɔ*] niśita-nistri(stri)hā-ghana-ghāta-pātī-

āri-dvīra-ku-

5 mbha-maṇḍala-galad-va(ba)hala - śoṅita - sad - āsikta - mukṭāphala - prakara - maṇḍita-

raṇāṅgana-

6 dv(i)vidha-ratna-saṁbhāra-lābha-lōbha-vijñimbhamāp-āri - kahārayāri - vādavānalaś-

chand-rōdaya iv-ākrita-

7 kar-ōdvegah kahī(kahī)röda iv-adv(i)rbhūt-ānēk-ātīśyāi-ratna-sampat Garutmān-i va bhujaṅ-ōdhdāra-chatura[h*]

8 parāmśīṣita-ga(sa)tru-kalatra-nētr - āmijana - kōmala - kapōla - kuṅkumapatra - bhaṅgat

śiṣṭ-āchārṣyāya(ya)vaṭsthā-

9 paripālana-aika-datta-chītta[h*] [I*] api cha prāktanē tapasi yaṣasi rahasi cētāsi chakshushi ba(va)p[u]-

**Second Plate; First Side.**

10 shi cha pūjitō janēn-āklishtatayā nīntam-am-a-vitriptō gūḍ̄h(ḍh) gāḍa(ḍha)-svachchha-prasanna-ya(va)da-

¹ From the original plates.

² Metre, Śloka (Anuahṭabb).

³ The vowel is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to say whether i was engraved, or ㎞. In lines 1 and 18, the short vowel is used in this name; and, in fact, ㎞ is used for ㎞ throughout the greater part of the inscription; but the metre of line 1 shews that, in this name, the long vowel ㎞ is the correct one.

⁴ Metre, Ārā; but one short syllable is wanting in the second gāḍa.

⁵ The vowel ㎞ is partly destroyed by the ring-hole of the plate.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 81, PLATE XLV.

295

11 nena ch-alankrita[h*] svami-bhavan[a*] =-pya-a-bahu-lapano-n-ujjhitah ku-trishno-
pi niitanta-tya-

12 gi(g') ripujana-prachanda-pi s6(sau)mya-darssano bhutvi-vibhushano-pya-ra-
parushah svabhava[tha[h*] ki-

13 tch-a-santushto dharm-arjanena sampal-labhé svalpa-krodhena prabhavé
lubdhó yasasi na pa-

14 ra-vik-apahāre sa(sa)k[ll]ah subhāsi(tieteshu ha kāmīni(nl)-krii(krt)dāsu
pratāp-anala-dagdha-āśeṣa-

15 ripu-kula-tulasa-sis-tuhinaśīśa-dhavala-yaśo-rāśi-prakāśita-diganta[h*] kānta[h*]
prakṛtyā

16 śrī Śrīmad-Indrabala-sūnār-alankrita-Pañduvāsasya śrī Śrī-Nānadēvasya
; tanaya-prāptāh sva-punya(nya)-

17 saṃbhāra-prasa(sa)mit-āśeṣa-jagad-upadravaḥ sva-prajñā-āśa(chi-samudhrīrt-
ākhiila-kaṃtakah para-

18 mavaishnavo mātapiṇḍ-pād-ānudhyātakah śrī Śrī Mahāśīvā-Tira rājāh
kuśall i Peṇṭhāma-bhuktyā-

Second Plate; Second Side.

19 Pimpripadarkē brāhmaṇaṁ(n) sampājya prativāsinaḥ samajhā-
payati [1*] Viditam-astu

20 bhavatāṁ yath-āsmabhīr-ayam grāmo yāvad-ravi-śaśi-tārā-kirana-pratihata-
gohr-āndhakārān ja-

21 gad-avatishṭhatē tāvad-upabhōgya[h*] sa-nidhiḥ s-āpanidhihir=a-chāta-bhata-
pravēs[ò*] dā-

22 radrapaka-sarva-kar-ādāna-samētō mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś-cha puny-ābhī-
 bri(vri)*ddhayē Bhā-

23 radvaśasagōtra - Vājasanaṁyādhyandīna - bhāṭṭa Gauridattaputra - bhāṭta-

24 Bhavadatta-bhāṭṭa Haraduttabhyaṁ Jyeṣṭhā-dvādaśyām udaka-pūrvam prati-
pādita i-

25 ty-agamāya bhavadbhīr-yath-ōchitam-asmaiḥ bhōga-bhāgam upanayadbhiḥ
sukham-prati-

26 vastabya(vya)ṁ-iti ll Bhāvinaś-cha bhūmipālān-uddiṣṭy-ēdam-abhidhiyate [1*]
Bhūmi-pra-

27 dā divi lalantī patanti hri(ha)nta hritvā mahiḥ pripatayō narake
nri-śaṅsāḥ

Third Plate.

28 ētā-[d*]vaya[n*] parikalayya chalāḥ-cha lakṣhmi(ksml)m-āyus-tathā
kuruta yad-bhavatāṁ-abhi(bh)šita[rh] [It*]

1 Read śvara. The engraver first cut the rd, of rājaḥ, omitting both va and ra; and then,
partially cancelling the d, he omitted to insert the va.

2 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

3 Read s-āpanidhir.

4 The engraver first formed va, and then corrected it into ta.

5 The engraver first began to form pitrō, and then corrected it into mālā.

6 The engraver first formed bhī, and then partially cancelled the superscript i.

7 Read dhyān.

8 Metre, Vasantatilaka.  9 Read mahām.
TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

This charter, which is for the sake of the increase of religion, of the illustrious Tivaradêva, the supreme lord of (the country of) Kôsala, shall endure firmly as long as the moon and the stars!

The Plates.

Om! Victorious is the illustrious Tivaradêva, 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 Śripura;—He who verily is made resplendent by the mirror of the nails of (his) feet, that is polished by a crore of diadems of the many kings, bowing down (before him in the act of performing obeisance), who have attained the pañchamahásabda;—whose fingers are discouraged in pulling the flowing tresses of

---

1. Metre, Śîlka (Anuśṭubh).
3. This ēka is imperfect in the lower part. It was repeated, and formed completely; but the greater part of the second ēka was then destroyed by the ring-hole.
4. Metre, Śîlka (Anuśṭubh); and in the following two verses.
5. Read yudhishṭhirā.    6. Read mahān.    7. Read dandaḥ=chhṛyāḥ.
6. Here, and in divasu and ashtamu, we have evidently a vernacular termination.—As regards the interpretation of the year and the day, see page 292 above, notes 1 and 2.
7. pañchamahāsabda; 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, mahāsabda is given as meaning 'an official title beginning with the word mahā ('great'); and pañchamahāsabda, in accordance with this, would denote five titles of rank and honour, such as Mahārāja, Mahāmaṇḍala, Śīvāra, Mahādmanita, &c. This explanation was adopted by me (Four. Be. Br. R. As. 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 pañchamahāsmanda of the Jains, and denoted the five titles of Arhat, Siddha, Āchārya, Upādhyāya, and Sarvadhāku. And, finding the five titles of Mahādmanita.
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

Mahāpratihāra, Mahādevanandakya, Mahādevatākritika and Mahārāja, twice applied to Drhuvāsena I. of Valabhi, in lines 13 f. and 29 f. of his grant of (Gupta)-Sāvat 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 Kielhorn, in his translation of line 3 of the Kaṃṭhēr inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsa I. and his Śilāhāra feudatory Kapardin II., dated Śaka-Sāvat 715 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 135).—Meanwhile, Mr. Sh. P. Pandit (id. Vol. I. 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. 351 f.) quoted two passages from Perīchēkā, and one from the nineteenth hook of Chand’s Prīthīrdīj-Rasa, which speak of the naubat 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 Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsīdāsa, book 1, which speaks of “the noise of the five kinds of music, and auspicious songs;” and also gave, from a commentary on the same poem, a Hindī couplet which explains the five kinds of music as being the sounds of the tāntri or lute, the tīl or bell-metal instrument played with a stick, the jādīj 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 paṭkamahādībāda and auspicious drums, stated that the Liṅgāyat Vivahātināmāṇi enumerates the five musical instruments as being the tīrīṅga or trumpet, the tammaṅga or tambour, the sākka or conch-shell used as a horn, the bhatrī or kettle-drum, and the jayāṅkaṅṭā or gong.—The last two contributions to the discussion leave no doubt whatever that the expression paṭkamahādībāda 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 specific 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 Vivahātināmāṇi. Thus, the Balaṅkāvhe inscription of Śaka-Sāvat 1103 (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 46, line 4) gives to the Kalachuri king Bījīlā the epithet damaruṭa-tūrya-nīrgḥbāṣa, ‘he who has (played before him) the sound of the musical instrument called damaruṭa’ (a double drum, shaped like an hour-glass). So, also, the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum had the epithet tīrvāṅ-tūrya-nīrgḥbāṣa; e.g. in the case of Lakshmidēva, in the Saundatti inscription of Śaka-Sāvat 1151 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 268, and Arch. Surv. West. India. Vol. III. p. 113, line 62). And the Kādambas of Goa had the epithet pervaṭṭi-tūrya-nīrgḥbāṣa; e.g. in the case of Śīvachitta-Permaḍī, in the Venkaṭāpur inscription of Śaka-Sāvat 1080 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 273, line 7 f.). Occasionally, instead of paṭkamahādībāda, ‘the five great sounds,’ we have aṭṭhaka-mahādībāda, ‘all the great sounds;’ e.g. in line 41 of the Barbāra grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftain Karka II. of Gujarāṭ, dated Śaka-Sāvat 734 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 160), and in line 24 of the Barbāra grant of the chieftain Driva II. of the same family, dated Śaka-Sāvat 757 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 199). But, that this had no wider meaning, is shown by the double expression aṭṭhaka-paṭkamahādībāda, ‘all the five great sounds’ which occurs in line 1 of the Ambaraṇā inscription of the Śilāhāra chieftain Māmāṇi, dated Śaka-Sāvat 782 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 339), and in line 2 of the Aṇjanēri inscription of the Yādava chieftain Śeṇa-deva, dated Śaka-Sāvat 1063 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 126).—The epithet sasamaḍhigata-paṭkamahādībāda, ‘one who has attained the paṭkamahādībāda,’ is of very constant occurrence in inscriptions, in connection with the names of feudatories, and even of Mahākūṃḍarā 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 Amōghavarsa I., in line 6 f. of his Sīrīr inscription, dated Śaka-Sāvat 738 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 218); of another Rāṣṭrakūṭa king named Kakka, in line 22 of his Chhāṅgol grant, dated Śaka-Sāvat 659 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 108); and of Devasaḷa of Dhārā, in line 5 f. of the Chāṅgol’ inscription of Vikrama-Sāvat 1275 (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological 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

2 Pm,
fire to the salt water of (his) enemies, gaping with the greedy desire to acquire a multitude 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, stuck 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 Garutmat, is skillful 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) unwariedly 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 dallyings 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 irradiated 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 Mahāśiva-Tīvararāja,—who is the adopted son1 of the illustrious Namadeva, who was the son of the illustrious Indrabala, (and) who adored the lineage of Pāṇḍu; 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 Brāhmans at (the village of) Pimparipadraja belonging to the Penthāma bhaktī, 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) Jyēśṭha, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourself, to the Bhāṣa Bhavadatta and the Bhāṣa Haradatta, sons of the Bhāṣa Gauridatta, of the Bhāravāja gōтра and the Vājjasānēya-Mādhyaṁ-dina (śōkaḍ),—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness by the reigning paramount sovereign, is in the Dēgāḍh inscription of Bhojadeva of Gwalior, dated Vikrama-Saṅvat 1919 and Śaka-Saṅvat 784, in which (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 101, and Pl. xxxii. No. 2, l. 3) the Mahāśivamanta Vishnu (?) has the epithet tat-pradatta-paḥchamahdiabda, "possessed of the paḥchamahdiabda conferred by him, i.e. by Bhojadeva."

1 This possibly contains an allusion to the well-known Nāga family or tribe.

2 tanaḍ-prāpta; 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 dārādṛanaka¹ and all the taxes.

(L. 34.)—"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 Yudhishtira, 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) Kārttika; the eighth day, (or in figures) 8.

¹ dārādṛanaka is a fiscal term that requires explanation. The dictionaries give dāra, in the sense of 'a clef, gap, hole; a ploughed field; a wife;' but they do not give dṛanaka, 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 Jagatūnga II, dated Śaka-Samyat 840 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 223 f.)
INDEX.

(The figures in thick type refer to the Introduction and Appendices.)

| ab'dava, a conventional term for the Mālaka-Samkṛdānti, both apparent and mean, 245, 246; — the figures for the ab'dapa, obtained by Prof. K. L. Chhibre's Tables, are for the apparent Mālaka-Samkṛdānti, 245, 247; — and they give the week-day and time, on and at which it occurred, 246, 247; — the annual variation in the ab'dapa is 1 day, 15 ghats, 31'5 palas | 147 |
| a-bhata-chchhāda-prdvāya, a fiscal term | 98 n., 243, 249 |
| Abhayadatta, a minister of Vishnur- | 157 |
vardhana of Mālava |
| abhīgdmikā gaudh, certain attractive qualities | 109 and n., 181 |
| Abhijit, the name of a mahuša, 95, 192; — also of an additional nahuša, in excess of the usual number of twenty-seven, the space of which is taken partly from Uttarā-Aśākā and partly from Sravasā | 166, 167 |
| Abhītra, or Abhītra, a tribe, conquered by Samudrāgupta | 14 |
| Achalasingha, engraver of the Arang grant of Jayarāja | 195 |
| Achalavarma, a proper name | 71 |
| Āchārāñḍhā, a Jain commentary by Śilā- | 221 |
| charāya, in the date of which a curious confusion is made between the Gupta and Śaka eras | 32 n. |
| Āchārāya, 'a spiritual guide or teacher' | 245, 249, 259, 270, 271, 283 |
| a-chāṭa-bhata-pravīṣa, a fiscal term | 299 |
| a-chāṭa-bhata-prdvāya, a fiscal term 98 and n., 105, 109, 120, 128, 132, 138, 195, 199 |
| Achyuta, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudrāgupta | 12, 13 |
| ādāva, a fiscal term, requiring explanation | 170 and n., 189 |
| ādirāja, a derivative from the feauda- | 142 and n. |
| tory title Ādirāja, but not used in a technical sense | 142 |
| Ādavari, the title of a particular class of priest, whose ceremonial is performed with the Yajur-Veda | 248 |
| ādiharta, 'an originator,' an epithet of the Jain Tirthākara's | 68 and n. |
| Adityasādana, Adityasādādeva (Gupta of Magandha), 24, 124 n., 187, 207, 208, 210, 212, 213 n., 214 n., 217; — in the Mandār Hill inscriptions, he has the paramount titles, 211, 212; — but not in the Shāhpur image inscription, 210; — nor in the Dār-Varāṇāsī inscription of Jīvāṅgadīya II, 217 and n.; — his wife was Kṣaṇēdevā, 208, 212, 217; — mention of his son-in-law Bhogavarmān the Maukharī, and his daughter's daughter Vatsadevā, 287, 15 n.; — his Aphṣaj inscription, 200; — his Shāhpur image inscription of the (Harsha) year 66, 208; — his Mandār Hill inscriptions, 211; — a late inscription at 'Deoghār' in the 'Sañkti,' Pargā, mentioning him | 212 n. |
| Ādityavardhana, Mahārāja, an ancestor of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, 212; — his wife was Mālakāguptā | 232 |
| Ādityavarmā, Mahārāja (Maukharī), 221; — his wife was Harṣagupta | 221 |
| Agastya, an ancient sage | 184 |
| agnīṭhā, a particular sacrifice, 71 and n.; — mentioned as one of the five great sacrificial rites | 170, 190 |
| agnishtoma, a particular sacrifice 241 and n., 248 |
| Agnisvāmin, a proper name | 105 |
| agrāhāra, agrāhāra, a village or other allotment of land, granted to gods or Brahmans, 51, 104, 109, 123, 206, 210, 257, 290; — de-agrahāra, 'an agrāhāra of the god' | 173 |
| Āgrāhārika, an official title | 52 and n., 257 |
| aham, 'a day,' used to denote the solar, or more properly civil, day | 87 |
| dhāra, a territorial term 95 n., 173 and n., 189 |
| Airavata, the elephant of Indra; alluded to | 76 |
| Airikina, the ancient name of Ėrān in the Sāgar District, 18 and n., 21, 162; — and the chief town of a vishaya of the same name | 161 |
| Ajagaradāsa, a grantees | 123 |
| Ajaparā, an ancient town in Bihār | 52 |
| ajjakā, a Prakṛt word meaning 'a grandfather' | 187 n. |
| Ajibhadāvī, wife of Vyāghra of Uchchakalpa | 119 and n., 123, 128, 131, 138 |
| ėjñād, 'order, command,' a technical expression connected with giving the order for the drawing up of a charter; standing alone, it indicates the office of Devākha, and the synonym ājñādākha occurs for Devākha, 100 n.; — in composition with va-muṣka, it implies that a Devākha is not employed 100 n., 115, 195, 200 |
Akhandalamitra, a grantee ........................................ 190
Akshapaladadhikrita, an official title .......................... 190 n., 257 and n.
akshaya-nitya, a perpetual endowment ......................... 182 n., 33 n., 53, 262
Alerka, an epic king ............................................. 147, 149
Alberadi, the Arabic historian; his statements regarding the Gupta and other eras, as rendered by M. Reinault, 23:— by Prof. Sachau, 24:— and by Prof. Wright, 27:—his statements regarding the Lokakalā of Kasmir and other parts of the country ........................................ 26 n.
Alind or Alliā, a village in the Kairā District; the grant of Silāditya VII. of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 447 .............................. 171
Allahabad, mentioned under the ancient name of Prayāga, 206:—the posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta ...................................................... 1
Allahbad District, inscriptions from the 1, 39, 39, 49, 45, 264, 266, 267, 271 alphabets used in this series of records:— of the northern class: 9, 26, 34, 37, 39, 41, 43, 46, 48, 53, 66, 69, 88, 91, 94, 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, 250, 251, 253, 255, 258, 263, 264, 266, 267, 269, 271, 272, 273, 274, 278, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 287 of the southern class: 18, 22, 30, 57, 72, 80, 104, 172, 194, 190, 233, 236, 244, 250, 279, 292 of the so-called Kutila type: 201, 209, 211, 214 of the 'box-headed' type: .................. 19, 192, 196, 233, 236, 244, 292 of the 'nail-headed' type: .................. 19, 22, 106
Amanta, 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. 804 and 866, 79 n.:—on the other hand, even in Northern India, this arrangement was used in Nāpāl with the years of the Newār era, 75, 76:—but it was abandoned there, when the Newār era was followed by the Vikrama era in its northern variety .......................... 76
Amitya, an official title 100 and n., 120, 124, 190 Amblada, apparently the ancient name of Bhumāra ........................................ 110, 111
Amoghavarsha I. (Rāhtrākata): examination of the date of his Śirīr inscription of the Śaka year 788, which proves that the Amānta arrangement of the lunar fortnights was applied to the Śaka years, in Southern India, between A.D. 804 and 866 ........................................ 79 n.
Āmradvipa, an ancient name of Ceylon .......................... 275, 276, 279
Āmrakārda, or Āmrakārda, apparently an officer of Chandragupta II. ........................................ 127, 146
Āmrārēya, or Āmrārēya, a proper name .......................... 33
Ānusāvarman, Mahāsāmanata, and afterwards king (Thākuru of Nēpāl), 234 n., 277, 278, 179, 138, 120, 101:—mentioned with the feudatory title, 177, 278, 279:—with the paramount title, 180:—as king; by Hienu Tsiang, 96, 234:— and by Ma-twan-lien, 33:—mention of his sister Bhūgopāvē, his brother-in-law Sārasēna or Sārasēna, his nephew Bhūgavārman, and his niece Bhāgya, 218;—his dates, 180:—the value of his dates, in the Harsha era, in proving the use of the Gupta era in Nēpāl, 96, 218:—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 .................. 180
Āmuka, apparently an ancient village or district in Baghelkhand ........................................ 125
Ānand, a town in the Kairā 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 Anantavarman ........................................ 226, 228
Anantagupta, or Anantagupta, a proper name .......................... 265
Anantasēna, a proper name ........................................ 51
Anantāsvāmin, the god Vishṇu as 'the eternal lord,' or as 'the lord of the serpent Ananta or Śeṣa' ........................................ 268
Anantavarman (see also Ananta), a Maunkhari chief, 233, 235, 226, 228:—his inscriptions in the Barābar and Nāgarjun Hill caves ........................................ 221, 223, 225
Andhika, an epic family or tribe ................................ 156
Andhra, a tribe or dynasty; mentioned as defeated by a Maunkhari king and taking refuge in the Vindhāya mountains ........................................ 230
Animukta-kāhanaka, apparently an ancient village or district in Baghelkhand ........................................ 105
Antaka, the god Yama, as 'the dealer of death' .................. 41, 44, 45, 45, 51, 54, 257
Antarārā, an ancient village in Kāthiawār ........................................ 170
Antarvēnd, the country between the Ganges and the Jamnā; mentioned as part of the dominions of Skandagupta .......................... 69 and n., 71
Anu, an epic king ........................................ 224 and n., 225
Aphsa; or Apsand, a village in the Gayā District; the inscription of Ādityasēna ........................................ 200
Apisā, a particular sacrifice 241 and n., 248
Ārā (Shāhābd) District, an inscription from the .................. 283
Arāṅg, a village in the Rājpur District; the grant of Māhā-Jayarkṣa... 191

Arḍhandaliśvara, the god Śiva, combined with his wife Pārvatī; a probable early instance of an image of this form... 224

Arkaḥ, a title in the Jain hierarchy... 68

āri-śaṭṭvara, or pri-śaṭṭha, 'the collective six enemies of religion'... 156 and n., 259, 260, 264

Arjunadeva (Chaukukya); examination of the date of his Verāval inscription of the Valabhi year 943... 84

Arjunakya, a tribe, conquered by Śamudragupta, 14; the name perhaps denotes early kings of the Kali-churi dynasty... 10

Āryabhata, the first, an astronomer; he was born A.D. 476... 143 and n.; he is the author of the Āryabhata-siddhānta 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... 169

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... 156 n.

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... 145 n.

ārya-śaṃgha, 'the community of the faithful'; a Buddhist expression... 31, 32, 262

ĀrYA-Siddhānta, a name applied sometimes to the Āryabhātīya of the first Āryabhata, and sometimes to the Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta of the second Āryabhata... 156 n.

Āryavarta, a name of Northern India, 13 and n.; list of the kings conquered therein by Śamudragupta... 13

Aṣṭaṅga, a hill-fort in the Nimād District; the seal of Śārvavarman (Maukharī)... 219

Āraṃmakā, an ancient village on the Tamas... 118

astronomers, Hindu; the starting-point used by them for reckoning the places of heavenly bodies, coincided in their opinion, with the equinoctial points, about A.D. 523-24... 146; the three schools are the Āryapaksha, Brāhma-paksha, and Saursapaksha, based on respectively the Ārya-Siddhānta of the first Āryabhata, the Brāhma-Sid- dhānta, and the Śṛyā-Siddhānta... 145 n.

astronomical terms, explanation of... 145 to 153

Avantivarman, king, probably of the... Maukharī tribe or dynasty... 215, 218

audha, a fiscal term, requiring explanation... 138 and n.

Tāvā, 'revenue,' a fiscal term... 138 and n.

ayānānīs, 'the degrees of precession of the equinoxes'... 146

Ayodhya, the modern Audh or 'Oude' or 'Oudh,' represented, in a spurious grant, to have been a camp of Śamudragupta... 255, 257

Āyukta, an official title... 169 and n.

revived by Śamudragupta, 28 and n., 44, 51, 54, 257; and there is an allusion to this in the epithet atomaśādha-pardrama on coins which are attributed to him... 28 n.

Āṣavatī, an official title... 260 and n.

Atharvā-Veda (see Veda); a mention of the study of it... 290

atī-brahmānya; translated by 'extremely friendly to Brāhmaṇa,' but perhaps more properly a sectarian title (compare pārāma-brahmānya, 28 n.)... 290

dīrgha, a particular sacrifice... 241 andn., 248

attīthi (see also satīthi), one of the five great sacrificial rites... 170 n., 170, 190

Ātmbadbhūt, the god Viṣṇu, as 'the self-existent one'... 230 and n.

Ātri, an ancient astronomer, quoted by Rishiputra, and through him by Upāla, for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter... 170

atyantahkāsabhaddhaka, a Vaishnava sectarian title... 28 n., 90, 160

atyantamahāśvara, a Śaiva sectarian title... 28 n., 240, 248

atyantasaṁmukhakhairasabhaddhaka, a Śaiva sectarian title... 28 n., 241, 248

aukikara-crest, a term requiring explanation... 151 and n., 155

Avamukta, a town or country in Southern India; in the time of Śamudragupta, its king was Nārājya... 13

Avantivarman, a king, probably of the... Maukharī tribe or dynasty... 215, 218

Ba, an abbreviation of bhātula, 'the dark fortnight'; used in conjunction with di (see under ba di), 52 n., 93; — used by itself... 171

Bāddā, a town in the Kāldāgi District; the value of the cave inscription of Maṅgalīsa, of Śaka-Saṅvat 500 expired, in proving that the historical starting-point of the Śaka era is the commencement of the reign of some particular king or kings of the Śaka tribe... 142, 143

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 (bahi, 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, 92 n.
Baghêkhand, inscriptions from 93.
100, 106, 110, 112, 121, 125, 129, 132, 135
bhûkalîya, 'a bull' 157 and n.
Balâdikrite, an official title 109 n., 210 and n.
Bhâkiditya, a 'hirasa' or second name of
Dhrurâsna II. of Valabhit 45, 182
Bhâkiditya, a king of Kâšî, and
apparently not the first of that name, 285, 286;—
another king of Kâšî, of the same name; his wife was Dhrâvala 256
Bhâkiditya, Bhâkidityadêva, an early king
of Magadha, who is mentioned by
Hiuen Tsang in connection with
Mihirâkula, 215, 218;—there is prob-
ably an allusion to him in the Sârnâtâ
inscription 286
Balavarman, a king in Northern India,
conquered by Samudragupta 13
Balavarman parîchhîkâda; an ancient
territorial division in Baghêkhand 105
bali, one of the five great sacrificial rites
116 and n., 124, 129, 132, 170, 190, 290.
Bali, a demon, whose power was over-
thrown by Visñu in his incarnation as
a dwarf 62
Bandhuvarman, a Mâlva feudatory of
Kumâragupta (Early Gupta), 7, 80, 86;—
the Mandasor inscription, which gives
for him the date of the Mâlava year
493, 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
Bandhuvarmâsâsvâmin, a grantee
199
bâpâ, a Pârâkrit word meaning 'a father'
180 n., 188, 189
Bâppardêva, a Sâmâpati of Pravarasâna II.
249
Bâppardrya, a grantee 243
Bâpaspâsâ, a grantee 105
Barabar Hill, in the Gaya District; men-
tioned under the ancient name of
Pravarasîri, 222, 223;—the cave in-
scription of Anantavarman 221
bâtasa, a Pârâkrit word denoting 'a relative
of the same generation with a father;' i.e., generall y, '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 se-
lected the epoch of A.D. 190-91 33, 58
Beal, the Rev. S.; certain points in his
translation of the Travels of Hiuen
Tsang, which may be made more clear
through the Early Gupta chronology
40
Benares mentioned under the ancient
name of Kâšî 286
Benares District, an inscription from the
284
Bendall, Mr. C.; the importance of his
discovery of the Gôllâmajhitâ inscrip-
tion of Sivadêva I. of the (Gupta) year
316, which proves the use of the so-
called Gupta era in Nêpâl, and fixes
the chronology of the early rulers of
that country 96
Bengal Asiatic Society's Library, an in-
scription from the 200
Bengal Presidency, inscriptions from the
47, 200, 208, 211, 212 n., 213, 221, 222,
226, 234, 274, 278, 280, 281, 283
Bhâpakpara bhâga, an ancient division
in the territory of the Vâkkatâ Mahâ-
râjas 248
Berars, an inscription from the 235
Bhadrâ, a proper name 259
Bhadrâtyâ, a proper name 51, 52
bhâga, a territorial term 248
bhâgâbhâga, '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 Nêpâl inscription
allots Harsha of Gaudâ, Kalîgâ,
Kôsâla, Odra, &c., to the Bhagadatta
lineage, 187;—intermarriage of this
family with the 'Khâturk rulers of
Nêpâl 187
Bhâgalpur District, an inscription from the
bhâgavadvâbhakta, a Vaishnava sectarian
title 271
Bhavavaddôsha, a proper name 156
bhagavat, in the sense of 'divine,' de-
otes the god Visñu, if not connected
with any other specific name, 28 n.;—
thus used (see also some of the secta-
tarian titles quoted under Vaishnava
inscriptions), 40, 41, 123, 124, 129,
265, 270;—applied to Buddha, 28 n.,
47, 262;—to Kârttikeya, 28 n., 44;—
to Jînendrâ, 28 n.;—to Siva, 28 n., 26,
200;—to the Sun, 28 n., 71, 218;—to
Visñu, 28 n., 56, 78, 99, 115, 142,
161;—applied to priests, in the sense
of 'venerable,' 28 n.;—and to Vyâsa,
the arranger of the Vêdas 28 n., 98,
105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 171
Bhâgvâta, a Vaishnava sect 28 n., 123
bhâgavatî, feminine of bhagavat; applied
to the goddess Pâñjapûrî or Pâñja-
purîkâ 116, 123, 138
Bhagratha, an epic hero 77
Bhâghrath, the river Gândhî, as 'belong-
ing to Bhigrath,' with reference to
the legend of his bringing down the
river from heaven to earth 241, 248
Bhagara, or Bhâghraha; the Dînaka of
the grants of Hâstin (of the Gupta) years
156 and 163, 100 n., 105
Bhagavânial Indrajî, Dr.; remarks on, and
rectification of, the historical results
deduced by him from the Nêpâl in-
scriptions 95, 96 and n., 177 to 192
Bhâgyadêva, daughter of Bhâgyadêva
and Sivadâsa or Sivâsena 180
Bhâhairava, see Sâmâ-Mahâbhairava 241, 248
Bhândak, a village in the Central Provinces; it is not to be identified with Vakkâataka as the supposed name of a place.

Bhandakar, Dr. R. G.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters.

Bhânu-guptâ, a king, perhaps of the Early Gupta stock; 7, 17, 93, 152;—the Erân pillar inscription, which gives for him the date of the (Gupta) year 191, 91;—a note on the details of the date.

Bhânu-guptâ, wife of Râvikriîtî.

Bhadradîvâ gîts included the Pâtriâvâka Mâhdrâjâs.

Bhârâsîva, a tribe or dynasty, connected by marriage with the Vakkâataka Mâhdhrâjas.

Bhârata, an epic hero.

Bhâratpur State, inscriptions from the 251, 252.

Bhârtirsârman, a grantee.

Bhârûkachchha, an intermediate ancient name of the modern Broach.

Bhâskarâkâryâ, an astronomer; the author of the Siddhânta-Sirîmâna, the date of which is A.D. 1150-51.

Bhâshadatta, a grantee.

Bhâja, "regular troops," in composition with châja and ekhdâra, g8 and n., 105, 109, 120, 123, 138, 169, 195, 199, 244, 249, 399;—used alone. 98 n., 241, 248.

Bhâràjâraka, Sînd-pâti (of Valabha), 41, 167, 180;—he overthrew a tribe or dynasty named Maitraka.

Bhâtâ, a title of respect attached to the names of learned Brahmans.

Bhâttâraka, a regal title, properly applied to feudatory Mâhdhrâjas, 177, 178, 180, 181, 17 n.;—but sometimes applied to paramount sovereigns.

Bhâttâraka, Vâruâraja, 181;—used without anything to shew the status of the person whom it qualifies.

Bhâttâraka, a title of the wives of Mâhdhrâjas and Mâhdhrâjanas.

Bhâttisodma, a proper name.

Bhau Daji, Dr.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters.

Bhava, a Buddhist teacher.

Bhavâdatta, a grantee.

Bhavanâga, Mâhdhrâja, of the Bhrâsîva tribe or dynasty; his daughter was the wife of Gautamiputra.

Bhâvânî, the goddess Pârvatî, the wife of Sîva, in her pacific and amiable form.

Bhâvo-srî, "the creator of existence," an epithet of the god Sîva.

Bhavasvâman, a grantee.

Bhêlôs, a town in Scindia's Dominions; inscriptions in its neighbourhood.

Bhîkhû, "a Buddhist mendîcand," 33, 34, 47, 264, 281;—mention of Sâkya Bhîkhûs.

Bhîkhunî, feminine of Bhîkhû; mention of a Sâkya Bhîkhunî.

Bhîmâdevâ, a Hindîu king of Kapilâ; remarks on some of his coins, which have been supposed to bear dates in the Gupta era.

Bhîmavârman, Mâhdhrâja, 266;—his Kôsam image inscription of the (Gupta) year 139.

Bhitarî, a village in the Ghâzkpur District; the pillar inscription of Skandagupta.

Bhîgâ, a territorial term.

Bhîgabhîgâ, "share of the enjoyment," a fiscal term.

Bhûgadévî, sister of Ânusuvârman, and wife of Sûrasenâ or Sûrasenâ.

Bhûgavârman (Maukhari), son-in-law of Adityasena of Magadhâ.

Bhûgavârman, son of Bhûgadévî and Sûrasenâ or Sûrasenâ, and nephew of Ânusuvârman.

Bhûgavârman, Syâmâm, the Dîtaka of the inscription of Sivädevî I. of the (Gupta) year 316;—perhaps to be identified with the nephew of Ânusuvârman.

Bhûgîta, an official title 100 and n., 109, 120, 124, 129, 134.

Bhûgîta-tîki, "the portion of a tîki that is still to run."

Bhûjâdevâ of Kanauj; examination of the date of his Dîgadîg inscription of Vikrama-Saîvat 919 and Saîka-Saîvat 784, which proves that one or other, or both, of the unequal systems of the nakshatras continued in use up to A.D. 862.

Bhûjâka, the title of a class of priests.

Bhûjakâdevîryâ, a grantee.

Bhûjakatâ, a kingdom subject to the Vakkâataka Mâhdhrâjas.

Bhûpâl State, inscriptions from the, 29, 260, 279;—remarks on the spelling and derivation of the name of Bhûpâl.

Bhrûkunâthasînâ, a proper name.

Bhujangâdâsâ, a proper name.

Bhûkti-tîki, "the elapsed portion of a tîki."

Bhûkti, a territorial term.

Bhumarda, a village in the Nagaudh State; the pillar inscription of Hastin and Sarvanâthâs.
Bhumbusapadraka, the name of some land in the village of Vajragrama... 170
bhūmat, a particular land-measure... 241 and n.
bhāmichchhīdra, a fiscal term... 138 and n.; 170, 190
bhāla, a fiscal term, requiring explanation... 170 and n., 189
Bhātapatī, the god Śivāyas 'the lord of beings'... 225
Bhōr, a town in the Patna District; mentioned under the ancient name of Vīrāra, and as the city of Yāsāvarmā, 47 n.;—the pillar inscription of Skandagupta... 47
Bijayagadh, a hill-fort in Rājputāṇa, near Byāndā; the fragmentary inscription of the Yaukhēyāya, 251;—the pillar inscription of the Vairāka Vishvapuradhana, of the (Māla)ya year 248... 232
Bilsad, or Bīsānd, a village in the Pat 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-tokens, i.e. coins or banners bearing representations of Garuda, that were given by feudatories to Samudragupta... 14 and n.
Blochmann, Mr.; his proposal for amending the translation of Albērēn's words regarding the origin of the Gupta era... 28 n.
Bōdhi-Gāyā, a Buddhist site near Gāyā; the inscription of Mahāmanā of the (Gupta) year 269 (the date of which, however, should perhaps be referred to the Kalachuri era), 274;—the image inscription of Mahāmanā, 276;—the image inscription of Bharugupta and Damīshtraśana... 281
Bōdhimandā, the miraculous throne under the bōdhī-tree at Bōdhi-Gāyā, or its site... 275, 278
Bōdhiwarman, a proper name... 272
Bombay Presidency, an inscription from the... 56
boppa, a Prākrit word meaning 'a father'... 188 n.
bōtā, or bōta, a terminus of names... 31 n.
Bōtakā, a proper name;... 170
'bāx-headed' characters... 18, 192, 196, 233, 235, 244, 292
Brahmadēvasāmin, a grantee... 195
Brahmagupta, an astronomer; he was born A.D. 598... 172;—he is the author of the Brahma-Siddhānta, the date of which is A.D. 629-29... 150 n.; 165 n.;—and this is the text-book of the Brāhma-paṭha school of astronomers, 145 n.;—his rule, as rendered by Bhāskarāchāryya, for one of the unequal-space systems of the nākṣatras, 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, Vīdātā, Vīdātīṣṭi; and, for his wife, see Sarasa-vati), 155 n., 208;—mentioned as the 'creator, preserver, and destroyer, subject to the direction of Śiva'... 155 and n.
Brahmānaya, an epithet of the god Kārttikeya... 45
Brahmapādara, a village in the Beopākarāpara district... 248
Brahmaputra, the river; mentioned under the name of Lāhuṭiya, 145, 148;— and of Lāhiṭiya... 206
Brahma-Siddhānta, an astronomical work by Brahmagupta; it was written A.D. 618-29... 156 n., 165 n.;—and it is the text-book of the Brāhma-paṭha school of astronomers... 145 n.
Brihaspati, the regent of the planet Jupiter, and the preceptor of the gods 170, 176, 86, 90 n., 157
Brihaspati, an astronomer, quoted by Dādabāha, in support of the heliocentric rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter... 170
brihaspatisava, a particular sacrifice 241 and n., 248
Bṛhat-Saṁhitā, an astrological work by Varahamihira; its statement for the naming of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter according to his heliacal rising in particular nākṣatras, 261;—and for the grouping of the nākṣatras for that purpose... 162
Broach (Bharuch, or Bharāch), the chief town of the Broach District; mentioned under the ancient name of Bharukachchha... 95 n.
Buddha (see also Buddhās, 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 Sākyas,' 277;—inscribed images of Buddha... 45, 278, 280, 281
Buddhagupta, a king of Magadha, mentioned by Huen Tsiang; he is not to be confused with the Buddhagupta of the Era pillar inscription... 46 and n.
Buddhamitra, a proper name... 47
Buddhas, mentioned as four in number, 262 and n.;—invoked in the plural 47 and n.
Buddhist inscriptions (for another instance of Buddhist worship, see Paramasaṅgata) 280, 29, 45, 280, 26, 271, 276, 277, 273, 274, 278, 280, 281
Buddhists spoken of under the sectarian title of Paramasaṅgata... 232 and n.
Buddhagupta, a king, perhaps of the Early Gupta stock, 7, 27, 68, 90;—he is not to be confused with the Buddhagupta, king of Magadha, mentioned by Huen Tsiang, 46 n.;—his Era pillar inscrip-
tion of the (Gupta) year 165...88;
— examination of the date ... 80

Bühler, Dr. G.; quoted as inclined, sub-
ject, however, to further consideration, to
identify T'nu-ho-po-ru with
Śīkātiya VII. of Valabha
... 51

Bulandshahar District, an inscription
from the ... 68

bull-emblem on seals ... 164, 219, 231, 282, 283

Bundelkhand; mention of this part of
the country under the ancient name of
Dabhālā or Dahālā ... 113, 114; 116—
inscriptions from Bundelkhand ... 233

Calcutta 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, 211, 232—castes
mentioned in this series of records:
— Brāhmaṇa; by the name Brāhmaṇa, 38,
39, 71, 79, 104, 105, 109, 116, 120, 123,
128, 132, 138, 170, 218, 244, 242, 249,
252, 257, 295, 290, 298—by the word
brahmaṇa, as brahmā dauntingly, brahma-
dūya, brahmaṇa-puṇa, brahma-hatya
and brahma-arskī, 34, 84, 171, 195, 190,
244—by the words ārya and dīyā
64, 67, 71, 74, 78, 163 and n., 185, 195,
200, 206; and by the word vāra, alone
and in vāra-arskī, 71, 85, 90, 160;
— Kshatriya; by the name Kshatriya,
71, 129; and by the words kshatra
and āditya ... 223, 225, 227, 251

cave-inscriptions ... 21, 34, 221, 223, 226, 258

Central India, inscriptions from ... 21, 29,
34, 72, 79, 93, 105, 106, 110, 112, 121,
125, 139, 132, 135, 144, 149, 150, 233,
298, 460, 279

Central Provinces, inscriptions from the
18, 88, 91, 117, 158, 191, 196, 219, 243, 291

Ceylon, mentioned under the name of
Siṅhala, and as conquered by Samu-
dragupta, 14—mentioned under the name
of Amardvpta, 278, 279; and of
Laṅka, 277, 278; its early history and
dates required to be rectified in accord-
ance with the Bhūdh-Gayā inscription of
Mahānāman (or may be adjusted by
it, if the date of it should be in the
Kalachuri era) ... 26, 275

chakras, a discus; as an emblem on seals ... 292

Chakrabhīj, the god Viṣṇu, as 'the
wielder of the discus' ... 65

Chakradhara, the god Viṣṇu, as 'the
holder of the discus' ... 78 n., 221

Chakrapāliya, the governor of the town
of Girinagar in the time of Skanda-
gupta ... 63, 64, 65

Chakrapāni, the god Viṣṇu, as 'holding
the discus in his hand' ... 240, 248

Chakravartī, a title of paramount sove-
reignty ... 45, 134 n., 183 and n.

Chammak, a village in the Ilichpur Dis-
trict; mentioned under the ancient
name of Charmaṇa, 236, 241; the
grant of Pravarasena II. ... 235

Chandra, an emperor of Northern India,
12, 142; he may perhaps be identified
with the Early Gupta king Chandra-
gupta I., or he may possibly be the
younger brother of Mihirakula, men-
tioned, but not named, by Hiuen
Tsang, 12, 149 n.; he may possibly
have had also the name of Dhaća; but
this is hardly borne out by the con-
bstruction of the record, 142 n.; his
Mēharauli posthumous pillar inscription
... 130

Chandragupta I. (Early Gupta), 17, 18,
16, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257; he seems to
have had the birudas or second names
of Vikrama and Vikramādīya, 18—
his wife was Kumārakētt, of the Lich-
havī tribe or clan, 16, 28, 44, 51, 54,
257; he may perhaps be identified
with the Chandra of the Mēharauli
pillar inscription ... 12, 140 n.

Chandragupta II. (Early Gupta), 17, 18, 25,
28, 34, 35, 38, 44, 51, 54; spoken of as
'the accepted son' of Samudragu-
pata, 27, 51, 54; this seems to
indicate that he was specially selected
by his father to succeed him, 12 n.;
behind the birudas or second names of
Vikrama, Vikramādīya, and Vikramāṇa, 18—
he may possibly have had the title of
Dēvarāja; 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 Dhruvadevī, 44, 51, 55; he
visited Udāyagiri on a tour of con-
quest, 36; his Udāyagiri inscription
of the (Gupta) year 82, ... 21; his
Mathurā inscription, 25; his Śānchi
inscription of the year 93, ... 29; his
undated Udāyagiri inscription, 34; his
Gadhī inscription of the year 88,
36

Chandrapura, an ancient town ... 71

Chandrarāman, a king in Northern India,
conquered by Samudragupta ... 13

Chandrarāman, Sāmanta, mentioned in
the inscription of Jishnugupta of the
(Harsha) year 48 ... 180

Chāranā, a sect or school studying any
particular śākta of the Vēdas ... 241

Chārnāka, the ancient name of the
modern Chammak ... 235, 241

chāva, one of the five great sacrificial
rites ... 116 and n., 124, 139, 132, 170, 190, 290

chādha, 'irregular troops,' in composition
with bhāta ... 98 and n., 105, 109, 120,
128, 132, 138, 169, 195, 199, 293

chaturdasa-vidyāsthana, 'the fourteen
sections of science' ... 115 and n.

chatur-udāhi-satī-lāvda-ya, an
epithet of 'Samudragupta, 27, 44, 51,
Chaturvedin, a Harshaman acquainted with the four Vedas...

Chauvarajam, a fiscal term which is explained by chheda-danda-varjyam...

Chauvarajadhvakha, an official title...

Chedi era; see Kaluchuri or Chedi era...

Chhagalja, Mahardja (Sanakandika)...

Chhandpallik, an ancient village in the Nagadaya santaka...

Chhatura, an umbrella bearer, in composition with bhata, 242, 249; used alone...

Chhatre, the late Prof. Kero Laksman; 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 Srya-Siddhdnta and other Hindu works; but the difference will not amount to more than 5 or 6 ghafs...

Chhibudgomika, a grantee...

Chhibudgomin, a proper name...

Chirbira, the Didaka of the Miliy grant of Dharasena II. of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 252...

Chitrakadasavin, the god Vishnu, as the lord of Chitrakada...

Chitravarman, a Sandpati of Pravarasena II.

\( \text{chheda-danda-varjyam, a fiscal term} \), 98 n., 124

\( \text{chheda-drshaka-varjyam, a fiscal term} \) which is explained by the preceding...

\( \text{vchheda-varjyam} \) (see also chhara-varjyam), an elliptical expression for \( \text{chheda-danda-varjyam} \)...

\( \text{vchhara-varjyata, a fiscal expression which is explained by the same word} \), 120, 138

coins; remarks on coins of the Early Guptas, 36 n., 12 ns., 14 ns., 15 n., 25 n., 27 n., 28 ns., 46 n.;—of Samudragupta, 12 ns., 14 ns., 15 n., 27 n., 28 ns.;—of Skandagupta, 25 n., 46 n.;—of the Hindu kings of Kâbul, 57 to 60;—of the Kshatrapas or Mahâkshatrapas of Sautrâstra, 36 n.; and of Tûrâmanâ...

11, 12

copper-plate charters are usually denoted by the terms idâna, 99 n., 104, 199, 218, 240, 242, 247, 249, 260; and idâna-idâna, 99 n., 109, 116 128, 139, 136, 195, 199;—an exceptional instance, in which such a charter is denoted by the term pradâst, 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, 197, 196, 235, 243, 254, 294;—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;—cow-stand...

Call-sculpture, with a tree, on an inscription stone...

274 and n.

creation of widows, an epigraphical instance of...

92 and n., 93

Cunningham, Gen. Sir A.; the views expressed 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, 54, 53, 61

current and expired years (see also expired years); the proper method of the interpretation of the years in recorded dates, irrespective of the question of the application of the years for calculation, 22 n.;—current years can come to 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, 240 n.;—instances of the use of regnal years, which are naturally to be interpreted as current years, 24 n., 159, 161, 192, 236, 244, 287, 293;—instances of the use of years, of eras, which, not being specified as expired, are naturally to be interpreted as current, 80, 85, 91, 93, 95, 104, 110, 114, 117, 22, 30, 37, 41, 43, 46, 57, 59, 60, 66, 70, 89, 93, 95, 102, 107, 113, 118, 121, 126, 133, 135, 145, 173, 209, 255, 261, 263, 266, 268, 273, 274;—instances of the use of years, of eras, which apparently are to be interpreted as current, but which have to be applied as expired for calculation, 80 n., 85, 107 n.;—instances of the use of both current and expired years of the Kaliyuga, Vikrama, and Saka eras, in Hindu almanacs...

138 to 141

de, lingual; a special and unique form of it, from which the modern Dvarangart form is derived...

72 and Plate

Dabhâla, or possibly Dabhâla, the name of the hereditary kingdom of Hastin, the modern Bundelkhanda...

113, 114, 116

Dacca (Dik), a Division, District, and town in the Bengal Presidency; perhaps mentioned under the ancient name of Dvadka...

9 n., 14

Dahbhâla, author of the Kiranavali, a commentary on the Srya-Siddhdnta; his quotation of Brahmati in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 171;—his comments on a verse of the Srya-Siddhdnta in the same connection...

171 n.
Dabhā, a possible reading instead of Dabhāḥ 113, 114, 116 n.
Daivaputra, a dynasty or tribe, conquered by Samudragupta 14
Daksha, a proper name 157, 158
Dakshinapatha, 'the region of the south,' a technical name for Southern India, 13 and n.;— list of the kings conquered therein by Samudragupta 13
Damana of Rauḍapalla, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
Dāmōdara, the god Viṣṇu, as 'wearing a cord round the belly' 206
Dāmōdaragupta (Gupta of Magadhā) 206;— he defeated the Maukhari 206
Dāmālaragupta, Mahārāja (Parivārājaka) 97, 104, 109, 115
Dāmśhārasena, a proper name 282
Dāṇḍapāsika, or Dāṇḍapāsika, an official title 170 and n., 218
Dāṇḍika, an official title 218 and n., dāṇḍudravāsa, a fiscal term, requiring explanation 299 and n.
Dārakṣamāṇa, apparently an ancient district in Bagbhēṅkhaṇḍ 125
dātāpārāśa, 'the ten offences' 189 and n., 218
Dāsāpura, the ancient name of the modern Dāś or Māndāś 79 and n., 84, 86
Dāsār, the popular and more correct name of Māndāś 79 and n.
dates (see also eras) in this series of records, in the other Gupta-Valabhl records quoted for calculation, and in the Nēpāl 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, 37, 41, 46, 89, 94, 107, 110, 118, 159, 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, 120, 133, 135, 151, 159, 161, 173, 236, 244, 258, 263, 268
Dattadevī, 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 (Dakkā); 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-Valabhl dates:—
Rāvī, i.e. Rāvīvāra (Sunday) 85
Sōṃs, i.e. Śoṅavāra (Monday) 91
Sūryagurudāsa (Thursday) 81, 90
days, lunar (see also tithi); special expressions, of occasional use, connecting them with the solar or more properly
civil days, are, asyāṃ divasa-pūrṇāmyaḥ, 38, 40, 41, 44 and n., 97 and n., 104, 120, 265;— asyāṃ divasa-māsa-saṃvat-āṇu-pūrṇāmyaḥ, 97 n., 210;— asyāṃ saṃvat-sāra-māsa-divasa-pūrṇa-yāṃ, 97 n., 108, 115;— and ēśāyaṃ pūrṇāmyaḥ, 160, 254;— and another method, in the Nēpāl inscriptions, is the use of dīg in composition with the tithi, 85 n., 178, 210 to 184;— lunar days mentioned in dates of this series, in the other Gupta-Valabhl dates used for calculation, and in the Nēpāl inscriptions:—
bright fortnight:—
first 95, 182, 183
second 93, 110, 179, 180, 183, 87, 104
third 104, 183, 97
fifth 101
seventh 184
ninth 184
tenth 178, 210, 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 aha, and by dīna, or divasa, or their abbreviations di and diva, and mentioned in dates of this series, in the other Gupta-Valabhl dates used for calculation, and in the Nēpāl 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 47
nineteenth 119, 112
twentieth 134, 263
twenty-first 268
twenty-second 124
twenty-fifth 195
twenty-seventh 117, 116, 274.n.
decimal figures (see also dates): the earliest epigraphical instances of the use of them, 209 n.;— instances of the use of them in the Verawal and Mörbl records, 85, 91, 97;— instances of the mixture of them with numerical symbols, 292 and n.;— forms of decimal figures illustrated in this series of Plates:—
eight 292

Delhi District, an inscription from the

Dēv-Barahārī, a village in the Shāhābd District; mentioned under the ancient name of Vārunīkā, 214, 215, 218;— the modern name is from Dēva-Varunārīka, 215;— the inscription of Jīvatīgupta II. 213

Dēsagad, a village in Central India; examination of the date of the inscription of Bhījadeva of Kanauj, of Vikrama-Saṅvat 919 and Saka-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

‘Deoghar,’ a village in the ‘Santīl’ Pargana; a late inscription at this place, mentioning Adityaśena of Magadhā 212 n.

Dērīyā, a village in the Allahābd District; a Buddhist inscription 271

Dērabhatta (of Valabha) 44, 184
dēśa, a territorial term 32 and n.

Dēva, a proper name 71

Dēvadāngirās, a grantee 105

Dēvādhyā, Mahārājā (Parivārājaka) 97

and n. 104, 109, 115

Dēvagupta, Dēvaguptadeva (Gupta of Magadhā), 25, 215 n., 217, 240, 247;— his wife was Kamsaladevi I. 217;— his daughter Prabhāvatīgupta was the wife of Rudrasena II. 25, 240, 247

Dēvakā, a proper name 280

Dēvakī, the mother of Kṛishṇa 55

Dēvamitra, a grantee 105

Dēvanāga, a grantee 105

Dēvapattana, an ancient name of the modern Verawal 91

Dēvarājā, possibly a ‘title of Chandragupta 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.

Dēvārājītra, a country in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Kubēra 13

Dēvārya, a grantee, 242;— another of the same name 242

Dēvāṣarman, a grantee, 243;— another of the same name 243

Dēvāṣarmingā, a grantee 243

Dēvāsvāmī, a grantee, 105;— another of the same name 109

Dēvatā, a proper name 263

Dēvāvishū, a proper name 71

dēl, a title of wives of Mahārājās (used also as a termination of the names of wives of both paramount sovereigns and feudatories; see under names, proper) 221 and n. 232

Dēyī, the goddess Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva, as ‘the (principal) goddess,’ 224, 227;— a mention of her defeating the demon Mahishāsura 227

Dēyī, daughter of a supposed Mahādaiya, an imaginary wife of Samudragupta 28, 79
dēya-dharma, ‘an appropriate religious gift;’ a formula used in certain donative inscriptions 25 and n. 210, 263, 272, 273, 274, 279, 280, 282

Dhanada, the god Kubēra, as ‘the giver of wealth’ 14, 21, 28, 44, 51, 54, 237

Dhanada-Varuy-Edra-Antaka-sana, an epithet of Samudragupta, 214, 1, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257;— applied also to Vijayaśā (Chaukya of Gujarāt) 14 n.

Dhanāniyāja of Kusṭalapura, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13

Dhanes, the god Kubēra, as ‘the lord of wealth’ 169, 181

Dhanayavhitaka, an ancient village in Baghelkhand 124 and n.

Dhanayavishesha, younger brother of the Mahārājā Mārīvishu 89, 90, 160, 161

Dīdrā, a city, the modern Dīrā in Central India; reference to the defeat of a king of this city by a Maukhari chief 230

Dharapatta, Mahārājā (of Valabha) 44, 168

Dharasena I., Śeṇḍapatī (of Valabha) 44, 168

Dharasena II., Mahārājā (of Valabha) 47, 169, 171, 181;— his Māliya grant of the (Gupta-Valabha) year 253 164

Dharasena III. (of Valabha) 44, 182

Dharasena IV. (of Valabha), 47, 134 n., 183;— he was the first paramount sovereign in the Valabha family; and his power was perhaps more extensive than that of his successors, 134 n.;— examination of the date in his Kairā grant of the (Gupta-Valabha) year 330 93
dharmācakra, the Buddhist ‘wheel of religion,’ as an emblem on inscription stones 263, 269

Dharmadāsa, a proper name 280

Dharmadeva (Lichchhavi of Népāl) 182, 186, 189;— his wife was Rājyavati 182

Dharmādiya, a bināda or second name of Sīlādiya I. of Valabha, 41, 181;— and of Khāragrāha II. of Valabha 41, 184

Dharmadeha, a minister of Viśnuvar-dhana of Mālava 157

Dharmagupta, a proper name 282

Dharmārya, a grantee, 243;— another of the same name 243
Dhāva, possibly another name of the emperor Chandra; but this interpretation is hardly borne out by the construction of the record. 142 n.

Dhavalla, wife of the second Bālāditya mentioned by name in the Sārnāth inscription. 286

Dhavashandika, an ancient village in Bhāgahāpa, 123; another of the same name, or perhaps the same village, in the Vātā saūa. 139, 132

Dhini, a village in Kāthiāvād; examination of the date in the grant of Jāka-da, purported to be in the Vikrama year 794, with the result that this grant must be held to be spurious. 62 n.

Dhrisvāmika, the Dātaka of the grant of Sāranātha of the (Gupta) year 214. 139

Dhrūba, a metrical abbreviation of the name of Dhruvabha. 45, 172 n., 189

Dhruvabha, a biruda or second name of Śīkāṭiya. 71 of Valabhi, occurring in the abbreviated form of Dhṛubha. 45, 172 n., 189: it has been supposed to be represented by the Chinese Tsin-tu-hi-po-tu; but the Chinese name certainly cannot denote the seventh Śīkāṭiya. 40

Dhruvbhi, Mahādaṇḍayaka. 16

Dhruvadatta, Bhūgika. 120

Dhruvadeva, Mahāraja (Lichchahi of Nēpāl), 180, 181, 189, 190, 191: he had the epithet of the 'banner or glory of the Lichchhavikā.' 181

Dhruvadeva, wife of Chandragupta II. 44, 51, 55

Dhruvadikaraṇika, an official title. 169, 170 n.

Dhruvārman, the person who caused the Bilsad inscribed pillars to be set up. 45

Dhruvāsena I, Mahāraja (of Valabhi). 45, 168

Dhruvāsena II, Mahāraja (of Valabhi), 45, 182: he had the biruda or second name of Bālāditya. 45, 182

Dhruvāsena III (of Valabhi). 184

dhrująja, 'a banner or standard,' as distinguished from ḍāchchaha, 'a crest.' 151 n.;—used to denote the Mēhara Pillar, 140, 142;—dhruva-stambha, 'a flag-staff,' used to denote the Eran Pillar. 89, 90

di, an abbreviation of diva, dinā, divasa, or dināvā, 85 n., 92 n.;—used in connection with so, 91, 97, 210, 277, 291;—used in connection with ba or va, 85, 93;—used by itself. 114, 117, 34, 47, 109, 116, 120, 257, 262, 263

Dighw-Dubaul, a village in the Sāran District; the value of the grant of the Mahāraja Malandrapala, of the (Harsha) year 155, towards proving the epoch of the Harsha era. 178 n.

Dikshit, Mr. Shankar Balkrishna; his calculations of dates. 34, 35, 62, 75, 76, 77, 80 to 104, 217, 128, 129, 141;—his exposition of a method of calculating the week-days, ending-times, and English dates, of Hindu tithis, 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

Dîksita, a Brāhmaṇical title. 120 n. and 124

dina (see also di, and dināva), 'a day;' 146, 92 n.;—used to denote the solar or more properly civil day. 64, 77, 87, 239

dināra, a particular gold coin, or weight of gold. 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 262, 265

Dīrā, māsāra, a proper name. 273

Dīna, a proper name. 184 n., 290

dīna, an abbreviation of divasa or dināsē; used to denote the solar or more properly civil day. 267

dīvī, 'by day;' an indeclinable used in some of the Nēpāl inscriptions in composition with words denoting tithis or lunar days. 85 n., 178, 180 to 184

Divikardatta, a grantee. 97

Divikaravadena, a grantee. 105

divasa (see also di, dina, and dināva), a day. 146, 92 n.;—used for the week-day, instead of the usual term tāra, 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 tithis or lunar days. 97, 104, 108, 115

Divīra, an official title. 123 and n.

Doshagrama, an ancient village in Kāthiāvād. 170

Doshakumbha, a proper name. 157

Drāŋika, an official title. 169 and n.

drūṣṭam, '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 drūṣṭam bhagavatā. 25 n., 240 n.

Drāṃśinīha, Mahāraja (of Valabhi). 41, 168

Drāṃśinīha, the engraver of the Rāypur grant of Subevara. 200

Dudhi, a proper name. 71

duplicate inscriptions. 42, 142, 149

Durdharmitra, a grantee. 218

Durgamapala, apparently an ancient district in Bhāgahāpa. 124

Durlabha of Maltā, an astronomer quoted by Alahmar; his method for converting Lōkakāla dates into Saka dates shows that the Lōkakāla reckoning was introduced, at Maltā, in A.D. 926. 26 n.

Dūta, an occasional substitute for Dātaka, 100 n., 201;—used in the sense of an ordinary messenger-carrying or postman 217 and n.

Dūtaka (see also dyāk, Dīta, and su- mukh-dīta), 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 Dīkṣās for charters
recorded on copper-plates, 100, 105,
109, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 190,
291;—and for charters which, following
more or less the same form, are recorded
on stone, 177, 19, 184;—an instance of
a second Dīkṣā for additional orders,
100 n., 134:—an instance of more
Dīkṣās than one for the original
orders... 291 n.
dhāra-land, a term requiring explana-
tion... 290 and n.
Dyāta-Ghavasāmin, Akṣayagotaladādhi-
ka, the official under whose orders the
spurious Gayā grant of Samudrāgupta
purports to have been written... 257

earth: the earth spoken of as 'belonging
to Vishnu, or as being Vaishnav, the
female energy of Vishnu,' 195 and n.,
200, 209;—spoken of as resting on a
hood of the serpent Śeṣa, 208;—its
marriage-string is the verge of the four
oceans, 86;—its breasts are the moun-
tains Kailāsa and Sumēru, 86 and n.;—
the Vindhyā mountains, 185; the
Vindhyā and Sahya mountains, 184;—
and the mountains Vindhyā and Himā-
laya... 86 n.
Eastern Country, or Pūrvavāktra, an
ancient name for part of the Central
Provinces; the territory of Jayārāja
and Sudēvarāja... 192 and n., 195, 199
eclipse of the sun, mentioned in the
Mārub grant of Jāṅka... 97
elephants, in connection with the goddess
Lakṣmi, on the seals of grants... 191, 196
emblems on the seals of grants and at
the top or bottom of stone inscriptions
72, 125, 164, 191, 196, 219, 251, 255,
283, 289, 274, 282, 283, 292
English dates: a method of calculating
the English dates of Hindu ikhās, with
Prof. K. L. Chātra's Tables, Appendix
II... 158, 159
equinox; this word is used as the most
convenient term for the year o of an
era, as required for comparison and
calculation, and as contrasted with its
commencement or first current year
passim
Éran, a village in the Sāgar District;
mentioned under the ancient name of
Airikina, 18 n., 21, 161:— the inscrip-
tion of Samudrāgupta, 18;—the pillar
inscription of Budhagupta, of the
(Gupta) year 165, 88;— the posthu-
mous pillar inscription of (Bhānu)
gupta and Gopārāja of the (Gupta) year 191,
91:— the boar inscription of Tōra-
māga... 158

Éraḍḍapalla, a town in Southern India;
in the time of Samudrāgupta, its king
was Damana... 13
eras used in this series of records, in the
other Gupta-Valabha series recorded for
calculation, and in the Nēpāl inscrip-
tions... 81, 95, 97, 104,
110, 114, 117, 119, 178, 182, 203, 204,
23, 30, 37, 41, 43, 46, 57, 58, 66,
70, 88, 92, 104, 107, 113, 254,
258, 260, 262, 266, 267, 273
Gupta; hitherto treated as such, but
perhaps Kalachuri or Chāḍi... 118,
121, 126, 133, 135, 274
Gupta-Valabha; i.e. belonging to the
period when the Gupta era may
have begun to be called the
Valabha era... 93, 165, 173
Harsha... 178 to 184, 209, and perhaps 287
Hīrā... 85
Mālava; i.e. Vikrama 66 n., 73, 80, 151, 233
Śiṁha... 85
Valabha; i.e. belonging to the period
when the Gupta era had come to be
called the Valabha era... 85, 91
Vikrama... 85

Ītā District, an inscription from the...
42
expired years (see also current and ex-
pired years); they can come to be ordi-
narily used, instead of current years,
only in the case of eras that are
actually applied by astronomers for
astronomical processes, 143:— instances
of the use of expired years distinctly
specified as such, 79 n., 97, 129, 22 n.,
73, 80, 151, 233;—instances of the use
of years, which are not distinctly speci-
fied as expired, but which have to be
applied as such... 80 n., 85, 107 n.

feet of a person or god, used for respect-
ful mention of that person or god him-
self 16, 71, 123 and n., 124, 125, 268, 269, 270
Ferguson, Mr. J.; the views expressed
by him on the Gupta era and connect-
ed matters, with the result that he
selected the epoch of A.D. 318-19... 32, 40, 54;— this result is correct within
one year; the error being due to cer-
tain special considerations connected
with the Sixty-year Cycle of Jupiter,
which do not really apply... 33
fire; gold spoken of as 'the first offspring
of fire'... 195 and n., 200, 299
forest countries, all the kings of the, were
subdued by Samudragupta... 13 and n.
forest kingdoms, the eighteen, men-
tioned as part of the territory of the
Mahārāja Hastin... 13 n., 113, 116
fortnights, lunar (see Amāta, Pārśva-māṇita, days, lunar, and intercalary months); an instance of a lunar fort-night of only thirteen solar or civil days 89 n.

Gaddādhara, the god Vishnu, as ‘the bearer of the club or mace’ 78 n.

Gadhā, a village in the Allahabad District; the inscription of Chandragupta II. of the (Gupta) year 89 ... 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, Sādhāvikṛtyākha, writer of the grant of Jayāndāta of the (Gupta or) Kalachuri year 177 ... 124

Ganapatiṅkara, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta ... 13

Ganḍyā, a grantee ... 242

gana-śrādhā, ‘a leader of an assembly’ 2 ... 291 n. and 1

Gandharva, a class of celestial beings; the musicians of heaven ... 84, 85

Ganḍēśa Daivajñana, an astronomical writer; his Graha-Līghava was written A.D. 1520-21 ... 140 n.

Ganga, a grantee ... 123

Gāṅga, the river Ganges (see also Bhagiratha, Jānmai, and Mandakini), 16; 56; 148; 156;—mentioned as flowing through the matted hair of the god Siva ... 16

Ganḍīghā, a village in the Jhākāṭā State; the inscription of Visva-varman (of the Mālava) year 480 ... 72

Garga, an ancient astronomer, quoted by Upatila for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 170;—and for a variation from the usually accepted grouping of the nakṣatras, 103 n.;—Upatila’s quotation of his rule in the Garga-Sainhītā, for one of the unequal-space systems of the nakṣatras, 104;—and of a verse by him, which seems to refer to the mean-sign system of the cycle ... 172

Gargahā, the ancient name of the river on which the village of Ganga-gāhār stands ... 72 n. 77

Garga-Sainhītā, an astronomical work by Garga; Upatila’s quotation of its rule for one of the unequal-space systems of the nakṣatras ... 104

garta, or garāḍ, ‘a boundary-trench,’ 97 and n., 124, 125;—garāḍ as the termination of names of villages, in Kāparagarta, 107;—and in Vaiyagarta ... 109

Gaurī (see also Garutmat), a supernatural being, half a man, half a bird, the vehicle of Vishnu, and the enemy of the serpent race, 62 and n.;—mentioned as the ensign on the banner of Vishnu, 90;—Gaurā-tenkūs, i.e., coins or banners bearing representations of Gaurā, were given by feudatories to Samudragupta, 14;—Gaurā as an emblem on seals of grants ... 255, 292

Garutmat, another name of Gaurā 14 n., 298

Gauda, a country, and an inhabitant of it ... 208

Gautamika, an official title. ... 52 and n.

Gautapa, ‘of or belonging to the Guptas,’ an adjective which may possibly be used in the date of the Mābī grant of Jainaka; but it does not seem probable 21, 98, 58 n.

Gaurī, a name of the goddess Pārvatī ... 286

Gauridatta, a proper name ... 298

Gautamiputra, or Gautamputra (Vākā-ataka); his wife was the daughter of Bhavavāga ... 237 n., 241, 248

Gaya District, inscriptions from the 201, 221, 223, 226, 254, 274, 278, 281

Gaya uṣha, an ancient territorial division in Bihār ... 257

ghati, ghati, ghati, ‘the sixtieth division of a mean solar, or more properly civil, day and night,’ equal to twenty-four English minutes ... 147

Ghatşakarha, Mahādāja (Early Gupta), 17, 16, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257;—the coins that bear the name of Kācha cannot belong to him, 27 n.;—he is not mentioned in the Tusām inscription ... 270

Ghāzipur District, inscriptions from the 53, 249

gold spoken of as ‘the first offspring of fire’ ... 195 and n., 200, 209

Gōlīmdhīdil, a village or hamlet near Kāthāmūḍa in Nēḷāḷ; notice of the inscription of Sivadeva I. of the (Gupta) year 316, 277;—the value of this record in proving the use of the so-called Gupta era in Nēḷāḷ, and in fixing the chronology of the early rulers of that country ... 96, 177, 184

Gōmatīkotta, a camp of Jivitagupta II. 215, 217

Gōmikasāvīnī, a grantee ... 109

Gōpālasārman, a grantee ... 213

Gōp, a village in Kāthākūṭa, perhaps mentioned under the ancient name of Gōpta ... 98 n., 58 n.

Gōpa, the ancient name of the hill on which stands the fortress at Gwālior 162, 163

Gōparājīa, a chief-tain, 93;—his posthumous pillar inscription of the (Gupta) year 191 ... 91;—a note on the details of the date ... 77 n.

Gōpasāvīnī, a grantee, 97;—another of the same name ... 257

Gōpasāvīnī, or Dyutā-Gōpasāvīnī, the Aśīnapatabalādikīrīta under whose orders the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta purports to have been written ... 257
Gûpta, apparently an ancient name of a village, and perhaps represented by the modern Gôp, 98 and n., 58 n.

Gôandha, or more fully Gôvardhana-dhara, the god Krishnâ, as ‘holding up the mountain Gôvardhana’ 91.

Gôinda, the god Vishnu 65.

Gôinda, the engraver of the Mandasor pillar inscriptions of Yâsôdharmân, and of the Mandasor inscription of Yâsôdharmân and Vishnuvardhana of the Mâlava year 569, 148, 150, 158.

Gôinda III. (Râshrârâkaja); examination of the date in his grant of the Saka year 725, which proves that, up to A.D. 804, the Pûrânâmândâ, arrangement of the lunar fortnights, was used with the Saka years, even in Southern India, and also the mean-sign system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 79 n.

Gôindasvâmî, a grantees 109.

Gôyindâ, a proper name 40.

Gôra-Lîghana, an astronomical work, written A.D. 1520-21, by Gânâsa Dâivajña, from which, with the Tilhi-Chitrdkâra, Hindu almanacs are now prepared in the Dekkan and some other parts 146 and n.

Gôrâhita, an official title 112 and n.

>Gôpa, Pratâvatikara and Amdâya, the writer of the Allâhâ grant of Sillâditya VII. of the (Gupta-Valabha) year 447 490.

Guhakarman, a grantee 242.

Guhasena, Mahârdâja (of Valabha) 45, 168, 180.

Guhilasvâmî, a proper name 52.

Gujâkârtti, Bhâgâdita, the writer of the grant of Jayaâdâta of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 174— 120.

Guptâka, a grantees 105.

Gupta, Mahârdâja (Early Gupta), 17, 15, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257;— indications that his name really did simply Gupta, and not Srigupta, 8 n.;— he is not to be identified with the Mahârdâja Srigupta 8 a.

Gupta era, a convenient name for the era, commencing in A.D. 320, used by the Early Gupta kings and their successors;— the nomenclature of the era, 19 to 20;— there is no ancient authority for connecting the name of the Gupta with the era, as the establishments of it, or for accepting the early existence of any such appellations for it as Gupta-kâla, Gupta-samrat, and Gupta-sam, 19, 22;— in the date of the Janagad inscription of Sandagupta, the mention of the Guptas only shews that the date was being recorded in an era new to that part of the country, 19, 20, 57 n.;— in the date of the Môrâ grant of Jânâkâ, the adjective Guptâ, ‘of or belonging to the Guptas,’ may possibly exist, but it does not seem probable. 21, 98, 58 n.;— the reasons for which the era would come to be popularly known as the Gupta era, 19, 33 n., 125;— and as the Valabha era, 33 n., 126;— instances of its being mentioned by the expressions Valabhi-sam and Valabhi-samra, 84, 91;— it is convenient to speak of it as the Gupta era, the Valabha era, and the Gupta-Valabha era, 23;— Alberâd’s statements regarding the Gupta and other eras, 23, 24, 27;— he speaks of both the Gupta era and the Valabha era, 25;— but he distinctly shews that he is referring to one and the same era under these two names, 31;— his illustration of the method of converting Lâkâlakâ dates into Saka dates through the Gupta reckoning, 26 n.;— his statements do not really include the assertion of the existence of an era dated from the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty, 28;— this idea is due only to Prinsep’s rendering of the date in the Kakhun pillar inscription of Skandagupta, and its endorsement by Reinach in his translation of Alberànd, 25, 26;— Alberând’s words only shew that the Gupta era continued in use after the extinction of the
Gupta sovereignty, 31; — a curious instance of confusion, by the Jain writer Śiśāchārya, between the Gupta and the Śaka eras, 32 n. — the epochs of the Gupta era, based, by previous writers, on Renauld's translation of Alberdhī; see by Mr. Thomas, the Śaka 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 Mandaśū 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. 319-20, equivalent to Saka-Saivat 241 expired, 99; — the scheme of the years of the era, 99, 71; — it included the Pārīṁdaṇa arrangement of the lunar fortnights, 77, 85; — proof that the Gupta year did not commence with the months Kārttika or Maṅgalaśrīsha, 80, 87, 90, 95, 96, 99, 104 n. — and it is almost certain that it soon became identical in all respects with the northern Śaka year, having Chaitra śukla 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 Eran pillar inscription of Budhagupta of the (Gupta) year 165, proves that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhi and current Śaka years is two hundred and forty-two years; and that, in following Alberdhī and adding two hundred and forty-one, what we obtain is the last Śaka year expired before the commencement of the current Śaka year corresponding to a given current Gupta-Valabhi year, 84; — the Verāvali inscription of Arjunadēva of the Valabhi year 945, proves that the original Pārīṁdaṇa arrangement was preserved with the Gupta year, in Kāthiāḍvā with A.D. 1264, 70; — the two exceptional dates are those in the Verāvali inscription of the Valabhi year 927, and in the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 320, 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. 320-21 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 Śaka 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, to 130; — it was not established by any member of the Valabhi family, 130; — nor by the Mahādvāja 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, 137, 182, 183, 184; — the antiquity and power of the Lichchhavis, 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 Jayadeva I. in Nēpāl .... 136

Gupta-sūla, an expression used by Alberdhī 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-nṛiga-rāja-bhuktau, a technical expression in the grants of the Pārivarjaka 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
7; — but the records of the
Paravrajaka Mahärājas prove that the
Gupta dominion continued to A.D. 528,
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
Guptavānās, 20, 55, 67; — and as the
Guptāvāna, 250; — 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, 177,
96, 104, 108, 115; —mention of them,
in the JunAgadh 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
establishers of it, 19; —remarks on some
of their coins (for the legends on their
silver coins, see Ind. Ant. XIV. 65),
30 n., 12 ns., 14 ns., 15 n., 25 n., 27 n.,
28 ns., 46 n.; — allusions to a temporary
obscuration of their power between the
realms of Kumkragupta and Skanda-
gupta, 55; — a further indication of this
is perhaps given by Kumkragupta
having only the title of Mahārāja in
the Manusvar inscription, 46; — mention
of them in Yasōdharmān’s pillar
inscription . . . . . . . . . 146, 148
Guptas of Magdha, 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, Krishnā-
gupta, came very shortly after Skanda-
gupta, 14; — intermarriages of this
family, with the Maukhris, 14, 187;
— with the Kings of Kanaúj, or more
properly of Thānēsar, 15, 232; — and with
the Vākālaka Mahārājas . . . . 15, 240, 247
Guptasya kāla, ‘the time or era of Gupta;’
an expression supposed, but quite
wrongly, to exist in the JunAgadh rock
inscription of Skandagupta, 19, 44, 57 n.;
— and in abbreviated forms on certain
Kāhul coins . . . . . 19, 57 to 60
Gwālīor (Gwalīhēr), the capital of Scindia’s
Dominions; the hill, on which the
fortress stands, mentioned under the
ancient Sanskrit name of Gōpā, 162
and n., 163; — the modern name of
Gwālīor is derived directly from Gōpā-
līkhera, 162 n.; — the inscription of
Mihirakula . . . . . . . . . 161

which proves that up to A.D. 612, the
Pūrāṇimānta arrangement of the lunar
fortnights was used with the Saka
years, even in Southern India . . . . . . 79 n.
Hālāri year; a year with Ashāhā ṛūkla
1 as its initial day, used in the western
part of Kāthakālā . . . . . . . . . 79 n.
halirākāra, a fiscal term requiring ex-
planation . . . . . . . . . . . . . 134 n.
Hall, Dr. E. E.; views expressed by him
on the Gupta era and connected
matters . . . . . . . . . . . . . 42
Harthesmitra, a grantee . . . . . . . . . . 218
Hanumat, the chief of the monkeys, men-
tioned as ‘the son of the Wind,’ and with
a reference to his leap through the air
from the mountain Kōsāvadvāra . . . . . . 205
Ilara, the god Siva, as ‘the seizer or
despoiler’ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 87, 206, 208
Haradatta, a grantee . . . . . . . . . . . 208
Hari, the god Vishṇu . . . . . . . . . . . . . 156
Haribala, a proper name . . . . . . . . 272
Haribhata, a proper name . . . . . . . . . . . 78
Harigupta, a proper name . . . . . . . . . . . 281
Harigramsārya, a grantee . . . . . . . . . . . . . 243
Harishēga, Sāmāhinigrahaṇa, Kumārā-
mdīya, and Mahāddandandvaka, the
composer of the Allāhādīl posthumous
pillar inscription of Samudragupta . . 16
Harivāmanini, a proper name . . . . . . . . . . . 262
Haritākta, a proper name . . . . . . . . . . . . 71
Harivaran, Mahārāja (Maukhari), 221;
— his wife was Jayasvāminti . . . . . . . . . . 221
Harivishayu, a proper name . . . . . . . . . . . . . 90, 160
Harsha, also called Vikramaditya, a
king of Ujjain, mentioned in the
Rājatarangini, allotted by Mr.
Fergusson 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, Kalinda, Kōsāla, Od̄ra,
&c.; in a Nēpāl inscription, he is men-
tioned as belonging to the Bhagadatta
family, 187; — his daughter, Rājyamati,
was the wife of Jayadeva II. of Nēpāl . . . 187
Harsha, or Harshavardhana, of Kanaúj, or
more properly of Thānēsar, 15, 232;
— mentioned under the name of Harsha-
dēva, 207; — his name was simply
Harsha or Harshavardhana, and not
Srharsha or Sṛharshavardhana, 207
n.; — Hiuen Tsiang gives him the bīruda
or second name of Sīlāditya, 39, 40;
— his accession, as determined by the
commencement of the Harsha era, is to
be placed in A.D. 606 . . 278 n.; — his
Śūnpat seal . . . . . . . . . . . 231
Harsha era; an early era of this name,
commencing in or about B.C. 457, is
mentioned by Albérard, 23, 24, 30; — but
there is no other evidence of its exist-
ence, 23 n.; — the only proved era of
this name, is that which runs from

Haidarābād in the Dekkan; examination
of the date of the grant, of the Saka
year 534, expired, of Pulikēn 1,
the accession of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, or more properly of Thânesar, 23 n.;—as far, as it can b: determined by means of the Dighâwa-Dubauli grant of the Mahârâja Madhêndrapâla, 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 Népal, by the Thâkuri rulers of that country, 96, 184, 189;—instances of the use of it by them, 278 to 284;—the fact of its introduction there is mentioned, in a mistaken manner, in the Népal Pâmidevi. 185

Harshadêva, a variant of the name of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, or more properly of Thânesar . . . . 207 and n.

Harshagupta (Gupta of Magalha), 205;—Harshaguptâ, wife of Adityavarman, was probably his sister . . . . 14

Harshaguptâ, wife of Adityavarman, 221;—she was probably a sister of Harsha-gupta of Magalha . . . . 14

Harshavardhana (see also Harsha or Harshavardhana) of Kanauj, or more properly of Thânesar . . . . 15, 232

Hastin, Mahârâja (Parîrvirijaka), 97, 104, 109, 111, 115;—he had the hereditary kingdom of Dîbhâllâ, and the eighteen forest kingdoms, 13 n., 116;—his Khidâ grant of the Gupta year 156, 157, 93;—his Khid grant of the year 163, 100;—there is no necessity to alter the date of this record from 163 to 173; and, in fact, the alteration is not justifiable, 110 to 114, 102 n.;—his Majhashâ grant of the year 191, 106;—his Bhumâr pillar inscription, 110;—examination of the dates of these records . . . . 104, 110, 114, 119

Hastivarman of Vêngât, a king in Southern India, conquered by Sumudragupta 13

Hemâhta, a proper name . . . . 190

Hijara era, a Musâlimân 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

Himâlaya (see also Himavat), the mountain; mentioned as the father of the goddess Pâvâlit, 147;—as the mountain of snow, 148, 205, 239;—as the king of mountains . . . . 169, 181

Himavat, a name of Himâlaya . . . . 156

Hisâr or Hissâr District, an inscription from the . . . . 269

Hoernle, Dr. A. F. R.;—view expressed by him on the Gupta era . . . . 65

Hôpa, a tribe; a mention of them in Yâdharman’s pillar inscription, 145, 148;—mentioned as defeated by Skanda-gupta, 55;—and by the Maikhâris . . . . 206

Ijâdâlat, wife of Vishyuguptadêva . . . . 217

Illichjar District, an inscription from the images, inscriptions on the pedestals of the columns, 45, 208, 262, 266, 271, 272, 273, 278, 280, 281

Indana, a proper name . . . . 114

India, Northern; mentioned under the name of Aryavarta, 13 and n.;—Southern India mentioned under the name of dakshinâpâla, 13 and n.

Indôr, a deserted village or mound in the Bulandshahar District, mentioned under the ancient name of Indrapura or Indrâpura, 71;—the grant of Skanda-gupta, of the (Gupta) year 146 . . . . 68

Indra, the god of the sky (see also Maâvan, Purandara, and Sakra); and, for his wife, see Sachi), 14, 28, 44, 50, 51, 54, 93, 195, 199, 257, 278;—mentioned as ‘the lord of the gods,’ 10, 62, 76, 77, 195;—as the elder brother of Vishnu, 50, 182 n.;—as ‘the thousand-eyed,’ 225;—mention of the mountain Samurê as his abode, 278;—mention of the Kulâ tree in his paradise, 108, 228;—a reference to his elephant, Airavata, 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 . . . . 195, 199

Indrabala, of the Pânduvaî, 298;—his father was Udayana, of the Śvârava lineage or tribe . . . . 293

Indrapura, Indrâpura, the ancient name of Indôr in the Bulandshahar District . . . . 68, 71

Indravishû, a proper name . . . . 90, 160

Inscriptions on copper are usually denoted by the terms índâna, 99 n., 194, 199, 218, 240, 242, 247, 249, 296;—and índuña índâna, 99 n., 109, 116, 128, 134, 138, 158, 199;—and those on stone, by the term pradâsî, 87 n.;—an exceptional instance in which the term pradâsî is used to denote a copper-plate charter . . . . 87 n.

Interca lary months; the present arrangement of the intercalary fortnights in Northern and in Southern India, 88;—a verse attributed to the Brâhma-Siddhâgata indicates a more ancient arrangement of a different kind, 88 n.;—intercalated months are inauspicious, and the performance of ceremonies in them is prohibited, 89 n.;—but the Káira grant of Dharasâna IV., of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 339, shews 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, 57 n.:—instances of intercalation of the month Mārgasīrsha, 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.

Isa, the god Śiva as ‘the lord, the powerful one’ 87.

Jaigajj District, inscriptions from the 21, 34, 238

Jasovarman (Maukhari), 14, 206, 220, 221;—his wife was Lakshmyatī, 221;—he was conquered by Kumāragupta of Magadha 206

Īsvara, the god Śiva, as ‘the lord, the powerful one’ 180

Īsvaradēsa, the writer of the grant of Samākṣhobha of the (Gupta) year 209 116

Īsvarasārmap, a grantee 243

Īsvarasārmya, a grantee 243

Īsvaravarman, Mahārāja (Maukhari), 221, 220, 239;—his wife was Upagupta, 221;—his Jaunpur inscription 228

Īsvaravāsaka, an ancient village or allotment granted to the great Stūpa at Sāñcī 35

Jahnapur District, an inscription from the 123

Jāhanī, the river Gaṅgā, as ‘the daughter of Janu’ 163, 181

Jākaśa, a king of Saurashtra, not to be identified, if his Dhiṇiki grant is genuine, with the Jākaśa of the Mōrbī grant, 61, 62;—examination of the date in his grant, purporting 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 Kahānum pillar inscription of Skandagupta 16, 66

Jāńka, a chieftain in Kāñcānadā: remarks on the reading and interpretation of the date of his Mōrbī 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 Jākaśa of the Dhiṇiki grant, if the latter is a genuine record 62

Jāmbavatī, wife of the god Viśnū in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa 270

Janārādana, the god Viśnū, as ‘exciting or agitating men’ 90, 189

Jasutradi, ‘a lord of a people or tribe,’ contrasted with nāḍhāpitī, ‘a chief ruler of men’ 151 n.

Jāñś State, an inscription from the 233

Jaunpur, the chief town of the Jaunpur District; the inscription of Īsvaravarman 228

Jayabhāṣṭa, a proper name 274

Jayadēva I., the first historical person in the family of the Lichchhavis of Nēpāl, 185, 186, 189, 192;—calculating back from the recorded date for Mānadeva, 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

Jayadēva II., Rāja (Tākhur of Nēpāl), 185, 184, 187 to 193;—he had the biruda or second name of Parachakakāma, 184, 187;—his wife was Rājya-matī, 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

Jayadēva, Rājagryuta, the Dūthaka of the inscription of Śivadēva II. of the (Harsha) year 119 182

Jayānta, Mahārāja (of Uchchakalpa), 119, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was Murunāja-devē or Murunājāvamīni, 128, 132, 138;—his Kārdhaīya grant of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 174, 117;—his Kōhī grant of the year 177 131

Jayārāja, or Mahā-Jayārāja, Rāja (of Sarabhapura), 194;—his Arāhī grant 191

jaya-s Crunchā, ‘a victorious camp’ 180, 217, 257

Jayāvāmin, Mahārāja (of Uchchakalpa), 119, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was Rāmādevī 119, 123, 128, 131, 138

Jayāvāminī, wife of Harivarman (Maukhari) 221

Jayāvāminī, wife of Kumāradēva of Uchchakalpa 119, 123, 128, 131, 138

Jayavarmā, a proper name 182

Jayēśvara, a tīrtha form of the god Śiva 182

Jīhāwād State, an inscription from the 72

Jina, a class of deified Jain saints 259

Jishnugupta (Tākhur of Nēpāl), 180, 182, 189, 190, 192;—notice of his inscription of the (Harsha) year 48, 180;—and of two others, the dates of which are lost 182

jitaṁ bhogavatā, ‘victory has been achieved by the Divine One;’ an invocation used at the commencement of inscriptions, 25 n., 40, 41;—jitaṁ Viśkunāḥ 270

Jīvantā, a proper name 71

Jīvī, a proper name 116

Jīvītagupta I. (Gupta of Magadhā) 205

Jīvītagupta II., Jīvītaguptadhēva (Gupta of Magadhā), 217;—his Dā-Baraṅdārk inscription 213

Julien, M. Stanislas; certain points, in his translation of the Life and Travels of Huien Tsiang, which may be made more clear through the Early Gupta chronology 39
Jungad̐gad̐ rock inscription of Skanda-gupta, of the Gupta years 135, 137, 138, 139; Jupiter, the planet; its regent mentioned under the names of Angiras, 170; — the son of Angiras, 170; — Brāhmapati, 'the lord of prayer,' 170, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175; — Ārya, 'the preceptor,' 170, 170, 171 n.; — Jiva, 'the teacher,' 170; — Jīva, 'the living being,' 170; — Surīguru, 'the preceptor of the gods,' 170; — Śrījyā, 'the teacher of the gods,' 172; — the councellor of (Indra) the lord of the gods (āḍupatmantri), 171; — the councellor of the gods (surā-mantri), 173 n.; — and the preceptor of the gods (surā-guru and śrīdā-guru) 173, 175, 181.

Jupiter, the planet; exposition of the Twelve-Year Cycle based on his heliacal risings, with reference to his apparent longitude, in particular nakhaṭaras, Appendix III, 172 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 Kartikā, 173 n.; — the length of each year of the cycle, by this system, is roughly 400 days, 172; — a practical illustration of two cycles of this system, 176; — the years of this cycle that are liable to be omitted, and to be repeated, 178; — this is evidently the original system of the Twelve-Year Cycle, 172; — instances of the latter and modern use of it, 173 and n., 175; — the heliacal risings of Jupiter are still noted in Paitadbha? 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-Āśayuṣya, 171, 171, 174, 115; — Mahā-Chaitra, 172, 178; — Mahā-Māgha, 172, 112; — and Mahā-Vaiśākha, 172, 96; — examination of the dates of these records, 171, 110, 110, 117, 117, 121; — the Pausha and Vaiśākha years of a Twelve-Year Cycle are mentioned in early Kadamba records (the absence of the prefix mahā possibly indicates that they are of the mean-sign system), 172 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, 36, 37.

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, 172, 170, 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 Śṛīya-Siddhānta, is 361 days, 1 ghastī, 36 pisas, 170; — (instances of the use of the cycle, by this system, indicated by the absence of the prefix mahā, are possibly to be found in early Kadamba records, 106 n.); — the proof that this is not the system of the cycle used in records of the Early Gupta period, 173, 178, 117, 118, 121; — and that the epoch of the Gupta era was not determined by it. 34, 35, 36, 37, 38.

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, 162, 160, 170; — the rule of the Śṛīya-Siddhānta for determining the years of this cycle by this system, 170; — the length of each year of this cycle, by this system, according to the same authority, is 361 days, 1 ghastī, 36 pisas, 170; — a verse by Kāśyapa seems to indicate that the years of this cycle also were originally determined by the heliacal-rising system, 170 and n.; — Vārāhamihira gives the rule that Prabhavha, the first year of this cycle, commences when Jupiter comes to Dhanishthā and rises in Māgha, 172, 174; — comments on this rule, which is not correct for the mean-sign system, but is nearly so for the heliacal-rising system, 172 n., 174; — the Sixty-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, was current in Southern, as well as in Northern, 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, 35, 36, 37, 38.

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, 35.

Jyēśṭhāśārvarāya, a granter of a granter. 243.

Jyēśṭhādarapu, an astrological work; its date is A.D. 1556-58. 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 declensional suffixes are derived 60, 113, 117, 121, 125, 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 chiriments mentioned in an inscription in the Ajanta caves, 27 n.;—the name also occurs on certain gold coins which have always been attributed to Gaṅgakha; but, if they are Early Gupta coins, as seems probable, they must be attributed to Samudragupta, and Kācha must be his birth or second name, 18, 27 n.

Kacharapallika, an ancient village in the Maṇṇiṇga ṛṣita 138

Kahāmuni, a village in the Gārkṣhpur District;—mentioned under the ancient name of Kakubha or Kakubhāgāma, 66, 67;—the pillar inscription of Skandagupta  65

Kaliṣa, a mountain in the Himalaya range, 78, 85, 86;—mentioned as one of the breasts of the earth, 86 and n.

Kaliṣakāṭābhavana, the palace of the Tāhkur rulers of Nēpāl 178 to 182, 189, 190

Kaira (Kleśa), the chief town of the Kaira District; mentioned under the ancient name of Kālakāta, 95 n., 173, 189;—examination of the date in the grant of Dharāsena IV. of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 330  93

Kaira District, an inscription from the  171

Kāka, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta  14

Kākandā, the ancient name of Sāndhi in the Asōka period  31

Kākandadāka, the name of the great Sāndhi at Sāndhi in the Gupta period 31, 32, 262

Kakka, a proper name  148, 159

Kakubha, Kakubhāgāma, the ancient Sanskrit name of Kahāmuni 66, 67

kāla, 'time, a space of time,' may be used in the sense of 'an era,' and is so used in respect of the Vikrama and Saka 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 Kalatsri, in a record of the sixth century A.D.; and they are perhaps mentioned, under the name of Arjunāyanas, in the Allahābād pillar inscription  10

Kalachuri or Chēlli 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 Mahāprajā 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 Grā. Sir A Cunningham, 8, 9, 20;—also in the grants of the Trisūkula Mahāprajā, 9 n.;—(and possibly in the Īdāl-Gayā inscription of Maliknāman, the date of which has been referred in this volume to the Gupta era, 10, 275;)— Prof. Kiernan quoted as having fixed the commencement of the era in A.D. 249, with the epoch of A.D. 248-49  10

Kali age (see also Kaliyuga era), the last and worst of the four Yugas or ages, of the world; the one in which we now are  156, 168, 184

Kalidh, the river Yamanā (Jamā)  90

Kaliyuga era, an era commencing, with the beginning of the Kali 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, 67 n. from Hindu almanacs, 138 to 141;—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 Ilīndus; and the substitution of the Saka era for it, for astronomical purposes, seems to have taken place between A.D. 476 and 587 143

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, Prīti and Rati, 85;—a reference to his bow of flowers, 86;—a reference to his destruction by Śiva, 87;—an enumeration of the five flowers that form his arrows, 87;—mentioned as having a banner of flowers  158

Kamaladēvi, wife of Devaguptadēva of Magadha  217

Kāmarupa, 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  99, 14 and n.

Kanauji, a town in the Farrukhabād District; perhaps mentioned, in connection with Samudragupta, under the ancient name of Pushapura  5, 12

Kanaui, Harshaśravdhana of, or more properly of Tāhleśa; his genealogy  232

Kāśi, a town in Southern India, the modern 'Conjeveram;' in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Vīshṇugopa  13

Kāndārya, a grantee  243

Kāṅgara District, an inscription from the  286

Kauśa or Kauśāyaana, a tribe, family, or dynasty; there is no foundation for the supposition that the Kauśa prince Nārāyaṇa, mentioned in the Vishnupāda, is mentioned as the Tushāra king Vishnu, in the Tūrām rock inscription  270

Kapilēsvāra, the god Śiva, as 'the lord who is decorated with a garland of skulls'  290

Kapila, an ancient sage  115
karaya, 'a document' ... 242 and n.
Karadjaviraka, or perhaps Karadjachin-raka, an ancient river in the Bega-karpari bhaga ... 248
-Kartalal, a village in the Jalpur District; the grant of Jayanatha of the (Gupta or Kalghuri) year 174 ... 117
-kartei, 'a maker,' a technical term for the composite of a record, as opposed to the person who reduces it to writing 38, 99 n.
Kartipura, a town, in the east or northeast; Samudragupta either included it in his empire, or else extended his conquests up to the confines of it 9 n., 14 and n.
Kartukyā, the god of war (see also Brahmanya, Skanda, and Svāmi-Mahāśēna), 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 mentioned as the capital of Pratāpaśītīya 285, 286
Kasā or Kasyā, a village in the Gorakhpur District; the inscription on the nirvadā-statue of Buddha ... 272
Kāșmir; the early history of this country, as deduced from the Rājata-aramaṇī, is to be adjusted by the new settled date of Mihirakula ... 56
Kasayapa, the preceptor of the god Indra ... 14
Kasayapa, an ancient astronomer, quoted by Upala for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 170;—his rule indicates that originally the years of the Sixty-Year Cycle also were determined by the heliacal risings of the planet ... 170 n.
Kathākāḍ, inscriptions from ... 56, 164
Kathākāḍ province, mentioned under the name of Sudakshinā, 62, 63;—a tradition of the bards of Kathākāḍ, supposed to have an important bearing on the question of the Gupta era, 49;—but it is quite recent origin, and of no value whatever, 50;—in the western part of this province, there is used a year, called the Ḫālā year, of which the initial day is Asadhi śukla 1 ... 79 n.
Kāṭyāyanī, a name of the goddess Pārvatī ... 228
kaubhūracchāndā, a particular kind of pearl-necklace ... 45
Kaudravādeva, a grantee ... 105
kaustubha, n. jewel worn on the breast by Vishṇu ... 87
Kay, Mr. H. C.; his proposal for amending the translation of Alberdhān's words regarding the origin of the Gupta era ... 28
kēndra (see also mādhīka-mā, tīthī-kēndra, tīthi-mādhaya-kēndra, and tīthi-spāsya-kēndra), 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 kēndra is 3 signs, 2 degrees, 6 minutes, or 3 tīthīs, 9 ghātīs, 42 palas ... 149
Kāraṇa, a country in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Maṣṭārjana ... 7 n., 13
Kāśīvāra, one of the composers of the, Gvālīr inscription of Mihirakula ... 163
‘Khadavaya,’ 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
Kāḍyānapākṣa, a tribal or family name, or an official title, applied to the Mahādevatāṇḍāya Harishēṇa ... 16
Kharagrahā I. (of Valabhi), 41, 181, 182 n., 183
Kharagrahā II. (of Valabhi), 41, 183;—he had the biruda or second name of Dharmaṭīya ... 184
Khararapika, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta ... 14
Khamandau, the capital of Nṛpatī; notices of inscriptions from its vicinity ... 177 to 188
Kheataka, an ancient form of the name of Kaira (Kihāḍ); mentioned as the chief town of an ōdhrā ... 173, 189
Klob, a village in the Nāgadh 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 record from 163 to 173; and, in fact, the alteration is not justifiable, 110 to 114, 102 n.;—of Sainkshōhī, of the (Gupta) year 205, ... 112;—an alteration in the reading of the date of this record, 76 n., 274 n.;—its importance in proving the Pāṛvīṇāta arrangement of the fortnights in the Gupta year, 76 n., examination of the dates of these records, 104, 110, 117;—the grant of Jayanatha, of the (Gupta or Kalaghuri) year 177, ... 121;—of Śarvanatī, of the (Gupta or Kalaghuri) year 193, ... 126, of Śarvanatī, without date, 126;—of Śarvanatī, of the (Gupta or Kalgurhuri) year 197, ... 132;—of and Śarvanatī, of the (Gupta or Kalgurhuri) year 214 ... 135
Kielhorn, Prof. F.; quoted as having fixed the commencement of the Kalaghuri or Chādī era in A.D. 249, with the epoch of A.D. 248-249 ... 10
Kininbhiṅkata, an ancient village in the Beogālkarpara bhīga ... 248
Kinnara, a class of supernatural beings ... 84
Kirtti, used, like kirtana, in the special meaning of 'any work which renders the constructor of it famous' ... 212 and n., 213 n.
Kisārvāntakta, an ancient village in Bihār, near Dēb-Baradār ... 218
kripta, a fiscal term, requiring explanation 242, 249
Kollaipaduka, an ancient village in the
Benipalipada bheda 248
Kondadev, wife of Adityasena of Maga-
dha, 208, 212, 217;—mentioned with the
paramount titles, 212;—called
Kondadev in a late inscription 213 n.
Kopakhaila, a proper name 241
kora, a fiscal term, requiring explana-
tion 248 and n.
Kopaipaduka, an ancient village, or a
boundary-trenc, in Bagilikhain 105
Kopari, an ancient agradhara, in Bag-
ilikhain 104
Kossa, a country in Southern India; in
the time of Samudragupta, its king was
Mahendro, 13;—Tvaradev had the
title of 'supreme lord of Kossa,' with
reference to the more northern country
of the same name 296
Kosam, a village in the Allahabad Dis-
trict, the modern representative of the
ancient Kausambh, the Allahabad
column, containing the Aoka inscrip-
tions and the posthumous pillar in-
scription of Samudragupta, may
possibly have stood originally at this
place, 2;—the inscription of
Bhilmavaran of the (Gupta) year 139
266
Kosawairhana, a mountain from which
the monkey-king Hanumat took a leap
through the air 205 and n.
Koshadev, used by mistake, in a late in-
scription, for Konden 213 n., 214 n.
Kota, a family, tribe, or dynasty, con-
erced by Samudragupta, and perhaps
holding the city of Pushpapura at that
time 6, 12
Kotipara, on the hill, a town in Southern
India; in the time of Samudragupta, its
king was Svamidatta 7 n., 13
Kramalithya, a biruda or second name of
Skandagupta 18
Krishna, the god Vishnu incarnate as the
son of Vasudeva and Devaki, 55, 223;—
mentioned under the name of Vyasudeva,
286;—mention of his wife Jambavati,
270;—an image of Krishna was set
up in the Bardbar Hill cave by Anan-
tavarman 223
Krishnagupta (Gupta of Magadha), 205;—
he came very shortly after Skanda-
gupta 14
kriţa, 'accomplished,' i.e. 'completed,'
(lvata) 73 n., 254
Krita age, the first of the four Yugas or
ages of the world, characterised by
'truth and virtue;' 'the golden age' 45,
181, 240, 248
Kritanta, the god Yama, as 'the one by
whom death is accomplished' 28, 44,
51, 54, 157, 257
Kritanta-parasu, an epithet of Samudra-
gupta, 38, 44, 51, 54, 257;—it occurs
also on his coins 28 n.
Kshatraps or Mahakshatraps of Saur-
hatra; the family or dynastic name of
'Sish' or 'Sish' 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 Dhana, 14, 21,
28, 45, 51, 54, 257;—and Dhanka 169, 181
Kubera of Dvaradhara, a king in South-
er India, conquered by Samudragupta
13
kul-ddyha, 'a family appellation' 36
kulaputra, 'high-born' 190, 244, 248
Kumara, a grantee 105
Kumara, Mahardja (of Uchchakal-
pa), 119, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his
wife was Jayasvamin 119, 123, 128, 131, 138
Kumara, daughter of Lichchhavii or
of a Lichchhavi prince, and wife of
Chandragupta I 190, 44, 51, 54, 257
Kumara, wife of Ogahadeva of Uchchak-
ala 119, 123, 128, 131, 138
Kumara (Early Gupta), 7, 47, 40, 41,
44, 47, 50, 51, 55, 80, 86;—he had the
biruda or second name of Mahendro or
Mahendrikuluya, 28;—in the Manukurw
inscription he has only the feudatory
title of Mahardja, 46, 47;—a half ile-
gible reference to his wife, 50;—his
Gadhwa inscription, date lost, 391;—his
Gadhwa inscription of the (Gupta) year
98, 40;—his Balsa pillar inscrip-
tion of the year 96, 42;—his Man-
ukurw image inscription of the year
129, 45;—the Mandaš inscription,
which gives the date of Malla-Sambat
493 for his feudatory Bandhuvarman,
79;—the value of this record, in prov-
ing that the Gupta era runs from an
epoch in or very close to A.D. 319-20,
65;—the Śāfci inscription of the
(Gupta) year 131, which may belong
to his time, 260;—a fragmentary
inscription at Gadhwa, which may belong
to his time 264
Kumara (Gupta of Magadha), 206;—
he conquered Išanavarman 205
Kumārdvadja, an official title, 16 and n.,
52, 170, 218;—used in connection with
Mahāvyudhagata and Śeṣadhiyagra-
hita 16
Kumarānagha, a grantee 128
Kumāralaṃdya, a grantee, 242;—
another of the same name, 243;—and
a third of the same name 243
Kumārasena, a grantee 105
Kumāravāmin, a grantee 138
Kurus, the land of the Northern 260 and n.
Kusānaprakāśa, Nikhalapati, the Dāka
of the Nirman grant of Samudra-
gupta 291
Lichchhavi rulers of Nepal; their early traditional genealogy, which is traced back to the god Brahman through Surya or the Sun, 185;—in accordance with which, their family is mentioned in the Nepali Vasishita as a Suryavansi family, i.e. as belonging to the Suryavansi or Solar Lineage, 188;—but, in the code of Manu, a Lichchhavi or Lichchhavī is defined as the off-spring of a degraded Kshatriya, 186 n.;—and with the indication that it had originally another name, not now known, 185;—the first historiographical person in the family is Jayadeva I, 185, 186;—the palace of the Lichchhavi rulers of Nepal was Mānapura, 177, 178, 180, 181, 189, 190;—they used the so-called Gupta era, 96, 184, 188;—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 Nepal, 190;—the great antiquity of the Lichchhavi clan or tribe, 135;—the connection by marriage between the Lichchhavis of Nepal 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 Nepal. 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 n.

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

linga, the phallic emblem, connected with the worship of Siva. 180 and n., 182, 241, 248

Lāhitya, the river Brahmaputra (see also Lauhitya). 206

Lōkākāla, a method of reckoning by cycles of a hundred years; Alberdin's illustration of the conversion of Lōkākāla dates into Saka dates through the Gupta reckoning, 26 n.;—it entails the use of the first current year of the Gupta era, not of its epoch, 27 n.;—according to Kalhana's statement in the Rajatarangini, the first year of each Lōkākāla cycle coincided with the forty-eighth current year of each century of the Saka era, 26 n.;—according to Alberdin's statements, the first year of each Lōkākāla cycle in Multā and those parts, commenced from one to three years later, 27 n.;—
the method of Durabha of Mutda, as quoted by Albdrnh, indicates plainly that the use of the Lbarkala in that part of the country only dates from A.D. 920, and that it was not introduced by, or in the time of, the Early Gupta. 27 n.

Ldpalka, 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. 3

midosylnu, a word requiring explanation 71 and n.

Madhava, the god Vishnu, as 'the descendent of Madhu'. 266

Madhava, Raja, father of Gopa,; he married the daughter of a Sarabha King. 93

Madhavagupta (Gupta of Magadh), 206, 217; mentioned in connection with Harshavarnhana of Kanauj, 207;—his wife was Srismat or Srismatdevi. 208, 217

Madhunadait, a river in the Boddhaktra kingdom. 244

Madhusudana, the god Vishnu, as 'the destroyer of the demon Madhu'. 77

Madhyadasa, 'the middle country;' an apparent reference to it. 236

Madra, the person who caused the Kaldum pillar to be set up. 67

Madraka, a tribe; conquered by Samudragupta. 14

Magharya, a grantee. 243

Maghasamaran, a grantee. 243

Maghavan, the god Indra, as 'the distributor of gifts'. 156

MahA-Avayuja samvatarsa; one of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. 110, 117, 104, 115

MahA-Madhaktivita, a military title, 109 and n., 129; 134

MahA-Madhakraka, a military title, of the officer who was the superior of the Boddhakrasah. 179

Mahakshairava (see Sdmati-Mahakshairava). 241, 248

Mahakshirata, the epic poem, mentioned under this name, the verses quoted from it being attributed to Vyasa, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139;—a reference to a section of it, or to the whole poem, under the name of Sutadeshr-Samhitd. 139

MahA-Chaitra samvatarsa; one of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. 114, 108

Mahahaytiya, the imaginary name of the father of Devi, the imaginary wife of *Samudragupta. 18, 19

Mahahadandayaka, a military title (for a feminine form of the subordinate title Daudanyaka, see 263 n.), 16 and n., 17, 218;—used in connection with Mahahdatrdkritika, Mahahpratikara, Mahahdyra, and Mahdsamanta, 45, 15 n., 296 n.;—and in connection with *Kusumadipti and Sdmahvigratikara. 16

Mahahdeva, a grantee. 105

Mahhddeva, the god Siva, as 'the great, god'. 96, 104, 108, 111

Mahahdct, a title of the wives of paramount sovereigns, 16 and n., 27, 28, 44, 51, 54, 55, 208, 212, 217, 221, 234, 297;—applied also to the wives of feudatory Mahhduras. 16 n. 119, 123, 128, 131, 132, 138, 208

Mahahdevi, the name of the wife of Raja-vardhana I., as read from the half-illegible S6npat seal (but Dr. Buhler's reading of the grant discovered since then, shews that her name was Apsayrodevi). 232

Mahahdeviddeva, a proper name. 109

Mahahdavia, a feudatory title. 42

MahA-Jayaraja, see Jayaraja. 109, 194

Mahakantara, a country in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Vygkhdraja. 13

Mahahdadirkritika, an official title; used in connection with Mahahdavandanyaka, Mahahpratikara, MahA-hdya, and Mahdsamanta. 45, 15 n., 296 n.

MahA-Kshaya, an ancient Buddhist saint. 277 and n.

Mahahdnapafalika, an official title. 190 and n.

Mahahdsharatrapas; see Khatarapas or Mahahdsharatrapas of Sauhrtra. 36 n.

MahA-Kamardandaya, an official title 190 and n.

MahA-MaghA samvatarsa; one of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 119, 112

Mahahnait, a river. 228 n.

Mahahdmanlm, a Buddhist teacher. 277

Mahahdmanlm II., a Buddhist teacher, 275, 278, 279;—his Bodhgay image inscription of the (Gupta or perhaps Kalo-churi) year 269., 274;—his Bodhgay image inscription 278

Mahahpratikara, an official title, 183, 190 and n., 228;—used in connection with Mahahdavandanyaka, Mahahdatrdkritika, MahA-hdya, and Mahdsamanta, 45, 15 n., 296 n.;—and in connection with Saruvandanyaka 183

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS INDEX.

325

;

Mahdrdjas
of

BrAhman

of

and

dcsce^nt,

the Eastern Ghauts, or another of the
same name in the Western Giiauts 146

Maitiiyanfya sdkhd^ 90, 160;
Mah^rdjas allotted to the Bharad115 f— and to the Vlshnu-

tlwj

—

vpddha^l^/a
Idahdrdjddhi,

‘

M

a conventional
ahdtdjddhirdja
25 and
.

n.

Mahdrdjddhirdjh^ one of the technical
of4)aramount sovereignty,

titles

X 80,

and

182; 189, 10

n.,

16,
.

—

its close connection with Parama*
bha(fdraka and Paramcsvara .
.
,
title,

of

10 n.

41, 177,

— used
hdra

Makdsdtndhivigrahika^ an
tary

title

184,

.

military

Mahilabalf,

Sarvadmidandyakas

178

Mah 4siva-Tlvarar5 ja, a

Mah4 stna,

.

of a large army

Mahisdnagupta

—

as

‘

the

name of
commander

,

.

(Gupta

,

.

,

.

or

village in the

mahimatf mahimat^ a king

;

43,

44

in

—

Jupiter

.

.

.

.

.

title

of

.

Makdmfksa^ the

FAli history of

the dates derived from

......

13, 167,

MajhgawAih, a

the

village in

NAgaudh

the

tance in helping to prove the Purni’

j

170, 218

...

;

.104, 96,97
religious
n.

Ceylon

II4

MAlava, a country, the modern MAlwa
the Rulers of MAlava
7, 76, 77, 86
MAlava, a tribe, conquered by Samudrareferences to an era
gupta, 14
dating from the tribal constitution of

—

the MAlavas, 66, 87, i,'j8 —notice of
certain ancient coins of the MAlavas .
;

dating from the tribal constitution of
the MAlavas, 66, 87, 158;— sometimes
is spoken of as the era of the MAlava

MahAnAman
may be adjusted by means of that

(or

record,

if

inscription of

the date of

it

lords,

the Kalachuri era)

275

in the Eastern Ghauts, jn., 130.;

—

mention of a mountain MahAndra

in

Ya^dharman's pillar inscription at
MandasAr; it may be the mountain in

66

n,;

— and sometimes

is

called

the Mdlava~kdla or MAlava era, 66 n.;

should be in

MahAndra, or MahAndragiri, a mountain

67

MAlava era, a convenient name for an
era which sometimes is mentioned as

to be rectified in accordance with the

BAdh-Gay^

n.

33

details require

its

180

277 and

tion of its date

.272 and

office

13 n.

Maitraka, a tribe, conquered by BhatArka

mdnta arrangement of the fortnights in
Gupta year, 77
.'“examina-

MahA-VaisAkha samvatsara one of the
years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of
Mahdvikdrasvdminy a

not to be idi'Ulilied with MahAn-

the

197, 199

•

n.,

ii.

BaghAlkhand

—

15

252

169 and

official title

is

in

grant of Hastin of the
(Gupta) year 191, ,. 106; its impor-

connec-

MahA-SudAvarAja, see SudAvarAja

Mahattaraj an

Mahiyar, a town and State

State;

MahdsSndpati^ a military title, 252
it
denotes equal rank with Mahdrdja and

Mahdsdmania^ 15 n.;—used
Mahdrdja

189

n.,

Maja, a proper name
15

...

tion with

•

105, 109, 116, 120, 124, ijg. 134, 139

of Valabhl

MahAsAnaguptA, wife of Adityavardhana,
she was probably the sister
232 and n.;
of MahAs^nagupta of Magadha
;

99 and

’

MaitrAya, an ancient Buddhist saint

—

—

ancient

...

Mahishasura, a demon, defeated by the
goddess PArvati in her form of Devi

it

he conquered Susthitavarman,
206;
MahAsf'tiaguptA,
wife of
45 206
Adityavardhana, was probably his sister
)

an

MahilAbalt,

Khetaka

dra or MahAndragiri

Magadha),

of

243

186, 189

22] and

293, 298

’

,

282

,

.

,

of

,

.

or SvAmi-Mahdstna, a

K 4 rttik 6ya,

the god

name

fuller

Ttvaradfiva or TivararAja

*.

,

.....

title,

rank above the

in

his

n.

•

of the officer next

n.

248, 290

—

;

MahtdAva (Lichchhavi of NApAl)
296

log, 129, 134

n.,

MahAsvaranAga, Mahdrdja^ 283
LAhAr copper seal
.
.

‘

Mahdsarvadandandyaka^ a

.

186, 188, 189, 217, 221, 240,

185,

MahAsvarArya, a grantee

or mili-

official

1^., 105 and

,

.

.

15 n.

41, 15 n.,

13

lord’ 167, 168, 169, 180, 181, 182, 183,

2S9, 290
connection with Mahddandandyaka^
Mahdkdrtakritika^ and MahdpralU
;

n,,

‘

connection witn Mahdtdja^
— and, with Mahdrdja^ in

in

South-

in

MahendrapAla, Mahdrdja] the value of
his
DighwA-Dubauli grant of the
(Harsha) year* 153, ^towards proviniV
the epoch of the Harsha era
178
MahAsvara, the god Siva, as the great

—

Mahdrdja and Mahdsdndpati^

PishUpura, a king

ern India, conquered by Samudragupta 7
MahAndra, or MahAndrjlditya, a biriida

178; 179 ). 181, i 89 ) 190, 148 n., 284, 289,
it
denotes equal rank with
290
;

i»48

.

27,

3 *. 33 ) 36 "•) 3 ^) 40, 41. 44 51. 52,
54) 55> 71, *60, 183, 185, 186, 187, 189,
212, 217, 218, 221, 232, 240, 247, 257

^Mahdsdmanta^ a feudatory

MahAndra

n.,

a king in Southern
India, conquered by Samudragupta
.

or second name of Kum^lragupta ,
18
MahAndraguptli, the iipaginary name of*
a supposed son of Skandagppla . z8. Ip, 56 n.

17, 41,

25,

of KAsala,

241, 248

possibly

abbreviation of

and

,

MahAndra

other dates which are to be referred
to

it,

—

it i.s in reality the
73, 74, 253
era, under its original name .
;

Vikrama

«68

MAliyA, a village in the JunAgadh State
the grant of DharasAna II. of the

(Gupta- Yalabhi) year 252

.

•

.

•

164


Mālava, inscriptions from 72, 79, 142, 149, 150

Mānadeva (Lieghchhavi of Nepal), 182, 186, 188, 189, 191;— notice of his inscription of the (Gupta) year 386, 182;— examination of the date, 182;— notice of another inscription of his time. 182

Mānāgrīha, the palace of the Thākārī rulers of Nepal; 177, 178, 180, 181, 189, 190

Mānāpurā, an ancient town, perhaps the modern Mānāpur near the Sōṅ; 136, 138

Māndākini, the river Ganges, 184

Mānlā, a hill in the Bhāgdiḍpur District; the rock inscriptions of, Adityaśena. 211

Māndāra, a mountain, used as the churning-stick when the ocean was churned by the gods and demons. 206

Mandāsār, a town in Scindia's Dominions; it is locally known as Dāsār, 79 n.;— mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit name of Daśāpura, 79 n., 84, 86;— the inscription of the Mālava year 529, which gives the date of the Mālava year 493 for Kūndrāga[pta and Bāndhuvarman, 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 pillar inscriptions of Yāśō-dharman, 142, 149;— the inscription of Yāśō-dharman and Vīṣṇu-vardhana, of the (Mālava) year 589. 150

Māṇḍhāṭrī, an epic king. 147, 149

Māṇgalāśa (Early Chālukya); the value of his Bāḷāmi cave inscription, of Śākā-Śamvat 500 expired, in proving that the historical starting-point of the Śāka era is the commencement of the reign of some particular king or kings of the Śāka tribe. 142, 143

Māṇiṅga pēthā, an ancient division, partly in the territory of the Parivarājaka Mahārājās, 116;— and partly in that of the Mahārājās of Uchchalakhaṇa. 138

Mankūvār, a village in the Allahbād District; the image inscription of Kumārāgupta, of the (Gupta) year 129. 45

Māndrātha, Mahāsāmāiyiyoginihāta, the writer of the grants of Sarvanātha of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) years 193 and 197. 129, 134, 139

Māṇḍarāja of Kārāla, a king in Southern India, conquered by Sāmudrāgupta. 13

Mantu, 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.

Mārgasṛṣṭha, one of the Hindu lunar months; a rare instance of its being intercalary. 93

Mātrāra, the divine Mothers. 48 and no. 51, 78

Mathurā, the chief town of the District of the same name; the inscription of Chandra-gupta II, 25;— the image inscription of the (Gupta) year 135, 262;— the image inscription of the (Gupta) year 230. 273

Matīla, a king in Northern India, conquered by Sāmudrāgupta. 13

Mātṛdrayā, a grantee. 243

mātrā, the horizontal top stroke of letters; early instances of their development. 43, 140

Māṭrīchēta, the builder of an ancient temple of the Sun at Gwalīor. 163

Māṭrīdāsa, a proper name, 38;— another person of the same name. 163

Māṭrīśaṃrman, a grantee, 105;— another of the same name. 243

Māṭrīśāmṛtā, a grantee, 243;— another of the same name. 243

Māṭrīśiva, Uparīka, the additional Dūtaka of the grant of Sarvanātha of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 197. 134

Māṭritula, a proper name. 163

Māṭrivishṣu, Mahārājā, 90, 160;— in conjunction with his younger brother, Dānyavishṇu, he caused the Āraṇ pillar, with the inscription of Budhagupta of the (Gupta) year 165, to be set up, 90;— the temple of Vishnu, in front of which is the boar with the inscription of Tōramāṇa, was finished by Dānyavishṇu, for him, after his death. 161

Maukhari, a tribe, clan, or dynasty (see also Mūkharī), 14, 15, 206, 221, 223;— the Maukhars were defeated by Damdāragupta, 206;— they had previously defeated the Hūpas, 206;— an instance of the great antiquity of this tribe, 21;— intermarriage of the Maukhars with the Gupta of Mahādjudha, 14, 129;— and with the Thākārī rulers of Nepal. 187

Māyūrkāshaka, a minister of Viśavakarma. 78

Mēharauli, or Mēmharauli, a village in the Dēhlī District; its name is a corruption of Mīhārāpur, 12, 139 and n.;— the pseudo-humorous pillar inscription of Chandrā. 139

Mēru (see also Sūmēru), a mountain which is supposed to form the central point of the Hindu world. 77, 163

Mēṣa-Saṃkṛānti (see also abdēpa), 'the entrance of the Sun into the sign Aries'; this is the starting-point of the year adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre for his processes, 145 n.;— and it is the commencement of the Śāka year, taken as a solar year for astronomical calculation, 101 n.;— the figures for the abdēpa, obtained by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, are for the apparent, not mean, Mēṣa-Saṃkṛānti. 145, 147;— so also those for
the tithi-suddhi, 148;—and those for the tithi-madhyama-khetra 149
metres used in this series of records:—
in original passages:—
ārāyaṇa 59, 61, 81, 82, 83, 89, 154, 159, 162, 202, 203, 276, 285, 294
druṣṭavilambita 82
gītā 49
harīṇa 82
indravajra 49, 59, 60, 61, 71, 82, 83, 92, 153, 258, 259
mālinī 53, 61, 82, 154, 153, 154, 155, 229, 250
mandakrāntī 6, 76, 83, 154, 225
pushpitāgīrī 53, 152
rugihā 259
śālīnī 154
śārdūvikrāḍita 6, 44, 54, 79, 75, 76, 81, 141, 153, 163, 202, 203, 204, 223, 224, 227, 229, 239, 260, 276, 279
śikharī 154, 154
śīkha (anushṭubh) 35, 54, 83, 84, 92, 147, 159, 153, 159, 193, 207, 204, 205, 220, 245, 270, 281, 285, 286, 294
śragdharī 6, 44, 67, 146, 149, 153, 154, 202, 203, 204, 222, 225, 230, 270
śvāgata 229
upajāti of indravajra and upendravajra 59, 60, 81, 83, 154, 155
upendravajra 49, 81, 82, 259
vaṭṭilaya-aupachchhandasika ... 59
vaṃśasthā 49, 60, 61, 82, 259
vasanatilakā 20, 61, 74, 86, 88, 89, 153, 178, 203, 204, 285
in standard descriptive and imprecatory verses:—
indravajra 194, 198, 296
upajāti of indravajra and upendravajra 115, 180
vasanatilakā 194, 198, 295
mihira, a tribe or clan, among the hūnas, to which tōrāmāya and mihirakula belonged, and identical with the mai-trakas, 12;—the name is probably preserved in the name of miharauḍa 12, 139 n.
mihirakula, of the mihira tribe or clan among the hūnas, king of śākal in the paśaṇka, and the final overthrower of the early gupta power, 10, 11, 12, 148, 150, 163;—he overthrew paśuṇaka, 163;—he was subdued by yaśādmiharman, 148, 150;—his gwalior inscription:— 
mihirakula, wife of ravishēva 290, 291 n.
mihiraputra, evidently the original form of the name of miharauḍa 12, 139 n.
mihirēvara, a form of the god śiva, combined with the sun 288, 290
mitrasvāmin, a grantee 120
mālechhā, a tribe, conquered by skandagupta 62
mākhali, an early pāli form of maukhari 14
mōkshasārman, 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 nēpāli inscriptions:—
āśādhāra (june-july) 81, 85, 25, 90, 120
aśavya (september-october) 183, 262
aśavya (september-october) 134
bhadrapada (august-september) 181, 34
chaitra (march-april) 110, 117, 104, 115, 116, 124, 129, 278
jyaśīthā (may-june) 178, 183
jyēśthā (may-june) 95, 180, 182, 47, 67, 191, 243, 298
kṛitrīka (october-november) 104, 119, 182, 184, 77, 97, 112, 163, 250, 299
māgha (january-february) 174, 108, 199, 200, 268
mārga (november-december) 210
mārgasārī (november-december) 93, 195
pausha (december-january) 179, 183, 139
phālguna (february-march) 95, 97, 182, 71, 269, 284, 254
praushṭhapada (august-september) 64
pūṣṭhya (december-january) 263
sahasra (december-january) 87
śrāvani (july-august) 184, 93
tapasya (february-march) 87
vaishākha (april-may) 180, 183, 171, 237, 291
moon; mention of rāhini as a wife of the moon, 286;—as an emblem on seals 282
mōrī, a village in kāthiawār;—the grant of jāṅkik, of the gupta year 585 expired;—remarks on the reading and interpretation of the date, 21, 97, 58 n.;—examination of the date 97
mothers, the divines. (see mādhavake) 48
and no. 51, 78
muhūra, the thirtieth part of a mean day and night, a period of forty-eight minutes, 163;—the only muhūra mentioned by name in dates in the gupta era, is aḥhijī, in one of the nēpāli inscriptions 95, 182
muhūra-tattva, an astrological work;—its date is about a.d. 1498-99, 175;—a quotation from it in support of the heliocentric system of the twelve-year cycle of jupiter 170
mukhara, a variant of maukhari 230
mūlārman, a grantee 243
mūla, an endowment, equivalent to akshaya-vrata, a perpetual endowment 33 and n. 71
muradhvī, the god vishṇu, as the enemy of the demon mura 286
murundā, a tribe, conquered by samudragupta 14
murundādevī, murundāsvāmin, wife of jayanāthasūchchakalpa 128, 132, 138
Náché-klñiminya, a village in the Jásó State; the inscriptions of Prithivíshêrapit 211
Nága race or tribe: a possible allusion to a defeat of the Nágas by Skandagupta, 62 and n.; and by Tivaradéva, 298 and n.; the Mahábhárata Mahásvaranágas must have been of this race, 283; other chiefs of this race are probably to be found in Gapatáinígka, Nágáláta, and Nágásêna, who were conquered by Samudragupta 12, 13
Nágálâta, a proper name 283
Nágáláta, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
Nágádyâ santaka, an ancient division in the territories of the Mahásvaras of Uchchakalpa, 120; it is not to be identified with the modern Nágúd, 94 n.
Nágara bhukti, an ancient territorial division in Bihâr 218
Nágárijn Hill, in the Gayá District; mentioned as a part of the Vindhyá range, 227, 228; the cave inscriptions of Anantavarman 223, 226
Nágásar, an ancient village or tank in Baghelkhand 105
Nágásarman, a grantee, 105; another of the same name, 243; and a third of the same name 243
Nágásêna, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 12, 13
Nágasína, Mahâsvaradhikrita, the Dêlaka of the grant of Hastin of the (Gupta) year 191 109
Nágauh or Nágauh, the name of a State in Baghelkhand; it is possibly derived from nágavádha or nágabhádha, but is certainly not to be identified with Nágadéya, 94 n.; inscriptions from this State 93, 100, 106, 110, 112, 121, 125, 129, 133, 135
Nágavatsásvámin, a grantee 199
Nágasíra Provincial Museum, inscriptions from the 191, 196
Nágasíra, an interpreter of Védic quotations and words 156
'nail-headed' characters 19 and n, 106
nakshatra, 'a lunar mansion,' 163; the grouping of the nakshatras for naming the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, according to the heliacal-rising system, 106, 105; a variation by Garga and Parêsa, as quoted by Upala, from the usually accepted grouping, 163 n.; the longitudes of the ending-points of the nakshatras according to the equal-space system, by which each nakshatra 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-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces, governed by the moon's daily mean motion, and introducing the additional nakshatra Abhijit, 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, 160; and that one or other of them was in use, or both of them were, up to A.D. 862, 107 n.; Dhanáshákha was the first nakshatra for the Five-Year Cycle of the Védâg-Jayatâsita; and it seems to have been taken by Varahamihira as the first nakshatra for the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter according to the mean-sign system, 173 n.; the only nakshatra mentioned by name in dates in the Gupta era, is Rôhini, in one of the Nâpali inscriptions 95, 182
Nâlandâ, or Nâlandâ, an ancient Buddhist site in Bihâr; an apparent mention of it 310
names, '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 Nâpali inscriptions, as far as the contents of them are quoted—
dátiya; with Dêla, Dharma, Krama, Mahândra, Prâka, Sîla, Vikrama.
dágya; with Dêva.
akâ; with Vikrama.
arka; with Bhaññu, Udyotá.
drya; with Bappa, Bûjakadêva, Dêva, Dêvaśârman, Dharma, Gaya, Harişârman, Isvârásarman, Jyôshisârman, Kûnda, Kumârasârman, Magha, Mahâsvâray Mâtri, Mâtrisârman, Nandana, Révâsârman, Rôha, Rudra, Rudrasârman, Sarman, Skanda, Sîma, Sômasârman, Svámîdeva, Svâtisârman, Varâsârman.
dryd; with Bhâdra.
dalâ; with Gôdrâsintha, Hari, Indra, Vishnu.
ghata; with Dêra, Dhrû, Dhrûva, Hari, Pulinda, Skanda, Vishnu.
ghosta; with Nâga.
ghosta; with Jaya.
ghosta; with Tîla.
ghasti; with Vatsa.
ghoti; with Dhrûva, Rudra.
ôja (see 31 n.); with Rañka.
chandra; with Râma, Suraśâmi.
Newton, Mr.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters

Nichidhaka-madra (see also kandra), the anomalistic month, the period in which the moon comes from perigee or apogee to the same point again; its duration is 27 days, 13 ghats, 165, palas, or 27 tithis, 59 ghatis, 33 36 palas, 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 tithi-kandra

nickname (paramdha-naman), an instance of

Nihilapati, an official title, requiring explanation

Nilavarja of Avamukta, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta

Nimai District, an inscription from the

Nirman, a village in the Katogra District; mentioned as the ancient Nirmanagopura, 290;—the grant of the Mahasamanta and Mahaveya Samudraseva

Nirvanda, ‘annihilation of human passion;’ a stage in the Buddhist practices, anterior to parinirvanda or complete annihilation of personal existence by absorption into the all-pervading spirit

North-West Provinces, inscriptions from the

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, 209 n.—a possible instance of the vocalisation of numerical symbols, 73 n.;—forms of numerical symbols illustrated in this series of Plates.

one

two

three

four

five

six

seven

812 (see 274 n.), 172, 209, 266, 274, 292

eight

nine

ten

twenty

thirty

forty

fifty

sixty

seventy

eighty

330

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM, VOL. III.

Narada-Samhitā, an ancient astrological work, quoted in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter

Naradatta, Bādhika and Amāyya, 100, 105, 109

Naradhipati, a ‘chief ruler of men,’ contrasted with janendra, ‘a lord of a people or tribe’.

Narayaman, a Māraṇa feudatory of Chandragupta II. or of Kumāragupta

Nārāyanā, a Kanyak or Kanyāvana prince, mentioned in the Vīshnud Purāṇa; there is no foundation for the supposition that he is mentioned, as the Tushāra king Vīshuḥ, in that Tūṣām rock inscription

Nārāyanā, the god Vīshuḥ, as ‘he whose path or station is the waters’

Nārendradēva (Thukurf of Nēpāl), 270

Namadā, a river, the modern ‘Nerbudda’ (see also Rēvā)

Nasīl, an ancient town or village in the Sokuli dīla

Nātha, Śīndhītigrahaka, writer of the grant of Sarvanātha, of the (Gupta or Kalachure) year 214

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 191;—their dates, 189;—the double government of the country, during this period, by the Līchchhavīs of Maṅgara and the Thēkurs of Kālīkāśālābhavāna, 188, 189;—later instances of the same system of double government, 188 n.—the earliest era in this country were the Gupta era, used by the Līchchhavi rulers, 95, 96, 184, 188;—and the Harṣa era, used by the Thēkurf rulers, 95, 96, 184, 189;—the tradition of the Vāmūnvali, that Vikramaditya came to Nepal and established his era there, refers really to the introduction of the Harsha era, 184, 185;—but, under the name of the Nēvar 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

Nēvar 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 Kārtikīa sukla 1 as the initial day of each year, and with the Amēta arrangement of the lunar fortnights, 74, 75, 76;—the epigraphical names for the era, 74 n.;—examination of certain dates recorded in it
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, 78 n.;—an instance of the use of them, in a date in the Nērā era ...... 79 n.

ocean; an invocation of the ocean, with a reference to the legend of the sons of Saga, 155;—the western ocean, 148, 157;—the southern ocean, 141;—the oceans enumerated as four in number, 27, 44, 51, 54, 86, 90, 169, 227, 290;—the verge 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

ōghadhāva, Mahārāja (of Uchchakalpa), 119, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was Khunrādevī ...... 119, 123, 128, 131, 138
Oldenberg, Dr. H.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters ...... 56

ptn, an invocation used at the commencement 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, 225, 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

Onhī, an ancient village in the Mañi-nāga pustha ...... 116

paddadhērin, 'moving on feet; personified' ...... 169 and n., 181
paddadhēyāta, 'meditating on the feet,' a technical expression for the relations of a feudatory to his paramount sovereign, 17 and n., 25;—of a subordinate to a feudatory Mahārāja, 235;—of a son to his father, 17 n., 51, 119, 125, 128, 131, 134, 136, 151, 182, 185, 188, 189, 217, 211, 234, 290;—of both his parents, 17 n., 105, 106, 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 pāda is omitted ...... 17 n.
paddapadmopājanīn, 'subsisting (like a bee) on the water-lilies that are the feet,' a technical expression, of very common occurrence in southern inscriptions, but of rather rare use in northern records, for the relations of a feudatory to his paramount sovereign ...... 98 n.
paddapiyopājanīn, 'subsisting on the cakes that are the feet,' a technical expression to denote the relation of officials to a feudatory Mahārāja; rendered by 'feudatory' ...... 98 and n., 195, 109, 116
pāddavarta, a particular land-measure 170 and n.
Paddā, the name of a community of Chaturvedins ...... 71
Paddvati, a proper name ...... 260
paddraka, 'common-land,' in Rhumbhasapaddraka and Sivakapaddraka, 170 and n.;—used as the termination of the name of a village, in Pimpapipadra ...... 298
Pallīkpur, a village in the Ghāgāpur District; the pillar inscription of Sisūtra pāla (?) ...... 249
pala, a particular weight ...... 71 and n.
pala, 'the sixtieth division of a ghoṭi,' equal to twenty-four English seconds ...... 147
Palakka, or Pālakka, a town or country in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Ugrāśena ...... 13
Palkiṇī, a river flowing from the mountain Ujrayat ...... 64
padī, 'a bridge' ...... 124 and n., 125
palimpsest grant, an instance of a ...... 126
Pallava, a tribe; a possible early record of them in Northern India ...... 250
Pamvā, an ancient village in the Pārva-rāstra or Eastern Country ...... 195
pataḫa snentorṇeyi, 'the five sins that entail immediate retribution' ...... 34 and n.
pataḫa mahāpātakēni, 'the five great sins' ...... 38 and n., 39, 40, 72, 120, 124, 129, 134, 138, 171, 265, 269; 297
pataḫa-mahāśākda, the sounds of five musical instruments, the use of which was allowed to persons of high rank and authority (see also sarvdhigata-pataḫhamahāśākda) ...... 296 and n.
pataḫa-mahāśākda, the rites of the pataḫa-mahāśākda or five great sacrifices; enumerated as bali, charu, vadacā, agnikā, and atiṭhī, 170, 190;—mention of the bali, charu, and sattra, i.e. atiṭhī, without the others ...... 116 and n., 124, 129, 132, 290
pataḫa-mayḍati, 'an assembly of five persons;' equivalent to the modern Patīcāla, Patīcādayt, or Pātē, 'a village-jury' ...... 32 and n., 2 T 21,
Pāṇḍava, 'a committee' (see also pāṇika-mandala) ........................................ 183
Pāṇḍavā, 'a Hindu almanac,' in the  
Deccan, and in some other parts, all  
Pāṇḍavās are now prepared from the  
Graha-Tīrtha-gaṇeśa, and the Tīrtha-Chintā- 
maṇi of Śaiva Daivajña .......................... 140 n.
Pāṇḍavāna, 'the lineage of Pāṇḍu;' In- 
drabala, Nandādeva and Tvaḍradēvā,  
belonged to this lineage: ......................... 298
Pāṇi, the gramaṇā; mentioned under  
the name of Śāmārya ........................... 183
Pāśā, inscriptions from the 139, 269, 282, 286  
Paramahakāmā, a hindu sectarian  
name of Jayadeva II. of Nātār  ................. 184, 187
paramābhāṣya, a correction in time, to  
be applied to the mean tithi ................. 149
paramābhāṣyavāta, a Śaiva sectarian  
title ................................................................ 28 and n., 38, 40, 41, 44, 51,  
57, 54, 55, 116, 168, 195, 199, 217, 257
Paramahāttirāta; one of the technical  
titles of paramount sovereignty: 177, 45,  
182, 10, 17 and n., 25, 71, 183, 185,  
186, 187, 188, 189, 212, 217, 212—  
its close connection with Mahārājā- 
dhirāja and Paramāvahārā, 10 n., — an  
instance in which it is applied to a  
priest ........................................................... 17 n.
Paramahāttirākṣā; a title of the wives  
of paramount sovereigns ...................... 17 n., 212, 217
Paramādeśa, a title of the wives of Mahā-  
śāmantas and Mahārdējas .......................... 290
paramaddityabhaktā, a sectarian title of  
solar worship ...................................... 28 n., 168, 232
paramāvahārā, a Śaiva sectarian title,  
28 n., 187, 188, 189, 181, 182, 183,  
184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 217, 221, 240, 248, 290
paramasangarma, a Buddhist sectarian title  
...................................................................... 28 n., 232
paramasvaishnavā, a Vaishnava sectarian  
title .......................................................... 28 n., 298
Paramāvahārā, one of the technical titles  
of paramount sovereignty: 43, 20, 134, 159,  
183, 184, 185, 186, 189, 189, 189,  
217, 218— its close connection with  
Mahārājādhīraja and Paramahāttirā- 
raka ......................................................... 10 n.
Paramāvahārā, the god Śiva, as 'the  
supreme lord' ......................................... 185 n.
paramount sovereigns, titles of; i.e. of  
sovereigns supreme in their own domin- 
icms, but not necessarily reigning  
over the whole of India: ........................ 10 n.
Parāśara, the father of Vyāsa .................. 139
Parāśara, an ancient astronomer, quoted  
by Kishiputra, and through him, as  
well as directly, by Utpala, for the  
helical-rising system of the Twelve- 
Year Cycle of Jupiter, 170— and for  
a variation from the usually accepted  
grouping of the nakṣatras ...................... 163 n.
parībhāṣa-nāman, 'a nickname;' an in- 
stance ....................................................... 290
parīṣṭhēdā, a territorial term ................... 105 and n.
of Skandagupta, from which originated the idea of an era dating from the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty.

Prithvisenagupta, Mahārājā (Vākṣṭaka), 235, 240, 248;—his Nachnē-kātaflāt inscriptions.

prathyayam-a-pratiratha (compare svaya-ma-pratiratha) applied to Chandragupta-II, an epitaph of Samudragupta, 14, 27, 44, 51, 54, 237;—used partially on his coins, 14 n.;—applied also to Vijayarāja (Chalukya of Gujarāt), 14 n.

Pritu, an epic king.

Prīti, affection, one of the wives of the god Kāmadhūīya.

prose, inscriptions which are entirely in the Gupta script, 85.

Prabhavatigupta, daughter of Divagupta, and wife of Rudrasena II., 75, 240, 247.

Prakāśaditya, a king of Kāśī, 286;—his Sarnath inscription.

Prākrit language, an epigraphical mention of the.

Prākrit names and words:

ajjaka 187 n.
Ajjita 119 and n., 123, 128, 131, 138
boppa 186 n.
boppa 186 n.
Ijā 217 and n.
phutta 121, 125, 130
santaka 118 n., 241 and n., 248
uchchhanna 255
praydhī, a ‘conduit’.

Prājtunaga, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta.

pratistha, an eulogy, a technical term for an inscription on stone, 87 n., 201, 208, 285;—an exceptional instance in which this term is used to denote a copper-plate charter.

Pratinirakha, an official or family title, perhaps meaning ‘a herald.’ 190 and n.
pradīpā, a gateway with a flight of steps.
pratyayā, pratydyā, a ‘holding.’ 170 and n.

Pravaragupta, the ancient Sanskrit name of the Barahā Hill.

Pravarasena II, Issued his Chammak grant.

Pravarasena I., Mahārājā (Vākṣṭaka) 241, 248
Pravarasena II., Mahārājā (Vākṣṭaka), 240, 247;—his Chammak grant, 235;—his Siwan grant.

Prayāga, an ancient name of Allahābād.

Prissep, Mr. James; his rendering of the date in the Kahum pillar inscription of Skandagupta, from which originated the idea of an era dating from the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty.

Pulikēsīn II. (Western Chalukya); examination of the date of his Haidarābād grant of the Saka year 534 expired, which proves that, up to A.D. 612, the Prāvimodāta arrangement of the lunar fortights was used with the Saka years, even in Southern India.

Pulindabhaṭa, a grantee.

punāḍaka, a particular sacrifice.

Pūrāṇa, a ‘city;’ this word is not justified by the only instance that is quoted for it.

Pūrāṇa, as a termination of names of villages, in Brahmapuraka, Kollapuraka, and Vatapuraka.

Purāmara, the god Indra, as the destroyer of cities.

Purāvimodāta, 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 Amākṣa arrangement that is actually taken for calculations, 48 n.;—even in Southern India, the Prāvimodāta 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 Nāwār era in Nepal, 75;—but it was adopted there, when the Nāwār era was followed by the Vikrama era in its northern variety.

Puravarsakhetra, the Eastern Country, subject to Jayardā and Sudēvarākṣa.

Pushpabhūti, or Pushyabhūti, a king mentioned by Bana in the Harshacharita, in connection with the family of Harshavardhana of Kanauj; he has been wrongly assumed to be the father of Prabhākarawardhana.

Prabhākarawardhana.

of Skanda-gupta, from which originated the idea of an era dating from the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty.
Pushpapura, an ancient name of the modern Patna in Bihar, 185; — a town of this name is referred to in connection with Samudragupta and the Kostas; but it may be Kanauj that is intended. 5, 12

Pushyabhatti; see Pushyabhatti 15

Pushyamitra, a tribe, conquered by Skandagupta, 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.

rachita, 'composed'; a technical term in connection with the writing and engraving of it. 87, 99 n.

Rāghava, 'a descendant of Raghu'; a name in particular of Rāmachandra, but also applied to Aja, Daśaratha, and Lakshmana 20

Rāhula, a Buddhist teacher 277

Rajyataka, a hill near the mountain Uriyāt 64, 239, 230

Rājādhīrāja, a title of paramount sovereignty, properly obsolete in the Gupta period, but used in some metrical passages, both alone and in Rājārdjadhūta 35 and n. 62, 151, 156 and n.

Rājakula, 'of the royal household; a member of the king's household'. 33 and n. 190

Rājāmdāya, an official title 218

Rājā, or more properly Rājān, a feudatory title 159, 194, 197, 293

Rājāputra, an official title 180, 182, 184, 218 and n.

Rājasthānyā, an official title 157 and n. 170, 218

Rājatarāmgi, a historical poem, of which the principal part was written by Kalhana; Kalhana's statement regarding the equation between the Lākākā 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. 50

Rajendralalā Mitra, Dr.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters 50

Rājim, a town in the Rāypur District; the title of Thravaradeva 291

Rājī, queen, a title of the wives of paramount sovereigns 212 and n. 217

Rājputāna, inscriptions from 251, 252

Rājyamati, daughter of Harsha of Gauḍa, and wife of Jayadeva II. of Nēpāl 127

Rājyavardhana I., Mahārāja, an ancestor of Harṣaharvardhana of Kanauj, 232; — the name of his wife, as read from the half- illegible Śünpat seal, is given as Mahādevi (but Dr. Bühler's reading of the grant discovered thus, then shews that her name was Apsarādevī). 234

Rājyavardhana II., king of Kanauj, or more properly of Tīkṣṣuvar 234

Rājyavati, wife of Dharma-deva of Nēpāl 232

Rājyikā, Amṛtīya and Bhāgikā 120

Rākna, an epic hero, one of the incarnations of Vīshnu 77

Rāṃchandra, a proper name 286

Rāmādevī, wife of Jayasvāmin of Ucchākāla 119, 123, 128, 134, 138

rāga-stambha, 'a column of victory in war'; the Mandāśr pillars, with the inscriptions of Yaśodharmar, are actual instances. 145

Raṅgānta, a commentator on the Śrīrūṣa-Siddhānta; the date of his commentary is A.D. 1603-1604. 275; — his remarks on a verse in the Śrīrūṣa-Siddhānta in connection with the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 171 n.

Rākṣābhaṭa, a grantee 123

Rati, 'the pleasure of love,' one of the wives of the god Kānadeva 85

rau-sūra, 'a jewel-house,' a term which apparently denotes the great Sēpā at Sāntī 33 and n. 34, 262

Rāṇavat, wife of Vasudatta 271

Ravidatta, Bhāgikā 100, 105, 109

Ravigupta, Sarudandandyaṅkaka and Mahādevatī, the Dālaka of the inscription of Vasantāśeṇa of the (Gupta) year 435. 183

Ravikriti, a proper name 156

Ravindra, Mahādevatī and Mahārāja 290; — his wife was Mihrakalakṣmī 290

Rāypur, a town in the Central Provinces; the grant of Mahāt-Sudravāra 196

Rāypur 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, 933; — instances of dates recorded apparently in regnal years, but really in years of an era 38 and n. 40, 41, 44, 71, 268

Rehatsek, D. E.; his proposal for amending the translation of Albērdn's words regarding the origin of the Gupta era 28

Reinaud, M.; his rendering of Albērdn's statements regarding the Gupta and other eras 23, 36

Rēvā, a name of the river Narmadā 156, 157
Sāka, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta

Sāka 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 Sāka king by king Vikramāditya of Ujjain, 142; — according to a later tradition, it dates from the birth of king Śrīśāhana of Pratishthāna; 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 Sāka tribe, 142; — a curious instance of confusion, by the Jain writer Śaṅkhya, between the Sāka and the Gupta eras, 32 n.; — the difference in the scheme of the Northern and Southern Sāka years, both commencing with Chaitra sūkla 1, 70, 71; — even in Southern India, the Amānta 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 sūkla 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 Māha-Saṅkram, 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

Sāha, another name of Vrāṣṭana 27 n., 36
sa-brahmacārī, a religious student with (others who follow the same śādha) 103, 108, 179, 250
Sachau, Prof. E.; his rendering of Albé-rūnī’s statements regarding the Gupta and other eras 24
Śāchl, wife of the god Indra, mentioned under the name of Paulmbī 225
śaḍaśakra, a particular sacrifice 241 and n., 248
Śāgar District, inscriptions from the 18, 88, 91, 158
Śagara, an epic king, 21, 99, 105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 155, 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
śa-grha, ‘belonging to the same grha with (the person from whom the grha-name is derived)’ 70, 96, 123, 108, 114, 118, 166, 179, 193, 195, 236, 239, 240, 245, 246, 250, 270, 295

Rēvatiśāra, a grantee 243
Rēvatiśāramāya, a grantee 243
Rūpigha, ‘apparently a proper name, used to denote Śatrughna or another Purāṇic king of hero 260 and n.
Rishimitra, a grantee 218
Rishīputrā, an ancient Hindu astronomer, quoted by Upatila for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 161 n., 170; — he himself quotes Atri, Pārāśara, and Vasishtha, in support of the same 170
rock inscriptions 26, 269, 283
Rohāya, a grantee 243
Rohip, a wife of the Moon, 286; — the name of a nakhastra 95, 182
Rohitadvadī, or Rōhitadvadī, a hill-fort in the Śahāhād District; the seal-matrix of Saśākgradī 283
Royal Asiatic Society’s Library, an inscription from the 171
Rudra 280
Rudrabhūti, a grantee 170
Rudradēva, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
Rudraya, a grantee 243
Rudrasārman, a grantee, 105; — another of the same name 243
Rudrasārmāyaya, a grantee 243
Rudrasena I., Mahārāja (Vākata) 241, 248
Rudrasena II., Mahārāja (Vākata) 240, 248
Rudrāśana, also called Vyāghra 67
Rukharađēva, a grantee 105

Sākhā, a religious family or
dynastic name of the Mahākhatripuras of Saurāṣṭra, based on the custom of
omitting superscript vowels in the leg-
ends on their coins 36 n.

Saśa mountains, 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 aytantamādhyāvara, aytantasvinamahakhaivraovdha, and
paramamādhyāvara). 120, 121, 125, 35

Śaka, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta

Śaṅkha, the imaginary family or
dynastic name of the Mahākhatripuras of Saurāṣṭra, based on the custom of
omitting superscript vowels in the leg-
ends on their coins 36 n.

Saśah, a religious family or
dynastic name of the Mahākhatripuras of Saurāṣṭra, based on the custom of
omitting superscript vowels in the leg-
ends on their coins 36 n.

Śaṅkha, the imaginary family or
dynastic name of the Mahākhatripuras of Saurāṣṭra, based on the custom of
omitting superscript vowels in the leg-
ends on their coins 36 n.

Śaṅkha, the imaginary family or
dynastic name of the Mahākhatripuras of Saurāṣṭra, based on the custom of
omitting superscript vowels in the leg-
ends on their coins 36 n.
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

śākha, lit. a ‘branch,’ a Vedic school, following any particular recension of one of the Veda; names of śākhas mentioned in this series of records:

- Aupamanyava 199
- Bahūdhīca 190, 257
- Chhandoga-Kauthuma 109
- Kātha 105
- Maitrīyanya 90, 120, 296
- Rāṣṭrīya 71
- Taittirīya 248
- Vājasaneyā 105, 195, 199
- Vājasaneyā-Māṇḍyaṇin 97, 120, 298
- Vājasaneyā-Kauya 170

Śākya, the god Indra, as ‘the powerful one’ 67

Śākta or Tāntrika worship; apparent early instances of it (see also Vajēṣvara) 48 and n. 74, 226

Śaktindra, a grantee 128

Śākya, the name of the tribe or family of Buddha, 277:—mention of Śākya Bhikṣus, 272, 279, 280, 282:— and of a Śākya Bhikṣu 274

Śālapaksha, a Baladhadrita of Ādiyāsena of Magadha 210

Śāmīru, a name of the grammarian Pāṇini 183 and n.

Śālīvāhana-Saka, an expression that is frequently used to denote the Saka era; but it is an archaism for any period earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. 142 n.

śam, an abbreviation of the word samvat-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

śāmadhyāgata-pahchhamahāsābha, a customary epithet of feudatory nobles, indicating that they were entitled to the privilege of the pāchita-mahāsābha, 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.

Śāmantādeva, 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

Śāmśa-Sahmbhā, an astrological work by Varahamihira, quoted by Upala in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 170
epithets are applied to Vijayarāja (Chalukya of Gujārāt), 14 n.;—his Allahābādī (or Kausambi) posthumous pillar inscription, 11;—his Erān inscription, 18;—his spurious Gayā grant of the year 9 . . . . 254
Samudrāśena, kālaśāmanata and Mahārāja, 290;—his Nirmaṇḍ grant . . . 286
Sanvā, an abbreviation of the word sanvatāhores, 'a year,' or of any of its declensional cases that can be used in expressing a date, 85, 91, 95, 97, 178 to 284, 22 n., 30 n., 47, 92, 108, 119, 180, 210, 257, 261, 287, 277; 259;—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 any of the years of any of the different eras . . . 22 n.
Sanvatāras, 133 or years of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, by the heliacal-rising system, mentioned in records of the Early Gupta period:—
Mahā-Aśvayuṇa . . 110, 117, 104, 115
Mahā-Chaitra . . . 114, 108
Mahā-Magha . . 110, 112
Mahā-Vaiśākhā . 104, 95, 96
Sanakānaka, or Sanakānaka, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta, 6 n., 14, 25;—certain Mahārājas of this tribe mentioned by name . . . 25
Sanasidīha, a proper name . . . 262
Sāchī, or Sāchi, a village in the Bhājā State; its name is not derived from the Sanskrit word sātī, but is probably an alliterative vernacular word, 29 n., 260 n.;—in the Asoka period, its name was Kākānā, 31;—in the Gupta period, the name of the great Stūpa here was Kākānābadāmajāvihāra, 31, 251;—in the inscriptions it seems to be denoted by the term raṇaga- rika, 33 and n., 34, 202;—the modern popular name of the great Stūpa is Sātī bānd bā bīti, 30 n.;—the inscription of Chandragupta II, of the (Gupta) year 93, 29;—the inscription of the (Gupta) year 131, 260;—a pillar inscription . . . 279
Sanādhyapata, a grantee . . . 97
Sanbhi, and other name of Sanbha, Assināt . . . 260
Sanālika or Sanālīkī, the imaginary name of a wife of Samudragupta . . 18, 19, 1
Sankha, a conch-shell, 33 as an emblem on seals . . . . . 101, 196, 202
Sanskrit language, an epigraphical mention of the . . . . 157

santaka, a Prakrit word meaning 'belonging to,' in asmat-santaka . . 118 n.; . . 241, and n., 248
santaka, a territorial term . . . 118
and n. 120, 132
Santdr, Pargada, a late inscription from the, mentioning Aditya-śena of Maga-
dha . . . . 212 n.
Santisvarman, a grantee . . . . 243
Saptinga, 'the seven' constituent elements of a kingdom . . 242 and n.
Sarabha king, mention of a, as the mater-
nal grantholder of Gopārāja (see also Sarabhapa) . . . . 14, 93
Sarabhangas, a proper name . . . . 33
Sarabhapa, the town from which Jaya-
rāja and Sulaśvarāja issued their chart-
ers, 192, 194, 195;—it is not to be identified with Ari, nor with 'Sambalpur' or 'Sambalpura,' 192;—the Rājas of Sarabhapa (see also Sarabha king) . . . . 14, 194, 199
Sārad, 'the autumn;' the importance of
the use of this word in connection with the Māhava or Vikrama era . . 66 n.
Sāradhi, 'a bow-string' . . . . 223 and n.
Sarasvatī, wife of the god Brahma, and
goddess of learning . . . . 208
Sātrakāla, Sātrakālaarmaṇa, a Maukhāri chief . . . . 223, 225, 224
Sārman, an abbreviation of the name of
Dhrusvarmaṇa . . . . 9 n., 45 and n.
Sārnārya, a grantee . . . . 243
Sārjaṇḍai, the god Vishnu, as 'hearing
in his hand the bow of horn named Sārjaṇda' . . . . 147, 183
Sārjina, the god Vishnu, as 'possessing
the bow of horn named Sārjina' . . . . 65, 87
Sārṇātha, a village in the Benares Distri-	ct; an image inscription, 281;—the
inscription of Prakāshākyata . . . . 284
Sārva, the god Śiva . . . . 103
Sārvarvadapāyaka, a military title, of an
officer next in rank below the Mahā-
sarvarvadapāyaka; used in connection with Mahā-pratikθara . . . . 183
Sārvadatta, the Delī of the grants of
Jayanātha of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) years 174 and 177 . . . . 120, 124
Sārvarthayākṣa, 'general superintendent,' an official title . . . . 241 and n., 248
Sārvanaga, Vishayapati, a governor of
Skanda-gupta for the Antarvīd country . . 71
Sārvanātha, Mahārāja (of Uchhakalpa), 112, 128, 132, 133, 138;—his Bhumaś pillar inscription, 110;—examination of its date, 119;—his Kāhī grant of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 193 . . . . 125;—his imperfect Kāhī grant, without date, 129;—his Kāhī grant, imperfect, of the year 197 . . . . 134;—his Kāhī grant of the year 214 . . . . 135

2 Ua,
sarva-rddi, 8ndam = a-hasta-prakshhpav
ya, (see also samasta), a fiscal term ..... 190
sarva-rdli-deekchāttris, an epitaph of Sa
madragupta, 27, 44, 51, 54, 257; — it oc
sers also on the coins that bear the
name of Kācha ..... 27 n.
Sārvavāmin, a grantee ..... 105
Sārava, a proper name ..... 190
Sārvatālī, Divīra, a grantee ..... 123
Sārvārman (Maubahār), 215, 218, 220,
221; — his Ashāyad seal ..... 219
Sārvārman, Mahādaśa, mentioned in the
Nṛmaṇḍ grant of Samudrakṣaṇa ..... 290
śādāna, 'a charter' (see śādāna-śādāna),
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.
Śāndikādēva, Mahāśāmanta, 284; — his
Rāhṭāyad seal-matrix ..... 285
Śāntaneya, apparently the name of a
gōrā ..... 123
Śās-bhāku kā bikā, the modern popular
name of the great Śās bya at Śānchī; with
which we have to compare Śās-bhāku kā
dēhi, which is the modern popular name
of the temple at Gāvliar in which there is
the inscription of Mahāpāla of the Vikrama year 1150 ..... 30 n.
Śātābhaśati-Saṃhitā, the name of a sec
tion of the Mahābhārata, or of the
whole poem ..... 139
Sail, popularly Suttee, see cremation of
widows ..... 92 and n. 93
Śatrughnārāja, a proper name ..... 241
satta, 'an alms-house,' 37, 38, 39, 40,
41, 45, 116 n., 265; — one of the five
great sacrificial, usually called aṭṭhi
116 n., 124, 129, 132, 290
Śātvata, a Vaishāvaya sect ..... 271 and n.
Śāulkīna, an official title ..... 52 and n.
Saurāshtra, the modern Kāṭhākāla
country; mentioned under the name of Sa
rāshtra, and as subject to Skan
dagupta, 62, 63; — remarks on the
coins of the Kṣatrapas or Mahākṣa
trapas of Saurāshtra ..... 36 n.
Śavirāsvāmin, a propet name ..... 199
śāvana, 'inclusive of precession of the
equinoxes' ..... 146
Ścindia's Dominions, inscriptions from
21, 34, 79, 142, 149, 150, 161, 258
sculptures accompanying inscriptions on
stone ..... 72, 269, 274
scans 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: —
Grihimaya, the hot season ..... 63, 64
Hēmanta, the cold season ..... 86, 87
Śarad, the autumn ..... 77, 158
Śiśira, the dewy season ..... 77, 87
Varṣā, the rainy season ..... 63
Vasanta, the spring ..... 158
selection by kings of their successors,
and by a widow of her husband's suc
cessor ..... 12 n.
Śūdratī, a military title 44, 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
Śhāhādāl (Ārā) District, inscriptions
from the ..... 213, 283
Śhāhānūshāhāsi, a dynasty or tribe, con
quered by Samudragupta ..... 14
Śhāhī, a dynasty or tribe, conquered by
Samudragupta ..... 14
Śhāhpur, a village in the Pāṭnā District;
the image inscription of Adityasena of
the (flarsha) year 66 ..... 208
Śhāthṣhiddatā, a proper name ..... 156
śhadasāmin, 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
śiddhām, 'perfection has been attained,'
an invocation used at the commencement
of inscriptions, 25 and n., 34, 35,
54, 61, 67, 71, 83, 154, 247, 254, 284,
262; — it is the remnant of some such
expression as śiddha bhagavatā ..... 25 n.
Śiddhānta-Sīrman, an astronomical
work by Bhāskaracāryā; it was writ
ten A.D. 1150–51, 156 n.; — its
author's explanation of the rule for the
Brahma-Siddhānta unequal-space
system of the nakṣatras ..... 160
Śiddhasena, Mahāpratihārī and Mahā
śaptaśaka, the Dīkak of the grant of
Śiddadeva 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 ..... 117 n, 191
Śikharasvāminī, wife of Samjayaśeṇa ..... 290
Śīlāchārya, a Jain writer, author of the
Āchārācādī, in which, in giving the date,
he makes a curious confusion between
the Gupta and the Śaka eras ..... 32 n.
Śīlādēya, a biruda or second name, given
by Hiuen Tsiang, of Harshavaradha
of Kanauj ..... 39, 40
Sthādīyā of Mālava, a king mentioned by Huen Ts'ang, 30, 40;—he has been wrongly assumed to be the father of Pṛbhākara-Pravartana.

15

Sthādīyā I. (of Valabhi), 41, 181, 183;—he had the biruda or second name of Dharmādīyā.

181

Sthādīyā II. (of Valabhi) . . . . . . . . . . . 41, 185

Sthādīyā III., Sthādīyādevā (of Valabhi) 41, 185

Sthādīyā IV., Sthādīyādevā (of Valabhi) 41, 185

Sthādīyā V., Sthādīyādevā (of Valabhi) 41, 187

Sthādīyā VI., Sthādīyādevā (of Valabhi) 41, 188

Sthādīyā VII., Sthādīyādevā (of Valabhi), 41, 189;—he had the biruda of Dhru- 

177

bhata, i.e. Dhruvabhata, 172 and n., 189;—his Alma grant of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 447.

171

Sinvaha, one of the names of Ceylon; mentioned as conquered by Sāmudra- 

141

gupta

Sindhu, the river Indus; mentioned as having seven mouths.

141

Sīpur, a town in the Rāyputr District; mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit

203, 296

name of Sīpurā.

Sīrā, a village in the Dhrāwad District; examination of the date of the inscrip-

79 n.

tion of Amoghavarsa I., of the Śaka year 788, which proves that the Amṛta

77

arrangement of the lunar fortnights was applied to the Śaka years, in South- 

ern India, between A.D. 204 and 866.

182

Śītopāla, an epic king, 250;—probably the name of the king whose inscription is

250, 251

on the Pahādī pillar.

Śīva, the god, the destroyer of the Hindu triad (see also Bhūtāpati, Hara, 

170

Īśa, Īśvara, Jayāśīvara, Kāpāḷīśvara, Mahādevā, Mahāvīra, Mihirāvīra, 

241, 248

Paramāvīra, Pāṇispati, Pīnhūn, Śambha, Śatru, Śālpā, Śūlā, Śūlā-

241, 248

bīvāsī, Śūlābhāgīvīra, Śvāmi-Mahābhārava, and Tripūrāntaka; and, for his wife, see 

Pārvatī). 241, 248;—mentioned in connection with the śīgha, 280 and n., 

252

280, 241, 248;—mention of the river Ganga flowing through his matted hair, 

16;—other references to his matted or braided hair, 87, 163;—mention of 

him as the father of Kārttikeya, 206;—a reference to his bull Nandi or Nandin, 

155

as an emblem on his banner, 147;—a reference to his destruction of Kāma- 

dēva, 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 other references to him as the creator, 184 and n., 186, 290;—other 

references to the moon on his forehead, 87, 163, 206;—a probable 

55

early instance of his form, in combination with Pārvatī, as Ardhānārīśvara, 

254;—a form of Śiva in combination with the Sun.

288

Śivādāsa, a proper name.

112

Śivādeva, Bhātikāra, the Dītaka of the inscription of Śivādeva II. (of the 

182

Hara) year 143 (9).

Śivādeva I., Mahārāja (Lichhavi of Nāḍā), 177, 178, 193, 192;—he had the 

epitaph of 'the banner or glory of the Lichchhavikula,' 177, 178;—notice of his Gōmādhārī inscription of the (Gupta) year 316, 177;—the value of 

this record in proving the use of the Gupta era in Nāḍā, and in fixing the 

chronology of the early rulers of that country, 96, 177, 184;—notice of 

another of his inscriptions, the date of which is lost.

178

Śivādeva II. (Thakkur of Nāḍā), 182, 187, 189, 190, 191;—his wife was Vatsadā, 

182

184, 187;—notice of his inscription of the (Hara) year 119, 182;—and of an 

182

inscription of the year 143 (9), which is probably one of his records.

Śivagupta, Mahābāsī, the Dītaka of the grants of Sarvanātha of the (Gupta or 

129, 134

Kālachuri) years 193 and 197.

Śivakapadraka, the name of some land in the village of Antarātra.

170

Śivamān, the chief town of the Śiwan-Chāl District; the grant of 

Pravarasena II.

243

Śambhasena, a proper name.

170

Śkanda, the name of the god Kārttikeya.

51

Śkandabhata, Śāṅkhavirāhika, writer of the grant of Dharasena II. of the 

Gupta-Valabhi) year 252.

171

Śkandadeva, Purandara, the Dītaka of a Nāḍā inscription of the (Hara) 

year 82.

181

Śkandagupta (Early Gupta), 17, 51, 52, 55, 63, 71, 73;—he had the biruda 

and second name of Kramādīyā, 18;—mentioned as restorin the fallen

fortunes of his family by conquering the Pusyamitrās, 55;—as defeating 

the Hūnas, 56;—apparently as overcoming the Nāgas, 62 and n.;—and as 

establishing his fame in the countries of the Mēchechhas, 62;—remarks on two of his coins, 25 n., 46 n.;—his Bihār pillar inscription, 47;—his Bihār pillar inscription, 52;—his Junghāl rock inscription of the (Gupta) years 

130, 137, and 138;—his Kafka pillar inscription of the year 141...

68;—a Śākācch inscription of the year.
CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM, VOL. III.

131, perhaps of his time, 260; — a Nāṭhārul image inscription of the year 135, of his time, 262; — a Kāśi image inscription of the year 139, of his time, 266; — a Gadhārā inscription of the year 148, perhaps of his time.

Skandaguptāla, apparently the name of an ancient village in Bihār.

Skandāgama, a grantee.

Skandāra, a grantees.

Skandāyana, a grantee.

Skandaśūrā, ‘a camp,’ in jaya-skandaśūrā.

Sunara, the god Kāmādēvā, as ‘he who excites memory.’

Saurā, a proper name.

Sūnapat, a town in the Dehli District; the seal of Harshaharshana of Kanauj, or more properly of Thānbar.

Sovereigns, paramount, titles of; of, of sovereigns supreme in their own domains, but not necessarily reigning over the whole of India.

Sphata, an astronomical term, to be translated by ‘apparent’.

Sphata-lithi, ‘an apparent lithi;’ the method of determining it from the mean lithi.

Sādharana inscription, an instance of a.

Samaṇa, ‘a Buddhist (and Jain) ascetic.’

Sru, ‘a corporation or guild.’

Sri, an honorific prefix to names rendered in the case of paramount sovereigns and their wives by ‘glorious,’ of feudatories and other ordinary persons by ‘illustrious,’ of priests, teachers, &c., by ‘saintly,’ of gods by ‘holy,’ and of towns, &c., by ‘famous;’ generally Sri is used before consorts and śīrmat before vocables, but there are exceptions to this.

Śri, the goddess Lakṣmi.

Śrīgupta, an early Mahārājā mentioned by I-tsing; he is not to be identified with the Mahārājā Gupta (Early Gupta).

Śīmat, an honorific prefix to names, rendered in the same way as Sri; the use of it is not confined to feudatories, but it is applied in the case of paramount sovereigns also.

Śīmat, or Śrīmatī, wife of Mādhava-gupta.

Śrīputra, the ancient name of Śrīpurē.

Śrīrahukhā, an ancient village in the Purvavāra or Eastern Country.

Śrīputikā, a well at Śrīrahukhā.

Śrīhūkha, the god Śiva, as ‘the immovable one.’

Śkapetiṣṇīry, apparently meaning ‘chief of architecte’

Śahisvarā, a Buddhist priestly title.

Stone, inscriptions, on are usually denoted by the term pratiṣṭa.

Śtāpa, the technical name of a certain kind of Buddhist monument, 50 and n.; — in two records the term rāṇa-grīha seems to be used to denote a Stāpa, 33 and n., 34, 262; — in the neighbourhood of Sāchī, the popular term for a Stāpa is bita.

In, an abbreviation of śukla or tudha, ‘the bright fortnight;’ used in connection with di (see also under ba di), 91, 97, 210, 277, 271; — used by itself 91, 101, 265.

Sukara, a lake at Girinagara.

Śrīlēvarāja, or Mahā-Sūdhēvarāja, Rāja (of Sarabhapura), 191; — his Rāypur grant, 196; — reference to another grant by him, which requires to be re-edited.

Śugata, 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.

Śāksahumāśīva, the engraver of the Apsara inscription of Adeityasana.

Sukuli dēśa, an ancient territorial division in the neighbourhood of Sāchī.

Śulabhakha, a proper name.

Śūlapīṇi, the god Śiva, as ‘holding the trident in his hand’

Śūlissgrāma, an ancient village in the neighbourhood of Nirmāṇ.

Śumēra, another name of the mountain Māra, 86, 147; — mentioned as the abode of Indra, 278; — and as one of the breasts of the earth.

Sun; inscriptions of sun-worship, 68, 79, 126, 161, 208, 214, 288; — sun worship indicated elsewhere by the title parāmdīṣṭyanahaka, 168, 232; — invocations of the Sun as a god, 71, 84, 163; — worship of the Sun combined with that of Vishnu, 126; — and with that of Śiva, 288; — ancient temples of the Sun, at Indor in the Bulandsahar District, 70; — at Mandsār, 80; — at Ārakana, 126; — at Gwalior, 162; — and at Dēb-Baρāṇḍak, 218; — an image of the Sun at Śhāhpur, 210; — the Sun connected with Vāruṇa in the name of Varuṇakrī, 215; — the Sun mentioned under the name of Varuṇapāda, 218; — mention of the chariot and horses of the Sun, 78, 163; — cows spoken of as ‘daughters of the Sun,’ 199 and n., 209, 299; — a symbol of sun-worship, or perhaps the wheel-blem.

Śrīpura, the ancient name of Śrīpurē.
Supushpa, a traditional and very early member, at Pushpapura, of the family of the Lichchhavis of Nāḍā. 185

Sátāmbīdāyara, a linga form of the god Śiva. 180 n.

Suraguru, the regent of the planet Jupiter, as 'the preceptor of the gods.' 90 n., 157; — the day of Suraguru, i.e. Thurs.

Sūrāśēna, or Sūrāśēna, Rājāpura; his wife was Bhaudādēvi, sister of Anūsvarman. 180

Surkślītha (or more usually Saurasētra) country, the modern Kāthāwālī; it was subject to Skandagupta 62, 63.

Surāsāmichandra. Mahārāja, a governor of Budhagupta for the country between the rivers Jamna and Karmāda. 89, 90

Sūryadatta, Mahāsādānīvighrākha, the writer of the grants of Hāstik of the (Gupta) years 156 and 163. 99, 105, 109

Sūryadatta, a grantee. 97

Sūryamitra, a grantee. 218

Sūrya-Siddhānta, an ancient astronomical work; it is the text-book of the Saurapaksha school of astronomers, 145 n.; — according to it, the length of the solar year is 365 days, 15 ghatis, 31'523 palas, 140; — and the length of the year of Jupiter, by the mean-sign system, is 365 days, 1 ghati, 36 palas, 170; — its rule for determining the years of the Thirty-Year Cycle of Jupiter by the mean-sign system, 170; — its rule for determining the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter by his heliacal rising in connection with the occurrence of nakṣatras on new-moon days, 171; — comments on this rule by Raṅgarāṇīthā and Dāthābhālī. 171 n.

Sūryavānsa, 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 Nāḍā did belong to it. 185, 188

Sūtiram, the founder of the family of the Parivṛjaka Mahārājas. 115

Sūsthitavāman, probably a Maukhari king, cultured by Mahāvīragupta. 15, 206

Sutta (Sutta), see creation of widows 92 and 93

Swarnā, a particular gold coin or weight of gold. 205

Swarnākaksha, apparently an ancient village in Baghelkhand. 125

Swa-hasta, 'a sign-manual,' 171, 191; — actual representations of a swa-hasta. 171 n. 191 and n.

Śvāmīdattā, of Koṭṭāra on the hill, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta. 7 n. 13

Śvāmīdevāyā, a grantee. 243

Śvāmī-Mahābhairava, one of the terrific forms of the god Śiva. 241, 248

Śvāmī-Mahāśēna, the god Kārttikeya, as 'the commander of a large army.' 43, 44

Śvāmin, a title of office or rank. 277

Śvāminī, a proper name. 128

śvāminī, 'a noble lady,' or perhaps an abbreviation of Vilādārvāminī. 262 and n.

svo-mukhajājī, 'the order or command of one's own mouth;' an expression, connected with charters, used when a Daśāka 'is not employed.' 100 n., 116 and n., 195, 200

Śvarabhānu, a name of Rāhu, the personified ascending node, as 'the causer of an eclipse of the sun.' 97

svaṣṭi, 'hail,' an exclamation used at the commencement of inscriptions, 96 and n., 104, 108, 111, 110, 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 astu, and governing the dative. 99, 161

Śvāmisāmāya, a grantee. 243

Śvāmisāvānī, a grantee. 105

śvāyanā-pratirātha (compare pritikāyunā-pratirātha, applied to Samudragupta), an epitaph of Chandragupta II. 44, 51, 54

Śvāyanibhū, the god Brahman, as 'the self-existent one.' 155 and n.

'Syalaṭapati,' 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

Tālāpura, or Talāpura, an ancient town in the vicinity of Nirnāja. 290 and n.

Talādevākha, an official title. 217 and n.

Tamas, a river, the modern Tamās or 'Tons.' 126, 128

Tāmra-sūkṣma, a 'copper-charter' (see also sūkṣma), 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.

Tānug-pāpta, 'an adopted son.' 293 n., 298

Tātrika, or Sākta worship, apparent early instances of (see also Vajrēśvara). 48 and n., 74, 226

Ṭhākuri rulers of Nāḍā! Ṭhākuri is the name given in the Nāḍā Vamādaś to the family to which Anūsvarman and his successors belonged. 189; — their palace was Kailaśākhāṭāhavāna, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 189; — they used the Harsha era, 96, 182, 189; — instances of this, 178 to 184; — they seem to have had the government of
the western portion of Nepal, 190; — 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. 187

36, 38, 54, 57

Tilabbatataka, Mahabandhuparaka, the superintendent of the work connected with the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta. 17
tilama, 'a water-course.' 180, 181

Tirthambara, early Jain saints, mentioned under the epithet of adikartri 68 and n.

Tishyanantatatha, an ancient place. 28

tithi, 'a lunar day,' 32 n., 163; — an epigraphical quotation of the new-moon tithi or fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight, as the thirtieth tithi of the month, 110 n., — the astronomical meanings of the term tithi, 147; — one mean tithi, of time, is equal to 0981925952 of a mean solar day and night, 149 n.; — the mean tithis in a solar year are 371, and 3 ghats, 374, 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 Panchadaga, 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, 156 n. — the tithis given in Panchadaga are apparent, not mean, 148; — and they are intended to be given from apparent sunrise, 155; — the method of determining the apparent tithi from the mean tithi, 154; — a method of calculating the week-days, ending-times, and English dates, of tithis, with Prof. K. L. Chattere's Tables, Appendix II, 145 to 159; — the ending-time of a tithi, thus obtained, may sometimes differ from the results obtained from the Shrya-Siddhanta and other Hindu works; but the difference will not amount to more than 9 or 6 ghats.

tithi-bhoga, '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-kandra (see also kandra), 'the anomaly of a tithi, expressed in tithis,' 140; — the annual variation in the tithi-kandra is 7 tithis, 9 ghats, 42 palas.

tithi-madhya-mukha-kandra (see also kandra), '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.

149, 150

tithi-uddhi, '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-uddhi, obtained from Prof. K. L. Chattere's Tables, is less than 19, there cannot be an intercalary month in the year.

153

Tivardave, or Tivararajja, also called Mahasiva-Tivararajja, of the Pardvansha, 296, 298; — he had the title of 'supreme lord of Kshatas,' 296; — he was the adopted son of Nandadeva, 293, 298; — his rajam grant.

291

Tons,' properly Tamas, a river in Baudhikand and the North-West Provinces; mentioned under the ancient name of Tamasa.

158

Taramaga, a king of the Mihira tribe or clan among the Hansas, and the father of Mihirakula, 10, 11, 12, 160, 163; — he came, in Eastern Mewa, very shortly after Budhagupta, 10, 11; — remarks on the reading and interpretation of the date on his coins, 11, 12; — his Eran hoar inscription.

9 n.

Trikataka, a tribe (see also Triktha); — the grant of the Trikhataka Mahardja Dharasna, and another Trikhataka grant, perhaps furnish early instances of the use of the Kalachuri or Chedi era; but they may be dated in the Gupta era.

tree-sculpture, with cow-and-calf, on an inscription stone.

274

Triktha, the origin of the name Trikhataka, 254; — it has been identified with Tripura or Tripurap, the capital of the Kalachura; but this point remains to be proved.

9 n.

Tripurantaka, the god Siva, as 'the destroyer of the demon Tripura, or of his three cities.'

290

Tu-lu-lo-ho-po-ru, the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit name of the reigning king of Valabha in the time of Hiuen Tsiang;—it has been restored as Dhruvapau, 39, 40; — and as Dhruvabha, 53; — the king in question has been identified with one of the Dhrusvesnas of Valabha, 39, 47; — with Dharapata, 41; — with Siddiyata VII., 51; — with Dhrabaha, or one of the Dharasnas, or one of the earlier Siddiyatas, 57; — and with Dhrusvasena II., 64; — there are difficulties in the way of finally determining his iden-
Uchhara, the capital of the Nagaduth State; it is not to be identified with a supposed 'Udaya'.

Uchchakalpa, an ancient city or hill, from which Jayandtha and Sarvanadtha issued their grants, 117 n., 119, 123, 128, 131, 138; — the Mahayanas of Uchchakalpa, 8, 9, 10, 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 Mahayanas were feudatories of early Kalachuri kings.

Uchchhanna, a Prakrit corruption of uttanna.

Udayadéva, Yuvarája, the Duttaka of the inscription of Asisavarman of the (Harsha) year 39.

Udayadéva (Thakur of Népal), 186, 188, 189.

Udayagiri, a village and hill in the Isagad District; the cave inscription of Chandragupta II, of the (Gupta) year 82, 21; the cave inscription of Chandragupta II, not dated, 34; the cave inscription of the time of Kumara-gupta, of the year 106.

Uddhava, an epic hero.

Udrama, a fiscal term, 97 and n., 104, 109, 120, 128, 132, 138, 170, 189, 218, 290.

Udyottárka, the writer of the Nirmand grant of Subandha.

Ugrañéna of Palakka or Pálakka, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta.

Ukthiya, a particular sacrifice.

Undána, a proper name.

Unnata, an ancient town or village.

Upadhyaya, a sub-teacher, the instructor in only a part of the Veda, or in grammar and the other Vedágas.

Upagupta, wife of Isavarman.

Upakritpa, a fiscal term, requiring explanation.

Upapajdátkaa, a metrical form for upapajdátkaa, 'sins of the second degree.'

Uparkara, 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.

Upalaka, a worshipper of Buddha who is not a member of the priesthood, i.e. 'a lay-worshipper.'

Upásida, the feminine of Upásaka.

Upaséna I. and II. Buddhist teachers.

Upendra, the god Vishnu, as the younger brother of Indra.

Upétha, or Upétha, a village in the Kaira District, mentioned under the ancient name of Upalaléta.

Upalalétha, the ancient name of the modern Upétha or Upétha; mentioned as the chief town of a pathaka in the Khétha-acharya.

Urjayat, a mountain near Girinagara, now known by the name of Girnar 57, 64, 65.

Utáro, 'engraved,' a technical expression for the actual engraving of an inscription on copper or on stone 99 n., 148, 150, 158, 195, 200.

Utpala, a commentator on the Bhishat-Samhita; his quotations of early astronomers for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 105 n., 170; — his quotation of Garga and Parshara, as giving a variation from the usually accepted grouping of the nakshatras, 103 n.; — his quotation of the Garga-Samhita for one of the unequal-space systems of the nakshatras, 104; — and of a verse by Garga, which seems to refer to the mean-sign system of the Twelve-Year Cycle.

Uttarakuru, the land of the Northern Kurus.

va, an abbreviation of vedya, 'the dark fortnight,' or else a substitute for ha; used in connection with di (see also under ha 111).

Váhlikha, a tribe, conquered by Chandra.

Vaiuyà, an epic king.

Vaishnava inscriptions (for other instances of Vaishnava worship, see aytanta-bhagavad-bhtaka, bhagavad-bhtaka, bhagavata, paramabhadhayata, and
Varunavasannan, V. i52 170, 105 31 257, 109

Varvatasika, a particular weapon; an exact explanation of the term is required. 12

Vajragrama, an ancient village in Kāthākāta. 170

Vajrāvāra, a god; Mr. Benfield (\textit{Journey in Nāpēl}, 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 Nāpēl." 181

Vākāṭaka, a tribe or dynasty, 15, 16, 235, 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 ṛāk, and is not to be identified with the modern Bhāndaks, 234; — the Vākāṭaka Mahāśāyas, 15, 235, 240, 241, 247, 248; — they belonged to the Vishnuyudādhā gōtra, 241, 248; — they intermarried with the Bādrasivas, 241, 248; — their date is determined by the marriage of Rudradeśa II. with Prabhadavatgūpta, daughter of Devagupta of Magadha. 15

Vakkhalitsa, a proper name. 290

Vakra, Amūtya. 100, 105, 109

Vakravana, an ancient forest, or perhaps town or village, in Baghēkhānḍ. 125

Valabhi, the ancient name of the modern Walk in Kāthākāta, 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, 126; — but they did not establish the era, 130; — nor can they have introduced it into Nāpēl, 134 n.; — list of the charters issued by them from Valabhi itself, 126 n.; — Hien Tsian'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 Albērīnī in the eleventh century A.D., and in epigraphical records of the thirteenth century, 22, 23; — Albērīnī distinctly states the absolute identity of the Valabhi era with the Gupta era. 31

Valabh-saṁ and Valabh-samvat, 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 Baghēkhānḍ. 105

Valatkushana, an official title, requiring explanation. 857

Valāvā vishaya, an ancient territorial division in Bihār. 218

valaya-yasti, a boundary-pillar. 112

Vālugarta, an ancient village in Baghēkhānḍ. 109

Vāngra, a country, the modern Bengal or the eastern parts of it, invaded by Chandra. 1141

Vāṇgara, an ancient village in Baghēkhānḍ. 105

vāpī, vāpīdā, an irrigation-well. 179, 200

vēra, a 'week-day' (see also week-days), which is reckoned by the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise. 146, 147

Vārāhādāsa, a proper name. 156

Vārāhādunīa, Bhūdhika. 124, 129, 134

Vārāhāmihira, an astronomer; he died A.D. 587, 143 and n; — his rules, in the Bṛihat-Saṁhitā and the Saṁdā-Saṁhitā, for the naming of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter according to the heliaca-rising system, 161, 170; — his rule, in the Bṛihat Saṁhitā, for the grouping of the nakṣatras for that purpose. 162

Vārākṣara, a grantees, 243; — another of the same name. 243

Vārasamārāya, a grantees. 243

Vārāhīka, a proper name. 170

Vārika, a tribe; mention of certain chiefs of this tribe. 253, 254

vārshā, 'a year;' the reason why the earlier years of Hindu eras are quoted by this term, without any dynastic appellation. 143

Vārta, 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 Vāroṇāka. 215

Vāraṇāsī, a grantees. 105

Vārṇaṇāsaṇa, Mahāśāmratva and Mahā~

rāja, 289; — his wife was Prabhālikā. 290

Vārṇaṇavāsin, a name of the Sun. 218

Vāroṇavēṣa, a proper name. 90, 160

Vānunīka, the ancient name of the modern Dēj-Bahārārk. 244, 245, 218

Vasantaḍēva, a variant of the name of Vāsaṇāsēna. 123 and n., 126, 189

Vāsaṇāsēna (Licchhavī of Nāpēl), 123, 188, 189, 191; — mentioned under the name of Vasantaṭēdeva. 186; — notice of his inscription of the (Gupta) year 435. 183

Vāśīṣṭhā, an ancient astronomer, quoted by Rūṣiputra, and through him by Ut-
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS: INDEX.

Vasu, Grêmika                                       112
Vasudatta, a proper name                          271
Vasudeva, the father of Vishnu in his
incarnation as Krishna                              266
Vasudeva, the god Vishnu, as Krishna, *the son of Vasudeva* 115, 286
Vasula, the composer of the Mandasor
pillar inscriptions of Yasodharman                148
Vasunatarashandika, an ancient village
in Baghikhanda                                      97
Veda, a fiscal term, requiring explana-
tion                                               179 and n., 189
Vataduraka, an ancient village in
the Benádákpara bhág (region)                      248
Vatsabath, the composer of the Mandasor
inscription of the Málava year 529                 88
Vatsadevi, daughter of the Maukhari
Bhadgavaran, daughter's daughter of
Adityasena of Magadha, and wife of
Sivadeva II. of Nepal                               184, 187
Védas (see also śatadha), the earliest sacred
books of the Hindus; mentioned as
arranged by Vyása, 98 and n., 105, 109,
116, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 190;—
mentioned as three in number, under the
term trayi, 189;—indicated as four
in number by the word Chaturvédin,
71, 190, 242;—the only Veda men-
tioned by name in this series of
records, is the Atharva-Veda                            290
Védhas, the god Brahman, as 'the creator'          156
Vēngō, a town or country in Southern
India; in the time of Samudragupta,
it's king was Hastivarman                           13
Verāwal, a town in Káthāhād, the
modern representative of the ancient
Sómańghpatan; mentioned under
the ancient names of Dēvapatana, 91;—
and of Sómańghdiávapatana, or the
city of the god Sómańgha, 85;—ex-
amination of the date of the inscription
of the Valabhi year 927, 90;—and
of the inscription of Arjunadéva of
the Valabhi year 945                                  84
vernacular terminations, in ashtamū,
divasu, and samunivasa                                292, 296
Vibhudatta, Mañúsandhivigráhika, writer of
the grant of Hastin of the (Gupta)
year 191                                                109
Vibhuvardama, Vārīta                                    190
Vidhdri, the god Brahman, as 'the
arranger or creator'                                   90, 160, 251
Vidura, an epic hero                                     156 and n.
Vidyādhara, a class of supernatural
beings                                                    71, 78, 86, 205
vihāra, 'a Buddhist (and Jain) temple or
convent'                                                 31, 32, 262, 274
Vihāra, the ancient name of the modern
Bihār in the Patna District; mentioned as
'the city of the glorious Yásodhara' 47 n.

Vihārasvāmin, a religious title                          272 n., 279 n., 280
Vihārasvāminī, the feminine form of
Vihārasvāmin                                                263 and n.
Vijayādeva, Yuvarāja, the Dākśa of
a Népal inscription of the (Harsha) year
145                                                        183
Vijayārāja (Chalukya of Gudaraj); three of
the customary epithets of Samudra-
gupta are applied to him in his Ka-tra
grant of the year 594                                      14 n.
Vijnāpi, derivatives from, used in con-
nection with the making of a grant by
one person at the request, or on the
advice of another                                           177 and n., 178
and n., 190, 109, 116
Vikidiana, a proper name                                    170
Vikrama, a bīruda 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. Fer-
gusson's theory was that it was in-
vented 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 Mandasor inscription
of the year 529 proves that it existed
before that time, under the name of
the Málava era, 66;—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 Cen-
tral 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 sou-
thern 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 Kártilika sukla
as the initial day of each year, and with
the Amânta 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
Népal Vamsávat, that Vikramāditya
introduced his era into Népal, refers
really to the introduction of the Harsha
era, 183;—but, under the name of the
Newār era, an offshoot of the Vikrama

2 

n.
era, with its original characteristics, was introduced in A.D. 880, 74, 184; and, in more modern times, the Vikrama era itself was introduced there, from Northern India, with Chaitra sukla as the initial day of each year, and with the Purnimādītā arrangement of the fortnights, 76; — instances of the use of expired years of this era, distinctly specified as such, 120; — of the use of both an expired and a current year, 22 n.; — 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 Vīdātārāṅga, allotted by Mr. Ferguson to the 7th 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, Mahākaruṇa-vandandayaka, the Dīaka of one of the inscriptions of Anuśvarman of the (Harsha) year 34. 178 and n.

Vikramasena, Rājaputra, the Dīaka of a Nāgāl inscription of the (Gupta) year 535. 178 n., 284

Vināśitāma, 20th cent. 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 Nāgājūr Hill. 227, 228

Vinayavaḍīn, Mahābālladevakha, the Dīaka of one of the inscriptions of Anuśvarman of the (Harsha) year 34. 179

Vinjyuktha, an official title. 169 n.

Vrāṣena, also called Sāna, a minister of Chandragupta II. 36

Vrāṣenadāntika, a proper name. 170

Vīṣhaya, a territorial term. 32 n., 52, 80, 84, 161, 173 n., 218, 257

Vīṣhuyapati, an official title. 32, 69 n., 71

Vīșhuy, a proper name. 190

Vishnu, the god, the *preserver* of the Hindu triad (see also Anantasvamin, Atmaḥbhrī, Chakrabhrī, Chakradhara, Chakrapāṇī, Chittakōtāsvāmin, Dāmādara, Gaddālāhara, Gōvinda, Hari, Janardana, Krishna, Mādhava, Madhumādara, Maduravij, Nārāyaṇa, Sāranga-पू, Sārīgīn, Upendra, and Vās-

dēvā; and, for his wife, see Lakhamū), 61, 65, 76, 77, 78, 142, 164, 195, 200, 208, 270, 298, 399; — mentioned by the epithet bhagavat, 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 bow, 160, 161; — as the man-lion, 188; — as, the supporting pillar of the three worlds, 160; — and as the trouble in 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, Śāraṇa, and his sword, Nandaka, 207 and n.; — mention of his jewel, kaustubha, and his garland of water-lilies, 87; — references to his vehicle and emblem, the bird Garuda or Garutam, 14, 62, 90, 208; — 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 Vishvapī, the female energy of Vishnu, 195 and n., 200, 209; — an instance of the worship of Vishnu connected with that of the Sun. 126

Vishubbhaṭa, a proper name. 78

Vishuddha, Mahārāja (Sanakānika). 25

Vishṇudeva, a grantee. 105

Vishṇugopa of Kāśī, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta. 13

Vishṇugupta, Vishṇuguptadēva (Gupta of Magadha), 217; — his wife was Ijijādevī. 217

Vishṇugupta, Yuvārāja, the Dīaka of the inscription of Jishṇugupta of the (Harsha) year 48. 180

Vishṇunandin, a grantee. 128

Vishṇupada, the ancient name of the hill on which the Mēharauli inscribed pillar stands, or stood. 140, 142

Vishṇutrāṭa, a proper name. 271

Vishṇuvardhana, a king of the Mālava country, 155; — he had the paramount titles, but seems to have been to a certain extent subordinate to Yāśodharman, 151; — his Mandañār inscription of the Mālava year 589. 150

Vishṇuvardhana, Rudra, of the Varika tribe, 253, 254; — his Bijayagaha inscription of the (Mālava) year 448. 252

Vishṇuvirūḍha, pūtra included the Vākkātaka Mahārājās. 241, 248

Vīvakāthā, the god Śiva, as the lord of the universe. 85

Vīvakarman, a Mālava feudatory of Kumāragupta, 74, 77, 86. — his Gangadhār inscription of the (Mālava) year 480. 72
Walik, a village in Kathiawad; mentioned under the ancient name of Valabhi, 165, 167.

Watson, Colonel J. W.; a tradition of the bards of Kathiawad, 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.

Week-days (see also days of the week); the Hindu term for a week-day is śrātra, 246;—it is reckoned by the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise, 146, 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 tithi is the week-day on which that tithi 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 tithis, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, 145 to 158.

Wheel-emblem, 210, 263, 269.

Wright, Prof. W.; his rendering of Albir-ān's statements regarding the Gupta and other eras, 27.

yad atra punyam śṛc, a formula in certain donative inscriptions, 263, 272, 274, 279, 280, 282.

Yajñavalkya, a Maunkari 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;—Krīkānta, 28, 44, 51, 54, 157, 257;—and Kāla or Death, 223.

Yamunā, the river, the modern Yamuna; mentioned under the name of Kālinī, 89, 90.

Yāsāstra, a proper name, 270;—another person of the same name, 271.

Yāsodāman, 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 Hīnās could subdue, 148;—he had worship done to him by Mihirakula, 148, 150;—his duplicate pillar inscriptions at Mandasor, 142, 149;—his Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 589, 150.

Yāsōmati, wife of Prabhākara-vardhana, 232.

Yāsōrāti, a Varika chief, 254.

Yāsōvardhana, a Varika chief, 254.

Yāsūvīra, an ancient monastery at Mathur, 274.

Yauhedā, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta, 14;—the fragmentary inscription of a leader of this tribe at Bijaya-gadh, 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 Albirānī as a gap-year for the comparison of dates, 24 and n, 30.

Year (see also samvatsara and vārsha); years of Jupiter's Twelve-Year Cycle denoted by the word samvatsara, 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;—samuv; 97;—samvatsara, 25, 37, 38, 30, 41, 43, 60, 70, 94, 119, 123, 128, 134, 137, 180, 210, 255, 298, 273;—vārsha, 31, 61, 67, 89, 259;—and antāsara, 75, 85;—regnal years denoted by the words abda, 162;—samvatsara, 194, 219, 249, 269;—and parvāra, 159;—the length of the tropical year is 365 days, 14 ghafīlī, 31 '972 palas, 149;—of the same, according to the Sējra-Siddhānta, is 365 days, 15 ghafīlī, 31 '523 palas, 140;—of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter by the heliacal-rising system, is roughly 470 days, 126;—and of the Twelve-Year and the Sixty-Year Cycles by the mean-sign system, is 367 days, 1 ghafīlī, 36 palas, 170.

347
yoga, 'the addition of the longitudes of the sun and the moon,' an astrological element... 246

Yoga, one of the systems of philosophy... 271

Yudhishthira, an ancient hero, of the time of the Mahabharata, 99, 105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 195, 200, 241, 248, 299; referred to as 'the king of justice'... 168

Yuvaraja, 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-ťtarē, read nav-ô-ťtarē.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

6. Text line 5, for ochchhri, read ochchhri (chchhri).
   " " " 9, for sadrisâny, read sadrisâny.
   " " " 17, for parâkkram-āṅkasya, read parâkkram-āṅkasya.
7. " " " 20, for māhâbhâgyasya, read māhâbhâgyasya.
20. " " " 20, for kula-vadhu, read kula-vadhu (dhâ).h.
   " " " 21, for brijitam, read brijitam.
   " " " 26, for paribhâjan(n), read paribhâjan(n).
26. " " " 1, for ochchhētu, read ochchhētu.
27, note 4, in lines 1 and 13, for ochchhētri, read ochchhētri; and in line 1, for ochchhētha, read ochchhētha.
28, note 6, line 4 from the bottom, for Purâna, read Purâna.
31, Text line 3, for jîvita-sâdhanaḥ, read jîvita-sâdhanaḥ.
35. " " " 3, for rmmanâḥ, read tmmanâḥ,
43, " " " 6, for shân-navatê, read shap-navatê.
48, note 1, line 2, for Visvarvarman, read Visvarvarman.
59, Text line 4, for Ápi, read Api.
   " " " 11, for an-upaskitair, read an-upaskitair.
60, " " " 15, for Athâ, read Atha.
61, " " " 27, the word Guptânâm should be in the thick type.
73, line 4, for appratimêna, read appratimêna.
74, Text line 8, for a-sahyatamañ, read a-sahyatamañ.
75. " " " 19, for (? sťhâ), read (? sťhâ).
   " " " 23, for trîtyâm, read trî(trî)tyâm.
76, " " " 39, for šrîmân, read šrîmân.
83. " " " 17, for abhirâman, read abhirâman.
96, " " " 12, for pramukhânan, read pramukhânan.
115, " " " 14, for khaṇḍa, read khaṇḍa.
118, " " " 6, for ādh, read ādh.
   " " " 7, for Kaṇva, read Kaṇva.
146, " " " 4, for drîṣṭa, read drîṣṭa.
153, " " " 4, for òdapan, read òdapan.
   " " " 7, for udûḍham, read udûḍham.
   " " " 10-11, for garimnas, read garimnas.
   " " " 12-13, for vaisambvâ(v)ditâ, read vaisambvâ(vâ)ditâ.
154. " " " 17, for dēśam, read dēśam; and for dîmbâm, read dîmbâm.
   " " " 18, for Dharmaḍa, read Dharmaḍa.
Page 154, Text line 19, for khātayām, read khānayām.

156, line 27, for mightly, read mighty.

162, Text line 4, for vrishhashya, read vrishasya.

185, " " 3, for didhitir, read didhitir.

166, " " 14, for vad-āpāst, read d-āpāst.

173, " " 5, for tripa, read tripa.

193, line 6, to the word TEXT attach the note-reference 3.

194, Text line 11, for ātisra(sīr)shtāb, read ātisra(sīri)shtāb.

196, " " 19, for Shashthim, read Shashṭiṃ.

203, " " 10, for pariṇaṭyitavan, read pariṇaṭyitavān.

204, " " 23, for lakṣmīvan, read lakṣmīvān.

206, " " 24, for āho, read āhō.

237, " " 13, for Chakra, read Chakra-

238, " " 25, for ātisrīshtāb, read ātisrīshtāb.

245, " " 1, for Drīṣṭam, read Drīṣṭam.

250, line 37, for Oldhausen, read Olshausen.

254, Translation, line 2, twice, for ana, read and.

280, No. 74, Text lines 2 and 3, the note-references should be 3 and 4.

290, line 12, the word Mihiralakṣmī should be in the thick type.

294, Text line 1, as pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, for sūtra[h*], read stambha[h*]; and cancel the latter part of note 4.

296, Translation, line 9, for thread, read pillar, in accordance with the correction in the Text.

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 Antiquary; since, to include them here, would further delay the issue of the book.