CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

Vol. III

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GUPTA KINGS
AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

40236

BY

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"In the scarcity of authentic materials for the ancient, and even for the modern, history of the Hindutrace, importantis justly attached to all genuine monuments, and especially inscriptions on stone and metal"—Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. II. p. 213.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

As book-sellers specializing in oriental books we have been facing great difficulties in procuring rare and out of print books to meet growing demands of our customers. If a copy or two of a rare book could be obtained with much strenuous efforts it was always on prohibitive price. We, therefore, decided to re-publish some of the very rare and useful books on the various subjects in the field of Indology. We are conscious of our difficulties and limitations in facing this stupendous task but we hope this will be minimized through the co-operation of those for whom we have undertaken this enterprise. After we had already gone ahead with the work of reprinting some of the books, we were able to get the advice and help of Professor A. K. Narain, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of Banaras Hindu University, who has kindly agreed to supervise such publications and to be the General Editor of such works which belong to his general field of studies.
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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 archeology 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 Archeological 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 Gupta 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 Gaṅgadhī inscription of Viśvavarma, 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 Mandasōr 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 Mandasōr 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 Yaśodharmarma and Vishnūvardhana, No. 35, page 150, which gave the key to the whole history of the period, by supplying a definite date for Yaśodharmarma, who was known, from the Mandasōr 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 Huen 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 Rājataramgīni, 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 misinterpretations, 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 opposite 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 serious 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 Mendasór 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 Allahâbâd posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, down to No. 16, page 68, the Indôr 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 Mâlava; No. 17, page 72, the Gaṅghâr inscription of Viśvavarman, dated ² in A.D. 424; and No. 18, page 79, the Mandasûr inscription, dated in A.D. 474, which gives us the date of A.D. 437 for Kumâragupta and his feudatory, Bandhuvarman; and, in doing so, has supplied what was always felt to be the most urgent desideratum, viṣ. 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 Bhânugupta, 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 Parivrâjaka Mâdhârâjas, 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. Bhânugupta comes somewhat later; after Tôramâpa, whose power meanwhile succeeded that of Budhagupta in Eastern Mâlwa. But, under all the circumstances,

¹I 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 Apshad inscription, No. 42, page 200, and in the Dêô-Baranârâk inscription, No. 46, page 213.

²In 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 Mâlava 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 Tārāmāna, Bhānu Gupta, and Mihirakula. They are the records of a feudatory family, to the members of which it is convenient to give the name of the Parivarajaka 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 Šarvanātha, in No. 24, page 110, which proves that, at the date therein referred to, he was the contemporary of the Parivarajaka Mahārāja Hasin. 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. 249-50, 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 Parivarajaka 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 Kālachuri 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 Šarvanātha were contemporaneous in the Mahā-Maṅga saṁvatsara that is mentioned in it. Now, for Hastin we have the extreme dates

1 See page 95, note 1.  2 Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 9 ff.  3 See Indian Eras, p. 60 ff.
of Gupta-Saṃvat 156 and 191; and for Śravanātha, the extreme dates of the years 193 and 214, with the year 177 as the latest known date for his father Jayanātha. And, as it is unlikely that Hastin continued alive and in power for any length of time after Gupta-Saṃvat 191, it seemed, on the supposition that both the series of dates were to be referred to the Gupta era, that the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara in question was the one commencing in Gupta-Saṃvat 189, rather than that commencing in Gupta-Saṃvat 201; since, the former was easily obtained by adding only four years at the commencement of the period for Śravanātha; 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 Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara occurred previously, in Hastin’s period, in Gupta-Saṃvat 165 and 177. If the Uchchakalpa dates were referred to the Kalachuri era, with General Cunningham’s epoch of A.D. 249-50, Śravanātha’s latest date, the year 214, would be equivalent to A.D. 463-64, or Gupta-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 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 Mahārājās would be naturally contemporaneous in Gupta-Saṃvat 165 or A.D. 484-85. By calculation, however, Mr. Sh. C. Dikshiti 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 Chêdli dates, given by General Cunningham,1 would work out correctly with an epoch of A.D. 248-49, 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,2—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 Allahābād pillar inscription, which, with much minuteness of detail, claims for Samudragupta the conquest of the whole earth,3 especially since the Mahā-ūṭ pillar inscription of the Early Chalukya king

1 Indian Eras, p. 61.

2 I do not overlook the ‘Pardi’ grant of the Traikūṭaka Mahārājā Dahrasēna (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 Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 57 ff.), which is dated “in two centuries of years, increased by forty-five, of the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas.” 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 Trikūṭa whence these Traikūṭakas derived their name, is identical with Tripura or Tripuri, the capital of the Kalachuri 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 Kartipura 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 Kartipura, in the inscription, with Samatā or Lower Bengal, Ṇāvaka (‘Dacca,’ if the correct spelling really is Ḍākā), Kamarpā or Assam, and Nēpāl, shews that the place was indeed very far away from Central India.
Maṅgallīśa\(^1\) shews 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 Sahasra-Arjuna or Sahasrabāhu-Arjuna,\(^2\) the required reference to them in the Allahābād inscription might be found in the Ārjunāyanas, 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 it, 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 Mahādrājas 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 Miḥirakula, 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 Gwālior, 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 Miḥirakula, 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 Miḥirakula himself is mentioned in the Mandasör 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 Mandasör inscription, No. 35, page 150. From certain details in their Ērān 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 Mahādrāja named Mātrivishṇu, and his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu, as being both then alive; whereas Tōramāṇa’s inscription mentions Dhanyavishṇu as still alive, but Mātrivishṇu as deceased; and these statements shew that Tōramāṇa followed Budhagupta, in Eastern Mālwa, within the remnant of the generation

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\(^1\) See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 22, 58


\(^3\) *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 92, verse 7.

\(^4\) See the *Academy of the 10th December*, 1897, p. 394 f.
to which the brothers Mātrivishnū and Dhanyavishnū 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 Gwālior inscription, is the great Mihirakula himself; that he was the son of Tōramāṇa; and that his downfall was accomplished by Yaśōdharman 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, Sakas, Ḥūpas, Turushkas, Shāhis, Shāhanushāhis, or Daivaputras, had established itself in the Pañjab 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 inscriptive date, and before A.D. 510, which is Bhānugupta’s inscriptive 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

to the Gupta era. I have shewn elsewhere⁴ 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 Yasödharman; 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 Tôramâṇa's coins is 52, and if we apply it as his regnal date, about which there need be felt no special difficulty, Tôramâṇa’s reign must have commenced, roughly, about A.D. 460. This falls very near the latest date, A.D. 466, that we have for Škandagupta, who, up to A.D. 457-58, held the whole of Northern India, below the Pañjab, from Kathiawâd to the frontier of Nêpâl. And it was doubtless the death of Skandagupta, that enabled the Hûnas, who had been repulsed by him, to assume the aggressive again, under the leadership of Tôramâṇa; 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,⁵ that it was the founder of their family, the Sêmphati Bhâtârka: with the date of about A.D. 500, who successfully fought, in Kathiawâd, against the Maitrakas, i.e. the Mihras, i.e. the particular family or clan, among the Hûnas, to which Tôramâṇa and Mihirakula belonged. If, on the other hand, the date on Tôramâṇa’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 Hûnas 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 Meharaull, 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 Eryan 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 Vâhlikas, 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, vis. Meharaull or Meharaull, is an evident corruption of Mihirapur, 'the city of the Sun, or of the Mihras.' Mihira, as a proper name, is a Sanskritised form of the name of the family, clan, or tribe among the Hûnas, to which belonged Mihirakula and his father Tôramâṇa. And it is not

²See 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 Bālāditya of Magadha, usurped his throne in the Pañjab, and whose own name is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

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 Sēndpāṭi Bhatārka, 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 show that the Gupta era continued in use, in Kāthiawad and some neighbouring parts of Gujarāt, 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 Walā, which is the modern representative of the ancient Valabhi, part of a stone-inscription, now in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the characters of which showed me that it belonged to the earlier part of the Valabhi period. But it is the merest fragment; with no historical clue in it. It is, however, of interest, in shewing that the excavations at Walā 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 Ėraṭh posthumous pillar inscription of Gôparâja, No. 20, page 91, mention is made of the family of the Šarabha kings. Two inscriptions of the Râjâs of Šarabhâpurâ are given in No. 40, page 191, and No. 41, page 196. There is nothing to shew the exact period to which they belong; much less to identify either of the Râjâs mentioned in them with Gôparâja’s maternal grandfather. But the characters indicate that they may perhaps be attributed to a period not far distant from that of Gôparâja; 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 Gôparâja. Another inscription of the Râja Mahâ-Sudévarâja 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 113, we have some inscriptions of the Guptas of Magadha, a family of which one memoir at least, the great Ādityasêna, played an important part in the history of the seventh century A.D., when the Kanauj kingdom was broken up on the death of Harshavarman. From the way in which, through the eleven generations of this family that are recorded, every name, except that of Ādityasêna, 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 Ādityasêna, for whom the date of A.D. 672-73 is supplied by the Shâhpur 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 Bhânugupta, or of both of them, and came very shortly after Skanda-gupta. His exact connection, however, with any of these three kings, still remains to be determined.

The Apsaḍ inscription of Ādityasêna, No. 42, page 200, introduces us to two important contemporaneous families. The first of these is that of the Maukharis, or Mukharas, of whom we have inscriptions in No. 47, page 219, to No. 51, page 228. The great antiquity of this family is shewn by a clay seal in General Cunningham’s possession, obtained at Gayâ, which has on it, in Asôka characters, the Pâli legend Môkhalinam, “of the Môkhalis, Maukhalis, or Maukharis.” No. 47, page 219, gives us the names of three feudatory Mahârâjas, followed by two paramount sovereigns, of one branch of this family; and it is probably the Mahârâja Iśvaravarman, of this branch, of whom we have a record in No. 51, page 228. A connecting link between these: aukharis 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 Iśânavarman of this family is the one who, as recorded in line 6 f. of the Apsaḍ inscription, was conquered in battle by
Harshagupta’s grandson, Kumâragupta. Dâmôdaragupta, again, in the same inscription, is mentioned as breaking-up the forces of the Maukharī king, which had previously overcome the army of the Hûnas. And the Sushitavarman who was conquered in battle by Mahâsênasagupta, doubtless belonged to the same lineage. Other references to the Maukharis are to be found in the Harshacharita of Bâna, and in the Nêpâl inscriptions.¹ 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 Aphsad inscription, is that of the Kings of Kanauj, to which belonged the great Harshadēva or Harshavardhana. Of this king I am able to give a brand-new inscription, in the Sônpat 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, Prabhâkarvardhana; and in shewing that the latter was the first paramount sovereign in the family. The verse in the Aphsad inscription which mentions Harshavardhana, under the name of Harshadēva, is partly obliterated; but it refers to Mâdhavagupta either as a feudatory of the Kanauj king, or as seeking an alliance with him. A connection between the two families appears to be established in Mahâsênasagupta,² the wife of the Maharâja Adityavardhana, who was the grandfather of Harshavardhana; it can hardly be doubted that she was a sister of Mahâsênasagupta of Magadha, the father of Mâdhavagupta. Another point of importance in this Sônpat seal, is, that it shews that the father of Prabhâkarvardhana was neither Pushpabhûti or Pushyabhûti, who is mentioned by Bâna, in his Harshacharita, in connection with this family; nor king Śilâditya of Mâlava, who is spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang, but the feudatory Maharâja Adityavardhana. That Śilâditya of Mâlava was the father of Prabhâkarvardhana, was assumed by Mr. Fergusson.⁴ And Prof. Max Müller has asserted the same relationship in respect of Pushpabhûti;⁵ but Dr. F. E. Hall⁶ only speaks of Pushpabhûti as an ancestor, more or less remote, of Harshavardhana; and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,⁷ who writes the name Pushyabhûti, only speaks of Harshavardhana as belonging to the Pushyabhûti dynasty.

No. 53, page 233, to No. 56, page 243, are inscriptions of the Vâkâṭaka Mahâràjas. Their date is determined by the marriage of Rudrasêna II. with Prabhâvatigupta, the daughter of the paramount sovereign Dêvagupta, who, it can hardly be doubted, was Dêvagupta of Magadha,⁷ the son of Adityasêna, mentioned in the Déo-Baranârk inscription, No. 46, page 213, and belonging to the period of about A.D. 680 to 700. This brings

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.
² See page 232, note 3.
⁴ India: What can it teach us?, p. 288.
⁵ Vâsavadatta, Preface, p. 51; in his analysis of the Harshacharita.
⁷ See page 215, note 7.
the Vārāhaka 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 Tivaradēva, No. 81, page 291, which is undoubtedly almost, if not quite, the latest record in this volume, though at first sight its characters would seem to refer it to a much earlier period.

In No. 57, page 249, to No. 81, page 291, I have given a variety of Miscellaneous Inscriptions, which, either from their not mentioning the name of any particular king, or for other reasons, it was not convenient to introduce in other places in accordance with the chronological order that has been the chief basis of the arrangement of the volume. Of these, the most interesting are No. 60, page 254, which is a spurious grant purporting to have been issued by the Early Gupta king Samudragupta; No. 61, page 258, which, apart from its recorded date, expressly refers itself to the Early Gupta period, and which also, like No. 15, page 65, furnishes interesting proof of the existence of the Jain sect in the fourth century, A.D.; and No. 71, page 274, the 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 Mahāvaṁsa or History of Ceylon, its date shews either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology, as hitherto accepted, are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be, or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working out those details; and it furnishes a definite point from which the chronology may now be adjusted backwards.

THE GUPTA ERA.

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

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

Genealogy of the Early Gupta Kings.

Gupta,
Mahārāja.

Ghaṭotkacha,
Mahārāja.

Chandragupta I.,
(Vikrama I., or Vikramāditya I.),
Mahārājādhikāraṇa.
Married to Kumāradēvī, of the Lichchhavi family.

Samudragupta,
(Kācha),
Mahārājādhikāraṇa.
Married to Dattadēvī.

Chandragupta II.,
Vikrama (II.), Vikramāditya (II.), or Vikramāka,
Paramabhaṭṭaraṇa, and Mahārājādhikāraṇa.
Married to Dhruvadēvī.
[Gupe-Samvat 82, 88, 93, and 94 or 95.]

Kumāragupta,
Mahendrā, or Mahendradēvī,
Mahārājādhikāraṇa.
[G. S. 96, 98, 129, and 130 odd.]

Skandagupta,
Kramāditya,
Paramabhaṭṭaraṇa, and Mahārājādhikāraṇa.
[G. S. 136, 137, 138, 141, 144, 145, 146, 148, and 147 or 149.]

Budhagupta.
[G. S. 165, 175, and (? 180 odd.]

Bhānugupta.
[G. S. 191.]

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THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS: INTRODUCTION.

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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-Saṅvat 94 or 95, for Chandragupta II.; 130 odd, for Kumārāgupta; 144, 145, 148, and 147 or 149, for Skandagupta: and 175, and possibly also 180 odd, for Budhagupta. The secondary names of the kings are taken partly from the silver coins, and partly from the gold coins, on which a very exhaustive and valuable treatise has been published by Mr. V. A. Smith, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 119 ff., noticed by me in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 92 ff. The names of Vikramāditya, Mahēndrāditya, and Kramāditya, for respectively Chandragupta II., Kumārāgupta, and Skandagupta, are supplied by the silver coins; and the first two, in the abbreviated forms of Vikrama and Mahēndra, occur also on some of the gold coins; as, also, perhaps does the full name Kramāditya, for Skandagupta. And Vikramāaka, which is of constant occurrence as a synonym for Vikrama and Vikramāditya, 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 Vikramāditya, 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 Dēvl, a daughter of Mahādaitiya, as one of the queens of Samudragupta; and, as a son of Skandagupta, a young prince, whose name is suggested to be Mahēndragupta. The entry of Dēvl and Mahādaitiya, 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 Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 533; in each of which places we also find, as another wife of Samudragupta, a queen, name unknown, the daughter of an independent princess 'Sanhārikā.' The second list repeats the name of Mahēndragupta; but, in the third, there are substituted the words "royal issue expected at the date of this inscription," i.e. of the Bhitāri 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 Bhitarī inscription, coupled with the real name of Mahendrāditya on Kumāragupta’s coins. And the existence of the independent princess ‘Sanhārikā,’ with her unnamed daughter, and of Mahādaitya, and his daughter Dēvi, is equally imaginary; being due, as indicated on page 1, only to early mislections of the Allahābad pillar inscription. In his first list, Mr. Thomas entered the Mahārājā 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 Allahābad 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-kāla.

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

It is true, also, that the words Guptasya kālād, “from the era of Gupta,” were supposed by Dr. Bhau Daji 1 to exist in line 15 of the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta. But the real reading there, as is quite clear even in the lithograph from which Dr. Bhau Daji worked, is not Guptasya kālā[d]-gaṇandm vidhāya, “counting from the era of Gupta,” but Gupta-prakālā gaṇandm 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 Alberūnī, in which, though translating Śaka-kāla by “the era of Śaka,” he transliterated the original Arabic by Gupta-kāla, with the words “era of the Guptas” added in brackets. 2

2 Fragments Arabes et Persans, p. 143.
reading was unfortunately accepted without further investigation; and has stood up to the present time. And, in particular, it was most emphatically endorsed by Mr. Thomas, who, in 1876, and again in 1881, stated that he had previously had doubts as to the correctness of the reading and translation, but had then become quite satisfied concerning it, from a personal comparison of Dr. Bhau Daji’s materials with others. It is undoubtedly only to this erroneous opinion, that we must attribute Mr. Thomas’ later belief that on certain coins of ‘Syalapati,’ he could read the syllables Gu and Gupta, with possible indications of even Guptasya, 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 Junâgâdh inscription, the expression Guptasya kâla does not occur. And,—apart from the obvious meaning of the words; and from the fact, which will be insisted on more strongly 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-prakâśe, 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, Guptândâm, 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 not either of them suffices to shew that it had been established by them; or even that it had, at that time, acquired the technical name of the ‘Gupta era.’ And what the first expression really shews, is, simply that the date was being recorded in an era which was new to Kâthiawâd, and was not the customary era of that part of the country.

In dated records, the genitive plural, Guptândâm, occurs again in line 2 of the Kahâum pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15, page 65. But there it is governed by vansu, in vansa-jasya: “of Skandagupta, who is born in the lineage of the Guptas.” So, also, we have Gupta-avnayândâm 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 Mahârâjas Hastin and Saṁkshobha, No. 21, page 93, to No. 23, page 106, and No. 25, page 112, we have the expression Guptâniipa-râjya-bhuktau, “in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings.” And this

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

In the Môrbi grant of Jáînka, 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,—paîch-âlîtyâ yutê-tîtê samânâm satâ-paîchakê 1 Gauptê dadâv=adô nripaḥ s-oparâgê-ârka-mamâlê,—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 Jáînka 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 gauptê at all, but goptê; 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 paîchakê, at the end of the half-verse, and which had already been properly interpreted as such. It is only by the deliberate correction of o into au,² 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, paîchaka, which it qualifies. We might, with just as much reason, correct goptê into goptre,³ to the protector, i.e. the local governor; and this would be even more sustainable; for the word stands immediately before dadau, 'he gave,' in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative, or some other case. Or, again, without any correction at all, we might translate "the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gópta." 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 Gauptê 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.

¹Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 258, line 16 f.
²The mistake of o for au does occur in the word swabhâno, for swabhhânau, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word paôrvau, the au is formed quite correctly and completely.
And, finally, in a curious passage from the Achāratikā, which I give in full at page 32 below, note 3, we have the date "when there have gone by seven centuries of years of the Guptas, increased by seventy-two;" in which there is used again the genitive plural, Guptāṃ. 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 Mōrbī 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 samvatsara, '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 sam as in the Sāñchi inscription of the same king, of the year 93, No. 5, page 32, line 11; or by the fuller abbreviation samvat, as in the Mankuwar image inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 11, page 47, line 2. And such of their coins as are dated at all, give simply the numerical symbols, without the accompaniment of any word meaning 'year,' and much less of any dynastic qualification of it. For a reason which I indicate in Appendix I. below, these methods of expression, which are exactly analogous to the usages of other dynasties also, do not necessarily prove that the era was not established by the Guptas. At the same time, they contain no proof that it was established by them; and nothing to connect their name with it.

The fact remains, therefore, that in no early record can we find any indication that the era was founded by the Guptas; and much less that there ever existed any technical expressions analogous to Śaka-nṛīpa-kāla, "the time or era of the Śaka king or kings;" Śaka-nṛīpa-samvatsara, "the years of the Śaka king;" Śaka-kāla, "the Śaka era;" Vikrama-kāla, "the Vikrama era;" Vikramāditya-otpādita-samvatsara, "the years established by Vikramāditya," &c. 1 or even analogous to the terms Valabhi-sam and Valabhi-samvat, 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

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1 See my notes "On the Nomenclature of the principal Hindu Eras, and the use of the word Samvatsara 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 Kāira grants (p. 208), and on the Kāvil 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 samvat 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 samvatsara, 'a year,' or of any declensional 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-Saṅvat, Śaka-Saṅvat, Vikrama-Saṅvat, &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 Kāthiawād, 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 Albérũni, 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.

**Albérũni's Statements, as rendered by M. Reinaud.**

Until the discovery of the Mandasor inscription, No. 18, page 79, the only direct information available as to the epoch of the Gupta era, was the statement of Albérũni, who, writing in the period¹ 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 128 ff:—

"People employ ordinarily the eras of Śrī-Harsha,² of Vikramāditya, of Śaka, of "Ballaba,"³ and of the Guptas, ................ Ballaba, who also has given his name "to an era, was the prince of the town of Ballabha, to the south of Aśhilwāra, at a "distance of about thirty yōjanas."⁴ 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

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¹ See Sachau's Albérûni's India, Preface, p. x.

² As is shewn by Albérûni'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 Albérûni's statement, which is accompanied by the remark that, in a Kaśmīr almanac, he had read that Śrī-Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya, and that he could obtain no explanation of the discrepancy (Sachau's Albérûni's India, Translation Vol. II. p. 5).

³ Reinaud's Arabic text contains no authority for his use of the double l throughout, and of the aspirated bh in the name of the town. So, also, Sachau's text contains no authority for his use, once of the form Ballabha, and once of Balabha. These forms can only be attributed to some fancied connection between the name of the city of Valabhi and the Sanskrit word vallabha, 'lover, husband, 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 valabha itself means 'the wooden frame of a thatch, a roof; a turret or temporary building on the roof of a house.' It occurs in No. 18, line 6, page 81; and, in the form vadabhi, in No. 66, line 2, page 268.—Albérûni himself, in treating the name as that of a person, as well as of a town, possibly wrote under some similar misconception. But, setting aside any such mistake as this, which is rather like that of his treating Śaka as the name of an individual, instead of a tribe, he is of course speaking of the era that was used by the well-known Kings of Valabhi.

⁴ The yōjana, a measure of distance, seems to have varied from 24 to 9, or even 18, English miles; but with an average length of between 4 and 5 miles.—Walā, the modern representative of the ancient Valabhi, is about one hundred and thirty-five miles almost due south of Aśhilwāra.
the same time the cube of 6 (216) and the square of 5 (25). The remainder is the era "of Ballaba. This era will be discussed in its place. As to the Gupta-kāla (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 exter-
mination. 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 Kandakhātaka "Tables of Brahmagupta are referred. This work has among us the title of Arkand. "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 Vikramāditya; the "year 953 of the era of Śaka; the year 712 of the era of Ballaba and of that of the "Guptas."

Albĕrûnī'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 Albĕrûnī's India, Translation, Vol. II. page 5 ff.:—

"For this reason, people have given up using them, and have adopted instead the "eras of—(1) Śrī Harsha; (2) Vikramāditya; (3) Śaka; (4) Ballaba; and (5) "Gupta. The era of Balaba is called so from Balaba, "the ruler of the town Balabha, nearly 30 yojanas 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. 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

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

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

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

4 and 5 See page 23 above, note 3.

6 The reference appears to be to the story of the fruit-seller Raṅka and the king Vallabha; Translation, Vol. I. p. 193 f., in Chapter XVII., "on Hindu Sciences which prey on the Ignorance of People."
years later than the Sakalā. On this era is based the canon Khundakhādyaka by Brahmagupta, which among Muhammadans is known as Al-arkand. Now, the year 400 of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of the Indian eras:—(1) to the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harsha; (2) to the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya; (3) to the year 953 of the Sakalā; (4) to the year 712 of the Balaba era, which is identical with the Gupta era.

The Results of the above Renderings.

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

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

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

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1 e.g. those in Gen. Cunningham’s Book of Indian Eras, and Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Grahasādhīnātān Kāshīkāhān, or “Tables for calculating the Places of the Planets.”

2 Or, more accurately, the period from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320. —It is, perhaps, desirable to point out, for general readers, that the quotation of two years of the Christian era in this way, “A.D. 319-20,” does not denote the whole period of the two years, but only the period from the commencement of the Śaka year in the first of them, to the end of it in the second.
to which its epoch would be when 240 years had expired. While, in a third passage, a little further on in the book, in mentioning the "roundabout way" in which the Hindus computed the date (in January, A.D. 1026) of the destruction of Sūmāthpātan 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-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 242 had expired.  

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

2 This last passage is introduced by Albērūnī 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 Durlabha 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-Saṃvat 953 (expired), as corresponding to the year of Yādajīrī 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 Sūmāthpātan 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 Sūmāthpātan 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 Kaśmīr,—which, Albērūnī 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, Kālañca, in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, i. 52 (Calcutta edition, p. 3), makes a very explicit statement regarding the equation between the Śaka era and the Lōkakāla of Kaśmīr. His words are—laukiṅcā-bhūtā chin-vinīśc Śaka-kālasa śāṁpratāṁ saptaya-ātyadhikaṁ yātāṁ sahasraṁ parivatsaraṁ, “at this present moment, in the twenty-fourth laukiṅcā (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-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 1047 expired; which is equivalent to A.D. 1025-26 current. Now, that the scheme of each year of the Kaśmīrī 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 Albērūnī’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 Kaśmīrī 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 Kaśmīr, which coincided with Śaka-Saṃvat 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
Albërnûni's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Wright.

The leading historical item of Albërnûni's information, as rendered by M. Reinaud,—vis. that the Gupta era commemorated the epoch of the extermination of the Gupta dynasty,—naturally at once attracted special attention; because of the 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 Lökakâla reckoning introduced from Kasmîr, an event occurring in that month can be correctly referred even to Lökakâla 99 expired; and, much more so, to Lökakâla 93 current. To suit the former case, we require a cycle commencing one year later than the Kasmîr 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 Albërnûni's remark that the totally different accounts of the Lökakâla 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 Albërnûni in his first illustration, it is impossible that a centenary cycle can consist of a hundred and one years. And Albërnûni himself had previously said distinctly (Albërnûni's India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8) "if a centennium is finished, they drop it, and simply begin to date by a new one." It is plain, in fact, that the odd six years do not belong to the cycles of the Lökakâla. To that reckoning, only the six even centuries belong. I shall shew hereafter that the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi era really was A.D. 319-20 current; which might be quoted either as Śaka-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 Lökakâla cycle, as reckoned in Kasmîr. But it is one year too early for the first current year of any cycle of a reckoning, in a subsequent cycle of which the event in question belonged to the ninety-ninth year expired and the hundredth year current. Now, I suppose that we must assume that Albërnûni has quoted Durlabhā correctly. And, if so, then the first current year of each cycle in the Multân reckoning really was one year later than in the Kasmîr 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 sixtieth and part of the twenty-seventh years, current, of each century of the Christian era. And, if the introduction of the reckoning, at Multân, 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-Valabhi dates have to be calculated; and it only brings us to the beginning of the Gupta epoch. The difference between Gupta-Valabhi and Śaka years, both treated as current for purposes of comparison, is 242. And Śaka-Saṅvat 242 expired brings us to the beginning of the current Gupta year. This is the starting-point that was really wanted for a process of the kind shewn to Albërnûni. And this is why that year was selected as the apparent basis of the computation; the true basis being Śaka-Saṅvat 848 expired.—It is evident, therefore, that the process illustrated by the figures given to Albërnûni does involve a method of adapting the Lökakâla reckoning to the Gupta era; or, more properly, of converting Lökakâla dates into Śaka dates through the Gupta reckoning. So far, however, from the figures tending to support any inference that the Lökakâla reckoning was introduced by, or in the time of, the Early Guptas, the fact that Durlabhā of Multân would deduct 848, with a remainder, in the particular instance, of 105, or one complete Lökakâla 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, Durlabhā'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 Albërûnî 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 Albërûnî’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 Albërûnî’s real meaning on this point. This, however, has not been the case; because of the introduction in his translation as in M. Reinaud’s, of the word ‘epoch,’ which does not exist in the original text, and the use of which gives the translation a fixed obligatory meaning that, at any rate, a literal rendering of the original does not compel us to adopt.

that, in the particular instance, 948 must be deducted, with a remainder of only 5 years over.—Gen. Cunningham, in giving a somewhat similar explanation of the figures 606 (Indian Eras, p. 16), has assumed that in this process Šaka-Sañvat 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. Šaka-Sañvat 241 expired or completed brings us to the end of A.D. 318-19 and the beginning of A.D. 319-20. If to this we add 6 and 600 and 99 complete years, it only brings us to Šaka-Sañvat 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 Guptakâl, 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 translation, 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.
The text and literal rendering are as follows:

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.**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Wa-li-dhalika} & & 'a-ra'du & & \text{'an-ha} & & wa-ja'u & & 'il\hat{a} \\
&\text{And for this they have turned away from them and have come to}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&tawarlikh & & Shri-Hrish & & wa-Bigarmadita & & wa-Shaka & & wa-Bilaba \\
&\text{the eras of} & & [Sri-Harsha] & & \text{and} [Vikramaditya] & & \text{and} [\hat{S}aka] & & \text{and [Valabhi]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{wa-Kubita.} & & \text{Wa-amm\hat{a} ta-rikh Balba} \\
&\text{and [Gupta].} & & \text{And as regards the era of [Valabhi]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{wa-huwa} & & \text{shabib madinat Balbah} & & \text{wa-hiya} & & \text{janublyah 'an} \\
&\text{and he lord of the city of [Valabhi]} & & \text{and it south from} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{madinat 'Anhlwarah bi-ka"reb mun thalathin jozhan fa-"inna} \\
&\text{the city of [Anhilvada] by near to thirty [yofana] behold} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&'\text{auwala-hu muta'akhkhir 'an ta-rikh Shk bi-mi'atain} \\
&\text{the first of it posterior to the era of [Saka] by two hundred} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{wa-ihd\hat{a} wa-"arba'\text{in sanah.} } & & \text{Wa-musta'milu-hu ya'da'\text{un Shg-kal} } \\
&\text{and one and forty years. And the users of it put down [Saka]-era} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{wa-yanqushun min-hu majmu' muka'"ab 'as-sittah wa-murabba'} \\
&\text{and lessen from it the sum of the cube of six and the square of} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&'\text{al-khamsah fa-yabka ta-rikh Balba. } & & \text{Wa-khabaru-hu 'atin} \\
&\text{five and remains the era of [Valabhi]. And his history is coming} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&'f mauj'\text{im}{ } & & \text{Wa-amm\hat{a} G\=ubt-kal fa-kanu kam\=a kila} \\
&\text{in its place. And as regards [Gupta]-era they were as is said} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&'\text{kauman aash\hat{a}ra'ran 'akwiy\=a} fa-lamm\=a 'inkara'du \text{urrikha} \\
&\text{a people wicked strong and so after they perished it was dated} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&'\text{bi-him. Wa-ka'anna } & & \text{Bib k\=an 'akhhra-hum. Fa'\text{inna}} \\
&\text{by them. And as if that [Valabhi] was the last of them. And behold} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&'\text{auwala ta-rikhi-him 'a\=idan muta'akhkhir 'an Shg-kal} \\
&\text{the first of their era also posterior to [Saka]-era} \\
\end{align*}
\]
And the era of the astronomers is posterior to [Śaka]-era.

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

That is used as an example and the era of [Vikramaditya] 1088.

And as regards the era of Valabhi,—who was the ruler of the city of Valabhi, which was south of the city of Aṇhilvāda by nearly thirty yōjanas,—its beginning was later than the Śaka era by two hundred and forty-one years. Those who use it put down (the year of) the Śaka era, and subtract from it the sum of the cube of six and the square of five; and there remains (the year of) the era of Valabhi. His history is coming in its proper place. And as regards the Gupta era,—(the members of this dynasty) were, it is said, a race wicked (and) strong; and so, after they became extinct, people dated by them. And it seems as if Valabhi was the last of them. And so the beginning of their era also is later than the Śaka era (by) 241 (years). And the era of the astronomers is later than the Śaka era (by) 587 (years); and on it is based the astronomical canon (named) Khandakāṭaka, by Brahmagupta, which among us is known by (the name of) Al-Arkand. So, then, 1488 years of the era of Śrī-Harsha are in correspondence with the year (of Yazdajird) that we have taken as a gauge; and 1088 of the era of Vikramaditya; and 953 of the Śaka 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 expressly imply that this dating took place from the year of the extinction of the Gupta power, and in consequence of that event. That such an interpretation might, if found on other grounds to be justifiable, be given to this expression may be admitted. But it is at the least equally open to us to interpret the expression as meaning that the Guptas had been so powerful that, even when they were dead and gone, people still used their era to date by. And we shall have to determine hereafter, from an examination of the details of the recorded Gupta and Valabhi dates, which of these two possible interpretations is the one that must be adopted.

There is also one other point in the revised translations, to which special attention should be paid. Prof. Wright's rendering, "(the year) 712 of the era of Valabhi, which is also the Gupta era,"—and Prof. Sachau's, "the year 712 of the Balaba era, which is identical with the Guptakāla,"—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 Albērūni 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 Albērūni's Statements.

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

According to his rendering, we had three years to choose between, for the epoch of the era,—Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Albērūni had information given to him of the existence of an era, coupled with the name of the Guptas and of the city of Valabhi, which began at some point in A.D. 319, or within a year on either side of that date, and which it is convenient to speak of as the Gupta, the Valabhi, or the Gupta-Valabhi era. And, that this era was actually used in connection with the name of Valabhi, at any rate, was proved by the Verāwal inscription of the Chaulekya king Arjunadeva of Anhilwād,1 in which the leading record of the year is

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1 Originally brought to notice, many years ago, by Tod, in his Annals of Rājasthān; but critically edited, for the first time, by Hultzsch, in 1883, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 244 ff.
Valabhi-Saṃvat 945, together with Vikrama-Saṃvat 1320, which is equivalent to A.D. 1263-64, and with the Hijra year 662, which ran\(^1\) 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. Fergusson, accepted Albérden’s statement as to the period of the commencement of the era, but,—on the analogy of the statement which, on the authority of Hindu tradition, he also makes, that the Śaka era, too, dated from the overthrow of the Śakas; a statement which is certainly wrong,\(^2\)—rejected the addition that it dated from the downfall of the Guptas; and took A.D. 318 for the date of the rise of the dynasty, as well as the establishment of the era; selecting this particular year on the theory that the era did not date from the accession of a king, or from any particular historical event, but, for convenience of comparison, was simply regulated by the completion of four of the Sixty-Year Cycles of Jupiter from the commencement of the Śaka era.

The other school accepted A.D. 318, or thereabouts, for the downfall of the Guptas, and took the Valabhi era of Arjunadēva’s inscription, which indisputably began at that period, as being separate altogether from the real Gupta era, and as having been established in commemoration of the overthrow of the Gupta power; and began then to look about for an earlier date for the rise of the Gupta dynasty, and for the starting-point of the era used by the Gupta kings, and also,—as was maintained, with some inconsistency, by the majority,—by the Kings of Valabhi, in preference to their own Valabhi era. The chief exponents of this school have been—the late Mr. E. Thomas, who held that the era was identical with that of the Śakas,\(^3\) with the epoch of A.D. 77-78;—General Sir Alexander

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\(^1\) See Indian Eras, p. 126.
\(^2\) See Appendix I. below.
\(^3\) A curious instance of confusion between the Gupta and the Śaka eras, on the part of a Hindu writer, is furnished by the following two passages from the commentary named Āchāraṅkā, by Śīlavāchārya, on the Jain work called Āchāraṅgasūtra; I have taken them from a manuscript, supposed to be about three hundred years old, shewn to me in the early part of 1883 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.—This first passage, on pp. 207 and 208a, is in metre, and runs—dvāsaptaty-adhikēśu hi satēśu saapsasu gatēśu Guptaānm 1 samvatsarasēśu māsi cha Bhā[k*]drapādeva sukL(ka)-pānchamayān II Śīlāchārīyaṃ kritā Gambhotāyam sthitēna tk=aishhā 1 saymag-upayuyiya sōdyā māttēśa-vinākriśāra-āryē (ryai)h II. This passage gives Gupta-Saṃvat 772, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhaḍrapada, as the date on which this portion of the Commentary was completed by Śīlāchārya, at Gambhūtā (? Cambay).—The second passage, on p. 256b, at the end of the whole book, is in prose, and runs—Śaka-nṛpa-kāl-ātta-samvatsara-satēśashu(read satēśhu) saapsasu 1 ashtāṃavatī-adhikēśu Vaisākha-suddha-pānchamayān Āchāraṅkā kritā-ēti II Ba II Saṃvat (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-Saṃvat 798, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaisākha, 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 sugges-
tion thrown out by Dr. Bhaù Daji in 1864,—was, that the commencement of it was regu-
lated only by the completion of four of Jupiter's Sixty-Year Cycles from the commen-
tence of the Šaka era, in order that there might be always an even and convenient
difference of two hundred and forty years between the Šaka and Gupta dates. This, how-
ever, 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 lunisolar years. According
to the present southern system, Šaka-Saṅvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79) was the Bahudhānya
saṅvatsara; and Šaka-Saṅvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19) was again the same cyclic year,
Bahudhānya; and, by this means, some justification might be found for Mr. Fergusson's view.
But I shall shew hereafter that the real epoch of the Gupta era was A.D. 319-20, which
does not correspond to Šaka-Saṅvat 241 current; so that there was, in reality, a com-
pletion 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 Šaka 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 Šaka, 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 Āchāraṇākha was written
during Gupta-Saṅvat 772 to 798 expired (A.D. 1092 to 1118), or during Šaka-Saṅvat 772 to 798 expired
(A.D. 850 to 876). As to this, I can only say that the Šaka era was used so rarely, if at all, in Gujarāt
and Kāṭhāwād, except by the Gujarāt branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, that probably the Gupta era
gives the real date for Śīlāchārya. And I would throw out a suggestion that possibly some mistake
of the same kind may account for the dates, Śaka-Saṅvat 400 and 417, of the apparently spurious Umētā
and Ilō grants of Dudda 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 Valabhī, and which
came eventually, in Kāṭhāwād, to be called the Valabhī-era,—was connected originally and specially
with the Gupta kings, by whom it was introduced into Kāṭhāwād a.d the neighbouring parts,—After
writing this note, which appeared originally in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 188, I found an allusion by
Dr. Bhaù Daji, in 1864, to what is evidently the same manuscript, though he quoted only the Gupta
date. He wrote (Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 246) "I have a Jainā manuscript which is
dated in the 772nd year of the Guptakāla; but unfortunately the corresponding Vikrama or Śāli-
vāhana's year is not given; nor is it possible at present to ascertain the exact date of the auth-
from other sources."
the proposed epoch of A.D. 318-19. And, in addition to this, amongst other inscriptions, the Wani grant of the Râshtrakûta king Govinda III., which records\(^1\) that in Śaka-Saṁvat 730 the Vyaya saṁvatsara was current on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśākha (April-May), and the Râdhanpur 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 Śrâvaṇa (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 Sûrya-Siddhânta, 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 Pramôda, 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 Anûgiras, the sixth in the cycle; which was followed by Śrimukha, the seventh, on the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phâlguna, 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 Mahâ-Âśvayuja, the twelfth in the cycle; which was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika, 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 Mahâ-Pausha, the third in the cycle; which was followed by Mahâ-Mâgha, the fourth, on, as before, the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phâlguna, 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 Mahâ-Bhâdrapada, the eleventh in the cycle; which was followed by Mahâ-Âśvayuja, the twelfth, on the twelfth lunar day of

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\(^1\) *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, line 46 f.
\(^2\) *ibid* 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 Vaiśākhā, in April, A.D. 78, soon after the commence-
ment of the year. While, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the saṁvatsara was Mahā-Pausha, the third in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Māgha, the fourth, on the sixth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrāvaṇa, in July, A.D. 318. Thus, between Śaka-Saṁvat 1 and Śaka-Saṁvat 241, there had expired twenty complete cycles and three saṁvatsaras over, by the sign-passing sys-
tem, and twenty cycles and four saṁvatsaras over, by the heliacal-rising system; and the epoch of the Gupta era could not be determined by any consideration connected with this cycle, unless it should be placed in A.D. 315-16 or A.D. 314-15.

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

The first reference to the Gupta era that I can trace,—or, at any rate, the first sug-
gestion of the existence of an era connected with the Guptas, apart from any general reference to the chronological period to which they might be referred,—is in Mr. James Prinsep's treatment of the Kahāum pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15, page 65, 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 rājyē in the same line; "in the tranquil reign (of Skandagupta)." Mr. Prinsep, however, read sāntēh, 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 run from that event. No discussion of the question was then entered into. But Skandagupta then was, and still is, the last known king of the direct success-
ion 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 Valabhl chartered must be referred to the Vikrama era.

In 1845, M. 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 Albérûni (*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 Kâhàum 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 Albérûni’s remarks. In fact, in the face of Mr. Blochmann’s, Mr. Rehatsek’s, and Prof. Wright’s versions, it is difficult to see how M. Reinaud can have arrived at the exact words used in his translation, except under some such predisposing influence.

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

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1 As I have had occasion to remark elsewhere (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. pp. 65, 325*), this name of ‘Sâh,’—and, with it, also an idea that these princes were Sákas 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.*) paramabhâgavata-mahâraja-dharma-raja-sra-Chandragupta-Vikramaditya, which represents paramabhâgavata-mahâraja-dharma-raja-sra-Chandragupta-Vikramaditya; “the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahâraja-dharma-raja, the glorious Chandragupta-Vikramaditya.” On the Saurâshtra 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*) râjâh mahâkshatrapasa Rudrâdâmana putrasa râjâh mahâkshatrapasa Rudrâshhasa, in which the subscript vowel ś is exceptionally introduced in the last word, and which represents râjâh mahâkshatrapasa Rudrâdâmanah putrasa râjâh mahâkshatrapasa Rudrâshhasa; “of the Râja, the Mahâkshatrapa Rudrâshha, the son of the Râja, the Mahâkshatrapa Rudrâdâman.” The word sīha, i.e. simha, ‘a lion,’ is the termination of the names of several of the Kshatrapas or Mahâkshatrapas. And, because the long vowel ś, or the short vowel i with a following anusvāra, is usually omitted in the coins, thus giving the readings of sāha and sāhasa, these princes came to be invested with the imaginary family or dynastic name of ‘Sâha’ or ‘Sâh.’ Owing to the same fact, also, the termination of some of the names in the list has occasionally been read as śīna.
of Albérūnl’s statements, and by the Veráwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945, that the Valabhi era commenced A.D. 319 (id. p. 4) or A.D. 318-19 (id. p. 4, note 1), and, by Albérūnl’s statements, that a family of Guptas reigned as paramount sovereigns in Gujarāt 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 Mahārāja 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 Allahābād, Junāgadh, and Bhītāri inscriptions; (3) that the Guptas were the immediate successors of the Indo-Scythians in Saurāshtra, 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 Sāh 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 Sāh kings,” who are represented on p. 49 by “Īśvaradatta, son of Varsha.”¹ He is followed by thirteen Sāh kings, whose coin-dates are interpreted as being all dated in the fourth century of an era which was assumed to be Albérūnl’s era of Harsha commencing B.C. 457; and the result for the thirteen kings was from B.C. 157 to B.C. 57. Then comes the Indo-Scythic conquest; to which is allotted the date of B.C. 26. Then the Guptas. And then the 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 Śaka 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 Albérūnl’s statement,—based on, but in its application different from, Hindu tradition,—that the Śaka era commemorated the defeat and slaughter of a Śaka or Scythian king by a king named Vikramāditya, who, as Albérūnl points out, is evidently not identical with the supposed founder of the Vikrama era; coupled with the occurrence of this last name, Vikramāditya, as a secondary title, on some of the Early Gupta coins.²

¹ i.e., literally, “Īśvaradatta, 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 putha, ‘a son’!! The two aksharas are in reality the first two syllables of the Sanskrit word prathamè—varśe prathamè, “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 Vikramāditya, came to be connected with the Mālava era of B.C. 57, in consequence of some confused reminiscence of a conquest of the Indo-Scythians by Chandragupta I. or II. But the establishment of the Śaka era is not concerned in this question at all.
And, in general corroboration of his views, he (id. p. 12, note 4) quoted some remarks by Major Kittoe to Colonel Sykes, that the grant of the Mahârdâja Hastin of the year 163, No. 22, page 100, shewed,—on the supposed identity of this Mahârdâja with the Hastivarman, king of Vengi 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 Topes, in which, on p. 138 ff., he drew particular attention to the fact that Albërînî 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 Rîhân 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 Seleukidæ 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 Albërînî's statement; to the effect that the Gupta era became extinct with the Gupta dynasty, instead of dating from the extermination of it; and throughout the rest of his book, he applied the epoch of A.D. 319 to the Gupta dates. If General Cunningham, our leader in Indian archaeology since the death of Prinsep, had continued to hold these views, and had worked out his other researches in accordance with them, we should probably have heard but little more of any theory assigning to the Guptas an earlier period. But, as we shall see, he soon adopted other opinions.

In 1855, in his paper "On the Epoch of the Gupta Dynasty," published in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXIV. p. 371 ff., Mr. Thomas made a special reply to General Cunningham's views and arguments as set forth in Bhilsa Topes. This paper, however, contains nothing at all worth quoting. And we pass on to 1858, when, under his own editing, he published a collection of the works of Mr. James Prinsep, then deceased, under the title of Essays on Indian Antiquities. Prinsep, in his account of
Hindu eras, had mentioned the Valabhi era (id. Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 158), to which, on the authority of the Sōmnāṭhpāṭan or Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Sāṁvat 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 Alberūnī's original words would bear; vis. "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'0-po-to (id. Vol. I. p. 206), Tou-lou-po-pa-tch'a (id. Vol. I. p. 254), or T'ou-lou-p'0-po-to (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 ' Dhrouvapāta,' i.e. Dhruvapāta. 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 Valabhl 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 Huien 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 Valabhl, that "the present king is of the race of the Kshatriyas (Tsa-ti-li); he is the son-in-law of Šīlāditya (Chi-lo-o-tie-to), king of Kanyākubja (Kie-po-"kio-che); his name is Dhruvapatu (Tou-lou-po-po-tou)." 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 (T'sa-ti-li); they all are nephews of "king Šīlāditya (Chi-lo-o-tie-to), of the kingdom of Mālava (Mo-la-po). Now the son of "king Šīlāditya (Chi-lo-o-tie-to), of the kingdom of Kanyākubja (Kie-jo-ko-che), has "a son-in-law named Dhruvapatu (T'ou-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 Šīlādityarāja of Mālava, and son-in-law of the son of Šīlāditya, "the present king of Kanyākubja. His name is Dhruvapata (T'u-lu-h'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 Dhruvapatu (Tou-lou-po-pa-tch'a), and also simply Pa-tch'a), king of Southern India; but the kingdom of Valabhl 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-Indravarman, the supreme lord or governor of four visnayas and mandalas, stationed or resident at Revatidvipa, who is mentioned in line 4 f. of the Goa grant of Maṅgallāśa, 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 Huien Tsiang; the more especially because the dates render it impossible that he should be Šīlāditya VII. of Valabhl, 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 Dhruvapatu of Valabhl was Tch'ang-jouï, 'constantly intelligent,' which of course supports the supposition that

1 Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365.—This person, however, may be a son of Maṅgallāśa; see my Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 22.
### TABLE II.

**Genealogy of the Kings of Valabhi.**

**Bhāṭārka,**

**Sena pati.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dharasena I.</th>
<th>Drōnasimha,</th>
<th>Dhruvasena I.,</th>
<th>Dharapattā,</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mahāsāmanta,</td>
<td>Guhasena,</td>
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<td>Mahāpratīhāra,</td>
<td>Mahārāja.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mahādandānyaka,</td>
<td>[G. S. 240 (7237), 246, 248.]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and Mahāhārtākritika.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Gupta-Sainvat 207.]</td>
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<tr>
<th>Dharasena II.,</th>
<th>Sāmanta, Mahāsāmanta,</th>
<th>Mahārāja, and</th>
<th>Mahādhīrāja.</th>
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<tr>
<td>[G. S. 252, 269, 270.]</td>
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<tr>
<th>Ślāditya I.,</th>
<th>Kharagraha I.</th>
<th>Dhruvasena III.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>or Dharāditya I.</td>
<td></td>
<td>[G. S. 337.]</td>
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<td>[G. S. 286, 290.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dērabhaṭa.</td>
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<th>Ślāditya 11.</th>
<th>Kharagraha II.</th>
<th>Dhruvasena III.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ślāditya II.,</td>
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<td>[G. S. 337.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paramabhaṭṭāraka,</td>
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<td>Mahārājādhirāja,</td>
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<tr>
<td>and Paramēśvara.</td>
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<td>[G. S. 352.]</td>
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<tr>
<th>Ślāditya IV.,</th>
<th>Kharagraha II.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Paramabhaṭṭāraka,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahārājādhirāja,</td>
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<tr>
<td>and Paramēśvara.</td>
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<tr>
<td>[G. S. 372.]</td>
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<th>Ślāditya V.,</th>
<th>Kharagraha II.</th>
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<td>Paramabhaṭṭāraka,</td>
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<td>Mahārājādhirāja,</td>
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<tr>
<td>and Paramēśvara.</td>
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<td>[G. S. 403.]</td>
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<th>Ślāditya VI.,</th>
<th>Kharagraha II.</th>
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<td>Paramabhaṭṭāraka,</td>
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<td>Mahārājādhirāja,</td>
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<tr>
<td>and Paramēśvara.</td>
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<td>[G. S. 441.]</td>
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<tr>
<th>Ślāditya VII.,</th>
<th>Dharasena III.</th>
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<tr>
<td>or Dhrābhaṭa (Dhruvabhaṭa.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paramabhaṭṭāraka,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahārājādhirāja,</td>
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<tr>
<td>and Paramēśvara.</td>
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<td>[G. S. 447.]</td>
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the termination of the Sanskrit name, the first part of which, *dhrva*, means 'constant,' really was *patu*, 'smart, dexterous, intellectual,' rather than *bhaṭa*, '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. Bhaṭu Daji, in connection with his paper "On the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa," published in the *Journ. 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 Valabhi era, in A.D. 319. But he brought to notice an important point (*id.* p. 207, note), in the fact that the Kahāum pillar inscription, of which he seems to have then had the opportunity of examining a more reliable version prepared for him by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, was dated in the 141st year of the Gupta dynasty, and in the reign of Skandagupta; not after his death, as rendered by Prinsep. And he also announced his opinion (*id.* p. 208, note) that the *Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o* or *Tu-lu-h'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang was to be identified with the Mahārāja Dharapattā, the fourth and youngest son of the Śenāpati Bhaṭārka who founded the Valabhi family.

Also in 1861, in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 1 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall edited the two grants of the Parivṛjakā Mahārāja Hastin, dated in the years 156 and 163, No. 21, page 93, and No. 22, page 100, which, now that the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter that are quoted in them can be calculated with certainty, are of such extreme importance, because the records also state that they are dated "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." They had been previously brought to notice, in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251 ff., by Prof. H. H. Wilson's combined translation of the two inscriptions from Mr. Thomas' reading of the texts; but they were first published in full by Dr. Hall. The crucial expression in them is *Gupta-nṛipa-rāja-bhuktau*, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings," which had been read correctly by Mr. Thomas, and had been suitably rendered by Prof. Wilson in the words "(in the 163rd year) of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta kings." The same reading was adopted by Dr. Hall. But, without quoting any authority in support, he laid down the dictum (*Journ. 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 Albērūnī, 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 Kahāum pillar
inscription, in which, though he adopted the correct reading, śāntē, 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 concerning the death of Skandagupta, as Mr. Prinsep supposes. Being neither the first "ruler of the Gupta dynasty, nor the last, nor of special note, it would be extraordinary "indeed, if time had been computed from his decease." As regards the expression in the grants of the Mahārāja Hastin, it seems almost needless to comment further on its meaning; because any unbiased Sanskrit scholar will see at once what the real 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 Albērūni's own apparent statement, as to the Gupta era dating from the extermination of the Gupta kings, may have originated in a misunderstanding, by the Hindus who supplied him with information, of this same expression Guptā-
ṛipa-gṛīya-bhaṭktau. I can only say that it is absolutely and utterly impossible that any Hindu, acquainted with Sanskrit, could interpret this expression as meaning anything except that, at the date connected with it, the sovereignty of the Guptas was still continuing. And it is equally impossible for any European Sanskritist to give it any other meaning; unless, as I have said elsewhere, under the influence of a preconceived bias, so strong as to preclude entirely the critical consideration which would at once shew the error.—In the same volume, page 14 ff., Dr. Hall published his own versions of the Ērāṇ inscriptions of Budhagupta and Tērāmaṇa, 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 Bhera Ghat inscription of the Kalachuri king Narasimhadeva, 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 Gujarāt," based on their coins, which, in respect at any rate of the so-called Sāh coins, were then properly examined for the first time. And his conclusions were (id. p. 30) that the dates on the Sāh coins were to be referred to the Vikrama era, with the result that the kings of this dynasty extended from A.D. 30 or 40 to A.D. 240 or 250; (id. p. 36) that they were immediately succeeded, in Gujarāt, by Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, without any intervention of the Indo-Scythians there; and that these two were followed by the Valabhl dynasty, in A.D. 319. His conclusions, however, were chiefly founded on the basis (id. p. 31) that "Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Thomas, and Prof. Wilson, agree that the "Sāhs preceded the Guptas; and it seems clear that the Guptas preceded the Valabhl "dynasty;" coupled with his acceptance of the fact that the Valabhl 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 Valabhl grants were probably to be referred to the Vikrama era.

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

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

Meanwhile, in 1863, in the "Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXII. pp. ii. to cxix., General Cunningham had published his Archæological Report for 1861-62, which was subsequently reprinted in 1871 in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. pp. 1 to 130, and which I shall notice again further on. In this, he laid aside his original opinion of A.D. 319 for the commencement of the Gupta era; and adopted, instead of it, the view that this year was really the date of the extermination of the dynasty, and that their recorded dates should be referred, as proposed by Mr. Thomas, to the Śaka era. Again, in 1865, in his paper on the "Coins of the nine Nāgas," in the "Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXIV. p. 115 ff., he stated that, from a comparison of the Gupta gold coins with their Indo-Scythian prototypes, and of the Gupta silver coins with the Sāh coins of Saurāśṭra, 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 Alberuni’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 Chandragupta 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 Dharasena IV., the first paramount sovereign in the Valabhi family, who overthrew the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II., the son of Pulikēsin 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 Guptasa kālāt in the Junagadh 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 Buddhagupta of the Ēran pillar inscription with the Buddhagupta of Magadha, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, —there is a good deal that is sound in the arguments employed and the results

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1 Mr. Fergusson says Dharasena 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 Tsang’s name was translated first from Sanskrit into Chinese, and from Chinese into French; and might easily have been more changed in the process.”—The same mistake has been made in more recent times. And I will, therefore, now point out that the two names are utterly distinct, and belong to totally different persons. In respect of the king mentioned by Hiuen Tsang (Beal’s *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 168 ff.; Julien’s *Hiuen Tsang*, 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 Tsang gives, as the first component of this name, the well-known Fo-lo, which he uses so habitually for Buddha, the teacher, the holy Sākya-Tathāgata, 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 Dhruvasena, who would answer to the Dhruvapaṭu who was on the throne at the time of Huen Tsian’s visit to India; that (id. p. 104), in addition to the inherent improbability in Albèrūni’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 Buddhagupta in the year 165, this, if referred to the Śaka 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. 235: that there then rose the Andhra dynasty, in which Gōtamiputra 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 Mahārāja 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 Śakas 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 Śālavāhana,” i.e. the 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 Dhārā, about A.D. 993, or to the restoration of the Western Chālukya dynasty, in A.D. 973.

mistaken. Whereas, in respect of the king mentioned in the Eran inscription, the metre, as well as the perfect clearness of the reading, shews as conclusively that the first component of that name is Budha, the planet Mercury. Sanskrit scholars will recognise at once the thorough difference between the two names.—For my own remarks on the date of Buddhagupta of Magadha, see the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 251 f.
In 1871, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 193 ff.*, **General Cunningham** attached a note to Professor Dowson's paper on "Ancient Inscriptions from Mathurā," in which (id. p. 196), on the grounds that both Kanishka and Huvishka must have preceded the establishment of the Śaka era, he referred the dates of their inscriptions to the Vikrama era; and he quoted the reference, in the Allahábád pillar inscription, to the Daivaputras and Shāhānusháhís, "who must have been the Turushka kings of the Pañjáb," as shewing that Samudragupta was "a contemporary of the Turushka kings, whose dominion, according to the Chinese authorities, had already passed away in the beginning of the third century after Chist." As to this last point, I will only say that what we have in reality, in the Allahábád 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 Archæological Report for the season 1861-62, which, as already noted, had appeared originally in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXII. pp. iii to cix.* In this (id. p. 94), he expressed the opinion that the Śaka era, for the Early Gupta dates, would accord best with the then general acceptance of the fact that the Gupta dynasty was overthrown in A.D. 319; and he consequently now interpreted the date of the year 141, in the Káhárum 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 Vikramáditya, mentioned by Albérúní,—in commemoration of whose victory over the Śakas at Káuru, between Múltan and Lóní, 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 Sáliváhana, whose name came subsequently to be connected by the Hindus with the Śaka era, as the founder of it. The same opinion, as to the dominion of the Guptas having probably commenced about A.D. 78, was also expressed by him in 1873, in the *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 Rájatarangini, i. 168-73, as being represented by the Vikramáditya who, according to Mérutunga, 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 "Vikramáditya was finally overthrown by Sáliváhana."

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 Valabhi grants refer, is the Śaka era, as affording "an intelligible starting-point for the Valabhi era, ascertained by Colonel Tod to have commenced in A.D. 319;" his own opinion as to the establishment of this Valabhi era
being that it commemorated the coronation, as **Mahārāja**, of Drōnasimha, the second son of the **Sēnāpati** Bhaṭārka, 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 Śaka;" and he proceeded to join Mr. Fergusson in referring them to an era commencing A.D. 318. But he still maintained a verbal difference with Mr. Fergusson, to the effect that, since in the Valabhi family there was no individual named 'Ballaba,' or Valabhi, "it is doubtful whether the era was really of Bhaṭārka's family. If the era was not the era of the dynasty, but was "in use in Saurāṣṭra 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 difference "in effect; since the initial dates of both are the same."

In 1873, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 313, **Col. J. W. Watson** published the following tradition, attributed to the bards of Kāṭhiawād:—"The bards relate that Vālā Rāma "Rājā, son of Vālā Warsingiḍi, reigned at Juṅgāḍh and Vantball. 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 rupees¹ as alms to the "poor. Rāma Rājā was of the Vālā race. It is said in Saurāṣṭra that, previous to the "rise of the kingdom of Juṅgāḍh-Vantball, Valabhinagara was the capital of Gujarāt." The rise of Valabhi is thus told by the bards. The Guptan kings reigned between the "Ganges and Jamnā rivers. One of these kings sent his son, Kumārapāḷagupta, to "conquer Saurāṣṭra; and placed his viceroy Chakrapāṇi, son of Prāṇadatta, one of his "Amīras, to reign as a provincial Governor in the city of Wāmanasthali (the modern Vantball). Kumārapāḷa now returned to his father's kingdom. His father reigned twenty-"three years after the conquest of Saurāṣṭra, and then died; and Kumārapāḷa ascended "the throne. Kumārapāḷagupta reigned twenty years, and then died, and was succeeded "by Skandagupta; but this king was of weak intellect. His **Sēnāpati** Bhaṭāraka, who "was of the Gehloti race, taking a strong army, came into Saurāṣṭra, and made his rule "firm there. Two years after this, Skandagupta died. The **Sēnāpati** now assumed the "title of King of Saurāṣṭra; and, having placed a Governor at Wāmanasthali, founded "the city of Valabhinagara. At this time, the Gupta race were dethroned by foreign invaders. The **Sēnāpati** was a Gehlot, and his forefathers reigned at Ayōdhyaṅgārī, "until displaced by the Gupta dynasty. After founding Valabhi, he established his rule

¹ Nominally, half a million pounds sterling.
in Saurāśṭra, Kachchh, Lāṭadēśa, and Mālava. The Vāḷās were a branch of the Geh-
lots. After the fall of Valabhi, the Vāḷā governor of Wāmanasthali became indepen-
dent. 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. 303;
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 Valabhīs 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,” 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 pāla into
the middle of the name of Kumāragnupa; and than the substitution of Prāṇadatta and
Chakrapāṇi for the Paṇḍadatta, and his son Chakrapālita, of the Junāgadh rock-inscription
of Skandagupta, and of Bhaṭṭāraka for Bhaṭṭārka, as the name of the upstart Sēnpāṭi.
But no further attention need be paid to the matter; since I have it on the best possible
authority,—that of Dr. Bhagwanal 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. Rajendralalal Mitra, in then bringing to notice the Indōr grant of
Skandagupta, No. 16, page 68. He introduced (id. p. 369 ff.) a new, and perfectly gra-
tuitous, point in the Kahāum pillar inscription, by connecting the word sāntē, in line 3,
with varshē, in line 4; and, hankering after the meanings given by Mr. Prinep 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
improvement even on Dr. Bhau Daji’s translation, he translated (id. p. 371) “in the empire
“of Skandagupta; the year one hundred and forty-one having passed away.” The paper
adds nothing of any value to the general discussion; beyond (id. p. 371) following, in con-
tradiction to Dr. F. E. Hall, Prof. H. H. Wilson’s rendering of the expression in the 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 Albèrûni’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 Mandrája Hastin, are recorded in the Śaka era; and that Albèrûni’s Gupta era commemorates the expulsion of the Guptas from Gujarāt by the Kings of Valabhi.

In 1876, in the Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 18 ff., Mr. Thomas published a chapter on the “Sah 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 Kāṭhiawāḍ, that had been brought to notice by Col. Watson. In his tabular statement of the Early Gupta dynasty (id. p. 70), he referred the Gupta dates, as before, to the Śaka era, and, with them, the date on Tōramāṇa’s coin, which he interpreted (id. p. 66) as 182; on the authority of the supposed tradition, he placed the Sēnāpati Bhatārka, the founder of the Valabhi family, specifically two years before the death of Skandagupta; and he added a remark indicating apparently that his opinion was, that the Valabhi era, commencing A.D. 319, was established by the Mahārāja Dharasēna 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 Śilāditya VII. of Valabhi, No. 39, page 171, which gives for him the date of Gupta-Sāṃvat 447 (A.D. 766-67), and the biruda, or title or second name, of Dhrūbhaṭa or Dhruvabhaṭa. Drawing attention (id. p. 80) to the pointed similarity of this name with the T’u-lu-p’o-po-tu of Hiuen Tsiang’s account, and suggesting that Hiuen Tsiang’s translation of the name by ‘constantly intelligent’ might be due to incorrect information, or to some confusion between bhata, ‘a warrior,’ and bhaṭṭa, ‘a learned man,’ Dr. Bühler expressed himself as inclined to believe that Śilāditya VII. was Hiuen Tsiang’s contemporary; the result of which would be that the era used in the Valabhi grants must have commenced either shortly before or shortly after A.D. 200. He pointed out, however, (id. p. 81) that the occurrence of the title of Dhrūbhaṭa or Dhruvabhaṭa in this grant, was in reality only one point among many, requiring careful consideration, in connection with a question that was by no means a simple one.

In 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 9 ff., General Cunningham brought to notice the grant of the Mahārāja Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106; the Bhumāra pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110; the Mahārāja Saṃkṣobha’s grant, of the year 209, No. 25, page 112; and, with the exception of No. 28, page 125, the grants of the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa, No. 26, page 117, to No. 31, page 135, ranging from the year 174 to the year 214. And, in the grants of Hastin and Saṃkṣobha, he followed Prof. Wilson in giving to the expression Gupta-nripa-rāja-bhukta 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 Śilāditya VII. was the king of Valabhi who was reigning at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit in A.D. 640, he pointed out (id. p. 17) that, as the year 447 of the grant might fall twenty-five or thirty years either earlier or later than the pilgrim's visit, the initial point of the Gupta era might lie anywhere between A.D. 163 and 223. Within this period, he found, the only year which would suit the conditions of the record in the Ėraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta and the Mőrbi grant of Jáinkadeva, was A.D. 194-95 as the epoch of the era. Applying this epoch to the Ėraṇ date, the result (id. p. 18) was A.D. 359; in which year the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āśādha, according to his calculation, was, as required, a Thursday; vis. the 24th June. And applying it to the solar eclipse mentioned in the Mőrbi 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 Mahādrājas Hastin and Sāmkshobha. Exact information about this cycle, however, was not then forthcoming; and, in making the Mahā-Vaisākha samvatsara correspond (id. p. 19) with A.D. 350, which, with the epoch of A.D. 194-95, would be the equivalent of Gupta-Samvat 156, recorded in the Mahādrāja Hastin's grant, No. 21, page 93, he seems to have acted on pure assumption; while, in order to make the Mahā-Āśvayuja samvatsara, recorded in the same Mahādrāja's grant of Gupta-Samvat 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 Junaṅgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14, page 56, shewed that the Gupta dominion was still intact, in Saurāṣṭra or Kāthiawād, up to A.D. 333. And he expressed the opinion that the apparent incon-

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 real dates in the record are 136, 137, and 138; they do not include 139.
sistencies in Alberuni's statements arose from his finding that the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi had actually used one and the same era, and from his taking it for granted that that era must have been the era which he found to be called the Valabhi era, and to have commenced in A.D. 319. He placed the Sēnapati Bhaṭārka of Valabhi in A.D. 339 (id. p. 21), twenty years after the establishment of the Valabhi era of 319. And, interpreting the coin-dates of Tōramāṇa as 52 and 53 (id. p. 27), he referred them (id. p. 21) to the Valabhi era of A.D. 319.

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. 136) 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 Allahābād pillar inscription) "of the tribute received from the Daivaputra, Śāhī, Śāhānushāhī, which we now know to be the titles of the Yue-čhi Indo-Scythians, Kanishka, Huṣṭiksha, and Vāsudeva, and their successors, shews him to have been a contemporary of some prince of this race;" and (2) "according to Chinese authority, the Yue-čhi, 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-čhi 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 Almā grant of Śiḷāditya VII. showed 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 Eraṇ 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 saṃvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, mentioned in the grants of the Mahārājas Hastin and Samkshobha, tally with this epoch, he had still to maintain the alteration of the date of
Gupta-Saṁvat 163 into 173. Accepting this alteration, his theory and arrangement of the saṁvatsaras 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 saṁvatsaras 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 saṁvatsaras of it begin and end with the luni-solar years; and that his process for determining the saṁvatsaras (id. pp. vi. 114 f., and Indian Eras, p. 27 f.) only gives the saṁvatsara 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 saṁvatsara 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 Albérûnî'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 Sêndpâta Bhatârka 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 Vâsudéva, shewed that they must have followed him very closely; while a comparison of their silver coins with those of the Sâtraps of Saurâshâtra,—formerly called the Sâh kings,—and those of the Valabhl family, proved distinctly that the Guptas must have followed the Sâtraps of Saurâshâtra 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, Saṁvat, 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 Stâpa at 'Manikya; on the understanding (id. p. 265) that the legend of St. Thomas having visited the East in the reign of a certain king Gondophares,—which visit, if it really occurred, must have been after A.D. 33 and probably before A.D. 50,—is at any rate admissible so far as to shew that the inventors of the legend must have known that the king of 'Taxila' at that time was Gondophares, whose name occurs, on coins, among a series of kings "who reigned in the north-west of India, certainly subsequent to the fall of the Greek dynasties, and as certainly anterior to Kanishka;" and
on similar grounds, he arrived at the conclusion (id. p. 261) that the Śaka era was established by Kanishka, and took the name of the Śālivāhana era from having been introduced into India in the reign of Śātakarpi II. of the Andhra dynasty, the "chief of the "Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana race." As regards the Gupta era, Mr. Fergusson took this opportunity of recording his impression (id. p. 285) that his view of it "would "never have been considered doubtful, had it not been that the chronology of that period "had hitherto been based almost exclusively on numismatic researches." And, in repeating his conviction (id. p. 281) that the commencement of the era was in A.D. 319, and (id. p. 270) that it was established in the reign of the Andhra king Gōtamiputra, 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 Kanishkā, 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 Vikramā 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 Vikramā 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 Rājatarangini, one of which 1 speaks of Pratāpaditya, 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 Albērūni's explanation that the Vikramāditya who, according to the tradition given to him, conquered the Śakas a hundred and thirty-five years after the establishment of the Vikrama era, could not be identical with the founder of that era,—the conclusions at which he arrived were (id. p. 274) that the Vikramāditya who conquered the Śakas at the battle of Karūr, was Harsha-Vikramāditya of Ujjain; that his death took place about A.D. 550, and the battle of Karūr, in A.D. 544; that, about or before A.D. 1000, when "the struggle with the Buddhists was over, and a new era was opening for the "Hindu religion," the Hindus sought to establish some new method of marking time, to

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1 Calcutta edition, ii. line 6; page 15.  
2 Calcutta edition, iii. lines 125, 128; page 26.
supersede the Buddhist Saka era of Kanishka; that, the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi having then passed away, and having also been insignificant and of doubtful orthodoxy, in looking back for some name and event of sufficient importance to mark the commencement of a new era, they hit on the name of Vikramāditya, as the most illustrious known to them, and his victory at Karūr as the most important event of his reign; and that then, since the date of that victory, A.D. 544, was too recent to be adopted, they antedated the epoch by ten cycles of sixty years, thus arriving at B.C. 56 for their Vikrama era, and also, not content with this, devised another era, which they called the Harsha era, from the other part of his name, and the epoch of which was fixed in B.C. 456, by placing it ten even centuries before the date of the battle of Karūr. It is an actual fact, that the name of Vikrama does not occur in connection with the era of B.C. 57 until a comparatively late date. 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 still has 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 Hiraṇya 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 Bādāmi cave inscription of the Western Chalukya king Mangalśa, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 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 rivalled 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 Alberu, “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. Rev. Ind. Vol. X. p. 33, and Plate xi.) shews that the era was still known as the Mālava era, in Central India, down to about A.D. 880.

"to it," he arrived, by a series of historical, numismatic, and palaeographical arguments, at the conclusion that the rise of the Early Guptas must be placed in A.D. 319, and their downfall about A.D. 480. In the course of the paper, he suggested (id. p. 219) that the T'uu-lu-p'o-po-rotu of Huien Tsiang may be Dērabhaṭa of Valabhī, or may indicate one of the Dharasēnas or one of the earlier Śilādityas of that family; and that, at any rate, the occurrence of the title Dhūbhāṭa in the Alhā 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 Ėraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, that the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashāḍha of Gupta-Saṃvat¹ 165 was a Thursday, was quite correct by the Tables and formulæ in Warren's Kala-Sankalita. And (id. p. 222), referring to the supposed tradition of the bards of Kāṭhiāwād, 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 Sāh 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 Albērūṇī, 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 Albērūṇī must have exercised due deliberation before making the (supposed) statement that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas; and he brought forward a discovery (id. p. 545) that certain signs in front of the horse's head on the reverse of some coins of Syalapati, Sāmangatēva, Khadavayaka, and Bhimadēva, 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 Sāmangatēva.² And, pointing out that the conventional

¹ Or, rather, of Gupta-Saṃvat 166; since he treated the record as meaning the year 165 expired and 166 current. But the epoch would then be A.D. 318, not 319. It was probably through an oversight that Dr. Oldenberg spoke in this connection of A.D. 319 as the epoch. Elsewhere (id. pp. 215, 227) he distinctly specifies A.D. 319 as the beginning of the Gupta era; according to which, A.D. 318 would be the epoch selected by him.
date of 617, if added to A.D. 319, gave A.D. 936,—within one year of his date for Sāmantadeva,—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 Alīnā grant of Silāditya 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' wh ch, as he placed 'Syalapati' between A.D. 887 and 916, would show 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 Kāthisvād bard's, was (id. p. 155 ff.) that it might date from the death of Kumāragupta, and might memorise a rebellion against Skandagupta by the members of the Valabhī 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' and the other kings in ques-

1In connection with this, I would draw special attention to the coin of 'Syalapati' figured in Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I. p. 304, Pl. xxv. 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 any rate Prinsep's Essays, Pl. xxv. 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 Saka era, with the result of A.D. 891-92. Mr. Thomas (Journ. 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 89” and “812 89.” We have here to note that Sir E. Clive Bayley reported (id. p. 145 f.) that Mr. Thomas, reading the signs that were supposed to mean Gu, Gup, and Gupta, in the opposite way to that in which he himself read them, read the whole date in one direction, from the inside of the coins, and interpreted all the figures as giving only one uniform and conventional date, viz. “Gu 617,” denoting the initial date of Sâmanta’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 ‘Syapati’ himself (Plate i. Nos. 3 to 5, and 7 to 10), No. 7 is read as “727,” 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 “808.” 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 palæographist, 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 Sāmkshōbha. His views on this point, however, were radically vitiated, in the first place, by his following General Cunningham's mistaken assumption that the *samvatsaras* of this cycle always begin and end with the luni-solar years; and, further, by a series of mistakes which it is really difficult to know how to criticise properly. He took the *samvatsara* that is mentioned in the Bhumarā pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110, to be Mahā-Mārgaśira, instead of Mahā-Māgha; a mistake which threw this record out by two *samvatsaras*. He proved General Cunningham's results to be right only in one instance out of the five, *viz.* in the case of this supposed Mahā-Mārgaśira *samvatsara* of the Bhumarā 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 expanction of a *samvatsara* between A.D. 394 and 395, which, while it did not affect General Cunningham's results, did affect his own, in making Gupta-Saṅvat 209 coincide with the Mahā-Kārttika *samvatsara*, instead of Mahā-Āśvayuja (for which, by the way, Sir E. Clive Bayley again wrote Mahā-Mārgaśira) as recorded in the grant itself, No. 25, page 112. In fact, a full examination of the original
paper and its Postscript, will shew that, for the proposed epoch of A.D. 190, there are absolutely no grounds whatever; and that the theory has no importance at all, except in introducing one of the side-issues which, endorsed by a name that carries authority, have to be disposed of, before any settlement of the main question will be accepted as final by general readers.

In 1883, General Cunningham published his Book of Indian Eras, in which he recast, with some additions, his treatise on the Gupta era and the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, that had appeared in the Archaeol. 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 samvatsaras 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 Varahul inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945 proves that A.D. 319 was its commencement; not its epoch. And he also (id. p. 50) seems to indicate very clearly that, in his opinion, the scheme of the years of this era was identical with that of the years of the southern Vikrama era, commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Karttika (October-November). He also held (id. p. 57) "that the era used by the Valabhi kings was that of the Guptas, seems to be almost certain; as the Sendpati Bhatarka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty, is said," in the supposed tradition of the bards of Kathiawad, "to have been the governor of Surashtra 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 Jājakadēva of Saurashtra, published by Dr. Bühler in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 151. This grant is dated in Vikrama-Samvat 794, equivalent to A.D. 736-37; and, on the assumption that it is genuine, and that this Jājakadēva is identical with the Jāiṅka of the Mōrbl grant, the date of which, (Gupta)-Samvat 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 Jáînka and Jáîkadéva 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 ff.) runs—Vikrama-samvatsara-satésu saplasu chatur-navty-adhikśaśv=amkalah 974 Kártikamás-apara-pakshē amásādyām Ādityavārde Jyēṣṭhā-nakshatrawa raviyārana-parvani asyāṃ samvatsara-mása-paksha-divasa-pūrvāyām tīṭhāv=ady=éha Bhūmilikēyām &c.—"In seven centuries, increased by ninety-four, of the years of Vikrama, (or) in figures, 974 [the interpretation of the figures, however, with the exception of the 4, depends purely on the preceding expression in words; the first two of them present anything but the appearance of 7 and 9]; in the latter fortnight of the month Kárttika; on the new-moon tīṭhi; on Sunday; under the Jyēṣṭhā nakshatra; 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 Bhūmilika," &c.—This gives us for calculation, Vikrama-Samvat 794, current according to the literal meaning of the text; the month Kárttika (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 tīṭhi; Sunday; an eclipse of the sun; and the Jyēṣṭhā nakshatra or lunar mansion. And, as the details of the inscription connect it specifically with Saurāśtra or Káthiāwād, we have to understand that the Vikrama year quoted is the southern Vikrama year, commencing with Kárttika sukla 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 tīṭhi, 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 nakshatra, which can never occur on the new-moon tīṭhi of the Pāurnāmánta northern Kárttika.—As belonging to southern Vikrama-Samvat 794, the given tīṭhi belonged, according to the Tables, to Śaka-Samvat 659, expired; and, if it belonged to southern Vikrama-Samvat 795, it would belong to Śaka-Samvat 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-Samvat 794, Monday, the 28th October, A.D. 737, when there was the Anurādhā nakshatra, and most probably no eclipse of the sun (none, at least, is recorded in *Indian Eras*, p. 211);—and for Vikrama-Samvat 795, Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738, when there was the Jyēṣṭhā nakshatra; but there cannot have been an eclipse of the sun, since there was one on the preceding new-moon tīṭhi, 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 tīṭhi of the Pāurnāmānta northern Kárttika 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 Pāurnāmānta northern month at all; and also by the fact, ascertained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, that on the 17th October, A.D. 738, the nakshatras were Svātī and Viśākha. To complete the details, I would add that he finds that the English equivalent of the new-moon tīṭhi of the Pāurnāmānta northern Kárttika, which fell in A.D. 737, was Saturday, the 28th September, A.D. 737, when the nakshatras 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. Bühler, in publishing the inscription, on calculations made by Prof. Jacob. In order to arrive at it, however, he translated the record as meaning Vikrama-Samvat 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 tīṭhi of the preceding month Ṭāṣāvna, 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 Kárttika, and the person who drafted it was careless, and omitted to draw a distinction between the two occasions.—This date has also been discussed by Gen. Cunningham, in his Indian Eras, p. 48 f. His conclusions were, that the date belongs to Vikrama-Saṅvat 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 Kárttika, but with the month Mārgasīrṣha (November-December), in accordance with a custom which Albérūnī tells us, was current among the people of Sindh 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 Kárttika of Vikrama-Saṅvat 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 Kárttika 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 Kárttika; 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 Kárttika; and this might have led "to the substitution of the name of Kárttika, 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 Albérūnī, a year commencing with Mārgasīrṣha could only be coupled with the Pārśimānta 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 Kárttika. The Pārśimānta 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-Saṅvat 794, current, or expired, belongs to Śaka-Saṅvat 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 Sāmāngād grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga, of Śaka-Saṅvat 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-Saṅvat 794 (A.D. 1113-14), or a year before or after. But, that the grant really is spurious, is, I think, now certain, from all the results that I have recited above. And judging by the characters, I should be inclined to refer the fabrication of it to about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. As the Jyēṣṭhā *nakṣatra* appears to occur always on, or within two days after, the new-moon *tithi* of Kárttika, 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 Albërûni’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 Śaka era, the Hindus had repeated to him a mistaken tradition; and that the only reasonable course was, while accepting his initial date for the era, to reject his explanation of the circumstances under which it was established; and he held (id. p. 98) that the fact that this era came to be known in later times by the name of the Valabhi era, was due only to its having been introduced into Saurāśṭra 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 Śeṇḍapati Bhaṭārka. The principal tests applied by him were, the record of the week-day in the Ėraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta; and the names of the saṃvatsaras of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, as recorded in the grants of the Mahārdjas Hastin and Saṃkshōbha. In respect of the Ėraṇ record, he announced (id. p. 99) that Prof. K. L. Chhatre had found that it was correct for Śaka-Saṃvat 406, as an expired year, and equivalent to A.D. 484-85, i.e. for the Śaka year for which it should be correct according to the initial date given by Albërûni; 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 saṃvatsaras 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 saṃvatsaras, that the Gupta dates denoted expired years, with current saṃvatsaras, which led to the result that Gupta-Saṃvat 156 should be the Mahā-Chaitra saṃvatsara, instead of Mahā-Vaiśākhā as recorded; and partly through his acceptance of General Cunningham’s alteration of the date of No. 22, page 100, from Gupta-Saṃvat 163 to 173. In the course of the arguments which occupy the rest of his paper, he suggested that the T’u-lu-p’o-po-tu of Huien Tsang was Dhruvasena 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 bhāṭa. It was a mere title or honorific termination, “as pant and rdv are among us, the Marāṭhas. Sēna, sinḵa, and bhāṭa 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 Huien Tsang 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-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 433 current.
occur at all in any of the numerous Valabhi grants that have come to light; nor does any one of them furnish the slightest grounds for the assertion that there was ever any confusion between the terminations sāna, sinha, and bhāta. And, though Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar pointed out that Hiuên Tsiang seems to be referring to more than one king of Valabhi, whom he held to be the two brothers Dharasena III. and Dhruvasena II., yet I cannot find any authority, either in M. Stanislas Julien's translation, or in Mr. Beal's, for his assertion that Hiuên Tsiang was speaking of only two kings, and that it was the younger of them whom he denoted by the name of T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu. 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 Hiuên Tsiang.

And finally, in 1885, in the Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1784 to 1883, Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, after a brief résumé of the results of the work of preceding investigators, arrived at the opinion (id. Part II. p. 111) that "the terminal "date," A.D. 319, "of the Gupta empire, as determined by Mr. Thomas, may now be considered as one of those great historical landmarks, the truth of which is admittedly no "more open to question;" and (id. 113) that General Cunningham's theory of A.D. 166-67 for the epoch¹ of the Gupta era, "has every prospect of ultimately meeting with universal assent, and being the final verdict of the historic researches regarding the Gupta "dynasty."

The Mandasor Inscription of Mālava-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 Albērūni, lying in a confusion between a true Gupta era, anterior to A.D. 319, used by the Early Gupta kings themselves, and another Gupta era, or more properly a Valabhi era, with an epoch of A.D. 319-20 or thereabouts, established, whether used or not, by some member of the Valabhi family; and that he was right in respect of the historical event, from which, as he appeared to assert, this latter era took its origin. And, in default of definite evidence, settling the question one way or the other, perhaps the strongest argument against the views held by Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, was to be found in the fol-

¹ Dr. Hoernle called A.D. 166 the initial year of the era; but this is not an exact representation of Gen. Cunningham's results.
lowing anomalous position, which had occasionally been noticed more or less directly, but had never been disposed of. It was held by all that the Valabhl 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 Valabhl; 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 Valabhl era dating from then. And yet,—as is proved by, amongst other things, the fact that Bhaṭārka, 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 shown by the Al Dé grant of Śilāditya VII., 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 Mandasūr inscription, which, composed and engraved when the year 529 had expired from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas gives us, through his feudatory Bandhuvarman, the date of the year 493, expired, of the same era, for Kumāragupta.

This was not the first instance that had been obtained of the use of this era, which may for convenience be called the Mālava era. For, it is obviously identical with the era which is alluded to in the Kanaswa inscription dated in 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. But

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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—samvatsara-satā-sudārśiḥ sa-pāṇḍa-narayat-sāgaḵāliḥ saptabhirā Mālavā-śāṇān mandiram Dharṣṭātēḥ kritam—‘(in the year that is denoted) by seven expired centuries of "years, coupled with ninety-five, of the Mālava lords, (this) temple of (the god) Dharṣṭāt 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-kālīch=chharadān ṣat-trimśat-samayulśaḥ=atilūṣaḥ navasu ṣāṭṣaḥ.—‘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 Mandasūr inscription of Yaśodharman and Vishnuvardhana of Mālava-Saṁvat 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\(^1\) that this Mālava era must be the same as the era of Vikramāditya of Ujjain, commencing in B.C. 57, this point has not hitherto been capable of proof; for the reason that neither of these two dates gave sufficient details for actual computation, or any other available grounds for historical identification. Nor does the 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.\(^2\) 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. Carleyle,\(^3\) which have on them the legend Mālavānam jayah, "the victory of the Mālavas," 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

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original scheme of the Vikrama years is the one commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika (October-November). And Kārttika 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.

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\(^1\) Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 34.
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 Allahābād 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. 223, the date fixed by General Cunningham for the death of Aśoka;1 which would make the date of Mālava-Saṁvat 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 Kaṇaywa inscription of Mālava-Saṁvat 795, and the 'Gyāraspur' inscription of Mālava-Saṁvat 936, back to respectively A.D. 572 and 713; periods to which, from their alphabets, they cannot possibly belong. And thus,—since, within certain limits, palæographical evidence must be followed,—it creates a palæographical difficulty that is insuperable. So also does the third result, to practically the same extent; and the first, to a still more marked degree.

The fourth result, on the contrary, satisfies all the palæographical requirements of the case. And it brings us so very close to B.C. 57, the commencement of the well-known Vikrama era,—which, by the tradition of later times, is closely connected with the country of the Mālavas, through the name of its supposed founder, king Vikramāditya, whose capital, Ujjain, was the principal city in Mālwa,—that we are compelled to find in it the solution of the question, and to adjust the equation of the dates thus,—Gupta-Saṁvat 113 (the mean date for Kumāragupta) + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 432-33; and Mālava-Saṁvat 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 Mandasor inscription, therefore, proves — (1) that any statement by Albērānl 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 Albērānl and substantiated by the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 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. Fergusson to be the year in which it was invented. These results are, of course, independent of the question whether the Early Guptas established an era of their own, with the above-mentioned epoch, or whether they only adopted the era of some other dynasty.
The Determination of the Exact Epoch of the Era.

I have shewn, so far, that the Early Gupta dates, and, with them, any others that can be proved to belong to the same uniform series, are to be referred to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, or thereabouts, brought to notice by Albérûni and substantiated by the Verawal inscription of Valabhi-Saṅvat 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 Albérûni’s statements, we have to select, as the true and exact epoch, that of A.D. 319-20, equivalent to Śaka-Saṅvat 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 tīthi or lunar days are concerned, as also of solar days connected with lunar months, the years of the Kaliyuga era¹ and of the northern Vikrama era have to be treated as commencing, like the years of the Śaka era, with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April); and also that the decision as to the order of the dark and bright lunar fortnights of the months must of necessity go with the decision as to the general northern or southern nature of the era and its years, since we cannot have a northern year coupled with the southern arrangement of the fortnights, or a southern year coupled with the northern arrangement,—the question now before us is, whether the years of the Gupta-Valabhi era had a distinct scheme and initial day of their own, or whether they followed the scheme and initial day of the years of the Śaka era, according to either the northern or the southern arrangement, or the scheme and initial day of the years of the southern Vikrama era.

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

The Śaka years of both Northern and Southern India commence with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, immediately after the new-moon conjunction. But, in the scheme of the year, there is the important difference that, in the northern arrangement, the dark fortnight of each month precedes the bright;\(^2\) whereas in the southern year, it is the bright fortnight that stands first. Popularly, and in Pañcāṅgṛs 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 Vaśākha; 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 Ashāḍha represents, if treated as a southern date, an English day later by one complete lunation, or practically a month, than the English equivalent of it as a northern date.

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

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

\(^2\) See Beal’s Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. I, p. 71, where Huien Tsiang’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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern India, Pāśimagānta.</th>
<th>Months and Fortnights.</th>
<th>Southern India, Amānta.</th>
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(Saka-Saṃvat 1186.
Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321.
Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 944.
A.D. 1203-04.

(īrṇāval Inscription.
Aṣṭāṇa; the dark fortnight; the 13th solar day; Sunday.)

Saka-Saṃvat 1187.
Vikrama-Saṃvat 1322.
Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 945.
A.D. 1204-05.

Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321.
A.D. 1203-04.

Śaka-Saṃvat 1187.
A.D. 1204-05.

Vikrama-Saṃvat 1322.
A.D. 1204-05.)
necessity of determining the question with which we are concerned. By the epochs of the two eras, the nearest equivalent of, for instance, southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 current is Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 current; and this is also its actual equivalent for any date from Kārttika śukla 1 up to Phālguna krishna 15, both included; but, for any date from the following Chaitra śukla 1 up to Āśvina krishṇa 15, both included, the actual equivalent of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 current is the following Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 current. Consequently, if the Gupta-Valabhi year is to be treated as a southern Vikrama year, any such date as Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 944, Chaitra śukla 1, up to Āśvina krishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent later by twelve complete lunations, or practically a year,¹ or else any such date as Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 944, Kārttika śukla 1, up to Phālguna krishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent earlier by twelve complete lunations, than the English equivalents if the year is to be treated as a Śaka year.

The question, whether by any chance we can be concerned, in the Gupta-Valabhi era, at any period, with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, is, if possible, still more an essential point, because the dates that we have in the era, under its later name of the Valabhi era, come from Kāthiawād, where, as in the neighbouring provinces of Gujarāt and the Northern Konkan, the national era is the Vikrama era, in the southern arrangement. In those parts there would of course be a tendency, sooner or later, to adapt the original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhi year to the scheme of the years of the local national era. And a distinct instance of this adaptation having been actually made in Gujarāt, is furnished by the Kaira (Khēḍā) grant of Dharasēna IV. of Valabhi, published by Dr. Bühler in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 335 ff. Its date is the year 330; the "second" month Mārgaśira (November-December); the bright fortnight; and the second tithi 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 Mārgaśira or Mārgaśirsha.

Now, allowing for the moment, what I shall shortly prove, as closely as absolute certainty can be obtained, vis. that the true original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhi year is the scheme of the northern Śaka year, the month Mārgaśirsha of this record should belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 572 current, and should fall in A.D. 649. The detailed consideration of this date, however, at page 93 ff. below, shews that the intercalation in question can only have occurred in A.D. 648, and belonged to Śaka-Saṃvat 571 current, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarāt, to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706 current. And, since the localities mentioned in the charter connect it absolutely with a district in Gujarāt, the year 330 of this record must have commenced, like the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706, with the month Kārttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṃvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 572 current, according to the original scheme of the years of the era. Bearing in mind, however, that this record belongs to Gujarāt, we have

¹ Or, in the case of certain intercalations, later here, and in the other case earlier, by thirteen lunations, or practically a year and a month.
not to seek far for the explanation of this discrepancy. When once the Gupta-Valabhi era had been fairly introduced in Gujarāt, 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-Valabhi-Saṁvat¹ 303, which commenced, approximately, on the 19th March, A.D. 622, about half-way through southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 679 current. Then, if the change of scheme was effected in the first seven lunations of the Gupta-Valabhi year, the Gujarātīs would make the new year, Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 304, commence with their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 680, on the next Kārttika śukla 1, or approximately the 12th October, A.D. 622; and Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 303, as thus adapted and shortened by them, would contain only seven lunations, from Chaitra śukla 1 up to Āśvina krishna 15. If, on the other hand, the change was effected in the last five lunations of the Gupta-Valabhi year, when southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 680 current had already commenced, then the Gujarātīs would defer the commencement of the new year, Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 304, until the commencement of their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 681, on again the next Kārttika śukla 1, or approximately the 1st October, A.D. 623; and Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 303, as thus adapted and prolonged, would contain nineteen lunations. The years of the era would, for the future, always commence, in Gujarāt, 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 Gujarāt 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-Valabhi-Saṁvat 945. Under the first condition, every subsequent year in Gujarāt would commence five lunations earlier than in Kāthiāwād. And the grant of Dharasēna 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 Mārgaśirsha of this record can be made to belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 330, instead of to 329.

The Verāwal inscription, however, of the Chaullukya king Arjunadēva, dated ValabhiSaṁvat 945, which I have mentioned at page 31f. 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-Valabhi-Saṁvat 330. And I have used the year 303, instead of 300 in round numbers, for purposes of illustration, only in order to avoid a year with an intercalary month.
the Pūrnimānta northern arrangement of the fortnights of the months, or a northern year coupled with the Amānta southern arrangement. And, in proof of this position, I will here adduce some very instructive information gathered from the Nēpāl inscriptions, which were published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj in the Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.

The earliest eras used in these inscriptions, are the Gupta era, and the era of Harshavardhana 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 Nēpāl, by the Newār 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 Indraj in, when travelling in Nēpāl, 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 Nēpāl Vamsāvali, or List of Kings, states that it was established by Jayadēvamalla, of the second Thākuri 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-Saṃvat 811 which as an expired year is equivalent to A.D. 889-90, during the joint reign of Jayadēvamalla and his younger brother Anandamalla, there came from the south a certain Nānyadēva, who conquered the whole of Nēpāl, and established the Karnāṭaka Dynasty. The truth probably is that Nānyadēva was a minister of Jayadēvamalla, and eventually usurped the sovereignty, which, according to the Vamsāvali, remained with his descendants for five generations after him. Whether Nānyadēva 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 Jayadēvamalla. 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 Karnāṭaka year for the year that had hitherto been used in Nēpāl. The available dates do not furnish absolute proof that the initial day of the new year was Kārttika śukla 1. But the Vamsāvali gives the following two equations,—under Nānyadēva, as already noted, Nēpāla-Saṃvat 9 = Saka-Saṃvat 811 (expired), with the date of Śrāvana śukla 7; and under Harīsimhadēva, No. 1 in the Sūryavamsi Dynasty of Bhātgām, Nēpāla-Saṃvat 444

1 Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj in tells me that this word, Newār, is a local corruption of ‘Nēpāl.’—In the inscriptions, this era, when it is not simply referred to in the usual way by the word saṃvat, is spoken of by the terms Nēpāla-varsha (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 185, line 13 from the bottom), Nēpāla-saṃvata (id. p. 191, line 4 from the bottom), and Nēpāla-abda (id. p. 192, line 2 from the top).

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

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

=Śaka-Saṁvat 1245 (expired),—which, as the difference in the first case is 802 years, and in the second, 801, shew that the scheme of the year differed from that of the Śaka years. And, taking this in connection with the information obtained by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and with the fact that all such dates as have been examined tend to support the result, it seems certain that the initial day of each year was Kārttika śukla 1; and it is evident that the year was borrowed from the southern Vikrama year. The question remains as regards the arrangement of the fortnights of the months; and here, though we might most reasonably expect that, so far north as Nēpāl, even a year borrowed from the southern Vikrama year, would be coupled with the Pāṇimānta 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 Siddhinrisintha, dated Nēpāl-Saṁvat 757, of Śrāvāṇa krishṇa 8 after Śrāvāṇa śukla 12; and still more explicitly by the provision, in the same passage, ¹ for performing the janmāṣṭami-pūjā, or ‘worship on the eighth lunar day which is (the anniversary of) the birth (of Kṛṣṇa),’ on the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight of Śrāvāṇa; for, a comparison of any Paṁchāṅgas will shew that the festival in question occurs in the dark fortnight of Śrāvāṇa only according to the Amānta southern reckoning, but, according to the Pāṇimānta northern reckoning, on the same tithi in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada. Further, the inscription of Riddhilakshmi gives a date in a dark fortnight, available for calculation. The details² are Nēpāl-Saṁvat 810 current; the month Kārttika; the dark fortnight; the second lunar day; and Sunday. With the epoch of A.D. 879-80, the given 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 Pāṇimānta 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 Pāṇimānta arrangement.³ It is absolutely certain, therefore, that the year which was used in connection with the Nēwār era of Nēpāl, and which had Kārttika śukla 1 for its initial day, was a southern

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

² Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 192.—Nēpāl-ābād gaganā-dhārīṁ-nāga-yuktē kil=Ūjē māśē pakṣē vidhu-virahitē su-tvālayā tithau sā kṛṣṇo dēvāyām= api Ravau Riddhilakshe prasāṇa chakrē dēv su-vidhi-viditē Šaṁkarasya pratishtēm.—”in the Nēpāl year possessed of the sky (=0), the earth (=1), and the (8) Nāgas; in (the month) Ūjra (i.e. Kārttika); in the fortnight which is deprived of the moon; on the excellent second lunar day; on Sunday; having made (this) temple, she, the gracious (and) majestic Riddhilakshmi, made an installation, according to all the proper rites, of (the god) Šaṁkara.”—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 Pāṇimānta arrangement, Monday, the 1st October, A.D. 1688, and Thursday, the 9th October, A.D. 1690.
year. On the other hand, when the Népálese abandoned this offshoot of the southern Vikrama era, and introduced the Vikrama era itself from the neighbouring parts of Northern India, they adopted it in its northern variety, with Chaitra sukla 1 as its initial day, and with the Pārśimānta 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-Samvat 1874, Bhādrapada krishna 9, Śukraśara 2 or Friday; Vikrama-Samvat 1875, Mārgaśīrsha krishna 5, Budhavāra or Wednesday; and Vikrama-Samvat 1877, Jyēṣṭha krishna 10, Ravivarā or Sunday. By the Amanta southern arrangement, the week-days do not come out right at all. While by the Pārśimānta 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 Pārśimānta northern arrangement of the fortnights coupled with a southern year and era, or the Amanta 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-Valabhl year proper was the regular Pārśimānta northern scheme; and that, therefore, in this era, in its original constitution, we cannot be concerned with any southern reckoning at all.

The Khōh copper-plate grant of the Parivrājaka Maḥārdāja Saṁkshobha, 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 Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara;" and, as regards other details, in fortunately a double manner. In line 2 f. we have—Chaitra-maśa-ṣukla-paśka-trayaḍaśyaṁ (where, in apposition with trayaḍaśyaṁ, we have to supply tīthi),—"on the thirteenth tīthi, 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 3 20 7 (where the abbreviation di stands for dina, dīne, divasa, or divasa),—"(the month) Chaitra; the (solar) day 20 (and) 7." This double record is explicable only on the understanding that, in the scheme of the months of the Gupta year, the dark fortnights stood first, according

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 193 f.
2 The published text has śukle, which is obviously a mistake for śukrē.
3 In my printed version of this inscription, the second numerical symbol is given as 9, with a reference (page 112, note 4) to a note that it might possibly be 7, 8, or 9. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit having found by calculation that this tīthi 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. p. 15). There are, however, distinctly two symbols, meaning 20 and 7; or, together, 27.
to the regular Pûrṇimānta 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 Majhgam grant of the Parivraja Mahârâjga Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106, in which we have, in line 2,—Mâgha-mâsa-bahula-paksha-trîtyâyām,—"on the third tithi, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha;" and, in line 21,—Mâgha di 3, —"Mâgha, 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 Mahârâjga Samkshôbha. And the record proves absolutely that, in the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year, it is the Pûrṇimânta 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 Verâwal inscription of Arjunâdeva, dated Valabhi-Sâmvat 945, is the only instance in which the equation of the Gupta-Valabhi era and another era is accompanied by the full details of a month, fortnight, and day.² And the thirteenth solar day in the dark fortnight of Âshâda, 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 Šaka 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 Verâwal inscription, which will

¹ There seemed to be also a double record of the same kind in the Ėraṅ pillar inscription of Gôparâja, of the year 191, No. 20, page 91, in which we have, in line 2, Śrâvaṇa ba di 7, "(the month) Śrâvaṇa; the dark fortnight; the (solar) day 7;" and, in line 1, apparently Śrâvaṇa-bahula-paksha-sap[ê][am][d̄n][or sap[ê][am][d̄n]], "on the seventh tithi; or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of (the month) Śrâvaṇa." Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, finds that, in Gupta-Sâmvat 191, the seventh tithi or lunar day of the dark fortnight of Śrâvaṇa, 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 read sap[ê][am][d̄n], sap[ê][am][d̄hni], or sap[ê][am][d̄hni].

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

Meanwhile, I have now made it clear that the original Gupta year was a northern year with the Pārṇimānta 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 samvatsaras of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, which are quoted in the grants of the Mahārājas Hastin and Sarnkshobha, not only confirm the above results by proving that the details of them cannot be referred to a year commencing with the month Karṣṭika, but also prove that we cannot be concerned even with a year commencing with the new-moon of the month Mārgaśirsha (November-December), which is mentioned by Alberuni¹ as having been in use, at any rate in connection with the Lōkakāla reckoning, by the people of Sindh, Multān, Kanauj, and other parts, and as having been abandoned at Multān only shortly before his own time. As a matter of fact, a year commencing with Mārgaśirsha, and having the Pārṇimānta northern arrangement of the fortnights, would suit the details of every Gupta-Valabhl date,—including even the Kairā grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 330 mentioned above, and a Veravāl inscription of Valabhl-Samvat 927 which will be fully exhibited further on,—except one, viz. the Majhgawān grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, which has been referred to above. This being the sole exception, the calculations which determine the commencement and end of the samvatsara 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 Mārgaśirsha. And thus,—having no other

¹ Alberuni’s India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8 f.—He also, in the same place, mentions a year commencing with the month Bhādrapada (August-September). But, from his statement, it seems to have been confined to the vicinity of Kasmir. And, under any circumstances, as Bhādrapada is earlier than Karṣṭika in the Saka year, the circumstances which bar a year commencing with Karṣṭika, still more emphatically bar one commencing with Bhādrapada.
known year of general use to fall back on, except the Śaka year; and giving due consideration to the explicit manner in which Albérufi 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 Pūrṇimāṇa northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights, in accordance, in both respects, with what seems to have been always the custom of Northern India.

1 I have heard from Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar that, in the west of Kāṭhāhairā, there is current a year commencing with the Āśādha śukla 1 that precedes the Kārttika śukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. This year is called the Hālārī year, as belonging to the Hālār Prānt or Sub-Division of Kāṭhāhairā. I do not know whether it is coupled with the Amānta or with the Pūrṇimāṇa arrangement of the lunar fortnights. But it appears to be of purely local usage; it does not help to reconcile the discrepancy in the results for the dates of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 330 and the Verkal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 927, as compared with the results for all the other dates; and, in order to suit the dates in the Ėraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta and other records, it ought to commence with the Āśādha śukla 1 following, not preceding, the Kārttika śukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. There appear, therefore, no grounds for supposing that this Hālārī 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 ff.) are Śaka-Saṁvat 534 expired, the month Bhādrapada (August-September), the new-moon tīthi, 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-Saṁvat 534 expired, and 535 current, is really equivalent to A.D. 612-13. In this period there was an eclipse of the sun (see Indian Eras, p. 210) on the 2nd August, A.D. 612; which was the new-moon tīthi of Bhādrapada according to the Pūrṇimāṇa northern arrangement. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, however, by the Sūrya-Siddhānta, that the tīthi ended at 35 ghaṭs, 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 tīthi 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, Bādāmi, to which the record refers itself, on the 23rd July, A.D. 613, which date again answers to the new-moon tīthi of Bhādrapada according to the Pūrṇimāṇa northern arrangement. But the point to which I have to draw attention here, is, that, whichever of these two eclipses we select, the Pūrṇimāṇa northern arrangement of the lunar fort-
The Calculation of Recorded Dates.

Our next step, therefore, will be, to see how far the available Gupta-Valabhi dates, converted into Šaka dates by the addition of two hundred and forty-one years in accordance with Albërûni’s most specific statement regarding the equation of the two eras, and treated as northern dates, with the Pûrûmánta 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-Valabhi era, and, on the other, those of the Šaka and the Christian eras.

The Éraṇ 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 Éraṇ pillar inscription

[Text continues with further details regarding dates and inscriptions in a historical context.]
of Budhagupta, from the Sāgar District in the Central Provinces, No. 19, page 88; in which the date (line 2 f.) runs — śatē pañcha-shashty-adhikē varshānām bhūpatau cha Budhaguptē 1 Āshādha-māsa-sukla-dvādaśyām Suragurōr-divasē II Sam 100 60 5,—" in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (is) king; on the twelfth tīthī, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Āshādha; on the day of Suraguru; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5."

As the palæography of this record shows that the year quoted in it belongs to the same uniform series with the years quoted in the Early Gupta records,—a point, in fact, that has never been disputed,—this gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṃvat 165, current; the month Ashādha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the twelfth tīthī; and the day of Suraguru, which,—Suraguru, 'the preceptor of the gods,' being another name of Brāhaspatī, the regent of the planet Jupiter,—is Brāhaspativāra 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 Bāpu 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 Guptasaṃvat 165 + A.D. 194-95 = A.D. 359-60 = Śaka-Saṃvat 281 expired; and the result was derived from the assumption that the given tīthī fell on its theoretical normal place on the 101st solar day of the year.2 And, in the same place, he intimated that, with the epoch of A.D. 318-(19), the result would be Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483. The basis

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

2 This is on the assumption that the lunar months of the Hindu luni-solar years contain thirty and twenty-nine solar days alternately, in regular succession; see, for instance, Cowasjee Patell’s Chronology, p. 66 ff., Tables III. to XIII., and Cunningham’s Indian Eras, p. 66, Table X. The arrangement given in those Tables, is convenient enough for obtaining approximate results. But, apart from the principles involved, an examination of any Pañcāṅgas, 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 tīthī will fall. As a matter of fact, in the ten years Śaka-Saṃvat 1809 to 1808 inclusive, the position of the end of the twelfth tīthī of the bright fortnight of Āshādha, varied from the 10th to the 102nd solar day of the year; and there is a chance of the tīthī 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 \textit{tīthi}.

In 1880, in the \textit{Archæol. 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 \textit{Sūrya-Siddhānta}, was a Friday in A.D. 331; but that his own result, obtained from the \textit{Arya-Siddhānta}, was a Thursday in the same year. He did not then give any further details. But, from the fuller particulars given in his recapitulation of these statements in 1883, in his \textit{Book of Indian Eras}, p. 55 f., 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 \textit{tīthi}. 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 1882, in the Postscript to his paper on the “Dates on Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kābul” which was published in the \textit{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 \textit{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 krishṇa 5 of the northern year. Sir E. Clive Bayley seems to have very soon become aware of the mistake; since, at the end of the copy of the Postscript which, with a copy of the principal article, reached me from him in May, 1883, there is added, in manuscript, the remark—“this date is erroneous; but the real date, as calculated by Professor Jacobi, comes out a Thursday.” The real date of 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 \textit{Chronology}, Tables IV. and XIII., and \textit{Indian Eras}, Table X.) But, as standing first in the southern Vikrama year, the same month Kārttika is to contain thirty solar days (see \textit{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; *vis.* Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484.

Now, the results given by Dr. Hall, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, whether right or wrong, and any similar coincidences, may be accepted without hesitation. And I would only point out, as regards General Cunningham's results for the epoch of A.D. 166-67, that Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, by actual calculation from all the authorities, including the *Ārya-Siddhānta* on which General Cunningham specially relied, finds that, in A.D. 331, the given *tithi*, belonging to Šaka-Sāṃvat 254 current, and calculated with the basis of Šaka-Sāṃvat 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 Šaka year was Wednesday, the 24th February, A.D. 331, not Tuesday, the 23rd February.

The essential point with which we are concerned, is, whether the week-day of Āśāḍha sukla 12 was a Thursday, if, following Albērūl's most specific statement regarding an even difference of two hundred and forty-one years between the Gupta-Valabhi and the Šaka eras. we make the calculation for Gupta-Sāṃvat 165 + 241 = Šaka-Sāṃvat 406; or, if the result fails for that year, for the immediately preceding or following Šaka year.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has made the necessary calculations, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, with these three Šaka years as expired years. And his results are— with Šaka-Sāṃvat 405 expired, Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483; with Šaka-Sāṃvat 406 expired, Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484; and with Šaka-Sāṃvat 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.

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

2 The results are put in this way for the sake of brevity. The more absolutely accurate method of expressing them, would be to say, in this instance, that the given *tithi*, as belonging to Šaka-Sāṃvat 407 current, and as calculated with the basis of Šaka-Sāṃvat 406 expired, ended on a Hindu Thursday, and at such a time that it ended also during the English Thursday, which was the 21st June, A.D. 484, Old Style. The hours at which the *tithi* ended, according to the different authorities, and as reckoned from mean or from apparent sunrise at Bombay, Ujjain, and Ēraṅ, 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 Āshāḍha sukla 12 was the same tīthi, and fell on the same solar day, represented by the 21st June, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, and in southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 541 current, as well as in northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 542 current. It gives Śaka-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 406, as an expired year, so that the given tīthi really belongs to Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, it shews that, in following Albērūnī's statement and adding two hundred and forty-one, what is really accomplished is the conversion of a given current Gupta-Valabhl year into an expired Śaka year, by which we obtain precisely the basis that is wanted for working out results by Hindu Tables, viz. the last Śaka year expired before the commencement of the current Śaka year corresponding to a given current Gupta-Valabhl year; and that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhl and current Śaka years, is two hundred and forty-two.\(^1\)

The Verāwal Inscription of Valabhl-Saṃvat 945.

In this connection, I will notice next the Verāwal inscription of the Chaulukya king Arjunadēva, on a stone at the temple of Harsaṭadevi at Verāwal, the modern representative of the ancient Sōmāṭhpatan, 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-Viśvānātha-pratibaddha-naujananām bōdhaka-rasūla-Mahāmadda-saṃvat 662 tathā śrī-nripa-Vikrama-saṃvat 1320 tathā śrīmad-Valabhl-saṃ 945 tathā

\(^1\) Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar arrived at the conclusion (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 99) that the addition of 244 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.
The syllable va, in the original, either is an abbreviation of vadya, whether alone or in composition with paks or paksha, or stands for ba, the abbreviation of bahula, similarly either alone or in composition with paks or paksha. 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), note 1. 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 diva, 'by day,' is sometimes used, and sometimes not, in connection with the number of the titthi. So also sometimes di or one of its full forms, dina, diné, divasa, or divas, 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 titthi. If, at a subsequent period, the solar days became subject to expiration and repetition, with the lunar titthi, then the running number in the fortnight will always be the same for both the lunar titthi and the solar day. If not, then the thirteenth titthi, for instance, might fall at any time on the twelfth or the fourteenth solar day, as counted without repetition or expiration 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 Āshādha answers ordinarily to June-July, it is plain,—as was pointed out by Dr. Hultsch in editing the inscription,¹ and by General Cunningham in commenting on the date,²—that the English date which we have to look for lies in or about June or July, A.D. 1264. This at once removes the possibility of any reference to the northern Vikrama year; since the month Āshādha of the northern Vikrama-Saṁvat 1321 current,³ is represented by June-July of the preceding English year, A.D. 1263. Also, since the period June-July, A.D. 1264, fell in Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 current, it removes any real necessity of making calculations for Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 current and 1188 current; the results, however, for these two years will be given, in order to help in setting the general question entirely at rest.

So much, as regards the English equivalent of the given date lying in A.D. 1264, had been clearly pointed out by Dr. Hultsch 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;¹ 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-Saṁvat 1320, though it does answer the requirements of that mention; i.e. that it is not the result for a year commencing on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika which fell in A.D. 1263; and, consequently, that, even apart from what I have already established, this record proves that Valabhi-Saṁvat 945 commenced at any rate not with that day.⁵ And here I would remark incidentally, that no argument, of identity between

³ 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 Valabhi year an expired year; just as it does not, and can not, convert the given Hijra year into an expired year.
⁵ The ordinary equivalent of Āshādha is June-July. But the dark fortnight of the northern Āshādha corresponds to the dark fortnight of the southern Jyēṣṭha, which month is ordinarily May-June. And this, with the fact that Śaka-Saṁvat 1187, current, commenced rather early, on Saturday, the 1st March, or Friday, the 29th February, A.D. 1264, is the reason why this dark fortnight of Āshādha fell entirely in May.
⁶ As opposed to these results Gen. Cunningham (Indian Eras, p. 53) has quoted this record as proving absolutely that Valabhi-Saṁvat 1 = 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, shows 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-Saṃvat 1320, as an expired year, i.e., more properly, southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 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 Musalman 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 Áshāḍha which fell in A.D. 1264,—i.e. both the Áshāḍha of northern Śaka-Saṅvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1322, and the slightly different Áshāḍha of southern Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321,—was an intercalary month. 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 Kārttiḳa 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.

1 Cowasjee Patell's Chronology, p. 150.

2 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 Āśvina, both inclusive, are concerned, for the Vikrama year preceding that opposite to which they are entered; at least, I can find no note in his book to that effect.—A reference to Table III. at page 71 above, will shew at once that an intercalation of any month from Āśvina to Āśvina inclusive, for Śaka-Saṅvat 1186 expired, northern or southern, did occur for northern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321 expired, but southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1320 expired.
northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1322, was Saturday, the 1st March, A.D. 1264, according to General Cunningham, and Friday, the 29th February (the English year being a Leap-year), according to Mr. C. Patell. With General Cunningham’s own initial day, and by his own theory and process,—viz. that Āśādha krishṇa 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 Āśādha included four lunar fortnights. In northern Saka-Saṃvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1322, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 75th and 133rd solar days of the year; 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-Saṃvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 90th and 148th solar days of the Śaka year; i.e. on respectively the 28th May and the 25th July. And, of the four 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. It is evident, therefore, that, if we treat the Āśādha of this

1 Indian Eras, p. 179.
4 Chronology, p. 71.
5 A verse that is given by Bapu Devar Shastri, in his edition of the Siddhānta-Śrīmaṇi of Bhāskarāchārya, p. 49, note, as belonging to the Brahma-Siddhānta, indicates a more ancient custom, according to which the first (bright) and the second (dark) fortnights would belong to the natural month; and the third (bright) and the fourth (dark), to the intercalated month. The verse runs—Mēsh-ādi-sthē savitari yō yō māsāḥ āpānyayē chāndráh Chaitr-ādyaḥ sa jāyeha vārtīlintōkāḥ, — whatever lunar month is completed when the sun is standing in Aries and the phāving (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 prāsāta, or ‘stamped as excellent or approved of,’ the second being, as usual, nīdaya, 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-Saṃvat 330, the “second Mrāgasīrā” 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 qualifying term, indicative of the intercalated month; and partly because of the prohibitive of official, ceremonial, and religious acts in an intercalated month.¹

The results, worked out by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, for the natural Āśādha, are — with northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired, Sunday,² the 25th May, A.D. 1264, for both the thirteenth titthi and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired, Tuesday, the 22nd July, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth titthi; but Wednesday, the 23rd July, for the thirteenth solar day;³ and the result for the intercalated Āśādha is Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth titthi; but Tuesday, the 24th June, for the thirteenth solar day, by both the northern and the southern reckoning, according to the present custom in both parts of the country. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has also given me full results, according to both the Pratyâmaṇa northern system, and the Amânta 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 titthi, but Wednesday, the 6th June, for the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 expired, either ⁴ Wednesday, the 7th June, or Thursday, the 8th June.

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.

¹See the preceding note. ²The titthi ended 13 ghafts, 30 palas, after mean sunrise at Bombay. ³i.e. the thirteenth solar day counted from the commencement of the fortnight, without omitting a solar day with the lunar titthi that was expunged (see page 13 above, note 1). ⁴The doubt here is because of the interesting discovery that the dark fortnight of the southern Āśādha, and northern Śrāvaṇa, of Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 current, was a fortnight which, "except, perhaps in some parts far off in the east of India," contained only thirteen solar days; see my general note on this subject, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 81 ff. The full-moon titthi of Āśādha, northern and southern, was on Saturday, the 23rd June; and the following new-moon titthi 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 titthis, and no repetition of a titthi to make up for the loss. The authorities differ as to which were the two expunged titthis. One of them was early in the fortnight; and Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has not worked this out, because it does not directly bear upon the date under discussion. The other was either the twelfth, or the thirteenth, or the fourteenth titthi; and upon this will depend the question whether the thirteenth titthi, 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 *tithi*, but, in either case, Friday, the 6th July, for the thirteenth solar day; with northern *Śaka-Saṁvat* 1187 expired, Saturday, the 13th June, A.D. 1265, for both the thirteenth *tithi* and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern *Śaka-Saṁvat* 1187 expired, Sunday, the 14th July, A.D. 1265, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Monday, the 15th July, for the thirteenth solar day. The last is the only other case in which the result includes a Sunday at all. But it is of no practical value; because it is obtained by the treatment of the *Śaka* year as a southern year, whereas I have already shown that this is not the treatment which is to be applied; and, still more conclusively, because it would have to be allotted to the southern *Vikrama-Saṁvat* 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-Saṁvat* 1320 (expired); though it is not the equivalent of any day in the month *Āshāḍha* as referred to that year; for, if it is treated as the equivalent of a date referred to that year (and to southern *Śaka-Saṁvat* 1186 expired), then, of course, it represents the thirteenth *tithi* and solar day of the dark fortnight of the month *Jyēśthā*, preceding *Āshāḍha*. 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 *Āraṇ* 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,—*vis.* the regular *Pārśmāṇa* northern scheme, as established at page 76 f. above,—was preserved, in *Kāthiavād*, up to at any rate A.D. 1264. It gives *Śaka-Saṁvat* 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-Saṁvat* 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 *Āraṇ* pillar inscription of Budhagupta of *Śaka-Saṁvat* 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-Saṁvat 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 Indraji, 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 Harsatâdevî at Verâwal. The date, with some important
words in the context, (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’s cloth-rubbing) runs—(l. 1) śrîmad-
Valabhî-sa[rm*]vat 927 varshê Phâlguna śu di 2 Saumê II Ady=âha śrî-Dévapattanê
.................................. (l. 4) śrî-Gôvarddhana-mûrtti[h*] ................................
(l. 5) kârâpitâ;—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 con-
sequence 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 Bhaumê, "on Tuesday." Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, how-
ever, 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, accord-
ingly, is to be taken as Saumê. But this is not a real word; and it requires to be corrected
into either Sômê, "on Monday;" Bhaumê, "on Tuesday;" or Saumyê, "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 Sômê,
"on Monday." Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was of opinion that the intended reading
was Bhaumê, "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 Sômê is equally justifiable, on the assumption that the partial appear-
ance 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 ê was discovered before the stroke which turns ê 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 Sômê, the
translation will be—"the year 927 of the famous (city of) Valabhî; in (this) year; (the
month) Phâlguna; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 2; on Monday; to-day; here
in the famous (city of) Dévapattana ............. (this) image of the holy Gôvardhana
............. has been caused to be made."

This gives us, for calculation, Valabhî-Saîñvat 927, current; the month Phâlguna
(February-March); the bright fortnight; the second solar day of the fortnight, and pre-
sumably the second tithi; and Sômavâra, or Monday. And, on the analogy of the
Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saîñvat 945, the given tithi should belong to Valabhî-
Saîñvat 927 + 243 = Šaka-Saîñvat 1169 current (A.D. 1246-47); and the calculation
should be made with the basis of Šaka-Saîñvat 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 Sūrya-Siddhānta; vis. with Śaka-Saṃvat 1167 expired, Monday, the 19th February, A.D. 1246; with Śaka-Saṃvat 1168 expired, Saturday, the 9th February, A.D. 1247; and with Śaka-Saṃvat 1169 expired, Wednesday, the 29th January, A.D. 1248.

The result for Śaka-Saṃvat 1169, which is the year in which the week-day should presumably prove correct, does not answer at all. If we could understand that the reading intended was Saumyē, “on Wednesday,” then the result for Śaka-Saṃvat 1170 might be accepted; subject only to the considerations that Saumyāvra, though perfectly allowable, is not often used as a synonym for Budhavra, ‘Wednesday’; and that the result is later by a year than what it ought to be, and can be arrived at only through accepting an alteration in the reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhī 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 Dharasēṇa IV. of the year 30. If, on the other hand, we take Sōmē, “on Monday,” as the intended reading, then the result for Śaka-Saṃvat 1168 may be accepted, subject only to the consideration that it is earlier by a year than what it ought to be. This result would be quite intelligible, if we could refer the given date to a year commencing with Mārgaśīrsha; for then, belonging to Valabhī Saṃvat 927, it would belong quite regularly to Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Dharasēṇa IV. of the year 330, was taken from a Gujarāt almanac, and belongs to a year the initial day of which was the Kārttika śukla 1 preceding the true commencement of Gupta-Valabhī-Saṃvat 927. This, again, would be perfectly intelligible, if we could only assume that the image, which is probably portable enough, was shioned, 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 Sōmnāthpātan, i.e. the modern Verāwal itself; and it is difficult to understand how the corrupt Gujarāt reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhī era can have been introduced at Verāwal in A.D. 1246, when, as we have already seen from the other Verāwal inscription, of Valabhī-Saṃvat 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 Sūrya-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 supposition that the inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from Gujarāt, 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-Valabhī and current Śaka years; nor, as the given date belongs to a bright fortnight, 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 failing five months before the true commencement 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 Dharasēṇā 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 Dharasēṇā IV. of Valabhi**; in which the date (from Dr. Bühler's published text; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 339, line 57) runs —

sam 300 30 dvi-Mārggaśira śu 2,—"the year 300 (and) 30; the second (month) Mārgaśira; the bright fortnight; (the lunar day) 2.

This gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṃvat 330, current; **an intercalation of the month Mārgaśira or Mārgaśirsha** (November-December), as shewn by the reference
in the text to two months of that name; the bright fortnight of the second Mārgaśirsha; and the second tīthī or lunar day. And, on the analogy of the Verāval inscription of Valabhl-Saṃvat 945, the given intercalated month should belong to Gupta-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,¹ shows no intercalation in that year; but, in the preceding year, Śaka-Saṃvat 571, an intercalation of the month Kārttika, which would fall in A.D. 648; and this appears to be quite correct, in accordance with the regulation of intercalations by the actual place of the sun. Looking further into the matter, Dr. Schram, as reported by Dr. Bühler,² found that in A.D. 648 there certainly was an intercalated month, which, according to the present method would be Kārttika, but according to the rule for mean intercalations, would be Mārgaśirsha. So, also, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, by actual calculation from the Sūrya-Siddhānta, that, by mean intercalation, in A.D. 648 there was an intercalated month between the natural Mārgaśirsha and the natural Pauṣha, which would be named Mārgaśirsha according to the verse Mēsh-ādi-sthē savitāri &c., that is quoted as belonging to the Brahma-Siddhānta;³ though it would be named Pauṣha 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 Mārgaśirsha, 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 Mārgaśira, but the whole expression Mārgaśira su 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 Mārgaśirsha 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 Sūrya-Siddhānta; and that, on the contrary, by the Sūrya-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 Mārgaśira or Mārgaśirsha, 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 Mārgaśirsha 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 Valabhaí reckoning, but in A.D. 648; and belonged, for astronomical purposes, to Śaka-Saṁvat 571, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarát, to the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 706. And, since the localities mentioned in the charter connect it absolutely with a province of Gujarát,⁴ the year 330 of this record must have commenced, like the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 706, with the month Kārttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṁvat 330, with Chaitra sukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 572, according to the original scheme of the years of the era.

The result, therefore, gives the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 706 current (A.D. 648-49), as the nominal equivalent of the given current Gupta year. And this date, with that of the Verāval inscription of Valabhaí-Saṁvat 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-Valabhaí and current Śaka years was not maintained, in consequence of a local adaptation of the Gupta-Valabhaí year to the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, made in such a way that, as pointed out at page 73 above, each subsequent Gupta-Valabhaí 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 Mānadeva, of the SūryavarmŚi 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 Khāṭmāṇḍu; in which the date (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's published text and lithograph; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163, line 1 f.) runs — saṁvat 300 80 6 ḹyēṣṭhā-m[ā]sa-sukla-pakṣē pratipadi 1 [Rōj]hiṇī-nakshattatra-yukt[ē]∗ chandramasī m[u]hurtē prāṣastē-Bhijiti,— "the year 300 (and) 80 (and) 6; in the bright fortnight of the month ṹyēṣṭhā, on the first tithi or lunar day, (or in figures) 1; the moon being in conjunction with the Rōhiṇī nakṣatra; in the excellent muhrta (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; vis. 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

⁴ The charter was issued from the victorious camp at Bharukachchha, i.e. the modern Broach (Bharuch); and it records the grant of some lands in the Khēṭaka ḍhāra, or the territorial division of which the chief town was Khēṭaka, i.e. the modern Kaira (Khēḍā).
records, was not apparent. And it only became clear on Mr. Bendall's discovery of the Gōlmādhitōl inscription of the Mahārāja Śivādeva I. of Mānagriha, which he published originally in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and has given gain, with a slight correction in the reading of the date, in his Journey in Nēpāl and Northern India, p. 72, and Plate viii. This inscription is dated in the year 316, without any specification of the era. But the clue to the interpretation of the date is given by its mention of the Mahāśāṃkara Anśūvarman, as the contemporary of Śivādeva I. Anśūvarman's approximate date, viz. about A.D. 637, was very well known from Hiuen Tsiang's mention of him. And, as the Nēpāl series included three inscriptions of Anśūvarman himself, dated in the years 34, 39, and 44 or 45 of an unspecified era, and another, of Jīṣṇugupta, dated in the year 48, and mentioning Anśūvarman, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji very properly referred these dates to the era running from the accession of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and commencing in A.D. 606. This much being quite certain, it follows that the date the year 316 for Śivādeva I., the contemporary of Anśūvarman, 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 Anśūvarman in the Harsha era, representing from A.D. 639 to 649 or 650.

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

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

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


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

The 28th April, 1 A.D. 705, at 57 ghaśīs, 12 palas, after sunrise; that there was the Kṛttikā nakṣatra up to 11 ghaśīs, 3 palas, after sunrise, and then the Rūhīṇī nakṣatra, which continued up to 11 ghaśīs, 18 palas, after sunrise on the next day, Wednesday; and that, consequently, the Abhijit muhūṛta, being the eighth in order among the muhūrtas, and beginning after the expiration of fourteen ghaśīs after sunrise, occurred, as required by the record, while the Rūhīṇī nakṣatra was current. He also finds that the same conditions of the nakṣatra and the muhūṛta did not occur, if the given tithi 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-Valabhi 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 tithi, 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 Mórbì Grant of the year 586.

The last date that I have to notice from the present point of view, is contained in the Mórbì grant of Jāñikā, from Kāṭhiáwaḍ, 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)—paṁcḥ-Āśīyā yute-tītē samānmā šata-paṁcchakē 1 Góptē dāda-v-adō nṛipāḥ s-ōparāgē-rkka-maṁḍalē II,—“five centuries of years, together with eighty-five (years), having passed by, the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gópta, 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(śu) di 5,—“the year 58; 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 — māṛttaṇḍa-maṁḍal-āśrayīṇī Svavbhānō (read Svarbhbhānau),—“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

1 Śaka-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 ē 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, sata-pañchakē, 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,\(^3\) 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-Saṁvat 586 current, as the original text specifies that the year 585 had expired. And, on the analogy of the Veráwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945, the eclipse should be found in Gupta-Saṁvat 586 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 828 current, somewhere between\(^3\) 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 Mōrbi itself, or to that neighbourhood. We have, therefore, to look for a solar eclipse, occurring in Śaka-Saṁvat 828 current, and visible at Mōrbi, or near that town, in the north of Kāthiāwād.

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\(^1\) The mistake of ē for au does occur in the word svarbhadō, for svarbbhadānu, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word purvea, the au is formed quite correctly and completely.

\(^2\) We 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 Mōrbi; twenty-five miles south of Nawānagar or Jāmnagar; and fifty miles east of Dhiniki, where there was found the copper-plate grant of Jājikadēva, which purports to be dated in Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 (see page 62 above, note 1.)

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

This result, therefore, fully answers to the conditions of the record. It does not, in itself, furnish conclusive proof, either as to the exact epoch of the era, or as to the scheme of the year; for the reason that, if treated as a southern date, the day of the eclipse, represented in that case by the new-moon tithi of the Amānta southern Vaisākha, 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, viṣ. the fifth solar day in the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna (February-March), as the name of the weekday is not given, the only test that we can apply is the presumption* that the running number of the lunar tithi is the same as that of the solar day; i.e. that the fifth lunar tithi ended on the fifth solar day of the fortnight. If the year 586, connected with this solar day, is to be taken as expired, as in connection with the eclipse, this should be the case in 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 tithi, which was that of the Pārṇimānta northern Phālguna, or the Amānta southern Māgha, ended on Monday, the 27th January, A.D. 906; and that the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended.

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*See Indian Eras, p. 213.

*For his calculations, which are based on the apparent longitudes of the sun and the moon, he has taken the latitude and longitude of Mōrbi, which I was not then able to supply to him, as 2° 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.

*So also Prof. K. L. Chhatre himself obtained the same eclipse; see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkān, p. 99, where, with a slight difference of phraseology, the eclipse is given as occurring "on the 30th of Vaisākha, Śaka 827;" the reference being to the Amānta southern month and the expired Śaka year.

* See page 85 above, note 1.
on Saturday, the 1st February, which was the fifth successive solar day. If this date is accepted, then the charter was written nine months after the making of the grant. On the other hand, if the year 585 is here to be taken as current, there should be the same agreement of the lunar titihi and the solar day in Śaka-Saṁvat 827. And, for this year, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon titihi ended on Thursday, the 7th February, A.D. 925; and that the fifth titihi 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 Ėraṅ 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-Saṁvat 585 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 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 titihi of the Pārṇimānta northern Ashādha of Śaka-Saṁvat 827 current; and on Saturday, the 10th November, A.D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon titihi of the Pārṇimānta northern Mārgaśīrṣa 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 Mōrbī; 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 Mōrbī, and in the interior, a little further still. And, at Mōrbī, the middle of the eclipse was at 11.54 A.M. of the Mōrbī mean civil time. At Ahmadābād, one hundred and twenty miles east by north from Mōrbī, one twelfth of the sun's disc was eclipsed; and, in the more northern parts of India, a considerably greater surface. But, at Mōrbī itself, the magnitude of the eclipse was very small; extending there to only one twenty-fifth part

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


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

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

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

These dates are found in the inscriptions of the Parivrajaka Mahdrajas Hastin and Samkshobha, 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 10, 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 Guptas themselves; and since the palaeography 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 samvatsara or year of this cycle, is the same with that of the years of the Saka era, from Chaitra 1 to Chaitra krishna 15; and that the means of exactly determining the samvatsaras of this cycle, are provided by the last remainder obtained from certain rules given by Varahamihira and others, which in reality only shews what samvatsara 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 Saka or Kaliyuga year; and which does not provide for the determination of the samvatsaras on any other given date in the year.  

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

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 Varahamihira's rule, and by 1875 according to the rule of the Fyoitikshav. In connection with the Fyoitishav rule, however, Warren has shewn (Kala-Sankalita, p. 202) how this remainder gives the means of determining the actual commencement of each samvatsara. From the use of some Tables drawn up by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, for determining the actual commencement of each samvatsara of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and of each samvatsara of the Twelve-Year Cycle.
The correct theory of the cycle, according to the requirements of the system actually applied in the records now under consideration, with the proper method of determining each of the samvatsaras, has now been demonstrated by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, in his paper which is published as Appendix III. below. And, by calculations based on the Sûrya-Siddhânta, he has worked out all the results required for a full treatment of the dates in question; giving the full English and Hindu dates throughout, in order that both European and Hindu astronomers may be in a position to easily check his results. In publishing his results, I am confident that no essential errors can be established in them; even though it should be shewn, by more exhaustive calculations, that his longitudes for the heliacal risings of Jupiter are capable of slight corrections.\(^1\) And, as will be seen, his results corroborate, in the most emphatic manner, all that has been established in the preceding pages; first, approximately, from the statements of Albêrûnt, the Mândasûr inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 529 expired, and the Éran pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta-Saṁvat 165; and then, exactly, by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945.

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

according to the mean-sign system, I find that, for the purposes of such rules as that given by Varâhamihira in the Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ, viii. 20, 21, the Śaka years must be treated as commencing with the Mêša-Saṁkrânti 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 Varâhamihira’s rule, the Viśvâvasu samvatsara of the Sixty-Year Cycle was current at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 748 current (A.D. 825-26); and, by Gen. Cunningham’s extension of the rule (Indian Eras, p. 27), the Mahâ-Aśvayuja samvatsara of the Twelve-Year Cycle was current on the same date. In Śaka-Saṁvat 748, the Mêša-Saṁkrânti occurred on the 21st March, A.D. 825; and Chaitra śukla 1 ended on the 22nd February. The Viśvâvasu samvatsara of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and, with it, the Mahâ-Aśvayuja samvatsara of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, actually commenced on the 15th March; and thus they were current at the Mêša-Saṁkrânti, but not on Chaitra śukla 1. And the same will often happen when the samvatsaras are commencing shortly before the Mêša-Saṁkrânti. This application of such rules as that given by Varâhamihira, is, in fact, the natural one; though it may not be apparent at first sight. For, the Mêša-Saṁkrânti 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.

\(^1\) See, 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 Saka year, commencing with Chaitra sukla 1, and with the Ṛṇamānta 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, Kārttika sukla 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 saṅvatsaras 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 vis. in the case of the gran. B. dated in Gupta-Saṅvat 163, and in the case of the grant C. dated in Gupta-Saṅvat 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-Saṅvat 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-Saṅvat 191, the given saṅvatsara 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 saṅvatsara, 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-

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1 The date in the Bhumārū pillar inscription, E. below, furnishes no definite proof in itself; because the current Gupta year is not mentioned in it; and consequently the given saṅvatsara could 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 saṅvatsara.

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-Samvat 156, and the grant D. dated in Gupta-Samvat 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 ff.) is—shatpañc̄harī-ottarē-bda-śate Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktau Mahâ-Vaisākha-samvatsarē Kârttika-māsa-śukla-paksha-tritīyāyām, — "in a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (year); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahā-Vaisākha *samvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika."

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

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 below, Col. A.) that Jupiter's rising,² next before the given date, took place on Kârttika śukla 1 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 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

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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 Pârīnâmânta or Amânta arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

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

³ Jupiter's daily rising, next after his becoming capable of rising heliacally, takes place about forty-four minutes before sunrise, and therefore in the period during which the Hindu and the English week-days are not identical (see a note in Appendix II. below). In the present case, it took place at the time in question before sunrise on the English Saturday, the 18th October. Kârttika śukla 2 did not end till after sunrise on that day. Consequently, as current *tithis* are not quoted, unless under certain very exceptional conditions not applicable to such occurrences as this, the *tithi* on which he rose was Kârttika śukla 1. And this *tithi*, ending after sunrise on the Friday (and before sunrise on the Saturday), has to be coupled with Friday, the 17th October, as its week-day. Hence the apparent, but not actual, difference of a day, according as we take the Hindu or the English calendar. And a similar difference runs through all the dates of the heliacal risings given below.
### TABLE IV.

The Samvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>Mahā-Aśvayuja Chaitra śūkla 12 of Saka 467</td>
<td>29th March, A.D. 1308</td>
</tr>
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<td>243</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>Mahā-Aśvayuja Chaitra śūkla 13 of Saka 468</td>
<td>3rd January, A.D. 1309</td>
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<td>431</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>Mahā-Māgha Kartika 15 of Saka 467</td>
<td>21st August, A.D. 1307</td>
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<td>431</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>Mahā-Māgha Kartika 16 of Saka 468</td>
<td>21st August, A.D. 1308</td>
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<tr>
<td>475</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>Mahā-Aśvayuja Vaiśākha śūkla 6 of Saka 467</td>
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<td>475</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>Mahā-Aśvayuja Vaiśākha śūkla 7 of Saka 468</td>
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<td>156</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>Mahā-Aśvayuja Jyāṣṭhūra śūkla 8 of Saka 465</td>
<td>26th May, A.D. 1306</td>
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<td>398</td>
<td>Mahā-Aśvayuja Jyāṣṭhūra śūkla 9 of Saka 466</td>
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<td>156</td>
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<td>398</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>Mahā-Aśvayuja Vaiśākha śūkla 2 of Saka 469</td>
<td>19th October, A.D. 1309</td>
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</table>

**Note:**
- The dates are in the Saka era, and the years are translated to A.D. equivalents.
- The table shows the Samvatsaras (years) of the Jupiter cycle, with corresponding dates and positions in the sky.
- The last column indicates the date when the samvatsara began in the new Saka year.

**Legend:**
- English date: This is the date as per the Gregorian calendar.
- Longitude: This is the position of Jupiter in degrees.
- Position was in the: This indicates whether the position was in the ascendant or another sign.
- Then began was: This indicates when the samvatsara began, which is marked by the start of the new year in the Saka era.
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 sāṃvatsaras which then began (see Appendix III. Table VIII.), must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha.1 Jupiter's next following rising took place on Margaśīrsha sukla 13 of Śaka-Saṃvat 399, corresponding to Monday, the 15th November, A.D. 476; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 16th November. His longitude then was 225° 35'. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyēṣṭhā; and the sāṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā. While, by the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Anurādhā; and the sāṃvatsara which then began, must have again been named Mahā-Vaiśākha; which shows that, by this system, there was at this period a repetition of a sāṃvatsara. This difference as to the following sāṃvatsara, 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 sāṃvatsara 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 show that, in all the remaining instances, the current sāṃvatsara is proved by all three systems; the only variation is that, in the case of Ei, Jupiter's position, at his rising next before the given date, was, by the system of equal spaces, in Aslēṣhā; but, even then, the current sāṃvatsara 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 sāṃvatsaras; the only variation is that, in the case of D., Jupiter's position, at his rising next after the given date, was, by the system of equal spaces, in Bharadvinda; and, accordingly, the sāṃvatsara which then began, would again be named Mahā-Āśvayuja; which shows that, by this system, there was a repetition of a sāṃvatsara at this period; but this does not affect the sāṃvatsara current on the given date. So far, therefore, as those dates are concerned, the correctness of the records might be proved by any of the three systems. The same, however, is not the case in respect of the present record. By the system of equal spaces, Jupiter's position, at his rising next before the given date, was in Svāti; the sāṃvatsara which then began, would

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1 I have not been able to obtain the original authority for the use of the prefix mahā (mahãß), 'great.' And it does not occur in connection with the two sāṃvatsaras mentioned in the Halâš grants of the Kâdamba chieftain Mrigēśavarman; viz. the Pausha sāṃvatsara, in line 8 of the grant dated in his third year (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 35). and the Vaiśākha sāṃvatsara, in line 10 of the grant dated in his eighth year (id. Vol. VI. p. 24). I use the prefix, however, throughout, in accordance with the custom of the original records now under examination.
be named Mahā-Chaitra; and the Mahā-Vaisākhā saṃvatsara would not begin till Jupiter’s rising next after the given date, when, by the same system, his position was in Anurādhā. Accordingly, the system of equal spaces could be applied to the present record, only with a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years; which would be in contradiction with the fact that, to prove the saṃvatsara 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 Dēōgaḍh inscription of king Bhojadeva of Kanauj, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 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. Of the two systems of unequal spaces, whether we are to apply the Brahma-Siddhānta system, or the still more ancient Garga system, cannot at present be decided;
since, the only variation between them is in respect of the 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 Mārgaśīrsha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 399, the Mahā-Vaiśākha sanvatsara was still current on the given date, Kārttika śukla 3, in Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Aśvayuja sanvatsara was still current on the given date, Chaitra śukla 13, in Śaka-Saṁvat 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 Dharaśena 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-Saṁvat 156, would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 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 Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date would still belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 191.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākha sanvatsara did not commence till Vaiśākha śukla 5 of Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 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 Kārttika 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 samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausha krishṇa 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 245, corresponding to Tuesday, the 20th November, A.D. 322; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 21st November. His longitude then was 231° 33'. By the system of equal spaces, and the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyeṣṭha; and, by the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, in Mūla; and, by all three systems, the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyeṣṭha. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahā-Vaiśākha samvatsara was current on the given date. This, however, is a mere coincidence. There is the same coincidence in respect of the date of D.; but not in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākha samvatsara commenced on Phālguna krishṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 244 current, corresponding to Friday, the 2nd February, A.D. 322; and it was followed by Mahā-Jyeṣṭha on Phālguna śukla 6 of Śaka-Saṁvat 245, corresponding to Tuesday, the 29th January, A.D. 323. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, the Mahā-Vaiśākha samvatsara 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 krishṇa 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 268, corresponding to Tuesday, the 29th October, A.D. 345; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 30th October. His longitude then was 209° 22'. By all three systems, he was then in Viśākhā; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausha krishṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 269, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th November, A.D. 346; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th November. His longitude then was 240° 17'. By all three systems, he was then in Mūla; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyeṣṭha. Accordingly, with this epoch also, the Mahā-Vaiśākha samvatsara was current on the given date. This again, however, is a mere coincidence. And again, though there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of D., it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākha samvatsara commenced on Kārttika śukla 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 268 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 23rd October, A.D. 345; and it was followed by Mahā-Jyeṣṭha on Mārgaśīrsha krishṇa 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 269, corresponding to Sunday, the 19th October, A.D. 346. Accordingly, with
this epoch again, and by this system also, the Mahâ-Vaisãkha 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-uttare-bda-ßatê Gupta-nripa-rájya-bhuktau Mahâ-Âsvayuja-samvatsarê Chaitra-máśa-sukha-paksha-dvityâyâm,—“in a century of years, increased by sixty-three; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Âsvayuja samvatsara; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra.”

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

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. B.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place1 on Vaisãkha krishna 6 of the preceding year, Śaka-Samvat 404 current, corresponding to Sunday, the 5th April, A.D. 481; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 6th April. His longitude then was 4° 21'. By both the systems of unequal spaces,² he was then in Aśvini; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Âsvayuja. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêśthâ śukla 8 of Śaka-Samvat 405, corresponding to Wednesday, the 12th May, A.D. 482; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 13th May. His longitude then was 40° 34'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rûhii; 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 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-Samvat 404, or the following year, Śaka-Samvat 406. The result,

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

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

On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 330, and with a year beginning either with the month Kārttika, or with the month Mārgaśīrsha, 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 Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āsvayuja 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-Āsvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.

With General Cunningham’s epoch of A.D. 166-67, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 252 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 17th February, A.D. 329. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Āshāḍha krishna 6 of Śaka-Saṁvat 251, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th May, A.D. 328; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 17th May. His longitude then was 47° 25’. By all three systems, he was then in Rōhiṇī; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Āshāḍha 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-Pausha; the intervening saṁvatsara, Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahā-Āsvayuja saṁvatsara was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Āsvayuja 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 Aśvin. And thus the given saṁvatsara was current on the same date in the preceding year.—With the same epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1) of Gupta-Saṁvat 173, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 262 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 27th Febru-
ary, A.D. 339. Here, Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṃvat 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-Bhādrapada; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhādrapada. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 11 of Śaka-Saṃvat 262, corresponding to Tuesday, the 17th April, A.D. 339; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 18th April. His longitude then was 16° 34’. By all three systems, he was then in Bharaṇi; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Accordingly, with this epoch, even with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara 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-Saṃvat 163, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara commenced on Māgha śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṃvat 249 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th January, A.D. 327; and was followed by Mahā-Kāṛtiṅka on Māgha śukla 9 of Śaka-Saṃvat 250, corresponding to Monday, the 8th January, A.D. 328; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The saṃvatsara then current was Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, which commenced on Phālguna krishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 251 current, corresponding to Friday, the 3rd January, A.D. 329. — With the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Saṃvat 173, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara commenced on Pausha krishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṃvat 261 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 22nd November, A.D. 338; and it was followed by Mahā-Kāṛtiṅka on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 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 saṃvatsara 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-Saṃvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Āshāḍha krishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 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 saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Āshāḍha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṃvat 276, corresponding to Thursday, the 1st July, A.D. 353; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 2nd July. His longitude then was 91° 19’. By all three systems, he was then in Punarvasu; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara was not current on the given date. As a matter of fact, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara of
this cycle may have been omitted. Thus, in Śaka-Saṁvat 273 current, Jupiter’s rising took place on Vaiśākha krīṣṇa 6, corresponding to Friday, the 16th March, A.D. 350; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 17th March. His longitude then was 345° 10’. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Bhāḍrapadā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhāḍrapada. 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 Bharani; and the saṁvatsara which then began, would be named Mahā-Āśvayuja; and there would be an omission of the following saṁvatsara, Mahā-Kārttika. But, by the two systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛttika; and the saṁvatsara which then began, would be named Mahā-Kārttika; 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 Chaitra 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 Rēvati; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyeṣṭha krīṣṇa 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 Kṛttika; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bharani; and, by this system, the saṁvatsara which then began, must have again been named Mahā-Āśvayuja; which shews 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 Kārttika krīṣṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 273 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd October, A.D. 350; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Kārttika krīṣṇa 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-Mārgaśīrsha, which commenced on Kārttika krīṣṇa 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 Bhāḍrapada sukla 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 285 current.
corresponding to Tuesday, the 13th August, A.D. 362; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Bhādrapada śukla 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 Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date. But the proposed alteration of the original text cannot be justified.

C.—The Majhgawāṁ Grant of the year 191.

The next inscription is the Majhgawāṁ grant of the Mahārāja Hastin, No. 23, page 106, in which the date (line 1 f.) is—ēka-navaty-uttarē-bda-śatē Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktau śrīmati pravardhamāna-Mahā-Chaitra-saṁvatsarē Māgha-māsa-bahula-paksha-tridīyāyam,—“in a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the prosperous augmenting Mahā-Chaitra saṁvatsara; on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha.” And at the end, in line 21, the date is repeated as—Māgha di 3,—“(the month) Māgha; the (solar) day 3.”

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahā-Chaitra saṁvatsara, as current on the third tīthi or lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha; (January-February) in Gupta-Saṁvat 191 current. And, on the analogy of the Verawal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṁvat 191 + 242 = Saka-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 Āśvina śukla 11 of the same year, Śaka-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 Chitrā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Chaitra. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Mārgaśirsha krishna 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 434, corresponding to Saturday, the 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 Viśākhā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Chaitra saṁvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-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, Śaka-Saṁvat 432, or the following year, Śaka-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 Śaka years.
On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV., of the year 330, and with a year beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Māgha krīṣṇa 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 Aśvina suklī 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 Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

Again, on the analogy of the same grant, and with a year beginning with the month Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date would similarly belong to Śaka-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 Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Chaitra saṁvatsara commenced on Mārgaśīrsha suklī 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 433 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 18th November, A.D. 510; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Mārgaśīrsha suklī 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 Mārgaśīrsha suklī 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 krīṣṇa 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-Jyeṣṭha. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Pūrvā-Ashāḍhā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must, according to this system, have been named Mahā-Āśāḍhā; the intervening saṁvatsara, Mahā-Jyeṣṭha, 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 Kārttika krīṣṇa 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 saṁvatsara was current on the same date in the preceding year.

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

**With Sir E. Clive Bayley’s epoch** of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 304 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 20th December, A.D. 381. Here Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Mārgaśirsha sukla 8 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 304, corresponding to Thursday, the 11th November, A.D. 381; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 12th November. His longitude then was 222° 8'. By all three systems, he was then in Anurādhā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Māgha krishṇa 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 305, corresponding to Wednesday, the 14th December, A.D. 382; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 15th December. His longitude then was 254° 1'. By all three systems, he was then in Pūrva-Ashāḍha; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Ashāḍha; the intervening saṁvatsara, Mahā-Jyēśṭha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch also, 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 Kārttika krishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 303, corresponding to Sunday, the 11th October, A.D. 380; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 12th October; when his longitude was 191° 2', and, by all three systems, he was in Svāti. And thus the given saṁvatsara was current on the same date in the preceding year.

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

The next inscription is the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Saîmkshôbha, No. 25, page 112, in which the date (line 1 ff.) is—navô-ttarē-bda-śata-dvayê Gupta-nri-para-râjya-bhuktau śrîmati pravardhamâna-vijaya-râjyê Mahâ-Āsvayuja-saînvatsarâ Chaitra-mâsa-śukla-paksha-trayôdaśyâm,—“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-Āsvayuja saînvatsara; 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-Āsvayuja saînvatsara, as current on the thirteenth titî or lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Saînvat 209 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhl-Saînvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saînvat 209 + 242 = Śaka-Saînvat 451 current; in which year the given titî 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 śukla 12 of the same year, Śaka-Saînvat 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 347° 45′. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rêvati; and the saînvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Āsvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyêshtha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saînvat 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 Kritti; and the saînvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârtti. 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-Āsvayuja saînvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saînvat 451 current (A.D. 528-29), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

As a matter of fact, the Mahâ-Āsvayuja saînvatsara was still current on the given date, Chaitra śukla 13, in the following year, Śaka-Saînvat 452; as well as in Śaka-Saînvat 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-Saînvat 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 saînvatsara is regarded by Hindus as a very auspicious occasion.
On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 330, and with a year beginning either with the month Kārttika, or with the month Mārgaśirsha, next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Chaitra śukla 13, in Gupta-Samvat 209, would still belong to Śaka-Samvat 451. But the results for the dates of both A. and C. above, at pages 108 and 115, disprove the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year. And the result for the date of C. also disproofs 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-Āśvayuja samvatsara did not commence till Āsvina śukla 3 of Śaka-Samvat 451 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 2nd September, A.D. 528; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The samvatsara then current was Mahā-Bhādrapada, which commenced on Bhadrapada krishna 11 of Śaka-Samvat 450, corresponding to Tuesday, the 7th September, A.D. 527.

With General Cunningham’s epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Samvat 298 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 2nd March, A.D. 375. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Vaiśākha krishna 12 of Śaka-Samvat 297, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th March, A.D. 374; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 27th March. His longitude then was 355° 11'. By all three systems, he was then in Rēvatī; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyēṣṭha krishna 1 of Śaka-Samvat 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 Krittika; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahā-Āśvayuja samvatsara 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-Āśvayuja samvatsara commenced on Srāvaṇa krishna 12 of Śaka-Samvat 297 current, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 374; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Āśāḍha śukla 4 of Śaka-Samvat 298, corresponding to Friday, the 19th June, A.D. 375. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, the Mahā-Āśvayuja samvatsara 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-Samvat 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 Vaiśākha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 321, corresponding to Tuesday, the 6th April, A.D. 398; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 7th April. His longitude then was 5° 28'. By all three systems, he was then in Aśvinī; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Ashāḍha krishṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 322, corresponding to Friday, the 13th May, A.D. 399; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 14th May. His longitude then was 41° 42'. By all three systems, he was then in Rōhini; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttiika. Accordingly, with this epoch also, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date. This again, however, is a mere coincidence. And again, though there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of A., it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

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

E.—The Bhumarā Pillar Inscription.

The last inscription of this series is the Bhumarā pillar inscription of the Mahārājas Hastin and Śarvanātha, No. 24, page 110; in which the date (line 7 ff.) is — Mahā-Māghē saṁvatsarē Kārttiika-māsa divasa 10 9,—" in the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara; the month Kārttiika; 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 Kārttiika (October-November); but the current year of the Gupta era is not given. The only guide, therefore, in determining the approximate Gupta year, for which the calculations should be made, is the fact that this inscription shows that the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin was, at the time of this record, contemporaneous with the Mahārāja Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa. For the Mahārāja Hastin, we have the extreme recorded dates of Gupta-Saṁvat: 156 and 191; while, for the Mahārāja Śarvanātha, we have similarly the dates of the years 193 and 214; and for his father, Jayanātha, the latest date of the year 177, all of which may have to be referred to the Gupta era. If so, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara in question,—on the assumption that what should be its regular place in the series was not affected by any omissions and repetitions, subsequent to the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṁvatsara which was current on Kārttiika śukla 3 in Gupta-Saṁvat 156,—must be found in or about Gupta-Saṁvat 189 or 201; with a preference in favour of the year 189, because of the early date of the year 156 for the Mahārāja Hastin.
For Gupta-Saṅvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Saṅvat 431 current, the given date, *vis.* the
nineteenth day of the month Kārttika, corresponds to Monday, the 13th October,
A.D. 508. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. E1) that Jupi-
ter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvana śukla 15 of the same
year, Śaka-Saṅvat 431, corresponding to Monday, the 28th July, A.D. 508; or, by the
English calendar, on Tuesday, the 29th July. His longitude then was 119° 4'. By both
the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghā; and the *samvatsara* which then
began, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Jupiter's next following rising took place
on Āśvina krishṇa 13 of Śaka-Saṅvat 432, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th August,
A.D. 509; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th August. His longitude then
was 147° 49'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Uttarā-Phālguna;
and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Therefore,
by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṅvat 189, with the running difference
of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the
Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* was current on the given date. And this result gives
Śaka-Saṅvat 431 current (A.D. 508-509), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta
year.

Again, for Gupta-Saṅvat 201 + 242 = Śaka-Saṅvat 443 current, the given date,
*vis.* the nineteenth day of the month Kārttika, corresponds to Friday, the 2nd October,
A.D. 520. Here, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. E2) that Jupi-
ter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhādrapada śukla 3 of the same
year, Śaka-Saṅvat 443, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd August, A.D. 520; or
by the English calendar, on Monday, the 3rd August. His longitude then was
121° 30'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghā; and the
*samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Jupiter's
next following rising took place on Āśvina krishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṅvat 444, corre-
sponding to Friday, the 3rd September, A.D. 521; or, by the English calendar, on Sat-
urday, the 4th September. His longitude then was 152° 17'. By both the systems of un-
equal spaces, he was then in Uttarā-Phālguna; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must
have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces,
in Gupta-Saṅvat 201 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years
between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* was
current on the given date. And this result gives Śaka-Saṅvat 443 current (A.D.
520-21), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta ye.

The results for these two years, Gupta-Saṅvat 189 and 201, answer, as is required,
to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta
and current Śaka years. But they do not, in themselves, prove it; for the reason that the
current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record. The important point is, that in
neither of these two cycles was the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* omitted.
If the dates in the grants of the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa are to be referred to the Kalachuri era,\(^1\) then the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara of this record will be earlier by either one or two cycles than the first of the two years given above. Here, again, in respect of the actual epoch no absolute proof can be derived from this record; and the only important point is, to ascertain that the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara was not omitted in either of the two cycles in question. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, in Gupta-Saṃvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, Jupiter’s rising took place on Śrāvana śukla 10, corresponding to Thursday, the 19th July, A.D. 484; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 20th July. His longitude then was 108° 19’. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Āśleṣā; and the samvatsara which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Again, in Gupta-Saṃvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 419 current, Jupiter’s rising took place on Bhadrapada krishṇa 13, corresponding to Wednesday, the 24th July, A.D. 496; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 25th July. His longitude then was 112° 48’. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghā, and by the Garga system, in Āśleṣā; and, by both systems, the samvatsara which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṃvat 165 and 177 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara was current on the given date, and was not omitted. And these results give either Śaka-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 166 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 408 current, the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara commenced on Chaitra śukla 5, corresponding to Thursday, the 7th March, A.D. 485; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Chaitra śukla 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 409, corresponding to Monday, the 3rd March, A.D. 486. Again, in Gupta-Saṃvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 419 current, the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara commenced on Phālguna krishṇa 12, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th January, A.D. 497; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in Gupta-Saṃvat 178; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Māgha śukla 4 of Śaka-Saṃvat 420, corresponding to Monday, the 12th January, A.D. 498. Again, in Gupta-Saṃvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 431 current, the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara commenced on Pausha krishṇa 3, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th November, A.D. 508; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in Gupta-Saṃvat 190; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Pausha krishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṃvat 432, corresponding to Sunday, the 22nd November.

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

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

Again, for Gupta-SAññvat 199 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 365-66 = Śaka-SAññvat 288 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Wednesday, the 5th October, A.D. 365; Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvaṇa śukla 1 of the same year, Saka-SAññvat 288, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th July, A.D. 365; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 7th July. His longitude then was 95° 56'. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Bhādrapada śukla 15 of Saka-SAññvat 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 Pūrvā-Phālguna; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; the intervening Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was
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then in Maghā; and the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṃvat 200. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina krishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 290, corresponding to Friday, the 7th September, A.D. 367; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 8th September. His longitude then was 157° 42'. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Phalguni; and the 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-Saṃvat 188 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 354-55 = Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Karttiika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Karttiika krishṇa 4 of Saka-Saṃvat 278, corresponding to Tuesday, the 12th September, A.D. 355. And again, in Gupta-Saṃvat 200 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 366-67=Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Karttiika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Śrāvaka śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 187 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 377-78 = Śaka-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 300, corresponding to Tuesday, the 11th July, A.D. 377; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 12th July. His longitude then was 106° 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-Saṃvat 301, corresponding to Sunday, the 12th August, A.D. 378; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 13th August. His longitude then was 131° 50'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pūrvā-Phālguni; and the samvatsara 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-Saṃvat 188. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina śukla 15 of Saka-Saṃvat 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 saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; and it was a repeated saṁvatsara by the two systems of unequal spaces, but an ordinary saṁvatsara by the system of equal spaces.

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

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṁvat 188 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 378-79 = Śaka-Saṁvat 301 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara commenced on Ashādha krishṇa 10, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th June, A.D. 378; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Ashādha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 302, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd June, A.D. 379. Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 200 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 390-91 = Śaka-Saṁvat 313 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara commenced on Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 2, corresponding to Wednesday, the 17th April, A.D. 390; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 314, corresponding to Sunday, the 13th April, A.D. 391. And thus, with this epoch also, and by this system, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṁvat 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.

Albērüni 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 thirty-one years to the Gupta-Valabhi dates. This fixes the starting-point of the era, approximately, as having occurred when Śaka-Saṁvat 241 had expired, and, by the epoch of the well-known Śaka era, when A.D. 319-20 was current; leaving on 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 Mandasör inscription of Mālava-Saṁvat 529 expired shows 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 Ėrāṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta. And converting this date into a Śaka date, in the manner indicated by Albérümé, 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 Parivrájaka Mahárājas; 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 Ėrāṇ pillar inscription, we have obtained equally correct and uniform results. Also, the latest of these records, the Khôh grant of the Mahárāja Saṁkshôbha, No. 25, page 112, shows that the Gupta sovereignty continued for at least two hundred and nine years. And this fact is amply sufficient to explain why,—whatever may have been its historical origin,—the era used in all these records should eventually come to be popularly known as the Gupta era.

Such dates, again, are those contained in the inscriptions of Śivadēva I. and Mânadēva of Népāl. And, that the first of them is recorded in the era in question, is shown by the dates, in the Harsha era, for Aṃśuvarman, the contemporary of Śivadēva I.; while, with the same treatment, the details of the second of them work out quite correctly.
Such another date is that contained in the Môrbi grant of Jâînka. 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 Dharasêna 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 Sêndâpatsi Bhatárka, and ending with king Šiładîtya 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 Sêndâpatis and Mahârâjas, without the authority to establish an era of their own. And, as a matter of fact, the date of the year 207 for the Mahârâja Dhrusâsêna I., in the second generation, proves that the era did not run from the rise to power of his father Bhatárka, 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 Gujarât, 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 Verâwal inscriptions dated in Valabhi-Sâñvat 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 Dharasêna 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 Albêrûnl’s statement, through the concomitant mention of the equivalent Vikrama and Hijra years; but also the details of it are such as to prove that the epoch of the era was exactly when Šaka-Sâñvat 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

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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 Éra pillar inscription of Budhagupta, Gupta-Śaṅvat 165 current = A.D. 484-85 current;\(^3\) by the Parivrajaka grants, 156 current = A.D. 475-76 current;\(^3\) 163 current = A.D. 482-83 current;\(^4\) 191 current = A.D. 510-11 current;\(^8\) and 209 current = A.D. 528-29 current;\(^8\) by the Népáli inscription of Mānadeva, 386 current = A.D. 705-706 current;\(^7\) and by the Verávali inscription of Arjunadeva, 945 current = A.D. 1264-65 current.\(^8\) And all these equations give the uniform result of Gupta-Valabhi-Śaṅvat 0 = A.D. 319-20 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period\(^6\) from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320; and Gupta-Valabhi-Śaṅvat 1 current = A.D. 320-21 current, or more precisely, by the Saka 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 Verávali inscription of Valabhi-Śaṅvat 927, differ slightly from the above, and are—Gupta-Valabhi-Śaṅvat 330 current = A.D. 648-49 current,\(^10\) and Valabhi-Śaṅvat 927 current = A.D. 1245-46 current.\(^11\) In these two instances the difference is due to a local alteration of the true and

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\(^1\) I exclude the Bhumará 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 Chaitra śukla 1, the period (see Indian Eras, p. 153) from the 14th March, A.D. 484, to the 2nd March, A.D. 485.—The dates given in these notes are quoted as approximately correct; they may, or may not, be the exact dates.

\(^3\) 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 23rd October, A.D. 1245, to the 12th October, A.D. 1245.
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-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 318-319 current, or more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, the period\(^1\) from the 12th October, A.D. 318, to the 30th September, A.D. 319; and Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 1 current = A.D. 319-20 current, or more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, the period from the 1st October, A.D. 319, to the 18th October, A.D. 320.

These two instances, however, are purely exceptional ones. And, in the case of all dates in the era referable to the true and original scheme of its years, we have to apply the epoch of A.D. 319-20; and to treat the years of the era as northern years, commencing with Chaitra 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 Ėraṅ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, which really belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, have been calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired; and the details of the other dates in the same way.

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

\(^1\) 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 Dēdgadh inscription of Bhōjadēva (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 Mādāsār inscription of Mālāva-Saṁvat 529 expired, No. 18, page 79, and by line 21 of the Kālī grant of Jayantasaṁhā of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1280 expired,—yet, that, occasionally at least, the current years were used, is proved by the Gwālior Sāsbhā temple inscription of Mahlpāla, 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 Mārā grant of Jāṅkā, in which an eclipse of the sun is recorded as having occurred when the year 585 had passed by. Unfortunately, the month and tiṁś, 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 Ėraṁ 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 Śaka 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 Verāwal 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

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1 The present Tables of this era, however, seem to be arranged, like those of the Śaka 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 Sēndāpati and Mahārājās, without the authority to establish an era of their own;—and (2) that the date of the year 207 for the Mahārāja Dhuvasena I., in the second generation, proves that the reckoning runs from long before the first rise to power of his father, the Sēndāpati Bhaṭārka, by whom the family was founded.

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

to the throne. The dates in the Early Gupta records shew clearly that the Gupta era, cannot, under any circumstances, run from the accession of any member of the dynasty later than Chandragupta I. And there are essential difficulties, under any normal conditions, in the way of making the era date from the commencement of his reign; *i.e.* of taking A.D. 320-21 as his first current year. For his great-grandson, Kumāragupta, we have dates in the era, ranging from the year 96 to the year 130 odd;¹ of which we may take, as the latest certain one,² 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 date³ of Chandragupta II., *viz.* the year 93 given in the Sānchī 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,⁴ in which we have Śaka-Saṁvat⁵ 930 for the commencement of the reign of Vikramādiya V., and Śaka-Saṁvat 1060 for the end of the reign, and it may safely be assumed the death, of Somaśvara III. in the third generation after him. If we take it that Vikramādiya V. was twenty years old in Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 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 Kannarese 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 Kauthēn grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 15 ff.)
should have to allot to each of the four Early Gupta kings in question. And even this result is due chiefly to the extraordinarily long reign of Vikramāditya VI., for fifty-two years, from Śaka-Saṃvat 997 to 1048. If we take the whole period of the Western Chālukya dynasty, covering one hundred and ninety years, from Śaka-Saṃvat 895, the first year of Taila II., down to Śaka-Saṃvat 1084, as the end of the reign and the death of Taila III.,\(^1\) we have ten reigns, with an average duration of just nineteen years each. An average of thirty-two years for four successive reigns of Hindu fathers and sons, seems, from every point of view, an impossibility. And this prevents our making the Gupta era run from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I. We must, therefore, accept it as certain that the Early Guptas only adopted the era of some other dynasty. And we must look for its origin to some extraneous source.

Now, it is evident that the Early Guptas rose to power first as feudatory 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?\(^2\) The Early Gupta records, however, throw no light on this point; nor can we expect any, unless we obtain inscriptions of the time of the Mahārājas Gupta and Ghatotkacha, or of the early years of Chandragupta I. And at

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\(^1\) I exclude the short reign of Sōmēśvara IV., from Śaka-Saṃvat 1104 to about 1111, because there had been meanwhile an interruption of the Western Chālukya power by the Kalachuris of the Dekkan.

\(^2\) An objection of this sort does not apply to the use of the Gupta era by the Valabha family. The Sēndpāti Bhaṭārka 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 Dharasēna 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

erasion 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 Parivarjaka Mahārājas and the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa do tend to support the actual existence, in the Early Gupta period, of a Kalachuri era, and, consequently, of Kalachuri kings under some earlier name.¹ 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,² again, was in the direction of the era being established, with the foundation of Valabhi as a new capital of Western India, by the Andhra king Gôtamiputra, whom he placed³ between A.D. 312 and 333; the Mahārāja Gupta being a feudatory of him or of one of his immediate successors. But the chronology of the Andhras,—who, at the best, seem to have been too essentially a western and southern dynasty to be concerned in any leading way with the history of Northern India,—still remains to be finally determined. And Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who has given more consideration to the subject than any one else as yet, places Gôtamiputra about two centuries earlier,⁴ 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 Mahārājas Gupta and Ghatotkacha, and at first of Chandragupta I. himself, were some of the later Indo-Scythian kings of Northern India, whose duration is certain at any rate up to the time of Samudragupta. These Indo-Scythian kings must have used the Śaka era. But this era, again, had not then become an astronomical era;⁵ and there was, therefore, no special inducement for the Early Guptas to adopt it; but, on the contrary, there was an objection of the kind already indicated. Further, the Vikrama era was not an astronomical era; and the use of it, in those days, under the name of the Mālava era, was probably confined to the different sections of the Mālava tribe, and to territories of which no part was brought under the Early Gupta sway until the time of Samudragupta. And, finally, the Kaliyuga era in all probability was used only

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

By a comparison of the dates of Sivadēva I. and Aṃśuvarman, 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 Mānadeva, of the year 386. We must, therefore, now see what more particular information can be gathered from the epigraphical records of that country.\(^1\)

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\(^1\) And here we may note that the Kings of Valabhi 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 Valabhi 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 Paramābhāṭāraka, Mahārāja-dhirāja, and Paramēśvara, 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; viz. to the commencement of the anarchy which, as Matwain tells us (Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 20) attended the death of Harshavardhana, “the warlike lord of all the region of the north.” It ended in the complete disruption, for the time, of the kingdom of Kanauj. Aṃśuvarman became paramount in Nēpāl, and Ādityasēna 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 Aṃśuvarman 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. 493, 492, and 516. For these periods there is, perhaps, no particular objection to our assuming, for the sake of argument, that Dharasēna IV. may have extended his power over a considerable portion of Northern India, in the parts nearer to Kāṭhīwāl and Gujārāt. But the Valabhi charters, in which a conquest so extensive as that of the whole of Northern India up to Nēpāl, or inclusive of that country, would most certainly have been recorded, give not the slightest hint of any such event at any time in the history of the family. In fact, with the exception of the allusion to the overthrow of the Maṭrakas 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 Valabhi 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 \textit{inscriptions from Népál} as have any bearing on the question now under consideration. The actual dates of them range from A.D. 635 to 854; and give a fairly clear idea of the history of the reigning families of the country during that period. They show 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 \textit{Varnásvali} is called the Thákuri family, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Kailásakþabhavana, and uniformly using the Harsha era. The other was the \textit{Lichchhavi family}, distinctly so named in the inscriptions, and in the \textit{Varnásvali} allotted to the Súryavamsa or solar lineage, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Mánagriha, and \textit{uniformly using an era with the Gupta epoch}.

That the Lichchhavi clan or tribe was one of great antiquity and power, in the direction of Népál, is shewn by the writings of Fa-Hian and Huien-Tsiang,\footnote{See Legge's \textit{Travels of Fa-Hien}, pp. 71, 76; Beal's \textit{Buddhist Records of the Western World}, Vol. I. pp. xiii, lii, lv. and Vol. II. pp. 67 note, 70, 73, 77 note, 81.} which connect them with events that preceded the \textit{nirvána} 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 shows 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 \textit{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 Thâkuri family of Kailása-kútabhavana. 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.

J. F. FLEET.
APPENDIX I.

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

Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's Tables, and Ganpat Krishnaji's and Kero Lakshman Chhatre's almanacs, shew the period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat 1808. So, also, the Sāyana-Pañchāṅg shews the same period, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat 1808, as the ordinary nirayana luni-solar year; the period covered by Śaka-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 1808 expired, and 1809 current. But it is quoted, for all ordinary purposes, simply as Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Pausha śukla saptami Śanivāra;" 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-Saṃvat 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 saṁvatsaras 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.

8 Unless with Tables based on the Mēṣa-Saṃkrānti, 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 Mēṣa-Saṃkrānti. With such Tables, for any tīthi connected with Śaka-Saṃvat (1809 current and) 1808 expired, up to the tīthi that coincided with the solar day on which the Mēṣa-Saṃkrānti occurred, we must work with the basis of even one year still earlier, vis. Śaka-Saṃvat 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-saṃvatsarē," on the title-page; and "Śakē 1808 Chaitra-śukla-pakṣah," on the top of the page which exhibits the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra; and, in the Sāyana-Paṇḍchāṅg, "Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṃvatsaraḥ," on the title-page, and elsewhere "amāntaḥ Chaitra-śukla-pakṣah Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṃvatsaraḥ." In the same way, I find, for the same period, "Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṃvatsarē" 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, "Śālibāhana-Śakē 1807," on the title-page of the Jōdhpur Chandā-Paṇḍchāṅg for that year, and "Śrī-Saṃvat 1942 Śakē 1807 Chaitra-śukla-pakṣah," in Bapu Deva Shastri's almanac, prepared at Benares and published at Lakhnau.

Again, in the preliminary passages that introduce the saṃvatsara-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-Kaliḥ 4987, śēsha-Kaliḥ 427013; Svasti; śrīman-nripa-Vikramārka-samay-āṭita-saṃvatsat 1942, Hēmalamba-nāma-saṃvatsarē; tathā śrīman-nripa-Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808, Vyaya-nāma-saṃvatsarē; asmin varṣē 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, a (and) in the Hēmalamba saṃvatsara; so also in the Śaka (year) 1808 of the glorious king Śālivāhana, (and) in the Vyaya saṃvatsara; in this year, the king (is) the Moon." And, for the nirayana year, the Sāyana-Paṇḍchāṅg for Śaka-Saṃvat 1808 has — Kaliyugasya gata-varṣhāṇi 4987; śrīman-nripa-Vikramārka-saṃvatsat 1943 Vilambi-saṃvatsaraḥ; śrīman-nripa-Śālivāhana-Śak-ābdah 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṃvatsaraḥ; atha asmin varṣē rājā chandraḥ,—"the expired years of the Kaliyuga (are) 4987; in the year 1943 of the glorious king Vikramārka, (there is) the saṃvatsara named Vilambin; (and there is) the year 1808 of the Śaka of the glorious king Śālivāhana, (and) the saṃvatsara 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. saṃvatsaraḥ, or saṃvatsarēśhu.

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

3 i.e. saṃvatsaraḥ, or saṃvatsarēśhu.—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 Kārttika, seven luniations later than the same year in the northern reckoning; consequently, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 1808 (expired), on the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, Vikrama-Saṃvat 1492 was still running, by the southern reckoning.
apparently, as a current year. The Gwálíor almanac, however, which I have quoted above, has — gata-Kaliḥ 4987, śesha-Kaliḥ 427013 .............; tan-madhya gata-
Śakaḥ 1808, śesha-Śakaḥ 16192 ............ Svásti; śrī-Vikramárka-rájya-samayád
att sahvat' 1943, Śaka-gata-varshāshu 1808, chándra-mañéna Vyaya-náma-samvat-
saré; Bárhashpatya-mañéna, Śaké 1807 Āśvina-krishna-7 Śukrē súry-odayád gata-ghaṭ-
śhu 47 paše 24 tad-avadhi, Śaké 1808 Āśvina-krishna-14 Bhaumē ghaṭā[shu*]
46 paše[shu*] 3 távat-paryantaṁ, Vilambi-samvatsar-ōlēkhaṁ vidhēyāh, tad-agrē Vikār-
samvatsar-ōlēkhaṁ kāryaṁ; Chaitr-Ādau rájā chandraḥ,— "the expired (portion of the)
Kali (age) (is) 4987 (years), (and) the remainder of the Kali (age) is 427013 (years)
.........; in it, the expired (portion of the) Śaka (era) (is) 1808 (years); and
the remainder of the Śaka (era) (is) 16192 (years) ............ Hail! In the
year 1943 expired from the time of the reign of the glorious Vikramárka, (and) in the
expired Śaka year 1808, (and), by the lunar reckoning, in the (current) samvatsara
named Vyaya,*—by the reckoning of Jupiter, the Vilambin samvatsara is to be used in
writings from the expiration of 47 ghaṭas, 24 palaṁ, from sunrise on Friday, the seventh
lunar day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina, in Śaka 1807, up to (the expiration of) 46
ghaṭas, 3 palaṁ, (from sunrise) on Tuesday, the fourteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight
of Āśvina, in Śaka 1808; after that, the Vikārīn samvatsara 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 Samkrántis.

In the same passages for the śâyana year, Śaka-Saṁvat 1808, the Sáyana-Pañcháng
does not confine itself to any indefinite expression, but explicitly quotes the Śaka year as
a current year; thus — Kaliyugasya samdhyāyā āditaḥ, Śálivāhana-Śak-ārambhakāla-
paryantaṁ, Nand-ādī-Indu-guna-(3179)-mitāṁ saura-varshaṁ-ātmāṁ; pravartamāna-
Śálivāhana-Śak-Abḍaḥ asḥ-śṭar-śāṭhādaśa-(1808)-mitaḥ; amun samvatsaram Narma-
dāya daśkṣaṁ-bhāge Vyaya-nāmnā vyavaharāntī, uttara-bhāge cha Vilambi-nāmnā;
ath-āsmin varshē rājā Śāniḥ,—"from the commencement of the samdhyā* of the
Kaliyuga, up to the time of the commencement of the Śálivāhana-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 Śálivāhana-Śaka
is measured by eighteen hundred, increased by eight, (1808); on the south side of the

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1 i.e. attē samvatsarē, or attēshu samvatsarēshu.
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 samdhyā, 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 develop-
   ment of the age itself. The samdhyā 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 samdhyāmā of 36,000 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-Saṃvat 1807, after giving in the same words the number of the solar years that had expired from the commencement of the *samdhya* of the Kaliyuga up to the commencement of the Śaka era, the text runs — tatō vartamāna-vatsar-ārambhakāla-paryantam sapt-ottar-āshṭādaśa-śata-(1807)-miṭṭāni varshāpi gatāni; amūm vartamāna-samvatsaram Narmadāya dakshinē bhāgē Pārthiva-nāmā vyavaharanti, uttarē bhāgē cha Hēmalamba-nāmā; ath-āsmin varshē rājā Bhaumah,—"from then, up to the commencement of the current year, there have expired years which are measured by eighteen hundred, increased by seven, (1807); on the south side of the Narmadā, they distinguish this current *samvatsara* by the name of Pārthiva; and, on the north side, by the name of Hēmalamba; now, in this year, the king (is) Mars." In passing, therefore, from Śaka-Saṃvat 1807 to 1808, a verbal distinction, at least, was made between expired and current years; and the phraseology adopted in the almanac for Śaka-Saṃvat 1808, has been repeated in the almanac for the next year, 1809. In one instance, A.D. 85-86, the Pārthiva or Hēmalamba *samvatsara*, each current, was treated as equivalent to Śaka-Saṃvat 1807 expired; while, in the other, A.D. 1886-87, the Vyaya or Vilambin *samvatsara*, each current, and each the next in the cycle after respectively Pārthiva and Hēmalamba, is treated as equivalent to Śaka-Saṃvat 1808 current. What were the reasons for this change, I do not know; and I will leave it to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, one of the editors of the almanac, to explain them elsewhere. But, by the literal interpretation of the phraseology for A.D. 1885-86, and in accordance with the principles of the Tables, that period was equivalent to Śaka-Saṃvat 1807 expired, (and 1808 current); and A.D. 1886-87 should have been described as being represented by Śaka-Saṃvat 1808 expired, (and 1809 current).

I have now to quote the fact that, in Madras, the same English period, A.D. 1886-87, is actually called Śaka-Saṃvat 1809, with the same *samvatsara* 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-Pañchāngam, 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 *samvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat 1808 expired; and at the commencement, it quotes the expired years throughout; thus — "Kaliyuga-gat-ābdāḥ 4987; Śālavāhana-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 *samvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat

1Except for reading amūm vartamāna-vatsaram, and omitting atha before asmin varshē, the text is exactly the same in Bapu Deva Shastri’s almanac for Śaka-Saṃvat 1807. I have not been able to obtain a copy of his almanac for the next year.
1809, Kaliyuga-Saṃvatsar 4988, and Vikrama-Saṃvat 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-Paṇḍhagam, 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-Saṃvat 1810, Kaliyuga-Saṃvat 4989, and Vikrama-Saṃvat 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-Saṃvat 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 o 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.

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

2 It would appear that the Tamil Vidyā-Paṇḍhagam, 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-Saṃvat 1809, Kaliyuga-Saṃvat 4988, and Vikrama-Saṃvat 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 Bārhaspatiya 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 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 200 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 + 784. The beginning of the year being at the March equinox; if the Śaka atta (i.e. expired) "year be mentioned, the equation is + 794."

4 I owe these four dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshiti. Gen. Cunningham (Indian Eras, p. 139) gives from the 14th March, A.D. 78, to the 17th 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-Saṁvat 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. This tradition is mentioned by Albērūnī; 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 Bādami cave inscription of the Chalukya king Maṅgalīśa, 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. Princep's Essays, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 154) is that the era dates from the birth of Śālivāhana, king of Pratishṭhāna, who opposed Vikramāditya, king of Ujjayinī. 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' (nirūta) 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 Muhārtabhūvanamārāṇḍa 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-Saṁvat 1493), in (the month) Tapas (Māgha), this Mārāṇḍa was composed."—As Prof. Max Müller has pointed out, in his comments on this passage, it is not exactly wrong to speak of the era as the Śālivāhana-Śaka or Śālivāhana era; for there are ample instances in which the Hindus give it that name, in epigraphical records of authority and of some antiquity. At the same time, those instances shew that it was only in comparatively modern times that the name of Śālivāhana came to be connected with the era. And, in all discussions respecting early dates, it is an anachronism and a mistake, to call the era by his name.

2 Sachau’s Albērūnī’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 Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Tōramāṇa, is governing the earth," in line 1 f. of the Ēraṇ inscription, No. 36, page 158. This custom would continue as long as the years were simply dynastic years; and perhaps, during the whole of that period, the years might remain purely dynastic years, each of them having for its initial day the anniversary of the original coronation from which they started, irrespective of the initial day of the years of the astronomical era still continuing in use. When, however, astronomers came to adopt them as an astronomical era, they would establish an exact epoch by reckoning back from the dynastic year then current to the last year of the Kaliyuga that had expired when the first current dynastic year commenced; in the course of which, they would simplify matters by allotting to the dynastic years the same scheme, as regards the starting-point of each year, and the arrangement of the fortnights of the months, which belonged to the Kaliyuga in their part of the country. Thus they would fix all the data necessary to enable them to use the new era for astronomical purposes. All that would remain, would be to use its expired years, in accordance with the custom and necessities of their science. The substitution of the Śaka era for the Kaliyuga, for astronomical purposes, seems to have taken place after the time of Āryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476), 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-Samvats 500. Let us assume that this adoption of the Śaka era was made in Śaka-Samvats 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-Saṁvat 511 current, after Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 1808 answers, popularly, as a current year, not as an expired year, to the period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887.

Postscript.

In connection with my remarks, on page 140 above, regarding the Śāyana-Pažchāṅg for Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 1810 (expired) (A.D. 1888-89), the editors have reverted to the phraseology used in their almanac for Śaka-Saṁvat 1807 (expired.)
APPENDIX II.

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

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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-sādhanāchārin Kāshṭhakāra, 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.

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-Samkrānti, or 'entrance of the Sun into Aries, in that year. The abdapa adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is the time of the spashṭa or 'apparent,'—lit. 'clearly perceived, distinctly visible,'—Mēsha-Samkrānti, as ascertained by the method given in the Sūrya-Siddhānta, whereas, in other Hindu works of the same kind, the term abdapa

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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 spashṭa. 'Apparent,' therefore, is the proper translation of spashṭa.

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 Brahmaṇapaksha; 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 pāla). 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-Samkrānti; in almost every other respect he follows none of these three authorities, but has based his Tables on European Tables of planets. As to his Tables relative to tithis, however, in the part of his work called Kalc-siddhāna, see page 149 below, note 11, and the text above note 1 on page 155.
is used as meaning the time of the Sun's entrance into Aries with reference to his *madhyama* or 'mean' longitude. So, also, the length of the solar year adopted by him is that of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, which is accepted, in the present day, in most parts of India. It should, however, be borne in mind that the Tables of the sun and the moon, and those of the planets, given by him, are based on European Tables; and that the places of the sun and other heavenly bodies, obtained from his book, are reckoned from the equinoctial point. The starting-point adopted by Hindu astronomers, for reckoning the places of heavenly bodies, coincided, in their opinion, with the equinoctial point about Śaka-Saṃvat 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 ghañīs, and 31'972 palas; while the length of the year, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, is 365 days, 15 ghañīs, 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 *ayanāmśas*, lit. 'degrees of precession,' and the *ayanāmśas* for the present year, Śaka-Saṃvat 1809 expired (A.D. 1887-88), are 22 degrees, 45 minutes, according to the *Graha-Laghava* of Ganēśa Daivajña. As the longitudes of heavenly bodies, reckoned from the equinox, include these *ayanāmśas*, they are called *sāyana*, lit. 'possessed of *sāyana* or precession.' And the places of heavenly bodies obtained by the method given in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works, are called, for the sake of distinction, *nirayana*, lit. 'detrusit of precession.' The places obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables are *sāyana*. The *tīthi*, however, obtained by either process, is the same; but this is not the case with the *nakṣatra* or 'lunar mansion,' and the *yōga* or 'addition of the longitudes of the sun and the moon.'

The figures for the *abḍapa* are given in Table I. on pp. 10, 11, of Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, and are expressed in *vāras*, *ghañīs*, and *palas*. Of these, the *vāra*, 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

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1 The date of this work is Śaka-Saṃvat 1442 expired (A.D. 1520-21). At present, all the *Paṭhāṅgā* (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 *Tīthi-Chintomani*, containing the necessary Tables.

2 To calculate *tīthi*, 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 *sāyana* or *nirayana*. To find a *nakṣatra*, the *ayanāmśas* must be applied to the moon's longitude obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables. The *Sāyana-Paṭhāṅg*, annually published, from Śaka 1866, under the patronage of His Highness the Mahārāja Hōkhar, by Mr. Visajī Raghunath Lele of Gwālior, with the aid of Mr. Janardan B. Modak, B.A. of the Bombay University, of myself, and of Mr. Krishnaraao Raghunath Bhide of Indōr, is based on the *sāyana* system.
the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise. The vāra of the abdāpa shows the week-day on which the Mēša-Samkrānti of the year fell. A ghati, also ghati and ghatikā, is the sixtieth division of a mean solar day and night; and it is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English minutes. As a matter of convenience, the word ghati is also used for the sixtieth part of a titthi; but in that application it is not identical with the sixtieth division of a solar day and night. A pala is the sixtieth division of a ghati; and is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English seconds. And the ghasīs and palas of the abdāpa give the time after sunrise, on the particular vāra, at which the Mēša-Samkrānti took place. Thus, the abdāpa of Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, is given (opposite the entry Mēsha-Samkrāntīcī vēl or 'time of the Mēsha-Samkrānti; p. 10) as 1 dina, 10 ghasīs, 10 palas; which indicates that the Mēsha-Samkrānti then took place on Sunday, and 10 ghasīs 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 ghasīs, 31'52 palas. Dividing 365 by 7 (the number of days in a week), the remainder is 1. And so, if in one year the Sun enters Aries at the time of sunrise on a Sunday, then, in the following year, he will come to Aries on Monday, and 15 ghasīs, 31'5 palas, after sunrise. Therefore, the variation in the abdāpa in one year is given (p. 10, col. 3, under vāra) as 1 day, 15 ghasīs, 31'5 palas; the decimals being supplied from column 2, in which is given the number of days, corresponding to the number of years in column 1.

The word titthi 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, vis. twelve degrees; but, taken as an apparent titthi, 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 ghasīs as subdivisions of a solar day. If the word titthi requires to be rendered into English, it is best represented by 'lunar day.' Of the thirty titthis 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 titthi of the bright fortnight is called pūrnimā, pūrnamāsi, or paurnamāsi, lit. 'that which has the full-moon, or that on which the month is completed;' and the fifteenth titthi of the dark fortnight is called amāvasya, lit. 'that on which there is the dwelling-together (of the sun and moon). At the end of the amāvasya, 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 titthi, which is technically called pratipad or pratipadā. So, a titthi is the time which the moon takes to out-go the sun by twelve degrees. With the exception of the pratipadā, the titthis are denoted by the regular ordinal numerals, doṣyā, trīṣyā, &c., up to chaturdāśi, 'the fourteenth.' The pūrnimā and amāvasya are called sometimes by their own special names, and sometimes pañchadaśi, 'the fifteenth;' but the amāvasya is generally entered in Pañchāṅg as the thirtieth titthi,
even in Northern India, where the dark fortnight or the month precedes the bright. In Pañcāṅga, the ghaśīs and palas of tīthis are given; and, by them, it is to be understood that the tīthis end so many ghaśīs and palas after sun-rise. In general, the expression tīthi means the end of a tīthi; not its beginning, or its duration.

The term tīthi-suddhi, lit. ‘the subtraction of tīthis,’ denotes the number of tīthis that elapse from the beginning of the month Chaitra (March-April) up to the time of the Mēṣha-Samkrānti. In Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, this term is used to shew the number of tīthis, 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 spashśa or ‘apparent’ Mēṣha-Samkrānti. Thus, for Saka-Samvat 0 expired, at the time of the Mēṣha-Samkrānti 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) tīthis; that is, 12 tīthis, and about 45 ghaśīs and 14 palas, had elapsed. This, therefore, is given as the tīthi-suddhi for Saka-Samvat 0 expired. In one solar year, the mean tīthis are 371, and 3 ghaśīs, 53.4 palas. Dividing 371 by 360, the remainder, 11 tīthis, 3 ghaśīs, 53.4 palas, is given as the variation in the tīthi-suddhi in one year (p. 10, col. 4).

The tīthis obtained from the mean places and mean motions of both the sun and the moon, are madhyama or ‘mean’ tīthis. 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 tīthi-suddhi and the mean solar equivalents of tīthis given in Table III. pp. 13-19, col. 2,—may be called mean tīthis and not apparent. But the tīthis, &c., given in our Pañcāṅga are always spashśa or ‘apparent;’ that is, they are calculated from the apparent places and motions of the sun and the moon. The spashśa-tīthi differs from the madhyama-tīthi sometimes by nearly twenty-five ghaśīs; and this is chiefly owing to the fact that the moon’s apparent longitude differs from her mean longitude sometimes by about five degrees. Many corrections have to be applied to the mean place of the

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

2 In the Siddhānta-Śīromani and other works, the term tīthi-suddhi is used in the sense of the number of tīthis, 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-Samkrānti.

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

4 According to European Tables, the difference is sometimes about eight degrees.
moon in order to find her apparent place; but only one of these, called phala-samskāra, which is 'the equation of the centre.' is taken into account by Hindu astronomers: and this, as given by them, amounts to a little more than five degrees at the greatest. This correction varies according to the moon's kēndra 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 tīthi; it is named parākhya; and it is given in Table IV., on p. 20, in the column headed parākhya. It evidently varies according to the moon's kēndra. One revolution of the moon's kēndra is completed in 27 days, 33 ghaṭis, 16½6 palas. This period is called nīchōchcha-māsa; and is known to English astronomers by the name of the 'anomalous month.' This period, converted into tīthi, is equal to 27 tīthi, 59 ghaṭis, 33½6 palas; that is, nearly and practically, 28 tīthi. It is converted into tīthi for the sake of convenience; since, the variation in the kēndra is one tīthi of kēndra in one tīthi of time; and it is called tīthi-kēndra, or 'the anomaly of the tīthi,' expressed in tīthi. The moon's mean kēndra at the Mēsha-Samkrānti of Śaka-Saṅvat o expired, was 10 signs, 19 degrees, 58½ minutes (p. 87). This, converted into tīthi, is equal to 24 tīthi, 52 ghaṭis, 50 palas; and this is given (p. 10) as the tīthi-madhya-kēndra, or 'mean anomaly of the tīthi; at the time of the Mēsha-Samkrānti of Śaka-Saṅvat o expired. It shews that so many tīthi and parts of a tīthi had elapsed, up to that Mēsha-Samkrānti, from the moon's preceding arrival at her apogee. The variation in the moon's kēndra, in one solar year, is 3 signs, 2 degrees, 6½ minutes (p. 87, col. 3). This, changed into tīthi by the rule of three, vis.—360° : 92° 6½' :: ti. 27, g. 59, p. 33½6 : ti. 7, g. 9, p. 42,—is given, therefore, as the variation in the tīthi-kēndra 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 Tīthi.

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-Saṅvat 406.

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

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

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

4 One tīthi is equal to 0'9843529572 of a mean solar day.

5 360° : 319°58'8' :: ti. 27, g. 59, p. 33½6 : ti. 24, g. 52, p. 59.
expired (A.D. 484-85); the month Ḍhāda (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-Saṁvat 0 expired, which are technically called the kṣhēpaka or 'additive quantities,' viz. in (a) the abhada, enter vāras 1, ghaṭas 10, palas 10; in (b) the tithi-suddhi, enter tithis 12, ghaṭas 45, palas 14; and in (c) the tithi-madhyama-kāndra, enter tithis 24, ghaṭas 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; viz. for 400, in (a) vāras 6, gh. 30, p. 9'3, in (b) tithis 15, gh. 55, p. 49'2, and in (c) tithis 9, gh. 24, p. 45; and for 6 years, in (a) vāras 0, gh. 33, p. 9'1, in (b) tithis 6, gh. 23, p. 20'2, and in (c) tithis 14, gh. 58, p. 39.

Now, as the given year is anterior to Śaka-Saṁvat 1622 expired, a correction, to be arrived at from Table II. p. 12, is to be applied, and is always to be added, in respect of the tithi-suddhi and the tithi-madhyama-kāndra. The reason for this correction, is this. As explained above, the tithi-suddhi and the tithi-madhyama-kāndra 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-Saṁvat 0 expired, the correction in the moon's mean longitude is 44 seconds, and that in the kāndra is 2 degrees, 55 seconds (p. 90). These, turned into tithis, are 3 ghaṭis, 40 palas, with regard to the tithi-suddhi; and 14 ghaṭis, with regard to the tithi-kāndra. These figures, therefore, are given as the correction respectively the tithi-suddhi and the tithi-kāndra for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired. In the Table, this correction is given for intervals of 1000 years each. Taking first the tithi-suddhi, the correction for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, is gh. 3, p. 40; and the correction for Śaka-Saṁvat 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-Saṁvat 0 expired. And the remainder gives us, as the sufficiently approximate correction for Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, gh. 2, p. 24, to be added in (b). Similarly, the correction for the tithi-madhyama-kāndra, 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 abhada are taken from the ahargana, or total number of solar days of the solar year, in col. 2.

2 Properly speaking, this variation is for Śaka-Saṁvat 500 expired, midway between Śaka-Saṁvat 0 and 1000. It should be reduced first for the year midway between Śaka-Saṁvat 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.
Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.
Āśāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvāra (Thursday).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Abhāpa.</th>
<th>(b) Tithi-suddhi.</th>
<th>(c) Tithi-madyama-kendra.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired (p. 10)</td>
<td>1 10 10</td>
<td>12 45 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add variation for 400 Śaka years (p. 11)</td>
<td>6 30 9'3</td>
<td>15 55 49'2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add variation for 6 Śaka 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 Śaka-Saṁvat 1622 expired</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 2 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week-day and time of the Mēṣha-Saṁkrānti of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired</td>
<td>13 28'4</td>
<td>tithi-dhruva and bhukta-tithi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghaṭis and palas only, from above</td>
<td>0 13 28</td>
<td>21 25 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add, from (b), the mean solar day</td>
<td>0 52 20</td>
<td>From one tithi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tithi-bhōga</td>
<td>1 5 48</td>
<td>Deduct bhukta-tithi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add:—</td>
<td></td>
<td>Deduct as many palas as there are ghaṭis in the bhōga-tithi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expired tithis:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean solar day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitra</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Add, from (b) the bhōga-tithi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>tithi-spashṭa-kendra at end of Āśāḍha śukla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyeṣṭha</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Add tithi-kendra of (a) 96 tithis (p. 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśāḍha</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>tithi-spashṭa-kendra of Ashāḍha śukla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minus, from (b), tithi-dhruva</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expired tithis from end of Chaitra śukla</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solar equivalent of 96 tithis (p. 14)</td>
<td>94 17 36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95 23 24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add parākhyā, obtained from (c) tithi-spashṭa-kendra of Āśāḍha śukla 12</td>
<td>0 24 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Days elapsed up to end of apparent Āśāḍha śukla</td>
<td>95 47 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add week-day of Mēṣha-Saṁkrānti of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce to weeks</td>
<td>91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remainder, the 5th day, is Thursday</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Result; Thursday.
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-sūdhi and in (c) the tithi-madhyama-kāndra 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-kāndra.

We thus obtain in (a) the abdapa, vāras 1, gh. 13, p. 28'4. The first quantity, of the days, shews that the week-day on which occurred the Mēsha-Samkrānti of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, was Sunday. And the remaining quantities shew that the Mēsha-Samkrānti 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-sūdhi, under the palas, may be disregarded in the following steps of the process.

In (b) the tithi-sūdhi, we obtain tithis 5, gh. 6, p. 47'4. From this we learn that, when the Mēsha-Samkrānti of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, occurred, 5 mean tithis of the month Chaitra were completed, and also 6 ghasīs 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 ghasīs, 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-kāndra, we obtain tithis 21, gh. 25, p. 22. This gives us the moon's kāndra, reduced to tithis, at the time of the Mēsha-Samkrānti 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 kāndra at the end of the 6th tithi of Chaitra. This is called the tithi-spashta-kāndra or 'apparent kāndra of the tithi.'

Next, by subtracting from the bhōgya-tithi, viz. gh. 53, p. 13, as many palas, 53, as there are ghasīs in it,1 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 984353 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.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS: APPENDIX II.

Add this gh. 52, p. 20, to the ghatis and palas only of (a) the abdapa. The result, vāra 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 Mēša-Samkrānti, Sunday. This quantity, vāra 1, gh. 5, p. 48, is called the tithi-bhōga, lit. 'the enjoyment or duration of the tithi'; and it is the end of the tithi-dhruva, increased by one tithi. It is, of course, a mean tithi. And it shows that days 1, gh. 5, p. 48, had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the Mēša-Samkrānti, up to the end of Chaitra śukla 6 as a mean tithi.

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

In our example, however, the result in (b) the tithi-suddhi, is less than nineteen tithis. And a reference to Table VI. p. 22, — which would enable us to determine the intercalary month approximately, if there were one, — shews us that there was, therefore, no intercalary month at all in the given year, Śaka-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, Āshādha śukla 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 Jyeṣṭha, 30; and in Āshādha, 15 in the dark fortnight, and 11 in the bright. From this number of tithis, 101, we subtract the tithi-dhruva, 5. And the remainder, 96, is the number of tithis elapsed from the end of Chaitra śukla 5 up to the end of Āshādha śukla 11. But the tithi-bhōga, which we have already arrived at, is the end of Chaitra śukla 6; and the same number of tithis, 96, expire from the end of Chaitra śukla 6 up to the end of Āshādha śukla 12. Therefore, adding to the tithi-bhōga the solar equivalent, now to be introduced, the result will bring us to the end of the given tithi, Āshādha śukla 12.

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

1 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 Jyeṣṭha, 30; and in the bright fortnight of Āshādha, 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 _parākhyā_-correction, which is to be ascertained through the _tithi-kēndra_.

Turning again to Table III. p. 14, we find that the variation in the _tithi-kēndra_ for 96 _tithis_ is _tithis_ 12, _gh_. 1, p. 20. Enter this in (c), below _tithis_ 22, _gh_. 18, p. 35, which we have already arrived at as the _tithi-kēndra_ at the end of Chaitra _śukla_ 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-kēndra_ at the end of the given _tithi_, _Āśāḍha_ _śukla_ 12.

With this argument, we turn to Table IV. p. 20, for the _parākhyā_-correction. In this Table, the correction is given for _tithis_ and _ghaśīs_, at intervals of ten _ghaśīs_. Thus, for the _tithi-spashta-kēndra_, _tithis_ 6, _gh_. 10, the _parākhyā_ 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 _parākhyā_ for the _tithi-spashta-kēndra_. But here it is sufficiently close for our purposes to take the _parākhyā_ as _gh_. 24, p. 19.

Under (a) the _ābdāpa_, enter this _parākhyā_ below the sum of the _tithi-bhōga_ 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, _vāras_ 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-Samkrānti_, up to the end of the apparent _Āśāḍha_ _śukla_ 12. To the days, 95, add 1, the week-day of the _Mēsha-Samkrānti_. Divide the sum, 96, by 7, and the result is 13 weeks, and 5 days over; which shews that the current week-day of _Āśāḍha_ _śukla_ 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_, _Āśāḍha_ _śukla_ 12, ended.

The Tables in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, however, are adapted to the meridian of Bombay. The _ghaśīs_ 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 Šaka date was selected in consequence of its being the equivalent of the date, in Gupta-Saṁvat 165, recorded in the pillar inscription of Budhagupta at Ēraṇ in the Central Provinces. We have therefore now to determine the _tithi_ for Ēraṇ itself. The longitude of Bombay is 72° 51'; and that of Ēraṇ is 78° 15'; both east of Greenwich. Ēraṇ, therefore is 5 degrees, 24 minutes, east from Bombay. Adding (5° 24' × 10 =) 54 _palas_ to 47 _ghaśīs_ and 43 _palas_, which we have obtained above for Bombay, the _tithi_ at Ēraṇ is _gh_. 48, _d_. 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 Ēraṇ. 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 Ēraṇ, on the day in question, took place *gh. 1*, *p. 56*, before the mean sunrise; the latitude of Ēraṇ 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*, Āśadhā śukla 12, ended at Ēraṇ 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 *ghatīs*, 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 *ghatī* at the greatest; and it reaches its maximum on the eighth *tithi* of the bright and of the dark fortnight. But, in respect of this second possible method of Prof. K. L. Chhatre, it must be stated that we have nothing to do with it in dealing with Hindu *tithis*; for the reason that, with the exception of the *phala-saṁskāra*, the corrections introduced by him in finding the apparent longitude of the moon, were not taken into account by ancient Hindu astronomers.

And, on the other hand, the method exhibited above being in close agreement with Hindu works, it may be claimed that the *tithi* obtained by it will differ but very little from the *tithi* obtained by the method prescribed in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works. The difference¹ will amount to five or six *ghatīs* 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 *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the *Siddhānta-
Śrōmanī, and the Ārya-Siddhānta of the second Āryabhaṭa.\(^1\) I calculated it first for Ujjain, i.e. for the Hindu meridian, reckoning from the mean sunrise there; and then turned it into the tithi for Ėraṇ. The longitude of Ujjain is 75° 43' east of Greenwich. I have also calculated the ghatis and palas from the apparent sunrise at Ėraṇ; and all the results are given in Table VI., on the upper part of page 157 below. From them we see that the tithi fell on a Thursday,\(^2\) according to all the authorities.

\(^1\) i.e. the work that is usually called the Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta.—There are two distinct and separate works, each bearing the name of Āryabhaṭa as its author. The one published by Dr. Kern contains one hundred and eighteen verses in the Āryā metre, and is called Āryabhaṭyā in general and by the author himself; but it may, and justly so, be called Ārya-Siddhānta; and it is called so by many Hindu astronomers. The date of this work is Saka-Saṅvat 421 expired (A.D. 499-500). The other, which, I believe, has not yet been printed, contains about six hundred and twenty-five verses in the Āryā metre, divided into eighteen chapters. The date of it is not given. But, from internal evidence, I find that it is later than the Brahma-Siddhānta of Brahmagupta (Saka-Saṅvat 550 expired; A.D. 628-29); and there is a reference to it in the Siddhānta-Śrōmanī (Saka-Saṅvat 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 Āryabhaṭa; and his work, a Siddhānta, without Laghu or any other epithet. In a manuscript copy of it, I find that it is named Mahā-Siddhānta at the end of some chapters, and Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta at the end of others. For the sake of distinction and convenience, it is better to call the authors of these two works, the first and the second Āryabhaṭa. The numbers of the revolutions of the planets &c. given, as belonging to the Ārya-Siddhānta, in the Rev. E. Burgess' Translation of the Sūrya-Siddhānta and in some instances those given by Prinsep (Prinsep's Essays, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 153) as belonging to the same authority, belong really to the second Āryabhaṭa. Probably, when these gentlemen wrote, they had not themselves seen the Siddhānta of the first Āryabhaṭa. Sir A. Cunningham, also, was not, it seems, aware of the two different Āryabhatas, when he wrote (Indian Eras, p. 88) "according to Warren the number of days assigned by Āryabhaṭa to a Mahāyuga of 4,320,000 years is 1,577,917,500 in the south of India and 42 more in the MSS. preserved in Bengal." Of these two numbers, the former belongs to the first, and the latter to the second, Āryabhaṭa.

\(^2\) [i.e. on a Hindu Thursday.—It must be borne in mind that the Hindu week-day is reckoned, with the solar day and night, from sunrise to sunrise, as stated at page 146 f. above; but the English week-day, and the civil date coupled with it, from midnight to midnight. In comparing Hindu and English dates, the only course is to take mean sunrise and mean midnight (6°0 A.M. and 12°0 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, 52 seconds (using the same longitude for Ujjain, 75° 43', taken from Keith Johnston's Atlas, that is used by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit for his calculations in this paper and for the Sāyana-Pañchāng) 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, 22'8 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 f. 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 Ėraṇ, which is appreciably to the east of Ujjain.—J. F. F.]
### TABLE VI.

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

Saka-Saṁvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Āshāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvāra (Thursday).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Time, after Sunrise, at which the Tithi ended.</th>
<th>By K. L. Chhatre's method exhibited above.</th>
<th>By the Ārya-Siddhānta of the first Āryabhata.</th>
<th>By the Brahma-Siddhānta of Brahma-gupta.</th>
<th>By the Śrīyā-Siddhānta.</th>
<th>By the Śrīdānta Sīromani.</th>
<th>By the Ārya Śrīdānta of the second Āryabhata.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; Ujjain ..</td>
<td>47 43</td>
<td>49 19</td>
<td>49 46</td>
<td>50 42</td>
<td>52 52</td>
<td>54 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; Ēra ..</td>
<td>48 12</td>
<td>49 48</td>
<td>50 15</td>
<td>51 11</td>
<td>53 21</td>
<td>54 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; apparent sunrise at Ēra ..</td>
<td>48 37</td>
<td>50 13</td>
<td>50 40</td>
<td>51 36</td>
<td>53 46</td>
<td>55 18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE VII.

Calculation of the English Date of a given Tithi.

Saka-Saṁvat 400 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Āshāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvāra (Thursday).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of the Mēṣa-Samkrānti in March of A.D. 0 (p. 30)</th>
<th>lays gh. p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Add variation for 400 years A.D. (p. 30)</td>
<td>3 30 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; 84 years A.D. (p. 27)</td>
<td>0 44 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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:

- 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 ghafts after sunrise on a Sunday; i.e. three ghafts 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 ghafts 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 bhēda 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 ghafts 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 ghafts and palas ought to agree with the ghafts and palas of the abdapa of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, in col. (a) of the previous process. Here there is a difference of 2'4 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; viz. 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 saṁvatsaras, or years, of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, are determined in accordance with the following rule in the Brihat-Samhitā of Varāhamihira, adhyāya viii. verse 1, — nakshatrēṇa sah-ōdayam upagachchhati yēna dēvapati-mantri 1 tat-saṁjñāṇaḥ vaktavyam varshaḥ māsa-kramaṇa-āvī 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

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1 The reading that I give, is from an old manuscript in my possession. But the commentator, Utpala, explains the verse with the reading—nakshatrēṇa sah-ōdayam astam vā yēna yāti sura-mantri,— ‘with whatever nakshatra (Jupiter) the counsellor of the gods attains (his) rising or setting.” It is curious that the text, in my manuscript copy, stands as given above. The copyists, however far they might go wrong in ordinary transcribing, could not, unless intentionally, turn the letters mastam vā yēna yāti sura, if they were original at all, into mupagachchhati yēna dēvapati. And Utpala himself gives the note—Rishiprut-dādhiḥ udaya-nakshatra-māsa-saṁjña-kramaṇa varshaṁ jātavyam ity-unktam,—“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-Samhitā, p. 47. His translation (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 45) is—“each year (during which Jupiter completes a twelfth part of his revolution) has to bear the name of the lunar mansion in which he rises; the years follow each other in the same order as the lunar months.” Both in his Various Readings, p. 6, and in the note to his translation, he notices the reading sah-ōdayam astam vā yēna yāti sura-mantri. But he points out that “the comparisou of the MSS leaves little doubt that this reading is a correction, suggested by the remark of Utpala, that, in case the planet should set in one and rise in another nakshatra, only that name must be taken which agrees with the order of the month.—J. F. F.]
(of time), then the so-called setting or rising of Jupiter, i.e. his heliacal setting or rising, takes place.

To such a system, as is taught in this verse of Varāhamihira, and by no less than eleven other authorities, as will be seen further on, or determining the commencement of a samvatsara 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 samvatsara 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 samvatsara 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 299 days. And thus, in each cycle of the heliacal-rising system, there are only eleven samvatsaras in twelve years; the duration of each being about 400 days, and one samvatsara, determined by the circumstances of the particular cycle, being altogether omitted.

The names of the lunar months are used as the names of the samvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. And the names of these months are given to the samvatsaras, in accordance with the particular nakshatra in which Jupiter's heliacal rising takes place. Of the twenty-seven nakshatras, two are assigned to each of nine of the twelve months; and three to each of the remaining three months. The rule for this is given in the Brihat-Samhīḍa, viii. 2, — varṣāṇi Kārttiṅ-ādīnya-āgniyaḥ bha-dvay-anuṣūgnaḥ kramaśaḥ tri-bhām tu paṃchamam upāntyaṃ antyaṃ cha yad varṣam II,—“the years Kārttiṅa and others (that follow) combine two nakshatras, from (the nakshatra) belonging

---

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

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

**Regulation of the Names of the 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>Kṛttikā; Rōhipi</td>
<td>Kārttika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigā; Ādrā</td>
<td>Margaśīrṣha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punarvasu; Pushya</td>
<td>Pausha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśā śāhā; Maghā</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrvā-Phalguna; Uttarā-Phalguna; Hasta</td>
<td>Phālunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitrā; Svāti</td>
<td>Chaitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśākhā; Anurādhā</td>
<td>Vaiśākhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyēṣṭhā; Mula</td>
<td>Jyēṣṭhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrvā-Ashādhā; Uttarā-Ashādhā; (Abhhijit)</td>
<td>Āshādhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Abhhijit); Śrāvana; Dhanishthā</td>
<td>Śrāvana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śatārakā; Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā; Uttarā-Bhādrapadā</td>
<td>Bhādrapadā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvati; Aśvini; Bharani</td>
<td>Āśvina (Āsvayuja)</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 nīl, but does not exceed 13 degrees, 20 minutes, it is said to be in Aśvini; and so on. The longitudes of the ending-points of all the nakshatras, on this system of equal spaces, are given in the last column but two

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

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

3 I should state, however, that there is a little difference of opinion on this point. Utpala, the commentator on the Brihat-Samhītā, 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 Vṛddha-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 Vṛddha-Garga), and Parāśara, as quoted by Utpala,—but these two only,—hold that the tenth and eleventh months, Śrāvana and Bhādrapadā, have three nakshatras each; *viz.* Śrāvana, Dhanishthā, and Śatārakā; are assigned to Śrāvana; and Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā, Uttarā-Bhādrapadā, and Rēvati, to Bhādrapadā; and, consequently, Āśvina has only Āśvini and Bharani.
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 Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhat-Samhitā*. The commentary, with the passages quoted in it, runs — tathā cha Gargaḥ Uttarā cha tathā Ādityaṃ Viśākhāḥ cha-aiva Rōhiniḥ ētāni śat adhyārdha-bhōgānīḥ II Pauśnā-Āśvi-Kṛttikā-Sūma-Tishya-Pitrya-Bhagā-āhvaṇyāḥ Sāvitra-Chitrā-Anūrādhā Mūlaḥ Tōyāṃ cha Vaishṇavaṇā Dhanishthaḥ-Ajaikapāch ch-aiva sama-vargaḥ prakāritaḥ ētāni pañchadāśa sama-bhōgānīḥ II Yāmy-Aindra-Raudra-Vāyavya-Sārpa-Vāruna-saṃjñitaḥ ētāni śat ardha-bhōgānīḥ II, — "and so Garga (says), the Uttarā (i.e. Uttarā-Phalguna, Uttarā-Aśāṅghá, and Uttarā-Bhādrapadá), and Āditya (Punarvasu), Viśākhā, and also Rōhiniḥ;" these six (are) of one-and-a-half times (the average) longitude. "(*The nakshatras*) of which the names are Pausha (Rēvati), Āśvi (Āśvinī), Kṛttikā, Sūma (Mrigā), Tishya (Pushya), Pitrya (Maghā), and Bhaga (Pūrvā-Phalguna), (and also) Sāvitra (Hasta), Chitrā, Anūrādhā, Mūla, Tōya (Pūrvā-Aśāṅghá), and Vaishṇava (Ṣravāṇa), (and) Dhanishṭhā, and also Ajaikapād (Pūrvā-Bhādrapadá); (this class of nakshatras) is called the equal class;" these fifteen (are) of equal (average) longitude. "(*The nakshatras*) which have the appellations of Yāmya (Bharani), Aindra (Jyeṣṭhā), Raudra (Ādrā), Vāyavya (Śvāti), Sārpa (Āśleṣhā), and Vāruna (Ṣatārakā);" 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 $\frac{3}{2}$ in the sub-column, mark the spaces which differ from the average space. Nārada and Vaishṇava give this system in the same way as Garga. It seems to have originated in the fact that the distances between the chief stars, called yōga-tārā, 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,
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 Deogadā inscription of Bhōjadēva 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 *nakṣatra*s. The moon’s daily mean motion,—13 degrees, 10 minutes, 35 seconds,—is taken as the average space of a *nakṣatra*. And, as the total of the spaces thus allotted to the

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1 By this name, is to be understood, throughout this paper, the Siddhānta by Brahmagupta.
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-Asādhā and Śravaṇa. This system, which I would name the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, is best explained by Bhāskarāchārya,1 in his Siddhānta-Sirōmaṇi, Part iii., chapter 2 (Grahagapitaspashtādhihāra), verses 71 to 74. His text, and his own commentary on it, are as follows,—sthūlam kritam bh-anayanam yad āta javitirvīdām saṁvyavahāra-hētoh II 71 II Sūkshmaṁ pravakshyē-tha muni-praṇitam vivāhā-yaṭr-ādi-phala-prasiddhyai adhyardha-bhōgāni shāj atra taj-jñāḥ prōchar Viśākh-Āditibhadhruvāni II 72 II Shād ardhaa-bhōgāni cha Bhōgī-Rudra-Vāt-Āntaka-Āndhrābhīpa-Vāruṇāni śēshāyi-ataḥ paṅchadasa-aika-bhōgāny-uktō bha-bhōgah śaśi-madhīya-bhuktiḥ II 73 II Sarv-arksha-bhōg-ōnita-chakra-liptā Vaiśv-āgraṭaḥ syād Abhijit-bha-bhōgah I 74 II Commentary.—Iha yan nakshatrān-ānayanam kritoḥ tat sthūlam lōka-vyavahār-ārthā-mātrām kritoḥ II Atha Puliṣa-Vasishṭha-Garg-ādībhū yad vivāhā-yaṭr-ādau saṁvy-pha-sādhya-arthaṁ kathitam tat sūkshmaṁ idānāṁ pravakṣhyē II Tatra shāj adhyardha-bhōgāni Viśākhā Punarvasu Rōhīṇy-Uttarā-trayaṁ I atha shād ardhaa-bhōgāni I Āśiśē-Ārdra Śvāti Bharaṇi Yēśeṭhā Śatabhishakā bhāyāḥ śēshāni paṅchadaśa-aika-bhōgāni II Bhōgā-pramānaṁ tu śaśi-madhīya-bhuktiḥ 790 35 I adhyardha-bhōgah 1185 52½ I arda-bhōgah 395 17½ II Sarv-arksha-bhōgār ounitānāṁ chakra-kalanāṁ yach chhēshham sō-Bhijit-bhōgah 254 15½ II Translation.—"This bringing out of nakṣatras (i.e. the method of finding nakṣatras, with their ghaffis 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 [Puliśa, Vasishṭha, Garga, and other] sages, for the purpose of securing [good] results in the case of a marriage, a journey, &c. On this point, those who are versed in that (branch of the science) say, that six (nakṣatras) have (each) a space which is one-and-a-half (times of the average space); (viz.) Viśākhā, Aditiḥība (Punarvasu), and the dhruvas (Rōhīṇī, Uttarā-Phalgūni, Uttarā-Asādhā, and Uttarā-Bhādrapadā). And six have a half space (each); (viz.) those the lords of which are Bhōgin, Rudra, Vātā, Antaka, and Indra, and Vāruṇa [Āśiśē, Ārdra, Śvāti, Bharaṇi, Yēśeṭhā, (and) Śatabhishaj (Śatārakā)]. The remaining fifteen (nakṣatras) have one space (each). The (average) space of a nakṣatra is declared to be the (daily) mean motion of the moon [790° 35′ (=13° 10′ 35′)]. [A one-and-a-half space (is) 1185° 52½′ (=19° 45′ 52½′)]. A half space (is) 395° 17½′ (=6° 35′ 17½′)]. The space of the nakṣatra Abhijit, (which comes) next after Vaiśva (Uttarā-Asādhā), is [the remainder, 254° 15′ (=4° 14′ 15′)], of the minutes of the whole circle, diminished by the spaces of all the (other) nakṣatras." The longitudes of the ending-points of all the nakṣatras according to this system, are given in the last column of Table IX., on page 165 above. And, as before,

1The 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>1 80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td>7th June, 1858</td>
<td>41° 47'</td>
<td>Rōhiñiḥ</td>
<td>Kārttika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td>13th July, 1859</td>
<td>77 2</td>
<td>Punarvasu</td>
<td>Pausaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1782</td>
<td>15th August, 1860</td>
<td>110 20</td>
<td>Asīśeḥa</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>16th September, 1861</td>
<td>141 38</td>
<td>Uttarā-Phalguna</td>
<td>Phālgaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td>17th October, 1862</td>
<td>171 55</td>
<td>Chitrāḥ</td>
<td>Chaitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td>16th December, 1863</td>
<td>201 32</td>
<td>Viśākha</td>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>16th December, 1864</td>
<td>232 3</td>
<td>Mūla</td>
<td>Jyēśthiḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>15th January, 1866</td>
<td>263 48</td>
<td>Uttarā-Ashāḍhā</td>
<td>Āshadha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1788</td>
<td>22nd February, 1867</td>
<td>298 0</td>
<td>Dhanisṭhāḥa</td>
<td>Śrāvaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>20th March, 1868</td>
<td>334 3</td>
<td>Uttarā-Bhadrāpadapā</td>
<td>Bhadrāpadapā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>6th May, 1869</td>
<td>10 27</td>
<td>Āśvinīḥ</td>
<td>Āśvinī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792</td>
<td>12th June, 1870</td>
<td>46 39</td>
<td>Rōhiñiḥ</td>
<td>Kārttiṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>18th July, 1871</td>
<td>81 47</td>
<td>Punarvasu</td>
<td>Pausaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>19th August, 1872</td>
<td>114 45</td>
<td>Maḥaḥa</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>20th September, 1873</td>
<td>145 53</td>
<td>Uttarā-Phalguna</td>
<td>Phālgaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>21st October, 1874</td>
<td>175 52</td>
<td>Chitrāḥ</td>
<td>Chaitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>20th November, 1875</td>
<td>205 36</td>
<td>Viśākha</td>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>16th December, 1876</td>
<td>235 21</td>
<td>Mūla</td>
<td>Jyēśthiḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>18th January, 1878</td>
<td>267 22</td>
<td>Uttarā-Ashāḍhā</td>
<td>Āshadha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>27th February, 1879</td>
<td>302 46</td>
<td>Dhanisṭhāḥa</td>
<td>Śrāvaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>4th April, 1880</td>
<td>339 0</td>
<td>Uttarā-Bhadrāpadapā</td>
<td>Bhadrāpadapā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>11th May, 1881</td>
<td>15 30</td>
<td>Bharaṇīḥ</td>
<td>Āśvinī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The entries of $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ 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.¹ The question, therefore, occurs,—What name is to be given to the saṁvatsara, when Jupiter rises in Abhijit? It can be solved thus. Abhijit is considered to be composed of the last quarter of Uttarā-Ashāḍhā, and the first fifteenth part of Śravaṇa. This is stated in the following verse of Vasishṭha, as quoted in the commentary, called Piṭyūṣadhaṇḍa, on the Muḫirta-Chintāmaṇi;—Abhijit-bha-bhōgam ētad Viśvēdev-āntyā-ṇaṁ ākhilama tādya-chatasrō nādyō Haribhasya,—"this (is) the longitude of Abhijit; the whole last quarter of Viśvēdeva (Uttarā-Ashāḍhā), (and) the first four gaḥiśa (i.e. the fifteenth part) of Haribha (Śravaṇa)." 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-Ashāḍhā; and the last four come from, and properly belong to, Śravaṇa. And the name of the saṁvatsara is to be determined as Āshāḍhā or Śravaṇa, 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 varṣadīni Kārttiṇaḥ, &c., at page 162 above.
four years, from Śaka-Saṁvat 1780 to 1803 (expired); with Jupiter's apparent longitudes at the time, and his nakṣatras determined from those longitudes. The dates of the risings of Jupiter are taken from ordinary Pañcāṅgas in my possession, printed in different Presses at various places. The lunar months in which the risings took place, are all given by the Amānīa southern reckoning. The longitude of Jupiter at each rising, is calculated from his longitude, given in the Pañcāṅgas, at some stated interval; for instance, of seven or fifteen days. In naming the nakṣatras, 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 nakṣatras; that is, about 20 degrees only; they are Mārgaśīrsha, Māgha, Chaitra, and Jyēṣṭha; and these are the saṁvatsaras that are most apt to be omitted. For example, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1780 expired, when Jupiter rose, he was in Rōhini. The following rising took place in Punarvasu; that is, from the first rising, he passed entirely through Mriga and Ādrā, before the next rising occurred. And, therefore, Mārgaśīrsha was omitted. Again, by these two systems, Śrāvaṇa contains the average space of two nakṣatras; 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 nakṣatras 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 nakṣatras each (excluding Abhijit), are sometimes likely to be omitted. But the remaining three, viz. Phālguna, Bhādrapada, and Āśvina, containing three nakṣatras 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 naksatra 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 sanvatsaras 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 Āryabhaṭa in his Ārya-Siddhānta or Āryabhāṣṭya, Kālakriyāpāda, verse 4, —Guru-bhagana rāśi-guṇas tv-Āśvayuj-ādyā Gurōr abdāh; —"the revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by the signs (twelve), (are) the years of Jupiter, the first of which is Āśvayuja." And it is given, in very similar words, by Brahmagupta, in his Brahma-Siddhānta, adhyāya xiii. verse 42, —Guru-varshāny-Āśvayujāvad dvādaśa-guṇitā Gurōr bhaganaḥ. 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 sanvatsara 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 Āśvayuja. 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 Āśvayuja, we have Ashādha, as the current sanvatsara for the given day.¹

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

¹In 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 Bṛihat-Samhitā 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 sanvatsaras 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 sanvatsaras 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 cycles, viz. the determination of the exact day on which a given sanvatsara 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 (rāśi) of his revolution in about three hundred and sixty-one days; while the interval between two of his heliacal risings is about four hundred days.
mical system of it, and was current, as is shewn by many epigraphical quotations of it, in Southern India also,—are determined by Jupiter’s mean placee. And the rule is thus given in the Sūrya-Siddhānta, i. 55,—dvādaśa-ghnā Gurūr yāta-bhagānā vartamānakaih I rāsibhiś śahitah śuddhāḥ shashtyā syur Vijay-ādayāḥ II,—“the expired revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by twelve, (then) increased by the current signs (of the current revolution), (and then) divided by sixty, are (i.e. the remainder is) (the saṃvatsaras counted from) Vijaya as the first.” In fact, the Sixty-Year Cycle, and the Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, are quite identical with regard to the day of the commencement of each saṃvatsara; and, consequently, with regard also to its duration, which, according to Jupiter’s mean motion as given in the Sūrya-Siddhānta, is 361 days, 1 ghati, 36 palas. The Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, therefore, with regard to its other details, may be most properly described with the Sixty-Year Cycle, which I shall treat of fully on a separate occasion. And I have introduced the present brief mention of it, only because references to it are unavoidable in the following observations.

The eleven authorities for the heliacal-rising system, in addition to the Brihat-Samhitā, of which I have spoken, are as follows;(1) Parāśara says—Kritikā-Rūṁštsh-ūdite kshuch-chhastra-āgni-vrishṭi-vyādhi-prābalyam ...... Chitār-Svātyor uditē nIPA-sasya-varsha-kshēm-ārōgya-karaḥ.(2) Garga says—pravās-āntē sah-arkhsēna hy-uditō yuga-pach charē T tasmāt kālaṇ rīksha-pūrvtō Gurūr abdaḥ pravartate II.(3) Kaśyapa says—saṃvatsara-yugē ch-aiva shashty-abdē-āṅgirasas sutah I yan-nakshatra-ōdayaṁ kuryāt tat-saṁjñāṁ vatsaraṁ viduḥ II.(4) Rishiputra says—yasmin tishṭhate nakshatṛē saha yena pravardhate I saṃvatsaras sa viśēyas tan-nakshatrābhidhānaṁ II.(5) Also, in the following, Rishiputra quotes Vaiśistha and Atri, in addition to Parāśara, who is separately referred to above,—Tish̄y-ādika-yugam prāhur Vaiśisht-Ātri—Parāśarāḥ I Brihaspatēs tu Saumy-āntam sadā dvādaśa-vārshikāṁ II Udeī yasmin māse tu pravās-ūpagatō-āṅgiraḥ I tasmāt saṃvatsaraḥ.—(6) In the Saṃsāra-Samhitā, a short work by Varāhamihira, we have—Gurur udayati nakshatre yasmin tat-saṁjñītāni varshaīi.—(7) Brihaspati, as quoted in the Kiranavali, a commentary by Dādabhāi on the Sūrya-Siddhānta, says—yadā Gur-udayō bhāńor Guror abdas tad-āḍitaḥ.—(8) In the Nārada-Samhitā, Guruchārādhaya, we have—yad-dhishny-ābhēdūdī Jīvas tannakshat-ākha-vatsaraḥ.—(9) In the Muḥūrta-Tattva, Guruchāra, verse 7, we have—dry-rikṣhō-Gnēh Kārttikeya try-rikṣtā ishu-ravi-Śīvō-bdēh sa yēn-ōdītō-Ējah.—(10) In the Jyotishadarpana, adhyāya v, we have—yasmin abhyudītō 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 corroborative of this is afforded by a verse of Vaṟāhamihira, 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-Samhitā.
nakshatrasya vatsaraḥ. — It is unnecessary to translate these ten quotations; as the general purport of all of them is the same; viz. that “a sanwatsara is to be named after that nakshatra in which Jupiter attains his rising.” — (11) In the remaining authority, the Sūrya-Siddhānta, the rule appears to be a little different from that of all the other authorities; though the general features are the same. And, for this reason, though the work is one of the earliest, I have quoted it last. The rule is given in the verse—Vaiśākh-Ādīshu kṛishṇe cha yōgāḥ paṇcachādaśe tithau I Kārttikādīni varshāni Gūrō ast-ōdayat tathā II, — “and the years Kārtti and others (iḥat follow) (are to be named) from the rising, after setting, of Jupiter,¹ according to the occurrence (of Kṛittika and other nakshatras)² on the fifteenth tīthi in the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha and other (mouths that follow).” The application of this rule seems to be thus:—The years are to be named, according as Kṛittika and other nakshatras,—evidently those in which the sun and the moon stand,—occur on the amāvāsyā of Vaiśākha and others, immediately preceding or following³ the day on which Jupiter rises; that is, on whatever day Jupiter may rise, the nakshatra on either the preceding, or the following, amāvāsyā, gives the name to the sanwatsara. 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

¹ I should remark that Raṅganātha, 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 Brahma-Samhitā, viii, 1, that ast-ōdayat means “from the setting or rising.” He adds, however,—iddāṁ udāya-varṣā-vyavahāro genakair ganyatā,—“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-ōdayat as I have translated it above; and the use of the compounded base in the singular, supports that translation. I also find that Dādabhā, in his commentary on the Sūrya-Siddhānta, explains it in the same way; his words being — tathā-āśīdā udāya-kalā Gūrō tād-yukta-nakshatra-samijbā Gūrō abdā jāeyah,—“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-ōdayat is used here in the sense of “from the rising after setting;” compare such compounds as supt-ōṭhitā, ‘having arisen from sleep;’ lit. ‘having slept and then having risen.’—J. F. F.]

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

³ Which of the two, cannot be determined from the context; and I can find no commentator who has explained the point properly. I myself think that the following amāvāsyā is intended. But seems that Utpala, in his allusion to this rule, takes the preceding amāvāsyā.
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 samvat-sara,—the omission of one samvat-sara 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 Āryabhata (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, Āryabhata and Brahmagupta give no rule for finding the samvat-saras 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 Sūrya-Siddhānta:¹ is as early a work as the Āryabhātiya, if not earlier. And, that Parāśara, Garga, and Kaśyapa, are earlier than Āryabhata, cannot be denied. Utpala quotes a verse of Garga, which, with some proposed emendations, I give as it stands in my manuscript copy, —évam Āśvayujāṁ ch-aiva Chaitram ch-aiva Bṛhaspatiḥ I sarvatsarō(्र) nāma(ṛ) yatē sapta-tēda (��) sapta-abda-satē dhi-kē.² This verse seems to refer to the mean-sign system; though I can say nothing definitely about it, without seeing the context; of which I have not the opportunity at present. But, supposing that it does refer to the mean-sign system, still it is not unfavourable to the heliacal-rising system; for the same Utpala also quotes a verse of the same Garga, given at page 170 above, in which Garga says—"when Jupiter, after dwelling together (with the sun),"³ 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 Sūrya-Siddhānta is a work of Varāhamihira, is simply a mistake. I cannot enter into this point at present; but would refer any who hold that view, to Varāhamihira’s Pañcha-Siddhāntikā, and to Kern’s Preface to his edition of the Brīhat-Samhitā.

² [Gen. Cunningham also has quoted this verse (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 114); and in such a way, his authority giving nāiyatē, where Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit’s MS. gives nāmayatē, as to shew that, in the second half of it, we certainly have to read nāsaya-te sapta-abda-satē.—] F. F.]

³ pravāśāntē may be translated by "after having completed his journey," i.e. having completed a revolution of some kind or another.
any calculations required. But such is not the case with the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac into another. No kind of apparatus can determine Jupiter's mean longitude. It is to be found only by calculations, the rules for which must have been established after observations carried on during a very long time; to lay down the means of determining Jupiter's mean yearly or daily motion, is not a thing that can be accomplished in a few years. It seems, therefore, quite evident that the system of naming the samvatsaras 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 Āryabhaṭa. 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 Brihad-Saṁhitā, viii. 27, points to the same thing. It runs—

adyām Dhanishthām samabhīprapannā⁴ Māghē yad-āyāty-udayāṃ Surējyāḥ

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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 Pañcāṅga 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 samvatsaras after the months is not in use; in fact, the Twelve-Year Cycle is now almost unknown to the people at large of the Dekkan. But in a Pañcāṅga prepared by Jwālpāti Siddhānti, and printed in the Jñānāsāryādityā Press at Madras, I find that the author, in the samvatsara-phala, after giving the two samvatsaras of the Sixty-Year Cycle, according to the northern and the southern reckoning, goes on to say—sacatra Gur-ādya-vāsīt (Chaitra)-ādbhū grāhyah,—"all over (India) a (certain) year (i.e. such samvatsaras as Chaitra, &c.), which depends on the rising of Jupiter, is to be taken;" from which it is evident that some such rising-system, as that described above, is followed in this Pañcāṅga from Madras. Also, in the Chandu-Pancanga, prepared for the meridian of Jódpur in Mārwār, and used there and by Mārwāḍis in other parts of India, the samvatsaras are named as Chaitra-Varsa, Vaisākha-Varsa, &c.; the system adopted in that Pañcāṅga, however, for naming the samvatsaras, is the mean-sign system.

⁴ The reading that I give, is from my manuscript copy. But, श and ṣ being very liable to confusion, the reading adyaṃ Dhanishthāmabhīprapannā, 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 Dhanishthā, at the time of his rising at the commencement of the Prabhava samvatsara. And I think, therefore, that the reading which I give, is the author's original reading. I take adyaṃ to qualify the word nakshatraḥ understood. And Varāhamihira calls the nakshatra in question "the first," because his opinion was, I think, that Dhanishthā was the first nakshatra of the Sixty-Year Cycle, as it was of the Five-Year Cycle of the Vēdāṅga-Jyotisha [see its verse—svar ḍrabandāt sām-ārkhaṃ yādā sākhaṃ sa-Vāsāvau syāt tad-āddi-yugam Māghaḥ,—"when the moon and the sun, being in (the nakshatra) Vāsava (Dhanishthā), go together in the heavens, then there is the beginning of the Yuga (and of the month) Māgha"], which two he intends to reconcile.—[Kern would seem to have known only the reading adyaṃ Dhanishthāmabhīm. His translation (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 49 f.), which follows also the reading of pravartati lor prapadyate, is—"when Jupiter, on reaching the first quarter of Dhanishthā, rises in the lunar month of Māgha, then begins the first year of the cycle of sixty, named Prabhava, a year salutary to all beings." And he adds the
shashty-abda-purvah Prabhavah sa namna propadyate bhuta-hitas tad-abdah II.—
"when Jupiter, having come to the first (nakshatra) Dhanishthâ, attains (his) rising in 
(the month) Mâgha, 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 samvatsara has occurred thirty times. And, by approxi-
mate calculations, I find that Varâhamihira's assertion, though not quite correct, is 
nearly so by the heliacal-rising system. Out of the thirty occasions, Jupiter rose, accord-
ing to the Aṃanta southern arrangement of the fortnights,² twenty-six times in the month 
of Mâgha; three times early in Phâlguna; and once in Pausa, nearly at the end of 
it. And, on many occasions he rose in the Dhanishthâ nakshatra; and on some, in 
Sravana. The assertion, however, is not correct for the mean-sign system. According 
to that system, at the commencement of the Prabhava samvatsara, which always begins 
when Jupiter, by his mean longitude, enters Kumbha or Aquarius, he evidently always 
stands in the middle of Dhanishthâ.² But the Prabhava samvatsara 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 udaya itself is 
used in it. It might be argued that Varâhamihira's rule (Brihat-Samhitâ, viii. 22; 
ek-akam abdeshu 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 samvatsara 
is to be named from the nakshatra in which Jupiter rises, did not know that the nak-
shatra, 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, Varâhamihira, I think, gives a simple rule for finding the mean longitude of 
Jupiter on a given day, and leaves to the astronomer the calculation of the apparent lon-
titude. 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,— 
Varâhamihira gives the simple rule for rough practical purposes only; leaving it to the

note—"cf. Davis, Assatic Researches, Vol. III. p. 220. The word amía also means 'degree,' but is 
here rendered by 'quarter,' according to Utpala, who explains it by pāda."—J. F. F.J

¹ See page 148 above, note 1.

² The sign Kumbha commences in the middle of Dhanishthâ, and ends at the end of the third 
quarter of Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ.
astronomer to make more detailed calculations, when absolute accuracy is required. But, even supposing that the said verse of Varāhānihira 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 Muniśa-Tatīva and the Jyotiśhadrāpana are comparatively modern. The author of the first is the father of the well-known Gaṇeśa Daivaṇa, the author of the Grahaldāghaṇa; and, therefore, its date is about Śaka-Saṁvat 1420 expired (A.D. 1498-99); and it was written at Nandgaun 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 Kopaṇḍapalli, 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 Sārya-Siddhānta. The date of this commentary is Śaka-Saṁvat 1525 expired (A.D. 1603-04); and it was written at Benares. These details suffice to shew 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 shewn 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.¹ 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 Brahma-gupta, as quoted above. If to these we add an interpolated verse in the Siddhānta-Śīrōmani, and also hold that Garga and Varāhamihira give the system, even then the number comes to only five.² 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;³ 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 Mahārājjas Hastin and Saṁkṣhohha; and the two grants of the Kadamba chieftain Mrigēśavarman, 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 Siddhānta-Śīrōmani, p. 13, note; but I do not find it in the Ratnamālā 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 Khâtâmédia 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; vis. 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-Saññvat 153; and partly to the want of the key-note supplied by Mr. Bendall's inscription of Gupta-Saññvat 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 Șivadéva I. and Anśuvarman, 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 Mâñagriha (line 1). The inscription is one of the Bhattāraka and Mahârâja, the illustrious Șivadéva I. (l. 2 f.), the banner or glory of the Lichchhavikula. And it records a grant made by him on the advice, or at the request, of the Mahâdsâmanâ Amsuvarman (l. 6 f.). The Dâtaka is the Sudânin Bhogavarman (l. 15). The date

1 [cf. Lichchhavikula-ketu, line 2.
2 mahâdsâmanâ Amsuvarmanâ vijñâditya mayâ; line 6-7.
3 This person would seem to be Amsuvarman's sister's son, who is mentioned in inscription E. below.—He must not be confused with Șivadéva II.'s father-in-law, the Maukharî Bhogavarman, who is mentioned in inscription R. below, and was at least a full generation later.—See page 180 below, note 3, on another point.}
(l. 15), in numerical symbols here and throughout the series, is (Gupta)-Saṃvat 316, Jyaishṭha-śukla-divā-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 Bhāṭāraka and Mahārāja, the illustrious Śivadēva 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 Mahāśāmanṭa, the illustrious *Ānśuvarman* (l. 8 f.).* The date, and the name of the Dūtaka, 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 Kailāsākūṭabhavana (line 1). The inscription is one of the Mahāśāmanṭa, the illustrious *Ānśuvarman* (l. 2). The Dūtaka is the Mahāsarva[daṇḍand]yaka Vikra[masēna] (l. 14).* The date (l. 14) is (Harsha)-Saṃvat 34, Jyaishṭha-śukla-daśāmyām; which, with the epoch* of A.D. 605-606, answers, approximately, to the 18th May, A.D. 639.

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1 As in page 177 above, note 3.

2 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 Vikramasēna who was the Dūtaka of inscription S. below, more than two hundred years later.—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

3 This epoch is taken from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit’s calculation of the date in the Dīghwā-Dubaulī grant of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāla. At the end (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 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 Kumbhā-Samkrānti or entrance of the Sun into Aquarius. The epoch of the era is fixed approximately by a statement of Alberūnī (Alberūnī’s *India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 5), to the effect that, in a Kaśmir almanac, he had read that Harshavardhana was six hundred and sixty-five years later than Vikramāditya. Subject to some doubt as to whether Alberūnī 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-Saṃvat 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 Ears*, pp. 64 f., 157 ff.), on the authority of Alberūnī’s statement. By calculations based on the Sūrya-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 Dīghwā-Dubaulī grant may work out correctly. Thus, with the basis of Harshasāṃvat 155 + Śaka-Saṃvat 527 expired = Śaka-Saṃvat 682 expired, the Kumbhā-Samkrānti occurred at 43 ghaṭīs, 40 palas, on Monday, the 9th January, A.D. 761; and the ninth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended about four hours later, at 53 ghaṭīs, 15 palas, on the same day. Or, by the Ārya-Siddhānta, the times were, for the Samkrānti, 42 ghaṭīs, 30 palas; and for the tithi, 52 ghaṭīs, 41 palas. In both cases, the ghaṭīs and palas are from mean sunrise at Ujjain. And he adds the note—“the puyakāda or meritorious time for performing religious duties in connection with a samkrānti, is, according to some authorities, from sixteen ghaṭīs before, to sixteen ghaṭīs after, the time of the samkrānti; and, according to others, in the case of some samkrāntis, from ten to
D.—Mr. Bendall’s inscription No. 2; *Journey in Népál*, p. 74 f., and Plate ix.—The charter is issued from Kailásakúṭabhavana (line 1). The inscription is one of an illustrious Mahdsámanta, whose name is effaced, but may with tolerable certainty be restored as Amśuvarman (l. 2). And it records the grant of two fields, for the purpose of providing for the repairs of some building. The *Dátaka* (l. 17) is the Mahábaládhyaksha Vindusvámí. The date (l. 16) is (Harsha)-Saññvat 34, pratham-Paúsha-śuklādvitiyáyám; which should answer,¹ approximately, to the 3rd December, A.D. 639.

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

sixteen or even forty ghafs before the samkránti, up to the time of the samkránti, and, in the case of the other samkrántis, from the time of the samkránti, up to from ten to sixteen or even forty ghafs after it. But generally, when a samkránti occurs at midnight,—as it did, roughly, in the present instance,—the punyakála 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 Mágha śukla daśamśi. —With other years, the given samkránti cannot be brought into accordance with the given day and tithi. Thus, with Śaka-Saññvat 680 expired, the samkránti occurred six or seven days after the given tithi, on the Páñimánta Phálguna kriśña 24; with 681 expired, on the Páñimánta Phálguna kriśña 14; with 682 expired, on the Páñimánta Phálguna kriśña 15; with 683 expired, on Mágha śukla 1; and with 685 expired, on Mágha śukla 12. It is certain, therefore, that the correct English equivalent is the one obtained with Śaka-Saññvat 682 expired. And, taking the given Harsha year as a current year, and treating it as having the same scheme with the northern Śaka year, the epoch is Śaka-Saññvat 527 expired, or A.D. 605-606 current; and 528 years have to be added, to convert current Harsha years into current Śaka years, and 527, to convert them into expired Śaka years as the basis of calculations. The commencement or first current year of the era, is A.D. 606-607 current.—I should remark, as I did when editing the grant, that a slight doubt may be felt as to the value of the third numerical symbol, in the units place, which I interpret as 5. And the exact epoch would be varied, by allotting a different value to this symbol. But the choice lies only between 4, 5, and 8. I do not think that any authority can be found for interpreting it as 4. And, if it 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-Saññvat 34, refers to an intercalation of the month Paúsha; 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 Népál*, p. 76), obtained a mean intercalation of Paúsha 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 Mésk-dúti-sthité savítāti &c. (see page 88 above, note 5), the intercalated period should be called Mágasársha; and that, in calling it Paúsha, exactly the contrary is done of the process by which we obtain Mágasársha as the name of the intercalated period that is referred to in the Kaira grant of Dharáséna 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 Paúsha.
Amśuvarman’s sister Bhōgadēvi, who was the wife of the Rājaputra Sūrasena,¹ and the mother of the illustrious Bhōgavarman² and Bhāgyadēvi. It records certain orders addressed by Amśuvarman to the officials of the Western Province (paśchim-ādhikaranavṛttibhujah, lines 5-6; and paśchim-ādhikarana, line 14), in connection with three linga forms of the god Īśvara or Śiva. The Dātaka is the Yuwardja Udayadēva.³ The date (l. 22) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 39, Vaiśākha-śukla-divā-daśamyām; answering, approximately, to the 24th April, A.D. 644.

F.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī’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 Amśuvarman (line 2), a prāndit or ‘conduit’ was caused to be built by the Vārtaṭa⁴ Vibhuvarman, for the increase of his father’s religious merit. The date (l. 1) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat⁵ 44 or 45, Jyēṣṭha-śukla .................., which has its equivalent in the month of May or June, A.D. 649, or May, A.D. 650.

G.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī’s inscription No. 9; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 171 f. — The charter is issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana (line 3 f.). The inscription is one of the illustrious Jishnugupta (l. 4). It records that, at the request of the Sāmanta Chandravarman, a tilamaka or ‘water-course’, which had been constructed by the Bhūtāraka and Māhārāja-dhivrāja, the glorious Amśuvarman (l. 6 f.), was made over by Jishnugupta to Chandravarman, to be repaired; &c. The Dātaka (l. 21) is the Yuvarāja, the illustrious Vishnugupta. The date (l. 21) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 48, Kārttiika-śukla-2; answering, approximately, to the 30th September, A.D. 653.—Lines 1 and 2 of this inscription mention Mānagriha,⁶ and, in connection with it, the Bhūtāraka and Mahārāja Dhruvadēva; but the passage is much mutilated, and does not in itself suffice to explain the connection between Dhruvadēva and Jishnugupta.⁷

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

² See page 177 above, note 4.

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

⁴ Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī 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 vṛttibhuj of inscription E. above.; and that the correct form is vārta (with the double ṛ) 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 Indrajī in his text.

⁷ The purport of it, however, must have been the same as in the next inscription H.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; APPENDIX IV.

H.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit’s inscription No. 10; Ind. Ant., Vol. IX. p. 173 f.—The charter is issued from Kailásakūṭabhavana (line 6). The inscription is one of the illustrious Jishnugupta (l. 7). The details are much mutilated; but the subject is a *tilamaka* or ‘water-course,’ which had been constructed by the Mahāśāmanita, the illustrious . . . . . . . . . . . . deśa. 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 Dhruvadeva, the banner of the Lichchhavikula. Between mānagriha and dīta-chitta in line 4, there are four (or perhaps five) aksharas which are much damaged, and are quite uncertain even in the rubbing; but the ha (not ḍa) is distinct enough; and this, and the whole construction, shews that we have here,—not Mānagrihāt, the formal ablative of issue,—but the base Mānagriha, as the first member of a compound, ending with santati, that qualifies sri-Dhruvadeva, and means something like ‘who belonged to a lineage which had its thoughts [gladdened by residing] at Mānagriha.” As regards the connection between Dhruvadeva and Jishnugupta,—in line 5, after sri-Dhruvadeva, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit read purasem sakala, and interpreted the passage as shewing that Jishnugupta acknowledged Dhruvadeva as his lord paramount. The interpretation is possibly correct; though the text may equally well mean nothing more than a courteous reference by Jishnugupta to one whose position was equal to his own. But, from the rubbing, the proper reading is certainly purasem-sakala, in composition. The whole passage, in fact, from Mānagriha, line 4, down to mānas, lines 5-6, is one continuous compound, meaning, in the latter part, that Jishnugupta’s mind had been brought into a state or contentment by devising the means of freeing from calamity all the people headed by Dhruvadeva, &c. And the expression Dhruvadeva-purasem-sakala-śana is analogous in its purport to the sa-nripteb-śjagato (hitēya), “(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 Indrajit’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 Népäl*, page 77 ff. and Plate x.—The charter is issued from Kailásakūṭabhavana (line 1). The king’s name is lost, somewhere in lines 2 to 7. The inscription provides for the worship of the god Vajrēśvara (l. 17), and other religious matters. The Dūtaka (l. 28) is the Bhattāraka, the Yuvārāja Skandadeva. The date (l. 29) is (Harsha)-Samvat 82, Bhādrapada śukla-divā . . . . ; which has its equivalent in the month of August, A.D. 687.

*in the original rubbing, sri is ve. v distinct at the beginning of line 14. Two aksharas are illegible between it and deśa.*
K.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 1; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.—This furnishes the following short genealogy:—*Vrishadēva* (line 8):—his son *Śamkaradēva* (l. 12), with a reference in lines 9 and 10 to other sons, who, however, are not mentioned by name;—Śamkara's son, *Dharmadēva* (l. 16), who with justice [governed] a great hereditary kingdom (*kula-kram-āgatām .......... rājyam mahat*, line 17), and whose wife was Rājyavati;—and Dharmadēva's son *Mānadēva* (l. 20), who was appointed to reign by his mother on his father's death. The inscription then records that Mānadēva made an expedition to the East, and reduced to obedience some "roguish," ill-behaved, or rebellious *Sāmantas* there; and then went back to the West, where also he heard of misdoings on the part of a *Sāmanṭa*. Here, unfortunately, the available part of the inscription terminates, the rest being buried underground. The date (l. 1 ff.) is (Gupta)-*Saṃvat* 386, *Jyeṣṭha-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-pratipadi* 1 *Rohini-nakshatra-yuktē chandramasi muhūrtē pṛaśastē-Bhijiti;* 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 Indraji's inscription No. 12; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 174 ff.—The charter is issued from *Kailāsakīṭabhavana* (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Śivadēva II*. (l. 3). The *Dūṭaka* (l. 23) is the *Rājapurtra* Jayadēva. The date (l. 23) is (Harsha)-*Saṃvat* 119, Phālguna-śukla-divā-daśamīyām; answering, approximately, to the 20th February, A.D. 725.

M.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji'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' *Mānadēva* (line 1), a certain Jayavarman erected a *linga* named Jayēśvara, for the welfare of the world, (i.e. of all the people), together with the king, and endowed it with a permanent endowment.* The date (l. 1) is (Gupta)-*Saṃvat* 413, equivalent to A.D. 732-33, without any further details.

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

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*sa-nripatēr-jagatē hitāya; line 2.
*akshaya-nīvē; line 2.

1 I have not seen the rubbing of this inscription.
2 In Śaka-*Saṃvat* 672 current, or 671 expired, the month *Jyeṣṭha* 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 Śaka-*Saṃvat* 671 current, or 670 expired; which is in accordance with the epoch of A.D. 605-606.
Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read it as (Harsha)-Samvat 143, Jyaistha-sukla-diva-trayodaśyām; 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 Indraji’s inscription No. 14; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 177 f.—All the introductory part of this inscription, recording the palace whence the charter was issued and the name of the king, is broken away and lost. The Dātaka (line 17) is the Yuvardja Vijayadeva. The date (l. 17) is (Harsha)-Samvat 145, Pausha-sukla-diva-tridītyāyām; answering, approximately, to the 6th December, A.D. 750.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, taking Vijayadeva as a “vicarious” name of Jayadeva II., allotted the inscription, chiefly on this account, to Śivadeva II. As far as the date goes, the inscription may be one either of him, or of Jayadeva II. But Vijayadeva cannot be a “vicarious” name of Jayadeva II. Occasional instances may be cited, in which the special terminations of names vary; thus, the Vasantaśena of inscription P. below, appears in R. line 10, and in the Vasantaśali, as Vasantadeva; and Jayadeva I. of R. line 8, perhaps appears in the Vasantāvali as Jayavarman. But even this is rare enough. And, apart from the substitution of birudas 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 Kauthēm grant 1 of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya V., of Śaka-Samvat 930, where the Daśavarman of other inscriptions is called Yaśōvarman. But that instance is not a very satisfactory one. 2 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 Śivadeva II., then Vijayadeva was another son of his; if, as seems to me more probable, it is one of Jayadeva II., then Vijayadeva was a son of the last-mentioned person.

P.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’s inscription No. 3; Ind. Ant. Vol IX. p. 167.—The charter is issued from Mānagriha (line 1). The inscription is one of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Vasantaśena. 3 The Dātaka (l. 21) is the Sarvadandanayaka and Mahāpratīhāra Rāvigupta. The date (l. 20 f.) is (Gupta)-Samvat 435, Aśvayujī sukla-dvītyāyām; answering, approximately, to the 23rd September, A.D. 754.

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

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

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 23.  
2 See id. p 19 f.  
3 In inscription R. below, line 10, he is called Vasantadeva.
good deal of genealogical information, to be commented on below, is one of Jayadėva II. (line 14), who also had the second name or biruda of Parachakrāma (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)-Saṁvat 153, Kārttika-śukla-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 Dātaka (line 17) is the Rājaputra Vikramasēna. The date (l. 18) is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 535, Śrāvaṇa-śukla-divā-saptamīyām; 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 Aṃśuvarman, who was evidently to be identified with the king of that name who was reigning during, or shortly before, Huen 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. 666 (or 607).

Mr. Bendall’s discovery of the Gölmaṭhiṭōl inscription, furnished the key-note for the interpretation of the whole matter. For, mentioning Aṃśuvarman as the contemporary of Śivadēva 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 Aṃśuvarman, in A.D. 639.

But, when Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji wrote, nothing was certain about the other larger dates of (K.) 386, (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 Népál Vaṁśāvali states that Vikramāditya came to Népál, 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 Népál in A.D. 880. But the statement of the Vaṁśāvali refers to the time of the predecessor of Aṃśuvarman; 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 shewed\(^1\) 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 Aṃśuvarman, 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 Brahmān (line 3), through Sūrya or the Sun,\(^2\) Manu, Ikṣvāku, and others, down to Rāghu, Aja, and Daśaratha (l. 6). After Daśaratha, there were eight kings, in lineal succession of sons and sons' sons, who are passed over unnamed; and then there was the illustrious 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;"—svaḥchhham Lichchhavi-nāma vi(bi)bhrad=aparam vaṅśah, (l. 7). Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his lithograph, text, and translation, gave aparā vaṅśah "a new race .............. which bears the pure name Lichchhavi." But, on examining his original rubbing, I find that the real reading is aparam (nāma), "another name, a second name;"—not aparā (vaṅśah), "another race, a new race." This verse, therefore, is of some interest, in shewing that,—in addition to the appellation of Lichchhavivānśa or Lichchhai-vikula, 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 illegible\(^3\) 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 another\(^5\) king, the famous

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1\(^{Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 421 f.}\)
2\(^{In accordance with this, the Vamāvali enters the historical Lichchhavis of this inscription as members of a Sāryavānśi family.}\)
3\(^{But the number was probably twelve, as hita=āpa[rān=dvādāsa] seems to suit the metre and such traces as are discernible in the rubbing.}\)
4\(^{i.e., Paṭāliputra, the modern Paṇa in Bihār; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 180, note 44.—This part of the inscription, therefore, relates to a period antecedent to the settlement of the Lichchhavis in Nēpāl.}\)
5\(^{As no previous Jayadēva, with whom this one could be contrasted, is mentioned in the inscriptions, aparā seems to introduce another branch of the Lichchhavi family, not directly descended from Lichchhavi and Supushpa.}\)
Jayadeva I. (l. 8), who was treated by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji as the first really historical member of the family, and the founder of the Nepāl branch of it,¹ and on the Vikrama-Saṁvat theory, was placed about A.D. 1. After this “victorious” Jayadeva 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; vis.—Vrishadēva (l. 9);—his son, Šaṁkaradēva;—his son, Dharmadēva;—his son, Mānadēva (l. 10);—his son, Mahidēva;—and his son, Vasantadēva. The first four of these names have already been made known by inscription K. above; and the sixth, in the form of Vasantaśena, 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; vis. the Lichchhavikula.

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 of the larger dates of his inscriptions to the Vikrama era. Let us read this verse—asy-antarē=py-Udayadēva iti kshitiṣāj-jātās-trayōdaśa [tata]ś=cha Narēndradēvah mān-ōnmatō nata-samasta-narēndra-mauli-mālā-rajō-nikara-pāṁsula-pādapiṭhah; and translated—“afterwards came thirteen (rulers), sprung from king Udayadēva (l. 10),² and then Narēndradēva (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, asy-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. Aṣya-antarē can only mean “in an interval of this;” and, supplying vanśasya, from the vanṣaḥ of line 7, in apposition with asya, we have “in an interval, i.e. at an intervening point, of this (lineage that has just been detailed).” The expression plainly introduces some names, in respect of which it is intended to be conveyed that they are of another family or branch; and that the last of them comes contemporaneously with or immediately after the name of Vasantadēva, the last mentioned of the immediately preceding succession, and the first comes at some unspecified point intervening between Vrishadēva and Vasantadēva. In the second place, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’s reading of kshitiṣāj-jātās cannot be maintained. In the two syllables jñātā, the rubbing shews distinctly the double jj, 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 la, 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 d, and that the stroke for d, for which in fact there is no room, never was engraved here. The reading of the original, in short, is jātas, the nominative singular; not jātās, the nominative plural. This is the first objection to the more serious error, the introduction of traryōdaśa, ‘thirteen,’ immediately after jātas. The second is, that of the six following aksharas which are read s-traryōdaśa [tata], the only parts that can be pronounced on with any certainty, are s, as part of the first, and, at the beginning of line 11, da, the third, which is well preserved and unmistakable. The others are hopelessly injured and unrecognisable; and,—with the exception that the first probably had a t below the s; and that the second looks more like thā (tathā), or dā (taddā), or pā (tapā), than yō,—it is quite impossible, even from the rubbing, to say what they may be. But the culminating and final objection to the reading of traryōdaśa [tata]s-cha is, that, in the passage, as thus read, there is no such word as vyatīśya, vīhāya, hitāya, or tyakta, “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 lacune at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 render it, as I said, impossible to decide what the original reading may have been. But the whole structure of the passage leaves no doubt whatever that the original contained nothing but an epithet, or perhaps two, of Narēndradēva; and that, so far from thirteen rulers having intervened between him and Udayadēva, he was the son of Udayadēva.

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

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

1 The original has dévi va(h)u-va(h)ā-lādhya-Maukharī-kulā śrivarmma &c.; not kula-sri-
varmma, in composition, as in the published text.
deva to Śivadēva II. (both included), all of which denote "generations of kings, not reigns of collaterals," 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-Saṃvat 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 Amśuvaram; and, though not his direct lineal descendants, belonged, like him, to the family which in the Vamsāvali is called the Ṭhākuri 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 Amśuvaram; and which is illustrated in the most pointed way throughout these inscriptions. 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 Sūryaṃsi 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

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2 So also in later times. See, for instance, the colophon of a manuscript of the Ashvaśthasrikiḍ-Prajñāpāramitā (Bendall's Catalogue of Buddhist MSS. p. 4), dated in Nēpāl-Saṃvat 128 (A.D. 1007), which speaks of the double rule of Nirbhaya and Rudradēva; and another manuscript bearing the same title (id. p. 151), dated in Nēpāl-Saṃvat 135 (A.D. 1015), which speaks of the government being enjoyed, half by Bhōjadēva and Rudradēva, and half by Lakṣmīkāmādeva.
### Table XI.

List of the Early Rulers of Népál.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Licchhāvi or SūryavamŚi Family of Mānagriha.</th>
<th>The Thākuri Family of Kailāsakūṭabhavana.</th>
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<td>17. Mahādēva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 733-753.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. Vasantasēna, or Vasantadēva, Mahāraja, son of preceding.—A.D. 754.</td>
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Śivadēva I., in A.D. 653 by Dhruvadēva), in A.D. 705 and 732-33 by Mānādēva, and in A.D. 754 by Vasantasēna or Vasantadēva.

And, on the other side, we have a family, the name of which is not given in the inscriptions hitherto brought to notice, but which in the Vamsāvati 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), A.D. 639, 644, and 649 or 650, by Amśuvarman, in A.D. 653 by Jishñugupta, 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

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

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji treated Anñúvarman as if he was at first the feudatory of Śivádēva I. There is, however, nothing in the inscriptions to support this. The inscriptions of Śivádēva I., it is true, record acts that were done by him “on the advice,” or “at the request,” of Anñúvarman; but this expression, though often used in respect of feudatories and officials, does not of necessity imply any state of subordination. And, whereas Śivádēva I. uses in respect of himself only the feudatory title of Mahárāja, in his own inscriptions he allots to Anñúvarman the equal title of Mahásáman; not simply Sáman, as represented almost throughout by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. Śivádēva I. and Anñúvarman were only co-ordinate feudatories of a paramount sovereign, viś. Harshawardhana of Kanauj. During the time when Anñúvarman was a Mahárājadhírāja 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 śrī, “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 Harshawardhana; when, as Matwan-lin tells us, the kingdom of Kanauj fell into a state of anarchy, and the minister Nafo-ti-a-la-na-shun usurped the supreme power. And Anñúvarman is probably the king of Népál, who came with seven thousand horsemen to help the Chinese general Wang-hiwente, who defeated the usurper. In the time of Dhruvádēva and Jishñugupta, it is possible that the Thákuri family may to a certain extent have acknowledged the Lichchhavis as superior to them. But Śivádēva II. again had the paramount title and rank; and the Lichchhavis were then, of course, again the feudatories of the Thákuri family. Finally, the fact that the Lichchhavi genealogy is given in the Thákuri inscription R., coupled with the use by Jayádēva II. in this inscription of no title but that of Rája (line 14), with the epithet śrī, ‘the illustrious,’ may perhaps indicate that at this latter time the Thákuris 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 Śivádēva I. and Jishñugupta.

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

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

System of Transliteration.

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

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A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on
into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities have been made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *samññhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* 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 *samññhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

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

So also, practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Devanâgarî 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 *akñhara* or syllable.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS.
TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

No. 1; PLATE I.

ALLAHABAD POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION
OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

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 Samharika, 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 achakshana iva bhuvoh
bahir-ayam-uchchhrityah stambhabh, “this lofty column (is) as it were an arm of the earth,
proclaiming (the name of Samudragupta),” he read röma-charmaññah ravi-bhuvoh bahir-
ayam-uchchhrityah stambhabh, 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.¹ 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,
in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. ccxcvii ff., Dr. Bhau Daji notified, from a copy on cloth made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, some corrections in the historical part, in the names of the kings and countries conquered by Samudragupta.¹

The round monolith sandstone column, thirty-five feet in height, on which this inscription is, dates from the third century B.C., as is shewn by the famous edicts of Aśoka on it. It now stands in a conspicuous position inside the Fort at Allahābād (properly Ilahābād), the seat of Government of the North-West Provinces. It is doubtful, however, whether the column was originally erected at this place, or whether, as has been suggested by General Cunningham,² it was first set up at the ancient Kauśāmbi, now represented by the village of Kosam³ on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahābād; and, being still at that place when the present inscription was engraved, was afterwards moved from there to Allahābād by one of the early Musalmān kings of Dehli, just as the two Aśoka columns now at Dehli were brought there from original positions at Meraṭh and in the Siwalik hills. The points in favour of the latter supposition are (1) that the column contains a short Aśoka edict addressed to the rulers of Kauśāmbi,⁴ and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim Huien Tsang makes no mention of this column in his account of Po-lo-ye-kia, i.e. Prayāga or Allahābād.⁵

The writing, which covers a space of about 6' 8" broad by 5' 4" high, commences on the north of the column, towards the north-east, and in the longest part, line 30, runs all round the column, except for a space of about t' 9". The bottom line is about 6' o" above the point where the column starts from its present pedestal. There is a large crack in the column, from above the first word of the first line, and extending down to the beginning of the fourteenth. And the upper part of the inscription has suffered very much, partly from some of the mediaeval inscriptions, which are so abundant on the column, being engraved on and between the original lines here, and partly from the peeling off of the surface of the stone in several places. But nothing of a historical nature appears to have been lost; except, perhaps, after the mention of Nāgasēna 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. Bhau 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 Karāfī, the chief town of the Karafī Pargānā in the Mānjarāpur or Mānjarāpur Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 20' N.; Long. 81° 27'E.

⁴ Corp. Inscr. 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 *Hiouen Thsang*, Vol. II. p. 276 ff.—At the same time, it must be noted that Huien Tsang also makes no mention of any such column in his immediately following account of Kiu-chang-mi or Kauśāmbi.
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 $\frac{1}{76}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$.

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 Panjâb. Even in respect of a character of such leading importance as the letter $m$—though some of these coins exhibit what is called the Indo-Scythic form, in distinction from the $m$ of the northern Gupta inscriptions, yet, on one coin which I had the advantage of examining in General Cunningham's collection, and which has on it the name of Samudra, the $m$ that is used is the so-called Gupta $m$, somewhat later than the $m$ of the present inscription, but of exactly the same shape with the $m$ of mahârâja in line 8 (to choose a clear example) of the Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 below, Plate iiiA. And in the second place, the inscriptions of the Early Guptas themselves were by no means written exclusively in this alphabet. To say nothing of the frequent use of the Indo-Scythic $m$ on Samudragupta's coins,—illustrated, for

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1 Setting aside the few exceptional instances that we have of irregular usage, confined, I think, entirely to coins, this letter is in itself sufficient to shew, for the whole period covered by the inscriptions in this volume, whether the characters of a particular record belong to the northern or to the southern class of alphabets. The $m$ of the Indo-Scythian inscriptions, a good representation of which may be seen in the word mahârâjasya at the beginning of the Mathurâ inscription of Huvishka of the year 39 (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. Pl. xiv. No. 1), is simply a stiff angular development of the $m$ of the Ashoka period. This particular form was not confined, however, to the Indo-Scythian records. We have it, in all its angularity, in the word āndana in the Sâkṣi pillar inscription, No. 73 below, Plate xiliA; and, with very little modification, in the early inscriptions from Nâsik and that neighbourhood published in the Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. Plates xliii 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 Sâkṣi inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 5 below, Plate iiiB, e.g. in mahâvihârâ, line 1; the Gaṅdhar inscription of Viśavarma, No. 17 below, Plate x, e.g. in appratimena, line 4; and the Mandasor inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xi, e.g. in bhaṇam=īdām=udrām, 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 Ērag inscription of Samudragupta, No. 2 below, Plate iiA, e.g. in samara, line 21; and throughout the Udayarâgi cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB, e.g. in mahârâja, at the beginning of line 2.—The $m$ of the inscription now under notice must also be simply a development of the Ashoka $m$, arrived at by forming the left part of the letter in a different way, viz. by one unbroken movement, leading gradually to its being separated entirely from the right part, which then eventually assumed a straight form, instead of curved. And, though the instances in this volume happen to be of later date, undoubtedly the form that we have in for instance, mahârâja, in line 8 of the Mathurâ 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 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 Ėraṅ 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 Norbuddha Alphabet and the Vākāṭaka 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 Junāgāḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta is in a somewhat later modification of the Saurāṣṭra or Kāṭhiaḷa alphabet, exhibited with all its leading characteristics in the inscription of Rudragāmaṇi, on the same rock, of which we have a lithograph in the *Archaeol. Surv. 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 paleography, 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; *vis.* the lingual d, as distinct from the dental ð, exhibited in kridatā, line 14, dāvaka, line 22, and vritīta, line 27; and the lingual dh, exhibited in virāṅha, line 18. On the other hand, in the i which occurs in vyālūta, line 8, kaurāja for kairoja, line 19, saimāja, line 23, and laiṣa, 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 aisi, 'a bee,' in line 1 of the Tuṣām rock inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xlA. In sōbhā, line 18, vishnugopa, line 19, and gō-sata, line 25, the vowel o is formed in rather a peculiar way, which, so far as the right-hand stroke is concerned, is followed also in the vowel ð as attached to the same consonants, *e.g.* in tāsana, lines 23 and 24, and gāṅgāṁ, 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 virīyā, line 13; whereas, in a somewhat later development of this alphabet in Central India, it became the custom, as in the case of other consonants, 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 parakrama, line 17, kriyā, lines 27 and 28, and vikrama, line 30; (2) the doubling of dh (by ð, as required by the rules), in conjunction with a following y and r, in adhyeya, line 16, and saddhu-asaddhu, line 25; and (3) the use of the southerner a, 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 Sone 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'zu-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 Hsang-hu-kong-sh'ing, 'city or royal precinct of the scented flower;' and Po-chü-li-tsu-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 Dasakumdracharita and other books, which give us this form and Pushpapuri, 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 Kanyakubja, or Kanauj, was originally called Kusumapura. And, though he is not absolutely specific on the point, yet the way in which he describes how the town came to be invested with the name of Kanyakubja, seems to indicate that he understood Kusumapura to be the ancient name of the very site which, in his time, was called Kanyakubja. A capital here, or anywhere in this neighbourhood, would be far more in accordance with the localities at which all the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty exist; and still more so with the selection of a column either at Allahábád or at Kausámbi, 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 pāda of the verse that mentions Pushpapura, is so hopelessly illegible; it evidently contained a reference to some river, which might have

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2 I exclude intentionally, of course, the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.
3 The Udayagiri cave inscription, No. 6 below, Plate ivA. l. 4; and the Gadhwa inscription of the year 88, No. 7, Plate ivB. l. 12.
made the point quite clear. As it is, we must look for the clue in the identification of the 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 svæi .......... åtasa .........
2 ya(?/syä(? ......... [II°] [1]
3 Pu(?/næ ......... tra .........
4 spha(? ra-dva(? ......... kshaḥ sphaṭ-
  ñödhvam[i]sita .......... pravítata ......... [II°] [2]
5 Yasya³ praah-añushtâng-öchita-sukha-manasaḥ śàstra-tattv-ārthabhārtuḥ ......... stabdha-ô[——]ni[————]n-öchchhr[————]
7 [Â]ryyê h-îty-upaguhyâ bhâva-pišunair-utkarnâtâ rômabhíḥ sabhyêśh-
  ûcchhvasîtê سh tulyakalajâ-mîlân-ânâñ-ûdyîkshî[ta]h
8 snêha-vyâlûlitêna bâsha-puruńâ tattv-êkshinâ chakshushâ yaḥ pitr- 
  âbhîhitô ni[ř][ksha[y]a nikhi[ň][ñaṃ páhy-êva)m[u]rv[v]lm-it[ii°] 4
9 [Dri]shîvâtâ karmmânya-anêkâny-amunu-sadrisâny-adbhut-ôdbhinâ-harshâ bh[a*]vair-ásâvadaya[———————] [kê]chit
10 vîryô-ôttaptasâs cha kêchich-chharanâm-upagatâ yasya vrittê pranâmê-
  py-ârt[i]ô(ô[?] [———————] [II°] [5]
11 Sâmâgmêsêhâ svâ-bhujâ-vijîtâ nityam-uĉchh-âpârâbı śvahi-śvô mâna-
  pra[———————]
12 tôsh-ôttungaḥ sphaṭa-bahu-rasa-snehâ-phullair-mmanôbhîḥ paśchâtâpam
  va[———————]ma[r[?] sy[â]dâ-vaśa[?/m[?] [II°] [6]
13 Udvêlôdita-bâhu-vîrya-rabhasād-êkêna yêna kshañåd-unmûby-êchuta-
  Nâgasêna-ô[—————————]
14 da nâbrî-ôgrahayat-ôiva Kôta-kula-jâm Pushp-ôhvaye krîdâtâ sûryê
  nê[———————]ta[t[?] [II°] [7]
15 Dharmma-prâchhra-bandhâ saśi-kara-ûchâyah krttayaḥ sa-pratânâ vaidus-
  hyamâ tattva-bhèdi prasâma[————]uku[——] y[k[?]mu[?] [———]t-ârtham[?]
16 addhyeyaḥ sûkta-marggaḥ kavi-mati-vibhâ-ôtsâraṇam ch-âpi kâvyaṁ kò nu 
  syâd-ûśyà na syâd-guṇa-ma[t-ô][i]dushâm dhyâna-pâtram ya êkah [II°] 8
17 Tasya vividha-samasa-ût-ûtatarana-daksâsya svâ-bhujâ-bala-parâkkram-aïka-
  bandhôḥ parâkkram-ânkasya paraśu-śrâ-śaṅku-sakti-prâs-äti-têmar-

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, Sragdhâra.
4 Metre, Sragdhâra.
5 Metre, Sragdhâra.
6 Metre, Sgrâdâvinkmâdita.
7 Metre, Sgrâdâvinkmâdita.
8 Metre, Sgrâdâvinkmâdita.
9 Metre, Sgrâdâvinkmâdita.
bhindipāla-n[ā]rācha-vaitastik-ādy-anēka-praharaṇa-virūdh-ākula-vraṇa-sat-āka-
śōbhā-samuday-ōpachita-kāntatara-varshmanah

Kausalaka-Mahendra-Mahēkājkāntarāka-Vyāghrārāja-Kaurālakā-Maṅ-
tarāvā-Paisṭaparaka-Mahendra-girīKauttirāka-Svāmidattā-Airanda-
pallaka-Damana-Kāṅcēyaka-Vishnugōp-Avamuktaka.

Nilarāja-Vaiṅgēyaka-Hastivarṛma-Pālakkak-Ograsēna-Daivarāśtrakr-
Kubēra-Kausṭhadparaka-Dhananijaya-prabṛhit-sarvva-dakshināpatha-
rāja-grahana-mōksh-anugraha-janita-praṭāp-ōnmiśra-māhābhagasya

Rudradeva-Matila-Nāgadatta-Chandravṛma-Gaṇapatināga-Nāgasēn-
Āchyuta-Nandi-Balavṛma-ādy-anēk-Āryāvartta-rāja-prasabrōddharā-
dvīrtta-prabhāva-mahāthā parichārakātma-sarvva-ātavika-rājasya

Read kaiρālaka, for which the text is obviously a mistake.—The text, as it stands, would give “the country, or city, of Kurājā,” but, though kurdā 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. Kāraḷa, 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 kaurālaka, by mistake for kaiρālaka, through a stroke on the right of the top of the k in kai and of the ra.

This is not altogether an easy passage to deal with. In the first instance, coming immediately after the mention of the city of Paisṭapura, which is the modern Pīṭṭapūram (the ‘Pittapoornam’ of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17° 6’; Long. 85° 18’), the chief town of the Pīṭṭapūram Gaṇḍāḍrā or Estate, twelve miles north by east of ‘Cocanada’ in the Gōdāvīrī District in the Madras Presidency,—the syllables mahēndragiri suggest at once a reference to the famous Mahēndra mountain in the Gafjam District, among the Eastern Ghauts, the ‘Mahēndrogiri’ of maps (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108; Lat. 18° 58’ N.; Long. 83° 26’ E.), which is mentioned in other early inscriptions; for instance, as Mahēndrakhalā, in lines 1 and 3 of the two ‘Chicacole’ grants of the Mahārāja Indravarmaν (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII pp. 120, 123). And this tempts us to divide the passage thus, Paisṭaparaka-Mahēndragiri-Kauttiraka-Svāmidatta, and to translate ‘Svāmidatta of Paisṭapura and of Kotṭūra on Mahēndragiri.’—Another rendering that might suggest itself is ‘Svāmidatta of Paisṭapura, Mahēndragiri, and Kotṭūra;’ which, in fact, except in respect of his mistake of Kurūra, for Kotṭūra, was adopted by Dr. Bhau Daji (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. excviiii). But this is not admissible, because it would require mahēndragirikā in the text, instead of mahēndragiri; 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 Kotṭūra (Kotṭūr), which is a Drvīdian name of frequent occurrence, Oṭṭūr, for which I can find no authority at all, or Hoṭṭūr (if we assume an omission of the initial k), which occurs, but not in connection with any place of importance.—If mahēndragiri is to be taken as one word, and as denoting the mountain, the translation that I have noted above is the one that must be adopted. And it might be supported by the fact that we have a Kottur on almost the same range of hills as that to which the Mahēndragiri belongs; vis. the ‘Kailaskotta and Kylascottah’ of the map (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 107; Lat. 19° 14’; Long. 83° 36’ E.), which represents Kailāsa-Koṭṭa or Kailāsa-Koṭṭ, 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 Svāmidatta with Koṭṭūra only, and to find the name of another king in connection with Paisṭapura.—The first inclination then might be, to divide the text thus, Paisṭaparaka-Mahēnd-
dragiri-Kauttiraka-Svāmidatta; and to translate, “Mahēndragiri of Paisṭapura, and Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra.” But, though girī 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 Gōsāvīs; and even among them it would seem to be confined to one particular division of the Daśanāmi-
Gōsāvīs (see H. H. Wilson’s Works, Rost’s edition, Vol. I. p. 202; Molesworth’s Maṛṭhi Dictionary, s. v. girī; and Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. girī). I think, therefore, that, in the absence of any other analogous instance, it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suitable termination for a king’s name.—I accordingly divide this passage thus, Paisṭaparaka-
Mahēndra-girīKauttiraka-Svāmidatta; and translate, “Mahēndra of Paisṭapura, and Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra on the hill.” And this Giri-Koṭṭūra, or “Koṭṭūra on the hill,” may either be found in the


29 Líchchhavi-dåhuåtråsåyå mahådåvåyåm Kumåradåvåyåm-utphå(tpa)nnåsåyå mahåråjådåhiråja-sri-Samådågåpta-såyå sarvå-pråthåvå-vijåyå-jånit-ådyå-våyåpta-nikhilå-åvanåtalåm kårtåtim-îtas-trisåsåpatå-

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

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

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

Mr. V. A. Smith (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 119, and note) has suggested that this name was not simply Gåpta, as it is usually accepted, but Srågåpta, which form he has used throughout; i.e. that, in this instance, srå is an integral part of the name, not the honorific prefix. His grounds for this opinion are (1) that the past participle gunåta, 'protected,' can hardly stand alone for a proper name, whereas Srågåpta, 'protected by (the goddess) Srå or Lakåshmå,' would be a complete name, giving a suitable meaning; and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim I-ssång (in India from about A.D. 673 to 693) speaks of a king or Mahårdåja called Srågåpta, who preceded his time by about five hundred years (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 571: Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 110), and who has been identified with some of the founders of the Gupta family.—In addition to the instance quoted just above, Srågåpta occurs as the name of a persecutor of Buddha (Beal's Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. II. p. 151 f.) as the name of a Jain saint (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 252); and as the name of a merchant (Népål inscription, No. 13, line 12; id. Vol. IX. p. 176).—But, with regard to the present passage, I have to point out (1) that, as it is now certain that the era used by the Early Gåptas commenced A.D. 319-20, the Mahårdåja Srågåpta, mentioned by I-ssång 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. (2) that, in the well-known name of the Buddhist saint Upagupta (e.g. Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. I. p. 182; Vol. II. pp. 88, 93, 273), we have a precisely similar instance of a past participle, meaning 'hidden, concealed,' standing by itself as a proper name; as also, in its feminine form, Upaguptā, in line 5 of the Aśoka seal of Śrīvāvanvarman, No. 47 below, Plate XXXA. (3) that, when ēri is an integral part of any proper name of importance, it was customary to emphasise it and prevent the possibility of doubt, by inserting the honorific prefix before it; thus, mahādevyām ēri-Śrīmatyām-utpahanaḥ, "begotten on the Mahādevi, the glorious Śrīmati," in line 2 of the Deś-Baranārark inscription of Jñīnagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate XXXIXB; ēri-Śrīpathāyām purī, "at the famous city of Śrīpathā," in verse in line 6 of the Byāna inscription of Vikrama-Saṅkṣer 1100 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 10); and ēri-Śrīpathyām, "at the famous Śrīpathā," in prose in the Byāna inscription of Vikrama-Saṅkṣer 1503 (id. Vol. XV. p. 259). The analogy would require here the reading of mahārāja-ēri-Śrīgupta-praputraṣya; which, however, does not once occur in the Early Gupta inscriptions. And (4) the word gupta does not appear at all in the name of Dattotkacha in the next generation; it is only in the case of his son, Chandragupta, the next successor of the latter, that the word is of necessity only an integral part of a fuller name. —There is, therefore, no objection, but on the contrary every reason, to read the present name as simply 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 ēriyā guptaḥ " (protected by the goddess Śrī). The name Rakṣita occurs repeatedly among Brāhmaṇs and Buddhists; "and means the same thing. The origin of such names as Datta, Gupta, Rakṣita, &c., [the two first of these are well-known surnames in Bengal in the present day] " now, 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 Kātyāyana, in a Vārttika on Pānini, vii. 3, 45, where he teaches that, when the second part of a compound is left out, the a is to remain unchanged before the feminine termination "a;" thus, the feminine form of Dēvadattaka is Dēvadattikā; but, if Dēvaka is substituted for "Dēvadattaka, then the feminine is to be Dēvakā, not Dēvikā. The second shortening also is common; thus, we have nābhī for mṛgandāṭhī, 'musk'; tāña for haritāṭhī, a kind of tree; vālī for "khalīvālī, '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 Sarman for Dhruvaśarman in line 11 of the Bilsā inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 below, Plate v. But instances of the omission of the second part of a name are common enough. Thus, we have the use of Samudra on some of Samudragupta's gold coins, e.g. Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5, and p. 173; of Chandra and Kumāra, for Chandragupta II. and Kumāragupta, in the same series; of Vikrama and Mahēndra, for their full titles Vikramaditya and Mahēndrāditya, illustrated partly in the same series, and partly in Kumāragupta's silver coins (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 66); of Śāṅkarā and Ananta, for Śāṅkūvavarman and Anantavarman, in the Barhār and Nāgārjuna Hill inscriptions, No. 48 below, Plate XXXIXB. II. 1, 4, 5, and No. 49, Plate XXXXI. II. 1, 8; of Kākusthā and Mṛgēśa for Kākusthāvarman and Mṛgēśavarman in one of the Haisl grants (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 28, II. 3, 4); of Harsha, for Harshavadhana of Kanauj, e.g. in the Kauṭēhā grant of Vikramaditya V. (id. Vol. XVI. p. 22, l. 26); of Vikrama, for the Western Chālukya king Vikramaditya VI., e.g. in one of the Nārēgāl inscriptions (Jour. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XL. p. 226, l. 24); and of Padma and Śāraya, for Padmapāla and Śārayapāla, in the Gwālior inscription of Mahāpāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 36 ff., II. 1, 9, 22, 58.)

1 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
32 Khâdyatapâkikasya mahâdañjanâyaka-Dhruvabhi-patrasya sándhvigrâhika-
kumârâmâtya-ma[hâdañjanâya]ka-Harishênasya sarvâ-bhûta-hita-sukhây-
âstù 1(II)
33 Anushãhitam cha paramabhattâraka-pâd-ânudhyâtêna mahâdañjanâyaka-
Tilabhatâtakañê 1(II)/

TRANSLATION.

(Line 29.)—This lofty column (is) as it were an arm of the earth,\footnote{1} proclaiming the fame,—which, having pervaded the entire surface of the earth with (its) development that was caused by (his) conquest of the whole world, (has departed) hence (and now) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (his) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,\footnote{2}—of the Mahâdrâjâhirdiâja,\footnote{3} the glorious\footnote{4}

\footnote{1} By taking an alternative meaning of "uchchhritah," 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 sthâpitah would have been a better word to use than uchchhritah, and the word would have stood better after, instead of before, stambhah. It seems best to adopt a translation that does not bind us to either view.—Princep 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 (Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 967 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.

\footnote{2} i.e. on his death. —Compare the expression in line 23 f. of the Kardå grant of Kakka III. of Śaka-Saṅvat 894,—"and when (his) elder brother, the glorious Krishparâjâdëva, 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 Gaṅgetic inscription of Mahâpåla of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1150 (id. Vol. XV. pp. 37, 43).—"Padmapâla, still a youth, through the adversity of fortune, obtained a seat [on the lap] of Sahastrâkanda (Indra)."

\footnote{3} Mahâdrâjâhirdiâja, iit. 'supreme king of Mahâdrâjas' (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 idiosyncracies of the translators, and which can never suffice to give exact and complete equivalents for the original titles.—The present title, Mahâdrâjâhirdiâja, in somewhat later times, is almost always coupled with two others, Paramâvâra, 'supreme lord,' and Paramabhattâraka, 'most worshipful one;' e.g. in line 50 ff. of the Alñâ grant of Śilâditya VII., No. 39 below, Plate xxv. And the connection of the three titles was so constant, that a Râwa grant (unpublished) of Trailôkymallâ, dated Vikrama-Saṅvat 1297, considers it unnecessary to give all three titles in full, and contents itself with describing him as paramabhattârak-ety-âdi-râjâvâlī-tray-opâsa, "possessed of the three kingly titles (iit. succession) commencing with Paramabhattâraka." Other titles of paramount sovereignty, occurring in this series, are Râjâhirdiâja and Chakravartin.

\footnote{4} iï, 'fortune, majesty, glory,' and srimat, 'possessed of fortune, majesty, glory,' are words of constant occurrence as honorific prefixes to the names of persons, gods, places, &c. I render them by 'glorious,' in the case of paramount sovereigns and their wives; 'illustrious,' of feudatories and other ordinary persons; 'saintly,' of priests, teachers, &c.; 'holy,' of gods; and 'famous,' of towns, &c.—The usual rule seems to have been, to use isi before a consonant, and srimat before a vowel; thus srimad-âdhyâlak-sûdra ...... sri-Nannadevâya tânaya-prâptak ...... sri-Mahâstâva-Tvåradhâja, in the Râjim grant of the Râja Tvârâdeva, No. 81 below, Plate xiv. l. 16 ff. But instances of deviancy from this occur; thus, without sa mí or the euphonic joining of vowels, sri-Adityasénadéva, in the Shâhpur image inscription, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA. l. 2 f., and sri-Adityasénadévas and sri-
Samudragupta,—

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

(L. 3.)—[Who] twanging (of the bow-string) burst open and scattered dishevelled ...

(L. 5.)—Whose happy mind was accustomed to associate with learned people;—who was the supporter of the real truth of the scriptures;... firmly fixed ...

—who, having overwhelmed, with the (force of the) commands of the collective merits of (his) learned men, those things which obstruct the beauty of excellent poetry, (still) enjoys, in the world of the wise, the sovereignty of the fame (produced) by much poetry, ... and of clear meaning;—

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

Ijjädényám, in the Dēo-Baranāk inscription of Jvītagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxix:B., lines 2 f. and 5 f.; and, on the other hand, parānabhatyāraka-mahādrājādhiraśa-paramēṣvara-śrīmat-Suvannavarshādeva-priheṣvāllabha-śrīmad-Valabhanarāṇeśvarādāvah, used in respect of the Rashtrakūta king Gōvinda V in his Sāngit grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 251, l. 39 f.) and numerous other instances. —It has been suggested that only śrī, not śrīmat, is used in the case of paramount sovereigns. But this is not the case. In addition to the passage noted above in connection with Gōvinda V, we have paramēṣvara-śrīmad-Avantivarmanād, in the Dēo-Baranāk inscription, l. 15; śrīmad-Ādityavarma-priheṣvāllabha-mahādrājādhiraśa-paramēṣvara, applied to the Western Chalukya king Ādityavarman in his Kṣāṇa grant (Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Sac. Vol. XVI. p. 234, l. 12 f.); parānabhatyāraka-mahādrājādhiraśa-paramēṣvara-śrīmad-Dhāravarshādeva, applied to the Rashtrakūta king Dhruva, in the Wani grant of Gōvinda III. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 33 f.); śrīmad-Amoghavarsha-Nripatunga, used of king Amoghavarsha I. of the same dynasty, in his Śirur inscription (id. Vol. XII. p. 219, l. 16); śrīmad-Vikramaditya-śrīmad-Tribhuvanamalladā, used of the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya V., in his Kauṭheśī grant (id. Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 73); and many other examples of the same usage.

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

"(The termination) varman is prescribed for a Brāhmaṇ; varman belongs to a Kṣatriya; (and) a name characterised by gupta or dasa is approved of in the case of (respectively) a Vaiśya and a Śūdra." The commentary in the Bombay edition gives, as examples, Sōmaśarman, Indravarman, Chandragupta, and Śivādāsa. (See also F. E. Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. III. p. 99 f.) —So also in the Mānaśvarmaśatra, ii. 31 (Burnell's Translation, p. 20), a rule of the same tendency is laid down, though without specifying any particular terminations.—On this authority, it has been suggested that the Early Guptas were not of high rank, being at the best of the Vaiśya caste; and that this is the reason why they felt such pride in their alliance with the Lichchhavis, as shown by the record of the name of Kumāradēvi and of her family on some of the gold coins of Chandragupta I., and by the epithet, "daughter's son of Lichchhavi (or of a Lichchhavi king)," that is always applied to Samudragupta in the genealogical passages.—No doubt some such rules as those prescribed by the Vishnu-Purāṇa and Mānaśvarmaśatra, were followed more or less in early times. But, as instances of deviation from them, we have the name of the well-known astronomer Brahmagupta, who it can hardly be doubted was a Brāhmaṇ; and Dāsavarman occurs, as the name of a Brāhmaṇ, in line 36 of the Nerūr grant of Vijayāditya, dated Śaka-Saṅhvat 627 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 131; Indian Inscriptions, No. 20); and doubtless numerous similar instances might be found, if proper indexes were available.
round and round in affection, (and) laden with tears (of joy), (and) perceptive of (his noble) nature,—[to govern of a surety] the whole world;—

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

(L. 11.)—[Whose]........................ doers of great wrong, always conquered by his arm in battle, ...... to-morrow and to-morrow . ............ pride ............... ........ repentence, 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 Nágaséna .............. ....;—(by whom), causing him who was born in the family of the Kótas 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 here 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, vaitāstikas,4 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 Mahêndra of

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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 tat-parigrihita, “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 Nêph inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. pp. 164, l. 18 ff. and 165, v. 8 ff.), Râyjavati, the widow of Dharmadeva, is described as bewailing the uselessness of her own life after her husband’s death, and as directing her son, Mânadeva, to reign, that she may follow her deceased lord.

2 With this expression, compare the legend on some of Samudragupta’s gold coins,—Samaratata-vitata-vijaya jita ...... devō 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 parâkrama, ‘prowess,’ 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 vitasti, ‘a long span, measured by the extended thumb and little finger.’
Kōsala, Vyāghrājā of Mahākāntāra, Maṇṭarājā of Kērāla, Mahēndra of Pīśṭapura, Svāmīdatta of Koṭṭūra on the hill, Damana of Ėrāṇḍapalla, Vishṇugopa of Kāṇchi, Nilarājā of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Veṇgi, Ugrasēna of Palakkā, Kubēra of Dēvarāṣṭra, Dhananjaya of Kusṭhalapura, and all the other kings of the region of the south;—

(L. 21.)—Who abounded in majesty that had been increased by violently exterminating Rudradēva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandrarvarman, Ganapatināg, Nāgaseṇa, Achyuta, Nandina, Balavarman, and many other kings of (the land of) Āryāvarta;—who made all the kings of the forest countries to become (his) servants;—

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

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

5 dakṣiṇapatha, 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 uttarapatha, 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. samavasaṃsata-sakalottarapathāvāra-vṛt-Harshavardhana, ‘the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north,' in line 8 of the Neṛūr grant of the Western Chalukya king Vijayādiya, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 622 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 127); and, in line 20 f. of the same grant, it is contrasted with the dakṣiṇapatha, which is there mentioned under the synonym of dakshiṇāḍa, 'the southern quarter or region.'—A perhaps better known name of Northern India is Āryāvarta, 'the abode of the Āryas, or excellent or noble people,' which occurs in line 21 of the present inscription.—In the Mānavadharmaśāstra, ii. 22 (Burnell's Translation, p. 18) Āryāvarta is defined as the land between the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western sea. But a more precise division between the uttarapatha and the dakṣiṇapatha is given by the poet Rājaśekhara, who, in the Bōḷārāmdyavana, Act 6 (see V. Sh. Apte's Rājaśekhara: his Life and Writings, p. 21), speaks of the river Narmadā (the 'Nerbuḍa,'), which rises in, and runs along close to the south, of the Vindhya range, as 'the dividing-line of Āryāvarta and the dakṣiṇapatha.'

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

Compare the passage in line 8 f. of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Samkhshobha, No. 25 below, Pt. xviB, describing his ancestor Hastin as ruling over his hereditary kingdom of Ğabhāla, together with the eighteen forest kingdoms.—I have not been able to trace any definition of the terms dīvēka-rāja, 'forest-kings' or 'kings of forest countries,' and ajaṭi-rāja, 'forest-kings; much less to obtain any enumeration of the eighteen forest-kings referred to in connection with the Mahārāja Hastin. But Hastin's territories lay in the direction of Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Rāwa, and other neighbouring parts of the Vindhya range. And I notice that the term Vindhya-rāva, the 'forests of the Vindhya mountains' (which are so often referred to in one of the customary imprecatory verses used in inscriptions), is given by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as seeming to have denoted originally the whole extent of country from near Mathurā to the Narmadā. 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-rāṣṭra, 'forest-countries,' and vana-rāja, 'forest-kings,' occur in the Brihat-Samhitā, xiv. vv. 29, 30. But the countries there spoken of, lay in the north-east division of India, as mapped out by Varahamihira; and they are, at any rate, not the countries referred to in connection with the Mahārāja 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-kings of Samatāta, Davāka, Kāmarūpa, Nēpāla, Kartriṣupura, and other (countries), and by the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Vaudhēyas, Mādrakas, Abhiras, Prārjunas, Sanakāṇikās, Kākas, Kharaparikās, 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;—whose 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 as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa-tokens, (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his) commands, &c., (rendered) by the Daivaṃputras, Śāhīs, ŚāhānūshŚāhīs, Śakas, and Mūruṇḍas, and by the people of Simhāla 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 name 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 Varūpa and Indra and Antaka;—whose officers were always employed in restoring the wealth of the various kings who had been conquered by the strength of his arms;—

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

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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 garutmat-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. — garutmat is explained in dictionaries as meaning 'a bird in general,' as well as denoting 'the bird Garuḍa.' But its most usual and special signification is 'Garuḍa;' as, for instance, in line 7 of the Rājim grant of the Rājā Tīvarādeva, No. 81 below, Plate xlv.

4 Three of the habitual expressions of the Early Gupta records, applied always and only to Samudragupta,—viz. the present one; "who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka," which we have here in line 26; and "whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans," which occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.,—are applied, curiously enough, to the Chalukya chieftain Vijayarāja 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 epitaph, the reading there is sama-prabhava, instead of simply sama.—Of the present epitaph, 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.

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

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

1 Nārada is regarded as the inventor of the vina or lute; and, with this reference to him and to the musical accomplishments of Samudragupta, 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 Samudragupta playing the lute.

2 Compare lines 6 and 16 of this inscription.—The title kaurśrāja, ‘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 useful in use in translations from the Sanskrit. The Hindus were almost always most careful about using properly discriminating terms, e.g. pautra for a grandson through a son, and da(u)hitra 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 Nēpāl inscriptions, Dr. Bhāgwanlal Indraji (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 181) spoke of “Vatsadevī . . . . the daughter of illustrious Bhāgavarmar . . . . the grand-daughter of great Ādityasēna, the illustrious lord of Madhagha.” From this, Gen. Cunningham (Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. XV. p. 163) naturally enough treated Bāhāgavarmar, who belonged really to the Maukharī family, as a son, instead of a son-in-law, of Ādityasēna. This mistake could not have occurred, if dauhitī 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 naᵺrī and pranāptṛī. They both occur in the grants of the Mahārājās Hastin and Sāmkshobha, Nos. 21 to 25 below; and naᵺrī occurs in line 5 of the Bhumaḍa pillar inscription, No. 24 below, Pl. xvi A. 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 Vāsudēva, who, there is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 9, 39, and 83 (Arch. Surv. Ind. 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 Rājāśrāja, ‘superior king of kings,’ by the same three kings in their inscriptions of the years 11, 47, and 87 (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 326; Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 33, Pl. xiv. No. 12, and p. 35, Pl. xv. No. 18). So also, in conjunction sometimes with the same word and sometimes with Rājāśrāja, ‘king of kings,’ the two together representing the Greek basileus basileon, it was used, in Pāśīrī, on the bilingual coins of earlier date; e.g. in conjunction with Rājāśrāja, on the coins of Hemakapadhis (Gardner and Poole’s Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, p. 124 ff.), and, in conjunction with Rājāśrāja, on the coins of Aces (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 basileon 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 Samudrasēna and his ancestors in the Nirmanad grant, No. 80 below, Plate xlv, the title Mahāśāmanta, lit. ‘great chief of a district,’ appears to have been exactly co-ordinate with that of Mahārāja.—A third title, Mahāśāmattī, lit. ‘great lord of the army,’ seems to have denoted equal rank with these two; since it is coupled with Mahārāja in the fragmentary Bijayagāth inscription of the Yaudhēyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxvi B, and also in the Walā clay seal of Pushyēpa (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 274 f.)—And three other offices, viz. those of Mahāpratihāra, Mahādandaśīyaka, and Mahākarīkītika, would seem to have been sometimes held by Mahārājas and Mahāśāmantas; since we find all five titles applied to Dhrussēna I. of Valabhī in line 13 f. of the Walā grant of Gupta-Saṃvat 216 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 105).

As regards this name, see page 8 above, note 3.
Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghatottkacha;—who was the son of the Mahārājadhīrāja, the glorious Chandragupta (I), (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhavi,¹ begotten on the Mahādevi² Kumāradēvi;—

(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) Gaṅgā, flowing quickly on being liberated from confinement in the thickets of the matted hair of (the god) Paśupati.³

(L. 31.)—And this poetical composition,—(the work) of the Khādya-ṭapākika,⁴ the son of the Mahādandānayaka⁵ Dhruvabhūti, the Sāṃdhivigrahikā⁶ and Kumārāmātiya,⁷ the Mahādandānayaka Harishēna, 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 Bhitāri pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.; in line 5 of the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; and in the Mānavadharmāśatra, 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 Mahādevi, 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 Kārttikālī grant of Jayaṇātha, No. 26 below, Plate vii.—As applied to the wives of paramount sovereigns, we have it again in the present volume, in conjunction with Paramahattīrīṇī and Rājīṇī, in the Mandār Hill inscriptions of Adityāśēna, Nos. 44 and 45 below, and throughout the Dē-Brāṇaprakīśa inscription of Jīvitagupta II., No. 40 below, Plate xxixB. In other series it occurs, for instance, as part of the name of Śikamahādevī, the queen-consort of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II., in some of his Pattakālī inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 164 ff.); and as the title of Gāmudabbe, the wife of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III., in line 5 of the grant of Śaka-Saṃvat 726 (id. Vol. XI. p. 127).

³ When, under the circumstances referred to in the note on line 3 f. of the Mandaśor inscription of Yāśōdharman and Vīshāhuvardhanā, No. 33 below, Plate xxix., 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 coiled 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 Mahādandānayaka, lit. 'great leader of the forces,' is a technical military title.—The officer who held this rank was the superior of the Dandānayakas, or 'leaders of the forces,' This latter title occurs, for instance (together with that of Piriyadandānayaka), which is the Old-Kanarese translation of the Sanskrit Mahādandānayaka), in line 17 ff. of the Balagāhī inscription of Sankamadeva (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 46).—We constantly meet with Dandānātha, Dandādhīnātha, Dandādhīpa, Dandādhipati, Dandāsena, and Dandāśvarama, as synonyms of Dandānāyaka.—Prinsep translated Mahādandānayaka 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 "fine" and "rod (of chastisement)," as well as "army, forces," the titles in which it occurs are capable of being explained as either judicial or military. But, that they are employed in the inscriptions as military titles, is shewn (1) by the way in which the words Chamānātha, Chamāpā, Chamāpati, &c., in which chami means only "army," are occasionally used as synonyms for Dandānāyaka, &c., e.g. in line 33 ff. of the Kargudari inscription of Vikramāditya VI. and Tailapa II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 231), where the Dandādhīnātha and Dandādhīpa Īśvaraya is also called Āmāpā; and (2) by the definition of the Dandānāyaka Kāvanayya as samastam-sēn-īgṛṣvāra, or 'leader of the whole army,' in 'line 19 of the Balagāhī inscription referred to above.

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

⁷ Kumārāmātiya, lit. 'counsellor of the prince,' is another technical official title.—The next grade above it was that of the Mahākumārāmātiya, who is mentioned, for instance, in line 33 of the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 306.)
A.—Maharudi Pehappee Pillar Inscription of Chandra.

B.—Mandasa Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman.
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' 4" broad where it starts from the base; part of the shaft, about 17' 6" in length, is still connected with the base, making the length of this fragment about 21' 5"; and the present inscription, occupying five of the sixteen faces, is on this fragment, the bottom line being about 3' 2" above the top of the base. Immediately in continuation of this, there lies the remainder of the shaft, about 17' 10" long; at the upper end of this, the faces are each about 7" broad, shewing that the column tapers slightly from bottom to top. The upper end of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews these two fragments make up the entire shaft, the total length of which was thus about 39' 3", or 34' 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 Sâñchi, 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' 8" in diameter and 4" deep, with eight other rectangular socket-holes round it, one in the centre of each side, and one opposite each corner. The total length of this column, up to the top of the lion-capital, is about 44' 5"; or forty feet above the ground, if it stood with the entire base buried. The square lion-capital must have been surmounted by a statue or statues, of the same kind as that which stands on the summit of the column at Éran which has on it Budhagupta'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 kirtâ 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 kirtâ 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

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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 xxixC., 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'\(\frac{1}{2}\)" square by 3'\(\frac{1}{11}\)" high. Differing from the first column, the base here is followed by a concave circular part, about 1'\(\frac{1}{2}\)" 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'\(\frac{1}{11}\)" long; and a row of chisel-marks all round the column here, shew 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 5'\(\frac{1}{10}\)" long; and the remnant of the duplicate inscription is here, on two of the faces; the bottom line of it being about 2'\(\frac{9}{14}\)" 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'\(\frac{9}{10}\)" 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'\(\frac{1}{12}\)" high and 3'\(\frac{1}{3}\)" 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'\(\frac{1}{10}\)" high and 3'\(\frac{10}{11}\)" 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 sinha 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\(\frac{1}{4}\)" 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 Īraṅ column, as shewing

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\(^1\) 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 Īraṅ 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 tòrna 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 rashastambhas or “columns of victory in war,” such as the Kauthëm grant of Vikramaditya V., dated Śaka-Samvat 930 (A.D. 1008-9) expired, speaks of as having been set up by the Râshtrakûta king Karkara or Kakka III., and as having then been cut asunder in battle by the Western Châlukya king Taila II.

To return to the inscription on the first column,—the writing, which covers a space of about 3' 2½" broad by 1' 2½" 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 ½" to 8".

Differing from the Mandasâr inscription of Kumâragupta 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 Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and, in others, of that of the Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 above, Plate iii.B. They include the rather rare lingual dh, in upagâda, line 4. In vîrya, line 4, and sâmanair-yasya, 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 sumérâr=vvighaṭita, line 1, and dharmmasya, line 8, the r is formed above the top line of writing, and the consonant is doubled, usually 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 upadhâkṣyā in śikharinâḥ-paschimād, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvâra, before s, in ānṣu, line 5, and vañśa, line 8; and before s, in tējâṣi, line 1, and pânsu, line 3; (3) the doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, in akkrânti, line 4; chakkra, line 7; mâttra and yattra, line 3; anyatra, line 6; and ndyitā-ttra, line 7; but not in kriyânti, line 5, and satru, line 1; and (4) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in addhyâsînt, line 4.

The inscription is one of a king named YâsOdharman, whose dominions are described as including the whole of the northern part of India, from the river Lauhitya, 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, varman occurs as the termination of proper names, and to the rarity of dharman,—there might be some temptation to suggest that YâsOdharman should be corrected into YâsOvarman. 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 xxii. C.; and again in line 8 below; and again in the same name in line 4 of the inscription of YâsOdharman and Vishnuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii. The form dharman is not of frequent occurrence. But we do meet with it in other proper names; e.g. Kritadharman, Kshatrtradharman, Kshêmadharman, Jayadharman, and Sudharman. And it also occurs in ordinary composition; e.g. in Manu-dâi-praśita-vidhi-vidhâna-dharmâ, in line 5 of the Mâliyâ grant of the Mahârdâja Dharasêna II. of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.; and in têjâbhîr-âditya-samâna-dharmâ, in line 29 of the Kauthëm grant of Vikramaditya V. of Śaka-Samvat 930 expired (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 22).
We have an important allusion in the statement that he possessed countries which not even the Guptas and the Hānas could subdue; and a still more important record, in connection with the general history of the period, to the effect that homage was done to him by even the famous king Mihirakula. It is not dated. But Yasōdharmān’s date is now known from the Mandaśrō inscription of Mālava-Śamvat 589 (A.D. 332-33) expired, No. 35 below, which mentions him and Vishnupardhana; and the present inscription, having been engraved by the same person, Gōvinda, must fall within a few years on either side of that date. Also, the use of the present tense almost throughout, coupled with the record that Yasōdharmān himself erected the column, shews that the inscription is one of his own time, not posthumous. The opening verse contains a Śaiva invocation; which is in accordance with the boast, in line 6, that Yasōdharmān never bowed his head to any save the god Śiva. But the record itself is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to narrate the erection of the column, for the purpose of reciting the king’s glory and power.

TEXT.

1 Vēpantē yasya bhūma-stanīta-bhaya-samudhrānta-daiyā digantāh śīṅg-
āghātāi Sumērōr-vvighaṭita-drishadhaḥ kandarā yaḥ karoti i
ukṣhānām tam dādhānāh kshitiḥdharatayanā-datta-paṇḍaṅgū-
āṅkaṃ drāghishṭhat Śūlapānē kshapayatu bhavatām śatrū-tējānī
kētub II

2 Avirbhūt-āvalēpair-avinaya - paṭubhir = llāṅghit-āchāra - mārggair = mmohād = aidam-
yugīnair-apa-śubha-ratibhiḥ pīḍyam’anā narēndrāh I yasya kshmā
Śārgapāṇer-īva kathina-dhanur-jyā-śīn-ānka-prakōṣṭham bāhum lōk-
opakāra-vrata-sahpala-parispanda-dhīram prapannā II

3 Nindy-āchārēshu yō = smin-vinaya-mushī yugē kalpānā-mattrā-vrit[1]*yā
rājasv=anyēshu pāṇsushv-īva kusuma-balir=nn=ābabhāsē prayuktah I sa
śreyo-dāhmī samrād-iti Manu-Bharat-Ālarka-Māndhāṭri-kalpē kalyāgē
hēmī bhāsvān=mañjī-īva sutarām bhrājatē yattra sābāh II

4 Yē bhukta Guptā-nāthair-nna sakala-vasudh-ākṛantti-drīṣṭha-pratapair-nn=
ājñā Hūn-ādhipānam kshiti-pati-mukut-āddhyāsīnī yān-pravishūtā
deśāṃs-tan-dhanva-śaila-drumba-sa(ga)hana-sarid-virābh-āpughūn=vīry-avā-
skanna-rājñīn svā-griha-paṃsar-avajñayā yō bhunaktī II

5 A Lauhity-ūpakāntāḥ-tala-vana-gahān-ūpatyakād=A Mahēndrād=a Gaṅg-
āśleṣṭa-sāṁdo=tuhinaśikharināh=paśchimād=a payōdēḥ I sāmantaṁ-
yasya bāhu-draviṇa-hrita-madaḥ pādayōr-ānamadbhiḥ-chōḍāratn-ānṣu-rājī-
vyatikara-sabhā bhūmi-bhāgah kriyante II

6 Sthānōr-anyattra yēna praṇati-kriṣnapatām prāpitām n-ōttamāṅgam yasya-
āśleṣṭo bhujābhyām vahati himagirī-duṛggaa-śabd-ābhīmānan I

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1 It is doubtful whether this denotes here the famous Mahēndragiri or Mahēndrachala in the Gājān District, among the Eastern Ghaṣṭras; or another mountain of the same name, not so well known, which appears to be mentioned also in line 2 of an earlier Nāśik inscription of the nineteenth year of Sīri-Pulamāyī (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. No. 14, pp. 108, 109), and in the Brīhat-Samhitā, xv. vv. 11-16 (Kern’s Translation, Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 83), and must be located somewhere in the Western Ghaṣṭras.

2 From the ink-impression.

3 Metre, Srādgdrā; and in the next seven verses
TRANSLATION.

May that very long banner of (the god) Śūlapāṇi destroy the glory of your enemies;— (that banner) which bears (a representation of) the bull (Nandi), marked by the five fingers (dipped in some dye and then) placed on him by (Pārvati) the daughter of the mountain (Himālaya), who causes the distant regions, in which the demons are driven wild with fear by (his) terrible bellows, to shake; (and) who makes the glens of (the mountain) Suméru to have their rocks split open by the blows of his horns!

(Line 2.)—He, to whose arm, as if (to the arm) of (the god) Śāringapāṇi,—the tore-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 when it is not laid down) in the dust;—he in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue, (and so) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Māndhātri, the title of "universal sovereign" shines more (than in any other), like a resplendent jewel (set) in good gold:—

(L. 4.)—He who, spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys those countries,—thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes, (and) having (their) kings assaulted by (his)

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1. Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).
2. Supply praśastiḥ.
3. samrāj; 'a sovereign who rules over kings and has performed the rājasāya-sacrifice.'—For a description of the rājasāya, which is a great sacrifice or religious ceremony performed, at the coronation of a supreme sovereign or universal monarch, by the king himself and his tributary princes, see the Rājasāya-Parva in the Sakhā-Parva of the Mahābhārata; Protap Chandra Roy's Translation, page 95 ff.
prowess,—which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas, 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) Mahêndra; the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (and) from (Himálaya) the mountain of snow, the tablelands of which are embraced by the (river) Gaṅgâ, 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) Sthānu;—he, through the embraces of whose arms (Himálaya) 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 Yasódharmar, 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 Yasódharmar, 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 Vásula, the son of Kakka. (This eulogy) has been engraved by Góvinda.

1 Sámanda, 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 Mahásúmanda, which title occurs, for instance, in several places in the Nirmaññ grant of the Mahásúmanda and Mahárâja Samudrasena, No. 80 below, Plate xlv. Sámanda 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 châdâ 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 vahati, 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 Yāsodharmān on the second inscribed column, described at page 144 above, at Mandasor,¹ or more properly Dasor, the chief town of the Mandasor District of Scindia's Dominions, in the Western Mālwa division of Central India. It was discovered by Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who forwarded his hand-copy of it to General Cunningham in 1879. And it was this that led to the search which was made under my direction in 1884, and which resulted in the discovery of the entire copy of this inscription No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxii B, and of the inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman of the Mālwa 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 ¼" to ⅓".

The characters belong, as before, to the northern class of alphabets, and were engraved by the same person, Gōvinda, who engraved the entire copy, No. 33 above; and this record appears to have been in all essential details an exact reproduction of the copy that has been preserved entire. We have the lingual dh in upagudha, line 4. And the two methods of forming r in combination with a following consonant, are very well illustrated by vṛṣṇa, line 4, and ḍhahārair-manihrakula, line 6.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1), as before, the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in anśu, line 5; and before ś, in teṣāṃśi, line 1; and (2) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in yatttra; line 3, and ndyitā-tra, line 7; and also in sātra, line 1, where it is not doubled in the entire copy.

This fragmentary inscription preserves the names of Yāsodharmān and Māhārakula. But the passage mentioning the Guptas and the Hūṇas has been lost; and also that which gives the boundaries of Yāsodharmān's dominions.

TEXT.²

1. ....... [da]tta²-paṇcḥ-āṅgul-āṅkaṁ drāghishṭhāḥ Śūlapāṇeḥ kshapayatu
   bhavatāṁ śatrut-tējāṃsi kētuḥ II
2. ....... [yj]a-kīn-āṅka-prakōṣṭhaṁ bāhum lōk-ōpakāra-vrata-saphala-
   paripandam-dhūṁ prapannā II
3. ....... [Ā]larka-Māndhātri-kalpe kalyāṇe hēmi bhāsvān-manjīr-iva
   sutarāṁ bhrājāte yattra sābadha II
   yō bhunakti II

See page 79 above, and note 1.
²From the ink-impression.
³Metre, Srāgdhāra; and in the next seven verses.
5 ...... pádayór-ānamadbhiṣ-chedāratn-ānuṣu-rāja-vyatikara-śabalā bhūmi-bhāgah
      kriyante II.
6 ...... [Āvar]jana-kliṣṭa-mūrdhṇā chūḍā-pushp-ōpahārārī mmihirakula-
      nripēn-ārchen aṁ pāda-yugmaṁ II
7 ...... [gré]-Yasōdharmman-āyam stambhaḥ stambh-ābhirāma-sthira-bhuja-
      parighēn-ōchchhrtrim nāyītō-trīra II
8 ...... [Yasōdha]rmmṇaś-chandra-bimbē rāgād=utkshipta uchchhair-bhuja
      iva ruchimān-yāh prithivyā vibhāti II
9 ...... [Kā]kkasya śununā II Utkirṇā Gōvindēnā II

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 Yasōdharmman, complete in line 7, and partially preserved in
line 8; the name of Mmihirakula, very clearly legible, in line 6; and, in line 9, the name
of Gōvinda, 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 Mandasōr, or more properly Dasōr, the chief town
of the Mandasōr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mālwa 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, mea-
suring 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 compart-
ments 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 horse-
back, facing towards the central dividing sculpture; the horseman on the proper right
side carries in his left hand either a chaurī or fly-flap made from the bushy tail of the Bos
Grunniens, or a sāṅkha 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 fastened in the position in which it was discovered, with the inscribed

1 Metre, Ślokā (Anushtubh).
2 See page 145 above, note 2
3 Supply praiastih.
4 See page 79 above, and note 1.
Bhaṭṭāraka,⁴ (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 Mahādandandyaka Tilabhattaka, who meditates on the feet³ of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka.⁵

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⁴It is somewhat doubtful whether this title here denotes Samudragupta, or his successor; but on the whole, tēṣām, 'these,' being used, not tēṣām, '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.—Bhaṭṭāraka, 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 Śivadēva I. in two of the Nēpāl inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 168, No. 5, line 2, and Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 2), and with the name of the Mahārāja Dhruvadēva in the same series (id. Vol. IX. p. 173. No. 10, line 4, where the syllables māhā, at the end of the line, are omitted in the published text). So, also, we find the feminine form, Bhaṭṭārikā, used as the termination of the names of wives of Mahārājas; e.g. in line 3 ff. of the Aśrīgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA, and in line 4 of the Nīrmanda grant of the Mahārāja and Mahāśānta Samudrasēna, No. 80 below, Plate xlv.—As applied to paramount sovereigns, the fuller and more usual title is Paramabhaṭṭāraka, 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 Nēpāl inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 172). Ānūsvarman has the titles of Bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārajalāducationa; in line 17 ff. of the Wokkalēri grant of Kumārtva, No. 47 below, (id. Vol. VIII. p. 26 f.), the Western Chalukya king Śivakramādkātika I. and his successors, down to Kumārtva, all have the titles of Mahārajalāducationa, Paramāśwarā, and Bhaṭṭāraka. And we have the same title in Old-Kanarese inscriptions, in the abbreviated, or perhaps original, forms of Bhaṭṭāra and Bhaṭṭārā; e.g. in line 2 f. of the Mahākāta grant of the Western Chalukya king Vijayādkātika (id. Vol. X. p. 103), in which he has the titles of Mahārajādāvārāja, Paramāśwarā, and Bhaṭṭārā; and in line 2 of the Paṭtadalā inscription of the Rāṭhakātika king Dhruva (id. Vol. XI. p. 124), in which he has the titles of Mahārajādāvārāja, Paramāśwarā, and Bhaṭṭārā.—In the sense of 'reverend,' bhaṭṭāraka was also a priestly title; e.g. it is applied to the Jain priest Kumārdachanda, in line 2 of the Nēsargī 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 Pasupati (Śiva), in line 1 of No. 6 of the Nēpāl inscriptions (id. Vol. IX. p. 169); to the Sun, in line 15 of the Khōṅ grant of the Mahārāja Sarvānātha, No. 28 below, Plate xxviii.; and to Varunāvāsin (the Sun), in line 13 of the Dēō-Barānārā inscription of Jñātāvāpūta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.

³pāḍā-anudhyāta.—This is a customary technical term, used of the relations between a paramount sovereign and his feudatory chieftains, officials, &c.; e.g. in the Udayagiri cave inscription No. 3 below, Plate iiB., the Mahārāja, who makes the gift, is described as meditating on the feet of Chandragupta II.—It is also applied to the relations between parents and their children; e.g. in line 18 of the Rājim grant, No. 81 below, Plate xiv., the Rājya Tīvradēva is described as meditating on the feet of his mother and father. It is also used in connection with kingly succeessions, whether the natural relationship is that of fathers and sons, or of elder and younger brothers; e.g. throughout the Kārttālā grant of the Mahārāja Jayaṇātha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.; and in lines 6 and 8 of the grant of the Mahārāja Viṇayakapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. pp. 140, 141), who is described as meditating on the feet of his father, Mahēndrapāla, and of his elder brother, Bhāja II. And it is also used in respect of the worship of gods; e.g. in line 3 of the grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 249), the Chalukyas are described as meditating on the feet of the god Śvāmi-Mahāsēna.—In one solitary instance, line 33 f. of the Khaṭṛapāta grant of Śāka-Saṅvat 930 (Four. Br. R. R. As. Soc. Vol. I. p. 218), anudhyāta occurs without pāḍā preceding it, and the Śilāhāra chieftain Raṭṭarāja is described as śīṭ-Saṭyārāyadēva-anudhyāta, "meditating on the glorious (king) Saṭyārāya." But the omission of pāḍā here is probably due only to carelessness on the part of the draftee of the record.

⁵i.e. Chandragupta II.—Paramabhaṭṭāraka, 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 Śāka-Saṅvat 1172 at Māmāpur in the Belgaum District (Indian Inscriptions, No. 1), where it is applied to a Saiva priest named Vimalāśiva or Vimalāśambhu.—The feminine form, Paramabhaṭṭārikā, was one of the titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns; e.g. in the Mandār Hill inscriptions of Ādityasēna, Nos. 44 and 45 below.
No. 2; PLATE II A.

ERAN STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRA GUPTA.

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

Éran, the ancient Airikìna, is a village on the left bank of the Binâ, eleven miles to the west by north from Khurâl, the chief town of the Khurâl Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Sâgar 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 Tôramâna, No. 36 below. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 9½" broad by 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 pada of each successive verse, has been broken away and lost at the commencement of lines 25 ff. In addition to this, from one to three letters have been destroyed at the commencement of each extant line, as far as line 24, by whetting tools on the edge of the stone. As far as line 24, each line contains one pada of a verse; but the following lines contained originally two padas 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 3½. 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 Árang plates of Mahâ-Jayarâja, No.

1The 'Airan, Ehrin, Eran, and Erun,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 52. Lat. 24° 3' N.; Long. 78° 15' E.—The name is now written and pronounced both Eran and Éran; but, as is shewn by the ancient name, Airikìna, the first form, with the lingual n, is the correct one.—The name is not unique; for the maps shew another 'Éran' seven miles almost due west of Bhêlsâ, and another thirteen miles to the north-east of Bhêlsâ.

2So far as the passage in line 25 of the present inscription goes, we might take this name as either Airikìna or Érikìna, in consequence of the euphonic absorption of the final a of vishaya. But the real form of the name is shewn by line 7 of the Boar inscription of Tôramâna, No. 36 below, Plate xxii A., where we have vishaya=smin=Airikì́n, without any sândhi or joining of vowels.—The autonomous copper coins of the Asóka period, found at Érao, give us an earlier Pâli or Prakrit form of the name, which is either Erakaña or Erakaña; but the last syllable is not very distinct in the specimens available for examination (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XIV. p. 149, and Plate xxxi. Nos. 17 and 18.)

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

4The 'Sâgar and Saugor' of maps, &c.

40, Plate xxi.; the Rāypur plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, No 41, Plate xxii.; the Vākātaka inscriptions, Nos. 53 to 56, Plates xxxiii., xxxiv. and xxxv.; and the Rājim plates of Tīvara dēva, No. 81, Plate xlv. The chief characteristic of it is the peculiar 'box-headed' tops of the letters, formed by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and leaving a block of stone or copper in the centre of them. We have a variation of this characteristic, represented in this volume by the Majhgawāṃ plates of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23, Plate xiv., in which the tops of the letters, instead of being 'box-headed' or square, are 'nail-headed' or triangular, with the apex of the triangle downwards. And the present inscription contains a mixture of both types; the 'nail-headed' tops can be seen in, for instance, prithu-rdghav-ddyāh, line 8, and samudraguptah, line 10; and the 'box-headed' tops in, for instance, bahu-putra-pauatra, line 19, and samara-karmma parākkram-eddham, line 21. Owing to the nature of the substance worked on, in the case of inscriptions on stone, except those on a large scale, these centre blocks would obviously be very liable to injury; in the actual process of engraving, as well as from the wear and tear of time. The result is that, though these two characteristics of this alphabet are usually very well preserved and are very recognisable in the copper-plates, in the stone inscriptions they are preserved, so as to be clearly recognised in this series of Plates, only in the large-scale Nachnē-kl-talāt inscriptions of the Mahārāja Prithivisēna, Nos. 53 and 54, Plate xxxiiia. 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 Mahārāja Pravarasēna II., No. 55, Plate xxxiv., through nearly the whole of which the tops of the letters were scooped out hollow, without any centre-blocks at all. The characters include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the numerical symbols for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before h, in paribhrihna, line 26; and (2) the doubling of k and dh, in conjunction with a following r, in vikrama, line 1, and parākkrama, lines 17 and 21; and in ddhrutam, line 12.

The inscription is one of the Early Gupta king Samudragupta, whose name is recorded in line 10. From the occurrence of the word babhūva 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 shewn 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 Airikina, i.e. Éran, of something or other of which the stone was either a portion or the separate record. The lacunae here leave us without any clue as to what was erected, and in connection with what form of religion. But, judging from its shape and appearance,

1 Mr. C. Bendall has obtained two specimens of triangular-headed characters, one of them in Nēpāl, in which, differing from the present forms, the apex of the triangle is placed uppermost; see his Journey in Nēpāl, p. 54 ff. He appears to have named them 'point-headed' or 'arrow-headed' characters.—Quite recently, Mr. J. Robinson, C.E., of Gayā, 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,¹ 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 | —— | —— | —— | suvarṇpa-dānē |
| 8 | —— | rītā | napatayāḥ | Prithu-Rāghav-ādyāḥ [II*] 2 |
| 9 | —— | babhūva | Dhanad-Āntaka-tushṭi-kōpa-tulyāḥ* |
| 10 | —— | ma-nayēna | Samudraguptaḥ [I*] |
| 11 | —— | pya | pārththiva-gaṇas-sakalāḥ | prithivyām |
| 12 | —— | stas(s v&a) | rājya-vibhava-ddhutam-āsthitō-bhūt [II*] 3 |
| 13 | —— | na | bhakti-naya-vikkrama-tōshitēna |
| 14 | —— | yō | rāja-śabda | vibhavair-abhishēcaḥ-ādyāḥ [I*] |
| 15 | —— | nītaḥ | parama-tushṭi-puraskritēna |
| 16 | —— | vō | nripatir-apravitārya-vṛttyaḥ [II*] 4 |
| 17 | —— | sya | paurusha-pārākkrama-datta-śulka |
| 18 | —— | hasty | śva- | ratna- | dhana- | dhānya- | samṛṛddhi- | yuktā [I*] |
| 19 | —— | h | grihiṣhu | muditā | bahu-putra-pautra- |
| 20 | —— | s[akrāmi]nt | kula-vadhuh | vratin | nivishṭā [II*] 5 |
| 21 | —— | Yasya | ori jīt | samara-karma | pārākkrama-śddham |
| 22 | —— | yasaḥ | su-vipulam-paribambhrami | [I*] |
| 23 | —— | yasya | riṇaśaḥ | cha | raṇ-ōṛjitāni* |
| 24 | —— | s[va]j [ā]ntarēshv | api | vicintya | parī NSSant [II*] 6 |
| 25 | —— | pta(s v)ḥ | sva-bhōga-nagar-Airikīna- |
| 26 | —— | sthapitās-sva-yaśasah | paribhīhan(a) |
| 27 | —— | vō | nripatir-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 Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 89, and Plates xxvB. and xxviB.
² From the original stone.
³ Metre, Vasantatilaka, throughout.
⁴ With this exception, the lines of this inscription, as far as line 24, contain exactly a pāda of each verse. Lines 25 ff. contained exactly two pādas of each verse.
⁵ Or perhaps charan-ōṛjitāni.
A. - Eran Inscription of Samudragupta.

B. - Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II. - The Year 82.

Scale 1:9
(L. 9.)—......... there was Samudragupta, equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Antaka in (respectively) pleasure and anger;.............. 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, whose dower was provided by (his) manliness and prowess; who was possessed of an abundance of [elephants] and horses and money and grain; who delighted in the houses of ......; (and) who went about in the company of many sons and sons' sons;

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

(L. 25.)—............. in a place in Airikina, 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 Princep's Essays, Vol. I. p. 246 f. note 4, Mr. Thomas published his own reading of the text, accompanied by a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson.—And, finally, in 1880, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 50, General Cunningham published his revised reading of the text, and a revised translation of it, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (id. Plate xix.)

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 18 above, note 2.

4 The lacunae in this verse render it impossible to say whether here, and below, "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 Bhêlsa, the chief town of the Bhêlsa Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Ísâgâd district in the dominions of Scindia (properly Sindê) in Central India. On the eastern side of the hill, a little to the south of the village, and almost on the level of the ground, there is a cave-temple, which, from its containing this inscription, General Cunningham has named "the Chandragupta Cave." The inscription is on the upper part of a smoothed and countersunk panel, about 2' 4 1/2" 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, Mahishasur, i.e. Durgâ, the consort of Śiva,—which are sculptured on the face of the rock, outside the cave and a few feet to the north of the entrance to it.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 3 1/2" broad by 4 1/2" 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 akshara of the name of the Mahâdrâja whose gift is recorded.—The average size of the letters is about 1 1/2". 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 ãsâdha, line 1, they include an adaptation from the northern alphabets; viz. the separate sign for the lingual ḍh, which, in the early southern alphabets, was represented, together with its unaspirated form ñ, 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 ḍh in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyâta, 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

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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 'Isagarh' of maps.
5 Whether "current" or "expired," is not specifically stated. But the locative case is used; and, there being no word signifying "expired" in apposition with it, the natural sense of it is "in the year eighty-two," i.e. "while the year eighty-two is current."—It is often asserted that the ancient Hindus always expressed their dates in expired years. And, according to this, we should understand attid, 'having gone by, having passed by,' or any similar word, in apposition with sahmatsâre 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 Sâsbhâ temple inscription of Mahâpala, 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 Ṭhānu (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 dedic-

in words and fully in figures, the number of the current year,—Ekādāśavat-atitēshu samvatsara-
satēshu cha 1 ekōṇa-paṇḍhāsati cha gatēshav-adēshu Vikramē II Paṇḍhēśv cāṣī Āśvinē māśē kriṣṇa-
paśkē nirup-dīnayāt rachita Manikanta śro praistīrīyam ujjvala II Aṣkātōpi 1150 II Āśvina-bhaka-paṇḍhāyam,
—” and when eleven centuries of years had passed by, and (in addition)
fifty years, less by one, had gone, from (the time of) Vikrama; and in the fiftieth (year); in the
month Āśvina; in the dark fortnight; by order of the king, this brilliant eulogy was composed by
Maṇikaṇtha; or, in figures, (in the year) 1150, on the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight of
Āśvina.”—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. xI. D. 1.3), samvatsaraḥ 200 30; (b) the
devitriyādī; (c) the Dīgha-Dubauī grant of the Mahārāja Mahāndrapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV.
p. 113, l. 4), samvatsro (i.e. samvatsarā) 100 50 5 Māgha śu 10 10 0 (d) the Bengal Asiatic Society’s
grant of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla (Vol. XV. p. 141, l. 17), samvatsrō (i.e. samvatsarā, for either
samvatsarā or samvatsara) 100 80 8 Phāḷgūna ba di 9; and (e) the second case in the ‘Deogarh’
inscription of Bhabjadēva of Gwāliōr, dated Vikrama-Samvat 919 and Śaka-Samvat 784 (Archaeol.
784. And, for early times, we may compare, though they relate to years of government, instead of eras,
(ʃ) the nominative in the Banavasi Prākrit inscription of Hārtiputra-Sātakarṇi (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV.
p. 333, l. 1), raṇā Hārītiputasa . . . . . SātādāmAṣa . . . . savadhāram 10 2 Hēmamāṇā
pakhd ṣū dīvasa 1; (g) the nominative in the Rājim grant of the Rājya Tīvraḍēva (No. 81 below, Pl.
xlv. l. 35 f.), pravardhamāna-vijaya-rāya-samvatsarār 9 Kārttika dīvasa asktam 8; and the crude form in
(ʃ) the Aṅgā grant of the Rājya Mahā-Jayārāja (No. 40 below, Pl. xxix. l. 24), pravardhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara
2 5 Mārgasīra 20 5, and (ʃ) the Rājpur grant of the Rājya Mahā-
Sudēvarāja (No. 41 below, Pl. xxvii. l. 27), pravardhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara 10 Māgha 9. Compare also,
for later times, instances in (ʃ) the ‘Dewal’ inscription of Lalla of the Chhinda family
(Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. Pl. li. l. 24), samvatsara-sahasra 1049 Māgha ba di 3 Gurudēnī; and (ʃ) a
Kālāpur inscription of Sīṅghānā II. (Indian Inscriptions, No. 47. l. 1 f.), Śrī-Śaka 1157 Manmatha-
samvatsarē Śrīvaṇa bakaḥ 30 Gurā; 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 Drāvīdh
method, in constant use in Southern India. As typical and leading instances, I will quote, in
respect of the nominative singular, (a) a Balaṅgaṅne inscription of Bījjala (Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old
Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 183. l. 62), Śaka-varsha 1080neya Bahudhānya-samvatsarāda Pushyada
puṃṇami Śomāvarav-uttarāyaṇasamkrāṇi-vyastāt-pāta-somagrahanad-anṛdu; and, to illustrate a
numerous class of instances in which the crude form is used to represent the nominative singular,
(ʃ) a Balaṅgaṅne inscription of Śomēvara II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 209, l. 30 ff.), Śaka-varsha 997neya
Rākṣhasa-samvatsarāda Pushya śuddha Śomāvarad-anṛdu-uttarāyaṇasamkrāṇi-parva-nimātāddim;
and, in respect of the nominative plural, (ʃ) the grant of Gōvinda III. (id. Vol. XI. p. 126, l. 1 ff.),
Śaka-niripa-kālītāt-samvatsarā-bhāṣajāyana Śubhānu embā varshād Vairā-
khāmāsa-kriṣṇapakṣa-paṇḍhā Chāsapaṭivardīram-āgi, and (ʃ) the Adaragūṭi inscription of Koṭ-
tīga or Koṭṭīga (id. Vol. XI. p. 256, l. 7 ff.), Śaka-niripa-kālītā-tāt-samvatsara-satānāl-śatūmsṛ-gātā śubhānu embā varshād Vairā-
khāmāsa-kriṣṇapakṣa-paṇḍhā Ādharagūṭi-sūrya-graḥana. (ʒ) The use of the locative singular or plural, with the corresponding
locative, in apposition, of atkṛṣṭa, atīta, gata, niṃśita, prāyita, samātīta, ryātīta, yata, or
any similar word, signifying ‘elapsed, or gone by.’ Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (a)
the first date of the Mand|hārā inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (No. 18 below, Pl.
xI. l. 19), Malavadda gana-sthitāḥ yād सता-chautuṣṭtyāḥ i tri-nāvart-tadhih-bhāṇām-śatūmsṛ-gātā śubhā-
ṇa-satēṇa II Sahasya-māsā-suklasya praistī-sūrya-trayūdasā; and (ʃ) the Sāmāṅga grant of
cation,—by a nāhārḍja of the Sanakānīka tribe or family, who was a feudatory of Chandragupta II, but whose name, in line 2, is now illegible,—of, evidently, the two groups of sculptures above which it is engraved.

Dantidūrga (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 112, l. 30 f.), pañcha-sapta-yadhika-Śakakāla-samvatsara-satashatē vṛttinetā samvāt 675 pai(ṭō or pau) hachchhikēyā Māṭhā-māśa-ratā-saptamūyām tula-purushasthitē. And, in respect of the locative plural, (c) the Bādami cave inscription of Mangalśa (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 363, l. 6 f., 11), Śaka-nipati-rājyabhisēka-samvatsarēśu = atika-rājyāśu pañchasa satēśu . . . . . . . mahā-Kārttikeya-purānumāyīm; (d) the Harihar grant of Vinayaditya (id. Vol. VII. p. 302, l. 23 f.), sbhā-śṭata-shaṭh-chaṭhītēśu Śaka-varṣhēśu = atāśhesu pravardhamāṇa-vijaya-rājāya-samvatsarē chaturdīśe vártamātē . . . Kārttikeya-purānumāyīm; and (e) the Kauṭāṃ grant of Vikramaditya V. (id. Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 61 f.), Śaka-nripa-kālēśta-samvatsara-satēśu navasurānām-triśaṃśad-adhiśēhu gataśēhu 930 pravartamāṇa-Saumya-shaṃjā-samvatsarē purānumāyīm śomagrabhaya-parvāni.—(4) The use, as in the present instance, of the simple locative single or plural, without any participle signifying 'elapsed or gone by,' in apposition. Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (a) the Gūndā inscription of the Kṣatrāpa Rudrasinha (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 157, l. 3), varśhē dvī-uttara-śatē sam 200 2 Vaiśākha-śuddha-paṃchamī-Ṭhāna-śeśu Śrāmaṇa-rakṣaṇ-mahāūrītē; (b) a Mathurā inscription of Vāsudēva vī rchāv. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20, l. 1), samvatsarē 90 8 Varṣhā-māsē dvaśē 10; (c) the Najhawān grant of the Mahārāja Hastin (No. 23 below, Pl. xiv. l. 1 f.), ēka-nīvatē-uttarē bda-śatē Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhūkta irīmatē pravardhamāṇa-Mahā-Chaitra-samvatsarē Māghi-māsē bahu-lapakṣa-trīṣṭyudyam; and (d) the Aflān grant of Śilāditya VII. (No. 39 below, Plate xxv. l. 77 f.), samvatsara-satē-śatutahāyē satpa-śatadvīmaida-adhiśē ṣṛṣṭīkṣha-śuddha-paṃchamīyām ankataḥ samvat 400 40 7 ṣṛṣṭikṣha śu 5. And, in respect of the locative plural, (e) the Wāṇi grant of Gōvinda III. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 46 f.), Śaka-nripa-kālēśta-samvatsara-satēśu saptasurānām-triśaṃśad-adhiśēhu Vyaya-samvatsarē Vaiśākha-sitā-purānumāś-sōmanāraka-mahā-paṛvāni; and (f) the Pātaṅ grant of Bhīma II. (id. Vol. XI. p. 71, l. 17 f.), irīmaṇa-Vikramaditya-dīpāda-samvatsara-satēśu dvaśē śattapēśṭa-uttarēśu Bhāḍrapadāsaka-krīṣṭapakṣa-amāśādyyāṃ Bhauva-nārē tr-ānkataḥ-pi samvat 1256 laukika Bhāḍrapada ba di 15 Bhaumē.—And (5) the use of the abbreviations sam and samvat, standing alone, and not explained by a full record in words as they are in instances (3, b) and (4, a, d, f) above. This method, however, throws no light on the question now under discussion; and the 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 Bahudhāya samvatsara, (which is) the 1080th 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 c.s.s of instances (3, a to e) the locative case is uniformly coupled with a word distinctly meaning 'expired or gone by' in apposition, whereas in another class of instances (4, a to f) any such word is uniformly omitted, there is nothing to prevent our giving, but on the contrary every reason to induce us to give, to the simple locative, in the last class of instances, its natural and ordinary meaning of "in such and such a year," i.e. "while such and such a year is current." This is the meaning that is always given to the simple locative in a regnal date; thus, in a Nāsik inscription (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 100, l. 1, 109),—sirī-Pulunāyika samvacharē ekavasē 19,—in the nineteenth (19) year of the illustrious Pulunāyī. It has never been attempted to maintain that, in such a record as this, the text means "the nineteenth year having expired." And there is no reason why any such forced interpretation should be put on the simple locative expressing the number of years of an era; especially when we bear in mind that almost every era owes its origin to only an extension of regnal dates, and that the system of expired years can only have been devised when a considerable advance had been made in astronomical science.

1 In the fourth syllable, the vowel here is the short ī; but in the same word in the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1 above, line 22, page 8, it is long.
TEXT.

1 Siddham II Sanvatsare 80 2 Ḡaḍha-māsa-śukl-e(ai)kādaśyām 1 paramabhaṭṭarakak-mahārājādhī-śrī-Chandra[ṛ]upṭa-pād-anuddhyātasyā 1
2 mahārāj-Chhagalag-pautrasya mahārāj-Viṣṇuḍāsa-pautrasya Sanakā-nikasya mahār[a]ja...dha(?) lascy-ayam déya-dharmaḥ 1

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! In the year 80 (and) 2, on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āṣāḍha,—this is the appropriate religious gift of the Sanakānika, the Mahārāja...dhala (?),—the son's son of the Mahārāja Chhagalaga; (and) the son of the Mahārāja Viṣṇuḍāsa,—who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭarakak and Mahārājādhirāja, 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 translated to notice by him in his first Archaeo-

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1 From the original stone.

2 Read mahārājādhirāja.—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 maraja-Sha, i.e. mahārājādhi, for mahārājādhirāja, 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 (Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. V. Plate xliI.), which commences Siddhik Śrīh Samvat, &c.,—to which we may add another inscription (Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXV. p. 18, and Vol. XXX. p. 13) commencing Siddhik Samvat, &c.—Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 273) takes siddham, at the commencement of inscriptions, as a nominative case standing by itself, and translates it by 'success.' But it seems to me to be clearly the remnant of some such phrase as siddham bhagavatā, "perfection or success has been attained by the Divine One," analogous to the jītam bhagavatā, "victory has been achieved by the Divine One," of, for instance, the Gadhwā inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 8 below, Plate ivC, and the grant of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇuḍāpavarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 51). We may also compare jītam...Viṣṇunā in the Tuśām inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xIa. And we have the remnant of another analogous expression, in ārīṣṭam, "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 Siwāli plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plates xxxiv. and xxxv. In his remarks referred to above, Dr. Bühler tells us that, in the Mahābhāṣya (Kielhorn's edition, pp. 5, 6) siddham is quoted as a maṅgala 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. 91 below, Plate xxxviiIA. line 1.

5 déya-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. Journ. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 184); and Bühlender Bhagwanlal Indraji, by 'meritorious gift, or benefaction' (e.g. Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 83).

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

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

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 10" broad by 11½" high, is in a state of very fair preservation. It is only a fragment; the first line has been almost entirely destroyed, and an indefinite number of lines have been entirely broken away and lost at the bottom of the stone; and, in addition to this, from one to nine akṣarās 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 ¾" to ¾". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They are of radically the same stock with those of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, but with several essential differences in details; the most noticeable of these are (1) the very marked curve in the left downward stroke of m, which I have noticed, at page 3 above, as belonging originally to an earlier form of this letter than that which occurs in the Allahābād inscription; (2) a slanting straight stroke, instead of a circular loop, at the bottom of the left downward stroke of s; and (3) the formation of the lower part of 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 putrā 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    ...... [Sarvva-rāj-ōcchēttuḥ] prithivy[ām-apratiratha]-
2    [sya]    chatur-udadhī-sali]-āsāvādita ya[śasō] Dha]-
3    [nada-Varūn-Endr-Āntaka-sa]masya Kritānta-[parasōb]-
4    [nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō]-hiranya-kōti-prada[asya] chir-ō]-

1 Katrā is the common word used in that part of the country for ‘an enclosed market-place.’
2 The 'Matra, Muthra, and Muttra,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 50. Lat. 27° 30'N.; Long. 77° 43' E.
3 From the original stone.—The passages that have been broken away are supplied from the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from lines 1 to 4 of the Bhitarī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 4, PLATE III A.

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

TRANSLATION.

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

(L. 1.)—[Who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (of equal power)] in the world; [whose fame was] tasted [by the waters of the four oceans].

1 I add these two lines in order to show the continuation of the construction of this record.
2 See page 12 above, note 1.
3 i.e. Samudragupta.

sarva-rāj-ōchhēṭû.—In the nominative case, sarva-rāj-ōchhēṭû, this epithet occurs on the reverse of some gold coins, hitherto always classed in the Early Gupta series (see Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part i. p. 169 f., and Pl. ii. No. 1; also Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 36, and Pl. viii. No. 1), which have on the obverse the name of Kācha, in the place where the king's name usually stands on coins, with the marginal legend kācā gām-avajitya karmabhir-uttamair-jayati, "Kācha, having conquered the earth, is victorious by (his) most excellent deeds," and which have always been attributed to the Mahārājā Ghaṭākchā, the grandfather of Samudragupta. But, in the first place, the name on these coins is distinctly Kācha, and nothing more; and kācha, which means 'glass, crystal; the string of the scale of a balance; alkaline salt, black salt; wax; &c.,' is a totally different word from uṭkacha, 'having the hairs (of the body) standing erect (through pleasure),' which is the second component of the name of Ghaṭākchā. Secondly, Ghaṭākchā, being only a feudatory Mahārājā, was not entitled to issue a coinage in his own name. And thirdly, the epithet sarva-rāj-ōchhēṭû on the reverse, is, in the inscriptions, always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. There is nothing distinctive in this epithet, sufficient to show that it belonged only to the Early Gupta dynasty (and, in that dynasty, to Samudragupta). Nor, I think, is it absolutely certain that these coins belong to the Early Gupta series. But the general appearance of them, with the legends on them, justifies such an opinion. And, if they are Early Gupta coins, then they must be attributed to Samudragupta, not to Ghaṭākchā; and Kācha must, in that case, be a personal and less formal name of Samudragupta; and with it we may compare such instances as Śaba, 'cadaverous, of a dark yellowish colour, tawny; the young of any animal,' used as a second name of Vṛrasēna, a minister of Chandragupta II. (No. 6 below, Plate ivA. line 4); Vyāghra, 'a tiger,' applied to a Jain named Rudrasāma (No. 15 below, Plate ixA.); and Paramāḍi (also Parmāḍi, Parmāḍī and Parmāḍi), a name of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. pp. 225, l. 9, 253, l. 14; Bühler's Vikramādityavacharita, Introd. p. 30, note 2; and Rājatarangini, vii. 1122, 1124).—The only other instances, known to me, in which the name Kācha occurs, are in the case of two rulers or chieftains, Kācha I. and Kācha II., mentioned in one of the inscriptions in the Ajaṭṭā caves (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 129, lines 4, 6), belonging to a period that is at any rate appreciably later than that of the Early Guptas.

4 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) Kṛitānta;¹ who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows] and gold; [who was the restorer of the aśvamēḍha-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] Ghaṭottkacha; (and) the son of the Mahārājadhirāja [the glorious Chandra[ Gupta (I.)], (and) the daughter’s son of Lichchhavi, begotten on the Mahārāja Kumārādevī;—

(L. 11.)—[By him,⁴ the most devout worshipper of the Divine One,⁵ the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandra[ Gupta (II.)],

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

¹ Kṛitānta-paraśu.—This is another of the formal epithets which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. In the nominative case, Kṛitānta-paraśuk, 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 aśvamēḍhas was supposed to raise the sacrificer to a level with the god Indra.—The present epithet, aśvamēḍhā-dhārī, is another of those which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. With it we have to compare the legend aśvamēḍha-parākramah, "he who has displayed prowess by a horse-sacrifice," on some of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudragupta; see, for instance, Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 175 ff., and Pl. ii. No. 9; and Archiv. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 37 ff., and Pl. vii. No. 4.

³ i.e. Samudragupta.

⁴ See page 27 above, note 1.

⁵ paramabhagavata; lit. ‘a most devout worshipper of (the god) Bhagavat.’—This epithet is supplied from the subsequent inscriptions, and the coins of Chandra[ Gupta II. himself. —It is a technical sectarian title, analogous to paramamāhuṣṭava (e.g. No. 38 below, line 2), paramamasūtav (e.g. No. 52 below, line 8), paramamavaiṣhva (e.g. lines a and 1 of the Dīghā-Dubaul grant of the Mahārāja Mahēndrapāla; Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 112), paramapāsūtav (e.g. line 8 of the Veravāl inscription of Arjunadēvi; id. Vol. XI. p. 242), and paramahesavavata (e.g. line 1 of the Nāpāl inscription of Vasantaśēna; id. Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3). Other similar epithets, but not formed in quite the same way, are paramabrahmanya (e.g. line 39 of the grant of Amma II.; id. Vol. VII. p. 16); paramādityabhakta (e.g. No. 38 below, line 10); and paramabhagavatibhakta (e.g. lines e, i, k, 3, 6, and 7 of the Dīghā-Dubaul grant referred to above); also atyantamahāmaḥ and atyantasvāmimahāhaviravahakta, e.g. No. 55 below, lines 9 and 4; and atyantabhagavatibhakta, 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 Pattadakal inscription of Vijayaḍitya and Vikramāditya II., where it is applied to two Ṵhāryās (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 165, No. 101); and also of any saintly personage, e.g. line 12 of No. 23 below, where it is applied to Vyāsa, the arranger of the 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. 32 below; to Saṅbhū (Siva) in line 5 of No. 7 below; to Svāmi-Mahāśēna (Kārttikeya), in line 7 of No. 10 below; to Varuṇavasīn (the Sun), in line 13 of No. 46 below; and to Jīṇṭhrā, in line 1 of the Aihoḷe 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-Purāṇa, 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 Krishṇa; Bhāgavata-
A. — Mathura Inscription of Chandragupta II.

B. — Sanchi Inscription of Chandragupta II. — The Year 93.
No. 5; PLATE III B.

SANCHI STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 93.

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 488 ff., where a lithograph of it was published (*id.* Plate xxviii.), reduced by Mr. James Prinsep from a copy by Mr. B. H. Hodgson. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it is a very imperfect one; especially in shewing no traces whatever of the first six or seven letters of each line, all the way down.—And in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., Mr. Prinsep published his 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.)

Sānchī, or Sāchī, is a village about twelve miles to the north-east of Diwān-gaṇj, the chief town of the Diwān-gaṇj Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Native State of Bhōpāl or Bhūpāl in Central India. It is sometimes called Sānchī-Kān-kēḍā, 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' 6" 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

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Purāṇa, the title of one of the Purāṇas, dedicated especially to the glorification of Viṣṇu; and Bhāgavata, which occurs in line 7 of the Khōl plates of the Maharāja Jayanātha of the year 177, No. 27 below, Plate xvii., and is, to the present time, the name of one of the Vaishnava sects.

—It may be taken, therefore, that Paramahāvātā is exclusively a Vaishnava title.


2Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 28' N.; Long. 77° 48' E.—The 'Sachi, Sachi Kana Kheyra, and Sachi Kanakera,' of maps, &c. — The name is pronounced both Sāchī and Sāchī; but with a preference, as far as my observation went, for the nasalised form. The alternative forms have already been pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 181, where he suggests that the name is most probably only the spoken form of the Sanskrit śānti, 'tranquillity, calmness,' &c. — since the term śānti-samgha, 'the community of tranquillity,' occurs in the Aśoka inscription at Sāchī (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 259 ff. and Plate xix. No. 177); and since the Chinese transcribed śāntī by śā-chī. But the ancient name of Sāchī, at least from the Aśoka to the Gupta period, was Kākānāda (see page 31 below, para. 5); and this seems to indicate that the name Sāchī 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 Sāchī or Sāchī, with no Buddhist remains at them. And this,—with the analogous names of Kāchī-Kān-kēḍā, a village about one and a half miles to the south-west of Sāchī (in which kāchī is either an Urdu, or a Rāngadī or local vernacular, word, meaning 'gardener'), and of Māchī, 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 Sāchī or Sāchī is probably a vernacular name, connected in no way with the Sanskrit.

3This name is written and pronounced Bhōpāl by Musalmāns, and Bhūpāl by Hindus. It has been suggested that it is a corruption of Bhōj-pāl, 'the tank or embankment of king Bhoja.' But I think it is far more likely that the original and correct name is Bhūpāl, from the Sanskrit bhūpāla, 'a king, or the king.' The State, however, is a Musalmān State; and Bhūpāl is the form of the name that has been established by long official usage.
gateway of the Great Stūpa. 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 ¾. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and approximate most closely to, in the present volume, those of the Mandaśór inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xi., and elsewhere, those of the Aihoje Mēguśi inscription of the Western Chalukya king Puliśēśin II. of Śaka-Saṃvat 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 upadhmāniya, in conjunction with p, in yaśas-paṭāka, line 4.

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

1 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, Topo, is from the Pāḍmik form ṭhāpa. — In the country round Sāñchi, I found the popular term for a Stūpa to be biṭā (Hindi, biṭāru), which means literally 'a heap of dried cowdung-cakes to be used as fuel.' The great Stūpa at Sāñchi is known as Sās-bahā ku biṭā, "the heap of dried cowdung-cakes of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law." And with this name we may compare Sās-bahā ku dēhrā, "the temple of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law," which is the popular name of the temple at Gwālior in which there is the long Sanskrit inscription of the Kachchhapaghāṭa prince Mahāpāla, dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 1150 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 33 ff.)


3 The text has the abbreviation saṃ, which may stand either for the crude form saṃvatsara, 'a year,' or for any declensional case that can be used in expressing a date (see page 22 above, note 5). The same remark applies to the form saṃvat, which occurs, for instance, in saṃvat 100 90 1 Sṛṣaṇa ba di 7, in line 2 of the Ēraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gōparāja, No. 20 below, Plate xiiB. — It was formerly thought that the word saṃvat was used only in connection with the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 57. But fuller experience has shown that both the forms are used freely in respect of the years of any era whatsoever. — They are used sometimes by themselves, as in the present passage, and in the instance quoted above for saṃvat; and sometimes in composition with the name of the era; as, for instance, in the Amarnāth inscription of the chieftain Mānvaṅi (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329, l. 1), Śaka-saṃvat 782 Ṣvēṣṭha śuddha 9 Śukrā, and in the Sāmānṭha-Pāṭhā inscription of Arjuna-deva of Aśhilvād (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 242, l. 2 ff.), Mahamadda-saṃvat 662 taṭha śri-nriša-Vikrama-saṃ 1320 taṭha śri-madd-Valabhi-saṃ 945 taṭha śri-Simha-saṃ 157 vārśē Āśādiha va di 13 Ravan. — The form saṃvat represents the genitive plural, saṃvatsarānām, in such passages as Śaka-nriša-kāl-dēla-saṃvatsara-satēṣu = aṣṭasau chaṭuṛ-ṇaṭyā-advikṣev = anhatāḥ saṃvat 894 &c., in the Kārd暂时 of the Rāṣṭrakhāta king Kakka III. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 266, l. 47 ff., as contrasted with Śaka-nriša-kāl-dēla-saṃvatsara-satēṣu = aṣṭasau paṭhā-paṭhādād-advikṣev = anhatāḥ pi saṃvatsarānām 855 &c., in the Śāṅgīl grant of Gōvinda V. of the same dynasty (id. Vol. XII. p. 251, l. 44 ff.); the latter is the only passage that I know of, in which the full genitive case occurs in connection with the numerals. And it evidently stands for the full locative singular and plural respectively, in such passages as Saṃvat paṭhā-saptati-advikṣa-dvadāśa-satēṣu 1275 &c., in the Chārvā inscription of Dēvapāla of Dharā (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 111, l. 4), and in Śaka-saṃvat kā-ṇaṭyā-advikṣa-nava-satēṣu saṃvat 991 &c., in the Bassein grant of Sūpachandra II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 120, l. 24 ff.) — Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives saṃvat as an indeclinable; and of course it properly is so. I am able, however, to quote two epigraphical instances, of modern date, in which it is used as a declined; (1) in verse 30 of Dr. Bhagwanal Indrāji’s Nēpāl Inscription, No. 19, of Pratāpamalla, dated Nēpāla-Saṃvat 778 (A.D. 1658-59); Nēpālī saṃvat = smin = kāya-gīrī-ṃuniḥ.
September). It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the grant, by Amrakārda or Āmrakārda, the son of Undāna, and apparently an officer of Chandragupta II., of a village, or an allotment of land, called Ḡḍaravāsaka, and a sum of money, to the Arya-Saṅgha, or community of the faithful, at the great vihāra or Buddhist convent of Kākanadabota, for the purpose of feeding mendicants and maintaining lamps.

The Kākanadabota convent is, of course, the Great Stūpa itself. The name is partially destroyed in the present inscription; but it is legible in full in line 2 of the other Sānchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB. It is not quite certain what meaning is to be allotted to bōta in this name; but it is probably another form of póta, ‘the foundation of a house.’ The rest of the name, Kākanada, lit. ‘the noise of the crow,’ is the ancient name of Sānchi itself. This is shewn by its occurring in at least two of the inscriptions of the Asoka period in the neighbourhood, to which my attention was directed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit; thus, (1) an inscription on the outside of the east gate of the great Stūpa at Sānchi (Bhilsa Topes, p. 241, and Plate xvi. No. 39) should evidently be read Kākandē bhagavatī pamāna-lāthi, “the measuring-staff (?) of (Buddha), the Divine One, at Kākanāda,” and (2) the inscription on the top of the lid of the steatite casket found in Stūpa No. 2 at ‘Andher’ (id. p. 347, and Plate xxix. No. 7) should plainly be read Sapurisasa Gōtpūtasa Kākandasa-Pabhāsanasasa Kōdiya-gōtasa, “(the relics of the virtuous Prabhāsana of Kākanāda, the Gōtputra, of the Kaundinya gōtra.”

TEXT:

2 kṛi tāya chatur-dīg-abhyagatayā śramaṇa-puṅgav-avasathāy-āryyasaṅghāya mahārājādhi-
3 rā[ja-sr]i-[C]-Chandragupta-pāda-prasād-āpyāyita-ilvira-sādhanaḥ anujivi-satpurusha-sadbhava-
4 vṛttin[?] jagati prakhyapayan aneka-samar-āvāpta-vijaya-yaśas-patākāh Sukuli-dēsa-Na-
5 sīti vāstavya Undāna-putr-Amrakārdavā Maja-Śrabhāṅg-
6 tam[?] ya Ḡḍaravāsakam pañcika-maṇḍalya[m°] pranipaṭya dadāti pañcika-vinśati[f] = cha dinā-

samyutē &c. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 191) ; and (2) in an unpublished Chambã inscription which contains several dates in the Vikrama-Saṃvat ad Lōkakāla, commencing with Vikrama-Saṃvat 1155 (A.D. 1851-52) ; in line 11 f. we have Saṃvatē 34 Śravāṇa-pra° 17 lat saṃvatē 36 dd Śravāṇa-Iuddha &c.

1 In the present series of inscriptions, bōta or vōta occurs again (1) as part of a proper name in Raṅkabota, in line 8 of No. 27, Plate xvii. below; and (2) as a territorial name, in the Vōta santhika in line 6 f. of No. 29, Plate xixA. below.—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives pōta, bōta, and vōta, in the sense of ‘a woman with a beard; a hermaphrodite; a female servant or slave.’—And we have Bōṭaka, 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 aksharas of line 1.

4 These two aksharas are supplied from line 2 of the Sānchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB., in which they are quite distinct.
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! To the community of the faithful in the holy great vihāra of Kākanādabōta,—in which the organs of sense (of the members of it) have been subdued by the virtues of (good) character, religious meditation, and wisdom; which deeds of the very highest religious merit; which has come together from the four quarters of the world; (and) which is the abode of most excellent Śrāmanas,—having prostrated himself in an assembly of five persons, Amarakārada, the son of Undāna,—whose means of subsistence have been made comfortable by the favour of the feet of the Mahārājādhīrāja, 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 dēśa,—gives (the village or

1 We might very suitably supply the lacunae by reading Dēvarāja iti priya-nām=[ādātye bhavat]ya-[d]tasya.
2 See page 30 above, note 3.
3 i.e. jina, dinē, divasa, or divasē. And the word properly denotes the solar day, from sunrise to sunrise, with which a week-day name would be coupled; not the lunar titthi, which may coincide with, or more or less may differ from, the solar day and week-day.
4 Ārya-Saṅgha.
5 Paṃcha-maṇḍala is evidently the same as the Paṃchāṭ, Paṃchāyat, or Paṃch, 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 Paṃchāṭ (perhaps a mistake of the engraver for paṃchāṭ), which seems to have been used in the same sense, in line 16 of Bhagwanlal Indraji’s Nēpāl Inscriptions, No. 10 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 173).—So also Paṃchāṭika, 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 Paṃchāyats which are in each instance specified by name.
6 Or Amarakārada.
7 dēśa, ‘a region, country, province, &c.;’ is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning and bearing of which have not yet been determined. So, also, khaṇḍa, ‘a section;’ maṇḍala, ‘a circle, district, arrondissement, province, &c.;’ rāṣṭra, ‘a kingdom, district, country, region, &c.;’ and viṣaya, ‘a country, region, district, province, &c.;’—Dēśa is sometimes used as a synonym of maṇḍala. Thus, in line 7 of a grant of Amma II. of about Śaka-Saṅvat 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 Vēgīl dēśa. While, in line 17 of a grant of Amma I. (id. Vol. VIII. p. 79), and in line 8 of another of Bhillma II. (id. Vol. XIII. p. 213), it is called the Vēgīl maṇḍala. These charters record grants made in the Pennatavāḍi, Gudrāvārā, and Pāgunavara viṣaya; which would point to viṣaya being a subdivision of a dēśa or maṇḍala. And this is in accordance with line 5 of the Kapālēswar grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta (id. Vol. V. p. 55, where the correct reading is viṣhayaka-Rudrāgrāme), recording a gift of the village of Rājpārāma belonging to the Pōvā or Yośa viṣaya in the Kōsala dēśa. On the other hand, in line 4 of the Tērōļ inscription of Śaka-
allotment of) Īśvaravāsaka, purchased with the endowment \(^1\) of Maja and Šarabhaṅga and Amrarā\(^a\) of the royal household, \(^8\) and (also grāves) twenty-five dīnāras.

(Line 7)—From [the interest of the dīnāras\(^*\)] given by him,—with half, as long as the moon and the sun (endure), let five Bhiṣkus be fed, and let a lamp burn in the jewel-house, \(^4\) for the perfection of all the virtues of \(..............\) the familiar name of Dévarāja, \(^6\) \(..............\) of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II); and with the other

Saṅvat 1046 or A.D. 1124-25 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 16), the terms děśa and vishaya are both applied to the division of India that is best known as Bharatākhaṇḍa or Bharatakṣhātra, and also to the Kūndi Three-thousand District in the Kanarese country; which would point to děśa and vishaya being synonymous.—Khaṇḍa occurs in another grant (unpublished) of Mahā-Bhavagupta, recording a gift of the village of Arkigrāma belonging to the Tulumba khaṇḍa in the Kāḍala děśa; which points to khaṇḍa being a subdivision of a děśa, and perhaps synonymous with vishaya.—Maṇḍala occurs also in line 8 of the grant of Mahānrapāla of Harsha-Saṅvat 155 or A.D. 761-62 (id. Vol. XV. p. 112), recording the gift of a village belonging to the Vālāyikā vishaya, which lay in the Śrāvasti maṇḍala. And this, again, points to a maṇḍala being subdivided into vishayas.—As regards rākṣaṇa and vishaya, there were two classes of officials called Rākṣtrapatī and Vishayapati, lit. ‘lords’ or ‘chiefs’ of rākṣtras and vishayas. And, on the one hand, such passages as those in line 8 f. of the Kairā grant of Vijayarāja of the year 394 (id. Vol. VII. p. 248), and in line 8 of the Khāvī grant of Jayabhāṣa of the year 486 (id. Vol. V. p. 114), which mention first the Vishayapati, then the Rākṣtrapatī, and then the Grāmamahattāra or ‘village-headman,’ point, as indicated by Dr. Bühler in editing the Khāvī grant, to the vishaya being a larger division than the rākṣra; as also such expressions as “the cultivators, headed by the Rākṣtrakūṭa (‘headman of the rākṣra’), dwelling in the Pennṭavāḍi vishaya,” in line 39 f. of the grant of Amma II of about Śaka-Saṅvat 867, referred to above.

But, on the other hand, exactly the opposite of this is indicated by such passages as those in line 28 f. of the Sāmānagad grant of Dantidurgā of Śaka-Saṅvat 675 or A.D. 753-54 (id. Vol. XI. p. 112), in line 35 f. of the Wapi grant of Gōvinda III of Śaka-Saṅvat 730 (id. Vol. XI. p. 159), and in line 60 of the Kauṭhēgrī grant of Vikramaditya V. of Śaka-Saṅvat 930 (id. Vol. XVI. p. 24), in which first the Rākṣtrapatī is mentioned, then the Vishayapati, and then the Grāmakūṭa or ‘village-headman.’

While finally, such expressions as “the Karmarākṣra vishaya,” in line 12 of the grant of the second year of Vishqūvardhana II. (id. Vol. VII. p. 187), and “the Goparākṣra vishaya,” in line 17 of the Nīrpaṇ grant of Nāgavardhana (id. Vol. IX. p. 124), point to rākṣra and vishaya being synonymous terms.—The subject requires further elucidation. And, as in the case of regal and official titles, it is much better to use the original Sanskrit words, than to render them by such terms as Zillā, Tākulā, &c., which are of modern invention, and which cannot possibly be satisfactory equivalents, even if they should happen to approach to the relative meanings.

\(^1\) málya, lit. ‘an original sum,’ is equivalent to akshaya-nīvī, lit. ‘a capital sum that is not to be wasted,’ which is of constant use in early inscriptions, and occurs for instance in No. 12, below, Plate viIvB, line 26, and No. 62, Plate xxxviiiB, lines 3 and 8.

\(^2\) Or Amrarā
dhākula.

\(^4\) I supply these words, where the original has been effaced, on the analogy of line 3 f. of the Sāfīchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB.

\(^8\) This is the literal meaning of ratna-grīha. It seems to denote the Stūpa itself, as the abode of the three ratnas or ‘jewels or precious things,’ viz. (1) Buddha; (2) Dharma, the Law or Truth; and (3) Samgha, the community or congregation.

\(^6\) This may be correct. But we have no other authority for giving him this second name. And the lacuna in the line render it impossible to say with any certainty whether it denotes him, or some other person. If the suggestion that I have made above (page 32, note 1) for filling up the lacuna, should be accepted, the translation would be —“for the perfection of all the virtues of him who, having the familiar name of Dévarāja, is a minister of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta.”
half, which is mine, let the same number of five Bhikshus 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 Brāhman, and with (the guilt of) the five sins that entail immediate retribution!

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

No. 6; PLATE IV A

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Archael. 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. Hultsch 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 “Tawā Cave,” from the resemblance of the large flat stone, on the top of the rock in which it is excavated, to a gigantic tawa, or griddle for baking cakes.

The writing, which covers a space of about 3' 7" by 1' 2½", 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 2½" to 4½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of radically the same type with those of the Allahābād 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 jīhvaṁūliya and upadharmāniya in jñāh-kavih-pāṭalī, 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 Allahābād inscription, which was engraved in the time of Chandragupta II., and the fact that the inscription records that the Chandragupta mentioned in it came in person to Udayagiri, coupled with the existence at Udayagiri of the inscription of the year 82, No. 3, p. 21 ff. above, which

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1 It is not quite apparent who is speaking here; but probably Amrakārdava is intended.
2 brahmā; see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. brahmā.
3 vīś. matricide, parricide, killing an Arhat, shedding the blood of a Buddha, and causing division among the priesthood (see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. pañcānāntariyāyakkham and abhīṭhūnakham.)
4 See page 22 above, and note 1.
is proved by its date to be one of Chandragupta II,—shew that the king mentioned here is Chandragupta II., not his grandfather, Chandragupta I. It is a Śaiva inscription; and the object of it is to record the excavation of the cave as a temple of the god Siva, under the name of Sambhu, by the order of a certain Virasēna, otherwise called Śāba, who was one of the ministers of Chandragupta II.

**TEXT.**


4 Kautsaś-Śāba iti khyātō Virasēnah kul-ākhyaya śabdāṛtha-nyaya-lōka-jñāh-kaviḥ Pātaliputraṇaḥ [11*] 4


**TRANSLATION.**

Perfection has been attained which shines like the sun, radiant with internal light, upon the earth, pervades (and) has the appellation of Chandragupt (II.), (and is) wonderful;—

(Line 2.)—Bought by the purchase-money of [whose] prowess, [the earth], in which (all other) princes are humiliated by the slavery (imposed on them by him), gratified by religion.

(L. 3.)—He who holds the position, acquired by hereditary descent, of being a minister of that same saintly sovereign, possessed of inconceivable, (and) has been appointed to] (the office of arranging) peace and war; (vis.)—

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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, Śūkka (Anushtubh) throughout.
5 From the use, in line 5, of the imperfect past tense akārayat, 'he caused to be made,'—and from the natural length of time required for the completion of the cave, 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.

'Rājāḍhirāja; lit. 'supreme king of Rājas or kings.'—This was, in earlier times, one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty. In its Pāli or Prākrit form of Rājādhiraṇa, it occurs as the representative of the Greek basilēus basilēon, sometimes by itself, e.g. on some of the coins of Maues (Gardner and Poole's Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India in the British Museum, p. 68 ff., Nos. 4, 5, 9, 11, and 17); and sometimes in conjunction with Maharaja (Mahaḍṛṣaṇ), e.g. on some of the coins of Azes (id. p. 85 ff., Nos. 138, 140, and 157). And another almost identical title, viz. Rājātīrāja, lit. 'superior king of Rājas or kings,' occurs in the same
(L. 4.) He who, belonging to the Kautsa (gōtra) is well-known under the name of Śāba, (but is called) Virasēna by (his) family-appellation;—who knows the meanings of words, and logic, and (the ways of) mankind;—who is a poet;—and who belongs to (the city of) 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 IVB.

GADHWA 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 Archæological Reports.

Gadhwā, which means literally ‘a fort,’ is the name of several villages in the Arail and Bārā Pargaṇās in the Karchhanā Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. The particular Gadhwā, where these inscriptions were found, is in the Bārā Pargaṇā, eight miles to the west by south from Bārā, and one and a half miles south of the village of Bhatgadh. It is entered in the map simply as a “Fort.” The stone containing the inscriptions was found built into the wall of one of the rooms of a modern dwelling-house inside the enclosure of the fort; and is a rectangular sandstone fragment, measuring about 9½” broad by 4” thick and 2’ 6½” high. It is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone is inscribed on three faces,—on the front, as it stands in the Museum, and on the two sides. It is entire towards the bottom; but the top of it, containing two or three lines of writing, has been broken away and lost. In addition to this, the sides now contain only about half of each line of the inscriptions engraved on them; and this, with the unfinished roughness of the present back of the stone, shews that about half of it has been pared away, in adapting it to some other purpose than that for which it was originally intended.

sense of paramount sovereignty, but coupled also with Mahārāja; e.g. in the Mathurā inscription of Ūgishka 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 xv.). 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 Mandaśor inscription of Yasodharman and Vishnuvardhana, No. 35 below; in line 62 of the Allahābād grant of Śālaḍītya VII., No. 39 below; and, in the derivative Rājādhirājya, in line 24 of the Junaṅgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14 below, in line 2 of which we also have, for metrical reasons, another variety of the title, viz. Rājādhirājya.

1 The ‘Garhwa’ and ‘Gurhwa’ of maps, &c.

2 The ‘Barah’ of maps.

3 The ‘Badgarh, Bhatgarh, and Budghudh’ of maps, &c.

4 Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25º 13’ N.; Long. 81º 38’ E.
CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM.

A.—Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II.

Scale 1/4

B.—Gadhwa Inscription of Chandragupta II.
The Year 88.

C.—Gadhwa Inscription of Kumaragupta.

D.—Gadhwa Inscription of Kumaragupta.
The Year 98.
On the front of the stone, towards the top, traces are visible of eleven lines of writing, each of about thirteen letters, in characters of the same period with those of the inscriptions that I now publish. But no part of this inscription, which seems to have been quite distinct from those on the sides, can be read; and the traces of it that remain are not worth being lithographed.

The inscription of Chandragupta II. now published, is on the upper part of the present proper left side of the stone, and the writing covers a space of about 4" broad by 1' 4½" high. It was originally brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text of lines 10 to 17 in the *Archaeol. 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 ½". 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. i 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 ṛ and Ṉ after the anusvāra, in *samvyukta*, line 9, and *samvatsaraḥ*, 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 *paramabhāgavata* in line 10, followed by the beginning of the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, shows 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 *dīndras*, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *sattra*, 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 [Paramabhasgavata* mahārājādhirāja -śri-Chandragupta -rājya].
2 [samvatsaraḥ]* ........................................................ [asyāṁ]
3 divasa-pūrvvāyāṁ* ..............................

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¹ From the original stone.
² This first line is entirely broken away and lost; but, from the date in line 11, there can be no doubt that the name and titles of Chandragupta II. have to be filled in here, as also in line 10.—In the second line, remnants are visible of the first four or five akṣaras, 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 śamvatsaraḥ; see page 38 below, note 5.
⁴ Supply *tīhan.*
Second Par.

10 Paramabhāgavatā - mahā[rājādhirāja - sṛt - Chandragupta - raj -
11 jya-samvatsaras[8] 80 8 [asyām divasa].
12 pūrvvāyām' Pāṭa(tal)ipūt[t]ra [gri].
13 ātma-puṇya-āpachay-[ārtham.]
14 sadā-satra-sāmānya-b[rāhmaṇa]
15 dīnārāḥ daśa 10 [Yaś-ch-ainām]
16 dharma-skanda(ndha)m, vyuchchhindyā[t=sā pañcha
dahā]pātakaiḥ samyuktaḥ syād-iti [II]

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

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

(Line 3)— headed by Mātridāsa for the purpose of increasing [the religious merit] fashioned the Brāhmaṇs of the community of a perpetual almshouse by ten dīnāras, (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 reign4 of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājādhirāja, [the glorious Chandragupta (II.) ] ; in the year 80 (and) 8; [on this] (lunar day), (specified) as above (by the day, (&c.))—

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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 Gadhwa inscription, No. 64 below, Plate xxxixB. We also have a similar expression, puṇya-skandham, in line 9 of the Kahauh pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15 below, Plate ixA.

2 Read rájýe samvatsaras; see note 5 below.

3 Supply tithau.

* The pañcha mahāpātakāṇi, or 'five great crimes,' are—saying 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 Mānudharmāśtrā, ix. 235, and xi. 55 to 59; Burnell's Translation, pp. 287, 331.

* The original, if accepted as it stands, would have to be translated "in the year eighty-eight of the reign of Chandragupta." But the numerals, both here and in the still more pointed instances given below, show that the expression cannot possibly refer to regnal years.—This method of expres-
(L. 12.)—...... Pātaliputra... the wife of the householder... [for the purpose] of adding to (her) own religious merit... the Brāhmans of the community of a perpetual almshouse... ten dīndras, (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,1 in the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was first brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text in the 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 ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding inscription, No. 8, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in lines 3 and 6, forms of the numerical symbol for 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king 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 dīndras, and

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 Jitaṁ bhagavatā 1 Pa[ramabhāgavatā2-mahārājādhirājā]-
2 śrī-Kumāragupta-rājya-[saṁvatsāra3]
3 divasā 10 [asyaṁ divasa-pūrvvāyām]
4 ..........................
5 ..........................
6 [da]ttā dinārāh 10 ta(?)
7 ti satṛē cha dinārās-trayā4 .................. [II]
8 [Yaś-ch=ānām dharmma-skandham vyuchchhi]-
9 ndyāt-sa pañcha-mahāpā[ta[kaiṁ saṁyuktaḥ syād-iti [II]
10 Goyinda Lakshmā .........................

**TRANSLATION.**

Victory has been achieved by the Divine One! In the reign4 of [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājādhirājā], the glorious Kumāragupta; [in the year] ..........................; on the day 10; [on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (śe.)]:—

(Line 3.)—.................. [the community of] a perpetual almshouse .................
10 .......................... there were given ten dināras ..........................
11 .......................... and in the almshouse ................................
12 .......................... three dināras ..........................

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

(L. 9.)—Goyinda, 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 Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was not noticed when the stone was first discovered; but was afterwards found, on clearing away the lime under which it was hidden, by General Cunningham, who then, in 1880, published his reading of the text in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 9, with a lithograph (id. Plate v. No. 1.)

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1 From the original stone.
2 This epithet is completed from line 5 of the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 below, and line 5 f. of the Bhiṭarī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below.
3 Read rājya [saṁvatsāra]; see page 38 above, note 5.
4 This may be completed into either trayāḥ, trayōdaśa, trayāvimśati, or any other numeral commencing with trayas.
5 See page 38 above, note 5.
6 See page 36 above, and note 1.
This inscription is on the upper part of the proper right side of the stone. Almost the whole of the first line, and the first half of each of the remaining lines, has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the writing, however, covering a space of about 4" broad by 9" high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The size of the letters varies from 4" to 1". 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 dīnāras, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a sattara, or charitable hall or almshouse.

TEXT.¹

1 [Jitam bhagavata II Para)mabha[ã]gavata-[mahārājādhi]-
2 [rāja-śrī-Kumāragupta-rāja-samvatsa]rē² 90 8 ........
3 ................ [asyāṁ divasa]-pūrvvāyām³ paṭṭa ....
4 ................ nē(?)-n-ātma-puny-o[pha[chā]-
5 [y-ārttham]........................ kālpyaṁ sadā-sat[ra]-
6 ................ kasya talakanivān[se(?) ..
7 ................ tya(?) m dinārāḥ dvādaśa
8 ................ syaṁkur-odbha(?)-sta-chchha ......
9 ................ [sam]yukta[ḥ⁴] syād-iti 1(II)

TRANSLATION.

[Victory has been achieved by the Divine One!] [In the reign²] of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the Mahārājādhāraḥ, the glorious Kumāragupta]; in the year 90 (and) 8; ..................; [on this] (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 ........................................ twelve dīnāras

(L. 9.)— .................. shall become invested with ................................

¹ From the original stone.
² To be corrected into rājya samvatsarā; see page 38 above, note 5.
³ Supply tithau.
⁴ The measure of the lines of this inscription seems to show that it did not contain here the full formula of the preceding two, Nos. 7 and 8.
⁵ See page 38 above, note 5.
No. 10; PLATE V.

BILSAD STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

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

Bilsad or Bilsand is a village,—consisting of three parts, called respectively Bilsad-Puvāyām, or Eastern Bilsad; Bilsad-Pachhāyām, or Western Bilsad; and Bilsad-Paṭṭī, or Bilsad Suburb,—about four miles towards the north-east of Alligaṇj, the chief town of the Alligaṇj Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Éta District in the North-West Provinces. At the south-west corner of Bilsad-Puvāyām, 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 shewn by the remains of it, was a duplicate copy of that on the northern column; but it was arranged somewhat differently, being, as counted by General Cunningham, in sixteen somewhat shorter lines, instead of thirteen. From General Cunningham’s ink-impression, hardly any appreciable portion of this second inscription remains, except the second and third lines, and lines 12 to 16; and these are not in sufficiently good order to be lithographed, though they are of use in supplying more clearly a few letters which are doubtful in the two verses at the end of the inscription on the northern column. In this second inscription, line 2 begins with the *svādita-yasas* of line 1 of the one now published;—line 3, with the *gat-āṅkha* of line 2;—line 12, with about the *parshuṇa* of line 9;—line 13, with the *kaubārachchhanda* of line 10;—line 14, with the *[s]aṭṭra* of line 11;—line 15, with the *subhā* of line 12; —and line 16, with the *vēṇ-āpūrva* of line 13.

With this pair of duplicate inscriptions, we may compare the duplicate inscriptions of Yaśódharman on the two columns at Mandasōr, Nos. 33 and 34 below. But Yaśódharman’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,—*vīṣ* the temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāsēna, or Kārttikēya, 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

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1 The ‘Beelsur and Bilsar’ of maps, &c. 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 Aphisad, and Aphpsand, in the case of the inscription of Ādityasēna, No 42 below.

2 The ‘Beelsurpowa, Beelsurpucha, and Beelsurputte,’ of maps.

3 The ‘Aliganj and Uleegunje’ of maps, &c.

4 The ‘Éta, Etah, and Etun,’ of maps, &c.
damage has been done to the rest; but nothing of a historical nature seems to have been lost.—The average size of the letters is about \( \frac{3}{8} \). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; but they present a very pointed difference from the characters of the same class in the preceding inscriptions, in respect of the very marked mātrās or prolonged horizontal top-strokes of the letters.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the end of line 9, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of \( t \), in conjunction with a following \( r \), e.g. in putrasya, line 4.

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 Kārttikeya under the name of Svāmi-Mahāsēna, of certain works, *viz.* (1) the building of a pratōli, or 'gateway with a flight of steps'; (2) the establishment, apparently, of a sattra or charitable hall or almshouse; and (3) the erection of the column with the inscription on it, to record the above acts:

**TEXT:**

1. ... [Sarvva-rāj-ōchchhēttuṁ prithivyāṁ-a-pratirathasya chatur-uda]dhisalil-āsvādita-yaśasō
3. [mahārāja-śri-Gupta-prapautrasya mahārāja-śri-Ghatōttkha-pautrasya mahārāja-śri-Chandragupta-purttrasya
5. mahādevyāṁ Dattadeviyāṁ-utpannasya svaya[m-a-prati-rathasya] [parama]-bhāgavatasya manārajadhirāja-śri-Chandragupta-purttrasya

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1 As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham, *pratōli*, according to the Dictionaries, means 'a broad way; a high-street; a principal road through a town.' But the meaning of 'gateway' was given to him by a Paṇḍit. And that the word has the meaning in the present inscription of 'a gateway with a flight of steps,' seems to be shewn by the comparison of the *pratōli* with a *svarga-sīpāṇa* 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 3 are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii., lines 1 to 3.

3 Probably **siddham** stood here.

4 Read **Samudraguptasya putrasya**, the separate genitive **Samudraguptasya** being required in apposition with the genitives ending in *pautrasya, pautrasyas, putrasya, dhaśitrasyas, and utpannasya*, in line 3. Here, and in line 5, the drafter of the inscription seems to have been led into his mistake through following blindly the *Chandragupta-puttrasya*, which is quite correct, at the end of line 3.

5 Read **Chandraguptasya putrasya**, the separate genitive **Chandraguptasya** being required in apposition with the genitives *utpannasya, apratirathasya*, and *paramabhdgavatasya* in this line.—See the preceding note.

6 Read *rājya samvatsarē*, see page 38 above, note 5.
Asyān=divasa-pūrvvāyāṁ bhagavatas=trailōkya-tējas-sambhāra-samāt-ādbhuta-mūrttār-Brahmaṇya-dēvasya

........ nivāsinaḥ Svāmī-Mahāsēnasya-āyatanē-smin=Kārttayug-āchāra-

- saddharmma-vartm-ānuyāyina ,

.ātā ........................ [pa]rshadā mánitena Dhruvaśārmmanā

karma mahat=krit=ādamś (I) (II)


kaubērachchanda-bimbāṁ spāṭika-maṇi-dal-ābhāsa-gaurāṁ pragōlim (I)

prāsād-āgr-ābhirūpaṁ guṇa-vara-bhavanaṁ [dharmma-sa(?)]trimāṁ yathāvat (I)

punyēśhv=ev-ābhirāmāṁ vrajati śubha-matis-tātā Śārmā mā dhruvō-stu (I) (II)


yēn=āpūrvvā-vibhūti-saṅchaya-chayayīḥ [ — ]ai[ — — — — — ]h (I) tēn=āyāṁ

Dhruvaśārmmanā sthira-varasā[s] [st]aṃbh-ōch[chr]ayaḥ kāritaḥ (I) (II)

/TRANSLATION.

(Line 6.)—In the ninety-sixth year, (and) in the augmenting victorious reign\(^8\) of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Kumāragupta,—

(L. 5.)—Who is the son, begotten on the Mahādevi Dhruvadēvi, of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II.), who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power); who was a most devout worshipper of the Divine One; (and)

(L. 4.)—Who\(^9\) was the son, begotten on the Mahādevi Dattadēvi, of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Samudragupta,—

(L. 1.)—[Who\(^1\) 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) Kṛitāṅga]; who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows and] gold; who was the restorer of the aśvamedha-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; (and)

(L. 3.)—[Who\(^2\) was the son of the son’s son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Gupta;—the son’s son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghatōtkacha;—(and) the son of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (and) the daughter’s son of Lichchhavī, begotten on the Manadēvi Kumāradēvi;—

(L. 7.)—On this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (etc.),\(^{12}\)—at this temple of the divine (god) Svāmī-Mahāsēna, whose wondrous form is covered over with the accu-

\(^{1}\) Supply titthau.

\(^{2}\) Read kritam=idadam.

\(^{3}\) Metre, Sragdhārā.

\(^{4}\) Here, and below, the marks of punctuation at the end of the first and third pādas of each verse are unnecessary.

\(^{5}\) The reading is gaurāṁ, instead of the usual form gaurīm, also in the original duplicate of this inscription on the other column.

\(^{6}\) Metre, Śārdūlavikṛtīta.

\(^{7}\) These four aksharas are supplied from the ink-impression of the duplicate inscription, in which they are quite distinct.

\(^{8}\) We should expect sthiratāras; but the duplicate inscription also reads sthira-varas.

\(^{9}\) See page 38 above, note 5.

\(^{10}\) i.e. Chandragupta II.

\(^{11}\) i.e. Samudragupta.

\(^{12}\) i.e. Samudragupta.
mulation of the lustre of the three worlds: who is the god Brahmāṇya; (and) who resides at ..................,—this great work has been accomplished by Dhrūvaśārman, who follows the path of the customs of the Kṛita 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 (pearl)-necklace of the kind called kaubērachchhanda, (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 Śarman endure for a long time!\(^1\)

(L. 12.)—This lofty pillar,\(^2\) firm and excellent, has been caused to be made by that same Dhrūvaśārman, whose piety, having acquired the excellent reputation of nectar \………………\) on the earth, is so highly esteemed by all perfect beings that there is no one who would fail to worship him; (and) by whom \………………\) by means of the abundance of (his) unprecedented accumulation of superhuman power.

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**No. II; PLATE VIA.**

**MANKUWAR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.**

**THE YEAR 129.**

This inscription was discovered in 1870 by Dr. Bhagwanal Indrāji, and appears to have been first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1880, in the *Archæol. 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. Bhagwanal Indrāji published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 354.

Mankuwar\(^4\) is a small village near the right bank of the Jamnā, about nine miles in a south-westerly direction from Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Parganā in the Karchhanā Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahābād 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 Gōsāl of Dēoriyā\(^5\) or Dēwariyā; 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 Pańch-Pahād, a short distance to the north-east of Mankuwar. The image represents Buddha, seated; wearing a plain cap, fitting close to the head, with

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\(^1\) *pratōli;* 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 ‘Mankuwar and Munhowar’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88 Lat. 25° 19’ N.; Long. 81° 53’ E.

\(^5\) The ‘Deoriya and Deorya’ of maps, &c.; about a mile to the north-west of Mankuwar.—Bhagwanalal Indraji writes the name ‘Devaliā.’
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 3" high in the first line, and 1' in the second, is in a state of excellent preservation.—The **size** of the letters varies from 3" to 7". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate very closely to those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff., above, Plate i. They include, in line 2, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8, 9, 10, 20, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta** king **Kumâragupta**. For some reason or other, it gives him the subordinate feudatory title of **Mahârâja**, instead of the paramount title of **Mahârâjâdhirâja**. But we know of no feudatory chieftain of the name of Kumâragupta; and the date fits exactly into the period of **Kumâragupta**, of the **Early Gupta** dynasty; and there can be no doubt that he is the person referred to. The use of the subordinate title may perhaps be due to carelessness or ignorance on the part of the drafter of the inscription. Or possibly it may indicate an actual historical fact, the reduction of Kumâragupta, towards the end of his life, to feudal rank by the Pushyamitrâs and the Hûnas, whose attacks on the Gupta power are so pointedly alluded to in the Bhitari 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 Jyêshtha (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 Ōm² Namô Budhâna² [18] Bhagavatô³ samyak-sambuddhasya sva-matraviruddhasya iyaṁ pratimâ pratishtâpita bhikshu-Buddhamitrêga

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1 We may compare the rather doubtful legend on one of Skandagupta's coins.—**Mahârâjâ-Kumâraputra-paramamahâditya-mahârâja-Skanda**; see *Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 67.

2 From the ink-impression.

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

4 Read buddhânâm; unless buddhâna, as also the following bhagavatô, is to be regarded as a Prâkrit form, used through carelessness.—This use of the genitive after namâ is not usual. But we have other instances; e.g. in the Khandâgiri rock inscription, which commences Namô arahamitânam namô sava-siddhânám (Corp. 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 Amarâvatî (Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship,* Pl. xciv. No. 3), commences Siddham Namô bhagavatô; and the second, from Mathurâ (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20) Siddham Namô arahatê Mahâvirsya;—and in the Amarâvatî Stûpa inscription, which commences *Sêdham Namô bhagavatô savasatutamasa Budhâsa* (Archæol. 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).

5 Read bhagavatah.
2 Samvat 100 20 9 mahârâja-śri-Kumâraguptasya râjuś Jyêśthâ-mâsa
di 10 8 sarvva-duḥkkha-prahâna-ārttham [I*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Reverence to the Buddhas! This image of the Divine One, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge, (and) who was never refuted in respect of his tenets, has been installed by the Bhikshu Buddhâmîtra,—(in) the year 100 (and) 20 (and) 9, in the reign of the Mahârâja, the glorious Kumâragupta; (in) the month Jyêśthâ; (on) the day 10 (and) 8,—with the object of averting all unhappiness.

No. 12; PLATE VI B.

BIHAR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Ravenshaw, and to have been first brought to notice by him in 1839, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 347 ff.; from his remarks it appears that the column was originally found in front of the northern gate of the old fort of Bihâr, but had been subsequently removed and set up "in a reversed position, with its base in the air, and its summit in the ground," a little to the west of the same gate, where it was afterwards found, fallen, by General Cunningham.—In 1866, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXV. pp. 269 ff. and 277 f., Dr. Rajendralal 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 Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 37 f. and Plate xvii., General Cunningham published his own lithograph of the inscription.

Bihâr is the chief town of the Bihâr Sub-Division of the Patna District in the Bengal Presidency. The broken red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, was eventually removed by Mr. A. M. Broadley, Magistrate of Bihâr, and was set up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihâr Court-House, where it still stands. Mr. Broadley perpetuated

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1 See page 30 above, note 3.
2 Read duḥkha.
3 Ēm is an auspicious exclamation, used at the beginning of books, &c. It is made up of the three letters a, u, and m; and in later times it was looked upon as a mystic name for the Hindu triad, and as representing the union of the three gods, Vishnu (a), Siva (u), and Brahman (m).—The efficacy of the exclamation is detailed in the Mánavadharmastra, ii. 74–85 (Burnell's Translation, p. 25 ff.)
4 With this plural, compare the mention of four Buddhas in the Sâfchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB.; and also Bhagavatâm samyaksambuddhânâm Buddhânâm, “of the divine Buddhas, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge,” in line 22 of the Vâlî grant of Dhruvasena I. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 105).
5 See page 46 above, para. 4.
6 The ‘Behar and Bihâr’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 11‘ N.; Long 85° 33‘ E.—The proper form of the name, which is by no means an uncommon one for villages in Northern and Central India, is of course Bihâr, with the vowel i in the first syllable, from the Sanskrit vihâra, ‘a Buddhist (and Jain) temple or convent;’ and this is the form that is used by the people of the Patna District.—The Sanskrit name, Vihâra, occurs in line 9–10 of the ‘Pesserawa’ inscription, now stored in the collection at Bihâr, where the place is called “Vihâra, the city of the glorious Yasovarman” (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XVII. p. 492 ff.)
the inverted position of the column, upside down; and also disfigured it with an English inscription, printed in full by General Cunningham, a few letters of which appear in the lithograph now published. Also, the column, as placed by Mr. Broadley, stands now in the middle of a house, the roof of which is supported by it; and the last eight lines of the inscription, shewn in Dr. Rajendralala Mitra and General Cunningham’s lithographs, are now completely hidden, and rendered quite inaccessible, by a wooden structure placed on the top, i.e. the proper bottom, of the pillar, in order to connect it with the roof.

The writing originally extended, in the First Part, lines 1 to 13, over four of the faces of the column, as is shewn by the metres of the extant portion; and in the Second Part, line 14 ff., over three faces, as is shewn by the number of letters lost in each line. The extant portion, now lithographed, covers a space of about 1’ 4” broad by 3’ 5” high, and is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The size of the letters varies from 3/8” to 5/8”.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate closely to those of the Allahábâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include, in lines 3 and 11, forms of the numerical symbols for 3, 5, and 30.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 10, and the rest in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anuvára, before s, in anśa, lines 11 and 13; (2) the doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in chakrē, line 10 (but not in vikramēna, line 3), and pautrasya, line 17; and (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyāta, 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 yāṇa or ‘sacrificial post,’ apparently by some minister whose sister had become Kumáragupta’s wife. And the inscription further recorded certain shares in the village of Skandaguptabata (7), and in another agrahāra, the name of which is lost. From the mention of Skanda, or Kārttikēya, and the divine Mothers, in line 9, this part of the inscription seems to have belonged to the Śaiva form of worship, in its Sākta or Tāntrika development.

The second part, which also contains no date, is a record of Skandagupta. Not enough of it remains to shew the form of religion to which it belonged, or to indicate clearly its purport.

1 Compare the undoubted instance of this, in the same period, in the Gaṅgdhār inscription of Vīsidvarman, No. 17 below.—The mātaraḥ or mātrigāna, ‘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—Brāhmaṇ or Brahman, Vaiśnav, Māheśvar, Kaumārl Varāhi, Aindrī or Indrāṇi or Mahēndrī, and Chāmūndā,—as representing the Pleiades, the seven mothers or nurses of Kārttikēya, the son of Śiva. Afterwards the number was increased to eight, nine, sixteen, and various other figures. The chief object of the Śaṅkta or Tāntrika worship now is Pārvatē, Durgā, or Māheśvarē, the wife and female energy of Śiva; especially under the name of Jagadambā, ‘the mother of the universe.’—Not long after this period, Śvāmi-Mahāśēna, or Kārtikēya, 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 Chalukyas (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 162; Vol. VI. p. 74; and Vol. XIII. p. 137 f.)
TEXT.  
First Part.

1 [- - ] h² nṛtṛ-chaṁdra Indrānuja-tulya-vīryyō guṇair-a-tulyāḥ
  [(- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -)] [II]
2 [- - ] [ta]sy =āpi sūnur-bhuviś svāmi-nēyaḥ khyātaḥ sva-
  kirttāyā [(- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -)] [II]
3 [- - ] [sva]s=āiva yasy-ātula-vikramēṇa Kumāragup[t]ē[na]
  [(- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -)] [II]
4 [- - ] p[i]tri(tri)mś = cha dēvāṁś = cha hi havya-kavyaiḥ sada
  nṛśamsya-ādi[(- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -)] [II]
5 [- - - ] [a]chikarad=ādevanikēta-mandalam kṣhitavy=an-aupamya-
  [(- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -)] [II]
6 . . . . ba(?)tē(?)° kila stambha-var-ōchchhrī(chchhra)yaprabhāṣ
tu maṇḍa................. [II]
7 . . . . bhr=vriṅkhānīm kusumabhā-rāṇat-āgra-sūrī(?)ga(?)vyālamba-
stavak......
8 [- - ] Bhadrāryya=ō bhāti grihaṁ navābhra-nirmmokā-
nirmu[kta (- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -)] [II]
9 [- - ] Skanda-pradhānair-bhuvi māṭribhiś=cha lōkān=sa
  su(?)shy(?)[(- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -)] [II]
10 [- - - ] yūp-ōchchhrayam-ēva chakkrē [II*] Bhadrāryy-ādi-

11 . . . . [Ska(?)]ndaguptabatē anśāni 30 5 tā(?)[mrakataku(?)h
  kala.................
12 . . . . pitaḥ sva-mātur=yyady=asti hi dushkritam bhajatu
tanē.................
13 . . . . k-āgraḥārē anśāni 3 Anantarśēnēn=ōpa.............

Secon Part.

14 . . . . [Saṛvva-rāj-ōchchhṛ]ttuh° pri(prī)thiḥyām=a-pratirathasya
15 [cheur-udadhi-saśi-śvādita-yaśasō Dhananda-Varun-Ē]ndr-Antaka-
samasya? Kṛtāntā?

¹ As far as line 25, from the ink-impression; the rest, partly from Gen. Cunningham's litho-
  graph, and partly from the lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralalā Mitra's reading.
² The first two entire pādas, and parts of the third pāda of most of the verses, have perished
  off and are lost all the way down.
³ Metre, Upendraavajrā.
⁴ Metre, Indravajrā.
⁵ The metre is faulty here: since the vi of bhūvi, which should remain short, is lengthened by
  the following sv.
⁶ Metre, Upendraavajrā; and in the next verse.
⁷ Metre, Vāṃśasthā.
⁸ Metre, apparently Giti; and in the next verse.
⁹ Metre, Indravajrā; and in the following two verses.
¹⁰ The passages that are lost in lines 14 to 22, are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29,
  page 8 above, and from the Bhīmar pillar inscription of Skanda-gupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.
  lines 1 to 6. The sectarian epithet of Skanda-gupta, in line 23, is supplied on line 24, and from
  his silver coins (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 66 f.)
16 [parasôh nyâ-âgat-ânêka-gôhiranya-kôti-pradasya chirô]tsann-
âsvamêdh-âhartuṭh
17 [mahârâja-âr-Gupta-prapauttrasya mahârâja-âr-Ghaṭô]tkacha-
pauttrasya mahârâja-
18 [dhirâja-âr-Chandragupta-puttrasya Lichchnavi-dauhittrasya
mahâ-devyâm Kûmâradêvyâm-utpannasya
ma]jha-devyâm
19 [mahârâja-dhirâja-âr-Samudraguptasya puttras=tat-parigâhitô
mahâdevyâm
mahâdevyâm
20 [Dâttadesvâyam-utpannah svayama-pratirathah para]mabhâgavatô
mahârâja-
21 [dhirâja-âr-Chandraguptas=putrasya mahârâjâdhirâja-âr-Kûmâragupta=
puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâ]tô
mahâdevyâm Dhruvadêvyâm=
22 [utpannah paramabhâgavatô mahârâjâdhirâja-âr-Kûmâragupta=
tasya] puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtaḥ
23 [paramabhâgavatô mahârâjâdhirâja-âr-Skahndagupta [ii*]
24
25 [mahârâjâdhirâja-âr-Skahndaguptah] parama-bhâgavatô
26 [vai]shayik-Âjapura-ka=sâ(i)ma(i)?-
27 [ak]shaya-nivi grâma-kshêtttram
28 uparika-kumârâmâtya-
29 vanij[â]ka-pâdit-ârika-
30 [â]grahârika-
31 [samâjânapayâmi] varmanâ viññâpitô-smi mama
32 pitâmahêna
33 Bhadrâ[r]yyakâ
34 m. g. p[r]ati â. âgrökaya nákaya-

(The rest of the inscription had been broken away and lost,
before the time when it was discovered.)

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

a very moon of a man; equal in prowess to (the god Vishnu) the
younger brother of Indra; unequalled in respect of virtuous qualities;

(Line 2.)—moreover, his son, docile towards (his) master on the earth;
renowned;

(L. 3.)—whose sister, indeed, [was espoused] by Kumâragupta, of
unequaled prowess.
(L. 4.)—both the deceased ancestors and the gods, with the oblations proper for each of them, always things that are injurious to man, &c.

(L. 5.)—caused to be made a group of temples, not [rivalled by] anything else that could be compared with it in the world.

(L. 6.)—assuredly in which is beautiful with the erection of (this) best of columns.

(L. 7.)—of the trees the groups of fig-trees and castor-oil plants, the tops of which are bent down by the weight of (their) flowers.

(L. 8.)—by (the presence of) Bhadrārya, 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 Bhadrārya and others in (the village (?) called) Skandaguptabhaṭa (?), 30 (and) 5 shares

(L. 12.)—if there be any misdeed on the part of (his) father (or) his mother, let him share

(L. 13.)—in the agrahāra of 3 shares by Anantasena

Second Part.

(L. 14.)—The son of the Mahārāja, 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) Kritānta; [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 Gupta]; who was the son's son of [the Mahārāja, the illustrious] Ghatotkacha; (and) who was [the son] of the Mahārājādhirāja, [the glorious Chandragupta (I), (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhavi], begotten on the Mahādevī Kumāradēvi,—

(L. 19.)—(was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājādhirāja, [the glorious Chandragupta (II.)],—who was accepted by him; [who was begotten on] the Mahādevī [Dattadēvi]; (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 Mahādevi Dhruvadēvi, (was) [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One], [the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Kumāragupta].

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

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1 *lit. "with the kavya (the oblation to the gods) and the kavya (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 Mahárájádhírāja, the glorious Skandagupta, issue a command] of the town of Ajapura in the višaya of the village-field the Upařika, the Kumárámátya acquired by the merchant in the seat (of office?) of the Ágraháríka, the Sāulkika, and the Gauµmika and others who subsist on Our favour:

(L. 31.) — "I have been requested by varman,—'By my father's father, by the Bhatṭa Guhilasvāmin, belonging to Bhadrāryà'"

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 announced 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. — In 1871, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 98 and Plate xxx., General Cunningham published another lithograph of the inscription. — In 1875, in the Jour. Br. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 59 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published a revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, from a hand-copy made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrají. — And finally, in 1885, in the Jour. Br. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 349 ff., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrají 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 Tahsíl or Sub-Division of the Gházípur District in the North-West Provinces. The red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands just outside the

1 Upařika 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 Ágraháríka is a technical official title, denoting probably 'an officer in special charge of an agrahára.'
3 Sāulkika is a technical official title, which might be rendered by some such term as 'superintendent of tolls or customs (sulka).'</n4 Gauµmika is a technical official title, which might be rendered by 'superintendent of woods and forests (gulma).'</n5 The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's Essays, Vol. i. p. 242 f.
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, Bhitrí, and Bhitari' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 35' N.; Long. 83° 17' E.
8 The 'Saidpur and Sydpoor' 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 2' 4'" high by 2' 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 1/10" to 1/5".

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though more squarely cut, are of the same type with those of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iiiA.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the middle of line 6, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusodra, before ū, in vaṁśa, lines 7, 13, and 14; (2) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in vikramēṇa and kkrāmēṇa, line 9; (3) the doubling of t, under the same circumstances, in pautirasya, line 3 (but not in prapatrasya, line 2; putras, line 4; and other places); and (4) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anudhyāta, line 5.

The inscription is one of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta. It is not dated. It belongs to the Vaishnava form of religion; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Vishnu, under the name of Śrīṅga, or “the wielder of the bow of horn named Śrīṅga,” and the allotment, to the idol, of the village, not mentioned by name, in which the column stands.

TEXT.¹

3 mahārāja-srī-Ghatotkacha-pautrasya mahārājayāhīrāja-srī-Chandragupta-pautrasya Lichchhivi-avahitrasya mahādevyām Kum[ā]rad[ē]jyāyā-
4 m-uptannasya mahārājādhīrāja-srī-Samudraguptasya putras-tat-parigrihītō mahādevyām Dhruvadevyām-uptannah svayam-a-pratirathah
5 paramabhaṅga-vatū mahārājādhīrāja-srī-Chandraguptas-tasya putras-tat-pād-anuddhyātō mahādevyām Dhruvadevyām-uptannah parama-
6 bhēgavatō mahārājādhir[a]ja-srī-Kumāraguptas-Tasya [II*] Prathita¹-prithu-mati-svabhāva-saṅkhe prithu-yaśasāḥ prithivipateḥ prithu-srīḥ
7 pi[tri]-pa[r]jgata-pādapaṃḍa-vartti prathita-yaśaḥ prithivipateḥ sutō-yam [II*] Jagati¹ bhu[ja]-bal-adhyo(dhyo) Gupta-vaṁś-aiśk-viaḥ prathita-vipula-
8 dhāmā nāmatabō Skandaguptaḥ sucharita-charitānām yēna vṛttēna vṛttam na viharat-amal-ātma tāna-dhīda(?)-vintah [II*] Vinayā-
9 bala-suntiār-vikramēṇa kkrāmēṇa pratidinahm-abhiyogad-lipsitam yēna la[b]dhvā svabhimata-vijjigāḥ-prōdyatānāṃ parēṣhām prani-
10 hita iva lē[bhē] sa[ṃ]vidhān-ōpadesāḥ [II*] Vichalita-kula-lakṣmī-stambhanāy-ōdyatēna kshititala-śayanyle yēna nītā triyāmā samu-

¹ From the original column.
² There are some taint marks above the sṛ, which seem to be remnants of this word; but it is not quite certain.
³ Metre, Pushpitāgrā.
⁴ Metre, Mālīmā; and in the next four verses.
TRANSLATION.

[Perfection has been attained]! The son of the Mahārājadhīra, 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 Vāruṇa and Indra and Antaka: who was the very axe of (the god) Kriṭānta; who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who was the restorer of the aśvamedha-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; who was the son of the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Gupta; who was the son’s son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghātōtkača; (and) who was the son of the Mahārājadhīra, the glorious Chandra-gupta (I., (and) the daughter’s son of Lichchhivi,¹ begotten on the Mahādevī Kumāradēvi,—

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

¹ Metre, Śārdiṭāvārikṛṣṭita; and in the next verse.
² Metre, Śārdiṭāvārikṛṣṭita; 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.
Bhitari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta.
(L. 5.)—His son (was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājadhārāja, the glorious Kumāragupta, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the Mahādevī Dhruvadēvi.

(L. 6.)—The son of him, the king, who was renowned for the innate power of (his) mighty intellect (and) whose fame was great, (is) this (present) king, by name Skanda-gupta, who possesses great glory; who subsisted (like a bee) on the wide-spreading waterlilies which were the feet of (his) father;¹ whose fame is spread far and wide;—who is amply endowed with strength of arm in the world; who is the most eminent hero in the lineage of the Guptas; whose great splendour is spread far and wide; by whom, practising (good) behaviour, the conduct of those who perform good actions is not obstructed; who is of spotless soul; (and) who is well disciplined in the understanding of musical keys(?) —

(L. 8.)—By whom,—having, with daily intense application, step by step attained his object by means of good behaviour and strength and politic conduct,—instruction in the art of disposition (of resources) was acquired, (and) was employed as the means of (subduing his) enemies who had put themselves forward in the desire for conquest that was so highly welcome. (to them): —

(L. 10.)—By whom, when he prepared himself to restore the fallen fortunes of (his) family, a (whole) night was spent on a couch that was the bare earth; and then, having conquered the Pushyamitrās,² who had developed great power and wealth, he placed (his) left foot on a foot-stool which was the king (of that tribe himself): —

(L. 11.)—The resplendent behaviour of whom, possessed of spotless fame,—inherent, [but increased] by ........ and patience and heroism which are emphatically unequalled, (and) which destroy the efficacy of the weapons (of his enemies),—is sung in every region by happy men, even down to the children: —

(L. 12.)—Who, when (his) father had attained the skies, conquered (his) enemies by the strength of (his) arm, and established again the ruined fortunes of (his) lineage; and then, crying “the victory has been achieved,” betook himself to (his) mother, whose eyes were full of tears from joy, just as Kṛṣṇa, when he had slain (his) enemies, betook himself to (his mother) Dēvaki: —

(L. 14.)—Who, with his own armies, established (again) (his) lineage that had been made to totter ........ .... (and) with his two arms subjugated the earth, (and) shewed mercy to the conquered peoples in distress, (but) has become neither proud nor arrogant,

¹ This expression is very analogous in its purport to the tat-pād-dvādhyāta of line 5 above. Compare Amoghaavarshadēva-pādāpanāka-bhrāmaru, “a bee at the waterlilies which are the feet of Amoghaavarshadēva,” in line 17 f. of the Śirīr inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 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 daukitrasya, line 3; and contrasting it with the subscript p, e.g. in tat-parighrhitā, line 4, and tat-pādd, line 5,—it is plainly y. This passage, therefore, shows that the correct form of the first part of this name is pushya, not pushpa; a point which Dēvanāgarī manuscripts have not sufficed, and cannot suffice, to settle. And it bears out the Prākrit form, Pūsamitta, of the name of the early king Pushyamitra, the contemporary of Patañjali, in the passages given by Dr. Bühler from the Prākrit Gāthās according to Mṛṇaṅga, Dharmasāgara, and Jayavijayagani (Ind. Ant. Vol. II. 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 Hûnas; among enemies arrows proclaimed just as if it were the roaring of (the river) Gaṅgâ, 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) Śârîgò, [to endure as long as the moon and stars may last]. And, having here installed this (god),¹ he, whose commands are well-established, has allotted this village (to the idol), in order to increase the religious merit of (his) father.²

(L. 19.)—Accordingly, this image of the Divine One, and (this village) which has been here agreed to,³—both of these, he, the pious-minded one, has assigned for (the increase of) the religious merit of (his) father.

No. 14; PLATE VIII.

JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.
THE YEARS 136, 137, AND 138.

The discovery of this inscription appears to have been first announced in 1838, by Mr. James Prinsep, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 347 f.—In 1844, in the Jour. 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. 121 ff., Dr. Bhau 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 Mr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit.—And in 1876, Dr. Bhau Daji’s text and translation, the latter revised by Professor Eggeling, were reprinted in the Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 134 ff., accompanied by a slightly reduced reproduction of the original lithograph from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit’s copy (id. Plate xv.)

Junâgadh⁴ is the chief town of the Junâgadh Native State in the Kathiawâd⁵ Peninsula.

¹ Or, perhaps, “having set up this (pillar).”
² It was through reading mahâśa-prîta-gupta, “the Gupta attached to, or beloved of, Śiva,” instead of énam sa vidadhē pituh, line 18,—and through failing to see that pitari divam-upēti, “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 Mahândrâditya, 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 (Archaeol. 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. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 13. Lat. 21° 31′ N.; Long. 70° 30′ E.
⁵ The ‘Kathiawar and Kattyawar’ of maps, &c.
sula in the Bombay Presidency. The city itself, or its ancient representative, is spoken of in this inscription; but its ancient name is not given. The name occurs, however, in line 1 of Rudradāman's inscription, as Girinagara, or the city of, or on, the hill. This name subsequently passed over to the mountain itself, Gīnār, which in the inscriptions is called Ūrjayat; 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 Asoka edicts and a long inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, now under a shed specially built to protect it, about a mile to the east of the town, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Gīnār.

The writing, which covers a space of about 10' 5" broad by 7' 3" high is in a state of fairly good preservation; and it is only in line 22 ff., where the rock has actually peeped off, that there are any extensive lacunae in the inscription. It is, however, not very easy to read; owing partly to the irregular, and occasionally rather shallow, nature of the engraving; partly to the roughness of the rock, and the way in which the natural marks of it mix themselves up a good deal with the letters; and partly to the fact that at several places the engraver, in consequence of unusal irregularities of the surface, passed over considerable portions of the rock and left them blank. The size of the letters varies from about 1/8" to 1 1/4". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but the type is a later development of that which was used in the inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman on the same rock; it may be called the Saṁrāṣṭra or Kāthiāwāḍ alphabet of the fifth century A.D. One of its most marked characteristics is the way in which the subscript y 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; vyanar, line 6; and nyāyā, 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 guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in vaṁśa, line 24; (2) the doubling of dh in conjunction with a following y, in buddhyā, line 5; and (3) the indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding r; e.g. the consonant is doubled in ṛtham, line 1, ṛttir, line 2, and darppō, line 3; but not in víryā, line 2, paryanta, line 3, sarvān, line 5, ārjavau, line 7, and ārjanērthasya, line 8.

The first part of the inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Skanda-gupta; and, after an invocation of the god Vishnu and five verses in praise of the reigning king, it narrates how he appointed a certain Parnadveta to govern his territories in the Surāśṭra or the Kāthiāwāḍ country. In his turn, Parnadveta appointed his son, Chakrapālita, to govern the city at which the inscription is. The inscription then proceeds to its real object; viz., to record that, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas," in the year one hundred and thirty-six (A.D. 455-56),

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2 These blank spaces lie especially on each side of the large natural fissure running almost down the centre of the inscription.
4 As is quite clear even in the lithograph with which Bhu Daji worked, the correct reading here (line 15) is Gupta-prakṛtī gāvanām vidhāya; not Guptasya kāl[d'] gāvanām vidhāya, "counting from the era of Gupta," as it was taken to be by Bhu Daji and was afterwards specifically confirmed.
at night, on the sixth day of the month Praushthapada (August-September), the lake Sudarśana (formed in the valley round the foot of Gîrnâr, 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 effected under the orders of Chakrapâlita, after two months' work, in the year one hundred and thirty-seven (A.D. 456-57).

The second part, line 24 to the end, seems to have mentioned Skandagupta and Parnadatta again, in passages in line 24 that are now illegible. And then, in accordance with the general Vaishnava tendency indicated by the opening invocation of the whole inscription, it goes on to record that, in the one hundred and thirty-eighth year, in the time or reckoning of the Guptas (A.D. 457-58), Chakrapâlita caused to be built a temple of the god Vishnu under the name of Chakrabhrity or the 'bearer of the discus.' After this, the inscription ends with two verses, of which not enough now remains to shew their purport.

TEXT.¹

First Part.

I Siddham [II*] Śriyam²-abhimata-bhôgyâm naika-kâl-âpanitâm tridaśapatishukh-arththam yô Balêr-âjahâra i kamala-nilayanâyâb śâsvatâm dhâma Lakshmyâh

by Thomas (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 538).—In the present series of inscriptions, this passage, and the genitive plural Guptânâm, governed apparently by kâla, 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 shew 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 that the date was being recorded in an era which was not the one in customary use in that part of the country. —The only other passage of a similar tendency is the date in line 16 f. of the Môrbî copper-plate grant of Jâñka, as it has always been accepted up to now in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's reading and translation,—Pamch-dîityâ yute=îlid samânâm Iata-pamchakâ 1 Gaupād daddâ=adê nripah s-ôparâg=ôrka-mamâlât II; "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 gauptê at all, but gôptê. It is only by the correction of ð into au that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into this passage. But we may with just as much reason correct gôptê into gôptrâ, '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 daddau, 'he gave,' in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative (or some other) case. Or, again, without any correction at all, we may translate "the king gave this (charter) at the (village of) Gôpta," and thus obtain a village-name that may quite reasonably be taken as the ancient form of the modern Gôp, which occurs, for instance, in Kâthâkâla, about seventy-five miles south-west of Môrbî, twenty-five miles south of Nawânagar or Jâmagnar, and fifty miles east of Dhiniki, where there was found the copper-plate grant (genuine or spurious, as may be settled hereafter) of a king Jâkâdêva, dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 794 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 151 ff.).—I must not be understood as disputing in this note, that the Môrbî date is recorded in the era that had been used by the Guptas. My object is only to shew that there is nothing in the passage containing the date, that compels us to connect the name of the Guptas with it. The difficulty in disposing finally of the whole bearing of the Môrbî 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.

¹From the original stone. ²Metre, Mâlini; and in the next two verses.
2 sa jayati vijit-āttir-Vishnur-atyanta-jīshyōḥ II Tad-anu jayati saśvata śrī-
parikshipta-vakshāḥ sva-bhuja-janita-vīryō rājarājadhirājaḥ I urapati-
3 bhujagānāṁ māṇa-darpp-ōṭphavanāṁ pratikrīti-Garuḍ-ajñā[m] nirvviśih[m] ch-āvakartā II Nripiati-guṇa-nikētaḥ Skandaguptaḥ prithu-śrīḥ chatu-
udadh-ja(?)[II(2)]-āntām śhīta-paryanta-dēśām I
4 avanira-anvāt-ārīr-yaḥ chakār-ātma-saṁśthānpi pīṭhī sura-sakhitvaṁ 
prāptavatya-ātma-saṁktyā II Āpi[1] cha jitaṁ-[e]va tēna pratthayanta 
yaśāmsi yasya ripavo-śi āmūla-bhagna-darpā niva . . . . .

Mīčchcha-dēśāṁ II
5 Kramēōa3 buddhyā nipuṇaṁ pradhārya dhyātvā cha kṛitsnāṁ-guṇa-dōsha-
hētūn I vyapētya sarvān-manujendra-purtām-llakshmiṁ śvayaṁ yāṁ 
varayāṁ-chakāra II Tasmin[4]-nāpē śāsati n-āīva kaśchid-dharmāmād-
apēto manuṇaḥ prajāṣu II
6 ārīr darīrō vyasani kadaryō daṅq[yō] na vā yō bhrīśa-plīditaḥ syāt II Ėvaṁ sa jītvā prithivīṁ samagraṁ bhagha-āgra-darpā[n] dvishataḥ-cha kṛtvā I 
sarvvesha-dēśāṁ vidhāya gōptr[i]n samchintaya[m-ā]sa 
bahu-prakārāṁ II Syāt-kō-nurūpō
7 matimān-vini(n)īśō mēdhā-smṛitiḥbhīṃ-anapeta-bhvāh ā saty-ārjav-audārya-
nay-ōpapannō mādhurya-dākhshīṇya-yaśo-nvitaḥ-cha II Bhaktō-nurakto nri-
vi[i]s[ē]shya-yaṇktaḥ sarv-ōpādḥbhīṣ-cha viśuddha-buddhīḥ I ānṛya-
bhāv-ōpāgat-āntārāṃtrāmāḥ sarvvasya lōkasya hitē pravṛttatā II
8 Nyāy-ārjanān-ṛhasya cha kāḥ samaratḥaḥ syād-arjitaś-āpy-atha rakshanē 
cha I gopāyitasī-āpi [cha] vṛiddhi-bētāu vṛddhhasya pātra-pratipadānaya II 
Sarvvesha bhṛtyeśhv-āpi samhatēsah yō me praśisyḥān-nikhilān-
Surāśṭrān I ām jñātām-ēkāḥ khalu Parṇadattō bhārasya tasy=
ōdvahanē samaratthā
9 Ėvaṁ vinīśchityā nāp-ādhipēna naikān-ahō-rātra-gaṇān-sva-matyaḥ I 
yāḥ samniyuktō-ṛthanaẏa kathāṁcit samyak-Surāśṭrāvani-pālanāya II 
Nīyuja[6] déva Varunāṁ pratīchyaṁ svastāḥ yathā n-ōmnasaṁ 
babhūvu[h] [I] pūrvvētarasāṁ diś Parṇadattāṁ nīyuja rājā 
dhītiṁmāṁ-s tathaḥbhūt I(II)
10 Tasy-ātmajō hy-ātmajā-bhāvā-yuktō tvidh-ēva ch-ātm-ātma-vaśēna nītaḥ I 
sarvātmān-ātma-ēva cha rakshapīyō nīty-ātmavāṇ-ātmajā-kāntā-
rūpaḥ I(II) Rūp-ānurūrpār-lalitāir-vichitraṁ niitya-pramōd-āṅvita-sarva-
bhāvāḥ I prabuddha-padmākara-padmavaktrō niṇāṁ śaranyāḥ śaraṇ-
āgatāṁ I(II)
sva-guṇair-an-upaskrituṁ uddattaj[i]h pitaraṁ yaś-cha viśēṣhayāṁ-
chakāra I(II) Kṣhama[8] prabhutvaṁ vinayō nayaś-cha sauryaṁ vinā saurya-
maḥ-[ā?]ṛchchanāṁ cha I va(?)[kya(?)]m domā dānam-adinātā cha

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1 Metre, Āryā.
2 Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā.
3 Metre, Indravajrā; and in the next six verses.
4 Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā; and in the next two verses.
5 Metre, Vaitālīya-Aupachchhandasikā.
6 Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā; and in the three verses.
7 nirovacand.
8 Read ātmā.
daśkshinyam-ānṛṇiyam-ās[ū]nyatā cha l(II)
Sauṃdaryam-āryētara-nigrahaś-cha a-vismayō dhairyam-udīrṇatā cha l

12 īty-ēvam-ētē-ōśayēna yasminn-ā-vipravāśēna guṇā vasanti l(II)
Na vidyate-sau sakalē-pi lōkē yatṛ-opanē tasya guṇaḥ kriyēta l sa ēva
kārśnyēna guṇ-ānvitānām babhūva nṛ[ṇ]ām-upamāna-bhūtaḥ l(II)
 īty-ēvam-ētān-adikān-ātō-ynān-guṇan-par[i]kshya svayam-ēva piurā l
yāh saṃniyuktō nagarasya rakshām visīshya pūrvān-prachakāra
samyaṃ l(II)

13 Āśrītya1 vi(vi)ryam su(?)-bhu(?)ja(?)dvayasya svasya-aiva n-ānysasya narasya
darpēm l n-ōdvējayām-āsa cha kaṃchid-ēvam-ēasmin-purē ch-aiva śaśāsa
dushṭāḥ(n) l(II) Vasīṃbhadhām-alpē na śaśāma yō-śmin kālē na lōkēshu
sa-nāgarēshu l yō lālayām-āsa cha prauṣa-vargōn [−−−−]putrān-
suparkṣhya dōshām l(II) Samprānjayām ch prakṛtit-babhūva
pūrvasmitābhāśa-maṇa-dānaḥ l

14 niryantran-ānōnya-grīha-pravēśai[ī]*
samvardhīta-priti-grīha-ōpachāraḥ l(II)
Brahmanya-bhāvēna parēṇa yuḥtaḥ śakalā śuchir-dāna-parō yathāvāt l
prāpyān-sa kālē vishayān-siśhēvē dharmārthayōṣ-ch-ā[py-ān]*-
virōdhanēna l(II) Yō [−−−−−−−−−] Parṇadattāt-sa nyāyāvān-aatra
kim-asti chitrām l muktākalāp-āmbuja-padma śīchām-śīchāt-kim-ūshnaṃ
bhavītā kaḍāchīt l(II)

15 Athā2 kramēn-āmbuda-kāla āgat[e] n[ī]dāgha-kālam pravīdyāra tōyadaiḥ l
vavarsha tōyam bahu saṃtattām chirām Sudarśanām yēna
bibhēda ch-ātvārat l(II) Samvatsarānāṃ*-adhiṅke śatē tu
trimśadābhir-anayair-api shadbhīr-ēva l rātrau dīnē Praushthapadasya
shashṭhé Gupta-prakāle gaṇanām vidhāya4 l(II)

16 Imās5-cha yā Raivatakād-vinirgata[h]* Palāśin-līyaṃ sikatā-vilāsinī l samudra-
kāntāḥ chira-bandhan-oshtiḥ punaḥ patim śastra-yathō-hitam yauḥ l(II)
Avēkšya varsh-āgama-jaṃ mah-ōdbharam rhām
mah-ōdadērh-Ūrjayatā priy-ēpsunē l anēka-tirānta-pushpa-sōbbhīto

17 nādīmayō hasta īva prāsrītaḥ l(II) Vishādyā[maṇaḥ khalu sarvato ja]nāh
kathām-kathām kāryam-īti pravādinaḥ l mithō hi pūrv-āparā-
rātram-utthītā vīchintayām ch-Āpi babhūvur-utsukāḥ l(II) Ap-īha
lōkē sakalē Sudarśanām pumāṃ(n) hi durdārśanatām gataṃ
kshaptā l

18 bhavēn-nu s-āṃbhō nīthi-tulya-daśaṇām su-daśaṇām [−− −] [l(II)]
[−− −− −− −−]vānē sa bhūtvā pūtīḥ prayām bhaktim-api pradarṣaḥ l
dharmām purūr-dhyāya subh-ānubandhaṃ rājñō hit-ārthāṁ
nagarasya ch-aiva l(II) Samvatsarānāṃ-adhiṅke śatē tu

19 trimśadābhir-anayair-api saptabhiṣ-cha l pra [−−−−−]śastra-chēttē
vi(?)ēsvō(?)-py-ānu jhāta-mahā-prabhāvaḥ l(II) Ājya-pranāmaiḥ vibudhān-
ath-cēśtvā dhanair-dvijātīn-api tarpayītvā l paurāṃs-tath-ābhīraycha
yathārha-maṇaḥ bhṛtyāṃs-cha pūjyān-suhrdaś-cha dānaiḥ l(II)

1 Mētra, Indravajrā; and in the next four verses.
2 Mētra, Vamsāsthā.
3 Mētra, Indravajrā.
4 As regards the reading here, see page 57 above, note 4.
5 Mētra, Vamsāsthā; and in the next three verses.
6 Mētra, Upaṭi of Indravajrā and Upeṇdravajrā; and in the next five verses.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 11. PLATE VIII.

20 Graishmaya māsasya tu pūrva-pa[kshē] [род-род] prathamē-hni samyak 1 māsa-dvayēn-adaravān 1 sa bhūtvā dhanasya kritvā vyayam-a-pramēyam 1(II) Ayāmatō hasta-satam samagaram vistāratasḥ shashṭir-ath-api ch-aśhaṭau 1


Second Part.

24 Driptā-āri-darpā-prapudā prithu-śriyāḥ sva-vaṅsa-ketōḥ sakal-āvani-patēḥ 1 rājādhirājy-adibhuta-punya-[karmanāḥ] [rod-rod] [II] dvipaśya gōptā mahatām cha nētā daṅda-dvī[rod-rod]mān


26 mahatā mahatā cha kālen-ātma-prabhāva-nata-paurajanēna tēna 1(II) Chakrām bibhartī ripū[rod-rod] [II] [rod-rod] tasya sva-tantri-vidhikārana-mānushasya 1(II)

27 Kāritam1 avakra-matinā Chakrabhṛitaḥ Chakrapālitēna griham 1 varsah- satē-shṭā-trīṁśē Gvptānām kāla . . . . . . [II] [rod-rod] ājṛtham-uttihitam-ivā Orjiyatō-chalasya

28 kurvat-prabhutvam-iva bhāti purasaya mūrdhni II Anyach=cha mūrdhṇi su [rod-rod] [II]

29 ruddha-vihāra-mārgam vibhrājatē [rod-rod] [II]

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

Perfection has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Vishnu,—the perpetual abode of the (goddess) Lakshmi, whose dwelling is the waterlily; the conqueror of distress;

---

1 Metre, Mālinī; and in the next verse.
2 Metre, Varṇāstha.—The metre is faulty in the first akṣara of the nst and third pādas, which should be short, not long.
3 Metre, Indraavajrā; and in the next verse. * Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.
4 Metre, Āryā; or of this class.
5 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 Garuḍas, (and used it as) an antidote against the (hostile) kings, who were so many serpents, lifting up their hoods in pride and arrogance;—

Skandagupta, of great glory, the abode of kingly qualities, who, when (his) father by his own power had attained the position of being a friend of the gods,̣ bowed down his enemies, and made subject to himself the (whole) earth, bounded by the waters of the four oceans, (and) full of thriving countries round the borders of it;—whose fame, moreover, even (his) enemies, in the countries of the Mlechchhas . . . . . . . having (their) pride broken down to the very root, announce with the words—“verily the victory has been achieved by him;”—(and) whom the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord selected as her husband, having in succession (and) with judgment skilfully taken into consideration and thought over all the causes of virtues and faults, (and) having discarded all (the other) sons of kings (as not coming up to her standard.) 

(L. 5.)—While he, the king, is reigning, verily no man among his subjects falls away from religion; (and) there is no one who i. distanced, (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 manly 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 acquittance of debts and obligations; occupied with the welfare of all mankind;—capable both in the lawful acquisition of wealth, and also in the preservation of it, when acquired, and further in causing the increase of it, when protected, (and able) to dispense it on worthy objects, when it has been increased,—shall govern all my (countries of the) Surāśtras? I have it; (there is) just one man, Parṇādatta, competent to bear this burden.”

1 The legend is that the demon Bali, or Mahābali, by his austerities acquired the dominion over the three worlds, and caused annoyance and anxiety to the gods. Vishṇu then became incarnate as a dwarf, appeared before Bali, and asked for as much land as he could cover with three strides. Bali assented to his request, and Vishṇu with two strides recovered the heavens and the earth, but, in commiseration for Bali, who then humbled himself, left him the dominion over the lower regions below the earth.

2 Garuda, the servant and vehicle of Vishṇu, half man and half bird, was the especial enemy and destroyer of the serpent-race.—There is possibly a secondary allusion to Skandagupta having overthrown some kings of the well-known Nāga or serpent-lineage.

3 i.e. “had died.”
(L. 9.)—(And it was this same Parnadatta) 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 Varuṇa to the western point of the compass, so the king was easy at heart, when he had appointed Parnadatta 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 water-lily of a face that resembled a bed of water-lilies 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),—vis. 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 entirety, the standard of comparison for men who are endowed with virtuous qualities.

(L. 12.)—(And it was he) who was appointed by (his) father, after testing in person (the existence in him of) these same qualities mentioned above, and higher ones even than them; and who then accomplished the protection of (this) city in a way that quite distinguished him above his predecessors. Relying upon the process of his own two excellent arms (?), not on the pride of any other man, he subjected no one in this city to any anxiety; and he punished wicked people. Even in this time which is a mean one, he failed not to maintain confidence in the people, together with the inhabitants of the city; and, by carefully inquiring into faults, he has charmed all the citizens, together with ....

.... and children. And he has made (his) subjects happy by conversations addressed with smiles, and marks of honour, and presents; by free and reciprocal entering into (each other's) houses; (and) by carefully nourishing the family ceremonies of affection. Endowed with the highest piety, affable, pure, (and) in a suitable manner devoted to charity, he has, even without any conflict between religion and wealth, applied himself to such pleasures as may be attained at the proper time. What wonder is there in the fact that he, [born] from Parnadatta, 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) Sudarśana suddenly burst,—making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas,¹ in a century of years, increased by thirty and

¹ See page 57 above, note 4.
also six more, at night, on the sixth day of (the month) Praushthapada. And these (other rivers) which take their source from (the mountain) Raivataka, (and also) this Palâśini, 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 wilderment, caused by the excess of rain, (the mountain) Óryajat, desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, stretched forth as it were a hand, consisting of the river (Palâśini), decorated with the numerous flowers that grew on the edges of (its) banks.

(L. 17.)—[Then on all sides] the people fell into despair, discussing how they should act; and, spending the whole night awake in vain, in great anxiety they reflected,—"Here in a moment, (the lake) Sudarśana has (by the overflowing of its waters) assumed an unpleasing appearance towards all the people, (as if it were) a man (?); having the appearance of the ocean, quite full of water, can it ever (again) become pleasing of aspect, ..................?"

(L. 18.)— ................ he having become .......... and displaying the height of devotion towards his father, (and) holding in full view, for the welfare of the king and of the city also, religion, which has such auspicious results,—in a century of years, increased by thirty and seven others also, .................. atttive to the sacred writings .................. whose majesty is well known. Then, having sacrificed to the gods with oblations of clarified butter and with obeisances; and having gratified the twice-born with (presents of) riches; and having paid respect to the citizens with such honours as they deserved, and to such of (his) servants as were worthy of notice, and to (his) friends with presents,—in the first fortnight of the month ...... belonging to the hot season, on the first day, he, having practised (all the above) respectful observances for two months, made an immeasurable expenditure of wealth, and, [built an embankment] a hundred cubits in all in length, and sixty and eight in breadth, and seven (?) men's height in elevation, ............... of two hundred cubits. (Thus), having done honour to the kings, he laboriously built up, with a great masonry work, properly constructed, the lake Sudarśana, which is renowned as not being evil by nature, so that it should last for all eternity,—agitated by the deficiencies 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 Brâhmans; [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 of the banner of his lineage; who is the lord

1 Raivataka is the hill opposite to Óryajat or Gimâr.
2 There is a play on the words su-darśana 'having a good appearance,' and dur-darśana 'having a bad appearance.'
3 i.e. Chakrapâlita.
4 Grîshma, the hot season, consists of the two months Jyêshthâ (May-June) and Âshâdha (June-July). The name of one or the other of them is now illegible in this line.
of the whole earth; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings; ...........

(L. 24.) — .................. (Parnadatta), the protector of the island, and the leader of great ........ of armies for the subjugation of (his) enemies.

(L. 25.)—By his son, who is endowed with his own good qualities, (and) whose life is devoted to (the worship of) the feet of (the god) Gòvinda, .................... ; —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 Chakrapâlita, who is of a straightforward mind, there has been caused to be built a temple of (the god) Chakrabhrit, 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 Ùrjayat, 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 ..........

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 1826 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 Kahâum in 1873.

¹ See page 57 above, note 4.
Kaháum or Kaháwaṁ,¹ the ancient Kakubha or Kakubhagráma of this inscription, is a village about five miles to the west by south of Salampur-Majhaulí,² the chief town of the Salampur-Majhaulí Parganá in the Déóríyá or Déwariyá³ Tahsíl or Sub-Division of the Górahkhpur 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.⁴

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 Indrajì, these are distinctly Jain images. He suggested that they represent the five favourite Tirthankaras,—Adinátha, Sántinátha, Némínátha, Párvá, and Mahávira. And they are in all probability the five images of Adikartríṣ, or Jain Tirthankaras, referred to in the inscription itself.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 2½" broad by 1' 8" high, is on the three northern faces of the octagonal portion of the column; and the bottom line appears to be about 5' 6" above the level of the ground. It is evidently in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from 6" to 8". 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 1.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddhám, 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 anusvastra, before s, in vása, line 2, and śβr, line 4; and (2) the usual doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in chakkré, line 9 (but not in sakrō, line 3), and prtr, 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 Indrajì’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 Jyéṣṭha (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 Adikartríṣ or Tirthankaras,—i.e. apparently the five images in the niches of the column,—and the column itself, at the village of Kakubha or Kakubhagráma, i.e. Kaháum.

¹ The ‘Kahaoon, Kahong, Kangho, and Kuhaoon, of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 26° 16′ N.; Long. 83° 55′ E.
² The ‘Sullempoor-Mujhowlee’ of maps.
³ The ‘Deorya’ of maps.
⁴ For a full description, with drawings, of the column and other remains at Kaháum, see Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 91 ff. and Plate xxix., and id. Vol. XVI. p. 129 f. and Plate xxix.
TEXT:

1 Siddham [II] Yasya-opasthana bhumir-nripati sata siraḥ pata vata avadhuta
2 Guptanam vansa-jasya pravisrita yasasq-tasya sarvak ottam ardhheh
3 rajyē Šakr-opamasya kshitipa-sata-pateh Skandaguptasya santē
4 varshē ttrinśad-daś-aik-ōttaraka-śatamatē Jyēshthā māsi prapanne I(II)
5 Khyatē-smīn-grāma-ratnē Kakubha iti janaī-sādhula-samsarga-pūtē lē
6 puttrō yas-Somilasya prachura-guṇa-nidhēr Bhāṭṭīsōmō mahāt[m]ā
7 tat-sūnā Rudrasōma[h*] prithiśala-mati-yaśa Vyāghra ity-anya-samjñō lē
8 Madras tasyātmaṇā bhūd dvija-guru-yatishu prayāṣaḥ pritīman-yaḥ I(II)
9 Punya-skandham sa chakkṛ jagad idam akhilam samsarad vikshya bhitō
10 śreyo-ṛthtam bhūta-bhūtyai pathi niyamavatam arhatam ādikarttin
11 pañch-śādrāṃ(n) sthāpayītvā dharaṇidharamayān sannikhātas tatō yam
12 śaila-śtanubhā su-chārur giri-vara śikhar-agṛ-ōpamah kirtī-karttā [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! In the tranquil reign of Skandagupta, whose hall of audience is shaken by the wind caused by the falling down (in the act of performing obeisance) of the heads of a hundred kings; who is born in the lineage of the 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 Jyēshtha 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 Bhāṭṭīsōma, 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. His son was Madra, who (was) especially full of affection for Brāhmans and religious preceptors and ascetics.

1 From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression, together with the lithograph from which my lithograph is reduced.
2 In the original, this word is in the margin; the si opposite the commencement of line 2, and the dhāman opposite, and partly above, the commencement of line 3.
3 Metre, Sragdharā, throughout.
4 The mark in the original after this visarga would seem to be an accidental slip of the engraver's tool, rather than intended for a mark of punctuation, which is not required here.
5 and 6. In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
7 santē. — 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 sansāth, and to be interpreted by "of the repose, i.e. death," i.e. "after the decease (of Skandagupta)." Or, being read sansā 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.)
8 The proper context is—"(there was) Madra;" who is mentioned in line 8. The intervening genealogical matter is by way of a parenthesis.
9 For 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 excellent⁴ (images), made of stone,⁵ (of) those who led the way⁶ in the path of the Arhats who practise religious observances,—there was then planted in the ground this most beautiful pillar of stone, which resembles the tip of the summit of the best of mountains, (and) which confers fame (upon him).

No. 16; PLATE IX B.

INDOR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 146.

This inscription was discovered in 1874 by Mr. A. C. L. Carleyle, First Assistant to the Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India; and was first brought to notice, in the same year, in the Indian Archæological Record, 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 Dibhāl,⁴ the chief town of the Dibhāl Parganā in the Anupshahar⁵ Tahsīl 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 khēdā, or deserted mound, and is not shewn in maps. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plate is a single one, inscribed on one side only, measuring about 8⅜" by 5½" at the ends and 5¼" 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.⁶ The surface of the plate is in some places

⁴ Indrā.—Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his published version, first pointed out the kind of meaning to be given to this word here.

⁵ Dīkārīn; lit. 'made of (the substance of) mountains.'

⁶ Dīkārīn; lit. 'originators.'—Bhagwanlal Indraji first pointed out the correct meaning of this word, as referring here to five of the Tirthankaras or sanctified teachers of the Jains.

⁷ The 'Dibhāl, Dhubhāl, Dibhāi, and Dabhaee,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 67. Lat. 28° 12' N.; Long. 78° 18' E.—The position of Indor, with reference to Dibhāl, is shewn in the sketch map given in Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XII. Plate i.

⁸ The 'Anoopshahur and Anupshahur' of maps, &c.

⁹ Dr. Burnell allotted the earliest instances of arranging for the preservation of the writing or copper-plates, by beating up the margins round the plates and then flattening the edges, to the ninth or tenth century A.D. (South-Indian Palæography, p. 92). But there are plenty of earlier instances, in the south, as well as in the north of India. These raised rims were obtained, at first, by thickening the plates at the edges, in the process of fashioning them. Afterwards, it became customary to beat the plates out quite smooth, and then to turn them up at the edges and fuse them together at the corners; and some of the Eastern Chalukya plates, made in this way, have raised rims a good quarter of an inch high.
a good deal corroded by rust; the inscription, however, with care, is legible with certainty throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters, being rather deeply engraved, shew through distinctly on a great part of the back of it. The engraving is clean and well executed; the majority of the letters, however, shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is no hole in the plate for a ring with a seal on it; nor are there any indications of a seal having been soldered on to it, as—from the instance of the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; illustrated also, in the present series by the Aśīrgadh seal of Sarvavarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA., and the Sōnpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxiiB.; and, elsewhere, by the Dīghā-Dubautul grant of the Mahārāja Mahēndrapāla3 and the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla,4—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 5/8” and 1/6". 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 i has an entirely different form from that of the other northern type; contrast it in indrapura and iti, line 8, with i(va) in Plate i, page 9 above, line 30, and iti in Plate ixA, page 67, line 7. In line 10, we have a form of the numerical symbol for 2.—The language is Sanskrit; and all the formal part of the inscription, from paramabhaṣṭa, line 3, to sāmakaśyam, line 10, is in prose. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice the affix ka, in chandrapura, line 5, indrapura,5 line 6, and especially pratishtāḥpita, line 7. It is a weaker form, without virodhi of the vowel in the first syllable, of the ka with which the adjectives of locality, used in lines 19 and 20 of the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, page 7 above, are formed; and it is the origin of the modern Hindī genitive terminations kā, kē, and kī, and of similar declensional forms. Other instances of it are given by No. 25 below, Plate xvB, line 13, kāritaka; No. 26, Plate xvi, line 10, utpadyamānakā; No. 27, Plate xvii, line 9, pratishtāḥpita, and line 12, utpadyamānakā; No. 28, Plate xviii, line 13, anumātīka, line 14, uparilikhita and pratishtāḥpita, and line 18, utpadyamānakā; No. 29, Plate xixA, line 10, uparilikhita and line 15, utpadyamānakā; No. 31, Plate xx, line 9, utpama, lines 9 and 16 utpadyamānakā, and line 11, kāritaka; No. 41, Plate xxvii, line 11, atisīrītaka; and No. 62, Plate xxxviiiB, line 4, pravishtāka.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before i and h, in chatvāriṃḍa, line 3 f., and sinha, line 6; (2) the doubling of k, and usually of t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in apakramaṇa, line 8 f., and pautraḥ, line 5, (but not in putro in the same line); and (3) the doubling of v after the anusvāra, in saṃvatsara, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta, whose feudatory, the Vishayapati Śārvarāja, was governing Antarvēdi6 or the country

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2 id. p. 138 ff.
3 As regards these two words, Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives puraka as another form of pura, 'a city;' but refers only to 'Ārghāṣṭrapuraka' as an authority for the word. This city, however, only owes its existence to one of the early misreadings of Maṇṭarāja-Paśṭhapuraka in line 19 of the Allahabad inscription, No. 1, page 7 above.
4 Vishayapati is a technical official title, meaning 'the lord, or governor, of a vishaya.'—See p. 32 above, note 7.
5 Antarvēdi may perhaps also denote any Doaba 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 Jamnā. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-six (A.D. 465-66); and in the month Phālguna (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 Brāhmaṇ named Dēvavishnu, for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the Sun at Indrapura or Indrāpura, i.e. the modern Indor. This mention of the place, under its ancient name, connects the record satisfactorily with the locality in which the plate was found.

TEXT. 

Sole Plate.

1 Siddham [II*] Yam俨 vîrāt yat prábuddha-manasō dhyān-aika-tâna(na)-stuvaḥ √yasy-āntaṁ tridaś-āsurā na vivid ur-nn-ordhvaṁ na tiry-a.
2 g-gaṭaṁ(rūṇ) yam lōkō bahu-rōga-vēga-vivasāh samśritya chētō-labhaḥ pâyād-vaḥ sa jagat-pidhā'na-puta-bhid-rahṣmy-ā-
3 karō bhāskaraḥ II Paramabhaṭṭaraka-mahārājādhirāja-srī. Skandaguptasyābhivardhamāna-vījaya-rājya-samvatsara-satē śach(t)-chatva-
4 [ri*]nṣad-uttarataṃ Phālguna-māsē tatt-p[â*]da-parigrihitasya vishayapati-
Śarvanāgasy-Āntarvvedyāṁ bhog-ābhivṛiddhāye vartta-
5 mānē [I*] Chandraśruraka-Padmā-chāturvīḍya-sāmānyā-brāhmaṇa-Dēva-
vinshnuḥ-Dēvā-putrō Haritātra-pauttraḥ Īḍukī-praputtraḥ satat-āgniho-
6 tra-[ch*]chandogō Rānāyaṇi(n)yo Varshagana-sagōtra Indrāpurakā-vanig-
bhṛyām kshattriy-Āchalaravma-Bhri(bhru)kuṇṭhasinhābhṛyām-adhishtā(shṛhā)-
7 nasya prācyām dis-Indrapur-ādhishthāna-māḍasyāta-lagnam-ēva prati-
śthāpitaṃ bhagavatē savitrē dip-ōpayāyām-ātma-yaśō-
8 bhivṛiddhāye māyāṃ prayačhchhatih [II*] Indrapura-nivāsinyās-
tailika-śrēṇyā Jivanta-pravarāyā itō-dhishtānād-āpakkrama-
9 na-samprāveśa-yathāsthīrayāḥ ājasrikām grahapatēr-dvīja-māyā-dattam-Ānayā tu śrēṇyā yad-abhagna-yogam
10 prattha(tham)-ārāh-āvya[va*] chchhinna-samsthām dēyaṃ talasya tulyēna pala-
dvayaṁ tu [II*] 2 chandrārkka-samakāliyām

as the name of a village, in ‘Anterbed,’ about thirty miles west of Uchahārā, in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70; Lat. 24° 25' N.; Long. 80° 13' E. And we also have it in Antarvedi, Antaravedi, or Antravēdi, the name of a shrine at the mouth of the Vasishthá branch of the river Gōḍavari, seven miles south of Narsāpur, in the Narsāpur Talukā or Sub-Division of the Gōḍavari District.

1 From the original plate.

2 Metre, Śardūlavikṛṣṭa.

3 The form sū is rather unusual; the customary form being stū. But Dr. Bühler has given me the analogous instance of āyata-stū, which is mentioned by Kātyāyana in his comments on Pānini, iii, 2, 76. The meaning of āyata-stū is not given in the Mahābhāṣya; but Monier Williams explains it by ‘pana-ṣyṛṣṭi.’

*This is rather an anomalous akṣara; but it can mean nothing but dhā.

*Read rājyā samvatsara-satē; see p. 38 above, note 5.—Gen. Cunningham (Archaeoi. Surv. Ind. Vol. XII. p. 40) considered that there is a faint trace of the vowel ə of rājye; but the vowel was not engraved.

*Read prayačchhati.—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. 3, and at the end of the inscription.

* tulyēna seems to be a mistake for taulyēna. *i.e. tulyēna (taulyēna).
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 Brâhmanas, 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 Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahā-rājādhirāja, the glorious Skandagupta; in the year one hundred, increased by forty-six; (and) while the month Phālguna is current for the increase of the enjoyment, in (the land of) Antarvēdi, of the Vishayapatī Sarvanāga, who has been accepted (with favour) by his feet;—

(L. 5.)—The Brâhmaṇ 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 Ṛudāka; who always recites the hymns of the agnihotra-sacrifice; who belongs to the Râṇāyanlya (sākhḍ); (and) who is of the Varshagana gōtra,—for the increase of his own fame gives an endowment, (of which the interest is) to be applied to (the maintenance of) a lamp for the divine Sun, which has been established (in a temple) by the Kshatriyas Achalavarman and Bhrukiṇḍhasinā, 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 Brâhmaṇ’s endowment of (the temple of) the Sun, (is) the perpetual property of the guild of oil-men, of which Jivanta 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)

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1 Metre, Indravajrā.  
2 Read yō vikkramō; or, better, yō=tikkramō.  
3 Read sa.  
4 Read dhō gachchhōn.  
5 Supply samīrītya, from the third pāda of the verse.  
6 See page 38 above, note 5.  
7 i.e. Skandagupta’s.  
8 agnihotra, ‘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.’  
9 Here, line 6, the vowel of the second syllable is long; in lines 7 and 8 below, it is short.  
10 The meaning of mādasyā is not apparent.  
11 pāla, a particular weight, = 4 swarnas (gold-pieces), or 64 māshas (beans); see the Maṇavadbhamādastra, viii. 135, Burnell’s Translation, p. 200.
the slayer of a Brāhmaṇa, shall go down (into hell), invested with (the guilt of) those (well-known) five sins, together with the minor sins.

No. 17; PLATE X.

GANGDHRAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF VISVAVARMAI.

THE YEAR 480.

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.

Gangdhar is a village about fifty-two miles south-west of Jhālārapātan, 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 water-lily.—The writing covers the entire front of the stone, about 2' 0" 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 0.3 to 0.5. 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 Dēvanagari 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 jihvāmālāya, e.g. in chakītāth-kriyātē,

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1 i.e. the pañcha mahāpātakāni; see page 38 above, note 4.
2 The upaṇipātakāni,—or more usually upāpiṭakāni; 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 whom sacrifices ought not to be made, &c. &c.: see the Mānavadharmaśāstra, xi. 60 to 67, Burnell's Translation, p. 332 f.
3 The 'Gangrar, Gungra, and Gungurur,' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 23° 56' N.; Long. 73° 41' E.—The modern name must be connected with Gargara, the ancient name, according to line 23 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 corrap: English forms.
4 The 'Jhalawar, Jhallawar, and Jhallow,' of maps, &c.
line 11, and subhujah-khadga, line 26; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvara, before s, in vanśa, line 29, and aśūmāṇ, line 35; but not in vanśa in line 2; (3) the frequent doubling of k, g, t, and p, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in vikramēṇa, line 8; samaggram, line 4; vitrasta, line 13; and appratimēṇa, line 4; and of bh, in vyabhira, line 9; and (4) the same in respect of bh, t, bh, and s, in conjunction with a following y, e.g. in prakhyāta, line 2, and vikhyāpayan, line 26; bhṛtiyya, line 4, and prattyaasta, line 14; abhyudyata, line 15; and yassya, lines 11, 12, 14, 16, and 41.

The inscription is of the time of a prince named Viśavarman. It is dated, in words, when four hundred and eighty years had expired, i.e. in the four hundred and eighty-first year, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). The era is not specified in this record; but of course the date

1 The passage containing the date, line 19 f., is not an easy one to deal with. — The date of four hundred and ninety-three, given in the next inscription, for Viśavarman's son 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 chaturkṣu, an amphibrach where a dactyl is required; and (2) that it leaves kritēśu, '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,' kritēśu occurs in line 1 of the Byāna inscription of Vishvagupta, 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 yālēśu, 'having gone by', or any similar word. — My first inclination about the present passage was, that kritēśu was used in the sense of 'made, effected, established by,' and that the three akharas 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 krita could not be used in such a sense; and I am not able to quote anything opposed to his opinion. Moreover, that interpretation would have left us without any word to specify the centuries of the date. — My next inclination was to read cha tapan-kritēśu, 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, sōlārapadaśu, which follows, seemed to point to something of this kind being intended. And Dr. Bühler has given an instance of a pronounceable 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 krita (in kritēśu). But this would leave the preceding two or three akharas altogether unexplained. And, though Krita, 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 Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587; Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. I. p. 407), is shown by his employing, in the Brihat-Samhitā, vii. 20, 21, the words Rudra for 'eleven,' Rama for 'three,' aga (mountain) for 'seven,' and sara (arrow) and Vishaya (object of sense) for 'five.' And it has been supposed that it was used by Aryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476; id. p. 403); but Dr. Bhau 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 Aryabhaṭa's (a point that is supported also by the metre; for the two lines together make up a verse in the Upagīti metre; whereas Aryabhaṭa used the Āryā metre, and the first line is the second half of a verse in that metre), but is an addition, in all probability by Utpala or Bhāṭṭotpala (about A.D. 966; id. p. 410). The earliest epigraphical instances, at present available, are, in Cambodia, the Bayang inscription, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 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 Kāmādeva), Dasra (one of the two Asvinau), 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 Viśavarmaṇa’s son, Bandhuvarmaṇa, the feudatory of Kumāragupta. This Mālava era is the Vikrama era, commencing B.C. 57; and the result for the present inscription is A.D. 423-24 expired, or 424-25 current; which shows that Viśavarmaṇa, also, was a contemporary of Kumāragupta. The inscription belongs partly to the Vaishnava, and partly to the Śākta or Tāntrika form of religion; the object of it being to record how a certain Mayūrākshaka, a minister of Viśavarmaṇa, built a temple of Viṣṇu,—also a temple of the divine Mothers,—and also a large drinking-well.

TEXT.

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1 See the Preface.
2 From the ink-impression and a paper estampage.
3 Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next seventeen verses.
4 Also tasyaṣṭanuḥ, “his younger brother,” will suit the metre.
11 [śobhai]ḥ II(I) yassy-āri-kāmini-mukhāmburuhair-balasya pūrvvam pratāpa-
chakitaḥ-kriyātē prāṇāmāḥ II Ratn-ūdgama-dyuti-
12 [vira]ḥjita-kūla-tālair-uttarasta-nakkra-makara-kshata-ph[e]na-mālaiaḥ II(I) chand-
ānil-oddhata-taraṅga-samasta-hastair-yyassy-ā-
13 [rṇava]r-api balāni namahkriyantē II Bhūr-uddhri(ddhri)ta-druma-
vikampita-saila-kila-vitrasta-vidruma-mriga-dvijā-sūnyā(nya)-gu-
14 [lm̥]a [I] yassy-ōnnata-pravisham[I]kri(kri)ta-rajamārggā ssainya-prayāṇa-samayē 
vinimajjat-iva II Prayatya-mauli-
15 [ma]pi-raśmi-nakka-prabhāndhāir-abhyudyat-āñjalitayā śabal-agragandaih II(I) 
vidyādharaḥ ppyaryataṁ-bhuja-pāsa-ba-
vayasi samparivattamānasāś-str-dausāra-pari-
17 [varddhita]-śuddha-buddhi II(I) saḍ-ṛhanna-mārggama-iva rājasa darsā-
yishyan-rakṣā-vidhiṁ Bharata-vaj-jagataḥ-karoṭī II Tasmin-pra-
18 [sās]aṭi maḥīn-nipati-pravīrē svarggama yathā surapatāv-amita-prabhāvē II(I) 
n-abhūt-adhannya-niratō vyasan-ānvitō 
19 [vā lōkē] kadachana janasa-sukka-varjītō va II Yātēshu chatu[r]shuś 
krī(krī)teṣu śateṣu sausyaśvā(?) [śṭatu]sāṭṣṭarapadeśhvē iha vatsa-
20 [ṛēhu] II(I) sukāe trayōdaśa-dīne bhūvi Kārttikasya māsasya sarvva-jana-
chitta-sukhā-vahasya II Nil-ōtpala-pra-
nidrā-vyapāya-samayē Madhusūdanasya kā-
22 [lē prabu]ddha-kumud-āgara-śuddha-tārē II Vāpi-taḍāga-suradasmabḥ-ōdūpān-
nānāvidhī-ōpavana-saṅkrama-dṛṅghik[a]-
23 [bhīh] II(I) sō[ī]shāṭm-īv-abharaṇa-jāṭibhir-āṅgaṇām svāṃ yō Garggarā-
tata-purāṃ sakka(ma)lañ-čakāra II Rājaṇ-trītyaṃ-iva chakshur-udā-
24 [ra-vṛtta]r/ddēva-dvija-guru-b[a]ndhava-sādhu(?)-bhaktaḥ II(I) sāstrai[h*] 
stute cha vinay[ē*] vyavahāra-hinē yō-pakshapātā-rahitō nidad[au]
25 [sva-chint]ām II Sarvvasya jītvita-m-a-nityam-a-sāravach-cha dōla-chalam-anu-
vichintya tathā vibhūtim II(I) yāvy-āga[tē]-
26 [na vi]jha[vena parān-cha bhaktiṁ vikhyāpayanne-ṇapari chakkrā-gadā-
haryasasā II Pīna[v]ayāya-vrīta-lambhi-subhūjaḥ-khadga-vaṇ[ai]-
27 [r-aṅki]taḥ II(I) karnānta-pratisarppamāna[n]a-nayana[h*] gyā[śy]m-āvadā-
t Dancing in the metre, Suṣmaṇḍaḥ, used here as a locative, has been transcribed as “sangāhāraḥ.” This is a common practice in Śāradā script, where the final long ū of “sangāhāraḥ” is shortened for the sake of the metre.

2 The final long ū of “kāmini” is shortened for the sake of the metre.
3 Read saṁyāṇa.
4 Read saumyēshu-asītā; which, however, entails another violation of the metre, since asīta.
5 'the eighth,' gives us an -phṛphraḥ where an antitab chassis is required.—We might satisfy the require-
ments of the metre by reading saumyēz-śkt-dētā, which would give the ‘eighty-eighth (year).’ But this
would also give us a locative singular, saumyē, where the locative plural, saumyēshu, is required
in apposition with satēshu.
6 Metre, Śāradāvīkritā; and in the next verse.
30 [t=pāpa]-path-Avarādhī  vipula-sīr-vallabhē(bhai)=Atmajaih II(l) Vishnō[ḥ]
sthānam-akārayad=bhagava-
31 [taś-sīr]mān-Mayūrākshakaḥ II Kailāsā-tuṅga-sīkharā-pratimasya yassyā
drishtya=ākri(kri)tim pra-
32 [muditaij-vvadan-āravindī(nda)ī] II(l) vidyādharāḥ ppiyatamatā-sahitāḥ su-
śobham=ādarsī(rṣa)-bimba-
33 [m=iva] yānty=avalokāyahantah II - Yān2-drishtvā sura-sundari-kara-tala-
yāgṛhrṣita-prishtā-kṣaṇam II(l) prattyā
34 varṭṭa]na-śāṅkinā, ratha-hayan=ākri(kri)ṣhya chaśchit-saṭān II(l) puṇy-ōdaraka-
mati-prabhāva-munibhis=sarī
dūlyamānā=mbarē (II) samrājya=ān̄jali-kūṭtalan= nata-sīrā bhītāḥ prayatty=
āṁśūmān II Mātri(trī)nāḥ=chā
36 [pramu]dita-ghan-ātyartha-nirādānāṁ II(l) tāṇtr-ōdbhūta-prabala-pavan-ōd-
vartit-āmbhōnīdhinām II(l)
37 [— — — — — — ]gatam-iddām dākinī-samprikarṇām II(l) vēśm=ātyuggraṁ
nṛpri-ti-sachivā=kārayat=punya-hētōḥ II Pātālē [ — — ]
38 [— — ]ratibhir-gguptaṁ bhujāṅg-ō[pā*]māih II(l) śīta-svādu-viṣuddha-bhūri-
salilāṁ sōpāṁ(na)-māl-ōjā*]valam II(l) da(?) [— — — — — — ]
39 [— — — — — — ]gahanāṁ kshīrādādhi-sparśadhinām II(l) kūpan=ch=ainam-akārayad=
gūṇa-nidhiḥ śrīmān-Mayūrākshakaḥ II Yavach=ch[ — — — — — — ]
40 [— — — — ]sāgarā ratnavartō nānā-gulma-druma-vanavati yavad=urvī sa-
sai(?)lā II(l) yavach=ch=ēndur-ggra-ha-gana-chitarṇ vyōma bhā[sīka].
41 [rōti tā]vāt=kārrīr-bbhavatu vipulā śrī-Mayūrākshakaśy-ēdītī Siddhir=
astu [II*]

TRANSLATION.

........................................ the arm of (the god) Vishnu;
........................................ the serpentine movements of the trunk of (Airāvata) 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
prosperity and fame ........................................ 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 achieve-
........................................ ments;—[who]
........................................ the ṝpiances 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 Brīhaspati in
........................................ intellect; possessed of a countenance like the full-moon; the standard of comparison, as it

1 metre, vasantatilaka. 2 sīrsmūrya-dān̄jali-kūṭtalaṁ
3 sīrsmūrya-dān̄jali-kūṭtalaṁ
4 metre, Sārdūlavikṛtī. 5 metre, Sārdūlavikṛtī. 6 metre, Sārdūlavikṛtī.
7 The composer, or the writer, seems to have become confused here between Mayūrākshakaśy-
ēti, which is the correct reading, and Mayūrākshakaśy-śydd-ēti.
8 Or possibly “[his younger brother]”; see page 74 above, note 4.
Gangdhar Inscription of Visvavarma.—The Year 480
were, for (even) Rāma and Bhagiratha; ..., on the earth, (was) Viśavārman; — who surpassed (the mountain) Mēru in firmness, Vaiśyā in hereditary virtue, the moon in development of lustre, (the god) Viṣhṇu 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 clung there, (and) deprived of beauty by having their wearing of adornments stopped; — whose forces, moreover, have reverence done to them by [the oceans], the palmyra-trees on the shores of which are beautified by the lustre of the production of jewels (from the waters); the rows of the foam on which are broken through by the terrified sharks and marine monsters; (and) all of whose hands, which are their waves, are shaken about by a fierce wind; — at the time of the journeying forth of whose army, the earth has (its) thickets emptied of the beasts and birds which flee away from fear of the lances that uproot the trees and make the mountains tremble, and, having (its) highways made uneven by 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 bandhūka³ and bāṇa⁴-trees; when there is the time of the awakening from sleep of (the god) Madhusūdana;⁴ (and) when the stars are as pure as a bed of waterlilies in full bloom; —

(L. 22.) — He who has adorned (this) city on the banks of the Gargarā 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 Āśvayuja (September-October) and Kārttika (October-November).
³ bandhūka; 'a shrub bearing a red flower; Pentapetes Phœnicea; Terminalia Tomentosa.'
⁴ bāṇa; 'the blue-flowering Barleria.'
⁵ Viṣhṇu, who sleeps during the four months of the rainy season. His slumber commences on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashādha (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, Brāhmaṇs, 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 Vishṇu) 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 Mayūrākshaka,—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 Vishṇubhaṭṭa and also Haribhaṭṭa, 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) Vishṇu, which blocks up the path of sin,—seeing the aspect of which, resembling the lofty peak of (the mountain) Kailāsa, the Vidyāḍhara, accompanied by their mistresses, come and gaze into it with happy faces that are like waterlilies, as if it were the very lustrous surface of a mirror;—(and) seeing which (aspect), at the moment when the surface (of the roof) has been polished by the palms of the hands of the lovely women of the gods, the sun, who in the sky is praised in chorus by the saints possessed of superhuman power of mind resulting from religious merit, reins in his chariot-horses with (their) tossing manes, which think (from the reflection) that they are returning towards (themselves), and, joining (his hands) together (so that they resemble) an expanding bud in respectful salutation, runs away in fear with bent-down head.

(L. 35.)—Also, for the sake of religious merit, the counsellor of the king caused to be built this very terrible abode, (and) filled full of female ghouls, of the divine Mothers, who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy, (and) who stir up the (very) oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion.

(L. 37.)—And the illustrious Mayūrākshaka, 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 Mayūrākshaka remain abundant! Let there be success!

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1 This compound combines two well-known names of Vishṇu,—Chakradhara, and Gadādhara.
No. 18; PLATE XI.

MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA—
AND BANDHUVARMAN.

THE MALAVA YEARS 493 AND 529.

This inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 194 ff., was discovered through information given by the late Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who, in 1879, sent to General Cunningham, from Mandasor, a hand-copy of the fragmentary pillar inscription of Yaśódharman, No. 34 below, Plate xxii C. 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 Yaśódharman, No. 33 below, Plate xxii B., which had escaped the notice of Mr. Sullivan.

Mandasor,1 or more properly Daśor, the ancient Daśapura,2 on the north or left

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

2. Daśor is the name by which, in preference to Mandasor, the town is habitually spoken of by the villagers and agriculturists of the locality and neighbourhood, and even as far as Indor. And in some bilingual sanads or warrants, of about a century and a half ago, I found this form, Daśor, used in the vernacular passages, while the Persian passages of the same documents give the form Mandasor. So also, Panjdits still habitually use the form Daśapura in their correspondence; a practice with which we may compare the use, also by Panjdits, of Ahipura and Nakhapura 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 Purānic king Daśaratha. But, on this view, the modern name should be Dasrathor. The true explanation evidently is that,—just as now the township includes from twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions; Khilchpur, Jankapur, Rampuriyā, Chandrapur, Bālāgañj, &c.,—so, when it was originally constituted, it included exactly ten (daśa) such hamlets (pura).—As regards the fuller form of Mandasor, by which alone the town is known officially and is entered in maps, I cannot at present explain the origin of it. But Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji 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 Musalmāns, in memory of which, even to the present day, the Nāgar Brāhmans of the place will not drink the water there. And, as tending to support this suggestion, I would mention that one of the Panjdits whom I questioned on the spot, gave me Mannadasor as another form of the name. Another suggestion, by Mr. F. S. Growse, is that the name combines the two names of Mad and Daśapura; the former of them (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 195) being the name of a village, also called Azfalpur, about eleven miles south-east of Mandasor, from which, it is said, were brought, from ruined Hindu temples, the stones that were used in the construction of the Musalmān fort at Mandasor. The true explanation, whatever it may be, would probably be found in the Daśapura-Mahātmya, 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 Nālik inscription of Ushavidāta (Arysto, *Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 99, and Plate iii. No. 5); and in another inscription at Mandasor itself, dated (Vikrama)-Sahvat 1321 (A.D. 1264-65) Guruus (vīra) or Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, which is on a white stone built into the wall on the left hand side 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 *Śrīghā-Samhitā*, xiv. vv. 11-16 (Kern's Translation, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 83).
The bank of the river Śiwanā,¹ is the chief town of the Mandasör 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-Ghāṭ, which is on the south bank of the river, just opposite the Fort, and, I think, in the limits of the hamlet of Chāndrapurā.

The **writing** covers, except for a margin of about half an inch, the whole front of the stone, about 2' 7½" broad by 1' 4½" high. It has been a good deal worn away about the centre of the stone; and also the stone is chipped at several places round the edges; but only a few letters here and there are really illegible, and these can in each case be easily supplied.—The average **size** of the letters is about ¼". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include two letters borrowed from the northern alphabets; *viz.* the separate form of the lingual *d*, as distinct from the dental *d*, *e.g.* in *taḍit*, line 6, and *chāḍd*, line 17; and also the rare lingual *dh*, *e.g.* in *drīdha*, 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 *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 *jiḥvāṃśṭya* and *upadhāṃśṭya*; *e.g.* in *jagataḥ-kshaya*, line 1; *ganāṁ-kham*, line 8, *prāvisītaiḥ-pushṇātī*, line 2; and *abhādārṇaḥ-pāyāt*, line 3; but not, for instance, in *avabhugnaḥ-kvachit*, line 5; *parah kripānta*, line 14; *rajaḥ-piṅjaritaṁ*, line 5; and *pratimāntiḥ pramuditaḥ*, line 9; (2) the occasional doubling of *t*, *dh*, and *bh*, in conjunction with a following *r*; *e.g.* in *chitrreṇa*, line 12; *ṛdṛhreṇa*, line 18; and *abhrreṇa*, line 6; (3) the same of *th* and *dh*, with a following *y*; *e.g.* in *patthya*, line 9; and *suddhyāya*, line 8; and (4) the same of *dh*, with a following *y*; *e.g.* in *addhyādi*, 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 Guptā dynasty. Under him, the governor at Daśāpura was Bandhuvarman, the son of Viśavarma. 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 viṣhaya, or central and southern Gujarāt, into the city of Daśāpura; 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 Daśāpura, 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,"² 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.
course, the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved; since we are told at the end that it was all composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi, and the engraving throughout is obviously the work of one and the same hand.

TEXT.¹


Tat[*]va-jānān-vidā=pi yasya na vidur-brahmaša-

2 yo=bhyudyatāḥ=kritsnam yaś-cha gabhastibhiḥ pravisrityaiḥ=push[u]ti lōka-trayam I gandharv-vāmara - siddha - kinnara - naraīs = samstūyatē = bhyu chtio bhaktēbhyās=cha dadātī yo=bhilashitarīn tasmai savitṛē naunah I(II) Yāh²=prayaḥam pratībhyāy=udayāchālēndra-vistīrṇa-tunga-sīkharā-skhalitā-āmśu-jālāḥ kshib-āṃghanā-


¹ From the ink-impression. ² Metre, Śaṅḍolvikṛṣṭa; and in the next verse. ³ Metre, Vasantatilaka. ⁴ Metre, Āryā. ⁵ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse. ⁶ Metre, Upendravajra; and in the next two verses. ⁷ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajra and Upendravajra. ⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka. ⁹ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajra and Upendravajra. ¹⁰ Metre, Āryā.


15 bandhur-iva prajānāṁ I bandhūv-arti-harttā nripa-Bandhuvarmā dvid-dripta-paksha-kshapan-aika-dakṣaḥ II Kāntō yuvā raṇa-patṛu-vvinayānīvitaś-cha rāj-āpi sann-upasritō na madaiḥ smay-ādyaiḥ I śringāra

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1 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
2 Metre, Harīot.
3 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
4 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
5 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
6 Metre, Upendravajrā.
7 Metre, Drutavilambita.
8 Metre, Indravajrā.
9 Metre, Mālinī.
10 Metre, Āryā.
11 Metre, Vaiśņastha.
12 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
13 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
14 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
mûrttir-abhibhâty-an-alamkritâ-pi rûpâna yâh-kusumachâpa iva dvitiyah II
Vaidhayâ-tivra-vyasana-kshatânâm

16 smri(smri)tâ vá yam-adâpy-ari-sundarînâm I bhayâd-bhavaty-âyata-löchanânâm
ghana-stan-âyâsa-karaḥ prakampaḥ II Tasminnâ-eva kshitipati-vrî(vrî)shê
Bândhuvarmmanâ-udârê samyak-sphatam Dasâpuram-idaṁ padañaty-
unat-ânsê I šîlp-âvâtpair-đdhana-samudayaih paṭṭavâyair-udâram
śrîplbhûtair-bhhavanam-atalam kâritam

17 dîpta-raśmî II Vistîṃphâ-tunga-sîkharaṁ sîkhari-prakâśam-abhyugdhit-êndv-
amala-raśmi-kalâpa-gauram I yad-bhûti paśchima-purasya nivîṣhta-
kânta-chûdâmanî-pratisaman-nayan-âbhiramâm II Râmâ-sanâthâ-[ra]-chanè
dara-bhâskar-âmśu-vahni-pratâpa-subhâgè jala-lîna-mîne I chandrâmśu-
harmyata-la.

18 chandana-tâlavrînta-hâr-ôpabhôdhâ(ga)-rahitê hima-dagdhâ-padmê II Râddhra-
kâlê tushâra-kana-karkkaśa-sîta-vâta-vêga-pranîttâ-lavall-nagan-âikasâkhe II
Smaraâ-vaśa-gara-turâjana-vaibhânganâ-vipula-kânta-śîla-ôru-

19 stana-jaghana-ghanâ-lîngâna-nirbhartisâ-tuhina-hima-pâtê II Mâlavanâmâ
gaṇa-sthityâ yât[e] sâta-chatushtayê I tri-navaty-adhikê-bdânâm-ri(rî)tou
sêvyâ-ghana-svanê II Sahasya-maśa-suklasya praṣastê-hni trîyoḍâsê I
mangal-âchâra-vîdhinâ prâsâdô-yam nîvîśitaḥ II Bahunâ samâtîtêna

20 kâlên-ânyaśs-cha pârththivaïh I vyāsîryyat-âika-dësô-sya bhavanasya tatô-
dhunâ II Svâ-yaśô-v[ri](vri)ddhayê sarvam-âty-udâram-udârayâ sanâskâ-
ritam-idaṁ bhûyaḥ śreṇyâ bhûnamatô grihâm II Atyâ-unnatatam-
avadâtama nabha[h]-spriśann-iva7 manôharaïh sîkharaïh I saśi-bhânvôr-
abhyudayêśhv-amala-mâyûk-kâyâtana-

21 bhûtaṁ II Vatsara-śatêśhau parîchâsasu viśarîtyâ-adhikëshu navasu ch-
âbdëshu I yâtëshv-abhîrâmya-Tapasya-maśa-suklā-dvitiyâyām II Spashtraâ-
asôkatarû-kêtaka-sînduvâra-lôlâmuktakalata-madayantikânâm I pushp-
ôdgamair-abhinâvar-adhigamya nûnam-âikyam vîjriṃbhita-śâre Harâ-
pûta(dhû)ta-dëhê II

22 Madhuâ-pâna-mudita-madhukara-kul-ôpâgîta-nagan(û)-aika-prithu-âkskhe I kâlê
nava-kusum-ôdgama-daṁtura-kâmta-prachura-rûddhrê II Šâsinî-éva nabhô
vimalanâ kaus[t]ubha-manînî-éva Šârîgînô vakshâh I bhavana-varêna
tath-ëdam puram-akhilam-âlîkritam-udâram II Amâlînaâ-saśi-

23 lékhâ-daṁturaṁ pingalânâm parivahati samûhaṁ yâvad-Iśô jaṭânâm I
vikaṭa-kamala-mâlâm-amsa-saktâm cha Šârîgî bhavanâm-idaṁ-udâram

1 Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.
2 Metre, Mandâkrântâ.
3 Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next two verses.
4 Metre, Āryâ.
5 Metre, Slôka (Anushthubhi); and in the next three verses.
6 Metre, Āryâ; and in the next verse.
7 spriśan is the nominative singular of the masculine; whereas the neuter spriśat, in apposition
with griham, is what is required. This, however, would not suit the metre. The only emendation
that suits the metre, is to alter the construction and read nabhaḥ spriśat-īva.
8 Read vimâlāty.
9 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
10 Metre, Āryâ; and in the next verse.
11 Metre, Mâlinâ.
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\(^3\) 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 Brāhmaṇical 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,\(^4\) gods, Siddhas, Kinnaras,\(^5\) and Naras,\(^6\) 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 vihare, (and) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation, to (this) city of Daśapura 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 discomfits 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\(^7\) the lakes, crowded with kāranda-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

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\(^1\) Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

\(^2\) Supply praśastiḥ.—See page 87 below, note 10.

\(^3\) Siddhas; semi-divine beings, supposed to be of great purity and holiness, and said to be specially characterised by the possession of the eight supernatural faculties. Their habitation is in the sky, or in the middle region between the earth and the sky.

\(^4\) Gandharvas; the celestial musicians.

\(^5\) Kinnaras; mythical beings, with a human figure and the head of a horse, reckoned among the Gandharvas, and celebrated as musicians.

\(^6\) Naras; mythical beings, allied to the Gandharvas and Kinnaras.

\(^7\) The original has, as far as line 8, the relative construction, which I have changed, for convenience of translation, into the absolute.
swans that are encaged in the pollen that falls from the waterlilies shaken by the tremulous waves; and in other places with the waterlilies bent down by the great burden of their filaments. Here the woods are adorned with lordly trees, that are bowed down by the weight of their flowers and are full of the sounds of the flights of bees that hum loudly through intoxication (caused by the juices of the flowers that they suck), and with the women from the city who are perpetually singing. Here the houses have waving flags, (and) are full of tender women, (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) Kailâsa; 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, cleaving 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) Prâti and Rati, possessed of (heaving) breasts. Like the sky with the brilliant multitudes of planets, it shines with Brâhmans 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, though 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.

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1 Of these rivers, one, of course, is the Śiwanâ, on the north bank of which the town stands. The other must be the 'Sumli,' which now flows into the Śiwanâ 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) spiggs, of the women of the Vidyādharas; (and similarly) the estate of man; and also accumulations of wealth, large (though they may be),—they became possessed of a virtuous (and) stable understanding; and then;—

(L. 13.)—While Kumāragupta was reigning over the (whole) earth, whose pendulous marriage-string is the verge of the four oceans; whose large breasts are (the mountains) Suṃeru and Kailāsa; (and) whose laughter is the full-blown flowers showered forth from the borders of the woods;—

(L. 13.)—There was a ruler, king Viśvarāman, who was equal in intellect to Śukra and Bṛhaspati, who became the most eminent of princes on the earth; (and) whose deeds in war were equal to (those of) Pārtha;—who was very compassionate to the unhappy; who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and the distressed; who was excessively full of tenderness; (and) who was a very tree of plenty to (his) friends, and the giver of security to the frightened, and the friend of (his) country;—

(L. 14.)—His son (was) king Bandhuvarman, possessed of firmness and statesmanship; beloved by (his) kinsmen; the relative, as it were, of (his) subjects; the remover of the afflictions of (his) connections; pre-eminentely skilful in destroying the ranks of (his) proud enemies. Handsome, youthful, dexterous in war, and endowed with humility, king though he was, yet was he never carried away by passion, astonishment, and other (evil sentiments); being the very incarnation of erotic passion, he resembled in beauty, even though he was not adorned with ornaments, a second (Kāmadēva) armed with the bow that is made of flowers. Even to-day, when the long-eyed lovely women of (his) 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 caused to be built by the silk-cloth weavers, as a guild, with the stores of wealth acquired by (the exercise of their) craft;—(a temple) which, having broad and lofty spires, (and) resembling a mountain, (and) white as the mass of the rays of the risen moon, shines, charming to the eye, having the similarity of (being) the lovely crest-jewel, fixed (in its proper place), of (this) city of the west.

(L. 17.)—In that season which unites men with (their) lovely mistresses; which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the rays of the sun (shining) in the glens; in

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1 The context is “a noble (and) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun) was caused to be built” &c., in line 16; all that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.
2 Conf. Brihat-Samhitā, xliii. 35, where the earth is described as having the mountains of sunrise and sunset for lips, and the Himālaya and Vindhya for breasts.—Compare also line 34 of the Affnā grant of Śśīlāditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv., where the Sahya and Vindhya mountains are called the breasts of the earth.—Similes of this kind doubtless varied in accordance with the extent of the kingdoms in which the inventors of them resided.
3 This, again, is a second parenthesis, the real context of the preceding verse being the description of Bandhuvarman in line 14 ff.
4 lit. ‘high-shouldered.’
5 i.e. Hēmanta, the cold weather, consisting of the months Mārgaśīrsha (November-December) and Paūsha or Sahasaya (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 rōdhra¹ and priyangu-plants² and the jasmine-creepers; in which the lavali-trees³ and the solitary branches of the nagand-bushes⁴ are made to dance with the force of the wind that is harsh and cold with particles of frost;—(and) in which (the cold induced by) the falling of frost and snow is derided by the close embraces of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (their) mistresses, completely under the influence of love;—when, by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, four centuries of years. increased by ninety-three, had elapsed; in that season when the low thunder of the muttering of clouds is to be welcomed (as indicating the approach of warmth again);—on the excellent thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya,—this temple was established, with the ceremony of auspicious benediction.

(L. 19.)—And, in the course of a long time, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair; so now, in order to increase their own fame, the whole of this most noble house of the Sun has been repaired again by the munificent corporation;—(this temple) which is very lofty (and) pure; which touches the sky, as it were, with (its) charming spires; (and) which is the resting-place of the spotless rays of the moon and the sun at (their) times of rising. Thus, when five centuries of years, increased by twenty, and nine years had elapsed; on the charming second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya;—in the season⁵ 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 aśoka⁶ and kētaka⁷ and sindunḍrā-trees⁸ and the pendulous atimuktaka-creeper,⁹ 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 rōdhra-trees swing to and fro with the fresh bursting forth of (their) flowers,—the whole of this noble city was decorated with (this) best of temples; just as the pure sky is decorated with the moon, and the breast of (the god) Śārṅgin with the kaustubha-jewel. As long as (the god) Īśa wears a mass of tawny matted locks, undulating with the spotless rays of the moon (on his forehead); and (as long as) (the god) Śārṅgin (carries) a garland of lovely waterlilies on his shoulder;—so long may this noble temple endure for ever!

(L. 23.)—By the command of the guild, and from devotion, (this) temple of the Sun was caused to be built; and this (eulogy)⁰ that precedes was, with particular care, composes

¹ rōdhra, also lōdhra; the tree Symplocos Racemosa.
² priyangu; a medicinal plant and perfume; Panicum Italicum; Sinapis Ramosa; saffron.
³ lavali; the Averrhoa Acida.
⁴ nagand; the Cardiospermum Halicacabum.
⁵ i.e. Śīśarī, the cool or dewy season, consisting of the months Māgha (January-February) and Phālguna or Tapasya (February-March).
⁶ aśoka; the tree or shrub Jomesia Aśoka.
⁷ kētaka; the tree Pandanus Odoratissimus.
⁸ sindunḍrā; the tree or shrub Vitex Negundo.
⁹ atimuktaka; a certain creeper, tree, or shrub, with apparently white flowers.
⁰ praśasti. 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 Aphsad inscription of
ed by Vatsabhāṭi. Hail to the composer and the writer, and those who read or listen (to it)! Let there be success!

No. 19; PLATE XII.A.

ERAN STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA. THE YEAR 165.

This inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain 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. 633 f. when Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,\(^1\) accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxi.), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt.—In 1861, in the same Journal, Vol. XXX. p. 17 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it.—And finally, in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 82, General Cunningham, in reprinting Dr. Hall's translation, pointed out that the *akṣharas* in line 3,—in which Mr. Prinsep had found a reference to the Surāśṭras; 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 Śāgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the west face towards the bottom of the lower and square part of a large monolith red-sandstone column, which stands near the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village, and which seems from its position to be specially connected with a small double temple that General Cunningham has named the "Lakšmi Temple,"\(^3\) separated by the intervening "Vishnu Temple" from the "Varāha Temple," or temple of the Boar, at which there is the well-known inscription of Tōrāmāṇa, No. 36 below.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 6½" broad by 1' 7½" high, has suffered a good deal in places from the weather; but on the original column the whole inscription can be read with certainty, except a few letters at the proper left side that have been quite worn away by sharpening tools on the edge of the stone. The bottom line of the inscription is about 3' 3" above the plinth from which the column rises.—The size of the letters varies from ½ to ¾. The characters belong to the northern 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

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\(^2\) See page 18 above, and note 1.

\(^3\) *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 87, and Plates xxv. and xxvi.
century A.D. The letter r, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed sometimes within the top line of the writing, e.g. in arṣṇava, line 1, and sometimes above it, e.g. in parśvyaṇka, in the same line. The characters include, in line 3, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 60, and 100. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 4, and the rest in prose. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the constant doubling of r, e.g. in maitr̥r̥ayanīya, line 5; pautr̥ena, line 6; and pitr̥ih, line 8.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Budhagupta, whose feudatory, the Mahārāja Suraśāṁchandra, was governing the country lying between the river Kālindī, or the Jamā, and the Namādā. 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 Ashāṣṭha (June–July), and on Suraguruvāra or Thursday. It is a Vaishnavava inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection of the column, which is called a dhvaṣa-stambha or ‘flag-staff’ of the god Vishnu, under the name of Janārdana, by a Mahārāja named Mātrivishnū and his younger brother, Dhyana-vishnū.

TEXT.

1 Jayati vībhuṣ-chatur-bhujaś-chatur-araṇava-vipula-salila-parṣyaṇkaḥ jagataḥ sthity-upatti-nya[y-ādi]-
2 hēṭur-Garujā-kētuḥ [II*] Śatē paṇchā-shashtya-adhikē varshāṇām bhūpatau cha Budhaṅguptē I Ashāṣṭha-māsa-[ṣjukla]-
3 dvā-daśyāṃ Suraguror-ddivasē I[II] Sanī 100 60 5 [II*] Kālindī-
4 Narmmadayōr-mmadhyaṃ pālayati lōkapāla-guṇāir-jjagati mahār[āj]-
5 śriyaṃ-anubhavati Suraśāṁchandré cha I[II] Aṣyāṃ samvatsara-māsa-divasā-pūrvvāyām7 sva-karmm-ābhiratasya kratu-yājī[ṇah]
6 adhita-svādhvāyasya vipr.ḥ-shēr-Mmaītaṛāṇyaṃ-vrīshabhasya-Éndravishṇōḥ pra-pautrēṇa pitur-guṇ-ānukārīṇo Varūṇav[i]ś[ṇhi]
7 pautrēṇa pitaram-anu-jātasya sva-vanīśa-vrīddhi-hēṭor-Harivishṇōḥ putṛṣṭy-ātyanta-bhagavat-bhaktēna Vidhāṭr-ichchhāya svayaṃvaray-ēva r[Â]ja-
8 lakṣmyā-adhigatēṇa chatuḥ-samudra-parṣyaṃ-prathita-yaśasā akshīna-māna-dhanēn-anēka-sattu-samara-jishṇūṇa mahārāja Mātrivishnun[a]
10 Svasty-astu go-brāhmaṇa-[p][u]rōgābhyaḥ sarvā-prajābhya iti I[II]

1 Compare dhvaṣa, 'standard,' as applied to the Mēharaufl column, in line 6 of No. 32 below, Plate xxiiA.
2 From the original stone.
3 Metre Âryā; and in the next verse.—In the first pāda 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 yati for the effaced syllables.
5 This akṣara is somewhat damaged; but it is very distinctly dōd. Prinsep's reading of trayōdaśyām is proved to be wrong by the metre, if by nothing else.
6 Metre, Âryā.
7 Supply tilhau.
TRANSLATION.

Victorious is the lord, the four-armed (god Vishnu)—whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans; who is the cause of the continuance, the production, and the destruction, &c., of the universe; (and) whose ensign is Garuda! (Line 2.)—In a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Buddha Gupta (is) king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashadh; on the day of Suraguru; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5:

(L. 3.)—And while Surāśmitachandra is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world, (the country that lies) between the (rivers) Kalindi 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 Ātrivishnū, who is excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vidhātri, 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 Brāhmaṇ saint; (and) who was the most excellent (of the followers) of the Mātrāyanīya (śākhā);—who is the son’s son of Varunavishnu, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (his) father;—(and) who is the son of Harivishnu, 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 trouble of the demons, (a flag-staff of the divine god Janardhana, the trouble 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 Bṛhaspativāra.

2 loka-pāla.—The loka-pālas, 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, Nirṛiti, or sometimes Śūrya, of the south-west; 5, Varuṇa, of the west; 6, Vāyu, of the north-west; 7, Kubera, of the north; and 8, Isana, or sometimes Chandra, and sometimes Prahlāda, of the north-east;—and sometimes as four, viz. Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 7, above.

3 pitram=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 Paśchatantra; viz.—

Jātāḥ putrō=nājātāḥ=cha atijātāḥ=tath=āiva cha I
apajātāḥ=cha lōkē=smin=mangavyāḥ śāstra=vibhīṣita II
Mātrī-tulya-gurod jātāḥ=tv=anu-jātāḥ pitaḥ samaḥ I
atiṣṭho=dhikas=tasmād=apajātāḥ=dhamām-dhamāh II

“By those who know the scriptures, (son) are to be understood among men as being a jātā son, or an anujātā, or an atijātā, or an apajātā. A jātā (is) one whose virtues are equal to (those of his) mother; an anujātā (is) equal to (his) father (in virtue); an atijātā surpasses that (father); (and an apajātā (is) altogether inferior (to him)).”

4 punyajanā, lit. a good, pious, or virtuous man, also denotes a class of supernatural beings, a fiend, a goblin, a demon.
A. — Eran Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta.—The Year 165.

B. — Eran Posthumous Pillar Inscription of Goparaja.—The Year 191.
No. 20; PLATE XII B.

ERAN POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION
OF GOPARAJA.

THE YEAR 191.

This inscription, which has not previously been published, was discovered in 1874-75
or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the

It is another inscription from Érań,\(^1\) in the Khuráś Sub-Division of the Ságar
District in the Central Provinces. It is on a small pillar, afterwards converted into a lińga
or phallic emblem of Śiva, which stands under some tall trees near the left bank of the
Biná, about half a mile to the south-east of Érań, and half-way between it and the neigh-
bouring village of Pēhéléjpur.\(^2\) 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 on 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 inscrip-
tion now published. Above this, the pillar curves over in sixteen flutes or ribs, into a
round top. The pillar was converted into a lińga, 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 \(\frac{3}{8}\) to \(\frac{5}{8}\). 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 Érań pillar inscription of
Budhagupta, No. 19 above, Plate xiia A. The letter \(r\), as the first part of a compound
consonant, is formed within the top line of the writing in \(pártka\), line 5, and \(bhárya\), line 7;
but above it in \(sárdhánam\,\) 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 \(anušvára\), before \(t\), in \(vánta\), lines 1 and 4; and (2) the doubling of
\(k\) and \(t\), in conjunction with a following \(r\); e.g. in \(vikrānta\) and \(puttra\), line 3.

\(^1\) See page 18 above, and note 1.
\(^2\) The ‘Pahlechpur’ of Gen. Cunningham’s map (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. Pl. xxiii.)
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. 510–511), on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight, and solar day of the month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record that, in the company of a powerful king named Bhānugupta, a chieftain or noble named Gōparāja came to the place where the pillar was set up, and fought a battle; that Gōparāja was killed; and that his wife accompanied him, by cremating herself on his funeral pyre.

1 Om Sāṁvatsara-śatē ēka-navaty-uttarē Śrāvaṇa-bahula-paksha-sap[ṛ]am[ām]  
2 samvatsar [ sic ] 100 90 i Śrāvaṇa ba5 di 7 II [—]la[ṛ]ksa[ḥ]-vanśād-utpannō [— —]  
3 rāj-eti-viśrutāḥ tasya puttrō-ti-vikkrāntō nāmnā rāj-ātha Mādhavaḥ II Gōparāja[h]  
4 sutas-tasya śrīmān-vikhyāta-paurushaḥ Śarabharāja-dauḥittraḥ sva-vanśa-tilakō-duḥ[ṛ]māla (?)[ II ]  
5 Śrī-Bhānugupto jagati pravṛtō rājā mahān-Paraḥ-samō-ṛi-śūraḥ tēn-ātha sārdhhàn-tv-viḥa Gōpar[ā]j[ō]

1 The day is indicated as a solar day, as well as lunar, by the use, in the numerical-symbol record, of di, the abbreviation of dīna, dinē, divasa, or divasē, 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-pakṣe. Sometimes, instead of ba, we have va; e.g. in line 17 of the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla, samvatsāra (sic) 100 80 8 Phālguna 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 vadya, 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 śu, which represents sūkla or sūdha, similarly in composition with paksha or pakṣe; e.g. in line 14 of the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahāñāman, No. 71 below, Plate xliA., samvatsāra 200 60 9 Chaitra śu di 8.—These abbreviations, śu di and ba di or va di, are often quoted as if they were words in themselves (śudi, badi, 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 badi, and is a contraction of bahula-dīna; but with an intimation of his own opinion that it represents vadya. 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 Marathi 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 Satī ('Suttee').—With this early instance of the cremation of widows, we may compare the indication of the same practice that is given in Bhagwanlal Indrajī's Nēpāl inscription No. 1, of Mānadeva (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 164, line 7 i., and p. 165), when Rājyaavat, the widow of Dharmađēva, bids her son Mānadeva take up the government, in order that she may follow her deceased husband to the other world. This instance belongs to about A.D. 705 (see id. Vol. XIV. pp. 344, 350).—As noted by Gen. Cunningham, there are several other Satī-pillars, but of much later date, at Erān.

3 From the original stone.
4 Metre, Ślokā (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next verse.
5 Metre, Indravajrā; and in the following verse.
6 i.e. bahula-pakṣa.
6 mittrān-uva(? tyā(? ra(? kil-ānuñātaḥ ॥KRITVĀ [cha*] y[ũ]ddham su-

mahat-prak[ã]śam svarγgaṁ gato divya-narē(?)[ndra-kalpaḥ]

7 bhakt-anuraktā cha1 priyā cha kāntā bh[ã]j[y]=ā[va]lag[n]=ānugat-

āg[n]i-r[ã]sim ॥

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

(L. 5.)—(There is) the glorious Bhāngugupta, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty
king, equal to Pārtha, exceedingly heroic; and, along with him, Gòparāja 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.)

KHÖH 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 Nāgrābūd, 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 Khōh,* about three miles south-west of Uchahāra, the present capital

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

2 Gòparāja.

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

4 The 'Oochara, Uchahara, Uchara, Uchera, Uchevra, Uchevra, Unchehra, Unchehra, Unchera,
   Urchara, and Urcharab,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 23' N.; Long. 80° 51'E.
of the Native State of Nāgaudh or Nāgaunth in the Baghēlkhand division of Central India. They were originally deposited in the Library of the Sanskrit College at Benares; but, with the ring and seal, were lost sight of in being transferred from there to the Allahābād Museum, and thence to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow (Lakhnau). I am informed that the second plate has been recently found at Lucknow. But I have not been able to obtain it, or an ink-impression of it, for examination. And I, therefore, edit the inscription here from a hand-copy made by General Cunningham, which, though not suitable for lithography, suffices admirably for reading the text.

The plates, two in number, and inscribed on one side only, appear to have been in a state of excellent preservation throughout. From the original accounts, they seem to have been connected as usual by a ring, the ends of which were secured in the lower part of a seal, the front of which had on it the legend, Śrī-mahārāja-Hastināh, "of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastin," as on the seal of his grant of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type as those of the following inscription of the same Mahārāja of the year 163, No. 22 below, Plate xii. The letter r in conjunction with a following y, is formed in two ways; in kāryāḥ, line 14, and kuryāt, line 14-15, the r is written within the top line of the writing, with only a single y below it, as in kuryāt, line 12, and sūryādatta, line 19, of No. 23 below, Plate xiv; while in sūryādatta, lines 10 and 21, and muryādāḥ, line 12, it is formed above the top line, as in the case of conjunction with other letters, and the y is doubled.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20, the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anuvṛta, before t, in vanta, line 6; (2) the doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in vakrā, line 20; and sagōtra and puttra, line 9; (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in avaddhyānēna, line 15; and (4) the occasional use of b for v, in sāmbātsavē, line 2; and barsha, line 19.

In addition to 'Uchahara,' Gen. Cunningham uses three other forms, ‘Uchahara,’ ‘Uchahāda,’ and ‘Uchahāda,’ (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 5); but, in my inquiries at Satnā, I could not obtain anything in support of them.—He has also proposed (id. p. 10) to identify Uchahāra with ‘Udyāra,’ the supposed capital of Svāmidatta mentioned in line 19 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1; but the real reading there (page 7 above) gives Giri-Koṭṭurā, or “Koṭṭurā on the hill.”—Uchahāra is probably by no means an unique name; as the maps give an ‘Ocharah,’ ten miles towards the northeast, an ‘Oocharaḥ,’ twenty-nine miles north by east, an ‘Uchera,’ thirty-one miles to the southeast by east, and another ‘Ucherā,’ about fifty-nine miles to the southeast by south, from the place under reference.

1 The ‘Nagode, Nagound, and Nagudh,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70. Lat. 24° 33’ N.; Long. 80° 37’ E.—On the badges of the Police Sepoys, I found the name written Nāgaud. But the correct form is undoubtedly Nāgaudh, which is sometimes nasalised and pronounced Nāgaunth. The Rājā is officially called the ‘Rājā of Nagode,’ and Nāgaudh was formerly the capital of the State. The present capital is Uchahāra. And the Political Agency is now at Satnā, which, in reality the name of a river, has been adopted as the name of the station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The station and the Agency are really in the lands of the village of Bārdāth. Gen. Cunningham has proposed (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 12) to identify Nāgaunth with the Nāgadāya that is mentioned in line 5 of the Kārtarāḷ pātes of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 below. But the name would rather seem to be derived from nāga-vādha or nāga-bāndha, ‘the slaughter or the capture of the hooded-serpents or of the Nāga tribe; whereas Nāgadāya would mean ‘the gift to the hooded-serpents, or to the Nāga tribe.'
The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings," in the year one hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 475-76), in the Mahā-Vaisākhā samvatsara, and on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). The inscription is non-sectarian, except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādeva. The object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Hastin, of the village of Vasunatarashandika to Gopasvamin and other Brahmanas.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Namō Mahādevāya II Svasti Shatpañchāś-ottare-bda-satē Gupta-nripa-
2 rājya-bhuktau Mahā-Vaisākhā-sambatsarē l Kārttika-māsā-śukla-paksha-trityā-
3 yām=asyān-divasa-pārvvayām nripatiparivrājaka-kul-ōtpannēna l mahā-
4 rājā-Dēvādhyā pranapīrā má(ma)hārāja-Prabhaṇjana-naptranā mahārāja-

Dāmōdara-sutēna

1parivrājaka means literally 'a wandering religious mendicant, an ascetic in the fourth and last religious order or stage of life.'—The compound used in line 3 of the Text, nripati-parivrājaka, 'a kingly ascetic,' is of the same class with rāj-arski, 'a royal saint, a saint of royal descent.' Compare also rājādhirāj-arski, '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 Suśāman (see No. 25 below, Plate xvb, line 5 l).—The word parivrājaka 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.

2Gupta-nripa-rājya-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 163rd year of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta kings." And this was substantially correct. But he added a note that bhuktē or bhuktau might be read muktē or muktau, 'from the end or cessation.'—In publishing this translation, Mr. Thomas pointed out that the reading muktē or muktau could not possibly be admitted. And, following this, Dr. Hall (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. pp. 3 f., note, and 6, 12) adopted the reading bhuktau or bhuktē; but laid down the dictum that bhuki, "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 (Arch. Jour. 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 śāntē, in line 3 of the Kāhāna 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, usufruct,' ever came to be applied in the sense of 'extinction;' except under the influence of a pre-conceived bias, so strong as to prevent entirely the critical consideration which would at once have shewn the error.

3samvatsara, '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.

4From Gen. Cunningham's hand-copy.
5Read samvatsārē.
6This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
7Supply tithau.
8This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
9See page 97 below, note 4. 10Read naptra.
Second Plate.

12 pûrvva-bhûkta  
13 a-châta-bhâta-prâveśyaḥ  
14 vibhir-vvá  
15 ryât-tam-aham  
16 ram-arshiṇâ  
17 mahi(h)în  
18 jâbiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ  
19 Shashtî(ba)rvsha-sahasraṇi  
20 ntâ cha tânq-êva  
21 [pra*]naptrâ  

These lines are inscribed on a plate in Brahmi script.

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahâdeva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (year); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-

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1 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.  
2 Read śata.  
3 Read vājasanēya.  
5 Read bhûkta.—F. E. Hall read bhûkî. But the bhûkta (for bhûktâ) of Gen. Cunningham's copy, seems preferable.  
6 Read sandhyâ.  
7 Read either djñâpî, or djñâpîtē.  
8 Read nirddahêynam.  
9 Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.  
10 Read yudhisthîrâ.  
11 For some various readings here, see page 99 below, note 1.  
12 Read nupâlanam, or nupâlanam.  
13 Supply āsanaṃ, or tâmra-āsanaṃ, in apposition with likhitam; and see page 99 below, note 2.  
14 This gi is omitted in Gen. Cunningham's copy.  
15 svasti; lit, "it is well" (su asti).—Like siddham (see page 25 above, note 4), this word of constant use as a mangala, or 'auspicious invocation,' at the commencement of inscriptions.—
Vaiśākha sanvatsara; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (etc.), 3

(Line 3.)—By the Mahārāja, the illustrious Hastin,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic; 3—who is the great-grandson of the Mahārāja Dēvādhya; 3—who is the grandson of the Mahārāja Prabhāṇjana;—who is the son of the Mahārāja Dāmādara;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to (his) spiritual preceptor and (his) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brāhmans;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(and) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 7.)—(By him),—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit, (and) in order to cause (himself) to ascend by the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—the village of Vasunatarashandikë is granted to the Brāhma Gōpasvāmin, of the Vaja-sanèya-Mādhyaamdina (śākhā) and the Kautsa gōtra, and to Bhavasvāmin, Sandhyāputra, Divākaradatta, Bhāskaradatta, and Sūryadatta.

(L. 11.)—On all sides (there are) trenches (of demarcation); 4 (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 udānga 6 and the upari.

It also occurs, governing a dative case, at the end of the Mandsor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarma, No. 18, page 84 above, line 24; and as a neuter noun, signifying ‘prosperity,’ in conjunction with asta, 1 ‘let there be,’ the two together governing a dative, at the end of the Ėran pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19, page 89 above, line 9, and at the end of the Ėran inscription of Tōramāṇa, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiiA, line 8.

1 The text (line 3) has asyān=divasa-pūrvadyām, in apposition with which titthau has to be supplied.—The same expression was used in the Gadhwa inscription of Chandragupta II No. 7, page 37 above, line 2; but it occurs in other places also.—But the fuller and more formal expression was asyān sanvatsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvadyām, “on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the sanvatsara (or year) and month and day,” which occurs, for instance, in the Mahāgadā grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv, line 2;—Another variety of the expression is asyān=divasa-māsa-samvatsar-dūnapūrvadyām, in the Shāhpur image inscription of Adityasena, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA, line 2.—In the Bilsa pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 page 44 above, line 7, we have asyān=divasa-pūrvadyām, 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 naptri are used, instead of the more customary and stricter term praputra, or ‘son of a son’s son,’ and praputra, ‘son’s son,’ see page 15 above, note 3. Pranaptri and naptri 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 (Jour. Heng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. p. 6, and p. 8, note) read this name as Dēvādhya, and rejected H. H. Wilson’s reading of Dwṛhyā (which is evidently a misprint for Dēvādhya, i.e. Dēvādhya) with the remark—“in both inscriptions, the name is most legibly incised; and Mr. Thomas’ conjecture bears out my lection unhesitatingly.” The fact remains, however, that in all the three inscriptions of Hastin, and in the inscription of Samkhshōhā, the name is unmistakably Dēvādhya; as, indeed, would be recognised at once by any careful reader, acquainted with Sanskrit, since ahya or dhya is no real word or termination at all; and Prof. H. H. Wilson was right, and Dr. FitzEdward Hall was wrong.

5 garta; lit. ‘a hollow, a hole, a cave.

6 udānga is a technical fiscal term.—Dr. Bühler has brought to notice (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 189, note 39) that in the Śāivatākṣha, Zacharias’ edition, pp. xxix, 260, it is explained by udāha.
kara,¹ (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops;² (but) with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves.³

(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.⁴ 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,⁵ the arranger of the

and udgrantha (uḍgrāha), 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 Alśā grant of Śilāditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv.—In this passage, as it is given in line 46 of the grant of Śilāditya III. of the year 352 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 308), it appears to be spelt with a double d, uḍṛṛaṇa; so also in line 10 of the grant of the Mahārāja Guhasena of the year 246 (id. Vol. IV. p. 175.)

¹ uparikara 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 upari or upri (see Molesworth and Candy's Marāṭhi 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-chāṭa-bhāṭa-pravēṣya; a technical term of constant occurrence.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 175, note 41) takes chāṭa-bhāṭa as meaning chāṭān prati bhāṭāḥ, 'soldiers against robbers,' and as denoting the royal police. But, that chāṭa is not governed by bhāṭa, seems to be made clear by the analogous but differently arranged expression, a-bhāṭa-chchhāṭa-pravēṣya, in line 26 of the Channam grant of the Mahārāja Prarvasenā II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxv., and in line 27-28 of his Siwan grant, No. 56, Plate xxxv. And, in line 6 of the Goa grant of Satyāśraya-Dhravarāja-Indrarman of Śaka-Sāmśvat 552 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. Ass. Soc. Vol. X. p. 363), we have the simple expression a-bhāṭa-pravēṣya.—I follow Dr. Bühler's interpretation (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 115 and note).—A slightly different expression, but of exactly the same purport, viz. pratinishṭhiddha-chāṭa-bhāṭa-pravēṣya occurs, for instance, in l. 10-11 of the Kapāḷalśivar grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 56).—Other expressions, which help to indicate the bearing of the term, are samastaraṇjaktyānām-a-pravēṣya, "not to be entered by any of the king's people," e.g. in line 17 of the Ila grant of Dadda II. of Śaka-Sāmśvat 417 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 117); and rūṣa-svabhānam vasatidāṇḍa-pravāṇaṇāya na sthā, in line 97 of the Paithā grant of Rāmachandra of Śaka-Sāmśvat 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, chāṛa-vaṛjjam, lit., "with the exception of thieves," is explained by the fuller expression chāṛa-dāṇḍa-vaṛjjam, "with the exception of fines (imposed) on thieves," in line 14 of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 177, No. 27 below, Plate xvii.

⁴ mat-pāḍapadīm-ḍapajīvin, lit. 'subsisting on the cakes which are my feet.'—Compare tatt-pāḍapadīm-ḍapajīvin, 'subsisting (like a bee) on the waterlilies that are his feet,' which, in later times in the south, became the customary technical expression for the relation of feudatory princes and nobles, and other officials, to their paramount sovereigns; e.g. in line 8 of the Kāḍarājī inscription of Śaka-Sāmśvat 997 (Archaeol. Surt. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 105).—Compare, also, an expression of very similar purport,—tatt-pāḍapallav-ḍapāḥbhīt-dittamānā, 'whose head is adorned with the fresh sprouts that are his feet,'—in line 5 f. of the Ballagāvī inscription of Śaka-Sāmśvat 970 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 179).—See also, page 55 above, and note 1.

⁵ Vyāsa; whose name, as well as his epithet of "arranger of the Vēdas," is usually inserted in this passage; e.g. in line 13 of the Majhagawān 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
Vēdas,—"O Yudhisthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that was previously been given to the twice-born; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!"

(L. 20.)—And (this charter)³ has been written³ by Sūryadatta, the [great*]-grand-

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No. 28, Plate xviii., and line 3 of No. 30, Plate xix.B, these verses are said to be from the Mahābhārata. And in line 19 of the Khōh grant of the Mahādāja Saṁkṣhobha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx., it is also added that they are in the Satādhasri-Saṁhitā of the Mahābhārata.—These verses are nearly always attributed, in the inscriptions, to Vṛṣa. But, in line 27–28 of the Karpāl grant of the third year of Vikramaditya I. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 237), the verse commencing Bahubhir-vasavdh bhuṣkī, 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 Mahābhārata.

1 mahimat, or māhmat, 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 khitobhūtim, which occurs in the same verse in line 32 of the Chhādālī grant of a Rāṣṭrakūta king Kakka of Śaka-Saṁvat 679 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 109). Another various reading, in a slight variety of the same verse, is matimatām, 'wise, prudent.' in line 40 of the Nausārī grant of Jayabhāsha II. of the year 456 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 79).

2 śāsana, 'a charter;' or tāma-śāsana, 'a copper-charter.'—These were the technical terms for conveyances of this kind. The first word, śāsana, occurs, for instance, in line 4 of the legend on the seals of the Chammak and Siwānī grants of the Mahādāja Pravarasena II., Nos. 55 and 56 below; Plate xxxiii, C, and D. The second, tāma-śāsana, occurs, for instance, in line 10 of the Majhagāthī grant of the Mahādāja 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-charter being called praśasti, which word is properly the technical term for an inscription on stone.

3 ikhitam.—This refers either to the manual drafting of the record, or to the writing of it on the plates, for the guidance of the engraver, who then had to follow the writing and impress it with his tools. And of course it is to be understood, in the case of a high official like Sūryadatta, who in No. 22 below, Plate xiii. line 29 f. has the title of Mahāsamādhivigrāhika, that the writing was done by one of his clerks; not by himself.—The process of engraving is always denoted by utkīrṇa (praśastiḥ), e.g. in line 25 of the Mandaśor inscription of Yāśōdharmar and Yishvūvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.; or utkīrṇam (śāsana), e.g. in line 23 of the Arāng grant of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarakṣa, No. 40 below, Plate xxvi.—It might be thought that ikihitam 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. praśastiḥ kartā, in line 17 of the Aihole Mēguṭi inscription of Pulikēśin II. of Śaka-Saṁvat 556 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 242); or rāch, 'to compose,' e.g. rachitā (praśastiḥ), in line 23 of No. 18 above, page 84. And in line 37 of a grant of Ālhaṇādeva of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1218 (Indian Inscriptions, No. 10), we have the double expression rachayām-chahāra tīlīkhe ch-śāsam mahā-śāsanaṃ.—Some of the functions connected with a copper-charter are very well indicated in line 46 of the Kapāḷēśwar grant of Mahā-Bhavagnipa, (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 Māhūka,—the son of Priyamkārāditya,—a writer (Kāyashta) belonging to (the office of) the Mahāsamādhivigrāhika, the Rāuka, the illustrious Malladatta. (This) charter, presented by the lord of Kōsala, by which the village-headman (Mahattama) is to be informed,—Pundarikākṣha received it (apparently to superintend the engraving), transferred to copper. It has been engraved by Mādhava, the son of Vāsū."
son of the Amâtya Vakra; the grandson of the Bhûgika and Amâtya Naradatta; (and) the son of the Bhûgika Ravidatta. The Dûtaka (is) Bhâgra.¹

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 Nâgaudh, 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 Amâtya, lit. "an inmate of the same house; a counsellor," is a technical official title.
² Bhûgika, 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 bhûga and bhukti.—If we may judge by the passage in line 8 of the Kâvi grant of Jayabhâta II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 114), the Bhûgikas came in rank below the Sâmantas and above the Vîshayapatis.
³ Dûtaka, and occasionally Dûta (e.g. in line 14 of the Nirmanda grant of the Mahâsâmanta and Mahârâja Samudrasena, No. 80 below, Plate xlv.), lit. "a messenger," is the technical title of an officer employed in connection with formal grants. The term is most commonly used in connection with copper-plates. But there are a few instances in which it occurs in inscriptions on stone; e.g. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrâji's Nêpâl 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 shew that the Dûtaka'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 Dûtaka when we have such expressions as dhîna svayam, "the order (is) (of the grantor's) own self," e.g. in line 19 of the Chicacoile grant of the Mahârâja Indravarman of the year 128 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 121); svamukh-dhîna, "the order (is) (of the grantor's) own mouth," e.g. in line 24 of the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Samkshôba, No. 25 below, Plate xvb.; dhînapith svamukham, with the same meaning, e.g. in line 34 of the Gûdâvarî grant of the Rûja Prithivivimala (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 118); and svamukh-dhînapith utkirtam, "engraved at the order of (the grantor's) own mouth," e.g. in line 23 of the Arâng plates of the Rûja Mahâ-Jayârâja, No. 40 below, Plate xxvi.—As pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 161, note 28), Dhînapitha, lit. 'conveyor of orders,' in line 29 of the Ujjain grant of Vâkpatriâja of Dhârâ (id. p. 160) seems to have been another regular title of the same officer; though this, 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 dhîna mahâmahattara-Gaurisârma, "the order (is) (conveyed by) the Mahâmahattara Gaurisârma," in line 24 of the Chicacoile grant of the Mahârâja Indravarman of the year 146 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 123); dhînapith-siûnârma, in line 28 of the 'Pedda-Maddali' grant of Jayasimha I. (id. Vol. XIII. p. 138); and dhînapith Dâmakirtti-bhûjakah &c., in line 12-13 of the Hâlî grant of the eighth year of Mrigêsâvarman (id. Vol. VI. p. 24 f.).—Line 13 of the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Sarvanâtha of the year 197, No. 30 below, Plate xixB, mentions, in addition to the ordinary Dûtaka, another Dûtaka, 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 Dûtaka 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 bha, 'a star, a planet.'
reading of the texts.—In 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 10 ff., Dr. Fitz-
Edward Hall published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from the original
plates.—And in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11 f., No. 2, General
Cunningham, in partially reprinting Dr. Hall’s translation, substituted a close approxima-
tion to the correct interpretation of the date, agreeing with Professor Wilson and differing
from Dr. Hall; and also gave a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Plate iv.
No. 2.)

The inscription is on another set of copper-plates that were found, with the plates
containing the inscription of the same Mahārāja Hastin of the year 156, No. 21 above,
somewhere in the valley near the village of Khōh, in the Nāgauḍh 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 5¾” by 2¾”. 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, shew 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 shew, 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-Mahārāja-
Hastinaḥ, “of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastin,” as on the seal of his grant of the year
191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—The weight of the three plates is 1 lb. 1¾ oz.—The average
size of the letters is between 7/8” and 3/4”. 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 śāryadatta, line 30, on the one hand, and, on the other, in kāryya,
line 20, and kuryyāt, 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
brahmachārīne and cha, line 8, chāja, line 16, and dāndōk, 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 Mahārājas
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 anusvāra, before \( s \), in viṃsā, line 6; (2) the doubling of \( k \), in conjunction with a following \( r \), in vakkrā, line 28; (3) the doubling of \( t \), under the same circumstances, in \( iti \), line 1; chaiddra, line 2; and other places; but not in putṛṇa, line 29; (4) the doubling of \( dh \), in conjunction with a following \( y \), in madhyēma, line 18; but not in avadhyānēna, line 21; and (5) the use of \( v \) for \( b \), in lamvādha, line 14.

The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka Mahārājā Hastin. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings," in the year one hundred and sixty-three \(^1\) (A.D. 482-83), in the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara, 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-sectarian. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahārājā Hastin, of the agrahāra of Kōrparika to certain Brāhmaṇas.

**TEXT.**

First Plate.

2. Mah-Āśvayuja-sāṃvatsarē Chaittra-māsa-sukla-paksha-dvity[ā]*jyām-asy[ā]*n-
divasa-
3. pūrv[ā]*jā[rā]*4 nripatiparivrājaka-kul-ātpannēna mahārāja-Dēvādhyas-

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\(^1\) In respect of the date of this inscription, Gen. Cunningham (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 9 and 11, and Vol. X. p. 116) has expressed the opinion that one hundred and sixty-three is a mistake for one hundred and seventy-three. And certainly the record in No. 21, page .95 above, that the year 156 was Mahā-Vaśākhaka, leads primāfacie to the conclusion that 163 would be Mahā-Mārgaśīra; and that Mahā-Āśvayuja would be (either 161 or) 173; especially since the record of No. 25, page 112 below, that 209 was Mahā-Āśvayuja, points to the names of the saṃvatsaras 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 shasht̄" (sic.) "(60) instead of sapt" (sic.) "(70), which in Gupta characters might easily happen," takes no account of an additional akṣara that must then have been omitted altogether. "Increased by seventy-three" would be, not ttri-sapt-uttarē, but ttri-saptat-uttarē. And it would not be an easy matter for the engraver to turn this full and correct form into ttri-shashty-uttarē. Gen. Cunningham's present tables for the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 118 ff.; and Indian Eras, Table xvii. Col. 10, p. 135 ff.) will have to be re-examined. In this process, with the possibility, which there always is, of the drafters of these epigraphical records making a mistake between current and expired years, it may turn out that this passage really does contain a mistake; which, if it does exist, is more likely to be in the direction of 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. 322) that "observation has, as we know, never been the strong point of Hindu astronomers; and if, according to their system, a certain year was to be called Mahā-Chaitra, they would scarcely have hesitated to do so, even if they had found that the name was not justified by Jupiter's actual position." And, until the matter is definitely settled one way or the other, it is better to adhere to the distinct reading of the year one hundred and sixty-three.

\(^2\) From the original plates.

\(^3\) Read saṃvatsarē.

\(^4\) Supply titḥau.
The inscription reads:

mahāraja-śrī-Prabhājana-napātra mahāraja-Dāmodara-sutēna gō-sahasra-
hasti-śva-hiranyā-nēka-bhūmi-prādēna guru-pitri-mātṛi-pūjya-tanatparēn 1-
tyanta-dēva-brāhmaṇa-bhaktēna naika-samāra-sata-vijayinā sva-vanē-amōdaka-
ṛēna mahāraja-śrī-Hastinā sva-puny-āpyāyan-ārtham-Agnisv[a*]mīputtra-
Bharadvāja-
sagōtra-Vāji(ja)saṇēyasabrahmacharuṇē 3 Devavāṁśinē 3 Śarvasvāṁśinē 
cha-
Gōrisvāṁśinē Vāji(ja)saṇēya-sabrahmacharīṇē Kautsa-sagōṭrāya Di-
vākarasvāṁśinē cha Sv[a*]tisvāṁśinē Vājasanēya-sabrā(bra)hmaccharīṇē 
Bhārgga-
va-sagōṭrāya Varunāśarmmaṇaḥ 4 Bappasvāṁśinē Vāsula-sagōṭṛ[a*]ya 
Katha-sabrahmaccharīṇē Kumāradēvarēva 6 Vāji(ja)saṇēya-sabrahmachari-
na 6 Mātt[ri*]saṁmaḥ 7 Nāgasā[r*]mma Rukharadēvah 8 Kaudravadēvah 9 
Vishnu[u*]devah 10

Second Plate.

Dēvanāga Kūmārasēnā 11 Rudraśarmma 13 Dēvadā(?)ngarā(?) 12 
Lamvō(mbō)shṭha Dēdamita 14
Mahadēva Guṇṭhaka ity-ēvam-ādibhyō brāhmaṇēbhya-ōttare paṭṭē 
Kōppari-
k-āgrāhāraḥ ē-ōdrāṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ a-chāṭa-bhāta-pravēṣya-ōtisṛishtah-
tasya-āghāṭaḥ pūrveṇa Kōpparagarttā 1 uttarēn-Ānimukta-kokopakaḥ 
Vāṅgara-grāmakaya dakshiṇa-p[ā*]rsvē Valaka-maddhyēma 17 vrikaḥ 
amvṛata-saṁtāra-
kaḥ 10 [r*] paśchimēna Nāgasarī dakśīṇēna Balavarmma-parichchhēdaḥ 11 Tad-asma-
[k*]-kul-ōtthair-mmat-pādam[pi]ṇḍ-ōpajvibhir-ōvva 12 kālantarēṣhva-āpi na 
vāyāgatāḥ kārya[h*] 11 [r*]
ēvam-ājñāpta 20 yō-nyathā kuryant(t) tam-ahān dēh...ara-gatō-pi mahat=
avadhyaṇē.

1 Read pūjā-tatparēn.—The engraver omitted to cut the ā of jā; and to cancel the na, when he inserted, partly above the line and somewhat small, the ta for which na had been engraved by mistake.
2 Read chāriṇē.
3 First naśi was engraved; and then it was corrected into nē, by partial erasure of the upper stroke of the ai.
4 Read śarmmaṇē.  5 Read devāya.  6 Read chāriṇē.
7 Read śarmma.—From here, down to ity-ēvam-ādībhya in line 15, is properly a compound; but it is spoilt by the three nominative cases at the end of this line, and by the unnecessary mark of punctuation in the next line.
8, 9, and 10 Read devā.
11 After this na, some letter, which is not quite certain, was engraved and then cancelled.
12 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
13 Read devadāṅgirāḥ (?).
14 This is perhaps a mistake for devamitra.
15 Read brāhmaṇēbhya uttarē.  16 Read tisṛishtas.
17 Read maddhyēmē.
18 Read amṛātā; and probably saṁbhāraka.
19 First rūna was engraved, and then it was corrected into rūvā.
20 Read ājñāptē or ājñāptē.
Reverence to (the god) Mahâdeva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by sixty-three; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Guptâ kings; in the Mahâ-Aśvayuja saṁvantrâ; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (&c.),—

(Line 3.)—By the Mahârâja, the illustrious Hastin,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahârâja Dévâdhya;—who is the grandson of the Mahârâja, the illustrious Prabhañjana;—who is the son of the Mahârâja 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. 7.)—(By him),—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit,—the agrâhâra of Kôrparika, in the northern pâṭṭa, is granted, with the udraṅga and the

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1 Read nirddahâyam.
2 Read yudhishthirâ.
3 Read pitribhî.
4 Read pranâprâ.
5 Metre, Ślokâ (Anushṭubbh); and in the following three verses.
6 Read yasya; the engraver repeated the ya by mistake.
7 Supply āsānam.
8 Read sûryadâténa.
9 See page 102 above, note 1.
10 pâṭṭa, as used here, is apparently some technical territorial term. Compare pâśi, for pâṭṭi, in line 8 of the Halâl grant of Bhûnuvarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. pp. 28 and 29, note), which, both in Kanarese and in Marâthi, is used for 'a strip of land, a division of a village.' Compare also pâṭṭikâ in line 16 of the Kaira grant of Vijayarâja of the year 394 (id. Vol. VII. pp. 248 and 250, note 27), and in line 11 ff. of the cancelled grant on the same plates (id. p. 252)
upapikara, and (with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops, to (certain) Brāhmaṇs, commencing with Dēvasvāmin, the son of Agnisvāmin, of the Bharadvāja gōtra (and) a student of the Vājasanēya (śākhā), and Śarvasvāmin, (and) Gōrisvāmin,—Divākarasvāmin, of the Kautsa gōtra, a student of the Vājasanēya (śākhā), (and) Svātitivasvāmin,—Varupārman, of the Bhārgava gōtra, a student of the Vājasanēya (śākhā), (and) Bappasvāmin,—Kumāradēva, of the Vāsula gōtra, a student of the Kaṭha (śākhā),—(and) Mātrisarman, a student of the Vājasanēya (śākhā), (and) Nāgasarman, Rukharadēva, Kaudravadēva, Vīshṇudēva, Dēvanāga, Kumārasēna, Rudrasarman, Dēvadāṅgirās (?), Lamboṣṭha, Dēvamitra (?), Mahadēva, (and) Guṇṭhaka.

(L. 17.)—The boundaries of it (are),—on the east, (the boundary-trench or village called) Kōrparagartā; on the north, Animuktakakōṇaka, (and) a vrika-tree\(^1\) in the centre of Valaka on the south side of the village of Vaṅgara, (and) a clump of amrāta-trees;\(^2\) on the west, (the tank or village called) Nāgasarīl; (and) on the south, the parichchhēda\(^3\) of Balavarman.

(L. 19.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 22.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, the arranger of the Vēdas,—"O Yudhishṭhira, 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 Mahāsūndhivigrahika\(^5\) Sūryadattā; the great-grandson of the Amātya Vakra; the grandson of the Bhōgika Naradattā; (and) the son of the Bhōgika Ravidattā. Bhagraha\(^6\) (is) the Dütaka.

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\(^1\) vrika; the Sesbana Grandiflora.
\(^2\) Or,—if we keep the original reading of sanmāraka,—'the ferry (at the place) of the amrāta-trees.'
\(^3\) amrāta; the hog-plum, Spondias Mangifera.
\(^4\) parichchhēda; lit. 'division, separation,' is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which cannot be at present suggested.
\(^5\) Mahāsūndhivigrahika, lit. 'a great officer entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war,' is a technical official title denoting an official superior to the Sūndhivigrahikas (see page 16 above, note 6). Another of his titles was Mahāsūndhivigrahadhikārādhikāri; e.g. in line 18-19 of the grant of Gōvinda III. of Śaka-Samvat 726 (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 191.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 7 and 13 f., No. 5, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (id. Plate iv. No. 5),—is on some copper-plates that were discovered in 1870, in ploughing a field at the village of Majhgawám,1 about three miles towards the south-west from Uchahará, the capital of the Nágāudh State in the Baghélkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rájá of Nágāudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr, Political Agent, Satná.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 8 8/10" by 5 5/8". They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. Except, however, for the small piece broken away at the beginning of the second plate, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are not very thick; and the letters, which are rather deeply engraved, shew through on the backs of them. The engraving is very good, but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring, with a seal attached to it. The ring and seal are not now forthcoming; but fortunately General Cunningham had preserved a pencil-rubbing of the seal, from which I have been able to give a lithograph. It represents a pointed oval seal, about 2 2/8" by 1", with the legend Śrī-mahārājā-Hastināḥ, "of the illustrious Mahārājā Hastin."—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 14 oz.—The average size of the letters is between 8 8/10" and 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 aupamānyava, line 8. In kuryāt, line 12, and sūryadatta, line 19, we have further illustrations of the first method of writing r in combination with a following y, on which I have commented at page 94 above. In cchṛyāb, line 14, 96, line 16, apāntyēšhu, 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 dēuvya, line 1, and trītyāyān, 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 Bódh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, of the year 269, No. 71 below, Plate xiiA., but it is perhaps indicative of the current form of the letter in this period.2

The characters also include, in lines 20 and 21, forms of the numerical

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1This name, given it maps, &c., as 'Maigama, Majgowa, Majhgawan, Mugjowan, Moggoah, Mugjowow, and Munigowa,' is a very common one in that part of the country. The present village should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89; but it is not entered there, unless 'Moghani' (Lat. 24° 22' N.; Long. 80° 47' E.) is intended for it.

2Read śrī-mahā.

310 quote another early instance, the same form occurs also in vijaya, in line 1 of the 'Kondakur grant of the Pallava prince Vijayabuddhavarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 101 and Plate); but the cor-
symbols for 1, 3, 90, and 100. The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and impercatory verses in lines 13 to 18, the entire inscription is in prose. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before h, in śinha, line 20; (2) the doubling of k, g, and t, in conjunction with a following r, in vakrā, line 18; viγgrahika, line 19; and chaśtrā, line 2, and pitṛbr, line 7; but not in other places, e.g. in sāgātrabhyaś, line 8; (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in awaddhyāśena, 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 vahubhir, 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,” in the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), in the Mahā-Chaitra saṃvat-sara, and on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight, and the third solar day of the whole month, of Māgha (January-February). 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 Vālugarta to certain Brāhmaṇas.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

1 Namō Mahādevāya II Svastyeśka-nayut- García-bda-satē Gupta-nr pa-rājya-bhāktau śrīmati pravraddhamāna²
2 Mahā-Chaitra-sambā(mva)tsara Māgha-māsa-bahula-paksha-trītyāyām-asyā[rh*]
   samba(mva)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvā
3 yāṁ [r] Nripatiparivrājaka-kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-Dēvādhya-pranaptra
   mahārāja-śrī-Prabhamjana-naptra mahā-
4 rāja-śrī-Dāmōdara-sutēna gō-sahasra-hasty-aśva-hiraṇy-anēka-bhūmi-pradēna
guru-piti-mātri-pūjā-
5 tatparēn-ātyanta-dēva-vrā(ḥr)haṇa-bhaktēn-anēka-samara-sata-vijayinā
sva-varṣāmādakarēpa mahā-
6 rāja-śrī-Hastinā Mahādevīdeva-sukha-vijñaptē Vālugarttō nāma grāmah
   pūrvv-āghāṭa-parichchhēda-ma-
7 ryādayā s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikarō=ch[a*]tā-bhaṭa-pravēṣyaḥ mātāpittrōr
   ātmanaḥ=cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhayē Mahādevē-

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

¹The double record of this date is of considerable importance. In line 2, the day is distinctly specified as the third lunar day of the dark fortnight; while, in line 21, in numerical symbols, it is shown as the third day of the month, without any specification of the fortnight. So, again, in No. 25 below, page 114 f., the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (line 2 f.), is shown 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 fortnights of the months of the Gupta year followed the northern custom, with the dark fortnight preceding the bright.

²From the original plates.

³The vowel ę of nd, appears to have been engraved and then cancelled here. In Plate xviii, l. 2, the reading is as I transcribe it here. Supply tithau.
Reverence to (the god) Mahâdêva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta 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,7—

1 Read mîbhîyô.
2 Read gôvîndasmâri-gômîka.
3 Read âjînapîtê, or âjînapîtê.
4 Metre, Stôka (Anushûthubh); and in the following four verses.
5 Supply iâsûnam.
6 This must be a mistake for either naprî-naprâ, or pranaprî-putrâṇâ; since, as the text stands, it passes over the generation between Vakkr and Naradatta.
7 See page 97 above, note 1.
Majhgawam Plates of the Maharaja Hastin.—The Year 191.
(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 Prabhāśījana;—who is the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious 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. 6.)—(By him), at the agreeable request of Mahādevīdeva, the village named Vālugarīta, in accordance with the usage of the specification of (its) ancient boundaries, with the udṛanga 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 agrāhāra, 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 Mahādevīdeva,—to these Brāhmaṇs, of the Aupamanyava gōtra, students of the Chhandogga-Kauthuma (śākhā), (viz.) Gōvindasvāmin, Gōmakasvāmin, and Dēvasvāmin,—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, Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas,—"O Yudhishṭhira, 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!"
No. 24; PLATE XVA.

BHUMARA STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJAS HASTIN AND SARVANATHA.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1879, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 8 f. and 16, No. 9, where he published his translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate iv. No. 9.)

Bhumara is a village about nine miles to the north-west of Uchharâ, in the Nâgautd State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. From line 3 of the inscription, the ancient name of the place seems to have been Âmbloâ. The inscription is on one of the faces of the bottom and rectangular part of a small red-sandstone pillar, popularly called thad-patthar or "the standing stone," in the lands of this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about 10 1/2" broad by 1' 6 1/2" high, is in a state of very fair preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from 1/8" to 1/4". 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 puttra, line 5; (2) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyaâta, line 2; and (3) the use of b for v, in sambatsarâ, line 8.

The inscription is one of the two Maharajas Hastin, of the Parivrajaka family, and Sarvanâtha of Uchchakalpa. It is dated, in numerical symbols, on the nineteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Kârttika (October-

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1 The 'Bhomara and Bumra' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70. Lat. 24° 25' N.; Long 80° 41' E.—Gen. Cunningham wrote the name 'Bhubhara.' And, at Satnâ, it was given to me as 'Bhurbhurâ.' But my office-people brought back the name as either Bumarâ or Bhumara, and said that the villagers do not know of any other form of the name. Of these two forms, Bhumara agrees most closely with the names in the maps, and seems to be the correct one.

2 I am a little doubtful in the second symbol, which occurs again in line 24 of No. 25 below, Plate xviB., and line 14 of No. 71, Plate xliA. But it resembles most a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9. The only other possibilities are 7 or 8.

3 For this Mahârâja; see Nos. 28, 29, 30, and 31 below.

4 Other instances will be met with in the present series, of the number of a day exceeding sixteen, which is the extreme number in a lunar fortnight, bright or dark. And such instances are still more common in other inscriptions.—In such cases, whether there is any mention of a lunar fortnight or not, and also in cases in which the number of the day does not exceed sixteen, and the lunar fortnight is not mentioned, it is sometimes thought that the reference is to the solar, not the luni-solar, months and year. But I do not consider that this necessarily follows. At Hulgâr, in the Bankâpur Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Dhârâwâd District, there is an inscription of the Yadava king Mahâdeva of Dvagiri, in which the date (line 15 f.) is Saka-varshada 1186 yeva Prabhava-saumatasaradâ Jyêshtha ba 30 Budhavara suryagrahane anu, "(the month) Jyêshtha of the Prabhava saumatsara, which is the 1186th Saka year (A.D. 1267-68); the dark fortnight; (the solar day or lunar tithi) 30 (of the month); Wednesday; at the time of an eclipse of the sun." And we also have the Kôta inscription of the Sâmantâ Dvadatta, in which the date (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 351 f.*) runs Samvat 897 30 9 Maïha su di 20, "the year 897 (and) 30 (and) 9 (A.D. 1222-23); (the month) Maïha; the bright fortnight; the day 20 (of the month)." Of these, the first is a southern date, according to the arrange-
November), in the Mahá-Mágha samvatṣara, without any reference to an era. But the choice lies only between Gupta-Samvat 189 and 201; and, as we have for the Mahárája 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 Āmblódā, of a boundary-pillar between the territories of the two Mahárájas in question.

One point of importance in connection with this inscription, is that its existence on stone furnishes definite evidence that the Parivrájaka Mahárájas and the Mahárájas of Uchchakalpa really did belong to this part of the country. This is a point on which stone-inscriptions give testimony of a kind that can never be derived from the mere finding, in a certain locality, of copper-plates, which, being small and portable, are always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong,¹ and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified.

**TEXT.**

1 Svasti Mahádeva-pád[ā]-
2 nuddhyátó(ta)-maháraja-Hasti-
3 rájáyé Āmblódé maháraja-
4 Śarvanátha-bhógé Indana-
5 napára Vásu-grámika-puttra-
6 Śivádáséna vala-ya-
7 shti uchchhritaḥ [1⁴] Mahá-
8 Mághe
9 samba(mva)tsaré Kárttika-
10 mása
11 divasa 10 9 [1²]

**TRANSLATION.**

Hail! In (the boundary of) the kingdom of the Mahárája Hastin, who meditates on the feet of (the god) Mahádeva; at (the village of) Āmblódā; (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 fortights, 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 Maukharī Śarvarvarman, No. 47 below, at Asārdhī in the Nimbār 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 k₁₁₀, or perhaps ḍk₁, and then corrected it into mbl₁₁₀.

⁴ Read valaya-yashṭi=uchchhrītd. — As regards the correction of vala into valaya, vala-yashṭi or bala-yashṭi gives no meaning; whereas the appropriateness of valaya-yashṭi, 'boundary-staff or pillar,' is apparent. The mistake arose from the omission to repeat, at the beginning of line 7, the ya at the end of line 6.
of) the bhūga\(^1\) of the Mahārāja Šarvanātha,—(this) boundary-pillar has been set up by Šivadāsa, the grandson of Indana, and the son of the Grāmika\(^2\) Vāsu;—in the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara; the month Kārttika; the day 10 (and) 9.

No. 25; PLATE XV B.

KHÔH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SAMKSHOBHA.

THE YEAR 209.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 7, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (id. Pl. iv. No. 4),—is on another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khōh,\(^3\) in 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.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about \(8\frac{3}{8}\) by \(4\frac{7}{8}\), and the second about \(8\frac{1}{8}\) by \(4\frac{7}{8}\). 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 \(3\frac{3}{8}\) thick and \(2\frac{3}{8}\) 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 \(1\frac{3}{4}\) by \(\frac{3}{4}\). It must have had a legend, on a countersunk surface; but it is now perfectly illegible, and not worth reproducing by a lithograph. Also, from the shape of the seal, as contrasted with that of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv., and compared with the seal of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Šarvanātha 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 Parivrājaka Mahārājas.—The weight of the two plates is \(1\) lb. \(8\frac{1}{8}\) oz., and of the ring and seal, \(6\) oz.; total \(1\) lb. \(14\frac{3}{4}\) oz.—The average size of the letters is about \(\frac{1}{8}\)\(^4\). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare initial \(\delta\) in īpānī, line 14. In kurydt, line 17, and in kārtyah, 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\(^4\) for 9 and 20.

\(^{1}\) bhūga, lit. 'enjoyment, possession, government,' is a technical territorial term, probably of 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 Gauda and Marāṭhī Pātīl.

\(^{3}\) See page 93 above, and note 3.

\(^{4}\) As regards the symbol for 9, see page 110 above, note 2.
A.—Bhumara Pillar Inscription of the Maharaja Hazari and Sarvanatha.

B.—Khooh Plates of the Maharaja Samkshobha.—The Year 209.
The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictory and imprecatory verses
in lines 18 to 23, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of
view, we have to notice, in kāritaka, line 13, the affix ka, on which I have commented at
page 69 above. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of b for v,
in sambatsara, line 3; and (2) the occasional use of v for b, in avda, line 1; vrāhmaṇa,
line 7; and vahubhiḥ, line 19.

The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Samkshobha. 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-Aśvayuja samvatsara, 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. Judging by the opening invocation of the
god Vishnu, under the name of Vasudeva, it is a Vaishnava inscription. And the object
of it is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Samkshobha, at the request of a certain
person named Chhodugomin, of the village of Ópāni to a temple of the goddess
Pishtapurā,—apparently some local form of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu.

One point of importance in this inscription is, that it mentions the Mahārāja Hastin
as governing the kingdom of Dabhālā, or possibly Dahalā, that had come to him by
inheritance, together with all the country included in the eighteen forest kingdoms. I
cannot identify these eighteen forest kingdoms. But, in Dabhālā or Dahalā, we have

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

2 Through his identification of Pishtapurā with the place that he writes ‘Pithaora,’ and which is
entered in maps as ‘Pataora’ and ‘Puttoua,’ nine miles north of Uchchaharā, Gen. Cunningham (Arch.
vol. IX. p. 10) identified this goddess Pishtapurā with the local goddess Patainādevi
of this ‘Pithaora.’ But this identification will not hold good, if only for the reason that ‘Pithaora’
is in reality Pataurā, probably from pita-pura, ‘the town of deceased ancestors.’—Pataurā and
Pitaurā, in passing, are evidently common names in that part of the country; as the maps show
‘Pataura,’ ‘Pitoura,’ ‘Patora,’ and ‘Pithoura,’ respectively 29 miles west by a little north, 18 miles
west, 13 miles north-west, and 24 miles north-west, of Uchchaharā.—Of Pishtapurā we have already
had an earlier mention in line 19 of the Allahabad pillar inscription, No. 1, page 7 above, as the
capital of a king named Mahendra, who was conquered by Samudragupta, in the daksināpatha or
region of the south. And we have another later mention of it, as being conquered by the Western
Chalukya king Pulikēśin II., in line 13 of the Aihoj Mēgūj inscription of Śaka-Samvatsara 556 or A.D.
634-35 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. pp. 243, 245). It is the modern Piṭṭapurām, the ‘Piṭṭapur’ and Piṭṭappuram
of maps, &c. (Indian Atlas Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17° 6’ N., Long. 82° 18’ E.), twelve miles north by east
of ‘Coconadā’ in the Gōdāvari District in the Madras Presidency. It is the chief town of a Zamindāri,
or Estate of the same name; and the remains at it show that it is a place of considerable antiquity (see
Sewell in Lists of Antiquities, Madras, Vol. I. p. 23 f).—The Pishtapurā of this inscription must be
a local form of some more famous and original goddess at Pishtapurā itself. She is mentioned again,
under the slightly different name of Pishtaipurikādevi, in line 12 of No. 29 below, Plate xixA, and in
line 11 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and the latter passage shows that her local shrine was at a place
named Mānapura, which may perhaps be the modern ‘Manpoor, Manpora, and Mānpur,’ of maps
about forty-seven miles towards the south-east from Uchchaharā.

3 This seems to be shewn (1) by the general Vaishnava tendency of the present inscription;
and (2) by the fact that, whereas in the year 177 the village of Dhavashandikā 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 Pishtaipurikādevi
(No. 29 below, Plate xixA.)

4 See page 13 above, note 7.
undoubtedly the older form of Dâhala, Dâhálâ, Dâhâla, or Dâhalâ, which seems to represent the modern Bundélkhand, and which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Tripura near Jabalpur, whose original capital was Kâlañjara in Bundélkhand. This, therefore, is another item of evidence connecting the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas with this part of the country.\(^1\)

**TEXT.**\(^2\)

First Plate.

1 Om Namô bhagavatê Vâsudévâya II Svasti Nav-ôttarê-vdâ(bda)-sâta-dvayê
   Gupta-nripa-[r\(^{[a]}\)]yä-bhuktau

2 śrîmati pravardhamâna-vijaya-râjyê Mah-Âśvayuja-sa[m\(^{[a]}\)]vatsarê Chaitra-mâsa-
   sükla-

3 paksha-trayôdaśy[Â\(^{[a]}\)]m-asâyâm sansâba(va)tsara-mâsa-divasa-pûrsvyâ[m\(^{[a]}\)]\(^{[1]}\)
   Chaturdasa-vidyâsthâna-vidi-

4 ta-paramârthasya Kapilasya-[ai\(^{[a]}\)]va mah-arshêh sarvva-tat[t\(^{[a]}\)]va-jñasya
   Bharadvâja-sagôtaryasya nripa-

5 pî-parivrâjaka-Sûsammanâh kul-ôtpannëna mahârâja-śrî-Dèvâdhyâ-putra-
   pranaptra mahârâ-

6 ja-[s\(^{[a]}\)]-sîri-Prabhañjana-pranaptra mahârâja-śrî-Dâmôdara-naptra gô-sahasra-
   hastyâsva-hirany-ânêka-

7 bhûmi-pradasya guru-pitri-matri-pûjâ-tatparasy-âtyanta-dèva-vrâ(brâ)hmañâ-
   bhaktasya-ânêka-samara-

8 sâta-vijayinañâ s-âshţâdas-âtavi-râjy-abhayantaram Dabhâ(Phâ)lâ-râjyam-
   anvay-âgatañ samâdî-

9 pâlayippô(shnô)r-anêka-guna-vikhyâta-yaçasô sutëna

10 varû-âśrama-dharma-sthâpanâ-niratëna paramabhâgavatën-âtyanta-pitri-
   bhaktëna sva-vam-

11 s-Âmôdakarêña mahârâja-śrî-Sânkshôbhëna(ñâ) mâtâpitrôr-âtmanañ-cha
   puny-abhî-

12 vîrddhâyâ Chhôdugômi-vijñâptya tam-êva cha sva[r\(^{[a]}\)]gga-sôpâna-pamkîtim-
   ârîpayâ-

Second Plate.

13 tâ bhagavañtyâh Pishtapuryâh kâritaka-dèvakulê va(ba)li-charu-sat[t\(^{[a]}\)]r-
   ópayô-

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\(^1\) It is perhaps worth mentioning, that there is in this neighbourhood a station on the Allahâbâd-Jabalpur railway, called Dabhaurâ (the 'Dabhour' and 'Daboora' of maps), about fourteen miles east of Mânikpur, and fifty miles east by north of Kâlañjara.

\(^2\) From the original plates.

\(^3\) Supply tithau.

\(^4\) Read nripati.—In the second syllable, first ti was engraved, and then it was corrected into pa.

\(^5\) 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 saptadhi. I do not suggest samadhiyâlayishnûr, because I cannot find any authority for the composition of sam and adhi with pa, 'protect'.—In the third syllable, dit was certainly engraved; but the i may perhaps have been cancelled.

\(^7\) Read dhbhiraśdhañayâ.

\(^8\) The mark over this va is only a fault or rust-hole in the copper. There are several other similar faults or rust-holes in these two plates; e.g. after svarddham in line 15.
TRANSLATION.

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

(Line 3.—By the Mahārāja, the illustrious Sāmkshôbha,—who is born in the family of the king's ascetic Susārman, who had learned the whole truth of the fourteen sections of science; who was a great sage, (being) indeed (an incarnation of) Kapila; who knew all the first principles; (and) who was of the Bharadvāja gōtra;—who is the great-grandson of the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Devādhyya;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Prabhāṇjana;—who is the grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dāmōdara;—who is the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Hastin, who was the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and

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1 Read either ājñāptē, or ājñāpitē.
2 Read vyāsēna.
3 Metre, Ślōka (Anvishubh); and in the following two verses.
4 Read yudhisthīra.
5 Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā.
6 Read paripālanā-cha.
7 Read likhitān.—And supply āsānam.
8 chaturdadā-vidyāsthāna; viz. the four Vēdas, the six Vēdāṅgas, the Purāṇas, the Mīmāṃsā 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 Brâhmâns; who was victorious in many hundreds of battles; who sought to govern properly the kingdom of Dâhâlâ,¹ which had come (to him) by inheritance, together with (all the country) included in the eighteen forest kingdoms; (and) whose fame was renowned through many good qualities;—who is intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and the different periods of life;—who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One;—who is extremely devoted to (his) ancestors;—(and) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 11.)—(By him),—for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself,—at the request of Chhôdugômin, and (with the object of) causing him to ascend the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—half of the village of Ōpâni, in the Maninâga pêtha,² is granted by a copper-charter, with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves and mischief-doers, for the purpose of observing the bali, charu, and sattra,³ at the temple, which (he) has caused to be built, of the divine (goddess) Pishtâpuri, 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 Vêdas,—“O Yudhishthîra, 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! (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 Isvaradâsâ, the grandson of Jîvita, (and) the son of Bhujamgadâsâ. The order (is that) of his own mouth. (The month) Chaitra; the day 20 (and) o.

¹ Or possibly Dâhâlâ; but the second syllable, though rather badly formed, seems to be bâh, rather than âd.

² pêtha; a technical territorial term, represented in modern Marathi by pêtha. Another form of it, venttha, occurs in line 30-31 of the Harishar grant of Bukkardâya of Sâlivâhana-Sâka 1270 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., Vol. XII. p. 347); and we also have ventthya or pentthya in line 24 of the Harishar inscription of Achyutarâya of Sâlivâhana-Sâka 1460 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 331).

³ bali; the offering of ghee, 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 sattra, the giving of alms and refuge. They are three of the pancha-mahâyajna, or ‘five great sacrifices,’ which are usually (e.g. in line 27 f. of the Mâliyâ grant of the Mahâdrâja Dharasâna II., No. 28 below, Plate xxiv.) enumerated as bali, charu, vaisvadâsa (the offering to all deities), âgnihrtra (see page 71 above, note 8), and atithi (hospitality; the sattra of the present inscription).—The sattra-rite was the special object of the sattra, or ‘charitable hall or almshouse,’ which is mentioned for instance, in No. 7, line 6, page 38 above.

⁴ Samkhshôbhâ’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 3.
No. 26; PLATE XVI.

KARITALAI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.

THE YEAR 174.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 12. f. No. 3, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (id. Plate iv. No. 5),—is from some copper-plates that were found, about 1850, in a small receptacle inside a ruined temple of the god Vishnû, in his incarnation as the Boar, at Karitalâi, a village about twenty-three miles north-east of Mudâwârâ, the chief town of the Mudâwârâ Tahsîl 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 \(9\frac{1}{4}\) by \(6\frac{3}{4}\) inches. The edges of them are here and there fashionably 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 \(\frac{3}{4}\). 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 xvii., and No. 25, Plate xviB., illustrates what may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India, from towards the end of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century A.D. The characters include the rather rare initial \(\delta\), in \(b\)ghadāvā, line 1, and the equally rare \(jh\), in \(a\)jjihitadwā, line 5; also, in lines 24 and 25, forms of the numerical symbols for 4, 10, 70, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 14 to 21, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in \(u\)tpadyamānaka, line 10 f., 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 dental nasal, instead of the \(a\)nusvāra, before \(s\), in \(v\)ansa, line 10; (2) the constant doubling of \(t\), in conjunction with a following \(r\), e.g. in \(p\)utra, line 2; sagōtrā, line 7; and \(t\)vātāt, line 20; and (3) the occasional use of \(b\) for \(v\), in \(s\)ambatāsra, line 21, and \(s\)ambat, line 24.

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

1 The 'Karatâlai and Karâeuttalaec' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 3' N.; Long. 80° 46' E.

2 The 'Moorwari, Moorwarrâ, and Murwâra,' of maps, &c. See page 101 above, note 2.

3 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 Āshādha (June-July). There is no information given as to the era. But the Bhumārā pillar inscription of the Mahārājas Hastin and Śravanātha, No. 24 above, page 110, shews that the Parivrajaka 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 Brāhmaṇ, of the village of Chhandāpallikā in the Nāgadeya santaka.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Om Svasti Uchchakalpān=mahārāja-Ôgha=devas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō mahā-  
2 dévyāṁ Kumāradēvyām=utppannō mahārāja=Kumāradēvas=tasya puttras=  
3 tat-pād-[â*]nudhyātē(tō) mahā-  
4 mahādēvyām Jayasvāminyām=utppannō mahārāja=Jayasvāmi tasya puttras=  
5 tat-pād-[â*]nudhyātē(tō) mahā-  
6 dévyām Ajjhitadēvyām=utppannō mahārāja=Jayanāthah  
7 kuśalā Nāgadeya-santaka-Chha-  
8 ndāpallikāyām brāhmaṇ-ādin=kuṭumbinaḥ kārakāṁs=cha samājñāpayati  
9 Vadatarāṁ=brāhmaṇaḥ  
10 yath=aisha grāmō mayā sva-pury-ābhivṛddhavē Kanvasagotra-Vājya-  
11 sanēyaMādhyāya-  
12 ndina-brāhmaṇa Mittraśvāminah s-ōdraṅgah s-ōparikaraḥ a-chāṭa-bhata-  
13 práveśyah  
14 chōra-varjjīto=tisrishtas=Tē yūyam=asya samuchita-bhāgabhōga-kara-pratyāya-  
15 ópa-  
16 nayan kaka(ri)shyatha ājñā-śravaṇa-vidheyaḥ=cha bhavishyathā  
17 Yē ch-āsmad-vaṇ-ōtpadya-  
18 mānaka-rājānas-tair-iyaṁ dattir-nna vilōpy-ānumōdanīyā samuchita-rāj-ā-  
19 bhāvyā-kara-pratyāya na grāhyāḥ  
20 Yaś=ch-aimāṁ dattim lōpayet sa paṇchabhiḥ  

1 As regards Gen. Cunningham’s desire to identify Nāgadeya with the modern Nāgauḍa, 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 Prakrit santaka, ‘belonging to,’ in āsmat-santaka, ‘belonging to Us,’ which occurs in the Vākaṭaka inscriptions, No. 55 below, line 21, and No. 56, line 23. — In No. 29 below, line 7, we have the slightly different form, as a territorial term, of santika.  
3 From the original plates.  
4 Read rāj-augha.  
5 Read viditām uṣ.  
6 Read viditāṁ vs.
TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From (the city or hill of) Uchchakalpa;\(^2\) — (There was) the Mahārāja Óghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādevi\(^5\) Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāminī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādevi Rāmadēvi.

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāja Jayanātha,—begotten on the Mahādevi Ajjhitadēvi,\(^7\)—being in good health,\(^8\) issues a command to the

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1. Metre, Śūlka (Anushṭubh); and in the following five verses.
2. Supply titkau.
4. Read dūtaka uparika. — Dūtaka should be a word by itself, in the nominative singular; not in composition with uparika.
5. The context is in line 5 i.—"the Mahārāja Jayanātha . . . . issues a command." The genealogy that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.
7. The first part of this name, ajjhita, must be a Prākrit word. There might be some temptation to correct it into the Sanskrit ajjhitā; but there is not the slightest approach to the vowel u below the final m of the preceding word dévyām, in any of the passages in which it occurs.—Gen. Cunningham read the name as Majjhitadēvi; but this is incorrect, as there is no trace whatever of an anusvāra over the u of dévyām, in any of the passages.—We have another Prākrit name in Ījjadēvī in line 5 of the Dē-Baraṅgār inscription of Jīvita Gupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.
8. kualin; a technical expression of constant use in charters.
culturators, beginning with the Brâhmanas, and to the artisans, at (the village of) Chhandápaliká in the Nágadéya 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 udraṅga 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 Brâhman Mitrasvâmin, of the Kânya gôra and the Vâjasanéya-Mâdhyaâmdina (sâkhâ).

(L. 9.)—"You yourselves shall render to him the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties and taxes, and shall be obedient to (his) commands.

(L. 10.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) should be assented to; (and) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(L. 12.)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 13.)—And it has been said in the Mahâbhârata by the venerable Vyâsa,—'O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (verify) 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) ! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Fathers (in the world of the dead) clap their hands upon their arms, (and) grandfathers leap (from joy), (saying)—'A giver of land has been born in our family; he shall become our deliverer'! He who confiscates land, rich in all (kinds of) grains, (that has been granted),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (into hell), together with (his) ancestors!"

(L. 21.)—In a century of years, together with the seventy-fourth (year), on the fourteenth day of the month Âshâdha,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (etc.),—(this charter) has been written by me, the Bhâgika Guñjakirîti, the grandson of the Bhâgika, the Amâtya Râjyila, and the son of the Bhâgika Dhrûvadatta. The Dâtaka (is) the Uparika, Dikshîta, householder, and chief of architects, Sarvadatta.

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

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

2 See page 97 above, note 1.

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

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

5 shapati-samráj; the meaning, however, is not quite certain. Perhaps it may mean 'superintend-
Karitalai Plates of the Maharaja Jayanatha.—The Year 174
No. 27; PLATE XVII.

KHÖH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.

THE YEAR 177.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 13, No. 4, where he published a partial translation of it, with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (id. Pl. iv. No. 6),—is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh, in the Nâgaūdh State in the Baghêlkhând division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Râjâ of Nâgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 9 1/2" by 6 1/2", and the second 9 1/2" by 6 1/2". 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 shew through faintly on the backs of them. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring and seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 11 oz.—The average size of the letters is about 1/2". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of the same Mahârâjâ of the year 174, No. 26 above, Plate xvi. In râjânas, line 12, the vowel ā is attached, in a very unusual way, to the top stroke of the f; instead of to the centre of it, as in râjâ (for râja), 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 benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prâkrit word phûta, in line 10; and (2) in pratishthâpitaka, line 9, and utpadyamânaka, line 10, the suffix ka, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of ñ and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in kkramêña, puttra, and praputtra line 9; and (2) the use of v for b, in vati, line 10.

The inscription is one of the Mahârâjâ Jayanâtha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakaipa. 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 aVaishnavâ inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahârâjâ Jayanâtha, to some Brâhmanas, of the village of Dhavaishandikâ, for the purposes of a temple of the god Vishnu, under the name of Bhagâvat or the Divine One. established by them there.

1 See page 93 above, and note 3.
TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Svasty=Uchchakalpán=mahárāj-Aughadévas=tasya putras=tat-pád-ánudhyáto mahá-

dévyām Kumárad[e]jyām=utpáno mahárāja-Kumáradévas=tasya puttras= tat-p[ā*]d-ánudhyáto

2 mahádevyām Jayavámyām=utpáno mahárāja-Jayavámı(mi) tasya puttras= tat-pád-ánudhyáto

3 mahádevyām Rámadévyām=utpáno mahárāja-Vyághras=tasya puttras= tat-p[ā*]d-ánudhyáto mahá-

dévy[ā*]m=Ajñhitadévyām=utpáno mahárāja-Jayanáthaḥ kuśali(ii)

4 Dhavashvarṇi[ā*]v[ā*]vrā(braḥ)hma- n-ādīn-kútumvi(mbi)nah kárutāni=cha samājñāpayati [I*] Viditaṃ vō-stu

5 yath-aisha grāmō may-a-  6  chandr-ārkkā-samakālikāḥ Śāsātanēya-Sarvavādha-divira-tatputtra-bhāgavata-

6 Gaṅ-ga=tas[ā*]puttra-

7 Rānkabōta-Aja[ga]rādās[ā*]nām sva-puṇy-ābhivṛddhayā bhagavat-pād[ē*]bhyāḥ
dev-[ā*]grāhārō=tiṣrīṣṭ[a*][i*]  

8 ēbhīs=ch-ātra pratisṛṣṭhipatikā-bhagavat-pādānām puttra-[pautra*]-prapattra-

tatpur-ātri(di)-kkramēṇā khaṇḍa-

9 phuṭṭa*-pratisāṃskr[ā*]t[ēṇa*] va(ba)li-charu-sattra-pravarttan-ādy-anuṣṭhaṇēna

da sva-puṇy-ābhivṛddhiḥ

10 karttavāyā [I*] Tē yūyam-ēshām samuchita-su[I*]ka-bhāgabhōga-kara-hirany-

11 ādi-pratyāyā-ōpanayān*  

12 karishyath-ājñā-śravana-vidhēyās=cha bhavisyathā [I*] Ye ch-āsma-

13 datt[ē*]nāa vilōpyā anumōdan[I*]ya samuchita-rō(rā)j-ābhāvyā-kara-

14 pratpālanāya [I*] Yaś=ch-

15 aimām dattim lōpayēt=sa pa[fī*]cha-

16 bhir:mmahāpātakair=upāpātakais=cha sanyuktān sy[ād*] [II*] Uktam cha

17 Mahābhāratē bhagavatē vēda-vaśēna

18 Vyāsēna [I*] Sva-dattāṁ pari-dattāṁ=vā yatnād-rakṣa Yudhisṛṭhira

19 nam [II*] Prāyēṇa hi nārendrānāṁ vidyaye nā-ā-śubhā gatiḥ

20 puyatēḥnē te tu satata[mī*] prayachchhantō vasundha-

21 rā[mī*] II Shashtīm varsha-sahamsrāṇī svarggē mōdati bhūmi-dāh ā
dhēttā ch-ānunantā cha tāny=[ē*]va narak[ē*] vasēt [II*]

Second Plate.

14 chōra-danda-varjyaṁ I kāl-ānukālam cha pratipālanēya [I*] Yaś=ch-

15 aimām dattim lōpayēt=sa pa[fī*]cha-

16 bhir:mmahāpātakair=upāpātakais=cha sanyuktān sy[ād*] [II*] Uktam cha

17 Mahābhāratē bhagavatē vēda-vaśēna

18 Vyāsēna [I*] Sva-dattāṁ pari-dattāṁ=vā yatnād-rakṣa Yudhisṛṭhira

19 nam [II*] Prāyēṇa hi nārendrānāṁ vidyaye nā-ā-śubhā gatiḥ

20 puyatēḥnē te tu satata[mī*] prayachchhantō vasundha-

21 rā[mī*] II Shashtīm varsha-sahamsrāṇī svarggē mōdati bhūmi-dāh ā
dhēttā ch-ānunantā cha tāny=[ē*]va narak[ē*] vasēt [II*]

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1 From the original plates.  
2 Read bōt-āja.  
3 Read sphūtīta.—Phutta is a regular Prākrit formation; but is not admissible in a Sanskrit passage.  
4 This anusaṣṭra is so high above the ya, that it seems to have been omitted at first, and inserted subsequently, somewhat at random.  
5 Metre. Śloka (Anushṭubh); and in the following four verses.  
6 Read sahasrāṇi.
19 Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhīṣ-Sagar-ādhibhīṣ 1 ryā(ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tāda phalam \[II^*\]
20 Sarvva-sasya-samṛiddhān=\[t^*\]u yō harēta vasundhārā[m^*] 1 sa viṣhṭāyān krimi[\[r^*\]]=bhātṝ pitribhīṣ saha majya(jja)tē \[II^*\]
21 Samvatsara-śatē sapta-saptatī-u[tta^*]rē Chaittra-māsa-divasē dvā viṁśatīmē likhitam1 bhōgīka-Phālgu\[datt\]-āmātyā-
22 mātya\[naptr\] bhōgīka-Varahadinja-putta-sāndhivigrahaka-Gallunā 1 dūtak- āparīka\[dikshita-griha-
23 pati-sthapatisamrāt-Chravravadattā \[II\] Yattr-āghatāḥ Dhānyavāhika-
pratyuddē gartā pālī cha 1
24 Durgamāṇḍala-pradēśe pālī \[I^*\] Suvarṇakakshaka-pradēśe gōpatha- 
śaraḥ ardhēna cha pālī \[I^*\]
25 Āmuka-pradēśe gartā \[I^*\] Dāramāṇḍala-pradēśre\&(ē) pālī \[I^*\] Vakra- 
vana-prāvēṣya-māṇḍala-pradēsē pālī \[I^*\]
26 grāmē yāvat-kūpam praviṣṭā iti \[II^*\]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—\(\text{(There was) the}\) Mahārāja Oghadeva. His son, who meditated on his feet, \(\text{(was) the}\) Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādevi Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, \(\text{(was) the}\) Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahādevi Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, \(\text{(was) the}\) Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādevi Rāmadēvi.

(Line 4.)—His son, who mediates on his feet, the Mahārāja Jayanātha,—begotten on the Mahādevi Ajjhitadēvi,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brahmans, and to the artisans, at the (village of) Dhavashandikā:—

(L. 6.)—\(\text{Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, (and) for the benefit of the feet of the Divine One,}^6\) 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 Divirā Sarvavādha, of the Śāstānēya (gōtra) \(?\), and his son the Bhāgavatā Gāṅga, and his sons Rānkabōṭa 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 sāsanam.
2 Read phālgu.—The name occurs again with the long vowel \(\ddot{a}\) 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 āmātya-naptrā. The syllables mātya are repeated by mistake.
4 Read dūtaka 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 Vishṇu, which would be denoted by the use of pada, not pāda.
6 Divirā is a technical official title, explained by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 10) as meaning ‘a clerk, writer, or accountant,’ on the authority of a passage in the Lōkaprakāśa of Kṣēmendra, which explains the details of written documents for the benefit of the Divirās.
maintenance of the bau, charu, satra, and other (such rites), of the feet of the Divine One, established nere 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 Mahābhārata by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Veda,—"O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagarā; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! 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 Śāndhivigrāhika Gallu, the grandson of the Bhogika, the Aditya Phalgudatta, and the son of the Bhogika Varahadinna. The Dātaka (is) the Upakīra, Dikshita, householder, and chief of architects, Sarvadatta.

(L. 23.)—The boundaries in this matter (are),—in the direction of Dhānyavāhika, a boundary-trench and a bridge;—in the direction of Durgamandala,

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1 See page 123 above, note 2.
2 dinna is rather a rare word. But it occurs again (1) as the second part of a proper name, in Indradinna, a Jain teacher (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. pp. 247, 251), and perhaps in Vikidinna, in line 25 of the Māliyā grant of Dharaśena 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 Nirnand grant of the Mahādāmanita and Mahārāja Samudrāśena, No. 80 below, Plate xxiv., and in the case of a Jain teacher (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. pp. 247, 252); and (3) as the first component of the name of a village in Dināgrāma (Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v.). Also, we have a village or town named Dinnaputra, either a mistake or a local variation for Dinnaputra, or more probably a mistake for Dinnaputra, in line 54 of one of the Dhānka grants of Śrīdāitya V. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 345; and Indian Inscriptions, No. 15.)

3 śhapatī-samrāj; see page 120 above, note 5.
4 Dhānyavāhika must have been a very common village-name in those parts, as the maps give 'Danwai,' 'Dhanwahi' (three times), 'Dhunwaehe,' and 'Dhnwai,' all within a distance of thirty-two miles from Uchaharā, on the south-east, south, and south-west.
5 pāli; 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 Uchaharā.
maintenance of the *vau, 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 Védas,— “O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with 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 Sādhavīgyahika Gallu, the grandson of the Bhôgika, the Amâtya Phalgudatta,1 (and) the son of the Bhôgika Varâhadinna.2 The Dûlaka (is) the Uparika, Dûshita, householder, and chief of architects,3 Śarvadatta.

(L. 23.) — The boundaries in this matter (are),—in the direction of Dhânâyavâhi,4 a boundary-trench and a bridge;5—in the direction of Durgamândala, a

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1 *See page 123 above, note 2.*

2 *Dinga* is rather a rare word. But it occurs again as the second part of a proper name, in Indradinna, a Jain teacher (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 247, 251), and perhaps in Vikidinna, in line 25 of the Mâiyâ grant of Dharaśêna 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 Nîrman grant of the Mahâdvinâta and Mahâadrâja Samudraśêna, No. 80 below, Plate xliv, and in the case of a Jain teacher (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 247, 252); and (3) as the first component of the name of a village in Dinâgrâma (Mônonier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s.v.). Also, we have a village or town named Dippaputra, either a mistake or a local variation for Dinaputra, or more probably a mistake for Dinnâputra, in line 54 of one of the Dhânk grants of Sâlûdaya V. (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 345; and Indian Inscriptions, No. 15.)

3 *Shapati-samaaj*; *see page 120 above, note 5.*

4 Dhânâyavâhi must have been a very common village-name in those parts, as the maps give *Dânwi,* 'Dhanwah,' (three times), 'Dhunwah,' and 'Dhunwai,' all within a distance of thirty-two miles from Uchaharâ, 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 'Pâli,' thirty-seven miles north-west, and again seventy miles south by east, from Uchaharâ.
Khoh Plates of the Maharaja Jayanatha.—The Year 177.
bridge;—in the direction of Suvarna kaksaka, (partly) the place where the reeds grow by the cattle-path, and partly a bridge;—in the direction of Amuka, a boundary-trench;—in the direction of Dāramandala, a bridge;—(and) in, the direction of the district at the entrance of Vakravana, a bridge;—(then the boundaries) enter the village (again) at the well.

No. 28; PLATE XVIII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 193.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khōh, in the Nāgauḍā State in the Baghēlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgauḍā, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which, so far as the inscription now published is concerned, are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 7 3/4" by 6 3/4", and the second, 7 5/8" by 6 3/4". 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 show through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is about 1 3/8" thick and 1 3/4" in diameter. It had not been cut when the grant came under my notice; but one end of it had been forced out of the socket of the seal, so that it could be detached from the plates. It appears, however, to be the ring properly belonging to these plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is rectangular, about 1 1/8" by 1 1/4". 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 Vīṣṇu, with outstretched wings, just as on the copper-coins of Chandragupta II.; and below this, in two lines, the legend, very much damaged, Mahārāja-Sa[p]va[nā]thā. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs. 4 oz., and of the ring and seal, 2 1/2 oz.; total, 2 lbs. 6 3/4 oz.—The average size of the letters is about 1/4". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārttakālā grant of the Mahārāja Jayaṇātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117 ff., and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare jh, in ajjītha, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory 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 Prākrit word phulla, in line 15; and (2) in anumōditaka, line 13 f.; uparilikhitaka, line 14; pratishṭhāpitaṇa, line 14 f.; and

—gopatha-sara, line 24; the meaning, however, is not quite certain.—sara, in one of its meanings, denotes the reed or grass called Saccharum Sara.

1 See page 93 above, and note 3.
In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmānīya, in sah-paścchabant, line 21; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in kārūna-cha, line 8; anśa, in various forms, in lines 10 to 12; and vanśa, line 18; (3) the constant doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g., in anukrrama, line 13; krama, line 14; putra, line 1; sattra, line 16; and kṣattra, line 31; (4) the doubling of g, under the same circumstances, in vīgrahika, 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 bā (for va), line 8; bā (for va) line 23; and sambatsara, line 29; and (7) the use of v for b; in vāli, line 16; and valdhhikrāta, 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 Śarvanāthā, 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; Ajjhitādevā, in line 5; Jayaṇāthā, in line 6; and Śarvanāthā in line 7. And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words Tamasad-nadyd uttaramārē, between mahārājan Śarvanāthah kuṣāt and brdham-An-dn-kuṣumbinah, in line 7.

The extant inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śarvanāthā; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and ninety-three (A. D. 512-13), and the tenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is partly Vaishnava, and partly of solar worship; the object of it being to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Śarvanāthā, 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 Āditya, 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 Nāgadūh, and, running through the north part of Rewah (properly Rīṇām, or sometimes Rīmān) flows into the Ganges about eighteen miles to the south-east of Allahābād. And the mention of it, under circumstances which shew that Śarvanāthā 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 Śarvanāthā on the stone-pillar at Bhumarā.

**TEXT.**

*First Plate.*

1 Om Svasty-Uchchakalpāt(n)=mahārāj-Aughadēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-anuddhyātō mahādevyā[ṁ*]
2 Kumāradēvyām = utpannō mahārāja-Kumāradēvas = tasya puttras = tat-pād-ānu-
3 dāhyāto mahādevyām Jayasvāminyām = utpannō mahārāja-Jayasvāmi tasya
4 puttras = tat-pād-ānuddhāyatō mahādevyām Rāmadēvyām = utpannō mahārāja-Vyāghras = tasya
5 puttras = tat-pād-ānuddhāyatō mahādevyām Ajjhitadēvyām = utpannō mahārāja-Jaya-
6 nāthas = tasya puttras = tat-pād-ānuddhāyatō mahādevyām Murunḍadēvyām = utpannō mahārāja-
7 Śarvanāthaḥ kusali Tamasā-nadyā uttara-pāre Āsramakē brāhmaṇ-ā-
8 din = kutumbinas = sarvva-kārūṇā = cha samājñāpayati [1]
9 Viditam = bā (vō) = stu yath = aisha
10 grāmō mayā chandrārkka-samakālikas = s-[ō] draṅgas = s-ōparikaraḥ a-chāta-
11 bhata-prāvēṣyasā cha rāṇa-daṇḍa-varjitaḥ chatu[r*] bhīr = anśē
12 pratipādītaḥ [1*] atō=
13 nā = dvayaṁ Vishṇunandinaḥ aparō = py = anśāḥ Svāmināga-puttra-vanijja-
14 Śaktināgasya aparō = py = anśāḥ Kumāranāga-Skandanāgoyōḥ [1*] ētattu-
15 ttra-[pautra*] prapaścitt-ād = anukkramēnā [2] tāmra-śāsanēn-āti-
16 srisṛṣṭa[h*] [1*] ebhir = ap[i*] may = [ā*]-
17 numūdītakām yathā-ōpariliktika-kkramēn-āiva svā-puny-ābhivṛiddhayē svā
18 pratī-
19 sṛṣṭhāpitaka-bhagavata-pādaṇām = ādītasāḥbhātṛarka-pādaṇān-cha khanda-puṣṭa
20 pratīsam-
22 [ā*] tisṛṣṭa[h*] [1*]

Second Plate.

17 Taṅ(tē) yuyam = ēshāṁ samuchita-bhagabhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpa
18 naya[m*] karishyath = ājñā-śravana-vidhyās = cha bhavishyatha [1*] Ye ch=
19 āsmad-vānś-ōtpadya-
20 māṇaka-rājanās = tair = iyan = dattīr = na vilōpy = ānumōdānyā yathō (thā) = kālaṇ-cha
21 pratipālaniyā samuchita-rāj-ābhāvya-kara-pratyāyās = cha na grāhyāḥ [1*] Yāḥ
22 imān = dattīm = lōpayēt = saḥ = paṇchabhīr = mahāpatakai = upapātakaś = cha saṁyukta[h*]
23 syād = Uktā = cha Mahābhāratē bhagavatā vēda-śīnsēṇa Vyāsēna [1*]
Sva = dattām = para-dattā-

1 Read anśāḥ.
2 We have to supply upabhōgyah, or some similar word, here.
3 Read ādītya = ādītsa is a regular formation, in the sense of *a desire to seize or take,* from the desiderative of dā, *give,* in composition with the prefix ā. But it is not known as a proper name; and there can be no doubt that the engraver has written it by mistake for ādītya, *the sun.*
4 Read sphuṭita. See page 122 above, note 3.
5 This sṛṣṭa is inserted below the ch = [ā*], from want of space at the end of the line.
6 Read ya imān = dattīm = lōpayēt = saḥ = paṇchabhīr.
7 Metre, Ślokā (Anushtubh); and in the following four verses.
TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārāja Īghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādevī Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahādevī Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vīyāghra, begotten on the Mahādevī Rāmadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayaṇātha, begotten on the Mahādevī Ajjhitaṇāvi.

(Line 6)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāja Śarvanātha,—begotten on the Mahādevī Murundadēvi,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmanas, and to all the artisans, at (the village of) Aśramaka on the north bank of the river Tamasā:—

(L. 8.)—“Be it known to you that this village is allotted by me, in four shares, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; with the 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 Vishnunandin; and another share belongs to the merchant Śaktināga, the son of Svāmināga; and another share belongs to Kumāranāga and Skandanāga. 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

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1 Read mahimamatam śvēṣṭha.
2 Read vasēṭn. See page 123 above, note 2.
3 Read phalgū. See page 123 above, note 2.
4 This gu is very much blurred in the original, but is quite legible.
5 In No. 29, line 6, and No. 31, line 6, she is called Murundasvāmin.
6 See page 123 above, note 5.
Divine One, established by them, and of the feet of the sacred Sun, and for the maintenance of the bali, charu, sattr, 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 Mahāśāṃkhaivigrha-hika Manoratha, the grandson of the Bhoğika, the Amātya Phalgudatta, (and) the son of the Bhoğika Varāhadinna. The Dañaka (is) the Mahābālaivigrha, the Kshatriya Sivagupta.

No. 29; PLATE XIX A.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 8, where he published a translation of it,—is on another copper-plate, the only one now forthcoming of an original set of two, that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh, in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghēlkhanda division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

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1 See page 123 above, note 5; and page 127, note 3.
2 See page 123 above, note 2.
3 But he wrongly took, as the continuation of it, the second plate of the grant of the same Mahārāja Sarvanātha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.
4 See page 131 below, note 3.
5 See page 93 above, and note 3.
The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about $7\frac{3}{4}$" by 6". The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of very fair preservation almost throughout. The plate is rather thin; but the letters are shallower than usual, and shew through only indistinctly on the back of it. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver’s tool throughout. —In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect it with the other that belonged to it. But the ring and its seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the plate is 10½ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārītalā grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare jh, in aṣjhitā, 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 Prākrit word phuita in line 12; and (2) in uparītilkhita, line 10, and upadhyayānaka, line 15, the affix ka, that I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in kārūntcha, line 7, and vanśa, 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 puttra, line 1, and sattra, line 13; (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in aṇuddhyāta, lines 1 to 5; and (4) the use of v for b, in vali, line 13.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa. The date is lost, in the second plate. The inscription is apparently Vaishnavā; 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 Pishṭapurikādevī.

This village of Dhavashandikā seems to be the same one that was granted by the Mahārāja Jayanātha, in the year 177, as recorded in No. 27 above, page 121, for the purposes of a temple of the god Vishnu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One. And the present assignment of half of it specially for the purposes of a temple of Pishṭapurikādevī furnishes one item of proof that this goddess was a form of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

1 Om Svasty-Uchchakalpat(n)=mahārāj-Aughadēvas-tasya puttras=tat-paḍ-
anuddhyātō mahādevyāṃ
2 Kumāradēvyaṃ=utpanno mahārāja-Kumāradēvas-tasya puttras=tat-paḍ-
anuddhyātō
3 mahādevyā[m*] Jayasvāminyām=utpanno māharāja-Jayasvāmi tasya putras=tat-paḍ-anu-
4 ddhyātō mahādevyā[m*] Rāmadēvyā[ā*]m=utpan[ā*] māharāja-Vyāgras-
tasya putras=tat-p[a*]d-anuddhyātō

¹ See also page 113 above, note 2.
² From the original plate.
Om! Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārāja Ōghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādēvi Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahādēvi Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādēvi Rāmadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, was the Mahārāja Jayanātha, begotten on the Mahādēvi Ajjhitadēvi.

1 This anuvātra is omitted also in line 6 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and thus, as Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives Uruṇḍa as a proper name of a demon and of a man, as well as Muruṇḍa, we might have read mahādēvyām = Uruṇḍasvāminyām. In line 6, however, of the newly-discovered grant, No. 28 above, page 127, the reading is very distinctly mahādēvyām Muruṇḍasvāminyām.

2 Read sarvā-kara-tyāgaḥ.

3 Read gomikṣya.

4 We have to supply upabhōgyaḥ, or some similar word, here.

5 Read tamra.

6 See line 11 of No. 31 below, page 137, and Plate xx., in which the long vowel ă was duly engraved, and is quite distinct.

7 Read śpuśita. See page 122 above, note 3.

8 Read pravarttanāya.
(Line 5.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahârajâ Śarvanâtha,—begotten on the Mahâdevi Murundasvâmini,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brâhmans, and to the artisans, in half of (the village of) Dhavashandikâ in the Vôta santika —

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that this half village is, by (this) copper-plate charter, given to Chhôdugômika, [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 udraṇga and the uparikâra; (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 Pîshtapurikâdevi, 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 asserenced to.''

(The rest of this inscription, on the second plate, is not forthcoming.)

No. 30; PLATE XIX B.

KHÔH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 197.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 14, No. 6, where he published a partial translation of it, with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (id. Pl. iv. No. 7),—is on another copper-plate, the only one forthcoming of an original set of two, that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh, in the Nâgaudh State in the Baghêlkhând division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examin-

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1In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called Murundadêvi. In No. 31 below, line 6, page 136, the termination of her name is vômmini as here.

2But he wrongly treated it as the continuation of the first plate of the grant of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.

3The 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 grhyâh, line 2, guptâh, line 13, and dûtakâh, line 14, as contrasted with nâthah in line 6, s[tâ]&dgragrah in line 8, and samétah 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.

4See page 93 above, and note 5.
A.—Khol Plate of the Maharaja Sarvanatha.

B.—Khol Plate of the Maharaja Sarvanatha.—The Year 197.
The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about \(7\frac{7}{16}\) by \(5\frac{7}{8}\). The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters are rather deep, and shew through clearly on the back of it. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect it with the other that belonged to it. But the ring and its seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the plate is 13 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 same type with those of the Kārttālā grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benefactive and impercatory verses in lines 4 to 10, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmānīya, in saḥ-pañchabhīr, line 2; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ṭ, in vindati, line 11; (3) the doubling of ṭ and ṭ, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in vīgarhika and putrēṇa, line 12; (4) the use of b for v, in bā, line 4, and sambatsara, line 10; and (5) the use of v for b, in valādhikrita, line 13.

The first plate, containing the name of the Mahārāja and the place whence the charter was issued, is lost; but the date, and other details at the end, shew that the inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śārvanātha of Ucchakalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and ninety-seven (A.D. 516-17), and the twentieth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Aśvayuja (September-October.) The details of the grant are lost, in the first plate.

**TEXT.**

(The first plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

**Second Plate.**

1 Yathā-kālaṇ-cha pratipālanīyā [I*] samuchita-rāj-ābhāvyā-kara-pratyāyās=chaḥ²

2 na grāhyāḥ [I*] Ya imān-dattin-lōpayēt-saḥ-pañchabhīr=mahāpātakair=upapāta-

3 kaiḥ-cha samyuktas-syād-Uktaṇ-cha Mahābhāratē bhagavatā vēda-vyasēna Vyāsēna [I*]

4 Sva*-dattām-para-dattām-bā(व) yatnād-rakṣa Yudhisṭhīra mahīm=mahimatāṇ=chhrēṣṭha³ dānā-

5 ch=chhrēyō-nupālana[m*] [II*] Prāyēnā(ṇa) hi narēndrānām vidyatē n=[a*]-subḥā gatiḥ pūya-

¹ From the original plate.
² Read cha.
³ Read dattīṁ lōpayēt=sa pañchabhīr.
⁴ Metre, Śiloka (Anusṭubh); and in the following four verses.
⁵ Read mahimatāṁ ērēṣṭha.
6  nt[*] të tu satataṃ prayachchhantō vasundharāṃ [II*] Bahubhir-
vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis-Sagarādi-
7  bhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phala[r*] [II*]
Shasṭi-va[r*]sha-sahasra-
8  ni svarggē mūdati bhūmi-daḥ achchhēttā ch-ānumantā cha tán-yēva
narakē vasē-
9  [r*] [II*] Sarvya-sasya-sampiddhan-tu yō harēta vasundharāṃ śva-
vishhāyāṃ krimir-bhūtvā
10  pitribhis-saha majjate [II*] Likhitam[1] sambā(mva)tsara-satē sapta-navaty-
uttarē Aśva-
11  yuja-māsa-divasē viṇātima bhōgika-Phālgu[datt-āmātya-naptṛtvā bhō-
12  gika-Varāhadinna-puttrēna mahāsāndhivigragahika-Manōrathēṇa [I*]
13  Dūtakaḥ mahāva(ba)lādhikrita-Śivaguptaḥ [I*] Halir-ākara-kumbha-ḍaṇḍa-
14  pratīme(mō)chan-ātīlēkhinē-pi dūtakaḥ uparika-Mākri(trī)sīva[h*] [II*]

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
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 earth has
been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagarā; whosoever at any time possesses
the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he
continue it) ! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years;
(but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall
dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land, rich in all (kinds of)
grains, (that has been granted),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks
(into hell) together with (his) ancestors!"

(L. 10.)—(This charter) has been written, in a century of years, increased by
ninety-seven, on the twentieth day of the month Aśvayuja, by the Mahāsāndhivigragahika
Manōratha, the grandson of the Bhūgika, the Amātya Phalgudatta,[4] (and) the son of
the Bhūgika Varāhadinna. The Dūtaka (is) the Mahābālādhikrita Śivagupta.
Moreover, the Dūtaka to an additional writer[5] for the remission of the fines on

.............[6] and water-pots, (is) the Uparika Māтриśiva.


[2] We should perhaps correct this into viṇātima, as the base viṇātima seems to be properly
used only when in composition with another numeral, e.g. dvā-viṇātima, in No. 27 above, line 21
page 123. But viṇātima, by itself, occurs again in line 18 of the Goa grant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvaśāja-


No. 31; PLATE XX.

KHÖH 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 *Archæol. 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 *Khō̄h*, in the N' gaudh State in the Baghēlkaṇḍ 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 $8\frac{3}{4}$" by 6", and the second $8\frac{3}{4}$" by 5½". The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and, though the plates are here and there worn quite through by rust, the inscription is in a state of very good preservation almost throughout. The plates are rather thin; and the letters shew through on the backs of them so clearly that in many places they can be read there. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring, with the seal attached to it, is not now forthcoming; having been abstracted by slitting the plates from the ring-holes to the edges.—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 2 oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārītalā grant of the Maharājā Javanāṭha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare *jh* in *ajjhita*, line 5.——The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 20 to 27, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in *utpānaka*, line 9; *utpādyamānaka*, lines 9 and 16; and *kārītaka*, line 11, the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmnīya*, in *sah-pañchabhir*, line 18; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *t* and *h*, in *vaṁśa*, line 16, and *sahhitā*, line 19; and (3) the doubling of *g* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *viggrahika*, line 29, and *puttra*, lines 1 to 5; but not in *putra-pautra*, line 12.

The inscription is one of the Maharājā Šarvanāṭha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpā. 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

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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 Sarvanātha to the transfer, among private grantees, of two villages named Vyāghrapallika and Kācharapallika in the Maṅināga pētha, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pīṣṭapārīkalādevī at the town of Maṅapura.

This town of Maṅapura is possibly the modern Mānpur,1 near the river Śoṇ, about forty-seven miles in a south-easterly direction from Uchchahrā, and thirty-two miles south-east of Kārlītalā. 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; vis. the existence of the inscription of Hastin and Sarvanātha on the pillar at Bhūmarā, No. 24 above, page 110; and the mention of the river Tamasā, in Sarvanātha’s grant of the year 193, No. 28 above, page 125, in such a way as to shew 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.3

First Plate.

1 Om Svaṣṭya=Uchchakalp[a*]n=mahārāj-Aughadēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānudhyātō mahādēvyā[m*]
2 Kumāradēvyām=utpanno mahārāj-Kumāradēvas=tasya putt[r*]as=tat-pād-
ānudhyātō
3 mahādēvyā[m*] Jayasvāminyām=utpanno mahārāj-Jayasvāmi tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ā-
4 nudhyātō mahādēvyām Rāmadēvyām=utpanno mahārāj-Vyāghras=tasya
putt[r*]as=tat-pād-ānudhyā-
5 tō mahādēvyām=AJjhitadēvyām=utpan[n*]ō mahārāj-Jayanāthas=tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ānu-
6 dhyātō mahādēvyā[n*] Murunḍāsvāminyām=utpanno mahārāja-
Śarvanāthaḥ kuśaṅi Maṇi-
7 nāgā-pēthē Vyāghrapallikanā-Kācharapallikanā-grāmāyō[r*]=brāhmaṇ-ādit(n)=
pratīvāsinah
8 samājñāpayati [r*] Vidita[n*] vō-stu yath-aisha(tau) grāmāu mayā
s-ōdraṅga s-spārīrāu
9 a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēṣyō(ṣyau) rāj-ābhāvyā-sarva-kara-pratyāy-ē(ē)tpannak-ōtpadya-
mānaka-samō(mē)
10 tau A-chandar-Ārkka-samakālikau chōṛta-da[n*]a-varjijitau Pulinda-bhaṭasya
pras[a*] dikṣētāu

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 ten- api Mānapurē kārita-kādevakul[ē*] bhagavatyāḥ Pashṭha'purikā- devyāḥ pūja-nī-
12 mittam khanḍa-sphuṭita-pratisaṁskāraṇāya cha Kumārasvāminē putra-
pauru-Ānvyā-ōpa-
13 bhūjyō(jyau) pratipādītau [I*] may-āpi bhūmichchhidrā(dra)-nyāyēna tāmra-
śāsan[ē*]n-ānumōdītāu [I*]
14 Tē yūyam-ēv=ōpalabhy-ājñā-śravana-vidhēyā bhūtvā samuchita-bhāgabhōga-
kara-hirany-ab-
15 vāt-āy-[ā*]di-pratyāyān=upanēshyatha [I*]

Second Plate.

16 Y[ē*] ch-āsmad-vaś-ōtpadya-mānakā-rājānas-tair-iyam datti[r*]nānā vilōpyā
yathā-kālā[m*] sa[m*]varddha-
17 nī=ānumōdāntyā paripālanātyā cha [h*] rāj-ābhāvyā-kara-pratyāyā[h*]
sarvē na grāhyā[h*] [I*]
18 Yaś=ch-aitām dattim lōpayēt-saḥ=paṇchabhīr[a*] mahāpātakair=upapātakaiś=cha
sāmyuktā bhūyā-
19 d=Uktaḥ-cha Mahābhārata śatasahasryā[ā*]nśaṁhitāyām param-arshinā
Parāsara-sutēnā
20 vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [I*] Pūrvva-a-dattām dvijātibhyo yatnād=raksha
Yudhishtīra mahī[m*] mahi-
21 vāt[ē*] śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam [I*] Prāyēṇa hi narēndrānām
vidyāte n-[ā*]-śuhā-
22 gatiḥ pūyattēnte tu tta(tu) satatam prayachchhantō vasu[ndharām*] [II*]
[Bahubhir-vvasu*]dbhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādībhī[ḥ*]
23 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tādā phalam [II*] Shāṣṭi-
varsha-sahasrāṇi
24 svargge mōdati bhūmi-daḥ ākṣheptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakē
vasēt [II*] Sva-da-
25 ttām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundhara[m*] śva-viṣṭhāyām
krimir=bhūtvā pitribhī=saḥa
26 majjati [II*] A-pāṇyēshv-aranyēshu śushka-kōta[ra*]-vāsinaḥ kṛṣṇ-āhayō
hi já-
27 yanēt pūrvva-dāyām harantī yē [II*] Likhitam* sa[m*]vatsara-śata-
dvaye chaturṛddha-ōttarē
28 Pausha-māsa-divasē shaptē(śṭē) Phalguddatt-āmatya-pranapt[r*]ā Varāha-
din[n*]a-napt[r*]ā
29 Manōratha-sutēna sāndhivigrahika-Nāṭhēna [I*] Dūtakō Dhṛiti-
svāmikaḥ [II*]

* Read pīkṣa.
* Read sa paṇchabhīr.
* Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the following five verses.
* Read mahimatām.
TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārāja Ēghadēva. 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 Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādevi Rāmadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayanātha, begotten on the Mahādevi Ajjhitadēvi.

(Line 6.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāju Śarvanātha,—begotten on the Mahādevi Murundasvāmini,—being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brāhmaṇa, at the villages of Vyāghrapallika and Kācharapallika in the Maṇināga pēthā:—

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that these two villages were bestowed, as a mark of favour, upon Pulindabhaṭṭa,—with the upāraka and the upārakara; (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 Pîśṭapuṇikādevī at the temple which he has caused to be built at (the town of) Mānapura, and for the purpose of repairing whatever may become broken or torn. And, by (this) copper-plate charter, they have been assented to by me, according to the rule of bhāmicchhiddra."

(L. 14.)—"You yourselves, understanding (this), (and) being obedient to (their) commands, shall render the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, āvāda; 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, be 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 Murundadēvi. In No. 29 above, line 6, page 131, the termination of her name is svāmini, as here.

2 bhāmicchhiddra, 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 Yālavakṣa's Vaiṣajayanti, in the Vaiṣayādhyāya, verse 18, where it is explained by krishya-yogyā bhū, 'land fit to be ploughed or cultivated.'

3 avāda is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not apparent. It is derived either from vā, 'to blow, or may, to become dry or withered,' in composition with the prefix d. —The more usual expression is simply vāda; e.g. sa-vāda-khāṭa-dhānya-hiranī-ḍēya, in line 26 of the Mālyā grant of Dharasēna II., No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.

4 āya, 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 Mahābhārata, in the Śatāśhaṅsa-Samhitā, by Vyāsa, the arranger of the Veda, the supreme sage, the son of Parāśara,—"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 orifice 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 Śāndhivigrāhika Nātha, the great-grandson of the Ānātha Phalgudatta; the grandson of Varahadinna; (and) the son of Manoratha. The Dūtaka (is) Dhritisvāmika.

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. 1. 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 imperfect impression made in the same year by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own reading of the text and a translation of it.1—And finally, in 1875, in the Jour. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 63 ff., Dr. Bhaub 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 Indraji.2

Meharauli, or Méhharauli,3—an evident corruption of Mihirapuri,—is a village

2 This paper was published in 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 13th April 1871.
3 The ‘Maharoli, Manrali, 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, as important because of its obvious derivation, via. 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 Pañjāb. 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 Minār in the ancient fort of Rāy Pithorā within the limits of this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 9½" broad by 10½" 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 7' 2" above the stone platform round the lower part of the column. The engraving is good; but, in the process of it, the metal closed up over some of the strokes, which gives a few of the letters a rather imperfect appearance in the lithograph; this is especially noticeable in the 各行各 of the opening word ย่ำ, and in the ร of อรา in the same line.—The size of the letters varies from 7½" to 8½". 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 Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i. But, as a distinguishing feature, we have to notice the very marked mātrās, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, which we have already observed in the Bilsā pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 above, page 43, and Plate v. — The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in pṛṇaḥ, line 6; (2) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in śattru, line 1; and (3) the very unusual omission of the second t, which is formative and not due to the preceding r, in mūrtya for mūrtya, and kīrtya for kīrtya, 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. It is a Vaishnava inscription; and the object of it is to record the erection of the pillar, which is called a dhvaja, or 'standard,' of the god Vishnu, on a hill called Vishṇupada, i.e. "(the hill that is marked) footprints of Vishnu."

As regards this hill named Vishṇupada, 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

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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 Gupta. Mr. Fergusson (Indian Architecture, p. 508), 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. 363 or 400.—My own impression at first, on independent grounds, was to allot it to Chandragupta I., the first Mahārājādhīraja 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 Tsiang.

2 Compare dhvaja-stambha, 'flag-staff,' as applied to the Īrān column in line 9 of No. 19 above. There is another iron column, at Dār, the ancient Dārā, now the chief town of the Dār 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 Anaṅgāpāla, the founder of the Tōmara dynasty,\(^1\) lays it quite open to argument whether this is the real original position of the column, or whether, like the Aśoka columns at Dehli, and possibly the Aśoka (and Gupta) column at Allahābad, 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 Yasy\(^4\) ōdvartayataḥ pratlpam-urasā śattrūn-samety-āgatān-Vaṅgēśhv-āhava-varttiṅo-bhilikhitā khadgēna kṛttir-bhujē
g7ā saṣṭha bhāsānaṃ yēna samārē Sindhōr-jjitā Vāhlikā\(^6\) yasya-
ādāpya-adhvāsyatē jalanidhir-vvīryy-ānilair-ddakshiṅah [II\(^*\)]
3 Khinnasa-eva visṛjjya gām narapatēr-ggām-āśrītasya-ēērāṁ mūrt[t\(^*\)]yā
karma-jit-āvanirī gatavahā kṛtī[\(^*\)]yā sthitasya kshitau
4 śāntasya-eva mahā-vaṇē hutaḥbujuḥ yasya pratāpō mahān-n-ādāpya-
utsṛjitati praṇaṅśita-ripōr-yyatnasya śēṣaḥ kshitiṃ [II\(^*\)]
5 Prāptēna sva-bhuj-ārjitaṁ-cha suchiṁ-cha-ākāṭhārjitaṁ kshitaṅ Chandrā-
āḥvēna samagras-chandra-sadṛṣīlin vaktra-śrīyaṁ bhīḥrātā
6 tēn-āyam prāṇidhāya bhūmipatīna dhāvēna\(^*\) Vishnō(śhpathu) maṭīṁ prāśsur-
Vvishnupadē girau bhagavatō Vishnop-dhvajāḥ sthāpitaḥ [II\(^*\)]

**TRANSLATION.**

He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in the Vaṅga countries, he kneaded (and turned) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (him);—he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vāhlikas\(^6\) 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 wornied, 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;—

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2 Id. Vol. IV. p. 28, and Plate v.
3 From the original pillar.
4 Metre, Śāvardalavikṛdiṭa, throughout.
5 Prinsep also read vāhlikā; but Bhu Daji, varying in also the first syllable, read bālīkā. In the first akṣara, the v is imperfect on the right side, through the closing up of the metal. In the second akṣara, the k is turned in the opposite direction to that in which it is turned in ḍhava, line 1 and mahāvanē and mahān, line 4. But, that the akṣara is khī, not ḍhī, is certain; because ḍ can only be formed to the left; whereas, at this period, k 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 hutabhujō, line 4, and ḍhvēna, line 5.
6 See page 142 below, note 2.
7 See note 5 above.
(L. 5.)—By him, the king,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world, acquired by his own arm and (enjoyed) for a very long time; (and) who, having the name of Chandra, carried a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full-moon,—having in faith fixed his mind upon (the god) Vishnu, this lofty standard of the divine Vishnu was set up on the hill (called) Vishṇupada.

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, 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 Sullivan to General Cunningham in 1879; the present inscription had escaped Mr. Sullivan's notice. Like the next inscription, it is on one of a pair of magnificent monolith columns, apparently of very close-grained and good sandstone, lying in a field immediately on the south side of a small collection of huts, known by the name of Sōdanī or Sōndanī, but not shown in the maps as a separate village, between two and three miles to the south-east of Mandasor.

1 aikādhirāja; lit. 'the condition of being the so.' Adhirāja.—Adhirāja, lit. 'supreme king,' is a technical feudatory title, probably denoting the same rank as Mahārāja. It occurs, for instance, in line 5 of the Byānak inscription of the Adhirāja Vijaya (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 10). Its derivative, dhīrāja, however, is here used in a general and non-technical sense, in accordance with its original etymological meaning.

2 In line 6, dhāvēna, as read by Prinsep, is what is really engraved; not bhāvēna, as read by Bhaū Dai. But, as dhāva, 'cleansing, washing, making bright, polishing,' appears to be used only in composition, the word seems to be a mistake for bhāvēna, which is equivalent to the bhātkyā 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 Kachā, 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' 0" remains attached to the base, is circular about 3' 4" in diameter; and, instead of being plain like the two inscribed columns, it is carved all over with cross-lines into diamond-shaped knobs. I had the field excavated all round this column, but could find no traces of the rest of the shaft, or of the other parts of it. From its different pattern, it can have no connection with the two inscribed columns.
Khoh Plate of the Maharaja Sarvanatha. — The Year 214.
C—Mandasor Duplicate Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman
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 1/4"; 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 1/4". 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 Mandasór duplicate pillar inscriptions of Yaṣódharman, No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxiiB, and No. 34, page 149, and Plate xxiiC. They include the very rare initial au, in auliśāra, line 5; and the lingual dh, in uddāha and gadha, line 7; rūdha, 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 vaṇa, lines 6 and 9; aṇa, line 9; aṇa, line 11; and abhrāṇiś, line 12; (2) the use of the dental nasal, before s, in bhāvāṇsi, line 2, and yaśāṇiś, line 4; though we have the more usual anusvāra in maṇḍāṇsi, line 22; (3) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in sattra, line 4; kalatra, line 11; and pāriyātra, line 16; and (4), the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y and v, in addhyāṣita, line 16-17, and adhāvani, line 18, though not in other places.

The inscription refers itself, in the first instance, to the time of Yaṣódharman, whose name is already on record from his duplicate pillar inscriptions at Mandasór, No. 33 above, page 142, and No. 34, page 149. It then mentions a king named Vishnuvardhana, who, though he had the titles of Rājadhvaraja and Paramēśvara, would appear to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yaṣódharman. Vishnuvardhana's family is mentioned as the lineage that had the auliśāra-crest. The inscription is dated, in words, when the year five hundred and

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1 See page 145 above, note 2.
2 janēndra; lit. 'a lord of a people or tribe.'
3 narādhikāti; lit. 'a chief ruler of men.'
4 auliśāra-lāḍākhāna.—I have not been able to explain any explanation of the word auliśāra; but it seems to denote either 'the hot-rayed (sun),' or 'the cool-rayed (moon).'-As regards lāḍākhāna, '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 Rātās of Sāntattī and Belgaum had the suśvara-garudha-dhvaja or 'banner of a golden Garuḍa,' but the sindhura-lāḍākhāna or 'elephant-crest' (e.g. line 43 of the Tērāda inscription of Śaka-Saṅvat 1045, &c.; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 18, and p. 24, note 24). So also the Kādambas of Banavasi, and also those of Goa, had the lāḍākhavēndarādhvaja or vānara-mahādhvaja, 'the banner of a monkey, or of (Hanumat) the king of monkeys,' but the sindhura-lāḍākhāna, or 'lion-crest,' which latter appears on the seals of their grants and on their coins (e.g. line 28-29 of the Kargudari inscription of Śaka-Saṅvat 1030, Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 252; and line 9 of the Goilhāḷi inscription, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 296; see also, for the seals of their grants, id. p. 230, No. 8, and Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 288; and, for their coins, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. xxiv.) The Chalukyas, in all their branches, had the vardha-lāḍākhān
eighty-nine had expired from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, and, therefore, when the year five hundred and ninety (A.D. 533-34) was current; 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 Daksha, the younger brother of Dharmadāsa, who was a minister of Vishnuvardhana, in memory of their deceased uncle Abhayadatta, who had formerly held the same office for the tract of country bounded by the Vindhyas and the Pāriyātra mountain, and the (Western) Ocean.

The genealogy of this family of ministers is given; and it includes a somewhat noticeable name in that of Bhānuguptā, the wife of Daksha's grandfather, Raviśrītī. Her date would be just about one generation before that of the king Bhānugupta, for whom we have the date of Gupta-Saṅvat 191 (A.D. 510-11) from the Ėrap 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. Bhānugupta, of course, must have been a Kshatriya; and Bhānugupta's husband, Raviśrītī, was evidently a Brāhmaṇ. But the ancient Hindu law authorised the marrying of Kshatriya wives by Brāhmaṇs. And we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Ghatotkacha cave inscription of Hastibhōja, a minister of the Vakataka Maharāja Dēvasēna; it tells us that Hastibhōja's ancestor, the Brāhmaṇ Sōma, "in accordance with the precepts of revelation and of tradition" married a Kshatriya wife, through whom Hastibhōja was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brāhmaṇ caste, whose sons, and their descendants, applied themselves to the study of the Vēdas.1

TEXT.2

1 Siddham [II] Sa3 jayati jagatām patih Pinākti smita-rava-gātishu yasya danta-kāntih I dyutir-iva taḍitām niśi sphuranti tirayati cha sphuṭatyaya-ādaś-cha viśvam II Svayaṃ-śhur4-bhūtānāṁ sthitilaya-[samu]-

2 tpatti-vidhishu prayuktō yēn-ājñām vahati bhuvanānāṁ vidhṛitayē I pīṭrītvam ch-anūtō jagati garimāṇaṁ gamayatā sa Śambhuḥ-bhūyānsi pratidiśaṭu bhadrāṇi bhava[tām] II Phaṇa5-maṇi-guru-bhār-[akk][r][ā]-

3 nti-dūr-āvamamraṁ sthagayati rucham-indor-mmaṇḍalaṁ yasya mūrdhnām [I] sa śīraśi vinibadhhan-randhirīm-asthi-maḷām srijatu bhava-srijō vah klēśa-bhaṅgaṁ bhujāngaḥ II Shasytyā 6 sahasraiḥ Sagar-ātmajānāṁ khāta[h]

1 'boar-crest,' which appears on the seals of all their charters, and on their coins; and the special connection of the lādhana with the āṣana 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) Vishnu, which lifted up the entire circle of the earth on the tip of (its right-hand) tusk, became in a pleasing way the crest" (id. Vol. XIV. p. 85)

2 From the original stone.

3 Metre, Pushpita-grā.

4 Metre, Śīkharīṭ.

5 Metre, Mālinī.

6 Metre, Upajāti of Indrabajrā and Upendra-bajrā.
4 kha-tulyāṁ rucham-ādadhānāḥ || asya-ōdapan-ādhipatēs=chirāya yaśaṁsi pāyāṁ=
payasāṁ vidhātā || Aṭhaḥ jayati janendrāḥ śri-Vasōdharmma-
nāmā premada-vanam=inv-āntaḥ šattru-sainyaṁ vigāhaya vṛṇa-
5 kisālaya-bhāṅgair=yyō-ṅga-bhūṣhāṁ vidhattē tarupa-taru-latā-vad=vira-kṛttir=
vvināmya || Ājaua jiti vijayatē jagatim=punam=sha śri-Viṣṇuvaruddhan-
narādhipatiḥ sa eva || prakhyāta suikara-lāṁchhāna ātma-
6 vaṁśō yena-ōdit-ōditapadaḥ gamitō garlyaḥ || Pracōḥ nṛpiṇaṁ-su-bṛihataśa=
cha bahun-udicchaṁ sāṁna yuddha cha vaśa-gan=pravidhyāya yena [10]
7 nām=āparam jagati kāntam=adō durāpaṁ rājādhīra-ārāmē=
8 svara ity=uddūṣam || Snigdha-syām=āmbud-ābhaiḥ sthagita-dinakrito
yajvanāṁ=aṁy=ādhūmaṁ=ambanti=mēgyaṁ Mahgōṁ=āvadhishu vidadhatā
9 gadha-sampanna-sasyāḥ || saṁharśhad=vānīnām kara-rabhasa-hṛit-ō-
10 dyāna-chūt-āṅkur=āṅgrā rājānantō ramantē bhujā-vijita-bhūva bhūrayo yena
dēṣāḥ || Yasyā-ōtkētubhīr=unmada-dvipa-kara-vyāvīdha-lōḍhra-drūmai=
uddhēna van-āḍhvaṁ dhvani-nadad-Viṇḍhyāḍri-randhrāir=bbalaiḥ bāle-
11 ya-čchhavī-ādmeṛena rajasa mand-ānśsu samālakṣhayatē paryāvrittā-
śikhandi-chandraka iva dhyāmam ravēr=maṇḍalam || Tasya
prabhōr=vvaṁśa-kritiṁ uρiṇāṁ pād-āśrayad=vīrūta-punya-kṛttīṁ
12 bhṛityaṁ sāxa-naibhritya-jit-ā-
13 ri-ṣaṭkā aśīd=vasīyāṁ=kil-e Shasṭhidattaḥ || Himavatā iva Gāṅga-
tunga-namrāḥ pravāhāḥ sāsabhrita iva Rēvā-vāri-rāśiḥ prathīyān [10]
param=abhigamanyāḥ śuddhimāṇ=anavavyō yata udita-gari-
14 mnas=tatyāte Naigamanāṁ || Tasya=anukulāḥ kulajāt=kalattrat=sutah
prasūtō yaśasāṁ prasūtīḥ || Harēr=iv=ānśam vaśiṁam var-ārhaṁ
Varāhadāṣaṁ yam=udāharaṁ || Sukriti=viṣhaya-tumao rūḍha-mūlam
15 dharāyāṁ sthitim=apagata-bhāṅgāṁ sthēyāśim=ādadhānām [10] guru-śikharam=
iv=ādres=tat-kulaṁ sv-ātma-bhūtyā ravir=iva Raviśkṛttīṁ su-prakāśaṁ
vyadhatta || Bibhratā= subhram=a-bhrañśi smārttaṁ vartm=ōchitaṁ
satāṁ [10] na visambvā(va)-
16 dītā yena Kalāv-apī kulāntaḥ || Dhuta-dhi-dhīhit-dhvāntān-havirbhujā
iv=ādhrvarān [10] Bhāmugupta tataḥ sādhvi tanayāṁ=trīn=ajījanat ||
Bhagavaddōśa ity=āśīt=prathamah kārya-vartmasu || āla-
17 mbanāṁ bāndhavānāṁ=Andhakāṇāṁ=iv=Oddhavaḥ || Bahu= naya-viḍhī-Vēdā
gahvar=py=artha-mārggē Vidura iva vidūraṁ pṛēkṣhaya pṛēkshmanāḥ ||
vachana-rachana-bhāndhe samskṛita-prakṛttī yah kavibhir=udi-
18 ca-ṛagāṁ gītā gīt-abhijñāṁ || Pranidhi-driṇ-anugāntā yasya baudhēṇa
ch=ākṣhṇa na niśi tanu dāvīyō v=āstī=a-dṛśītāṁ dharitryām [10]
padam=udayi dadhānā=nantarāṁ tasya ch=ābhūt=sa bhayaṁ=Abhayadattō
nāma

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7 Metre, Mālinī.
8 Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.
9 Metre, Sragdhara.
10 Metre, Śṛūṇāvakṛṣṭīta.
5 Metre, Indravajra.
6 Metre, Mālinī.
7 Metre, Upaśātī of Indravajra and Upendravajra.
8 Metre, Mālinī.
9 Metre, Śīkā (Anushtubh); and in the next two verses.
10 Metre, Mālinī; and in the next verse.
16 chī[nva?]n-prajānām II Vindhyasyā1-avandhyā-karmā śikhara-taṣa-patat-
pāṇḍu-Rēv-āmbru-śārē-ggōlāṅgulaiḥ sa-hēlam pluti-namita-tarōh
Pāriyāttrasya ch-ādṛēḥ ī ā sindhōr-antarālam niį-suchi-sachiv-
āddhyā-
17 sit-ānēka-deśām rājasthāniya-vrit[∗]yā suragurur-iva yō varṇīnām
bhūtyē-pāt II Vihiita2-sakala-varṇ-āsāṅkarām sānta-dīmbam Kṛita īva
kritam-ētad-yēna rājyam nirādhi ī sa dhuram-ayam-īdānām
18 Dōshakumbhaya sūnur-guru vahati tad-ūdharām dharmmatō Dharmmadō
shāh II Sva-sukham-an-ātivāchchha(fichha)n-durggamē-ddhvany-a-saṅgām
dhuram-ati-guru-bhārām yō dadhad-bhurtar-arthē ī vahati nripati-vēsham
kēvalam lakṣma-mattām
19 valinam-iva vilambam kambalam bāhulēyah ī Upahita-hita-rakṣāma-muṇḍanō
jāti-ratnair-bhuja īva prithul-āṁsas-tasya Dakṣaḥ kanlyān [1*]
mahad-idam-udapānām khātāyām-āsa bibhrah-
20 ch-chhruti-hriyāda-nirānt-anandī nirddōsha-nāma II Sukha3-aśrēya-chchhāyam
paripatī-hita-svādhu-īa-gajendrēn-ārugnaih īva Kṛitāntēna
balinā ī pitrivyam prōddiśya priyam-Abhayadattaṁ pri-
21 thu-dhiyā prathiyās-tēn-ēdām kuśalam-īha karmō-parachitaṁ II Paṇchasaṅ
śatēshu saradāṁ yātēshv-ēkān-na-navati-sahitēshu ī Mālava-gaṇa-sthitī-
vaśāt-kāla-jitānāya likhitēshu ī Ya-
22 smin4-kālē kala-mrīdu-girāṁ kōkīlānām pralāpā bhindant-īva Smara-
sara-nibhāḥ prōshītānāṁ manāṁs ī bhring-ālīnām dhvanir-anu-vānaṁ
bhirā-mandraś-cha yasmin-ādhibhā-īyaṁ dhanur-īva nadach-chhrūyate
pushpa-
23 kētō II Priyatam5-kupitānāṁ rāmayan-baddha-ragāṁ kisalayam-īva
mugdhān māṇasāṁ maninānāṁ [1*] upanyayati nabhasvān-māṇa-bhaṅgāya
yasmin-kuṣumā-samayā-māśē tattra nirmāmāiltro=yam ī
24 Yavat4-tungair-udanvān-kīrāṇa-samudayaṁ saṅga-kāntāṁ taraṅgār-ālingann=
indu-bimbāṁ gurubhir-īva bhujaiḥ samvidhättē suhṛtāṁ [1*] bibhrat-
saudh-ānta-lēkkha-valaya-parigatiṁ muṇḍa-mālāṁ-īv-āyanā
sat-kūpas=
tavād-ā-
25 stāṁ-amritā-sama-rasa-svachchha-vishyandit-āmbuḥ II Dhīmāṁ(n)4 Dakṣhō
dakshiṇāḥ satya-sandhō hrmāṁch-chhhūrō vṛddha-sēvi kritajñānā
baddh-ōtsāḥaṁ svāmi-kāryēśh-a-khēḍi nirddōshō-yaṁ īpaṭu dharmmaṁ
chirāya ī Utkirṛnā Gōvindēnā ī

TRANSLATION.
Perfection has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Pīnākīn, 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

1 Metre, Saṅgītarā.
2 Metre, Śikhiṇī.
3 Metre, Mandākṛāntā.
4 Metre, Saṅgītarā.
5 Supply praśastiḥ.
6 Metre, Mālīnī; and in the next two verses.
7 Metre, Āryā.
8 Metre, Mālīnī.
9 Metre, Śālinī.
universe! May he, (the god) Śambhu, confer many auspicious gifts upon you,—employed by whom in the rites of (effecting the) continuance and the destruction and the production of (all) things that exist, (the god) Svayambhū, is obedient to (his) commands, for the sake of the maintenance of (all) the worlds; and by whom, leading (him) to dignity in the world, he has been brought to the condition of being the father (of the universe)! May the serpent of the creator of existence 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, which was dug out by the sixty thousand sons of Sagara, (and) which possesses a lustre equal to (that of) the sky, preserve for a long time the glories of this best of wells!

(Line 4.)—Now, victorious is that tribal ruler, having the name of the glorious Yasodharmar, 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 same king of men, the glorious Vishnuvardhana, the conqueror in war; by whom his own famous lineage, which has the aulikara-crest, has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and

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1 bhava-srij.—Originally, Brahman was the creator; Vishnu, the preserver, and Śiva, the destroyer. But of course the Vaishnavas and the Śaivas invested their own special gods with all three attributes. As regards Śiva, we may also refer to line 51 of the Almā grant of Śilāditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv., where, under the name of Paramēśvara, he is again clearly referred to as the creator. While, as regards Vishnu, in the 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-srij here denotes Śiva, is shewn 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.

8 The ocean. The allusion in this verse is to the legend that the bed of the ocean was excavated by the sons of Sagara in their search for their father’s asvamedha-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 Aṁśumat, the grandson of Sagara. The obsequies, however, of the sons of Sagara remained unperformed, and their transfer to heaven was barred, until Bhagratha, the grandson of Aṁśumat, brought the river Ganges down from heaven, and led it over the earth to the chasm made by the sons of Sagara. Flowing down through this, it washed their bones and ashes; by which they were raised to heaven. And, as such of its waters as remained in the chasm constituted the ocean, the latter was called sagara in commemoration of Sagara and his descendants.

1 janéndra; see page 151 above, note 2.
4 See page 145 above, note 2.
6 This expression looks at first sight as if Yasodharmar 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 janéndra and nardāhipati, of and the expression dharma-vanśa, shows that this is not the case. "This same" simply means "this reigning king," in whose time and territory the inscription is written.
8 nardāhipati; see page 151 above, note 3.
7 aulikara-ldāchhana; see page 151 above, note 4.
higher. By him, having brought into subjection, with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many (kings) of the north, this second name of "supreme king of kings" and supreme lord," pleasing in the world (but) difficult of attainment, is carried on high. Through him, having conquered the earth with (his own) arm, many countries,—in which the sun is obscured by the smoke, resembling dense dark-blue clouds, of the oblations of the sacrifices; (and) which abound with thick and thriving crops through (the god) Maghavan pouring cloudfuls of rain upon (their) boundaries; (and) in which the ends of the fresh sprouts of the mango-trees in the parks are eagerly plucked in joy by the hands of wanton women,—enjoy the happiness of being possessed of a good king. Through the dust, grey like the hide of an ass,—stirred up by his armies, which have (their) banners lifted on high; (and) which have the lôdhra-trees east 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.  

(L. 9.)—The servant of the kings who founded the family of that lord, was Shashthidatta,—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) Gaṅgâ (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) Varâhadâsa, (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, Ravikîrtti 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;—(Ravikîrtti), 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 Bhûnuguptâ 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 Bhagavaddôsa, the prop of his relatives in the paths of religious actions, just as Uddhava (was) of the Andhakas,—who was a very Védhas in displaying much prudence in the hard-to-be-traversed path of the meaning (of words); who, like Vidura, always looked far ahead with deliberation; (and) who is with great—

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1 Râjâdhirâja; see page 35 above, note 7.  8 Paramêivara; see page 10 above, note 3.  
3 lôdhra, also rôdhra; the tree Symplocos Racemosa.  
4 i.e. "looked at from the wrong side of the feathers."  
5 The arî-shatka or arî-shad-varja, '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 Dhritarâshîtra and Pânḍu, described as the wisest of all prudent and sagacious people.
pleasure sung of by poets, in Sanskrit and Prākrit construction of the arrangement of sentences, as being well versed in speech.

(L. 15.)—And after him there came that (well-known) Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position on the earth, (and) collecting (in order to dispel it) the fear of (his) subjects (?);—by whose eye of intellect, which served him like the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remote, remained undetected, (even) at night;—(Abhayadatta), of fruitful actions, who like (Brihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the (four recognised) castes, with the functions of a Rājasthānyya¹ 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) Rêvâ, and the mountain Pāriyâtra, on which the trees are bent down in (their) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys, (and stretches) up to the (western) Ocean.

(L. 17.)—Now he, Dharma-dôsha, the son of Dôshakumbha,—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;²—(Dharma-dôsha), 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 bull³ carries a wrinkled pendulous dew-lap.

(L. 19.)—His younger brother, Daksha,—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) skillful 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) Krîtânâ, 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, (wantonly) destroyed by a lordly elephant.

¹ Rājasthānyya, lit. "one who belongs to a Rājasthana or king's abode;" or perhaps "one who occupies the position of a Raja," is a technical official title, the exact grade of which remains to be determined. The explanation of the word in Kshêmendra's Lôkapakṣa, iv., as given by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 207) is prajâ-pâdan-ârthan=udvahati rakhayati cha sa râjasthânyah, "he who carries out the object of protecting subjects, and shelters them, is called a Râjasthânyya, 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 Mâliyâ grant of the Mahârâja Dharasêna II. of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv., and in line 9 of the Dêb-Barappâr inscription of Jivatagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB. (where Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to render it by 'political agent, or regent'), the Râjasthânyya is mentioned rather low down in the list of officials; so also in line 33 of the Bhagalpur grant of Nârâyánâpâla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 306), and in the passage in connection with which it was explained by Dr. Bühler.

² i.e. Abhayadatta.—Dôshakumbha, the father of Dharmadôsha, must be the younger brother of Abhayadatta, and the third and youngest of the sons of Râvikirtti and Bânuguptâ.

³ bâdhulya; 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 supremacy¹ of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, (and) being written down in order to determine the (present) time;—in the season² in which the songs, resembling the arrows of (the god) Smara, of the cuckoos, 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 Kāmadēva) 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. I (This eulogy) has been engraved by Gōvinda.

No. 36; PLATE XXIII A.

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. 631 ff., where Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,³ 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 Éran⁴ in the Khurāt Sub-Division of the Sāgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the chest of a colossal red-sandstone statue of a Boar, about eleven feet high, representing the god Vishṇu in his incarnation as such, that stands, facing east, in the portico of a ruined temple at the south end of the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village.⁵

The Boar is covered all over with elaborate sculptures, chiefly of Rishis or saints

¹ vaidī; 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.
clinging to its mane and bristles.\footnote{1} 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.—\textbf{The writing}, which covers a space of about \(2'0''\) broad by \(10\frac{4}{5}''\) 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 \textbf{size} of the letters is about \(\frac{3}{8}''\). The \textbf{characters} belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are very similar in type to those of the Ėraṅ 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 \textit{paryanta}, line 5, and, on the other, by \textit{ghūrṇnita}, line 1, \textit{pūrvvāydm}, line 3, and \textit{arthā}, line 7.—The \textbf{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 \textbf{orthography}, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of \(k\), \(t\), and \(d\hbar\), in conjunction with a following \(r\); e.g. in \textit{kkriyān}, line 6; \textit{maitrāyanīya}, line 3; \textit{pauttrasya}, line 4; (but not in \textit{bhrātra}, line 6); and \textit{mahāddhṛaḥ}, line 1.

The \textbf{inscription} refers itself to the reign of \textbf{Tōrāmāna}. 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 \textbf{Dhanyavishṇu}, the younger brother of the deceased \textit{Mahārāja Mātrivishṇu}.

The mention of Mātrivishṇu in this inscription as deceased, is of importance, as shewing that \textit{Tōrāmāna} comes, so far as his possession of Eastern Mālwa is concerned, shortly after \textbf{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.

\textbf{TEXT.}\footnote{2}

\begin{align*}
1 \quad \text{ōn [\textit{I\textsuperscript{I}}\textsuperscript{I}]} & \quad \text{Jayati\textsuperscript{a} dharany-uddharaṇē ghana-ghōn-āghāta-ghūrṇnīta-mahāddhṛaḥ} \\
& \quad \text{dēvo varāhā-mūrttis-trailokya-mahā-griha-stambhāḥ [\textit{I\textsuperscript{I}}]} \quad \text{Varṣē\textsuperscript{b} prathamē prithivim} \\
2 & \quad \text{prithu-kiṛtattau prithu-dystau mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Tōrāmāṅe praśāsati I(\textit{I\textsuperscript{I}})} \\
& \quad \text{Phālguna-divasē\textsuperscript{e} daśamē I ity-ēvarā rājyavarsha-māsa-dinaih [\textit{I\textsuperscript{I\textsuperscript{I}}}] ētasayām} \\
3 & \quad \text{pūrvvaśyām I sva-lakshaṇaṁ-yuktā-pūrvvaśyām I(\textit{I\textsuperscript{I\textsuperscript{I}}}) Sva-karmm-ābhīratasya} \\
& \quad \text{kratu-yājīṁ-dhītā-svādyāyasya vipr-arṣhēr=Maṁittraśanīya-vrīshabhasya=} \\
& \quad \text{Ēndravīṣṇōḥ prapauttrasya I}
\end{align*}

\footnote{1}{I noticed a similar boar, almost entirely buried, by the roadside, about half way between Sāfchī and Udayagiri; but I had no means of raising it to ascertain whether there is any inscription on it.}
\footnote{2}{From the original stone.}
\footnote{3}{Metre, Āryā.}
\footnote{4}{This sentence is in prose, though it commences like a verse in the Āryā metre.}
\footnote{5}{Metre, Āryā.}
\footnote{6}{Supply \textit{tīhan}.}
TRANSLATION.

Om! Victorious is the god (Vishnu), 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 Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious Tôramâna, of great fame (and) of great lustre, is governing the earth;—

(L. 2.)—On the tenth day of (the month) Phâlguna;—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 Dhanyavishnu,—the younger brother, obedient to him (and) accepted with favour by him, of the Mahârâjâ Mâtrivishnu, who has gone to heaven; who was excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vidhâtri, was approached (in marriage-choice) by the goddess of sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing (him) of her own accord (to be her husband); whose fame extended up to the borders of the four 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 Indravishnu, who was attentive to his duties, who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (of the scriptures); who was a Brâhma saint; (and) who was the most excellent (of the followers) of the Maitrâyanîya (sûkha);—who was the son's son of Varuṇavishnu, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (his) father;—(and) who was the son of Harivishnu, who was the counterpart of (his) father in meritorious qualities; (and) was the cause of the advancement of his race;—

1 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
2 This word is followed by a cross-mark, which indicates that tēn-[avara [sa]h-āvidhakta-puṇya-krīyena should have stood here, before dhanyavishnum.
3 Prinsep read nārâyanasya=dīrṇa; and Hall, nārâyaṇasya=dīrṇah. They were led into this by the engraver having run the right stroke of the l in śilā 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 Hiranyâksha.
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 Aihole inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1091 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 97).
6 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,¹ a joint deed of religious merit, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents, this stone temple of the divine (god) Nārāyana, 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 vishaya of Airikina.

(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 Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. p. 267 ff., where Dr. Rajendra Lal 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. Rajendra Lal Mitra's paper on "Vestiges of the kings of Gwálīor," in the Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 391 ff.,—a reduced lithograph was published (id. Plate i. No. 1).

The inscription is on a broken red-sandstone slab, now measuring about 2' 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 Gwálīor (properly Gwálhēr), 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 Tòramàna. The two methods of forming r, in combination with a following consonant, are illustrated, on the one hand, by sauryād, line 3, and, on the other, by chakrō-ṛtti-hartā, 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 upadhmāniya once, in amsubhih-pamkajādām, 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 'Gwálīor' 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 Mātrichēṭa, on the mountain called Gōpa, i.e. the hill on which the fortress of Gwalior stands.1

TEXT. 2

1 [Ōm] [II*] [Ja]yati9 jalada-vāla-dhāvāntam-utsārayan-svaiḥ kirāṇa-nivaha-jālair- vyōma vidyōtalabhiḥ u[daya-gi][r][i]-tat-Agra[m] maṇḍayan4 yasa-tur[m*]gaiḥ chakita-gamana-khēda-bhrānta-charmchat-saṭ-aṇṭaiḥ I(II) Udaya- g[i]r[i].


7 ..... pā[?]dēna [II*] Yē kārayanti bhāṅōṣ-chandr-āmśu-sama-prabham griha-praram bāṣāḥ svagge yāvat-kalpa-kshayō bhavati I Bhaktyā rāvev-vvarichitam sad-dharmma-khyāpanām su-kīrttmatāṃ nāmnā cha Kēśav-ēti-prathitēna cha I7

1 Dr. R. Mitra read the name here (line 6) as Giripa; but quite wrongly.—Other forms of the ancient Sanskrit name of the hill, and of the fortress on it, are (1) Gōpagi; e.g. in line 1 of the Gwalior inscription of Bhājadeva of Vikrama-Saṁvat 933 (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 407); (2) Gōpaḥaldurga, e.g. in an inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1497 on the pedestal of a colossal figure of Adinātha at Gwalior (id. p. 422); (3) Gōpāḍri, and Gopaḍridurga; e.g. in lines 4 and 14 of the Gwalior inscription of Mahāpāla of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1150 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. pp. 36, 37); and (4) Gōpālikēra; in line 2 of a Gwalior inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1161 (id. p. 202).—Dr. Hultsch (id. p. 202, note 5) has pointed out that the last form, Gōpālikēra, seems to be the one that is the immediate source of the modern name Gwalīhēr.

2 Lines 1 to 6, and the last part of line 7, from the original stone; and, the lower part of the stone being now broken off and lost, the rest from Gen. Cunningham's lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's paper in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 391 ff.

3 Metre, Mālinī; and in the next verse.

4 This n was omitted in its proper place, and was then inserted below the line.

5 Metre, Āryā; and in the next nine verses.

6 We require here a verb, supplying the antithesis to (a)bhaṅgō, 'without breaking; unbroken.' But the akṣharas are much damaged by a crack in the stone; and I am unable to supply them.

7 This mark of punctuation appears to have been inserted unnecessarily, to fill up the space at the end of the line.
[Om I] 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; dispelling 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 Töramāṇa; by whom, through (his) heroism that was specially characterised by truthfulness, the earth was governed with justice.

(L. 3.)—Of him, the fame of whose family has risen high, the son (is) he, of unequalled prowess, the lord of the earth, who is renowned under the name of Mihirakula, (and) 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) tithi and nakshatra and mukūrta,—having arrived;—

(L. 5.)—The son's son of Matritula, and the son of Mātridasa, by name Mātrichēta, 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 Gōpa, a stone-temple, the chief among the best of temples, of the Sun, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself, and of those who, by the, of the king, dwell on this best of mountains.

(L. 7.)—Those who cause to be made an excellent house of the Sun, like in lustre to the rays of the moon,—their abode is in heaven, until the destruction of all things!

(L. 7.)—(This) very famous proclamation of the true religion has been composed through devotion to the Sun, by him who is renowned by the name of Kēśava and by ditya.

(L. 8.)—As long as the moon shines on the thicket that is the knot of the braided hair of (the god) Śarva; and as long as the mountain Mēru continues to have (its) slopes

1 Metre, Šārdulavikrājita.
2 See page 162 above, note 6.
3 i.e. in the bright fortnight of the month.
4 i.e. the bright fortnight of the month.
5 i.e. by the Brāhmaṇa.
6 See page 162 above, note 1.
7 i.e. this inscription.
adorned by the feet of the nymphs of heaven; and as long as (the god) Vishnû bears the radiant (goddess) Śrî upon (his) breast which is like a dark-blue cloud;—so long (this) chief of [stone]-temples shall stand upon the delightful summit of the hill!

No. 38; PLATE XXIV.

MALIYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA DHARASENA II.

THE YEAR 252.

This inscription,¹ which was originally brought to notice by me in 1884, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 160 ft., is from some copper-plates that were found at Māliyā,² the chief town of the Māliyā Mahāl or Sub-Division of the Junāgadh State in the Kathiāwār Peninsula in the Bombay Presidency. The original plates are, I understand, in the possession of the Junāgadh Darbâr. I obtained them, for examination, through the kindness of the Diwân, Mr. Haridas Viharidas.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 11½" by 7½". 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 shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—The plates are connected by two rings, passing through holes in the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second. Both of the rings had already been cut, when the grant came under my notice. One of them is a plain copper ring, roughly circular in shape, about 1½" thick and 1¾" in diameter. The other is of the same thickness, but of an irregular oval shape, as is customary with the rings of the Valabhl seals. The ends of it are secured in a seal, the front of which is roughly oval, about 1½" by 2½", and which has, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, a bull, recumbent to the proper right, the usual emblem on the Valabhl seals; and below it, separated by two horizontal lines, the legend Śrī-Bhajakka, for Śrī-Bhajākka, i.e. "the illustrious Bhaṭārka."—The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 1 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, 12½ oz.; total, 3 lbs. 13½ oz.—The size of the letters varies from 3/4" to 1½". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include, e.g. in chāḍa, line 3, khadga, line 10, and ḍomba, line 24, a separate form of the lingual ḍ, as distinct from the dental d, borrowed from the northern alphabet. They furnish a very good specimen of

¹ The inscriptions of this family that have already been discovered, are too numerous to be all included in the present volume; and they will, it is hoped, be some day disposed of by themselves in a separate collection. Meanwhile, the family is concerned so closely in the history of the period with which the present volume deals, that my book would be incomplete without a specimen or two of the Valabhl grants, as an accompaniment to the necessary historical chapter. 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 Dhrūbhāta or Dhruvabhaṭa, as a title of Śilāditya VII.

² The 'Māli and Mālia' of maps, &c.; about twenty-three miles south by west of Junāgadh. It is also called 'Māliyā-Hāṭti,' to distinguish it from another Māliyā, called 'Māliyā-Miāna,' in the north of Kathiāwād.
what may be called the Saurashtra or Kàthiawârd alphabet of the sixth century A.D. They include, in line 36, forms of the numerical symbols for 2, 5, 10, 50, and 200. — The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, the inscription is in prose throughout. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the upadhyâna, once, in pàddâvatâ-râma-prabhû, line 23; and (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvîra, before s, once, in ashtavîsâti, line 25.

The inscription is one of the Mahârâja Dharasena II., of the family of the Kings of Valabhi; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city of Valabhi, the modern Walâ,¹ the chief town of the Walâ State in the Gòhilwâd Prânt or Division of Kàthiawârd. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 571-72); and the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by the Mahârâja Dharasena II., to a Brâhmaṇ, for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites, of some lands at the villages of Antaratrâ, Dombhigrâma, and Vajragrâma.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

1 Öm Svasti Valabhitah prasabha-praṇaḥ-āmitrâṇam Maitrikânatm-ātulabala-sa[m*]panna-mandâlabhôga-samsaktâ-samprahâra-sata-labdha-pratápaḥ
2 pratâp-ôpanata-dâna-mân-ârjiv-ôpârijit-ánurâg-ánurâka-maulabhirita-mitra-śrînl-balavâpa-râjya-śrîḥ paramamâhêsvâraḥ śrî-sênapati-
3 Bhâtarâkka [II*] Tasya sutas-tat-pâda-râjö-run-âvanata-pavitrîkâta-śîrâḥ śîrâ-vanata-satru-chudâmânâ-ârjiv-vichchhurita-pâda-nakha-paṅkty-didhititr-dîl-
4 n-anâthâ-krîpaṇa-jan-ôpâjît-vyamâna-vibhavaḥ paramamâhêsvâraḥ śrî-sênapati-

Dharasenas Tasya-anujas-tat-pâda-prapâma-prasastatara-vimala-


svayam-upahita-râjy-âbhishêkaḥ mahâ-viṣrâpan-âvapûta-râjya-śrîḥ paramamâhêsvârâ mahârâja-Drônasînhâh sinha iva [II*] Tasya-ânujaḥ sva-bhuja-

bala-parakramena para-gâja-gaṭ-ânlkânâm-eka-vijayâ saraṇ-aśînârâm-avâbôddhâ² śastra-ârtha-tattvânâm kalpataru-iva suhît-prâma-

nayânâm yathâbhishîhta-kâma-phał-ôpabhôga-daḥ paramabhâgavataḥ śrî-mahârâja Dhrusinasënas Tasya-anujas-tach-charanâravinda-prapati-prâma-

vidhaut-âśeṣha-kalmashaḥ suviśuddha-bhya (sva-) charit-ôdaka-prakshâlita-sakala-Kalì-kalanâkâh prasabha-nirjiti-râti-paksha-prabhitah-mahimâ


¹ The ‘Vala, Wala, Waleh, and Wulleh,’ of maps, &c.; eighteen miles west by north from Bhâwnagar. Lat. 21° 52 N.; Long. 71° 57 E.
² From the original plates.
³ The Jhar grant of the same Mahârâja (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 187 f.), drawn up from the same standard draft, gives here the fuller and better reading of praśastatara-vimala-maulya-maṇîr.
⁴ Read avâbôddhâ.
11 va samada-para-gaja-ghat-āshphotana-prakāśita-sat[ṭ ]va-nikashaḥ tat[ṭ ]prabhāva-
praṇat-ārati-chuḍāratna-prabhā-samāsakta-sakhya(ya)-pā-
12 da-nakha-raṣmi-samhati[h ] sakala-smriti-pranita-mārgga-samāyak-paripālana-prajā-
hridaya-rañjanād-anvartha-rāja-sabdō rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-
13 gāmbhīrya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ Smara-ṣaśān-ārdri(drī)raj-ōdadhī-tridaśaaguru-
Dhanē[ṣa ]n-atiṣayānā(no) bhaya-pradāna[ṇ]-paratayā tṛīṇa-va-
14 ved-apāst-[ṭ ]śesa-sva-kārya-phalaḥ pādachār-iva sakala-bhuvanamaṇḍal-
abhōga-pramūdōḥ paramamāḥśvāraḥ śrī-mahāra-
15 ja-Guhasēnaḥ [h ] Tasya sutas-tat-pāda-nakha-mayūka-samtaṇa-nirvittā-
Jāhnavi-jal-ō(au)gha-vikshālīt-āśesa-kalmashāḥ praṇayi-śata-
16 sahasr-ōpajīvya-bhōga-sampat rūpa-lōbhād-iv-āśri(śri)tas-sa-rasam-ābhigāmakīr-
guṇai[h ] sahaja-sakti-sikṣā-visēsha-visma-
17 pit-ākhiṇa-dhanurdharaḥ prathama-narapati-samatiṣrīṣṭanām-anupālayita-
dharmiya(rmma)-dāyānam-apākarottā
dharmiyar(rmma)-dāyānam-apākαrrttā
18 praj-ōpajīvhya-kārīṇām-upaplavānāṁ darśayītā śrī-sarasvatyōṛ-ek-ādvīhasasya-
samhat-ārati-

Second Plate.

19 pakṣa-lakṣmi-parikshobhaṇa[ṇ]-daksha-vikramaḥ kram-ōpasamprapta-vimala-
pārththiva-śriḥ paramamāḥśvāraḥ mahāraja-
20 śrī(śri)-Dharasēnaḥ kuśali sarvān-ěv-āyuṭhaka-vinyuṭhaka-drāṅgika-
mahattara-chāta-bhata-dhruvādhikaraniṇa-dāṇḍapāsika-
21 rājahāniya-kumāramāty-ādin-ānyāṁś cha yathā-sambadhyanānkan samā-
jāṭapayaty- Astu vaḥ samviditaṁ yathā mayā mātā-
22 . pitoṅh[ h ] puny-āpyāyanyā-ātmanāḥ-ch-aihik-āmushmika-yathābhilashita-phaḷ-āvāptaye-
Antaratrāyāṁ Śivaka-padrakē Vraśēna-
23 dantika-pratyaḥ-pādavartta-śatam ētasmād-aparataḥ pādavarttāḥ-paṅchadaśa-
tathā aparā-simni Ksambhaśēna-pratyaḥ-pādavartta-śatam viṁś-ādhikam[ h ]
24 pūrvva-simni pādavartta daśa Dombhigrāmē pūrvva-simni Varddhak-
pratyaḥ-pādavartta navati[h ] Vajragrāmē-para-simni grāma-śikhara-
pādavartta-śatam
25 Vi(?)[k(?)] dinna-mahattara-pratyaḥ ashtāviśatī-pādavartta-parisaraḥ vāpī I
Bhumhusa-padrakē kuṭumvi(mbi)-Bōṭaka-pratyaḥ(ya)-pādavartta-śatam
26 vāpī cha 1 etat-s-ōdraṅgaṁ s-ōparikaram sa-vātā-bhūta-dhānya-hirany-
adēyaṁ s-ōtpadyamanā-vishti(shti)kiṁ samasta-₇rājakyānāṁ-a-
27 hasta-prakshēpaṇiyam bhūmichchhidra-nyāyēna Unnatanivāsī(śi)-Vāja-
sanēy(ṭi)Kaṇva-Vatsasagotra-brāhmaṇa-Rudrabhūtayē balī-charu-vaiśva-

1 This t was at first omitted, and was then inserted rather above its proper position.
2 The Jhar grant, mentioned above, gives here the better reading of atisayāṇaḥ saranāgat-abhaavya-

pradānaḥ ; so also in No. 39 below, Plate xxv. line 5.
3 The Jhar grant gives here the better reading of paribhōga ; so also in No. 39 below, line 10.
4 This visarga was forced rather low down by the size of the sthā above it.
5 These ten akṣaras are engraved over something that had been previously engraved.
6 The vowels of these two akṣaras 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 akṣaras properly, and induced him then to leave a blank space before vāpī, at the beginning of
the next line.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 38, PLATE XXIV.

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28 dev-agnihotra-atithi-pamchamanayajnikanam kriyanam samutsarpan-artistham=
   a-candr-arik-arpanavasari-kshiti-sthiti-samatkanam putra-pau-
29 tr-anvaya-bhogayam udaka-sarggena nisrishtam [I*] Yato-syochitayā
   brahmadeya-sthitā bhurjataḥ krishnataḥ karshyataḥ pradiśata vā
30 na kaischit-pratishēdhē varttityavam [I*] [Â*]gāmi-bhadra-nripatibhiṣaḥ=ch=
   Asmad-varṣa-jair=a-nityanyaiśvaryanyā=a-thiram mānushyam sāmānyaṁ
   cha bhūmi-ī.
31 dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhīr-ayam=asmad-dāyō-numantavyaḥ paripālayitavyaś=cha [I*] Yaś=ch=ainam=āchchhīndyaḍ-āchchhīdyamanam v=ānu-
32 mōdēta sa pāmchabhir=mahāpātkaik[*] II* s=ōpapātkaik[*] II* sa[m*]-
   yuktaś-syād-itya=Uktam cha bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna II(I)
33 Shashtimś varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishthati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhēttā
   ch-ānumantā cha I* tānya=eva narakē vasaḥ II Pūrvvya-dattāṁ
34 dvijātibhyō yatnād-raksha Yudhishtīrī II(I) maḥī[m*] mahimataṁ
   śrēṣṭha II* dānāḥ=chhrēyō-nupālanam II Bahubhir=vasuṣundh bhuktā
35 rājabhīs=Sagar-ādībhīs II(I) yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ tasya tasya tadda
   phalam=iti[*] II(II) Likhitamś ś[a*]ndhivigrahika-Skandabhātēna II
36 Sva-hastō mama mahārāja-śrī-Dharasēnasaya II Daḥ Chirbbira[h*] II Sam
   200 50 2 Vaisākhā ba 10 5 [I*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From (the city of) Valabhi:—(There was) the illustrious Śenāpatiī
Bhaṭārka, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—who was possessed of
grace acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled
strength, of the Maṭrakas, who had by force bowed down (their) enemies;[1] (and) who

* and * In each case, the engraver seems to have formed the mark of punctuation by mistake
for a visarga.

3 Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) ; and in the following two verse
4 and * In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
5 Read iti.
6 Supply śāsanam.
7 i.e. ātakaḥ.
8 The proper context is “the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dharasēna, being in good health, issues
a command,” &c., in line 19 ff. The intervening genealogy is by way of a parenthesis.
9 Śenāpati, iti. ‘lord or chief of the army; a general,’ is a technical military title.—The next
grade above this was that of the Mahāśenāpati, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the
Bijayagadh 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 Wallā grant of Ślādītya 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
(Ind. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 244 f.)—“A sentence in the copper-plate, which has not been translated correctly, shows that they” (the rulers of Valabhi) “triumphed over a sun-wor-
shipping people (Maṭrakas),” Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar’s translation (Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 14) was—
“Bhaṭārka, who obtained greatness by a hundred burdens received in the midst of a circle of
friends of matchless might, who with main force had subdued their enemies.” Dr. Bühler’s (td.
Vol. IV. p. 106) was—“Bhaṭārka, who obtained an empire through the matchless power of his friends
who humbled his enemies by main force—who gained glory in a hundred battles fought at close
quarters,” Mr. V. N. Mandlik, following Dr. Bhu Daji, translated (Ind. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.
Vol. XI. p. 346)—“Bhaṭārka, who had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the
acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends, who had been brought under subjection by (his) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (to him) by affection.

(Line 3.)—His son, whose head was purified by being bowed down in the red dust of his feet, (was) the illustrious Sēnāpati Dharasēṇa (I.), a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—the rays of the lines of the nails of whose feet diffused themselves among the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (his) enemies when they bowed down with (their) heads (before him); (and) whose wealth was the sustenance of the poor, the helpless, and the feeble.

(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 Drōnasimha, like unto a lion, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—who had as (his) law the rules and ordinances instituted by Manu and other (sages); who, like (Yudhishthira) the king of justice, adhered to the path of the maintenance of good behaviour; whose installation in the royalty by 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 Dhruvasēṇa (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,1 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 Dharaṇapata, 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 Guhasēna, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—whose sword was verily a second arm (to him) from childhood;2 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 suit-

1 kalpa-tree; one of the trees in Indra's paradise, which granted all desires.
2 Or, perhaps, "who even from childhood carried a sword with his second arm," i.e. "who could wield a sword with both arms at the same time."
able, because he pleased the hearts of (his) subjects by properly preserving the path prescribed by all the traditionary laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and wealth, surpassed (respectively) (the god) Śmara, the moon, (Himālaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Brihaspati) 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 actions, as if they were (of as little value as) straw; (and) who was, as it were, the personified¹ happiness of the circumference of the whole earth.

(L. 15)—His son, whose sins have been all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jāhnavī that was constituted by the diffusion of the rays of the nails of his feet,—whose wealth and riches are the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who is with appreciation, as if from a desire for (his) beauty, resorted to by (all) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind;² 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 to³ the goddess of the fortunes of the compact ranks of (his) enemies; (and) who possesses a spotless princely glory, acquired by inheritance,—(is) the Madhrāja, the illustrious Dharasēna (II), a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, who, being in good health, issues a command to all the Āyuktakas,⁴ Viniyuktakas,⁵ Drāṅgikas,⁶ Mahattaras,⁷ irregular and regular troops, Dhruvādhika-

¹ pāda-chārin, lit. 'moving on feet or legs'; see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's translation of line 7 of the grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 326 (Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 14.)
² The dhāhīgāmikā guṇāk are explained by Kāmandaka in the Nītisāra, iv. vv. 6 to 8 (Calcutta edition, p. 78), as quoted by V. N. Mandlik in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 348, note; they are—good birth, steadfastness in misfortune and prosperity, youth, a good disposition, civility, absence of dilatoriness, speech that is not contradictory, truthfulness, reverence for the aged, gratitude, the state of being favoured by destiny, wisdom, being independent of trifles, capability of subdued hostile neighbouring chiefs, firmness in attachment, far-sightedness, energy, purity, having great aims, modesty, and firm devotion to religion and justice.
³ parikhābha; other grants, drafted from the same form, and also No. 39 below, line 10, give paribhōga, '(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, Āyukta, we may compare the expression āyukta-purusha in line 26 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1, page 8 above.
⁵ Viniyuktaka; compare the use of niyuj, 'to appoint; to commission,' in line 9 of the Junāgadh rock inscription, No. 14 above, page 59; also compare tan-niyuka in line 76 of No. 39 below, Plate xxv.
⁶ Drāṅgika; other forms are drāṅgika (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 205, line 14; where, however, it may be a mistake for drāṅgika), and drāṅgīn (id. Vol. IV. p. 105, line 15). The present form, drāṅgika, occurs again in id. Vol. IV. p. 175, line 6; and, in line 10 of the same grant, we have drāṅga, which is the origin of these terms, in Maṇḍaldraṅga. Dr. Bühlcr, in the places quoted, proposed to render drāṅga by 'township,' and drāṅgika, &c., by 'heads of towns;' and Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives drāṅga as meaning 'a town, a city.'
⁷ Mahattara is the comparative formation of mahat, 'great,' and is given by Monier Williams in the special sense of 'the head or oldest man of a village.'—In other inscriptions we have the superlative formation, Mahattama, used in the same technical way.
ranikas, Dāndapāsikās, Rājasthānīyas, Kumārāmātīyas, 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 bhūmicchhida, to the Brāhmaṇ Rudrabhūti, an inhabitant of Unnata, (a student) of the Vājasaneyi-Kaṅva (śākha), and a member of the Vatsa gōtra,—for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites of the bali, charu, vāivadēma, agnihōtra, 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 Śivakapadāraka, one hundred pāḍavartas (of land), (known as) the holding of Vrasenadantika; (and) fifteen pāḍavartas on the west of this; also, in the western boundary, one hundred pāḍavartas, increased by the twentieth, (known as) the holding of Skambhasena, (and) ten pāḍavartas in the eastern boundary;—in the village of Dombhigrāma, in the eastern boundary, ninety pāḍavartas, (known as) the holding of Vardhaki;—in the village of Vajragrāma, in the western boundary, one hundred pāḍavartas in the highest part of the village; (and) an irrigation-well with an area of twenty-eight pāḍavartas, (known as) the holding of the Mahattara Vikidinna; (and) in the common-land called Bhumbhasapadāraka, one hundred pāḍavartas, (known as) the holding of the cultivator Bōtaka, and an irrigation-well;—(the whole of) this (being given) together with the udraṅga and the uparikara; with the vāta, bhūta, grain, gold, and ādēya; with (the right to) forced labour as the occasion for

1 Dhruvadikarānasīka; one who has the superintendence of the Dhrusas. —Dhrus is explained by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 205) as being still used in Kāthiawād and Kachch to denote “a person, who, on the part of a Rūja, superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue.”

2 Dāndapāsikā, or dāndapāsikā, is explained by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning ‘one who holds the fetters or noose of punishment; a policeman.”

3 pādāraka seems to be a fuller form of pādra, 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 pādar, ‘a grazing-place.’ I do not know what authority he has for this meaning. But, in H. H. Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms, pādar (i.e. pādar) is explained by 'common-land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated.' And this seems more likely to be the correct meaning.

4 pāḍavarta, 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 pāḍavartas’ 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 prayya; in other passages, the form prayya occurs.

6 i.e. ‘one hundred and twenty pāḍavartas.”

7 sikhara; 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 vādāna in line 14 f. of No. 31 above, page 137.—bhūta is the past participle of bhūt, ‘to be, to become;’ but no suitable meaning suggests itself.—ādēya seems to mean either ‘that which is to be given,’ from ād in composition with dā, ‘to give,’ or ‘that which is to be cut, reaped, or mown,’ from ād with dā. But it is possible that, instead of the prefix ā, we have the negative particle a, and that the word means ‘that which is not to be given.'
it occurs; (and with the privilege that it is) not to be (even) pointed at with the hand (of undue appropriation) by any of the king’s people.¹

(L. 29.)—“Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (it) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brāhmaṇa, (and) cultivating (it), (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 Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—
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 Yudhishṭhira, 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!)

(L. 35.)—(This charter) has been written by the Sāmdhivigrāhika Skandabhaṭa. (This is) the sign-manual² of me, the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dharasēṇa. The Dātaka (is) Chirbhara. The year 200 (and) 50 (and) 2; (the month) Vaishākha; the dark tortnights; (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

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No. 39; PLATE XXV.

ALINA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SILADITYA VII.

THE YEAR 447.

This inscription was discovered by Mr. Harivallabh, Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector, Kaira and Broach; and was first brought to notice in 1878, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 79 ff., where Dr. Bühler published his reading of the text, with remarks. It is on some copper-plates that were found either at, or in the neighbourhood of, Alinā or Alinâ, a village about fourteen miles north-east of Nadiā,³ the chief town of the Nadiā Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Kaira (Khēḍā) District in Gujarāt in the Bombay Presidency.

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¹ saṃasta-rājaḥyāndām-a-hasta-prasakhyānitya. This is the customary expression in the Valabhī grants. From the south, we have (1) the almost identical expression rājaḥyāndām-an-anguli-prakshanitya, e.g. in line 45 of the Goa grant of Shashthradēva II. of Kaliyuga-Saṅvat 4348, (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 291); and (2) the variant rāja-rājapurushair-apy-an-anguli-nirdēya, in line 61 of the Paṭāhan grant of Rāmachandra of Saṅka Saṅvat 1193 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 317).

² sva-hasta: lit. ‘the own hand.’—Occasionally an actual representation of a sign-manual is given: e.g. at the end of the grant of Siladitya VII., No. 39 below, Plate xxv., and at the end of the Bhūda grant of Dhruda II. of Saṅka Saṅvat 757 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 198 ff. and Plate).

³ The ‘Nadiād, Nariād, and Neria’ of maps, &c.
When they first came to light, they had been lying for some time in a merchant’s shop at Aliná. 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’ 1½”, and the second, which is rather irregular in shape, about 1’ 3½” by 1’ 0¾”. The edges of them were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. The surfaces of the plates, however, have suffered very much from corrosion; and in some places the letters, though not destroyed, are so choked up with a hard deposit of rust, which I found it impossible to remove, that they fail to appear in the lithograph. But the inscription is for the most part legible enough on the original plates; the only part that has really suffered being at the top, especially towards the right corner, of the second plate. The plates are thick, and very substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show 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 show, 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 ⅛”. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are a later development of the type of those of the preceding grant of the Mahárája Dhráraśena II. of the year 252, No. 35 above, page 164, and Plate xxiv., and illustrate what may be called the Sauráshtra or Káthiyávád 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 chádá, line 4; also the rather rare lingual dh in udádá, line 11, and samuppádha, 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 anusvára, before s, in vaná, lines 45 and 62, and nistriññá, line 51; (2) the use of singha for simha, in line 56; (3) the use, once, of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvára, before s, in ansa, line 11; (4) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, once, in viñkrama, line 11; and once in conjunction with a following ri, a very exceptional occurrence, in prákrama, line 26-27; and (5) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following c, in anuddháya, lines 10, 14, 19, 23, 50, 53, 54-55, and 58.

The inscription is one of Śiládityá VII., who also had the title of Dhrúbhaṭa, i.e. Dhrúvabhaṭa,1 of the family of the Kings of Valabbi; and the charter recorded

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1 As pointed out by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 86), Dhrúvabhaṭa 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 Dhráṣṭas was no doubt at that time, just as now, the vernacular Gujarati form of Dhrúva, especially in its meaning, in Káthiyávád and Kachch (Ind. Vol. V. p. 205), as a technical official title denoting “persons who, on the part of the Rája, 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 Rája, or a farmer) “does not collect more than his proper share.”
in it is issued from his camp at the town of Anandapura. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year four hundred and forty-seven (A.D. 766-67), on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyeshtha (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by Śilāditya VII, himself, to a Brāhmaṇa, for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and other rites, of the village of Mahilabali or Mahilābali in the Uppalāheta pathaka in the Khētaka dhāra.

Of the places mentioned in this grant, Khētaka is of course the modern Khedā or Kaira itself. Uppalāheta is evidently the modern Upleṭ or Uplēṭa, in the Ṭhāsra Tālukā, about thirty-five miles almost due east of Kaira. And Anandapura must be the modern Anand, the chief town of the Anand Tālukā, about twenty-one miles southeast of Kaira.

TEXT.

First Plate.


1 pathaka is a technical territorial term, a suitable translation for which has not yet been determined. It is evidently connected with pathin, patha, 'a path, a road.'

2 dhāra is another technical territorial term, a suitable rendering of which has not yet been determined. In line 25 f. of the Allā grant of Dharasena II. of the year 279 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII p. 72), we have the expression Khētak-dhāra-vishayā; which seems to show that the term dhāra is synonymous with vishaya. There is another term, dharaṇī, which is evidently a synonym of dhāra, since the Hastavapra dharaṇī is mentioned in line 21 of the Walā grant of Dharasena II. of the year 269 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 12); while the Hastavapra dhāra is spoken of in a grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 326 (id. Vol. I. p. 45).

3 Lat. 22° 44' N.; Long. 72° 44' E.

4 From the original plates.

5 Read skandhāvārē. In mād, the engraver first formed dhā, and then corrected it into mādā.

6 Read ānurāg-ānurakta.

7 Read bhrīta.

8 Read māhēśvara.

9 Read śreṇī.

10 Read mārgga.

11 Read praddāna.

12 Read apāst.
7 māheśvaraḥ śri-Guhasēnaḥ [II*] Tasya sutaḥ tat-pāda-nakaḥ-[mayukha*]. samāna-visīrija(ta)-lāhnavi-jal-augha-prakshālit-āśeṣha-kalmashāḥ pranayi-sāta-sa-
8 hasr-ōpajīvya māna-sampad-rūpa-lōhbhād-[inv-dā]śri(śri)tāḥ sarabhā(bha) sam-ābbhi-gāmikaiḥ guṇaiḥ sahaja-saktiḥ-īśkṣa-viśeṣha-vismāpita-ladbha*-dhanur-dharaḥ pratham-[na]-
9 rapati-samatisrīthānām-anupālayitā dharmma[daya]nam-api(pā)karttā praṇ-opapaghatā-kāriṇāṃ upaplaṃvānāṃ samayitā śri-sarasvatyōr-ēk-ādhivāsasya sahōpapati*-pa-
10 ksha-lakṣhmi-paribhōga-dakṣha-vikkramāḥ vikram-ōpama-saṃp[r]āptā*-vimala-pārthīvī-sṛḥ paramamāheśvaraḥ śri-Dhārasēnaḥ [II*] Tasya sutaḥ tat-pāda-ānuddhyātāḥ sakala-jagad-ānanda-ātyā(t)yadbh-
12 bhag-ādhigama-vimāla-matir-api sarvvaḥāḥ subhāṣhita-lavēn-api svṛ-ōpapādanīya-par[i*]tōshāḥ samagra-lōk-āgadhā-gāmbhīrīya-hridayō-pi savya(chcha)rit-ātīṣaya-suvyakta-parama-
14 p[apa]ramam[ā*]h[e*]śvārah gri(śri)-G[śi]lādityah [II*] Tasya sutaḥ* tat-pāda-ānuddhyātāḥ svayav(m)-Upendrā-guruṇ-ēpa(va) guruḥ* guruṇ-ātyādaravatāḥ samabhīlashāṇyānām*[api] rāja-lakṣhmi[m]*
15 skandh-āsakt[ān] parama-bhadrānām* dhu[*]yyas-tad-āj[i*]jāsa-[m]pādan-ē(a)ka-rasatay-ōdvāhana khēda-sukharaṭibhyāṃ anayāsita-[sattva*]-
saripatti[h*] prabha-vā-s(a)mnad-v(a)śikrita-nripati-saṭa-sīro
data
16 ratn[tna]-vāna(chchhā)ya-ōpagūta(dha)-pādapātho-pi param-āvajñān. Aḥhimāna-sahas-ānali[mng*]jita-manavīrtiḥ pranapratīkā paaurush-ābhīmauair-ā(a)py-ā(a) rātibhir-anāsā[di]-
17 ta-prakṛtayō-ōpāyāḥ krita-nikhi*[i*]la-bhuvan-āmā(m)da-vimala-gup-sa[m]hātiḥ prasabha-vighaṭṭa-sakala-Kalī-vaḷas[t[i]*]ta-gatir-mattra* jan-ābhidrō[r][o]hibhir-āśashaiḥ dōshair-anāmṛi

1 Read śakti.
2 Read vismāpita-sarvva, or vismāpit-ākhila.
3 Here, and after samayitā in this line, and in other places, there follows a mark which may perhaps be intended for a mark of punctuation. It is the same as the anusvāra (except that it is not in the proper place for the anusvāra), or half a visarga.
4 Read darśayitā.
5 Read vismāpita-sarvva, or vismāpit-ākhila.
6 Read samahat-ārāti.
7 Read samudaya.
8 Read sukḥ.
9 Read nirūḍho.
10 Read dharmmaditya.
11 This visarga is imperfect, only the lower part being engraved.
12 Read taśya-anujāh; on the authority of line 15-16 of the next grant of certain date after this generation; that of Dhruvasēna II. of the year 310 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 14); and of later grants also (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 149, line 17, and Vol. VII. p. 74, line 18.)
13 Omit this word.
14 Read samabhīlachāṇyām.
15 Read paramabhādra iva.
16 Read vāsūhan.
17 Read parदvāja.
18 Read ras.
19 Read pranatim=ēkām.
20 Read pratīkriyā
21 Read mnicha.
22 Read āśsaiḥ.
18 [sht-Ā]*tyuttana-hriday[ā]* prakhyāta-paurushaḥ śāstra-kōṭaḷ-ātiśay[ā]*
gūṇa[2] - ganapatīthā - vipakṣha - kshiti-pati - lakṣhmi - svayāṁsvayam'grāhē(ha) -

dhigamaḥ[4] ya(pa)ramam[ā]*hēśvarāḥ śrī-Kharagrahāḥ [I]* Tasya sutaḥ
tat-pād[ā]*nuddhyātaḥ sa[r]*vva-vi[r]*dy-ādhigamaḥ-pahita[2]nikhila-viḍvaj-
ājana-manaḥ-paritōshit[ā]-ātisah[ā]*ya[h]* sat[t]*va-

20 sa[m]*pat-tyāgaḥ sauryēṇa cha vigat-ānusa[m]*dhāna-samahāt-ārāti-
paksha-manoratha-rathāksha-bhāmgaḥ samyag-upalakṣhit-ānēka-śāstra-kalā-
lōkacharita-gahvare-vi-

21 bhāg-or para-bhadrā-prā[pra]kritir-akriti(tri)ma-praśrayō-pi vibha(na)ya-
śo bhā-vibhūsanah[ā] samara-śata-jayapatāk-āharaṇa-pratyay-ōdagra-bāhu-daṇḍa-
viḍvhamsi-pa[tipa]kṣha-

darpp-ōdayah svā-dhanu[h]*-prā[pra]bhāva-[pari]*bhūt-āstrakauśal-abhiṣmā-
sakala-nripati-maṇḍ[i]*bhūt[ā]*nām[na] h para[m][ma]hēśvarah
gri[śrī]-Dharasā[śe]nah [I]* Tasya-ānuih ta[t]-p[ād-anu]-

23 ddhyātaḥ saccarit-[ā]*tiru[śa]*yita-sakala-pū[ṛ]*vva-narapatīh
dus-sādhanā[n]*m-āpi prasāhityā viṣhāy[ā]*nām mū[r]*tt[i]m[a]*n-iva
purushakāraḥ parivṛddha-gu[n-ā]narūga-[ni]rūba-

24 ra-chitta-vrittih[hi]* Manur-iva svā(sva)yaṃ-abhyupapanaḥ prakritibhis-
avi(dhi)gata-kalā-kalāpa[h]* kānti-tirakṣita-saṭlāchanaḥ-kumudā(da)-
nātha[h]* prājya-pratāpa-sthagita-dig[n]tarāla[h]

25 pradhvarṣita-dhvatā-raśiḥ satat-ōdita-savitā prakritibhya[h]* para[m]* pratyayam araθ̄havanam ati[pa]ha<h>tuḥthā - pravyoḥ-ānubhām[ha]mam⁴⁰[=][a]*gama-
paribhū(pū)ṛṇa[m]* vidadhāma[na] h sandhi-vigraha-

26 samāsā-niṣcaya-nipuṇa[h]* sthānam-anupadēsaṁ dadaṃtaṁ¹¹ guna-vriddhi-
rajaṇinī[²⁴]*sa[m]*sk[a]*ra-sādhūnāṁ rājya-Śālātu[r]lya-tanrayōr-ubhayōr-āpi
nishṇātah prakṛ-

27 ti-vikramō-pi karunā-mīdu-hridayāyaḥ śrutavān-apy-i(a)-garv[ī*ta]ḥ kāntō-pi
prasami(mi) śi(sth)ra-sau[h][ā]*ṛddō-pi nirasita dōshadōsha[vat][u-daya-samupajan]-

28 ta-jan-ānuraṇa-parivṛṣi[m]*hita-bhvavana-samarththa-prathitha-bālādityi(tya)-dviṭi-
ṇam[ā]* paraṇamahagvana⁴⁴ gri[śrī]-Dharasanah [I]* Tasya sutaḥ
tat-pādadēla⁴⁶-pranā-

śubhāva eva śravāṇa-niḥita-mauktik-ālānkāra-vibhram-āmala-śruta-viṣō(śe)-
sha[h]* pradāna-sa-

¹ Read kauśal.
² Omit this word.
³ Omit this second svayam.
⁴ Read prathama.
⁵ This visarga is imperfect, only the upper part being engraved.
⁶ Read ādhigama-viḥita.
⁷ Read pariṭōsh.
⁸ Read vibhūthanah.
⁹ Read salāḥchhana.
¹⁰ Read ānubhāmham.
¹¹ Read sthān-ānurāpam=ādēṣam dadatām.
¹² Read vidhāna-jaṇita.
¹³ Omit this second dōsha.
¹⁴ Read mākāvaya.
¹⁵ Read dhruvasēnā, on the authority of line 9-10 of his own grant of the year 310 (Ind. Ant.
Vol. VI. p. 15), and of subsequent inscriptions.
¹⁶ Read pādakamala.
lila-kshālit-āgrahastāravindah Vyāṣaḥ iva mridu-kara-grahanaḥ-āmandākrit-
ānanda-vidhiḥ vasum[ṁ]*dharayaḥ rā(kā)murmūrā(ka)-dhanuvva[e*]da iva
sabhāvināsapra[ḥ*]-lakshya-kalāpa[h*] pra-

nata - samasta - sāmantā - maṇḍal - āpamōnirbhrīta - chūḍāmanāniriyamana[a] - sāsanaḥ
parama[māhe*]śvarah paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahār[a*]jāḍhirāja-param[a*]śvara-
chakravartti-śrī-śrī Dha-

rasēnah [ii*] Tat-pitāmaha-bhrātri-śrī-Silādityasya Vā(sā)rāgāpānēr-[iv=]
āgrajanmanō bhakti-bandhur-āvyava-[kalpita-praṇatē]-rati-dhavalaya tat-
pāḍārvinda-prapri(vṛ)ittyāy charaṇa-nakha-maṇī-

[ru]chā Mandākīny-ēva nityā(tya)m-amalit-ōttamāṁvha(ga)gēsasy-Aava(ga)-
stasyā-[e*]va rājakcho(rshē)h d[a*]kshīnyam-anatanvānasya prabala-
dhavalīṃvon(mnā) yaga(sā)sāṁ valay[e*]na ma-

[ōḍita]-kakubhā navayāṭharalitāśeśāḥkgadhagaparivama[māṇḍalasya] payē(yo)da-
śyāma-sīkhara-chuchura-kachi-sama-vinya斯塔-stana[Yugāyāh kshīt[e*]
paty[u*]ḥ śrī-[Dērāhabha]-

sy-āgrajah[ḥ kshiti[pa*]-sa[rn]hatēn charu vībhāgasya[10] gu(śu)chir=yyagō-
krita-par[f*]gra[ḥa[h sauryam=apraṭiha]-

śaṇḍa prasabham-[a*]krishta-sīlmuṭkha-pā(ḥa)ṇaś-apādita-praśadha[naṇāṁ]
para-bhuvāṁ vidhivad-ācharita-kara-grahanāḥ pūrvvam=[e*]va vividha-varṇ(ra)-
ōj[ī*]valēṇa gṛu[ṣru]-tātiśay[e*]ṁ=ō[dbḥa]ṣita-śravaṇa-yugalāḥ puna[h-punara-
uktēn-ēva raṇā]-

[la]ni[k]ārēn-āalaṅkrita-grōtrā[14] parispurat-kā(ka)ṭaka-viṅkaṭa-kiṭa-pakṣa-ratnam-
kiṇapam-ipachchhinna[16]-prādāna-sālīa-nīvakānivasē[ka18]-vīlasan-nava-saṅval-ān-

kuram-ap[19]-āgrapāṇım-udvāha[n*] dhriṭa-viso[a*]ra-ratna-pa(va)laya-jaladhi-vēl[a*]-
tātāyam[a*]na-bhuja-parishvaṃ-vaśvam[bha]raḥ, paramam[a*]hēśvarah śrī-

Dhruvasēnas=Tasya-āgra-

Read kanyāyā.
Read samāhāvita-sthāna.
Read maṇḍal-ōttamāṅga-dhriṭa-chūḍāmaniriyamanā.

* In line 39 of the grant of Dharasēna IV, himself, of the year 326, Āṣādhya śukla 10, the reading is chakravarttī śrī-ajjaka-pāḍ-āṇudhyātāḥ śrī (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 79, and Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 16); also in the grant of the same year, Māṇḍa bahula 5, of which we have only the translation of the second plate (Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 45). In all the subsequent grants, the epithet śrī-ajjaka-pāḍ-āṇudhyātāḥ was, for some reason or other, omitted, as here; even in his own grants of the year 330 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 75, line 41, and Vol. XV. p. 340, line 40).

Read āuyājanmanō, in accordance with line 29 of the next available grant of the generation after this, that of Kharagrahāra II, the year of the year 337 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 78).

Read ādvānaṣya.
Read nabhāsi yāminīpatēr=vvirachit-ākhaṇḍa-parāvēṣhā.
Read chūḍākura-ruchira-sākṣya-vindhyāna-tana.
Read āuyājaḥ, on the authority of line 32 of the grant of Kharagrahāra II, quoted, note 5 and of most of the subsequent grants.
Read samhātēr=anurāgīyaḥ.
Read apratikata-vyāpāram=ānamita.
Read iv=ālambamāṇāh.
Read avichchhinna.
Read nivāh-āvasēkā.
Read iv.
Second Plate.

40 [j'1=para]-ma[hpa]ti-sparddha(rša)-dōsha-nāga(śa)na-dh[i]y-[e]va lakṣhmīyā
svayam-ātispaṣṭha-chēṣṭam-āśīṃcāṅgavā[š]īr-atiruchiratara-charita-garima-
parikalita-sakala-na[rpa[t]ir-ati-
41 prakrīṣṭh - ānūrāga - [sa*]rabhasa - vaśikrita - prāṇata - samasta - sāmanda - chakra-
chūḍāmāṇi-mayākha-[khāchita-charaṇaka-mala-yugalaḥ] prōddām-[ōdāra]-
dō[ṛdanda]-da-lita-dvishad-va-
42 rgga-darrpah prasarpatt-pāṭyah-pratāpa-ślōhit-āśēṣha-satu-v[a[rn]*]śah prāṇa-
paksha-n[i]kṣipta-lakṣhmikāh prērita-gad-ōṭkṣhi[pt]a-su[darśana-chakra]h
parihrita-
43 [bāla-kṛ]dō-anādha[ṃ]krīṭa-dvījātir-ēka-vikrama - prasāṅghita - dharitrītalō [nam]gīkṛita-
 jalāṣay[ś]ō-pūrva-purushōtta[m]ah [sākṣhād-dharmma iva samyag-
vyā]vasthā-
44 pita-vāṃś-āśram-āchāraḥ pūrvvair-apy-urvvī(ṛvvi)pratibhiḥ trīṣṇā-lava-ludhāḥ
pra-
45 [sa]ra-mut-sa[ṇka]lā[n-ānu]mōdanābhyām parimudita-trī(tri)bhuvaḥ-abhinandit-
d[e]va-dvīj-gurō[n-pratipōjya yathārha[m]ān-anarata-
pravarttita - mah - ōdraṅg - [ā]di - dāna - vyavasān - āṇupajātā* - saṁtōṣh - ṭpāṭt - ōdāra-
kṛttih-[param]parā-[danturita-ni[khi]la-dikchakrva[lah]
]spashtam-[ēva
ya]th-ārthta[m]ān] Dharmaṁdaityi(tya)-
47 [dvi]ṭya-nāmā para[m*a]mahēśvaraḥ sīri-[Kharag]raḥah [hn] Tasya-āgra-
janmanah* cumuda-saṇḍha-śrī-[vīkāsīn]ā kalavatasaḥ-chandrikay-ēva kṛttya
 dhavalita-sa[kala]kala-digamaṇa-
48 lasya khamādi-āguru-[vī]lepāna-vidā*-sāyān-Vindhya-[śai]la-vipula-payōdharayaḥ
49 pratidina-sanvarddhāmaṇa-hridaya*-kalā-chandra(kra)vālaḥ [kēsar]ndra-[s]iṣur-īva
rāja-lakṣhmim śakala*-vana[sthalim-i]y-ālaṁkurvyvāṇaḥ [sīkha]ndikētana
iva ruchi[mach-chūḍā]-ma[ṇḍanaḥ]
50 prachanda-śakti-prabhāvaḥ-cha sarad-āgama iva* dvishatāṃ parama-

1 It is rather peculiar that the elder brother should be mentioned after the younger. The reading, ṛgrajō, however, is the same in line 37 of Kharagrāha's own grant of the year 337 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 78), 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 vyaṇasthān-ōpajāta, or vyaṇasāyī-ōpajāta.

* Here we have another instance of the elder brother being mentioned after the younger (see note 4 above). But, except that agrajāḥ is written by mistake for agrajanmanah, the reading is the same in line 47 of the next grant after this generation, that of Śīlaḍitya III. of the year 352, the son of Śīlaḍitya II. who is now under notice (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 308); and this seems to put the correctness of it beyond doubt. Also, the same reading that we have here, agrajanmanah, is repeated in all the later grants.

* Read pīṇḍa.

* Read lakṣhmim=achala.

* Omit this word hridaya.

* A considerable amount of matter is omitted here. The full passage should run — sarad-āgama iva pratāpavān=ullasat-padmah samyugē vidalavān=ambhodharān iva para-gajān=udaya-
tapanā-bālinta iva samgrāmēśhu mushyān=abhimukhānām=āyamshi dvishatām.
māheśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śri-bappaḥ-pād-
ānuddhyātaḥ paramabhaṭ[t]āraka-[mahārāj]-

51 jādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ śrī-Śālādityaśēvas[Tasya] sutaḥ pāramaiśvāryya[h*]
kop-ākrishṭa-nistri(stri)ṃśa-pāta-vidalit-arāti-kari-kumbhasthal -ōllasat-pra[śrita-
ma]hā-pratāp-anālaḥ pra[kāra]-

52 [parīgata*-]jagamanḍalā-labdhā-stihitī vikaṭa-nīja-dordandā-vālamābina sakal-
bhuvan-ābbhoga-bhājī month-āspālana-vidhu[ta-dugdhasi]ndhu-phē[na-piṇḍa-
pā]ṇīdura-yaśō-vītā[nēna]

53 vihit-ātapatraḥ parama[māhe*]svarah paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajājādhirāja-
paramēśvara-śri-bappa-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajājādh-
irāja-paramēśvara-śri-[bappa]-pād-

55 nuddhyātaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śri-Śālāditya-
śēva[h]*] Tasy-ātmajaḥ praśamita-ri(?)-pu(?)-bala-darppaḥ vipula-jaya-
mangal-āśrayaḥ śri-samālin[gana-lāli]ta-

56 vakhā[h*] sam[u*]pōḍha-nārasingha-vigrah-orjiti-ō[d*]dhura-saktih samuddhā-
(ddha)ta-vipaksha-bhūbhart-krita-nikhila-gōmaṇḍala-rakshaḥ purush-ōttama[h*]
pranatanabhuṭa*-pārthiva-kirita-

paramamāheśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śri-bappa-

58 [d-ā]nuddhyātaḥ paramabhaṭṭārāṃ-mahāraladhirāja*-paramēśvara-śri-Śālāditya-
śēva[Śālādityaśēva] Tasy*-ātmajaḥ prathita-dussaha-vṛṣya-
chakrō lakshmy-āla[y]*

59 [nara]ka-nāsā-krita-prayatnaḥ prithvī-samuddharana-kārya-krit-āika-nishtaḥ
sampūrṇa-chandra-kara-ni[r*]mnalalā-jāta-kritthī[Śālādityaśēva] Jhāṭā-[tra]y[y]*-[g]un-
mayō jita-vai[r]i-pakshaḥ sampa[nna]-

60 [−]ma[?]-sukhaḥ sukha-dāḥ sad-aiva [jān-ālaya[h*] sakala-vandita-lōkāpaḷo
vidyādharaṅ-anugataḥ prathitaḥ pri(pri)thivyāṁ [Śālādityaśēva] Ratn-ō[j*]valō
vara-tanu-

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1 Read bōha, in accordance with line 46 of the grant of the next generation after this, that of Śālāditya IV. of the year 372 (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 212; and Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III.
p. 99); with lines 45 and 46 of the two grants of Śālāditya V. of the year 403 (Journ. Bo. Br. R. As.
Soc. Vol. XI. p. 343; 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 Śālāditya 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 Śālā-
ditya III. himself of the year 352 (Id. Vol. XI. p. 309), the whole passage between paramamāheśvaraḥ
and śrī-Śālādityaśēvaḥ, including both the reference to bōva and his own regal titles, is omitted.

2 Several words are omitted before this. The full reading is tasya sutō=para-prithvī-
nirmanānyavasasya-śālādita-para-maiśvāryyah

3 Read chūdamani-mayukha.
4 Read pranaṭa-prabhūta.
5 Read āśoṣha.
6 Read paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārajājādhirāja.
7 This epithet is repeated unnecessarily, as we have already had it in the preceding line.
8 Metre, Vasantarālaka; and in the following three verses.
61 [r-ggu]na-ratna-rāśīh aiśvarya-vikrama-guṇāhīh paramair-upētaḥ sat[t*]l-
āpākara-karanē satatam pravṛttatāḥ s[a*]kṣāj-[j*]anārddanā(ṇa) iv-
ārddita-duṣṭa-darpāh [II*]
62 Yuddhāh[1] sakrid-gā(ṇa)a-ghata-ghataṇ-aiyak-dakṣāh puny-ālayō jagati īti-
mahā-pratāpāh rājadhirāja-param[e*]śvara-vānśa-jamnā śrī-Dhruvāhātō
ejyati jā-
63 ta-mahā-pramōdāṃ[2] [Sa ca*] paramēśvārah[3] paramabhāttāraka-mahārājā-
dhirāja-parameśvārāḥ-śrī-pa(ṇa)ppa-pa(ṇp)-ānudhyātāḥ para(rā) mahābhātāra-
na-(ka)-mahārājā-
64 dhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Silādityādēvāh sarvām-eva samājāpayati=Astu
vah sansvidita[m*] yathā mayā m[a*]tāpitṛor-ātmanaṣ-cha punya-yāsō-
bhūri-
65 ddhayē ahiṁ-āmushmika-phal-āvāpy-arthaṁ śrīmad-Anandapuraṁ vāstavya-
tachchhāturtvīdyasāmānaya-S[a*]kkarākṣhisa-gōśra (tra)-bhrvichasabrahmachārī-
66 bhaṭṭ-Ākhaṇḍalamintrāyaḥ[4] bhaṭṭa-Vibhu-putrāya bali-charu-vaiśvada-dev-
Uppalabhētā-
67 pathakē Mahīṭa(ḥa)bāli-n[a*]ma-grāmāḥ s-ōdraṅga[h*] s-[ō*]parikā(ka)raḥ
s-ōtpadā(ṇa) dānā-maṇa-viṣṭhikāḥ sa-bhūta-pā(ṇa)ta-pratyādōyah[6]
 s-daś-
apārādhāḥ sa-
68 bhūga-bhāgāḥ sa-dhānā-ḥiṃrāṇy-ād[e*]yāḥ sarvva-rājaktyānāh a-hasta-
chchhīdrā-nāy[e*]n-ā-chan[dr]ā-[r*]kk-a-
69 rūnava-kshiṭi-parvavata-samakālīnāḥ putra-pauṭr-ānvaya-bhūgya uday(k)-
atisarggeṇa brahmādāvṛtvēṇa pratipādītaḥ [I*] yatō-hṛty(sy)-ōchitayā
brahmadā[ya-stīh]-
70 tyā bhūmijataḥ kṛṣhataḥ karśāpayaḥ pratidiṣatō vā na kaiśchid=
vāyāsēdhē varttityāya[m*] II Āgāmi-bhādra-nṛ(ṇi)patībhīḥ a-
71 smād-varmāṣa-jair-anyair-va-ā-nītyānityāṇy[9]-aiśvaryaṇy-a-sthira[m*]
mānuyā-
(shya)kāṁ sāmānyāṁ cha bhūmi-dānanāṁ phalam avagachchhābdhīḥ
ayam a-
72 smād-dāyō-numantvayyāḥ pālayitavyaṣ-cha [II*] Uktāṇ-cha pē(ve)-da-
cagar-ādhibhīh

[10] Read dhāra.
[11] The engraver first formed apparently gyā, and then corrected it into ०ड.

Z 2
73 yasya yasya yaddha bhūmis-tasya tasya taddha phala[n^*] 1(II) Yān=ūha dattānī purā nna(na)rēndraḥ dhanānī dharmmāyatanakriyā[ī] niṃmālya-vāntah².
74 prati[mā]ni tāni kē(kō) nāma [sā*]dhu[h*] pratir-ādāditaḥ² [II*] Shashṭi-varva(rsha)-sahasrāṇi sva[r*]gg[ē*] tīsthati bhu(bhu)mi-dāh a(ā)chchhēttā ch-ānumānt[ā*] chchā(chā) tān-yav eva nara-
75 [kē va]sēt II Bhushv-ātavishv⁴-a-tē(tō)yāsu sushu-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ krishn-[ā*]hay] hi jāyantō(nte) bhūmi-d[ā*]yam haranti y[ē*] II Dutasēstra maṃḥaprathā-
76 [ra]... h[ā*]kshapatālīka-tra-rājakula⁵-srī-Siddhasēṇa[h*] gri(sṛ)-Śarvata-
77 tya-G[u]hēna Hemaṭa-putṛṇa likhitam⁶-iti II Saṃva[t]sara-śata-
78 ta[k*] sava⁷ 400 40 7 Śre(jyē)śhēha gu(śu) 5 [II*] Sva-hastō

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From the victorious camp located at the famous town of Ānandapura⁵—In an unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Bhatārka,—who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who had by force bowed down (their) enemies; (and) who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants, who had been brought under subjection by (his) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (to him) by affection,—(there was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Guhasēṇa,—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;¹⁰ the test

¹ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upendraṇavajrā.
² Read dyatanākṛitiṇi.
³ Read vānta.
⁴ Read punar-ādādita.
⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anuśṭubh); and in the following verse.
⁶ Read vindhy-ātavishv.
⁷ Read ṣuṣhka.
⁸ Read dūtakū.
⁹ Two very doubtful aksharas, or perhaps three, are engraved here. Dr. Bühler read them as śrī-
¹⁰ Read patalika-rājakula. The tra is meaningless; and it is not easy to see how it came to be
introduced.
¹¹ Supply śāsanum.
¹² Read jyēśhētha.
¹³ Read samvōt.
¹⁴ 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.
¹⁵ The proper context is in line 64,—"The glorious Śīlādityadēva (VII.) issues a command to all
people."
¹⁶ See page 168 above, note 2.
Alina Plates of Siladitya VII.—The Year 447
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, (Brihaspati) 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 Dharasēṇa (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) habituation of wealth and learning; whose prowess was skillful 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 Śilādītya (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 Kharagraha (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

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1 See page 169 above, note 3.
2 i.e. the commands of Śilādītya I.
3 See page 177 above, note 1.
of respect (for him), (behaved) as if he were (the god Indra) the elder (brother) of Upêndra,¹ 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 embued with the sentiment of haughtiness (induced) by contempt for other people; by (whose) enemies, even though renowned for manliness and pride, no remedy, except the performance of obeisance alone, could be successfully employed; the collection of whose pure virtues effected the happiness of the whole world; who forcibly destroyed all the specious procedure of (this wicked) Kali age; whose very noble heart was not tainted by any of the faults that assert an ascendency over inferior people; who was renowned for manliness; who excelled in knowledge of the sacred writings; (and) who manifested (his) attainment of being accounted the first among heroes, by being spontaneously chosen (as her lord and husband) by the goddess of the fortunes of the assembled hostile kings.

(L. 19.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious Dharasêna (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) Mahêśvara, the illustrious Dhrusêna (II.),² whose famous second name of Bâlâditya was established as one of appropriate meaning, through the (whole) world being pervaded by the affection of mankind that was produced by (his) rising,³—who surpassed all previous kings in excellent achievements; who was the accomplisher of objects, even such as were hard to be attained;⁴ who was, as it were, the very personification of manhood; who, as if he were Maru, 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 brilliancy all the intermediate spaces between the points of the compass; who destroyed

¹ Upêndra, the younger brother of Indra, is Vishnu. The allusion seems to be to the contest between Vishnu (in his incarnation as Krisha) 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-Pûrâṇa, 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, Sûlêditya I. and Kharagraha I., had some dispute about the leadership of their family; and that eventually Sûlêditya 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 bâlâditya, '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 filled 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 Śālāturīya,\(^1\) (the text-books on the one side) of those who give commands suitable to the rank (of their subordinates) (and on the other side) of those who apply substituted grammatical forms suitable to the places (that they are to fill), (and on the one side) of those who are eminent in refinement effected by the employment of an increase of virtue, (and on the other side) of those who excel in the perfection of language effected by the employment of the guna\(^2\) and vriddhi\(^3\) 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 Paramādhā-artaka, Mahārājādikirāja, Paramēśvara, and Chakravartin,\(^4\) the glorious Dharasēna (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 son\(^5\) of the illustrious Śīlāditya (I.),\(^6\) who was the (elder) brother of his father's father\(^7\) (Kharagraha I.), (and) who was, as it were, (the god) Śāṅga-

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\(^1\) The grammarian Pāṇini, as having been born in the town of Śālāturīya. The play on words here rests on the ordinary and grammatical meanings of saññā, vigraha, and the other terms employed.

\(^2\) The formative change of i, and i, u and ù, ri and ri, and lri, into ñ, ò, ar or ra and al.

\(^3\) The formative change of a, i and ù, u and ù, ri and lri, into ñ, ò, ar or ra, and ál.

\(^4\) 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 Vīṣṇu-Purāṇa, book I. chap. xiii. verse 46 (see Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. I. p. 183, and note 1), viz. "a discus (chakra), the sign of the (god) Vīṣṇu, (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 Dharasēna'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, Dharasēna IV.
pāpi,—(vis.) of the illustrious Dērabhata, who performed obeisance with (his) limbs bowed down through attachment; whose head was always rendered pure, as if by (the river) Mandākini, by the very dazzling lustre, proceeding from the waterlilies that were his feet,¹ of the jewels that were the nails of (his) feet; who, as if he were 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 Vindhya for (its) lovely breasts,² the nipples of which are (their) summits that are made of a dark-blue colour by the clouds (resting upon them),—the son³ (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,⁴ according to proper custom levied taxes from (his) enemies’ lands, the quiet state of which was upset by (his) bow, the arrows of which were forcibly drawn out to the full; who, having (his) ears already decorated with an excess of sacred learnings, radiant with a variety of topics, had them (still further) adorned with the embellishment of jewels, as if it were (with that sacred learning) repeated again and again; (and) who,—holding up a fore-arm which, (covered) with gleaming bracelets and wings of beautiful insects and rays of jewels, was as it were a fresh sprout of a saivāla-plant⁶ looking charming in the waters that were (his) ceaseless gifts,—embraced the (whole) earth with (his) arms which, wearing great jewelled bands, behaved as if they were the banks of the shores of the ocean.

(L. 39.)—His elder⁷ brother (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Kharagraha (II.), who, in a very clear and suitable manner, had the second name of Dharmāditya—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 touches of other kings; who surpassed all (other) kings by the greatness of (his) exceedingly brilliant achievements; who had the waterlilies that were (his) feet studded with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (their) heads of the whole assemblage of chieftains who bowed down when they had been subdued by the violence of (their) 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 brilliancy that spread itself abroad; who delivered over (all his) wealth to the ranks of (his) favourites;⁷ who had a mace that he hurled, and a nice-looking discus that he threw; who discarded childish sports; who never treated the twice-born with contempt; who ac-

¹ i.e. the feet of Dharasēna IV.
² See page 86 above, note 2.
³ See page 176 above, note 9.
⁴ As being suitable for campaigns, and also for marriages, as indicated by the secondary meaning of this sentence, in which para-bhuvān means "his enemies’ daughters."
⁵ The aquatic plant, Vallisneria Octandra.
⁶ See page 177 above, note 1.
⁷ In this and some of the following sentences, he is, through their secondary meanings, compared and contrasted with the god Vishnu.
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 Brâhmans 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 Brâhmans 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 Vindhya mountains of a dark-blue colour like cakes of ointment made of pounded aloe-bark,—the son (was) the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahârâjaḍhīrâja, and Paramêśvara, the glorious Śilâdityadēva (III.),—who day by day increased (his) circle of accomplishments, like the new cold-rayed (moon) day by day increasing (its) digits; who adorned the goddess of sovereignty, like a young lordly lion adorning a forest on a mountain; who, like (the god) Kârttikâya 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*],⁴ 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) Mahâśvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahârâjaḍhīrâja, and Paramêśvara, (his) glorious uncle.⁵

(L. 51.)—His son (was) the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahârâjaḍhīrâja, and Paramêśvara, the glorious Śilâdityadēva (IV.),—[who achieved*] supreme lordship* [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 Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 26), this Śilâditya, 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 Śilâditya VI., instead of Śilâditya 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 expediency require that he should be duly numbered, quite as much as his grandfather and descendants of the same name.
4 * See page 177 above, note 8.
5 āmṛa.—See page 178 above, note 1, and page 186 below, note 1.
6 See page 178 above, note 2.—In this passage, Śilâditya IV. is likened to the god Śiva, under the name of Paramêśvara 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) Mahēśvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, (his) glorious father.¹

¹ bappa.—This word has already occurred in line 50 above, where, however, it is a mistake for bāva, ‘uncle.’—The word bāva, qualified by the paramount titles, in the epithet paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bāva-pād-ānudhyāta, actually occurs (1) only in respect of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara Śīlāditya III., a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva), in line 46 of the grant of his son Śīlāditya IV. of the year 372 (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 212; and Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 99), and in lines 45 and 46 respectively of the two grants of Śīlāditya V. of the year 403 (Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 343). No other instance of the use of bāva is known to me.—The word bappa is of far more frequent use. In the Valabhi grants it occurs, qualified by the same paramount titles, in paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bappa-pād-ānudhyāta, an epithet that is applied (2) here and in lines 54-55, 57-58, and 63 below, and in other grants as far as they go, to Śīlāditya IV. V. VI. and VII., each of whom came in direct succession after his father, and each of whom had the paramount titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, and was also a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara. Among the inscriptions of other families, the same expression, bappa-pād-ānudhyāta, without any qualifying titles of bappa, is used as an epithet (3) of the Bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājā Śivadeva I. of Nēpāl (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 1-2); (4) of the Mahāśīmantā Amāśivarman of Nēpāl, who was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, i.e. Śiva (id. Vol. IX. p. 169, No. 6, line 2, and p. 170, No. 7, line 4-5); (5) of Jishnugupta of Nēpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati (id. Vol. IX. p. 171, No. 9, line 4, and p. 173, No. 10, line 6-7); and (6) of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja Śivadeva II. of Nēpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, and was a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (id. Vol. IX. p. 174, No. 12, line 2, and p. 176, No. 13, line 2).—The same expression bappa-pād-ānudhyāta, with the feuudatory titles of Mahārājā and Bhaṭṭāraka qualifying bappa, occurs in paramadivata-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-śrī-pād-ānudhyāta, an epithet (7) of the Bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājā Vasantaśena of Nēpāl (id. Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3, line 1-2).—And finally, a compound of almost identical import, viz. bappa-pāda-bhakta, “devoted to the feet of bappa,” occurs, with the title Bhaṭṭāraka qualifying bappa, in the epithet bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhakta, which is applied (8) to the Pallava Mahārājā Sīhavaranii, who was a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat, i.e. the Divine One, or Vīṣṇu (id. Vol. V. p. 155, line 13); (9) to the Vēngi Mahārājā Vījayanandivarman, also a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. V. p. 176, line 1); and (10) to the Pallava Mahārājā Nandivarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. VIII. p. 168, line 14-15); and, with the further qualifying title of Mahārājā, in the epithet bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-pāda-bhakta, which is applied (11) to the Pallava Yaunamahārājā Vīshṇupāvarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. V. p. 51, line 14).—In publishing the two grants of Śīlāditya V. of the year 403, Mr. V. N. Mandlik (Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 355, note) treated the words bappa and bāva, quite unnecessarily, as identical, and considered that they denoted “some great teacher of the Śaiva faith, or some remarkable great king of that name; but more probably the former, from the adjectives used;” or, again, some “sage, venerated equally in all parts of Hindustān.” So, also, Dr. Bhagwanlal 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 persons of the Śaiva faith in instances 1 to 6 above. But Nos. 8 to 11 show that it was applicable just as much to followers of the Vaiṣṇava faith.—In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler (id. Vol. V. p. 208 f.) the feudatory title Mahārājā which qualifies bappa in Nos. 7 and 11 above, and, still more, the paramount sovereign titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, 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
(L. 53.)—[His son] was the Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārājādhikrīdya, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Śīlādatyādeva (V.)—the waterlilies of whose feet were tinted by being covered over with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all the chieftains, who did obesience through the affection (produced) by (his)

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 Balādkīrīta and Bhōgika Bappa (id. Vol. V. p. 212, and Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 99, line 59); as the name of someone after whom was named the Bappa-pādiya-nikāra, or “Buddhist monastery of the feet of Bappa,” at Valabhī (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 12, line 19); in Bappasvāmin, one of the grantees in the Khōḥ grant of the Parivrājakā Mahārājā Hastin, of the year 163 (No. 22 above, p. 103, line 11); in Bappārya, one of the grantees in line 53 of the Chammak grant of the Vākāṭaka Mahārājā Pravarasena II. (No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv. line 23); and in Bappabhāṣṭi, a Jain teacher, allotted to Vikrama-Saṅvat 800 to 895 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 253). The same word is probably a component of Bappāra, the name of the family to which, as recorded in an unpublished inscription of Maṅgalīśa (Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, pp. 19, 22), Durlabhādevī, the wife of the Early Chalukya king Pulikēśin I., belonged. A similar word bāppa, probably derived from it, occurs in Bappadēva, the name of a Śānapti in the Siwan grant of Pravarasena II. (No. 56 below, Plate xxxv. line 35). And, finally, Bappa has been preserved by tradition, in ‘Mewar,’ as the more familiar appellation of an early Gōhila chief, who is said to have established the power of this tribe on the overthrow of the Bhillas or Bhils (see Tod’s Annals of Rāja-
sthān, chapter II., Calcutta Reprint, Vol. I. p. 238 ff.; 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 Śaiva or Vaishnava 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-pādi-śāntī-hējēs is applied; and it is fully borne out by the epithet sīr-ajjaka-pādi-śāntī-hējēs, which is applied only to Dharaśēna IV. in his complete grant of the year 326 (Journ. Bo. 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 Dharaśēna IV. himself of the year 330; probably on account of something in the official relations between Śīlādatyā and Kharagrāhā 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 Kanarese, and ajdā and ajdā in Marāṭhī, are the ordinary words for ‘a grandfather’ in the preser-
day. And it is evident that ajjaka is the older Prākrit word, from which these have been derived.—On this analogy, bappa suggests itself at once as the old Prākrit form of the modern bāp, ‘a father. And now it is clear why the word is qualified by the paramount titles in its connection with the paramount sovereign Śīlādatyā 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 qualifying title at all, or only the feudatory titles Mahārājā and Bhāṭṭāraka, as in the case of Vasantaśēna, Simhavarman, Vijayanandivarman, Nandivarman, and Vishnugopavarman, the rule thus disclosed also shews why, in the case of Śīvādeva II., himself a paramount sovereign, bappa has no qualifying term; for, the way in which he is introduced in lines 11-12 of the Nepāl inscription No. 15 (id. Vol. IX. p. 178; see also Vol. XIV. p. 348) shews that he brought in a new branch of the Tākūrī family, and that his father Narāṇḍraṇāvha, even if he held the rank of Mahārājā, was at least, not a paramount sovereign. And the same rule explains why, in connection with the paramount sovereign Dharaśēna IV., ajjaka is qualified by nothing more than the ordinary title śīr, for, he himself was the first paramount sovereign in the family; and his grandfather, Kharagraha I., was at the best only a Mahārājā.—The analogy of ajjaka and bappa now suffices fully to clear up the meaning of the word bāvo. It suggests at once that it is nothing but the older Prākrit word from which have been derived, with somewhat differing significations in Marāṭhī, bādā, ‘a term of respect-
splendour; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (and) who mediated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēśvara, (his) glorious [father].

(L. 55.)—His son (was) the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Śilādityadēva (VI.),—who allayed 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) Mahēśvara; (and) who mediated on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājadhirāja, and Paramēśvara, (his) glorious father.

ful mention for a father or an elderly person; bāwā, 'a term of respectful mention for a Gōśāvī, Guru, father, or elderly person,' and bāwād, 'a husband's brother, especially an elder brother,' and in Kanarese, bāva, '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 āvā, 'a husband or wife's elder brother, a maternal uncle's son (similarity, in every case, if older than one's self).’ Looking for its application in connection with Śilāditya III., we note, in the first place, that the grants shew very clearly that his father Śilāditya II. did not reign at all, which explains why the epithet bappa-pād-āndhāyāda 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 Dharasēna IV., who, so far as paramount sovereignty is concerned, was his immediate predecessor. This shews us that bāva was used, here at least, to denote 'a male relative, of the same generation with a father,' or roughly 'an uncle;' and explains why bāva is qualified here with the paramount titles. And the fact that, after the first adoption of this technical expression, the Valabhi succession was in each instance direct from father to son, explains why the expression bāv-apād-āndhāyāda does not occur again.—In Kanarese, bappa appears in the form of boppa (marked in Sanderson's edition of Reeve's Kanarese Dictionary as a word common to most Hindu languages), in boppa-singa, 'the lion of (his) father,' an epithet applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Lakṣmīdēva 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, ayana-singa, 'the lion of (his) father,' a title of the Śilāhāra chieftain Gaṇḍāḍēya of Kāḷāpur (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XIII. p. 3, line 21), and also of his Vijayādiya (Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 103); māvā-singa, 'the lion of (his) father-in-law,' applied to the Daṇḍāṇḍāya Kēśavādityāda (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 106; line 17-18); ayana-ganḍhāvādana, 'the choice elephant of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Daṇḍāṇḍāya Sūmēṣvarabhāṭa in the same inscription (id. line 11-12); ayana-anakāya 'the warrior or champion of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Sinda chieftain Āchugi II. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 247, line 9); and bāва-anakāya, 'the warrior or champion of (his) uncle or other relation of the same generation with his father,' applied to a Śilāhāra chieftain named Gōṅkidēva (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 16, line 46). Other similar titles, which help to explain the preceding, through the introduction of proper names instead of words of relationship, are Sūnā-singa, 'the lion of Śēna,' applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Kārtavīrya II., the son and successor of Śēna I. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 213, line 7); Tālāṇa-singa, 'the lion of Taila,' applied to the Kāḍamba chieftain Kṛttivarman II. of Baravāsī, the son and successor of Taila I. (Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 85); Tālāman-anakāya, 'the warrior or champion of Taila,' applied to Kāmadēva of the same family, the son and successor of Taila (id. p. 86); and Gōṅkan-anakāya, 'the warrior or champion of Gōṅka,' and Gāhēya-singa, 'the lion of Gāhēya,' applied to the Śilāhāra chieftain Mārasiṅhā, the son and successor of Gōṅka, and the nephew of Gōhaḷa or Gāvala I. (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological 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 Hiranyakaśipu, who had obtained a boon from Brahman that he should not be destroyed by either god or man or animal.
(L. 58.)—Victorious is his son, the glorious Dhrúbhata, born in a lineage of supreme kings of kings and supreme lords, (and) possessed of great happiness,—who is renowned for an abundance of heroism that is hard to be resisted; who is the abode of the goddess of 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 (Védas); who has conquered the ranks of (his) enemies; who is possessed of happiness ;— —who always confers happiness; who is the abode of knowledge; who is a protector of the world whom all people applaud; who is attended by learned men; who is praised far and wide on the earth; —who is resplendent with jewels; who has a beautiful person; who is a very pile of jewels that are virtuous qualities; who is endowed with the choicest virtues of lordship and prowess; who is always employed in conferring benefits on living creatures; who, as if he were (the god) Janárddana incarnate, humbles the pride of wicked people; —who is always most skilful in disposing the array of elephants in war; who is the abode of religious merit; (and) whose great prowess is sung over the (whole) earth.

(L. 63.)—[And he*], the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahéśvara, the Paramabhañjádraka, Mahárájádhírjá, and Paraméśvara, the glorious Śiládhityadéva (VII.), who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhañjádraka, Mahárájádhírjá, and Paraméśvara, (his) glorious father, issues a command to all people:—

(L. 64.)—"Be it known to you, that for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents and of myself, (and) in order to obtain a reward both in this world and in the next, the village named Mahilabali, in the Uppalabha pañhaka in the famous Khétaka áhára,—with the udra nga (and) the uparikara; with (the right to) forced labour as the occasion arises; with the revenue of the bhāta and váta; with (the fines for) the ten offences; with (its) enjoyments and shares; with the grain, and gold, and ádēya;**

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1 See page 172 above, note 1.
2 Or perhaps Mahilabal, with the long vowel d in the third syllable.
3 See page 170 above, note 9.
4 sa-daśaparādhā.—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 Dharmaśatvedhára of Káśháthopádhya, chapter ii. verse 19 ff., we have—Adattānām upadānam himsā ch aiv á-vidhanataḥ || Para-dāpāpāsā cha kāyikam tri-vidham smritam || párushrayam anritam ch aiva páśuryam ch aipá sarvasāh || Asambaddha-pra-lāpaz cha vānmayām svācā chātur-vidham || paradravyēvāh abhidhyānaḥ manas ānirgha-chintānām || Vītak-shabhinītilaḥ ca mānasām tri-vidham smritam || evāni daśā pāpān hari tvaṁ mama Jñānavī || Daśapāpā-harā yasmāt tasmād Daśaharā smrītā.—"the appropriation (theft) of things that are not given, and killing in a manner that is not in accordance with precept, and the pursuit of the wives of other men, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the body; harshness of language, and untruthfulness, and slandering in all directions, and incoherent conversation, are the four (sins) of speech; coveting the property of others, (and) thinking with the mind about things which are wrong, and tenacity of that which is not true, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the mind; do thou, O Jñānava (Gángá), take away these my ten sins; because thou takest away these ten sins, therefore art thou called "Daśaharā."—These verses occur in connection with the Daśaharā (popularly Dasarā or Dusrah) a festival in honour of the river Ganges, held on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyéśthā.—So, also, in the Ashtadāgahādyā of Vágbhata, Sástradhāna, chapter i. verse 21 f. (Bombay edition of 1880, p. 38) we have, in only slightly different language.—Himśā-sthā-nayathākānam páśuryam párasah-anritāḥ || samabhindāpāryāyam abhikāvyā driyiparyāyam || Pápaṁ karmāti dasadāh kāya-vān-mānasās tayāt; 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 Brāhmaṇs,—is given by me, with copious libations of water, on the terms of a grant to a Brāhmaṇ, in accordance with the rule of bhūmichchhīdra,—to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, and the mountains; (and) to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons’ sons,—to the Bhaṭṭa Ākhaṇḍalamitra, the son of the Bhaṭṭa Vishṇu, an inhabitant of the famous town of Anandapura, belonging to the community of Chaturvedins of that (place), a member of the Śākaraśkkī gōtra, and a student of the Bahīrīcha (ākhaṇḍā),—for the maintenance of the rites of the bali, charu, vaisvadēva, agnihōtra, and aitiḥi 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) this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future pious kings, whether born of Our lineage or others, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (both to him who makes it and to him who continues it),”

(L. 72.)—And it has been said by Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it) ! These chattels, made into altars of religion, which have been formerly given here (on earth) by (previous) kings, (are) like the remains of offerings to gods, and like food that is vomited up; verily, what good man would take them back again? The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in the hollows of dried-up trees in the Vindhyā mountains, destitute of water!

(L. 75.)—The Dātaka in this matter (is) the Mahāpratīḥāra,1, the Mahākaṭha-pāṭalika,2 a member of the king’s household, the illustrious Siddhasena, the son of the illustrious Śarvaṭa; and (this charter) has been written by his deputy, the Pratinartaka,3 the high-born Amātya Guha, the son of Hemṛata, who was deputed by him (to write it).

daśa aparādhāḥ, or ‘ten offences,’ referred to in the text. And the full technical expression evidently conveyed, to the grantee of a village, the right to the proceeds of fines imposed for the commission of these, or similar, wrongful actions in the limits of his village.

1 Mahāpratīḥāra, lit. ‘the great Pratīḥāra,’ is a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the Pratīḥāras or ‘door-keepers.’

2 Mahākṣapaṭalika, lit. ‘the great Akṣapaṭalika,’ is a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the Akṣapaṭalikas or ‘keepers of the records.’—The title Akṣapaṭalika occurs for instance, in an abbreviated form, in line 34 of the Kadl grant of Bhimádeva II. of Vikrama-Sañvat 1283 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p 200). It is derived from akṣapaṭala, which Monier ‘Williams gives in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning ‘a court of law; a depository of legal documents,’ and which occurs in the title Akṣapaṭalaiḍhārika, synonymous with Akṣapaṭalika, in line 15 of No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.—Another title, Akṣhāṭalika, which is perhaps synonymous with Akṣapaṭalika, occurs in line 25 of the ‘Chicacole’ grant of Indraravarman of the year 146 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 123).

3 Pratinartaka appears to be an official or family title. Westergaard, in his Radices, does not give mit in composition with prati. Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives it in the sense of ‘to dance before, in token of contempt.’ But it more probably has some connection with nartaka in the sense of ‘a bard, a herald.’
(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 *Archaeol. 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 Arang,2 a village about twenty miles almost due east of Rajpur,3 the chief town of the Rajpur 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 5½” by 2½” 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 show through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good, but shews here and there, as usual, in the interiors of the letters, marks of the working of the engraver’s tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about 3½” thick, and 3” in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about 3½” in diameter; and, like the seal of the Rajpur grant of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, 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 Lakshmi, facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant standing on a waterlily, with its trunk lifted up to pour water over her head; in the proper right corner, an expanded waterlily, on its stalk; and in the proper left corner, a 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 3½”.

1 *sva-hasta.*—In the original these words have some wavy lines under them, which are intended for an actual representation of the sign-manual. See also page 171 above, note 2.

2 The ‘Airang and Arang’ of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21° 12’ N.; Long. 82° 1’ E.—Gen. Cunningham was first informed (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55) that the plates were found at Arvī (see page 192 below, and note 4); then (id. p. 59), that they were actually obtained at Rajpur (see page 192 below, and note 4); then (id. Preface, p. iii.), that they were found at Arang.

3 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 chudda, line 1, the separate form of the lingual ō, as distinct from the dental d. The superscript long vowel ū 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, stāmātta, line 2, and rāshtriya, line 4; the burr of the copper, raised in the process of engraving, gives in a few places, in the ink-impression and consequently in the lithograph, a faint mark, very similar to this, inside the short i proper, e.g. in bhāmipān, line 13; but the difference can, of course, be detected at once in the original plates. The characters also include, in line 24, forms of the numerical symbols for 5 and 20.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 13 to 23, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihvāmālīya and upādīmānīya, in yaḥ-kāñčanam, line 18; and pradah h-parama, line 3, and dhiyāh-pravādānti, line 14; (2) a constant use of the anusvāra, instead of the dental n, and the doubling of t after it, e.g. in stāmātta, line 1; uddhāraṇīti, line 17; and bhāvanīti, line 18; (3) the doubling of v after the anusvāra, in samavatāra, line 24; (4) the insertion of a superfluous anusvāra, in prasāmīna, line 2; (5) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in vikram-ākṛīnta, line 1 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 pradah h-parama, line 3; anuddhyāta t-stri, line 4; and kutumānītah s-samajnāpayati, line 5; and (8) the use of singha for simha, line 24, and of tāmra for tāmra, 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 Mārgaśīra (November-December). No era is referred to; and, as we have a similar small date of the year ten in the next inscription of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, the fifth year must be simply that of the power or government of Jayarāja. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record the grant, by Jayarāja himself, to a Brāhmaṇ, of the village of Pamvā in the Pārvarāśṭra or Eastern Country.¹

As regards the town of Śarabhapura, whence the charter was issued, General Cunningham² has suggested—in the first place, that, by elision of the initial s, it may, through the forms of 'Arabhpura' and 'Arbhi,' be represented by the modern Ārvi,³ the chief town of the Ārvi Tahsīl 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-

¹ So called, perhaps, from its lying on the east of the range of mountains, identified by Gen. Cunningham with the Mēkala mountains, which commences near 'Amarkantak,' runs w to the source, passing about half-way between Nagpur and Rājpūr, and then, near 'Wairagarh,' takes a sharp turn to the east, and comes to an end about sixty miles south-east of Rājim.
³ The Arooce, Arvi, and Arwee, of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 72. Lat. 20° 59' N—Long. 78° 16' E. It is thirty miles north-west of Wardhā, and about two hundred and thirty miles west by south from Rājpūr.
pur' or 'Sambhalpur,' the chief town of the 'Sambalpur' District in the Central Provinces, where, or in which neighbourhood, another copper-plate inscription of Mahâ-Sudêwarâja was obtained. But neither of these proposed derivations can be upheld. And, if Sarabhapura is represented by any place now existing, we have to look in the maps for some such name as Sarbhôr or Sâbhôr.

**TEXT.**

**The Seal.**

a Prasannâna-h[r]ida-jasây=iva vikram-âkkrâ[r]ma-vîdvisha[h]

b śrîmatô Jayarâjasya sâsa[nam] ripu-sâsana[m] [II*]

**First Plate.**

1 Svasti Sarabhapurât d-vikramâpâtâ-samarântta-chuḍâman[r]-prabhâ-prasèk-

2 mbubhir=dhô(dha)pta-pâda-yugalô ripu-vilâsint-simarântt-ôddharana-hêtu-

3 va-vasu-vasudhâ-gô-pradâh h=para=mbhagavato mâtâpiri-pâ-

4 d-ûnudhyâtah ś=śri=Mahâ-Jayarâjâh Pûrvvarâshthi=ya-Pamvân-prati-

5 vâsi-kuṭûmbi=nâh s=smâdajñâpayati 1 Viditam=astu vô yath=â-

**Second Plate; First Side.**

6 smâbhir-ayam grama- 1 s=trida=shapatii=sadana=sukha-pratishtth-âkarô yâva-

7 d=raâ-śa=si=â-râ-tà=ra=â-kirâna-pratihata=ghô=ôndha=âra=âm jaga[d=a]*vatishhatê

8 tâvad = upabhôgyas = sa - nîdhis = s - ôpanadhir = a - châtâ - bhâta - prâvêyam = sa -

9 rvva-kara-visorjita=â Vâji(ja)sanêya-Kauṇḍinyasagôtra=â Brahma=âdêva-

10 svâmîn=î(l)*=mâtâpitrôr=âtmana=ca puny-é(â)bhivir[d=*]dhaye II(1) udaka-

pûrva[r]ma[r]*]

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1 Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 106. Lat. 21° 27' N.; Long. 84° 1' E.—It is about one hundred and forty-five miles almost due east of Râypur.

2 It has been published by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in 1866, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. p. 195 ff. But the original plates, which were presented to the Society by the finder of them, Col. G. Bowie, are not now forthcoming; and the published version is not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced. I have, therefore, not been able to include this inscription in the present volume.

3 From the original plates.—Read *prasanna.*

4 Metre, Śûlka (Anushtub.)*

5 Read *purâd=vikram.*—The t of purât is so small and shallow, that it plainly was only inserted as an afterthought. It is quite superfluous; since its representative by *samêki* viz. d, had already been duly engraved in conjunction with the following vi.

6 Read ámbubhir, or ámbubhir.

7 Read *pradah=para=ma,* or *pradah parama.*

8 Read *dnudhyat=irî,* or *dnudhyat=irî.*

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 *pavvydâm* pratîvâsî.

10 Read kutumî, or kutumî.

11 Read nas=sam, or nāh sam.

12 Read grâmas, expunging the mark of punctuation.

13 Read *sagôtra-brâhma.*

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 of punctuation, formed in the same way, and impossible to be mistaken for anything else, in lines 5 and 6 above, and 22 below, and in lines 5, 15, 16, and 17, of No 41, page 198 below.
Second Plate; Second Side.

11 tâmbramra-sāsanēn-ātisra(sri)shtah [II*] Tē yūyam-ēvam-upalabhy-āsyā-ājñā-
   śravāna-
12 vi(vi)dhyā bātvā yath-ōchitam bhāga-bhāgam-upanayatīttaḥ sukham
   prativa[1*]syā-
13 tha Il Bhavishyataḥ-cha bhūmipān-anudarśayati Il(l) Dānād'[viśīṣṭam=a-
14 nupālanajām purāṇē(ṇā) Il(l) dharmāvahā nīschita-dhiyāḥ-pravadaṁnti
   dharmmaṁ Il(l)
15 tasmād-[d*]vijaya suviśuddha-kula-śrutāya Il(l) dattā[m*] bhuvam bhavatu
   vō ma[t*]t=r-ë-

Third Plate; First Side.

16 va gōpt[u*m] Il Tad-bhavadbhīr-apy-ēshā dattar-anupālayitavyā Il Vyāsa-
   gītām=ch=atra
17 ślokān=uddharamitī Il(l) Agnē=aapatyam prathamam suvarṇa[m*] bhūr-
   Vvaishnavi sū-
18 ryya-su[t*]=sa gāvah [I*] dattās-trayas-tēna bhavamitī lōkāḥ yah=
   kāṇchanaṁ gā[m*]
19 cha mahī[m*] cha dadyā[t*] Il Shashṭhirā³ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē
   vasati bhūmi-dāh [I*]
20 ṛchchhitā ch-ānuma[m*]ttā cha tāny-ēva narakē vasē[t*] Il Sva-
   dattā[m*] para-dattā[m*] vā ya-

Third Plate; Second Side.

21 tṇā[draksha] Yudhishtiṛa Il(l) mahīt(m)=mahimatām chhhrēṣṭhaa dānāc=
   chhrēyā=nupālanam Il(l)
22 Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājābhīs-Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ*] Il yasya [yasya*] yadā
   bhūmis=ta-
23 sya tasya tadā phalam[m*]=iti Il[l*] Sva-mukh-ājñāyā ukṭi(tkl)ṛṇāṁ
   Acha-
24 lasīṅghēna pravardhamāna-vijaya-sarīvatsara 5 Mārgaśīra 20 5 [Il*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seat.

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 Śarabhāpura, 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

1 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
2 Read pravadanti, or pravadaṁnti.
3 Metre, Indravajrā.
4 Read śrēṣṭha.
5 Metre, Śīlāka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following two verses.
6 Read phalam.
7 Supply sāsanam.
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) Pamvá 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 Brahmadévasávamí, of the Vájasanéya (śákha) and the Kauñánya gòtra,—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 Bráhman 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 Vyása:—“Gold (is) the first offspring of fire. The earth (is) the daughter 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 Yudhishtíra, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (worthy) 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 (Mahá-Jayarája’s) own mouth, (this charter) has been engraved by Achalaisingha, (in) the year 5 of increasing victory, (in) the month Márçasíra, (on the day) 20 (and) 5.

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1 Dr. Hultsch (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 233, note 46) has explained this, by saying that, “according to the Naiyáyikas” or followers of the Nyáya philosophy, “gold consists of fire (tēja).”
2 This is the customary reading. In line 39 of the Khárpáta grant of the Silhára chieftain Raṭtarája of Śaka-Samvat 890 (Joum. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. I. p. 218) the reading is dyauk, ‘the sky,’ instead of bhúk, ‘the earth,’ but I know of no other instance of this variation.
3 Or, perhaps, “the earth (is) Vaishnaví (the personification of the śakti or female energy of Vishnu).”
4 This seems to be explained by the R̥g-Véda, viii. 101, 6, in which the sun is described as “the bull that impregnates all the cows” (Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, Vol. IV. p. 112 f.)
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 Súrya, 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 Pitrás 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 *Archaeol. 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 ½" thick and 3½" in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about 3½" in diameter; and, like the seal of the Arany grant of Mahā-Jayaraja, 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 Lakshmī, facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant, standing on a waterlily, with its trunk lifted up over her head, to pour water over her; in the proper right corner, an expanded waterlily, on its stalk; and, in the proper left corner, a *sankha* or conch-shell;—and, in the lower part, there seems to have been a floral device.—The weight of the three plates is about 1 lb. 5½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 7½ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 13 oz.—The average size of the letters is about ¾". 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-Jayaraja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi. The most noticeable difference is in the formation of the superscript long vowel *ī*; the stroke, similar to an *anuvāra*, which distinguishes it from the short *ī*, being placed, not in the centre of the circle, but on the right side of it, as part of the down stroke of the circle; see, for instance, *vīlasīṭa*, line 2, and *rāśhīṭa*, line 4. The separate sign for the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *ḍ*, occurs in *cūḍḍa*, line 1.

1 The 'Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoo., of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21° 15' N.; Long. 81° 41' E.
We have the very rare initial au, in aupamānaya, 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 benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 15 to 24, is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in atisrishtaka, line 11-12, the affix that I have commented on at page 69 above. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihvāmālīya and upadhmāniya, in yah-kāňčhanam, line 20; visarjjitah-kōndinya, line 9; pradaś-parama, line 3; and dhiyā-pravadaṁtī, line 16; (2) the doubling of v, after the anuvṛtra, in samvatsara, line 24; (3) the insertion of a superfluous anuvṛtra, once only, in pravadaṁtī, line 16; (4) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in vikrama, line 1; (5) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anudhyyata, line 4; and (6) the use of singha for simha, line 28, and of tāmbrā for tāmra, line 11.

The inscription is one of the Rāja Sudēvarāja or Mahā-Sudēvarāja; and the charter recorded in it is issued, as in the case of the preceding inscription of Mahā-Jayarāja, from the town of Śarabhapura. The occasion of its issue was the uttarānyama, or the sun's commencement of his progress to the north. The date of the engraving of it is recorded, in numerical symbols, as ten years 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-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record the assent of Sudēvarāja to the grant, to two Brāhmans, of the village of Śrīsānikā, in the Pūrvarāṣṭra or Eastern Country.

TEXT.

The Seal.

a Prasannaḥ-hridayasya-aiva vikkrām-ākkṛanta-vidvishah
b śrīmat-Sudēvā'rajasya śāsanam ripu-śāsanam [II*

First Plate.

1 Om Svasti Śarabhapurāḍa-vikkrām-āpanata-sāmanta-makuṭa-chhāda-mani-
2 prabhā-prasēk-āmbo-dhō(tha)-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsini-śmant-ōddha-
3 raṇa-hētur-vasu-vasudhā-gō-pradahā-paramabhāgavatō mātāpitri-

1 The symbol for the day might perhaps be interpreted as 30. But it seems, on the whole, to be a transitional form of the symbol for 9, from which the modern 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 Indrajit's Table in the Ind. 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, Śākha (Anushṭubh).

* The lithograph in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVIII. Plate xxvi. shews śrī-Mahā-Sudēvā. 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 jihvāmālīya, 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 pā.
4 päd-ánuddhyātaṁ-srī-Mahā-Sudēvarājaṁ 
Pūrvvarāṣṭriya-Srisāhi-
5 kāyāṁ prativāsī-kuṭumbinās-samājñāpayati 1
6 yathā-āsām♭hir-ayāṁ grāmasya-tri(tri)daśapati-sadana-sukha-pratisṣṭhā-aka-
7 roḥ yāvad-ravi-śaśi-tārā-kirāṇa-pratihatā-ghūr-āndhakāram jagad-ava-
8 tisṭhatē tavadi-upabhōgyas-sa-nidhis-s-ōpanidhir-a-chāta-bhaṭa-prāvēśya[h*]
9 sarvā. kara visārjitaṁ Kō(kau)ṇḍinayasagōtra Vājasanēya Savit[ri*] 
10 svāṁna [a*]tmiya-kanyā-prājānē[na*] Aupamanyava-[Va*]tasagōtra yāmā,
11 trō[h*] Nāgavatsasvānī-Bandhuvasatsvāminōs-tāmbra(mra)-sāsnēn-āti-
12 stri(sri)śhītakō bhūtvā-āsām♭hir-apy-uttarāyanē mātāpitṛōr-ātmanaśa cha

Second Plate; Second Side.
13 puny-ē[ā]bhūvṛiddha-yuṁmōditā[ī]* Tē yūyam-evam-upalabhya-āsy-ājñā-śra-
14 vana-vidhēyā bhūtvā yath-ōchitam bhūga-bhāgam-upamupanayantas-su-
15 kharā pratiṣṭhāyātha [ī]* Bhāvishyataṁ cha bhūmipā[n-a*]nudarṣayati 1
16 Dānād-viśiṣṭa-
17 d-[d*]vijāya su-aviśuddha-kula-śrutāya dattām bhuvam bhavat vo matir-
18 d-bhavadbhir-apy-ēśhā dattir-anupālayitavyā [ī]* Vyāsa-gītā[m*]s=ch-ātra
19 śloka-udāharantī [ī]

Third Plate; First Side.
19-agnē[ē]-apayam prathamam suvarṇa[m*] bhūr-vvaishnavi sūryya-
20 suṣṭaṁ cha gāva[h*] dattā-
21 s-trayas-tēna bhavantī lokā yah-kāṇchanam gan=cha mahīṁ=cha
22 dāyāt [ī]* Shasašṭī[ī]*-va-
23 rsha-sahasraṁi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhēttā ch-ānunantā
tāṁyē-
24 va na[ra*]kē vasēt [ī]* Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhi[h*] Sagar-
25 yādibhiḥ yasya
26 yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tādha phalam [ī]* Sva-dattā[m*] para-
27 dattā[m] [vā*] ya
28 tṇād-raksha Yudhishtīhira mahīni mahimattā[m*] śrēṣṭhā dānāch-chhrēyō-

1 Before this word, yāmātrō, there is a cross, to indicate that this is not the place to which it
properly belongs. It is plain that the reading intended in lines 9 to 11 was Savitrivāṁśa
dmiya-kanyā-prājānē yāmātrō Aupamanyava-Vatsasagōtra-Nāgavatsasvāmi &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; viz.
the passage commencing with asminna=evā grāmē, in lines 25 and 26 below.
4 Read upalabhya=niṭayōr=ājñā. 5 Read bhāgam=upanayantas.
6 Metre, Vasantaśilaka.
7 Read pravādantī, or pravādaṁti.
8 First si was engraved, and then u was added, without the i being sufficiently cancelled.
9 Metre, Indravajra.
10 Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.
11 Read mahīṁ.
12 The proper context is lanam=iti, in line 27.
Third Plate; Second Side.

25 Asmin[*n*]=eva grāmē purvva-tātākasya paryatta(na)-bhūmi-vapra-baddhā Śrī-
26 válijkā āhānāṁ yāvaj-jā(jyē)śhṭha iti kṛtvā Nāga[va*]tsasvāminē grām-
ārdhhasyādāhikā dattā
27 lanam*—iti II Sva-mukh-āśhāyā pravarddhamāna-vijaya-samcvatsara 10
Māgha 9
28 ukṭl(tk)lm[n*] Drōnasuṅghā(ṅghē)na [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.*

A charter of the illustrious Sudēvarāja,
—who verily has a gracious heart; (and)
who has overcome (his) enemies by (his)
prowess,—(is) a charter for (the observance
of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

Om! Hail! From the town of Śarabhāpura, the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja,—
whose two feet are purified by the waters which are the flowing forth of the radiance
of the jewels in the locks of hair (wound) in the tiaras of the chieftains, (bowing down
before him), who have been subjugated by (his) prowess; who is the cause of the tearing
out of the parted hair of the women of (his) enemies; who is the giver of treasure and
land and cows; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One, (and) who meditates
on the feet of (his) parents,—issues a command to the cultivators residing at (the village
of) Śrisāhikā in the Eastern Country:—

(Line 5.)—"Be it known to you, that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of
(Our) ensuring the happiness of (attaining) the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,—
which has been conveyed by a copper-charter to Nāgavatsasvāmin and Bandhuvatsa-
svāmin, of the Aupamanyava (śākhā) and the Vatsa gōtra, who, by the gift in marriage of
his daughters, are the sons-in-law of Savitrisvāmin of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra and the Vājasa-
nēya (śākhā); to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dis-
pelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (its) hidden treasures
and deposits; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; (and) exempted
from all taxes,—has, at the time of the sun’s commencement of his progress to the north,

*Before this vā, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here,
or, more properly, before the śrī; viz. grām-ārdhhasyādāhikā, from the end of the line.—
The reading intended in these two lines was—Asminn=eva grāmē purvva-tātākasya paryantα-
ḥāmi-vapra-baddhā grām-ārdhhasyādāhikā Śrōdvāṇikā panytāṁ yāvaj-jyēśhṭha iti kṛtvā Nāg-
avatsasvāminē dattā. And this passage should properly have been inserted after anumōditā, 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 kā dattā, which are placed between the lines, below minē.

*This is the proper context of nupā, at the end of line 24.

*Supply śāsanaṃ.

*As restored, with the help of the few letters that remain, on the analogy of the legend on the
seal of the Āraṅg grant of Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 194.
been assented to by Us indeed, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourself.

(L. 13.)—“Being aware of this, you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness, rendering in proper manner (their) share of the enjoyment.”

(L. 15.)—And he enjoins upon future kings,—“The ancients, whose minds are fixed upon religion, say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from) making a grant; therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brähman of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.”

(L. 18.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyâsa:—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Vishnu; and cows are the daughters of the sun; therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who asssents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant!

(L. 25.)—In this same village, the irrigation-well called Śrîvâpikâ, constructed within the mound on the land that skirts the eastern tank, (and) extending up to the road, is given to Nâgavatsasvâmin, in excess of (his exact) half of the village, because he is the elder.

(L. 27.)—At the command of (Mahâ-Sudèvarâja’s) own mouth, (in) the year 10 of increasing victory, (in) (the month) Magha, (on the day) 9, (this charter) has been engraved by Drônasingha.

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 &., and was in 1871 reprinted in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I., where this inscription is referred to on page 40. —In 1866, in the Jouf. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXV. p. 267 &., Dr. Rajendralal Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from a transcript of the original, in modern Devanâgarî characters, which Major Kittoe had given to General Cunningham in 1850.—In 1882, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XV. p. 11, General Cunningham supplemented this translation, by notifying, from his own examination of a rubbing of the original inscription made by Major Kittoe, which had meanwhile been discovered by Mr. J. D. M. Beglar in a box of inscriptions in the Bengal Asiatic Society’s Library, that the name of the second king was Harshagupta; not Hashkagupta, as read by Major Kittoe.—And in 1883, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI. p. 79, he further notified that Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, apparently in a letter to him, had indicated that
the name of Isanavarman should be substituted, in line 7, for the Santavarman of Major Kittoe’s transcript.

Aphsad or Aphsand,¹ also called Jafarpur, is a village near the right bank of the Sakari river, about fifteen miles towards the north-east of Nawâdâ,² the chief town of the Nawâdâ Sub-Division of the Gayâ 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 Varâha” in Aphsad. According to the local statement, Major Kittoe removed the stone to Nawâdâ; but General Cunningham failed to find it, or to hear anything more of it, either there, or at Gayâ 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 ½" to 1" broad. It has suffered a great deal from the effects of the weather, about the centre of the stone; but, even here, nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost, except perhaps, in line 15, a completion of the hint as to the relations between Madhavagupta and Harshadâva, 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 ½" 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 Kuṭila has come to be attached, in consequence of the upright strokes having at the bottom a small tail which is ‘crooked, curved, or bent’ (kuṭila) to the right. The term Kuṭila actually occurs in the ‘Dewal’ inscription³ of (Vikrama)-Sahvat 1049; in the last line of which it is recorded that “this (eulogy) has been written by the scribe Takshaditya,—(a native of) the (country of) Gauḍâ; and the son of Vishnuhari,—who is well acquainted with the curved letters.” The term used here for “curved letters” is kuṭila-aksharâns. 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 vikār-aksharâ, “(an eulogy) in beautiful letters,” is used in that way in line 27 of the present inscription; and ruchir-akshara-pankhibhîḥ, “(this eulogy has been engraved) in lines of pleasing letters,” in line 27 of an inscription in the Provincial Museum at Nâgpur; and sad-varṇâ, “(an eulogy) in excellent letters,” in line 41 of the Sâsahâ Temple inscription of Mahâpâla.⁴ But the term Kuṭila fits this type of letters so well, that, as the name has been

¹The ‘Aphsar, Ufsund, and Ufsund-Jafurpoor,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 4’ N.; Long. 85° 44’ E.
²The ‘Nawâdâ, Nowadeeh, Nowada, and Nowâdâ,’ 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 Kuṭila variety of the Magadha alphabet of the seventh century A.D. It really differs but little from the modern Dīvanāgarī. The form of the lingual ḍh, which occurs in gāḍha, line 1, and dṛṣṭha, line 2, is almost quite identical with the modern Dīvanāgarī form. The form of the lingual d, which occurs in chūḍā, lines 3 and 16, in khāḍga, line 18, and jadā, line 21, is still rather transitional, differing but little from the form of the dental d. And the most antique remnant in the whole inscription is the form of ṛ, in conjunction with a following consonant, e.g. in harṣha, lines 2 and 15, dhanur-bhīma, line 2, sīndhu-lakṣmī, 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 śavṛya, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before, e.g. in kuryā in line 12 of the Majhgawām 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 t, in conjunction with a following ṛ, once, in ṛṭaptātra, line 21; where, however, it may possibly be due to a mistaken idea as to the etymology of the word; and (2) the use throughout of v for b, e.g. in vīvuddha, lines 9 and 11; valinā, line 14-15; vabhāva, line 15; and viṭhritā, line 17.

The inscription is one of Âdityasēna, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha. It is not dated. It is a Vaiṣṇava inscription; the principal object of it being to record the building, by Âdityasēna, of a temple of the god Vishnu. But it also records the building of a religious college or monastery by his mother Śrimati, and the excavation of a tank by his wife Kōṇādevī.

**TEXT.**


3. havānām likhitam-iva jayam śāṅghyam-āvirddadhānō vakshasya-uddāma


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1 From Major Kittoe's impression; so, also, the lithograph.
2 Metre, Śārddāvikārdita.
3 Metre, Āryā.
4 Metre, Sragdhārā.
5 Metre, Āryā.
6 Read śīśira.

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 Vidyâdharas; in that he was of good descent, as a mountain is possessed of excellent bamboos; (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 Harshagupta, 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 Jivitagupta (I.), the best among kings, who was a very cold-rayed (moon) to (wither) 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 plantain-trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmypalms; (or) even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himâlaya) which is cold with the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow. Even still his superhuman deeds are regarded with astonishment by all mankind, like the leap of (the monkey Hanumat) the son of the Wind from the side of (the mountain) Kôsavardhana.

1 Metre, Śiṅka (Anushtubh).

2 Hanumat was one of the most celebrated of a host of semi-divine apes, who were created to become the allies of Râmachandra in his war with Râvana. The leaders of this army of monkeys were supposed to be the offspring of various gods; and Hanumat was the son of Pavana or Mâruta, the Wind. One famous leap taken by Hanumat was from the mainland, over the sea, onto Ceylon, in order to discover the whereabouts of Sîtâ. Another was his leap back from Ceylon to the mainland, after setting Râvana'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 Gandhamadana, to procure a medicinal herb to cure the wounded Lakshmana. Which of these leaps is alluded to here, is difficult to say, as Kôsavardhana does not seem to be given in the epic as the name of a mountain at all; and I cannot find the names of the mountains from which his leaps were taken.

3 The only other mention that we have of a mountain Kôsavardhana, is in line 17 of the Shârgadh (Kôlâ) Buddhist inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 46), where it seems to denote the hill on which the Fort of Shârgadh 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 Kumáragupta, of renowned strength, a leader in battle; just as (the god) Hara begat a son, (Kárttikéya) 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 Ísánavarman, a very moon 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 Práyágā; (and there), honourably decorated with flowers, plunged into a fire (kindled) with dry cow-dung cakes, as if (simply plunging to bathe) in water.

(L. 8.)—The son of that king was the illustrious Dámódaragupta, by whom (his) enemies were slain, just like the demons by (the god) Dámódara. Breaking up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Húnas (in order to trample them to death), he became unconscious (and expired in the fight); (and then, waking again in heaven, and) making a choice among the women of the gods, saying "(this one or that) belongs to me," he was revived by the pleasing touch of the waterlilies that were their hands. He, (while he was) king, gave away in marriage a hundred daughters of virtuous Bráhmans endowed with many ornaments and with youth, (and) dowered with agrahára-grants.

(L. 10.)—From him there was a son, the illustrious Mahásénagupta, the leader, among brave men; who in all the assemblages of heroes acquired a (reputation for) valour (that stood) in the foremost rank;—whose mighty fame, marked with the honour of victory in war over the illustrious Sushitavarman, (and) [white] as a full-blown jasmine-flower or waterlily, or as a pure necklace of pearls pounded into little bits (?), is still constantly sung on the banks of (the river) Lóhitya, 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) Mádhava, whose feet are graced by the attentions of (the goddess) Śrī, (was born) from Vasúdeva, so from him there was (a son), the illustrious Mádhavagupta, finding pleasure only in prowess, whose feet were graced by the attentions of the goddess of fortune. He being remembered in the foremost rank . . . . . . . . . ; being the leader of those who acquire renown in war; (and) being a very store-house of goodness, the best of those who excel in the collection and bestowal of riches, the natural home of wealth, truth, and learning, (and) a firm bridge of religion,—there is no one on the earth . . . . . . . . . who is (as) worthy to be praised by vir-

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1 One of the names of Kárttikéya was Kumára; hence the comparison between him and Kumáragupta.

2 The allusion in this verse is to the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, for the recovery of the nectar and other precious things that had been lost. The mountain Mandara was utilised as the churning stick. And, during the process, Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune and wealth, sprang from the froth of the sea.

3 This verse seems to indicate that Kumáragupta's funeral rites took place at Allahábád; but not necessarily that he placed himself on the funeral pyre while still alive.
tuous people, (as he was). He also (like the god), carried a discus in the palm of (his) hand; to him also belonged a bow made of horn, and a pleasing sword (which was employed) for the destruction of (his) enemies and the happiness of his friends; when the slaughter of (his) foes had been achieved, was averted by him; people did obeisance. "(My) mighty enemies have been slain by me in battle; there remains nothing more for me to do,"—thus he, the hero, determined in his mind; (and then) with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harshadēva.

(L. 15.)—His son was the illustrious one, named Adityasena, the best among kings, whose scimetar 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

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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 Vishnū (Mahāvīra), to his bow of horn named Śatrūga, and to his sword called Nandaka.

3 Harshavadhana of Kanauj.—The present form of his name occurs also in the Harshacharita (Kāśmir edition), p. 119, line 5.—I notice that he is often called Śrīharsha, and Śrīharshavadhana; as if Śrī 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 Śrī-Srīharsha (see page 8 above, note 3); while, in line 26 of the Kautākhī grant of Vikramaditya V. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 22), he is distinctly called Harsha-mahānripa, "the great king Harsha." So, also, Bāna's book about him and his history is always called simply Harshacharita, not Śrīharshacharita, in the colophon of each division of it; and the Śrī, which is prefixed on the title-page of the Kāśmir edition, only qualifies Harshacharita, 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). 1

(L. 24.)—By his mother, the Mahadevi Srimati, a religious college has been caused to be built, resembling a house in the world of the gods, (and) has been given by herself in person to religious people.

(L. 25.)—By the queen, the illustrious Konadévi, 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 santhaka-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) Sri on the breast of Vishnu, (and) (the goddess) Sarasvatı …… …… in the mouth of Brahman; as long as the earth [remains] on a hood of (Sesha) 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 Saksheša, (a native of) the Gauḍa (country), who is thoroughly religious (and) very intelligent.

No. 43; PLATE XXIXA.

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 Archeological Surveys; and was first brought to notice, in 1881, in the *Archaol. 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).

Shahpur, 2 also known as Shahpur-Tétarawám, is a village on the right bank of

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1 Kṛtṛti, 'fame,' and Lakṣmi, '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 Kṛtṛti becoming at length jealous of Lakṣmi, and leaving her husband's house in order to dwell far away from her rival wife.

2 The 'Shahpur, Shahpool, Shahpool-Tetranwan, and Shahpool-Titarawa.' of maps, &c Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 6' N.; Long. 83° 43' E.
the Sakari river, about nine miles to the south-east of Bihār, the chief town of the Bihār Sub-Division of the Patna District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on the pedestal of a standing image of the sun,—represented as a man, 2' 10" high, holding a waterlily in each hand; and with, on each side, a small standing figure, that on the right being armed with a club,—which was found on a mound in the lands of this village. When I sent my copyists to Shāhpur in 1884, they could not find the image, and could obtain no information as to what had become of it; my lithograph, therefore, has been prepared from Mr. Beglar's pencil-rubbing, which suffices for practical purposes, though perhaps the date is not quite as clear as it might be.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 4½" 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 8.". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kutāla type as those of the preceding Apsahd inscription of Ādityasena, No. 42, Plate, xxviii. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols1 for 6, 7 (?), and 60.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of v for b in vaddhikrita, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the time of Ādityasena, 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 noticed that Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, 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 shew 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-Sainvart 188 (A.D. 794-95) as shown by the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 138 ff.); and in the neighbouring country of Nēpāl, as late as Harsha-Sainvart 153 (A.D. 659-60), as shown by the inscription of Jayadēva II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 178 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345), and Gupta-Sainvart 535 (A.D. 854-55), as shown by another Nēpāl inscription (id. Vol. IX. p. 166 ff., and XIV. p. 345). In the west of India, it continued, in Gujarat, as late as Śaka-Sainvart 679 (A.D. 757-58), as shown by the Kārell grant of Kakk of Gujarāt (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 105 ff.). In Central India, as late as Vikrama-Sainvart 879 (A.D. 822-23), as shown by the Shērgād (Kōdā) inscription of the Sāmanta Dēvādatta (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. pp. 45 ff., 351). And in the South, as late as about Śaka-Sainvart 549 (A.D. 627-28), as shown by the Vijayapam grant of the Eastern Chāluaka Mahārāja Vīshēquvardhana I. (Burnell's South-Indian Palaeography, p. 137 f. and Pl. xxvii.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 186, where I gave the date as the sixteenth year, instead of the eighteenth, which it really appears to be.)—As regards the introduction of decimal figures (setting aside the question of the first invention of them, which was probably by the astronomers of Ujjain in the fifth or sixth century A.D.), the earliest epigraphical instances of the use of them that I can quote, are, in the north, the Gvālōir inscription of Bhōjadeva dated Vikrama-Sainvart 933 or A.D. 876-77 (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 407 f.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 108, note 25); and the 'Pehewā' inscription of the same king, dated Harsha-Sainvart 276 or A.D. 882-83 (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXII. p. 673 ff., and Vol. XXXIII. p. 223 ff.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 109, note 27); in Central India, the 'Deogarh' inscription of the same king, dated Vikrama-Sainvart 919 and Śaka-Sainvart 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 'Bagumra' grant of the Rāṣṭrakūta chieftain Dhrūva III., dated Śaka-Sainvart 789 or A.D. 732-33 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 185); in Kaiṭhmedē the Mūrī grant of Jāliṅka, dated (irrespective of the actual reading in line 17) Gupta-Sainvart 585 (A.D. 804-5); and in the Dekkan, the Śāmūnga grant of Dantidura, dated Śaka-Sainvart 675 or A.D. 753-54 (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 108 ff.).
seventh (?), day of the bright fortnight of the month Marga, i.e., Margasira or Margasirsha (November-December). The era is not specified; but, from the known facts of Adityasena’s history, it is that of Harshavaradhana of Kanauj, commencing 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 Baladhikrita Sālapaksha, in, apparently, the agrahāra of Nālanda.

The name of Nālanda is rather doubtful in this inscription; but there is no special objection to reading it, since Nālanda was a famous place, originally Buddhist, in the neighbourhood of Shāhpur, being in fact identified by General Cunningham with the modern ‘Baragaon,’ seven miles due north of Rājgr, and about fifteen miles nearly due west of Shāhpur. The image, being fairly small and portable, may easily have been originally set up at Nālanda, and then removed at some time or other to Shāhpur.

TEXT.

1 . . . . . kh. 1. dh. g. . . . chandra-kshi-ñālam yāvat-p[ ] atipādītam [II*]
2 Ōm Samvat 60 6 Marga śu di 7 (?) asyān-divasa-māsa-
samvatsar-ānupūrvvyān  śrī-Ādityaśena-
3 [dēva]-rāj[y]ē Nā(?)[l]anda(?)-mah-agrahāre sādh[un]ā va(ba)lādhiṅkṛta-
Sālapakṣhaṇa de[ya]-[d]-harmao-yaṃ pratishṭhitam(h)
4 [mātāpitrōr-ā]tmanaḥCHA puñy-Abhivriddhayē [II*]

TRANSLATION.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . has been granted, to endure for the same time with
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . and the moon and the earth.

(Line 2.)—Ōm! The year 60 (and) 6; (the month) Marga; 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 Adityasena-dēva, this appropriate religious gift has been installed by the virtuous Sālapakṣhaṇa, the Baladhikrita, in the great agrahāra of Nālanda (?), for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself.

2 Baladhikrita is a technical military title, meaning literally ‘one who is appointed to (a command of) the troops.’ The superior of the Baladhikrītas was the Mahābaladhikrita; see page 109 above, note 2.
4 Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 23° 8’ N.; Long. 83° 29’ E.—In the map, the name is written ‘Buraon.’ The correct form of the name would therefore seem to be Badgaum.
5 From Mr. Beglar’s pencil-rubbing; so also the lithograph.
6 Supply tithāu. 7 Read śry-āditya.
8 The text here has the abbreviation śu, which represents śuddha, or śukla, in composition with pākṣha or pākṣhe; see page 92 above, note 1.
9 See page 97 above, note 1.
Nos. 44 and 45; (No PLATE.)

MANDAR HILL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ADITYASENA.

These two inscriptions were discovered by Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton), and were first brought to notice in his reports, from which Mr. Montgomery Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled Eastern India, where the inscriptions are mentioned in Vol. II. p. 58, with reduced lithographs (Id. Plate iv. Nos. 3 and 4).—I cannot find that any fuller notice of them has ever been published.

Mandār or Mandāragirī1 is a famous hill about seven miles south-east of Bāṅkā,2 the chief town of the Bāṅkā Sub-Division of the Bhāgalpur3 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 Ādityasēnadēva. 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 Pāpaharinī, 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 Kuṭila type as those of the Apsād inscription of Ādityasēna, 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 Ādityasēna, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha. They are not dated. But the paramount titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājadhīrāja applied here to Ādityasēna, shew that they belong to the period of confusion and anarchy that attended the death of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, when Ādityasēna established the independence of his family in Magadha; and that they are slightly later than his Apsād 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 Ādityasēna's  işletme, Kōnadēvi, caused a tank to be made.

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1 The 'Mandar, Mandargirī, 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.

2 śṛī-Adityaśeṇādēva-dayit[ā] parama-
3 bhaṭṭārik[ā]-r[ā][n][n]-mah[ā][ē][v][i]-śṛī-[Kō]ṇa[n]ad[ē]v[i]
4 pushkariṇī-kṛttim-im[ā]n[ā]-k[ā]jr[i]ta[v][i] [II*]

No. 45.

1 Öm Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahā[rā]r[ā]jādh[ī]rāja-śṛī-Ād[i]tyaśeṇādēv-
2 a-dayit[ā]
4 kṛtt[ī]m-im[ā]n[ā]-kāritavat[ā] [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Öm! The Paramabhaṭṭārikā,* the queen,* the Mahādēvi, the glorious Kōṇa[n]adēvi,—
the dear wife of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājahīrāja, the glorious Aditya-
śeṇādēva,—caused to be made this famous work* of a tank.

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1 From Mr. Beglar’s rubbing of No. 44, and Dr. Buchanan’s published lithograph of No. 45.
2 Read śṛī-Aditya.
3 Here, again, read śṛī-Aditya.
4 Paramabhaṭṭārikā, lit. she who is supremely entitled to respect or veneration,* is the feminine of paramabhaṭṭāraka (see page 17 above, note 3), and was one of the customary technical titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns.
5 rājā; also in line 3 ff. of the following Dēb-Baṇārak inscription of Jñavitagupta II.—The word is only the feminine form of rāja; but it does not seem to have been so exclusively and technically used as a subordinate feudatory title, in the way in which rājan was used. In the present day also Rājī, which is the Prakṛit form of rājī, is the proper title of a wife of a Rājā: but is also used, equally with Mahārāṇī, as a title of the Queen-Empress of England and India.
6 kṛttī.—Mr. K. T. Telang (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 36, note 13) first brought to notice, on the authority of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, that in certain connections kṛttī has the meaning of a temple; e.g. in line 18 of the Khārēpātan grant of Anantadeva, dated Śaka-Saṅsvat 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 Barōda grant of Kakka II., dated Śaka-Saṅsvat 734 (id. Vol. XII. p. 159), was able to quote three passages from the Agni-Purāṇa (in the Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. I p. 111), Bāṇa’s Kādmārṣī, and Sōmēśvara’s Kṛttīkamudī, in which the word evidently has the same meaning.—And to these instances I have since been able to add the ‘Dudahi’ inscriptions of Dēvālābdhi (id. Vol. XII. p. 289), and the Udayagiri inscription, dated Vikrama-Saṅsvat 1093 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 185).—On the analogy of these authorities, there is every reason for allotting the same meaning, when required, to kṛttī, which is a derivative from the same root. Dr. Bhandarkar has, however, recently suggested to me that kṛttī and kṛttana 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 kṛtt, ‘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 kṛttī 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 Vāidyanātha at ‘Deoghar’ in the ‘Santāl’ Pargānas in the Bengal Presidency, edited by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I
No. 46; PLATE XXIX B.

DEO-BARANARK INSCRIPTION OF JIVITAGUPTA II.

This inscription was discovered in 1880-81 by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1883, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI. pp. 68 and 73 ff., where he published a reading of the text, and a partial translation of it, supplied to him by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, with a lithograph (id. Plates xxv. and xxvi.) from a photograph by his Assistant, Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

p. 190 f., No. 3. It is a Vaishnava inscription; and, therefore, as pointed out by Dr. R. Mitra, it does not belong properly to the temple of Vaidyanath, which is a Saiva shrine; and, from the concluding words, it seems to have been brought away from some building on the Mandar Hill. I had no opportunity of obtaining a proper impression of the inscription. But the one in the Society's library suffices to shew that Dr. R. Mitra's version of the text, which I now give, with my own translation of it, is correct:

TEXT.

1 सास्ता समुद्रांता-वसुन्दरायाः यष्टि-थव-मेष्ठ-ध-द्या-महाक्रतु-नामं || आदियसेनाः प्रथिता-प्रभाः ||
2 वो बध्वा राजा अमरा-तुल्या-रेगा अधि मध्याभि वीस्केन दराम पदा-सम्युत्तानि क्रित्य युगेन चोल-पुराणा- ||
3 पेत्या महान माल्याम्-युत्या-त्रयं दल्लक्ष-चाम्फेकरा-फान्ककेना || इस्तीव-थव-थवमेधा-त्रिता- ||
4 येना जातवू तुव-साहसरण बाया-को-युक्तम् अं-कृषि-ध्वेया || साहित्य महिश्या अचिकारत-की- ||
5 रतिम-मन्त्र सा रवभाम्म वृत्तिय प्रथित-ध्वेम विद्व-वद- || द्विजेन्द्री-स्वयाम् याथा वेद-मधवाम मन्त्रध्राह मैल ||
6 तर्थ-भवना-त्रयं त्रयं चक्षु-मातुः नराण्यम् नराण्यम् || तथापितो बलभद्रेनक्ष वराभो भुक्ति-मुक्ति- ||
7 दहि सर्वं अर्थं रित-मात्रं जगता सुक्ष-हत-तवे || इति मंदरागिरि-प्रकारानं ||

TRANSLATION.

There was a king, Adityasena, of renowned prowess, equal in glory to the gods; the ruler of the world, earth up to the shores of the oceans; the performer of the asvamedha and other great sacrifices. On the full-moon day of (the month) Magha, coupled with the sign of (the lunar asterism) Visakh, in the Krita age,—having arrived from the Chola city,—having sacrificed with three asvamedha-sacrifices, (and) having given away his own weight—a thousand times over, together with a crore of horses,—he, with his consort, the glorious Kishadewi, caused to be made the whole of this famous work (kirtti), with three myriads of large jewels (and) three lakhs of gold (coins of the kind called) tukkas. Having consecrated (it) according to due rite (through the ceremonies performed) by Brahmanas, just as if he, the king, himself (was laying out) the path of the Vedas, he made an establishment of (the god) Narihari, who is the cause of the prosperity of the three worlds. A boar (i.e. the god Vishnu in that form), the giver of enjoyment and final emancipation, has been set up by Balabhadra, in order that his parents may attain heaven, (and) for the happiness of the (whole) world. Thus runs the chapter on the Mandaragiri.
Dēo-Baraṇārk, or Dēva-Baraṇārk, the ancient Vārunikā of this inscription, is a village about twenty-five miles south-west of Arrah (properly Arā), the chief town of the Shāhābād 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 \(2 \frac{3}{4}\)" broad by \(1 \frac{1}{4}\)" high, has suffered a great deal of injury from the weather, especially down the proper right side, where many passages are hopelessly illegible; but fortunately the whole of the genealogy of the Guptas of Magadha given in this inscription is intact, with the exception of the first three syllables of the name of 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 \(\frac{7}{8}\)". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost the same Kutila type as those of the Apsāsa inscription of Ādityasena, 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 sh, instead of the jihāḍamālīya or the visarga, in antashpati, line 7; (2) the use of the dental n, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in hansa, line 14; (3) the doubling throughout of t, in conjunction with a following r; e.g. in itrāya, line 1; puttra, line 5; and mittra, line 16; and (4) the use of v for b, in vālādītīya, line 13.

The inscription is one of Jīvitagupta II., of the family of the Guptas of Magadha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the fort of Gomāṭiktākaka. 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 Vārunikā or Kīsāraśātaka, to the Sun, under the title of Varunavāsin, a name which is of some interest, as apparently preserving the ancient belief, in accordance with which varuṇa, lit. ‘that which envelopes,’ meant ‘the all-encompassing sky, before it became the name of the ocean-god Varuṇa, who himself was ori-

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 Balabhadrā. 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 Ādityasena of Magadha. The antiquity of the allusion is indicated by its being referred to the Kṛita age. And though the name of Ādityasena’s wife is here given as Kōshadēvī, instead of Kōnadēvī, 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 Ādityasena.

1 The ‘Deo-Barānak, Deo-Barnārak, Deo-Barunārak, and Deonar Narooh,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 15’ N.; Long. 84° 31’ E.
3 id. p. 69.
4 Gen. Cunningham read in it the date of 152, which he referred to the era of Harshavarudhana of Kanauj. But this arose only from a misunderstanding of the words sa-dāṭāparāḍha-paṅcha, in line 19.
5 It appears that two special festivals in honour of the sun still take place at Deo-Baraṇārk, on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of the months Chaitra and Kārttika (see Archwel. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI. p. 72).
originally looked upon as one of the twelve Ádityas, or forms of the sun, the offspring of Aditi.¹

The importance of this inscription consists, first, in its continuation, for three more generations, of the genealogy of the Guptas of Magadha, including the name of Dēva-gupta, which, as will be seen hereafter, gives the clue to the date of the Vākāṭaka Mahārājas; and secondly, in its recording the names of certain previous kings, who each in succession had confirmed the grant. The names that are now legible are those of Bāladitya, who, as is known from the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, played so important a part in connection with Mihirakula; Śarvarman, who is evidently the Maukhari king Śarvarman, whose copper-seal we have in No. 47 below, Plate xxxA.; and Avantivarman, who is probably the Maukhari Avantivarman, mentioned in Bāna’s Harshacharita as the father of Grahavarman who became the husband of Rājaśri, the sister of Harshavardhana of Kanauj.²

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 Shāhjahānpur District of the North-West Provinces, passes Lucknow and Jaunpur, and flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Gházipur, and about eighty-five miles to the west of Dēo-Baranārk. And Vārunikā is plainly the modern Dēo-Baranārk itself. In the modern name, the first component is dēva, ‘a god;’ and the second, a corruption of Varunārka, evidently gives the name of a later conception of the original god, embodying the attributes of the Sun (arka) with those of Varuṇa.

**TEXT.**³

1 .........⁴ [na]maḥ [l*] Svasti Śakti-tṛtray-ōṬattā-jayaśabdān-mahā-nau-hā( ga)sty-aśva-patti-sambhāra-durnivārāj-jaya-skandhāvārāt Gomati-kottaka-sampla-vāsa-
3 [naṭevas-tasyā] pu[ttra]-s-tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ parambhāṭṭārikāyām rājāyām mahādevyaṁ [Śrī-Koṇadē]vyām utpannaḥ paramamahēśvara-paramabhāṭṭārakā mahār[ā][ā]-
4 [dhirāja-paramēśvara]-Śrī-D[ē]vaguptadeva-yām-tasya putras-tat-pād-ānu-

¹ See, for instance, Monier Williams’ Indian Wisdom, pp. 12 f. and 68; and Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I. p. 27, note 42.
² See FitzEdward Hall’s preface to the Vāsavadattā, p. 52; and the Harshacharita, Kāshmir edition, p. 311 ff.
³ From the ink-impression.
⁴ Bhagwanlal Indraji supplied varunāvāsī-bhaṭṭārakāya here. But only about five aksharas, or at the 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 paramabhaṭṭavata or paramamahēśvara.
⁶ Read śrī-āditya.
⁷ This name of Devaguptadeva,—which is of considerable importance, from its bearing on the date of the Vākāṭaka Mahārājas,—is very indistinct; but I agree with Bhagwanlal Indraji that it can be read with sufficient certainty.
dhyātaḥ paramabhaṭṭārikākṣāya[m*] rājñyā[m*] mahādevyā[m*] śrī-Kamalaśāntaṁ=uptpannāḥ paramamāhē-
5 [śvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-ma]hārājā[dh]rāja-paramēsvara-=śrī -Vishnuguptadēva- tasya putrasa-tāḍā-ānudhyātaḥ paramabhaṭṭārikākṣāya[m*] rājñyā[m*] mahādevyā[m*] śrī-lijarāṛ̥ṛ̥̃[a]*
6 [m=uptpannaḥ parama ṭa]*-2-paraḥ=bhṛtāraka-mahārājadhirāja-paramēsvara- śrī-Jivita'guptadēva[h*] kuṣali Nagara=bh[u*]ktu Vālavi=vaishayika- śrī-Vā[rvō]...
7 ................. pānta(?)[k]*=lik(?kṣh)=vantapati =V[ā]*runīkā=grama- gōsth[ā]na(?)[k]*=kula-talavataka=dūta=simakarmacara-madhā(?)-
8 ................. taka-rājakuttra-rājāṁatra ṭ-mana .... kṣatrika-mahādandañ[ā]ya-mahāprathāra-mahā[ā]sā-
9 ................. pra(?)[ṛ]mātasas .... k[u][m][ā]*rāmantya=rājasthāñ̄y- āparika= ...... dhika=chauroddharaniṇa=dāndika-da(?[rā]ṇda-
10 [pāśika(?)] ......... ka ...... rshni(?)[v]ala =v[y]āyata- Kıśō(?)[ravā(?)[t]a(?)[k]a(?)[g][r][ā]ma-h ...... d =t ...... yaṇikaga ...... pati- karma(?)-
11 ................. rasaka ............... t-āsma[m]p[ta]la-prasādā-āpajjīvala-sa-pratit[ā]sina-s-cha vr̥̃[a][b]h[ma]n-ottarā[m*] mahattara-ka(?ku)[kṣi]h(?)[pura-
12 ................. viṇḍāparīta=śrī=Varuṇavāsi- bhṛtāraka-pratīva[ba][dd]ha-bhοjaka=Sūryamitrē[a] upari-liṅki-
14 ................. ka .............. va-parivā[?]haka ...... bhοjaka=Hansa- mīttrasya samāpā[ta]ya yathākāl-ādhyāṣibhiḥ-cha evaṁ paramēsvara- śrī-Śarvavarma -[bhοjaka=Rishi][m]ittra ...... yatakan evaṁ paramēsvara-śrī[ma*]d=Avantivarmanā pāṛva=dattakaṁ= avala-
16 [mbyā] ................. evaṁ =mah[ā*]r[ā]=jāḥhirā[ja=]paramēsvara- śaśana-dānēṇa bhοjaka-Durdha(?)[r]a(?)[m]ittrasy= ānumō-
18 ................. payu ................. Varuṇavāṭy-agatanam tad-ana[=]dattam ....

1 Bhagvanlal Indraji read kumāra; but the three akṣharas are distinctly kamala.
2 Read sr-ījā. 3 Either bhagaṇata or mahēśvara is illegible here.
4 Bhagvanlal Indraji read savītṛ; but the three akṣharas are distinctly jivita, as, in fact, was recognised by Gen. Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI. pp. viii., 68).
5 Read rājāmātya. 6 Read bhagaṇaḥ-chhrī.
7 Read bhοjaka-rishi; or, according to the more usual custom, bhοjaka-arshi.-In the case of a final a, followed by an initial r, it is usual to join the vowels in regular saṃdhi. But Dr. Hultsch has drawn my attention to the fact that the commentary on Pāṇini, vi. 1, 128, ritya=akara, states that the saṃdhi here is in accordance with the opinion of Śākalya, and thus seems to intimate that, according to other grammarians, the saṃdhi 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, (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 Madhavagupta. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the glorious Adityasenadeva, begotten on the Paramabhastraika, the queen, the Mahadevi, the glorious Srimatidivi.

(L. 3.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheshvara, the Paramabhastraika, Maharajadhiraja, and [Paramesvara], the glorious Devaguptadiva, begotten on the Paramabhastraika, the queen, the Mahadevi, the glorious Kondadiva.

(L. 4.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahesvara, the [Paramabhastraika], Maharajadhiraja, and Paramesvara, the glorious Vishnuguptadiva, begotten on the Paramabhastraika, the queen, the Mahadevi, the glorious Kamaladiva.

(L. 5.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the most devout worshipper of , the Paramabhastraika, Maharajadhiraja, and Paramesvara, the glorious Jivitaguptadiva (II.), [begotten] on the Paramabhastraika, the queen, the Mahadevi, the glorious Ijjadiva,—being in good health, [issues a command] to the herdsmen, Talavatikas, messengers, makers of boundaries, .

1 sakti-traya.—The three saktis, or 'constituents of regal power,' are prabhutva, 'majesty;' mantra, 'good counsel;' and utsaha, 'energy.'

2 The omission, in the case of Adityasena, of the paramount titles,—which are duly attached to his name in the Mandar 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 raja; 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 Prakrit name, in which ijjad represents the Sanskrit ijjad, 'a sacrifice.'—We have had another Prakrit name of a female, in Ajjhitadevi; e.g. in line 5 of the Kirttala grant of the Maharaja Jayanatha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117.

8 Talavatikas is an official title, the etymology and meaning of which are not apparent.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj, 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 Talati or Talati, the village accountant; but of course some authority requires to be cited, before this explanation can be accepted.

9 Duta; the word seems to denote here simply ordinary message-carriers or postmen; not the special officers called Dutas, employed in connection with copper-plate charters (see page 100 above, note 3).

10 Simakarmakara.
Rājaputraḥ, Rājāmātys, Mahādandanyakas, Mahāpratīthāras, Kumārāmātys, Rājashāhānya, Uparikas, Chaurōḍḍharanikas, Dāṇḍikas, Dāṇḍapāśikas,

of the village of Vārunikā, which lies in the Nagara bhukti, and belonging to the Vālavi nishaya, (and) to the village of Kiṣoravatāka (?), which was laid out by and to those who subsist on the favour of Our feet, and to the neighbours, headed by the Brāhmaṇas, (and) to the Mahāttaras,

(L. 12.)—By the Bhūjaka Sūryamitra, belonging to (the establishment of) the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varuṇavāsin, who was requested the above-mentioned village together with and the village, &c., was formerly bestowed by the Paramēśvara, the glorious Bāładityādeva, by (his) own charter, the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varuṇavāsin, by restoration to the Bhūjaka Hamsamitra, and by those who presided at different times, vis. the Paramēśvara, the glorious Śarvavarman
[to] the Bhūjaka Rishimitra by the Paramēśvara Avantivarman. In accordance with this practice assent to its enjoyment by the Bhūjaka Durdharmaṇita was given, by the grant of a charter, by the Mahārājaśāhārāja and Paramēśvara; and it is now enjoyed by him.

(L. 17.)—"Therefore I [now announce] that it is assented to such is (my) command to all people.
the altar of (the god) Varuṇavāsin; after that, there is given with the udraṅga and the upariyaka, with (the proceeds of fines for) the ten offences, the five.

1 Rājaputra means literally 'a king's son, a prince;' but, as used in such passages as the present, it evidently has some technical official meaning, differing from this. In the modern Prākrit we have, in Marāṭhī, rāut or rādī, and in Gujarāṭī, rāwat, in the sense of 'a horse-soldier, a trooper.' And these words would seem to be derived from rājaputra, and so to indicate its technical meaning; rather than, as given by Molesworth and Candy in their Marāṭhī Dictionary, from rāva-dāta, 'a king's messenger.'
2 Mahāpratīthāra, lit. 'a great door-keeper,' was the technical title of the officer next in grade above the Pratīthāras (see page 190 above, note 1).
3 Chaurōḍḍharanika, lit. 'one who is entrusted with the extermination of thieves,' is evidently the technical title of a certain class of police officers.
4 Dāṇḍika, lit. 'a chastiser, a punisher,' may denote either a judicial functionary, from dāṇḍa in the sense of 'a rod,' or a police officer, from the same word in the sense of 'a rod (of punishment).'
5 Bhukti, lit. 'enjoyment,' is a technical territorial term.—From the arrangement of the text here, as also from the mention of 'the village of Pāṇyaka, in the Śravasti bhukti, and belonging to the Vālaviṇa vishaya which lay in the Śravasti mandala,' in the Dīghāṇī-Dubaulf grant of the Mahārāja Mahāndrapala (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 112, line 7 l.), and the mention of 'the village of Tikkariṇa, in the Pratishṭhāna bhukti, and attached to the Kaśpāra pathaka which belonged to the Vārāgaran vishaya,' in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla (ibid. Vol. XV. p. 141, line 9 l.), the term bhukti seems to have denoted a larger extent of territory than a vishaya.
6 Bhūjaka is explained by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as denoting 'a class of priests, or sun-worshippers, supposed to be descended from the Maṇgas by intermarriage with women of the Bhūja race.'—Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary, gives the same word as meaning 'a village-headman.'
7 The construction of the original is Bāładityādeva pūrva-dattakam-avalambya, 'having relied on (i.e. having adapted himself to) the former grant that was made by Bāładityādeva (and the others mentioned)." I have broken up the construction for convenience of translation.
No. 47; PLATE XXX A.

ASIRGADH COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF SARVAVARMAN.

This inscription was first brought to notice, through two independent channels, in 1836. 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 xxvi.) 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 Mahârâjâ 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 Burhânpur,² the chief town of the Burhânpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Nimâr³ District in the Central Provinces. As is shewn by the Sûnpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxii B., and the seal attached to the spurious Gâyâ 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 4 ½” by 5 ½”. 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 abdâgrî 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 chauroi-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 Gurh’ 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 ‘Nimâr’ 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 upadhënya, in utpannah-parama, line 7; (2) the doubling throughout of k and t, in conjunction with a following r; e.g. in utikrânta, line 1, and putra, line 3; and (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyâta, lines 3, 4, 5, and 6.

The seal is one of the Maukhari king Šarvavarman, whose approximate date is fixed very closely by the mention of his father Īšanavarman, as the contemporary of Kumāragupta of Magadha, in line 7 of the Apsâl inscription of Ādityasena, No. 42 above, page 200. The mere finding of the inscription at Aśṣāraḥ of course does not suffice in any way to connect the members of this family of Maukharis with that locality. Their territory probably lay some hundreds of miles more to the east. Its real position, however, is a point that, with the definite date of Šarvavarman, 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

1 Chatus-samudr-ātikrânta-kīrttiḥ pratāp-ānurāg-ôpanat-ānya-rājâ(jó)² varṇa-āśrama-vyavasthâ-  
2 pana-pravritta-chakrâs-Chakradhara iva prajânâm-artti-hara[h⁸⁸] śri(śrî)-mahârâjâ-Harivarmmâ [I] Tasya  
3 putras-tat-pâd-ānuddhyâ[â*]tô Jayasvâmini-bhaṭṭârikâ-âdevyâ[â*]m-utpannah śri-mahârâj-Ādityava-  
4 rmmâ [I] Tasya putras-tat-pâd-ānuddhyâtô Harshaguptâ-bhaṭṭârikâ-âdevyām-utpannah śri-mahâ[â*]râ-  
5 j-Īśvaravarmmâ [I] Tasya putras-tat-pâd-ānuddhyâta Upaguptâ-bhaṭṭârikâ-âdevyâm-utpannô  
6 mahâ[â*]râjâdhirâja-śri(śrî)-Īśana-varmmâ [I] Tasya putras-tat-pâd-ānuddhyâtô La(?)[khsh[m]jiva-  
7 [tâ]²-bhaṭṭârikâ-mahâ[â*]âdevyâm-utpannah-paramamâhēśvarâ(rô) ma-  
8 hârâjâdhirâja-śrī-Śarvavarmmâ Maukharî[ī] [I]

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 umâguptâ. As regards the second syllable, m and p are very much alike in the lithograph. But the letter here seems to be p, rather than m; and there is certainly no d over it.—In support of my reading, the name Upaguptâ 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; Buddha Rec. West. World, Vol. I. p. 182, and Vol. II. pp. 88, 93, 273).

⁴ Read śrī-Īśâña.

⁵ Sir Charles Wilkins read harshîś; but there are four aksharas to be accounted for, not three. The first akshara is very doubtful; the second is certainly not rvśi, but seems to be kṣh[m]ī, rather imperfectly copied; the third is râ; in the fourth, the superscript f is distinctly visible, and the consonant, which is almost entirely illegible, naturally suggests itself as t.
A. Asirgadh Seal of Sarvavarman.

B. Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of Ananitavaran.
TRANSLATION.

(There was) the illustrious Mahârâja Harivarman, whose fame stretched out beyond the four oceans; who had other kings brought into subjection by (his) prowess and by affection (for him); who was like (the god) Chakrdeva, in employing (his) sovereignty for regulating the different castes and stages of religious life; (and) who was the remover of the afflictions of (his) subjects. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious Mahârâja Âdityavarman, begotten on the Bhattârikâ and Devi Jayasvâmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious Mahârâja Isvaravarman, begotten on the Bhattârikâ and Devi Harshaguptâ. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahârâja Isanavarman, begotten on the Bhattârikâ and Devi Upaguptâ. His son, who meditates on his feet, (is) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahâdeva, the Mahârâja Bhattârikâ Sarvavarman, the Maukharî, begotten on the Bhattârikâ and Mahâdevâ Lakshmivati.

No. 48; PLATE XXX.B.

BARABAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

This inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice, in 1790, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 167 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington. In 1837, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 674 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxvi. Nos. 15, 16, and 17) reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Hathorne. And in 1884, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 428, note 55, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has incidentally published his own reading of the text.

The Barâbar Hill, the ancient Pravaragiri of this inscription, stands about a mile and a half away on the north side of the village of Panâri, which is about fourteen miles to the north by east of Gayâ, the chief town of the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency. In the south part of the hill there is a cave-temple, which it has become the custom to call the "Lômaša 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 Bhaṭṭārikā, lit., 'she who is entitled to reverence or homage,' is the feminine form of bhaṭṭāraka (see page 17 above, note 1). It is used here as a technical title of a wife of a Mahârâja; but, in line 7 below, it occurs also as the title of a wife of a Mahârâjayâdhârāja.
3 Devi, lit. 'goddess,' is another technical title of a wife of a Mahârâja.
4 See page 220 above, note 3.
5 See page 220 above, note 5.
6 See also the Calcutta reprint of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 128.
7 The Punaree-Ferozpoor of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 24° 59' N.; Long. 85° 7' E. The hill itself is entered under the name of 'Barabar Hill,' and is a Trigonometrical Survey Station.
8 The Gya of maps, &c.
General Cunningham to the Aśoka period, though the entrance-porch was enlarged and decorated with a sculptured façade at a later time, probably when the present inscription was 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 ḍm, 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 ṛ; e.g. in putra, line 1, and yattra, line 5; and (2) the use of ṣ for b, in vabhava, line 4.

The **inscription** is one of a Maukhari chieftain named Anantavarman; but, from the way in which his father Šārdula or Šārdulavarman 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 Kṛṣṇa.

The hill itself is mentioned in line 2, 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 Chammak grant of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv., it seems to me to be clearly intended as the actual name of the hill. And we have possibly a reminiscence of it in the modern name Barābar, for which, at any rate, General Cunningham's proposed etymology of bārā dvara, 'the great enclosure,' does not suffice to account.

**TEXT.**

1 Ṓm⁴ [1[*] Bhūpāṇā[m⁴] Maukharinām κυλαm-ātānu-gupō-lam-chakār-ātmā-jāyā ¹ śri-Śārdulasya yō-bhūj-jana-hṛidayā-harō-Nantavarmnā su-puttraḥ [1[*]]

2 Kṛṣṇasya-ākṛṣṇa-kṛtthi Pravaragiri-guha-samśritam vinīvam-ētat mūrttaṁ lōke yaśa[h⁴] svāṁ rachitam-iva mud-āchikarat-kāntimat-saḥ ⅐

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, ṭm, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

⁵ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁷ The engraver first formed rtti, and then partially cancelled the i.
Om! He, Anantavarman, who was the excellent son, captivating the hearts of mankind, of the illustrious Sardula, (and) who, possessed of very great virtues, adorned by his own (high) birth the family of the Maukhari kings,—he, of unsullied fame, with joy caused to be made, as if it were his own fame represented in bodily form in the world, this beautiful image, placed in (this) cave of the mountain Pravaragiri, of (the god) Krishna.

(Line 3.)—The illustrious Sardula, of firmly established fame, the best among chieftains, became the ruler of the earth;—he who was a very Death to hostile kings; who was a tree, the fruits of which were the (fulfilled) wishes of (his) favourites; who was the torch of the family of the warrior caste, that is glorious through waging many battles; (and) who, charming the thoughts of lovely women, resembled (the god) Smara.

(L. 5.)—On whatsoever enemy the illustrious king Sardula casts in anger his scowling eye, the expanded and tremulous and clear and beloved pupil of which is red at the corners between the up-lifted brows,—on him there falls the death-dealing arrow, discharged from the bowstring drawn up to (his) ear, of his son, the giver of endless pleasure, who has the name of Anantavarman.

No. 49; PLATE 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 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington. In 1847, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 401 ff., Major Markham Kittoe published a lithograph of it.

1 Metre, Sardulavikrftita; 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 Smanata; see page 148 above, note 1. The use of the word here perhaps indicates the exact status of these Maukhari 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.
(id. Plate x.) reduced from a copy made apparently by himself, to accompany his "Notes on the Caves of Barabar."—And this was followed, in the same volume, p. 594 ff. by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's reading of the text, accompanied by a reprint of Sir Charles Wilkins' translation.

The Nāgārjuni Hill, which, in line 8 of the following inscription of the same chieftain, No. 50 below, is spoken of as (a part of) the Vindhyā range, is about a mile away on the north side of the village of Jāphra, 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 Barābār 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 "Vadathī Cave." The present inscription is on the smooth and polished surface of the granite rock, on the right hand in the entrance to the cave.

The writing, which covers a space of about 4' 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 mātrās.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word ēṁ, 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 anā, line 5; and (2) the customary doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in kṣhattrā, line 1, and nētīra, line 2.

The inscription is another record of the Maukhari chieftain Anantavarman. It is not dated. It is a Śaiva inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by Anantavarman, of an image representing Śiva, in the form of Bhūtapati or "the lord of beings," and his wife Pārvatī, under the name of Dēvī. The image was probably of the kind called Arthanārīśvara, combining Śiva and Pārvatī in one body; the right half being the male god, and the left the female.

**TEXT.**

1 Ōṁ [II*] Āśṭa=sarvā-mahīkṣhitām=Anurē-iva kṣhattrā-sthītēr=ddēśikey śrīmān=matta-gajendra-khēla-gamanā śrī-Yajñāvarmmā nripaḥ [I*] 2 yasyāvahūta-sahasraṇēttā-viraha-kshāma sadāvādhyvaraiḥ Paulomē chiram-āṣru-pāta-malinām dhā(dha)ttē kapōla-śriyam II

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1 The 'Kootbunpoor-Jafr' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 0' N.; Long. 35° 8' E.— The name of the hill is not shewn in the map.
3 From the original stone.
4 In the original, the symbol for this word, ēṁ, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.
5 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdita; and in the following verse.
6 Sir Charles Wilkins and Dr. R. Mitra both read mahīkṣhitām Manurēva; but there is no anusvāra over the tā.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 49, PLATE XXXI A.

3 śrī-śārdula-ṇrip-ātmajaḥ para-hitaḥ śrī-paurushaḥ śrī-yaṭe 1 lōkē chanda-
marichi-nirmalagunḍō yō-Nantavarmm-ābhidhā(dha)ḥ [1*]

4 drishtā-ādriṣṭa-vibhūti kartri-varadāṃ tēn-ādbhutām kāritaṃ 1 vimvam
Bhūtapatē-guh-āśritam-īdam Dévyās-cha pāyāj-jagat II

5 Anśā-ānt-ākriṣṭa-sārṅga-pravritta-saṣāra-jyā-sphuran-manḍal-ānta- I -vyakta4-
bhrūbhanga-lakṣma-vaṭṭikara-śaval-ākhaṇḍa-vakrṇēdu-vimvā[1*] I

6 antāy-Ānantavarmmā Smara-sadriṣa-vapur-jīvitē ni[h*]sprihābhiḥ drishta[h*]
sthitā mritabhiḥ suchiram-animisha-snigdha-mugdha-ekṣaṇābhiḥ II

7 Atyākriṣṭatē-kuruta-viruta-sparddhinaḥ sārṅga-yaṇtrā- I -dē-vēg-āviddhāḥ
pravītata-guṇād-śrītaḥ saushṭhavēna I

8 dūra-prāpl vimathita-gaj-ōdbhrānta-vājī pravīrō 1 vānō-ri-stri-vyasana-padavi-
dēśikō-Nanta-nāṃnā(mna)h 9 II

TRANSLATION.

Om! There was a glorious king, the illustrious Yajñavarman,—who, as if he were
Anu,10 instructed all rulers of the earth in the duty of those who belong to the warrior
caste;—whose gait was like the play of a rutting elephant;—(and) through whose sacri-
fices (the goddess) Paulomi, 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 Śārdula, who has the name of
Anantavarmman; 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) Dévi, 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, Anantavarmman, 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 2 These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.
3 Metre, Sragdharā.
4 Read ānta-vyakta, omitting the mark of punctuation.
5 Metre, Mandakrāntā.
6 Read yantrād, omitting the mark of punctuation.
7 This akṣara is partly mixed up with the 6 of dé in vidhēvasu, 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 partially on the first stroke of
the following mark of punctuation, when the text was altered from nāṃnā to nāṃnā.
10 See page 224 above, note 6.—Anu, one of the sons of Yayati, was the progenitor of the Ānava,
who are identified by Gen. Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. II. p. 14 ff.) with the 'Janjūhas,'
who now occupy 'Makhyāla' and other places in the Salt Range, in the Panjāb.
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 swanging),—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 Jāphra, in the Gaya 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-Dēvānampiya on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has come to be called the "Gopi 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 11 1/2" 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 xxxB. and xxxIA., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed mātrās.

The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word om, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in anśu, line 2, and before h, in anhas, line 9; (2) the customary doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in vikrama, line 4, and putrāna, line 7; and (3) the use throughout of v for h, in lāvaham, line 5; vanah, line 6; and amvubhiḥ, line 9.

The inscription is another record of the Maukhari chieftain Anantavarman. It is not dated. It is either a Śaiva, or a Śākta, inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by Anantavarman, of an image of the goddess Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva, under the name of Kātyāyani, and also the grant to the same goddess, under the name of Bhavant, of a village, the name of which has been destroyed.

1 As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note
2 See also the Calcutta reprint of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 236 ff.
3 See page 224 above, and note 1.
TEXT.¹

1. Om [II] Unnirasya² sarōruhasya sakālam-ākshipya sōbhām ruchā l³ s-āvajñām Mahish-āsurasya śirasī nyastāḥ kvaṇān-nōpuρaḥ l


3. Āśīd-īśita-samṛiddha-yajñā-mahimā śī. Vajñavarmma nripaḥ I prakhyaṭatā (tō) vimal-endu-nirmmala-yāsā[ll] kshāttṛasya dhāmnaḥ padaṁ I


5. Tasya-ōdīrṇa-mahārāva-ōpama-raṇa-vaṇpēra-lavdhā(bdha)m yaśaḥ [l] tanvānaḥ kakudam mukhēshu kakubhāṁ kirt[ll]jē ṣī-čeṇyūgaḥ [ll]

6. śrīmān va (ba) ndhu-suhṛj-jana-praṇayinām-āsāḥ phalaiḥ pūrva[y] puttraḥ kalpa-tarōr-iv-apta-mahimā⁴ Śārdūlavarma nripaḥ II


8. ā-sūrya-kshiti-chandara-tāram-kīyaṁ puny-aspadāṁ vānchchha(fichha)tā l vīnyast-ādbhuta-Vindhya-bhūdhara-guhām-āśritya Kātyāyani II


TRANSLATION.

Om! May the foot of (the goddess) Dēvi, fringed with the rays of (its) pure nails point out the way to fortune, endowing with a (suitable) reward your state of supplication which is such as befits the expression of firm devotion;—(that foot) which, surpassing in radiance all the beauty of a full-blown waterlily, was disdainfully placed, with its tinkle anklet, on the head of the demon Mahishāsura.⁶

(Line 3.)—There was a king, the illustrious Vajñavarman, 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, Śārdūlavikṛṣṭita, 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 Dēvi or Durgā, attacked him, on a lion, and cut off his head.
(L. 5.)—His son (was) the king Sārdulavarman, 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) Kātyāyani has been placed in (this) wonderful cave of the Vindhya mountains.

(L. 9.)—He has given to (the goddess) Bhavāṇī, 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 priyamgu 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 Jāmi 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 3⁄18". The characters belong to the

1 i.e. Anantavarman.

8 We might find in this verse a reference to "the pure waters of (the river) Mahānadi." But the Mahānadi, which rises in the Rāypur District, flows into the Bay of Bengal, without coming anywhere within two hundred and fifty miles of the Nāgarjuna hill. The small river that runs past this hill, is named the Phalgu; and it flows into the Ganges, not into the Mahānadi. 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 Ghāṭ at Gayā (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 64, line 2).

8 priyamgu; the Panicum Italicum; a medicinal plant, and perfume.

8 vakula; the Mimusops Elengi.

8 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 the same type as those of the Aśīragdā seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxA.; but the execution is, in some details, still more florid. In dōrbhyām, line 1, kīrtter, line 4, karair-guñair-guñavatām, 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 kkrāra, line 5; kshattrēna, line 1; and upaddravair, line 5; and (2) the use of v for b, in lavdhā, line 1.

The inscription mentions, in line 4, a ‘king’ named Īśvaravarman, of the Maukhari, or as it is here called the Mukhara family, who is evidently the Mahārāja Īśvaravarman, the grandfather of Śarvavarman, who is mentioned in line 5 of the Aśīragdā seal, No. 47 above, page 219. But the lacunae in the following lines are so extensive, that it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Īśvaravarman, or to one of his descendants. It is much to be wished that the first half of the stone could be recovered; since, in addition to clearing up this point, it would probably give the name of a king in connection with the city of 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 Andhra family. It would probably give us also the name of a king of Saurāshṭra or Kāṭhīawād, 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 2. . . . . . . . . r(?). ksh(?). I(?). gam² II Dōrbhyām*=Ātmabhuvō dhanuḥ
saha-bhuvā kshattrēna lavdh(bdh)-ātmanā vistārī-
2 2. . . . . . . [u]dayinē Mukharānanāṃ bhūbhujām-anvavāyē I sakala-
purusha-sakti-vyakta-sāṅgā-pratāpō
3 2. . . . . . . karmanā yājñām dh[ō]ma-vitāna-mēgha-nivahaḥ puṇyaṃ
vitēnē divi II
4 2. . . . . . . laka*-sraṣṭ-ākāgraṃ kulaih II Tasya° dikshu [v]ītāt-
āmala-kīrtter-ātmajō nripatīr-Īśvaravarmanā

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1 From the ink-impression.
2 If (since we have a half-mark of punctuation after anvavāyē in line 2) we accept the double mark of punctuation after the fourth extant akshara of this line as marking properly the end of a verse, seventy-two aksharas 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 aksharas are lost.—I have tried several ways of arranging the verses, in order to determine exactly how many aksharas 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, doubtful.
4 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛḍīta.
5 Metre, Mālinī.
6 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛḍīta.
7 This mark of punctuation is followed by some scroll-work, to fill up the line.
8 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛḍīta.
9 Metre, Svāgata.
TRANSLATION.

with (his) arms the bow of (the god) Atmabhū, 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 Īśvaravarman, with virtues which by means of compassion and affection allayed the troubles (caused) by the approach of cruel people, and which effected the happiness of mankind; who, indeed, of virtuous people; by him, a very lion to (hostile) kings, the throne was occupied. A spark of fire that had come by the road from (the city of) Dhārā the lord of the Andhras, wholly given over to fear, took up (his) abode in the crevices of the Vindhya mountains; went to the Raivatakā mountain among the warriors of the Andhra army, who were spread out among the troops of elephants (and) whose arms were studded with the lustre of (their) swords drawn out (from the scabbards), bathed with the waters, fragrant with benzoin, of the torrents of and cleansing the lands, full of cool waters, of (Himālaya) 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, Śārdūlavikṛṣṭita, and in the next three lines.
2 Metre, Sragdhāra.
3 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛṣṭita, and in the next line.
4 lit. 'the self-existent one;' an epithet of Brahman, Vishṇu, and Śiva. From the mention of a bow, it must here denote Vishṇu, who carries the bow of horn named Śārṅga.
A.—Jaunpur Inscription of Isvaravarman.

B.—Sonpat Seal of Harishvardhana.
No. 52; PLATE XXXII B.

SONPAT 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 Sonpat\(^1\) or Sonipat,\(^2\) the chief town of the Sonpat Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Dehli District in the Punjab. 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 \(5\frac{3}{8}\) by \(6\frac{7}{8}\). All round it there runs a rim, about \(\frac{1}{8}\)" 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 Gayā 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 Prabhākaraśvaradhana'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 \(\frac{1}{8}\)". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of much the same type as those of the Aśrāgādhi seal of Sarvavarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxA.; but the forms are rather more conservative in details.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of \(t\), in conjunction with a following \(r\), in \(putra\), lines 2 and 7.

The seal is one of Harshavardhana, king of Kanauj, who began to reign\(^3\) A.D. 606 or 607; and it is of peculiar interest, as being the first of his own epigraphical records that has ever come to light. I have made every effort to discover the plate to which it belongs; as the inscription on the plate would make the genealogy perfect, and also, if belonging to the early years of Harshavardhana's reign, would probably shew what era was used by him prior to the establishment of his own. But I have not succeeded in obtaining any information about it; and it seems to have been hopelessly lost sight of. The present owner of the seal states that there is no record of the plate itself having ever been in the possession of his family; so it is very doubtful whether it is now in existence.

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\(^1\) The 'Sonipat, Soonput, and Sunput,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 59' N.; Long. 77° 3' E.

\(^2\) Other forms of the name are Sonëpat, and Sunpat.

TEXT.†

1 ........................................... y ... śrīma(?)}hā(?dā) ...
2 ........................................ paramādityabhā[ktō mahāra]ja-sri-Rājyavarddhanaḥ [II*]
   Tasya putras=tat-p[ā]-
3 [d-ānudhyātah] śrī(?)-Ma(?)hā(?)dēvyām-[uppana]h paramādityabhaktō mahārajā-śrīmad-Āditya-
4 [varddhanaḥ] [II*] [Ta]syas [puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātah śrī]-Mahâ-
   sēnaguptā-dēvyām=uppana ......
5 ........................................ y ... sarv[v]a-varṇa-āśrama-vyavasthāpana-
   pravrī-
6 [ttah] ...... y ...va(?) prava[r]ddh ...... paramādityabhaktāḥ
   paramabhaṭṭāraka-
7 mahārājādhirāja-sri-Prabhākaravarddhanaḥ [II*] Tasya putras=tat-pād-
   ānudhyā[ta] ......
8 ........................................ śrī[?]matyā[ṁ] Yaśōmatyā[ām=uppanah]
   paramasō(sau)gata ......
9 ........................................ [paramabhaṭṭāraka]-mahārājādhi[rāja]-sri-Rājyava[rddhanah] [II*]
10 [Tasy=ānujas=tat-pād-ānu]dhyātō mahādēvyā[ṁ] Yaśōmatyā-
11 [m=uppanah] ................................ [pa]-
12 [ramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā[dhi]rāja-sri-Harshavarddhanaḥ [II*]
13

TRANSLATION.

(There was) ........................................ the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the Mahārāja, the illustrious Rājyavarddhana (I.). His son, [who meditated on] his feet, (was) the [most devout] worshipper of the Sun, the Mahārāja, the illustrious Âdityavardhana,† [begotten] on the illustrious Mahādēvi(?). His [son, who meditated on his feet], (was) ................................ the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Prabhākaravarddhana, begotten on the Dēvi, [the illustrious] Mahāsēnaguptā, ................................ (and) who was employed in regulating all the castes and stages of religious life. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout follower of Sugata,* the Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Rājyavarddhana (II.), begotten on ................................ the glorious Yaśōmati. [His younger brother], who meditated on [his feet], (is) ................................ the [Paramabhaṭṭāraka and] Mahā-
   rājādhirāja, the glorious Harshavarddhana, [begotten] on the Mahādēvi, Yaśōmati.

† From the original seal.
‡ This part of the name is quite illegible; but the analogy of the other names seems to indicate that the termination here was the same, viz. varddhana.
§ These two aksharas, mahā, are very indistinct; but I think they may be accepted as certain.
¶ These three aksharas, varddhanaḥ, are rather small and cramped, in the centre of the bottom of the seal.
∥ See note 2 above.
* paramasaupaguta 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.

NACHNE-KI-TALĀI 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 *Archeol. 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-talāi, meaning literally the "tank of Nachna," is a small village or collection of huts, about seven miles south-west of Jasō, the chief town of the Jasō State in the Bundelkhand division of Central India. When I drafted the title of the Plate, I understood that the inscriptions were on a boulder lying in the jungle; whereas it now appears, from General Cunningham's published account, that they are on a loose slab which was found lying at 'Lakhura, Lakhuria, or Lakhawara,' which is the name of the ground outside the fort of 'Kūthara or Kūtharagarh,' which again is given as an older name of the site on part of which the village of Nachna or Nachne-ki-talāi 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 vyāghra are pencilled-in on the impressions that were sent to me; but I was unable to depute my own copyist to Nachne-ki-talāi 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' 94" broad by 74" high; and of No. 54, about 1' 9" broad by 1' 1" high. The imperfections of some of the letters appear to be due to incomplete engraving, owing to irregularities of the stone, rather than to subsequent injury. In the centre of No. 54 there is a sculpture which may be either a Buddhist wheel, or the sun-symbol.—The size of the letters varies from 5" 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 18f. 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 ḍh, before y, in anuddhyāta, in line 2 of No. 54.

As regards the contents of the inscriptions, No. 53 gives simply the name of the Maharāja Prithivishena of the Vākātaka tribe or dynasty. No. 54 repeats this, and adds the name of a feudatory of his, Vyāghradēva. No date is given; and nothing to shew any sectarian purpose. And the record simply refers to Vyāghradēva 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.

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1 The 'Nachna, Nāchna, and Nahhua,' 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 Pargāna in the Chāndā District in the Central Provinces, fifteen miles north-west of Chāndā, and eleven miles south-east of Warođā. 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 vakāja; like, for instance, Mahākāntāraka from Mahākāntāra, Kausālaka from Kōsala, Kairālaka from Kēraḷa, and Paśaṭapuraka from Pīsḥapura, in line 19 of the Allāhābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above; and like Traikūṭaka from Triaṇṭa, 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, Bakat, Bakṭor, or Baktauli; and it might possibly be found in 'Waktapur,' in the Rēwā-Kānthā Agency.

TEXT.

No. 53.

1 Vākātakānām mahārāja-śri(srī)-Prithivishēna......
2 Vyā(?)ghra(?)

No. 54.

1 Vākātakāna[mn] mahārāja-śri(srī).
2 Prithivishēna - pād - ānuddhyātō
3 Vyāghradēvō mātāpirō[ḥn] puny-[ān]ṛthiṃ
4 kritam[ḥn]-iti [II*]

1 Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 121 f.
2 The 'Bhanduk' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 73. Lat. 20° 6' N.; Long. 79° 9' E.
3 The 'Chandah' of maps.
4 The 'Warora and Wurooda' of maps, &c.
5 Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 117 f.; and Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 239 f.—Dr. Bühler speaks of 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, 'Pavarajja-Vākātaka,' which exists only in the original misreading, for Pavaṇarajjavyātaka, in line 22 of the Siwanī 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 Anamkond 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 Kaṭaka, as is shewn by the lithograph published with my own reading of this inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. pp. 11, 16, 20).
7 From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impressions; so also the lithographs.
8 This āṇ was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.
9 These two akṣaras are very doubtful; they are pencilled-in on the ink-impression, and there may be some traces of them; but the impression is not deep enough for them to show in relief on the back of it.
10 This dā was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.
11 Read kṛta-vān.
A. Nachne-ki-talai Rock Inscription of the Maharaja Prithivishena.

B. Nachne-ki-talai Rock Inscription of the Maharaja Prithivishena.

C. Seal of the Chammak Plates of the Maharaja Pravarasena II.

D. Seal of the Siwani Plates of the Maharaja Pravarasena II.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; NO. 55, PLATE XXXIV.

TRANSLATION.

Vyâghradéva, who meditates on the feet of the Maharája of the Vákátakas, the illustrious Prithivishéna, 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 Baudhá Rock-Temples of Ajánta, 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 Charmá š a, the chief town of the Ilichpur District in the Commissionership of East Berar, in the Haidarábád 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 7½" by from 3½" to 3½". 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 ¼" 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 ‘Chamuck’ of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 21° 12’ N.; Long. 77° 31’ E.—In Notes on the Baudhá Rock-Temples of Ajánta, p. 54, the plates are said to have been obtained from Ságar 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 xxxiiiC.
which the text and translation are given below.—The weight of the seven plates is about 6 lbs. 14 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, about 14½ oz.; total 7 lbs. 12½ oz.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". 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 ff. 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 upadhmâniya, in râjâh-pravara, line c; pâñcâh-prasâda, line 13; sambhûh-prasâda, line 16; and râkshtâsyâh-pâri, line 32; but not in kåliyâh putra, line 30; (2) the occasional doubling of k and d, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in kkrama, line b; kkriyâbhis, line 31; and ddrôha, line 4; (3) the doubling of th and dh, in conjunction with a following y, in bhâgirathya-amala, line 6, and sarvâddenhyaksha, line 21; and (4) the doubling of v after the anusvâra, in samsvatsâre, line 60.

The inscription is one of the Mahârâja Pravarasêna II., of the Vâkâtaka 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 Jyêshtha (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by Pravarasêna II., to a thousand Brâhmaṇs, of the village of Charmânka, i.e. the modern Chammak itself, in the Bhôjakata kingdom.

**TEXT.**

The Seal.

\[\text{Vâkâtaka\textsuperscript{2}}-lalâmasya} \]
\[\text{kkrama-prâpta-nripa-śriyâh} \]
\[\text{râjâh=Pravarasênasya} \]
\[\text{śasanaṁ ripu-śasanaṁ} \text{[II\textsuperscript{9}]} \]

First Plate.

1 Drishtam\textsuperscript{3} [II\textsuperscript{9}] Svasti Pravarapurâd-agnishṭom-âptoryâm-ôkthya-shôdaśy-âtirâtra.\textsuperscript{4}
2 vájapéya - brihospatisava - stâdyaskra - chaturaśvamêdha - yâjînaḥ
3 Rvi(vi)shn[u]ry[vri]ddha-sagôtrasya samrâd Vâkâtakânâm\textsuperscript{6}
   mahârâja-śri(sri)-Pravarasênasya
4 súnôh súnôh atyanta-[S]vâmi-Mahâbhairava-bhaktasya a[m\textsuperscript{8}]-sa-
   bhâra-santi(nni)vêsi-
5 ta-Śiva-lîng-[ō]dvahana-Śiva-superitiousa-samutpâdi[t]-râjava[m\textsuperscript{8}]-sâ-

\textsuperscript{1} From the original plates.
\textsuperscript{2} See page 240 below, note 2.
\textsuperscript{3} See page 241 below, note 6.
\textsuperscript{4} Read samrâd-Vâkâtakânâm, in composition.—The final d of samrâd (or possibly t of samrâf), rather small and faint, stands below the line, and just above the mi of svâmi in the next line.
Second Plate; First Side.

6 nāṃ-parākrama-ādhigata-Bhāgirathya-ā(mala)-jala-maruddhna(rddh) -ābhi-
shiktānān-dāś-ā-
7 śvamēdh-āvabhrtha-svānānām- Bhāraśivānām mahārāja-ṣrī-Bhava-
nāga-dau-
8 hitrasya Gautamiṇputrasya putrasya Vākāṭakānām mahā-
rāja-ṣrī-Rudrasē-
9 nasya sūnōr-atayata(na) māhēśvarasya saty-āṛjiva-kārunya-
śaurya-vikrama-na-
10 ya -vinaya - māhātmy - ādhina(ka)tva - hā(ṛ)p(tr - āgata - bhakti(kti)tva-
dharmamavī(ṛ)jaya(yi)tva-

Second Plate; Second Side.

11 manōnairmmā(rmmal)-ādi-guṇais-samupētasya varsha-ṣatam-abhi-
vardhamāna-kōsā-
12 daṇḍasādhana-sannā(nta)na-putra-paurināḥ Yudhishthira-ṛvitrē(ṛtē)n.
Vākāṭakā-
13 nāṃ mahārāja-ṣrī-Pṛthivishēṇasya sūnōr-bbhagavataś-Chakra
pānēḥ-prasā-
14 d-ōpārjita-ṣrī-samudayasya Vākāṭakānām mahārāja-ṣrī-Rudra-
śena-
15 [sya*] sūnōr-mmahārājādhirāja-ṣrī-Dēvagupta-sutāyām Prabhāva-

Third Plate; First Side.

16 tīguptāyāṃ-utpaimasya Sambhōḥ-prasāda-dhṛiti-kārttayugasya
17 Vākāṭakānām - paramamāhēśvara - mahārāja - āṭrī-Pravarasēṇasya
vachanā[t*]
18 Bhōjakāta-rājēye Madhungadi(di)-tāṭē Charmmānka-ānāma-
gr[ā*]maḥ rājamanika-bhū(bhū)ml-
19 sahasrair-āṣṭabhī[(h)] 8000 Śatr[u*]ghanarāja-putra-Kondarāja-
vijñāptyaā nāna-gō-
20 tra-charanēbhīyō brāhmaṇēbhīyaḥ sahasrāya datatā [l[ ]]

Third Plate; Second Side.

21 Yatō-smat-santakā[ḥ*] sarvavādhyaksh-ādhiyōga-niyuktā ājñā-
saṅč[ā*]ṛi-kulaputr-ādhiṅkṛtā

1 The form of superscript i that we have here, is somewhat different from that which occurs throughout the rest of this inscription.—In line 7 of the next inscription, page 245 below, this syllable has the short vowel i, as is optionally allowable.

2 The engraver first formed hi, and then partially cancelled the i. Probably the man who wrote the copy from which he engraved, had hesitated between hit-āgata and pāṭr-āgata.—The form of superscript i used here, was not of general use till somewhat later times. But, in the present inscription, it occurs again distinctly twice in ti, in line 16, in ni, line 21, and twice in vi, line 2; and in other places; and, in many other instances throughout the inscription, there is a tendency to form it in the same way.

3 The engraver first formed jji, and then corrected it into rjji.

4 The engraver first formed ṛkād, and then partially cancelled the d.

5 We have to supply parimitaḥ, or some similar word, after this instrumental case.
Fourth Plate; First Side.

27 a-párampa-gó-balivardda[ḥ] a-pushpa-kshtra-satdó(ndó)ha[ḥ] a-
ch[ā]*rā-
28 sana-charmm-āṅgāra[ḥ] a-lavāna-klinna-kkrēni-khanaka[ḥ] sarvva-
vē(vi)ṣṭi-pari-
29 hára-paríhritaḥ* sa-nidhis-s-ōpānidiḥ sa-kli(kli)pt-ōpaki(kli)ptaḥ
30 ā-chandr-āditya-kāl̄yaḥ putra-pauṭr-[ā]*nugamakah [1*] bhu[m*]jatam
na ke-
31 nachi[d*]=vyāghatam(h) karttavyas-sarvva-kkriyābhis-sa[m*]rakshi-
tavyāḥ-par[i*]vrdhdayi-
32 tav[y*]aś=cha [1*] yaś-ch-āyam* śāsanam=a-gañayamānō(nah)
svalp[ā*]m=api [pa*]ribādhānī.*

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

33 n(n)=kuryyāt-kārayitā vā tasya brāhmaṇair-vvēditasya sa-
va(da)nđa-nigrahām kuryyā-
34 ma ll Asmi[m*]ś=cha dharmm-āvara-karanē ati(tt)t-ānēka-rāja-
datna(tta)-saṁchitna(na)na-
35 paripālanaṁ krita-puny-āṇukirttana-parīh-āṛthtam na
kttayāmāḥ [1*]
36 Vyāsa-gītāu ch-ātra ślokau praṁāni(ṇl)karttavyau [l*] Svā-
datnā(ttta)m=para-datnā(ttta)m
37 vvā(vā) yō harēta vasundharām gavām śata-sahasrasya
hantu-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

38 r-harati dūskritam [l*l] Shasṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi(ni) svargge
mōdati bhū-

*Read yatḥ=aisha ŏtmanō.
*Read vaṣjayaikē.
*The engraver first formed yai, and then corrected it into yi.
*Read parīkritaḥ.
*Read yaś=ch-edam. The cha of ica closed up again, almost entirely, after the engraving.
*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 ŏ, connecting parībādhām in samādi with kuryyāt.
*The engraver first formed ṇ=pra, and then cancelled the ṇ.
*Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubbh); and in the following verse.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 55, PLATE XXXIV.

39 mi-daḥ āchhēttā ch-ānumantā cha¹ tāny-ēva narakē vasēd-iti [I*] Śśā(śā)sana-
40 sthitī=ch-ēyām brāhmaṇair-īsvaraiś=ch-ānupālaniyā tad-yathā rājñām sa-
41 ptâṅgē rājyā a-ddrōha-pravṛntā(tā)nām [a*]-brahmaghna-chaura²- pāradārika-rāja-
42 pathyakāri-prabhṛiti(tī)nam [a*]-saṅgr[ā]*ma-kurvvatām anya- grāmēshv=an-a- il

Fifth Plate; Second Side.
43 pari[a*]ddhānām a-chand-r-āditya-kāllyaḥ [l*] atō=nyathā kurvvaṭām-anumodatām vā*
44 rājñāḥ bhu(bhū)mi-chchhēdām kurvvaṭaḥ a-stēyam-iti [II*] Prā(pra)tigrāhīṇaḥ=ch-ātra
45 våra-niyuktāḥ [l*] Śātâyayanaḥ Gānāryyaḥ Vatsya-Dēvāryyaḥ Bhadravāja-
46 Kumārasarmārīyya[h*] Pārāsaryya-Guhaśarmmā Kāsyapa-
Dēv[ā*]rīyya Mahēśvarārīyya[h*]
47 Mātrārīyya[h*] Kaundīnyya-Rudrārīyya[h*] Sōmāryya[h*] Harisarmārīyya[h*]

Sixth Plate; First Side.
48 Bhadravāja-Kumārāsa[r]mm[h*]yāya[h*] Kaundīnyya(nya)-Mātrī(ṛi)-
sarmmā Varāsarmmā[a*]
49 Gopījasarmmā Nāgāsarmmā Bhadravāja[a*]-Śantiśarmmā Rudra-
sarmmā Vatsyaḥ
50 Bhōjakad[e*]vāryya[h*] Maghaśarmmā Dēvāsarmmā Bhadravāja-
Mokśaśarmmā[a*]
51 [Nā]gaśarmmā Rēvatiśarmmā Dharmārīyya[h*] Bhadravāja-
Śarmmārīyya[h*]
52 Nandanārīyya[h*] Mūlaśarmmā 1 Īśvaraśarmmā 1 Varāsarmmā

Sixth Plate; Second Side.
53 Chāṇṣīya²-Skandārīyya[h*] Bhadravāja-Bappārīyya[h*] Dharm-
mārīyya[h*] Ātrēya-Skandārīyya[h*]
54 Gautama-Sōmaśarmmārīyya[h*] Bha[r*]trīśarmmā Rudraśa[rmm*]-
ryya[h*] Maghārīyya[h*] Mātrī-
55 śarmmārīyya[h*] Īśvaraśarmmārīyya[h*] Gautama-sagōtra-Mātrī-
sarmmā-
56 ryya[h*] Kaundīnyya(nya)-Dēvāsarmmārīyya[h*] Varāsarmmārīyya[h*] Rōhārīyya[h*]

1 The engraver first formed chcha or chchha, and then cancelled the lower ch, or the chha.
2 The engraver first formed rdä, and then cancelled the ā.
3 Read an-apar[ā*]ddhānām, omitting the mark of punctuation.
4 The engraver first formed vṛdd, and then cancelled the lower v.
5 The engraver first formed govā, and then corrected it into ġrād.
6 This ryya stands at the end of the line, below the rdā of mahēśvarā; but this is evidently the
   place to which it properly belongs.
7 Read vatsya.
Seventh Plate
57 Gautama-sagôtra-Svâmidé[vâ*]ryya[h*] Rêvatiśarmâyra[h*]
58 Jyêshthaśarmâryya[h*] Śaṇḍilya-Kumâraśarmâryya[h*] Svâti-
śarmâ-
59 ryya[h*] Š[a*]yâyaña(na)-Kând[râ*]ryya-prabhritayah [II*] Sênâpatau
60 Chitravarmmanî sarîvatsarë=shtâdaëa[më*] 108 Jyêshtha-
mása-sukla-
61 paksha-trayôdasâyâ[rî*] šâsanaṃ likhitam=itiḥ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of king Pravarasêna, the ornament of the Vâkátakas, 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 Pravarâpura;—(Line 17.)—
At the command of the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the Mahârâja of
the Vâkâtakas, the illustrious Pravarasêna (II.),3 who was begotten on Prabhâvatiguptâ,
the daughter of the Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious Dëvaguptâ; who, through
possessing the favour of (the god) Šambhu, 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
Rudrasêna (II.), who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the
divine (god) Chakrapâni;—

(L. 9.)—Who4 was the son of the Mahârâja of the Vâkâtakas, the illustrious
Prithivishêna, who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara; 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 iti.—Two forms of the double mark of punctuation are used in this inscription; the
upright form, after anyagrâmêshu=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 iti.

2 As regards the Text and my Translation here, Dr. Bühler, while admitting that the opening
aksharas looked like drishãtām or drijãtām, interpreted them as ūn on.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Índraji read
them as drístām.—The mark over the dri is not an anusvāra, but only a rust-mark. And the reading
is as indisputably drístātām here, as it is drístām 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
K. T. Telang (id. p. 360, note) suggested that it might mean ‘sanctioned.’ But it is of course the
remnant of such an expression as drístām bhagavatâ, “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 village named Charmânka” &c., in line 18 ff. below.

4 i.e. Rudrasêna 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\(^1\) was the son of the Maharāja of the Vākātakas, 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 Maharāja 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 besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgirathī that had been obtained by (their) valour, (and) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten asvamedha-sacrifices;—who\(^3\) was the son of Gautamiputra;—

(L. 1.)—(And) who\(^6\) was the son of the Maharāja of the sovereign Vākātakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna (I.), who celebrated the agnīshṭoma,\(^5\) aptoryāma, ukhya, śhōdaśin, atirātra,\(^6\) vājapeya, bhrihaspatisava,\(^7\) and sādyakra\(^8\) sacrifices and four asvamedha-sacrifices, (and) was of the Vishṇu-ṛiddha gōtra;—

(L. 18.)—The village named Charmāṅka, on the bank of the river Madhunadi, in the Bhōjakata kingdom, (measured) by eight thousand bhūmis,\(^9\) (or in figures) 8000, according to the royal measure, is, at the request of Kondarāja, the son of Satrughnarāja, given to one thousand Brāhmans of various gōtras and charanas.

(L. 21.)—Wherefore Our\(^10\) obedient and high-born\(^11\) officers, employed in the office of general superintendents,\(^12\) (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. Prithivishāṇa.
\(^{2}\) i.e. Rudrasēna I.
\(^{3}\) See page 237 above, note 1.
\(^{4}\) i.e. Rudrasēna I.
\(^{5}\) The agnīshṭoma, 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 Jyotishṭoma, which was one of the principal sacrifices connected with the sacred Śvāma plant and juice. Other parts of the Jyotishṭoma sacrifice were the aptoryāma, ukhya, śhōdaśin, atirātra, and vājapeya ceremonies, which are mentioned in the text here; the seventh, and last, part being the atyagnīshṭoma, which is not here mentioned.
\(^{6}\) The bhrihaspatisava was another sacrifice, lasting a day, apparently connected with Brihaspati, the priest and preceptor of the gods.
\(^{7}\) The sādyakra was another sacrifice, of which I have not been able to find any explanation in the books of reference available.
\(^{8}\) bhūmi, lit. ‘land, the earth,’ is evidently used here as some technical land-measure, the value of which is not known.
\(^{9}\) asmat-santaka, lit. ‘belonging to Us,’ see Childers’ Pāli Dictionary, s. v. santaka.
\(^{10}\) kulaputra.
\(^{11}\) Sarvādhyakṣha.
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 Chaturvédins; 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 kripta and upakripta;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 Bráhmans."

(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 Bráhmans and by (future) lords; namely (the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Bráhmans) 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 Bráhmans, 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):—Ganárya, of the Śátyáyana (gōtra). Dévárya, of the Vátsyya (gōtra). Kumáraśarmárya, of the Bháradvája (gōtra). Guhaśarman, of the Páráśarya (gōtra). Dévárya, 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 (Archiv. Surv. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 123, note 8).
⁴ 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-Sańvat 1049, referred to at page 201 above.
⁵ Dr. Bhagwanal Indrajit proposed to correct the text into dharmm-ādara, probably meaning "in this act of respect for religion."

The saptāgā, 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); Mahēṣvarārya, (and) Mātrārya. Rudrārya, of the Kaṇḍinya (gōtra); (and) Sômārya, (and) Hariśarmārya. Kumārāsārmārya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra). Mātrīśarman, of the Kaṇḍinya (gōtra); (and) Varaśarman, Gōndāsārmārya, (and) Nāgaśarman. Śāntiśarman, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Rudraśarman. Bhōjakadēvārya, of the Vātsyya (gōtra); (and) Maghaśarman, (and) Dēvaśarman. Mōkshaśarman, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Nāgaśarman, Rēvatiśarman, (and) Dharmārya. Śarmārya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Nandanārya, Mūlaśarman, Íśvaraśarman, (and) Varaśarman. Skandārya, of the Vātsyya (gōtra). Bappārya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Dharmārya. Skandārya, of the Íśrēya (gōtra). Sōnasārmārya, of the Gautama (gōtra); (and) Bhātrīśarman, Rudrāśarman, Maghaśarman, Mātrīśarman, (and) Íśvaraśarman. Mātrīśarman, of the Gautama gōtra. Dēvaśarman, of the Kaṇḍinya (gōtra); (and) Varaśarman, (and) Rōhārya. Svāmidēvārya, of the Gautama gōtra; (and) Rēvatiśarman, (and) Jyēśṭhāśarman. Kumārāsārmārya, of the Śāndilya (gōtra); (and) Svātiśarman. (And) Kāndārya, of the Śatyaśana (gōtra); and so forth.

(L. 59.)—(This) charter has been written, while Chitravarmā is the Sēnāpāti, in the eighteenth year, (or in figures) 10 (and) 8, on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēśṭhā.

**No. 56; PLATE XXXV.**

**SIWANI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA PRAVARASENA II.**

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1836, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 726 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. D. M. McLeod, Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxiii. Nos. 1 and 2).

The inscription is on some copper-plates which were obtained by me for examination from the possession of a Zamīndār or land-holder named Hazari Gond Malguzar, living at the village of Pīdarāl, in the Siwani Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Siwani-Chhapārā District in the Central Provinces. I have no information as to where the plates were originally found; and, as they have always been known as the 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 8½” by 4½” at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are rather thin, and the letters 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

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1 The chief town is Siwani; the 'Seoni and Seonee' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 79. Lat. 23° 5' N.; Long. 79° 35' E.
good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew in a few places marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) 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 grant came into my hands. The seal \(1\) is a thin flat disc of copper, about 3\(\frac{1}{6}\) in diameter. A bolt in the centre of it secures it to a thin band of copper, about 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) broad and 3\(\frac{1}{4}\) 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\(\frac{1}{2}\) oz.; total 3 lbs. 9\(\frac{1}{4}\) oz.—The average size of the letters is about 3\(\frac{1}{4}\); 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-bhala, line 26; and in boppa, 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 30 to 42, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmaniya, once, in rajna-pravara, line 9; (2) the use of the dental n, instead of the anusvara, before s and s, in vanasa, 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 bhagratthay-amala, line 5, and in sarvadhyaksha, line 24; (4) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following v, in addkvarya, line 19-20; and (5) the doubling of v after the anusvara (which, however, was omitted in the actual engraving), in samvatsar, line 18.

The inscription is another record of the Mahdrāja Pravarasēna II., of the Vākātaka 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 Phālguna (February-March). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant to a Brāhman, by Pravarasēna II., of the village of Brahmapūraka, in the Bennakārpara bhāga.\(^2\)

Of the villages mentioned in defining the position and boundaries of the village that was granted, Kollapūraka is possibly the modern ‘Kolapoor’ of the map,\(^3\) twenty-one miles south of Ilichpur.

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\(^{1}\) See Plate xxxiiiD.

\(^{2}\) bhāga, lit. ‘a part, share, division, allotment,’ is a technical territorial term, of rare occurrence, the exact purport of which is not apparent.

\(^{3}\) Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 20° 56’ N.; Long. 77° 34’ E.—The same name, in a slightly different form, occurs in the Kollapura of the southern inscriptions (e.g. line 48 of the Tārā inscriptions; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 18; see also id. p. 23, note 22), as the ancient name of the modern Kollapur, the chief town of the Kollapur State in the Bombay Presidency.
TEXT.¹

The Seal.

a Vākāṭaka²-lalāmasya
b krama-prāpta-nripa-śriyāḥ
c rājñāḥ=Pravarasēnasya
d śásana[rh] ripu-śasanim [II*]

First Plate.

1 Drishtam Siddham² II Agnīṣṭhōm-āptoryyām-ōktthya-shōḍaṣy-ātirātra⁴-vājaye(pē)yabrihaspatisava-
2 sādyaskra-va(cha)tuṛaśvamēḍha-yaśinaḥ Vishnuvṛiddha-sagōtrasya sashraṭ Vākāṭakānā-
3 m²-mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya sūnoḥ sūnoḥ atyanta-
   Svāmi-Mahā-
   bhairava-bhaktaṣya ansa-bhāra-sanniv[e*]śita-Śiva-liṅg-ōdvahana-Śiva-
   suparitūṣṭa-
   samutpādita-rājāvanśānaṃ parākram-āḍhigata-Bhāgratthy-ā(a)mala-
   jala-mūrddh-ābhi-

Second Plate; First Side.

6 shiktānām daś-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛtha-snānānaṃ= Bhāraśivānām= mahā-
   rāja-śrī-Bhavanā-
7 ga-dauḥitrasya ¹ Gautamir putrasya putrasya ¹ Vākāṭakānām=
   mahārāja-śrī-
8 Rudrasēnasya sūnoḥ atyantarāhēśvarasya ¹ saty-ārjāva-
   kāryaya-sau-
9 ryya - vikrama - naya - vinaya - māhātmya*- [a*]dhimakatva-pātr-[a*]lgata-
   bhaktitva-dharmavajāyī-
10 tva-manōairmmaly-ādi-guna-samuditasya ¹ varsha-śatam=abhivaruddha-
   mãna-kōsa-
11 daṇḍaśaḍhāna-santāna-putra-pautrīṇaḥ Yudhishtīṇa-vṛttēr=Vvākāṭa-
   kānām=mahārāja-

Second Plate; Second Side.

12 śrī-Prithivishēnasya sūno[h*] bhagavataś=Chakrapānēḥ prasād-
   opārjjita-
13 śrī-samudayasya ¹ Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-Rudrasēnasya
   sūnoḥ

¹ From the original plates.
² Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh)
3 In the original, this word, siddham, stands between the lines, below drīṣṭam.—As regards
   drīṣṭam, see page 240 above, note 2.
⁴ See page 241 above, note 6.
⁵ Read saṃrāṭ-vākāṭakānām.
⁶ This and the following marks of punctuation, down to line 23, are unnecessary.
⁷ See page 237 above, note 1.
⁸ In this compound, the t is formed very anomalously; but the character cannot stand for any-
   thing else.
14 púrvva-ráj-ánuvṛitta-márgg-ánusārināh sunaya-bala-parākkram-ô-
15 chchhinna-sarvva-dvishaḥ mahárajádhirája-śri-Dévägupta-sutáyám-
Prabhávati-
16 guptáyám-uptannasya Śambhó[h*] prasáda-dhriti-kárttayugasáyah¹
Vákáataka-

Third Plate; First Side.
17 vaná-ālaṅkára-bhútasya I mahárajá-śri-Pravarásénasya vachanát
Benná-
18 kárppara-bhágé pravardhamána-rájya-sa[m*]yvatsaré I ashtá-
daśamé I Phálgu-
19 na(na)-suksla-dvádaśyaṃ Maudgalya-sagótraya I Taittiri(ri)yáy-
āddhvaryya-
20 vē Dévaśarmm-ācháryyáy=ôdaka-púrvvam sa-korátāh sa-
pañchášatkaḥ
21 Brahmápurákan=náma grámo-tisrìshțaḥ Vátapúrakasya-
ótaréṇa I Kiññihkhē-
22 tákasy=āparéṇa I Pavarájjaváṭakasya dakshiṇéta(na) I
Kollápurakasya

Third Plate; Second Side.
23 purvvéṇa I sva-simá-par[i*]chchh[e*]dēña Káraṇjávi(?chi)raka-
taté II[i] Atr-âsmat-santakáḥ
24 sarvvaďdhyaksha-n[i*]yoga-n[i*]yuktáh ājñásañchári-kulaputr-âdhi-
kritáḥ bhataḥ-
25 ś=chhátrás=cha viśruta-púrvvayā ājñáyā ājñápayitavyáḥ [i*]
Vidita-
26 m-astu ta(va)ḥ yath=âishó-smâbbhiḥ âtmanó dharmm-âyur-
bbala-vijay-âisvarya-va\(vri)\[d*]dhaye
27 ih-[A*]mutra-hit-ârththam=âtv(tm)-ânugraháya I vajrayikē dharmma-
stháné I a-bhata-

Fourth Plate; First Side.
28 chchh[A*]tra-právēśyāḥ a-párampara-gó-balivarddhaḥ a-pushpa-
kshira-sandhóha[h*] a-chá-
29 ráśana-charmhm-ângâraḥ a-la\(va)ṇa-tlinvāt-krêñi-khanakāh I sarvva-
viśhti-parihrára-
30 parihritáḥ sa-nidhiḥ s-ópanidhiḥ sa-kli(kli)pt-ópakli(kli)ptah

¹ Read kárttayugasáya.
² Read bhataḥ.
³ First vri was engraved here, and then, it was corrected into vi, by adding the i and partially erasing the vri.
⁴ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
⁵ After this word, we require atisrishtaḥ, or some similar word, as in line 24 f., of the preceding inscription, page 238 above.
⁶ First li was engraved, and then it was corrected into la by partial erasure of the i.
⁷ Read klinna.
⁸ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary
41 \( \text{trans.} \) kālī(II)yāḥ putra-pautr-ānugāmī I bhujaṁanō na kēnac̄haut-vyāg̣hātayi- 
32 tavyah sarvva-kriyābhūḥ saṃrakṣhitavyah parivardhāvita-vyā(vya)s= 
cha [I\(^{*}\)] yaś=ch-āśma- 
33 cn-chhāsanam=a-gaṇayamānaḥ sva-pām=api paribhādhan(n)=k[u\(^{*}\)]ṛya-yāt= 
kārayita\(^{1}\) vā I\(^{2}\) 

Fourth Plate; Second Side. 

34 tasya brāhmaṇair-avēditasya I sadaṃra-nigrahaṁ kuryāma 
kārayēma v=eti [II\(^{*}\)] 
35 Sēnāpatau Bāppadevē likhitam āchāryyyēna II Asmi[m\(^{*}\)]s=cha 
dharmm-ādhihikara- 
36 nē I\(^{2}\) ati(tl)t-ānēka-rāja-dattās\(^{4}\)-samchintana-paripālana[m\(^{*}\)] kritapu- 
37 ny-ānukirttayāmah\(^{*}\) ēshyatatkāla-prabhaviṣhūnam\(^{*}\) gauravād- 
bhaviṣyān=vi- 
38 jñāpayāmah II Vyāsa-gltau ch=ātra ślokau pramāṇi(ṇl)- 
karttvayau II(l) 

Fifth Plate. 

39 Shasṭhi\(^{2}\)-varsha-sahasrāni svargge mādati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhēttā 
ch=ānumattā(ntā) 
40 cha tāny=eva narakē vāsēta(t) II Sva-dattām=paradattāv(m)= 
vā yō harē- 
41 ta vasundharāma(m) gavām śata-sahasrasaḥ hantur=harati 
dushkrtam=iti II 

/TRANSLATION. 

The Seal. 

A charter of king Pravarasena, the ornament of the Vākātakas, who has 
attained royal dignity by inheritance, (is) a 
charter for (the observance of even his) 
enemies! 

The Plates. 

Sight has been attained! Perfection has been attained!—(Line 17.)—At the command 
of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Pravarasena (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 Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the 
Mahārdjādhirāja, the glorious Devagupta; who, through possessing the favour of (the 

\(^{1}\) Read kārayita, as in line 33 of No. 55 above, page 238; or kārayē. 

\(^{2}\) 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-puny-ānukirttana-parāh-dṛthāṁ na kṛttayāmah, as in line 55 of the preceding 
inscription, page 238 above. 

\(^{6}\) Read ēshyatatkāla-prabhaviṣhūnam. 

\(^{7}\) Metre, Ślokā (Anushtubh); and in the following verse.
god) Śambhu, is (as virtuous as) one belonging to the Kṛta age; who is the ornament of the lineage of the Vākātakas;—

(Line 12.)—(And) who is the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Rudrasēna (II.), who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapāṇi;—

(L. 8.)—Who was the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Prithivishēna, 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 Yudhishthīra;—

(L. 3.)—Who was the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Rudrasēna (I.), who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Svāmi-Mahābhārata, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious Bhavanāga, the Mahārāja of the Bāraśivas, 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) Bhagirathī that had been obtained by (their) valour, (and) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten aśvamēda-sacrifices;—who was the son of Gautamiputra;—

(L. 1.)—(And) who was the son of the Mahārāja of the sovereign Vākātakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna (I.), who celebrated the aṃnashtoma, aṃtōryāma, ukkhyā, shōdaśīn, atirātra, vājapēya, bhṛhaspatisava, and sādyakra sacrificia, and four aśvamēda-sacrifices, (and) was of the Vishnūvṛiddha gōtra;—

(L. 17.)—In the Bēnākārpara bhāga,—in the eighteenth year of the augmenting reign; on the twelfth lunar day of the brāhīght fortnight of (the month) Phālguna,—the village named Bhramapūraka,—(which), according to the specification of its boundaries (is) on the bank of: the (river) Karanājaviraka, (on the north of) the village of) Vatapūraka, (on the west of) the village of) Kinihiṅkētaka, (on the south of) the village of) Pavarajavātaka, (and) on the east of) the village of) Kollapūraka,—is given, with libations of water, together with the kōra, (and the fifty) (hamlets?), to the Adhvaryu, the Āchārya Dēvasārman, of the Maudgalya gōtra, (and) the Taittirīya (śākhā).

(L. 23.)—In this matter, Our obedient and high-born officers, employed in the office of general superintendents, and (Our) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be

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1 i.e. Rudrasēna II.
2 i.e. Prithivisēna.
3 i.e. Rudrasēna I.
4 See page 237 above, note 1.
5 i.e. Rudrasēna I.
6 Or, perhaps, Karanājaviraka.
7 sa-kōra is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not known. But kōra has a Dravidian appearance and sound, and is perhaps an old form of the Kānarese koradu, korordu, korasi, 'a pollard, the trunk of a lopped tree; a log, stump, short stick.'—In Marāṭhi we have, kōra, 'spun silk, while still raw or unboiled; kōraṇa, kōraṇā, Barleria or Amaranth; and kōrāda, 'dry, empty, yielding no returns or profit.'
(thrus) 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, (ana generally) for our benefit, this (village) [is granted*] in (Our) victorious office of justice.

(L. 27.)—"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 upakripta; 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 Brāhmans."

(L. 35.)—(This charter) has been written by the Āchārya, while Bāppardēva is the Sēnāpati.

(L. 35.)—And in this subject-matter of religion,—in order to avoid boasting of (other) meritorious actions performed (by Us),—We do not recite the religious merit acquired by (Our) care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone. (But), out of respect for those who shall be pre-eminent in times to come, We make a request (for protection of the grant) to future (kings).

(L. 38.)—And two verses, sung by Vyāsa, are to be taken as an authority on this point:—The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another, he incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows!

No. 57; PLATE XXXVI A.

PAHLADPUR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in 1838, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 1055, where Mr. James Prinsep published the text of it, as read by Pandit Kamalakanta from Captain Burt’s facsimile, and, with the text, his own translation.

Pahladpur* is a village near the right bank of the Ganges, six miles east by south of Dhanapur, the chiet town of the Mahālch Pargānā in the Zamānīya Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Ghazipur District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on a sandstone monolith column,—about three feet in diameter; polished and rounded for a

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1 The 'Palladpur and Puhalpoor' 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 'Puharpour' on the other side of the river; but it is not entered there.

2 The 'Zamania, Zaminea, Zeemanea, and Zumeniah,' of maps, &c.
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 Zamāniyā, there stands another sandstone column, rather smaller in its dimensions, which is supposed to be the sister-column of the Pahlādpur 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 pāda 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 ¼" to ½". 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 pāda of the verse, that his name was Lōkapāla. From the rhyming ends of the four pādas, it seems that his name must have ended in pāla. But, in the third pāda of the verse, we have certainly the well-known name of Śiśupāla; and,—whether the name as it stands here is that of the king himself, or is that of the Purānic king Śiśupāla of Chedi, with whom he is compared,—the inference seems to be that the name of the king, whose inscription is on the pillar, was Śiśupāla. 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-ānīka-pālaḥ. This might be rendered by simply "the protector of the armies of kings." But pārthiva has so much the appearance of standing as a proper name here,¹ that I think the correct translation is "the protector of the army of the Pārthivas." And, if Dr. Oldhausen's derivation of the name Pallava, through the form Pahlava, from Parthava, i.e. Parthian,² can be upheld, there will be no objection to considering that we have in this record a fuller and more completely Sanskritised form of the early name of this tribe.

**TEXT.**

1 Iha [†] Vipula²-vijaya-kṛt[†]ih kshatra-saddharmapālaḥ satata-dda(da)yita-p[†]ṛṛthah P[†]rthiv-ānī(ṇ)ka-pālaḥ diśi-dis[†] Śiśupāla[—]timā
[—]pau(?)lah vihita iva Vidhātra pañchamō lō[kapā]lah [†]

¹ As a Hindu name, it denotes one of the families of the Kauśikas, descended through Viśvāmitra from Kuśika 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, Mālinī.
TRANSLATION.

Here, he,—who is possessed of extensive victory and fame; who is the protector of
the true religion of the warrior caste; who always cherishes princes; who is the protector
of the army of the Pārthivas; who day after day .......... Śiṣupāla ..........

.............—was created, as if he were a fifth Lōkapāla, by (the god) Vidhātri.

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 copy-
ists, built into the inside of the Fort wall, near the pillar which has on it the following in-
scription of the Varika Vishnuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59, Plate xxxviic., in the hill-
fort of Bijayagad or Bējēgadh, about two miles to the south-west of Byāna, the chief
town of the Byāna Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Bharatpur State in Rājputānā.

The writing, which covers the whole front of the stone, about 1' 55" broad by 2 3/8" 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 inscrip-
tion. An indefinite amount is lost at the end of each line; and also an indefinite number of lines below line 2. Every effort was made to discover the rest of the inscription, but
without success.—The average size of the letters is about 3/16. 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 Mahāśeṇḍrapati 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 Lōkapālas, or regents of the quarters of the world, are—Indra, of the east; Yama, of the
south; Varuṇa, of the west; and Kuveṣṭha, of the north.—The number is sometimes increased to eight,
by the addition of Agni at the south-east, Śūrya at the south-west, Vāyu at the north-west, and Chandra
at the north-east.

3 The "Byāna" of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 50. Lat. 26° 57' N.; Long. 77° 20' E.—Other writers
say the name as "Bhaṁya", "Byāna", "Biāna", and "Bānākāh"; but this is wrong; the name, of which the
medieval form is said to have been Bēhāyāna, is disyllabic.—As regards Mr. A. C. L. Carley's
utterly untenable derivation of Byāna from the name of the demon Bānāsura, see my remarks in Ind.
Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 9.—The ancient Sanskrit name of the place was Śrīpathā; see id. pp. 3 ff., and 10;
and Vol. XV. p. 239.

4 The "Bhurtpoor" of maps, &c.
TEXT.

   pu ................................
2 brāhmaṇa-purōgaṃ ch-ādhisṭhānam śarīr-ādi-kuśalam prīṣṭvā likhaty-
   Asti Rasmā ..........................
3 .................................................................

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Of the Mahārāja and Mahāsenāpati, who has been made the leader of the Yaudhēya tribe, and having asked the settlement, headed by the Brāhmaṇas, as to the health of (their) bodies &c., writes—

"There is ............................................."

No. 59; PLATE XXXVIC.

BIJAYAGADH STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE YEAR 428.

This inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by Mr. A. C. L. Carleyle, 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 monolith red-sandstone pillar that stands in a conspicuous position, near the south wall of the Fort, inside the hillfort of Bijayagadh or Bējāgadh 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’ 2” square at the top. The height of the pillar above the plinth is 26’ 3”. The base is square, to the height of 3’ 8”; each face measuring 1’ 6”. Above this, the pillar is octagonal, for a length of 22’ 7”; and it then tapers off to a point. The extreme top, however, is broken; and a metal spike, which projects from it, indicates that it was originally surmounted by a capital. The inscription is towards the south side of the pillar; it runs vertically down the pillar, and is read from the top downwards; and the lowest letter of line 3, the longest line, is about 7’ 0” above the level of the plinth. The platform, on which the pillar stands, is plainly of much more recent construc-

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1 From the ink-impression.

2 Several superscript vowels are legible along this line; but the consonants are all broken away and lost.

3 Both more or less mutilated in publication.

4 See page 351 above, and note 3.

5 On this point, Mr. Carleyle’s account is exactly the opposite; but he is wrong; as is, in fact, shewn by his further statement that line 2 is on the left of line 1, and so on; this could not be the case, if the inscription ran from the bottom upwards.
tion than the pillar itself; and this suggests that possibly the present position of the pillar is not its original one. On the south side of the pillar, towards the top of the square base, there is engraved, in two lines of rather rough Dēvanāgarī characters of about the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., Śrī-yaṅga Vra(bra)hmasāgara, "the holy ascetic, Brahmāsāgara;" with perhaps an imperfect date below, of (Vikrama-Saṃvat) 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 9' 4" broad by 2' 6½" high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from 1½" to 2". The characters must be regarded as belonging to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indo-Scythic form of m, quite in accordance with the date of the record. They also include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 20, and 400.—The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihvādaśīya in yasāh-kula, line 4; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, in vināśa, line 1, and vanśa, line 4; (3) the doubling throughout of t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in puttrēṇa, line 2; (4) the doubling of r, once, under the same circumstances, in supratishthitā, line 2; (5) the very exceptional doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r and y, in śrēṣṭhā, line 4, and pañcchadāṣṭyām, line 2; (6) the doubling of bh in conjunction with a following y, in abhhyudaya, line 4; and (7) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following v, in putrattvā, line 4.

The inscription is one of a Rāja named Vishṇuvardhana, 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 Phālgunī (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 Vishṇuvardhana was in all probability a feudatory of the Early Gupta king Samudragupta. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it only being to record the erection, by Vishṇuvardhana, of this pillar, which is called a yāpa or 'sacrificial post,' on the completion of a pūndarīka-sacrifice.

TEXT.

1 Siddham [1*] Kṛitiśu chaturshu varsha-satēśhv-ashtāviṇēshu 400 20 8
2 Phālguna(na)-bahulasya pañcchadāṣṭyām-ētasyām-pūrvvāyām* [1*]
3 Kṛitu puṇḍarīkē yūpo-yam-pratishtāhāpitas-supratishthitā-rajya-nāmadhēyēna śrī-Vishṇuvardhanēna Varikēṇa Yāsōvarddhana-sat-puttrēṇa Yaśōrātā-sat-pauṭrēṇa Vyāghraratā-sat-praaputtṛēṇa 4

1 If we refer the date to the Śaka era, the result, A.D. 506-7, might perhaps be used to identify this Vishṇuvardhana with the king of the same name mentioned in the Mandaśrī inscription of Mālava-Saṃvat 589 (A.D. 532-33). But there is nothing to justify us in assuming that the Śaka era was ever used in early times in this part of the country. Also, the form of m, as a northern letter, is too early for that period. And, as is shewn by his titles of Rājādhirāja and Paramādīvara, as well as by the general tenor of his inscription, the Vishṇuvardhana of the Mandaśrī record was a far greater person than this Vishṇuvardhana, the Varika.

* From the original stone.

1 Supply tithau.

4 The form of as that occurs here differs from the form used in the other instances throughout this inscription, in the distinct loop on the right hand of the bottom of the letter.
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Four centuries of years, together with the twenty-eighth year, (or in figures) 400 (ana) 20 (ana) 8, having been accomplished; on the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the (month) Phalguna;—on this (lunar day), (specified) as aforesaid:

(Line 3.)—On the ceremony of the punḍarika-sacrifice (having been performed), this sacrificial post has been caused to be set up by the Varika, the illustrious Viṣṇuvardhana, whose royalty and name are well established,—who is the excellent son of Yaśovardhana; (and) the excellent son’s son of Yaśorāta; (and) the excellent son of the son’s son of Viyāgharāta,—for the purpose of increasing (his) splendour, sacrifices, religion, welfare (in the other world), prosperity, fame, family, lineage, good fortune, and enjoyment.

(L. 4.)—Let there be success! Let there be increase! Let there be tranquillity! Let there be the condition of (his) having a son who shall live! Let there be the attainment of desires that are wished for! May there be faith and wealth!

No. 60; PLATE XXXVII.

SPURIOUS GAYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRA GUPTA.

THE YEAR 9.

This inscription, which is now published for the first time, is from a copper-plate that was obtained a few years ago by General Cunningham at Gaya, the chief town of the 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 7½”. It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. About half-way down the proper left side, the plate has laminated rather seriously; and there is also a small crack just below this place, and another in the top of the plate, in the

1 As is seen in the lithograph, there is no foundation whatever for the additional letter yo which, in Mr. Carllyele’s published lithograph, follows this ti, or, rather, the ko into which the ti was so gratuitously converted by him. The result was naturally such as to puzzle Dr. Bühler as to the close of the inscription.

2 kritēhu; see page 73 above, note 1.

3 Or, more technically, ‘condition of being a Raja.’

4 Or perhaps bhāgabhāga should be taken as one word, meaning ‘enjoyment of taxes; lordship, royalty;’ see Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. bhāgabhāga, which is explained by ‘enjoying taxes; a king, a sovereign.’

5 The ‘Gya’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104 Lat. 24° 48’ N.; Long. 85° 3’ E.
word vāṣakāṭ; 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$\frac{1}{8}$ by 3$\frac{1}{8}$. 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 Sam[u]dra[pu]tah, very faintly, at the end of line 5. It must have contained a succinct recital of the genealogy, after the fashion of the Aśīrgadh seal of Sarvavaran, No. 47 above, page 219, and the Sōnpat seal of Harshavadhana, 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 4$\frac{1}{8}$. 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 utsanna, the word uchchhanna, which, as used here, is, according to Sir Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, a Prākrit corruption of the Sanskrit utsanna.—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; pittrör, line 8; and sagōtrāya, line 9; (2) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in ayāddhya, line 1; (3) the occasional use of b for v, in bō, line 8, and sambat, line 14; and (4) the use of v for b, in vrāhmaṇa, lines 7 and 10; vahṛchāya, line 9; and savrahmachiśrānē, 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 Ayōdhyā.3 It purports to be dated, in numerical symbols, in the year nine (A.D. 328-29), on the tenth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it simply being to record the grant to a Brāhman, ostensibly by Samudragupta, of the village of Rēvātikā 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 uchchhēttuk, line 1, to dauhittrasya, line 5, the epithets of Samudragupta are uniformly in the genitive case; the drafter 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 approximately, is that for 9.

2 The modern Aṣīrgadya or Aṣīrgady (the 'Oudh or Ajooldhia' of the Indian Atlas, Plate No. 87), Lat. 26° 48' N.; Long. 82° 14' E., on the south bank of the river 'Ghāgra or Ghōgra,' about four miles north-east of Faizābad, the chief town of the Faizābad 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 Bhitarā 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 sh in valatkaushabhyām, 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 (1) the use of the Prakrit corruption uchchhanna, in line 3-4; and (2) the opening expression mahā-nau-hasty-aśva &c., in line 1; the only other instances of similar expressions being in line 1 of the Dēo-Barapār inscription of Jīvita Gupta II., No. 46 above, page 215, and in line 1 of the Dīghwā-Dubaulī grant of the Mahā-dēja Mahēndrapāla, of A.D. 761-62, and of the Bengal Asiatic Society’s grant of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla, of A.D. 794-95.

TEXT.  

1 Īm Svasti Mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jayakandhavārāj(d)=Â(a)jyoddhyā-vāsakāt-sarvva-rāj-ōchchhekttu[h*] pri-  
2 thivyām-a-pratirathasya chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśa[sō**] Dhanada-Varun-  
3 Endra-  
4 ntaka-samasya Kṛitānta-paraśor=nyāy-āgat-ānēkā-gō-hiranya-kōṭi-pradasya chir-  
5 očchha-  
6 mn̄-āsvamēdh-āhartttu[h*] mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapauttrasya* mahārāja-śrī-  
7 Ghatōtktach-puttrasya6  
8 mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandra-gupta-puttrasya* Lichchhivi-dauhittrasya* mahā-  
9 dévyā[rm*] Ku-  
10 má10 radēvyām=utpanna[h*] paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudra-  
11 gupca Gayā-vaishayika-Revatikā-grāmē vrā(bra)hmana-purōga-grāma-vala-  
12 tkaushabhyām=āha l Ėva ch=ārtha[rm*] viditam=bō(vō) bhavatv=ēṣa(sh)  
13 grāmō mayā māttipitrōr=ā  
14 tmanas=cha puṇv-ābhivṛddhyē Bhāradvāja-sagottṛaya Va(ba)hṛtvēya  
15 sav[r]a(bra)hmanā  
16 s-ōparikar-ōddēṣēn-āgrāhāratvēn-āti-

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 112.  
2 Id. p. 140.  
3 From the original plate.  
4 There is a mark over the śa, which may be only a rust-mark, but which renders it a little doubtful whether yaśo-dhanada was engraved, or yaśa dhanada with an omission of śo. The other inscriptions, however, show that the correct reading is yaśasō dhanada &c.  
5 The other inscriptions all read uttana.—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 uttana, from ud + sad.  
6 In order to render the inscription capable of translation, read prapauttraḥ. And, at the same time, correct all the preceding genitives into nominatives,  
7 Read pauutraḥ.  
8 Read puttraḥ.  
9 Read dauhittraḥ.  
10 This mā was first engraved closer to the margin of the plate, and then, being indistinct there, was repeated.
TRANSLATION.

Öm! Hail! From the victorious camp, full of great ships and elephants and horses, situated at (the city of) Ayódhyá,—the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahárájádhirája, 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) Kritánta; who is the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who is the restorer of the aśvamedha-sacrifice, that has been long in abeyance; who is the son of the son's son of the Mahárájá, the illustrious Gupta; who is the son's son of the Mahárájá, the illustrious Ghaṭótkacha; (and) who is the son of the Mahárájádhirája, the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhiví, begotten on the Mahádévá Kumárádéví,—says to the two village Valatkaushans, together with the Bráhmans, at the village of Révatiká belonging to the Gayá vishaya;—

(Line 8.)—"Be it known to you! For the sake of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents and of myself, this village is granted by me, as an agrahára, with the assignment of the uparikara, to the religious student, the Bráhman Gópasvámin, of the Bháradvája goára (and) the Bahvricha (śákhá).

(L. 11.)—"Therefore attention should be paid to him by you; and (his) commands should be obeyed; and all the customary tributes of the village, consisting of that which is to be measured, gold, &c., should be given. And, from this time forth, the tax-paying cultivators, artizans, &c., of other villages, &c., should not be introduced by the Ágrahárika of this (village) (for the purpose of settling in it and carrying on their occupations); (for) otherwise there would certainly be a violation of (the privileges of) an agrahára." The year 9; (the month) Vaiśākha; the day 10.

(L. 15.)—(This deed) has been written by the order of Dyúta-Gópasvámin, the Akshapataládhikrita 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 ánya.
4 As regards the interpretation of the first symbol, see page 255 above, note 1.
5 Supply úllékha-yam, or any similar words.
6 Valatkaushan 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 Akshapataládhikrita, meaning lit. 'he who is appointed to (the duties of) a depository of legal documents,' is an official title that is evidently synonymous with Ákshapataláka (see page 100 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 *Archeol. Surg. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 53 f., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it by Râjâ Siva Prasad, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xix).—And in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 309 f., Dr. E. Hultsch, working from General Cunningham's facsimile, published his own revised reading of the text, and translation of it.

This is another inscription from Udayagiri, in the Bhâlsa Sub-Division of the Ísâgad 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 Amrîta 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 1.34" broad by 7.25" 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 4/5". 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:**

1 Namaḥ siddhebhyaḥ [II*] Śrīsa-tasyutânâm guṇa-tâyadhînâm Gupt-ânvayânâm nîpa-sattamânanâm

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*See page 22 above, and note 1.  
* From the original stone.  
3 Metre Indravajrâ.
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 Kārttika; 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 Pārśva, the best of the Jinas.

(L. 4.)—He is, indeed, the disciple of the saint, the Āchārya Gōśarman, who was the ornament of the lineage of the Āchārya Bhadra (and) sprang from a noble family; but he

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1. Metre, Ruchirā.
2. We have here the locative case of a base *padmāvati*, which, to suit the metre, is substituted for the proper base *padmāvatā*, the locative of which would be *padmāvatāyām*.
4. Metre, Upendravajrā.
5. *siddhābhayaḥ*. These Siddhas are not to be confused with the mythical semi-divine Siddhas who are mentioned, e.g., in line 1 of No. 18 above, page 81. They are saints, who by austere practices have attained *siddhi* or 'perfection or final beatitude' (see the remarks on *siddhām*, page 25 above, note 4) in the shape of some or all of the five states of *salākatā*, 'residence in the same heaven with any particular deity'; *sārāpotā*, 'identity of form with the deity, or assimilation to him'; *sāmāpya*, 'nearness to the deity'; *śānuyāja*, 'absorption into the deity'; and *śārāhitā* or *sāmānāyavyātva*, 'equality with the supreme being in power and all the divine attributes.'—The Jain term *siddha* corresponds pretty closely to the Buddhist *sanyās-sambuddha*, which occurs in line 1 of No. 11 above, page 46.
6. *i.e.* Šāṅkara, whose name occurs in line 6 below.
7. *The allusion is to the āri-shākta or āri-shād-varga; see page 156 above, note 5.*
8. Dr. Hultzsch wrongly read *sphuta*; and thus missed the meaning of this passage.—For *vikātā*, 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 Bādāmi, described in *Archæol. Sārā.* *West. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 25. It represents the same Jina, Pārśvanātha, with a five-hooded snake over him as a kind of nimbus, and a female on the right side, with a serpent's hood, holding up the rod of the umbrella that shades him.
is more widely renowned on the earth (as being) the son, (begotten) on Padmāvatī, the soldier Saṅghilā, who, unconquerable by (his) enemies, took himself to be a very Ripugnā;—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 xxvi.), reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers, and, with it, his own reading of the text, and a translation of it.

This is another inscription from Saṁchi, in the Diwāngaṇī Sub-Division of the Bhōpāl 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 Stāpa.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2 5" broad by 2' 0" high, is in a very fair state of preservation, every letter being, with care, legible from beginning to end; but, owing to the discoloration 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 3" to 1". As in the case of the Saṁchi inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 93, No. 5 above, page 29, Plate iiiB., the characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are not so carefully formed as the characters of that inscription: but,

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1 See page 259 above, note 3.

2 *Aśvapati, lit. 'lord of horses,' appears to be a technical official title.—See Prof. F. Kielhorn's note on the analogous term *Gajapati,* in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 9, note 52.

3 Or we may translate "took himself to be the slayer of (all his) foes."—But Ripugnā seems to be intended as a proper name, and as a synonym for Ripunjaya, which was the name of three or four Purānic kings and heroes; or for Śatrughna, which was the name of one of the brothers of Rāma. We may also compare the name of Śatrughnāraja, in No. 55 above, lin 19, page 237.

4 The Kurus, one of the tribes of India, were divided into two branches, the northern and the southern. Uttarākuru, or the country of the Northern Kurus, is supposed to be a region beyond the most northern range of the Himālaya mountains, and is described as a country of everlasting happiness.

5 Here, again, the allusion is to the *ari-shād-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 Saṁchi, I would add that we should compare, with Saṁchi or Sāči and Kāchi, such instances as Tōṇḍal and Bōṇḍal, two villages next to each other, separated only by a stream, in the Mālgīra Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Shōlapur District; and Hīsrē and Phīsrē, two contiguous villages in the Karmālām Tālukā of the same District. Similar rhyming names may be found all over the country.
allowing for this, the details shew no particular development. In line 11, they include forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 5, 30, and 100. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In pravishṭaka, line 4, we have to notice the affix ka which I have commented on at page 69 above. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for remark, is the doubling of v, after the anusvāra, in saṁnvat, 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 Aśvayuj (September-October). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the Upāsika or lay-worshipper Harisvāminī, the wife of the Upāsaka Sasiddha, of certain sums of money to the Ārya-Saṁgha, or community of the faithful, at the great vihāra or Buddhist convent of Kākanādabōta,—i.e. the great Stāpa at Sāñchi,—for the purpose of feeding one Bhikṣhu day by day, and of maintaining lamps in the shrines of Buddha.

TEXT.  

1 S[iddha]m*[II*] Upāsaka-Saṁsiddha-bhāyarayā upāsik[ā*]-Harisvāminīyā  
   mātā-  
2 pitaram*[uḍḍiṣya] Kākanādabōta-śrī-mahā-vihārē chāturddiśāy-āryya-saṁ-  
3 ghāya akshaya*[nīvi] dattā dinārā dvādaśa [I*] ēśām dinārāṇām  
   yā vṛddhi-  
4 r-upaṭṭiyatē tāya divasē-divasē saṁgha-madhya-pravishṭaka-bhikṣur-ekāḥ  
   bhōja-  
5 yitavyah [II*] Ratna-grihē-pi dināra-trayaṁ dattaṁ [I*] [ta]d-dināra-  
   trayasya vri[d*]dhyā ratna-grihē  
6 bhagavatō Buddhasya divasē-divasē dīpa-trayaṁ prajvālayitavyaṁ [II*]  
   Chatur-Buddh-āsā-  
7 nē-pi dattaṁ dinārā ḍkāḥ [I*] tasya vṛddhyā chatur-Buddh-āsanē  
   bhagavatō Buddhasya  
8 divasē-divasē dīpaḥ prajvālayitavyaḥ [II*] Īvaṁ-ēśaḥ-ākshaya-nīvī  
9 a-chandr-ārkka-śīlā-lēkhyā  
10 upāsik[ā*]-Harisvāminīyā  
   pravarttitā iti [II*]  
11 Saṁnvat[*] 100 30 1 Aśvayug-di 5 II

1 Gen. Cunningham (Bhilā Topes, p. 193) read the first symbol as 300. But the two marks on the right side, required to convert 100 into 300, are entirely wanting; and he must have been misled by the natural marks of the stone becoming exaggerated in an imperfect ink-impression.

2 See page 31 above.

3 From the original stone.

4 This word is in the margin, before upāsaka. The traces that remain of it are very faint.

5 Read mātāpitardv.

6 The initial a of this word is badly formed, and is partly run into the ya of saṁghāya. Perhaps saṁghāya-ākshaya was being engraved, as required by saṁdhī, and then the initial a was inserted.

7 As regards the reading of the first symbol, see note 1 above.
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! By the Upāsikā Harisvāmini, the wife of the Upāsaka Sanasiddha, for the sake of (her) parents, twelve dināras 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 Kākanādabōta. With the interest that accrues of these dināras, day by day one Bhikshu, who has been introduced into the community, should be fed.

(Line 5.)—Also three dināras are given in the jewel-house.¹ With the interest of these three dināras, day by day three lamps of the divine Buddha should be lit in the jewel-house.

(L. 6.)—Also, one dināra 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 Upāsikā Harisvāmini, the noble lady,³ the wife of Sanasiddha.

(L. 11.)—The year⁴ 100 (and) 30 (and) 1 ; (the month) Aśvayuj ; the day 5.

No. 63; PLATE XXXIX A.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 135.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the four. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 184 f., where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate ii. No. 8) reduced from General Cunningham’s ink-impression.—And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the Archeol. 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 Mathurā,⁵ the chief town of the Mathurā District in the North-West Pro-

¹ ratna-griha; see page 33 above, note 5.
² chatur-Buddh-āsana.—As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in his Bhilasa 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 Sāñchi, 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 śrāvīmi.—Or perhaps the word stands here for the fuller title, Vihārasvāmini, which occurs in the next inscription; see page 263 below, note 7.
⁴ As regards the reading of the first symbol, see page 261 above, note 1.
⁵ See page 26 above, and note 2.
vinces. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahábad; 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 shew 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 envelopes everything.—The writing covers a space of about 1' 6½" broad by 2¾" high; and is in a state of very good preservation, except in the last line, of which almost the whole of the last part is broken away and lost.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". 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 anusvára, in samvatsara, 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, Kumáragupta, having commenced to reign in at least the year 366, can hardly have continued on the throne up to the present date. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and thirty-five (A.D. 454-55), and on the twentieth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pushya (December-January). From the expressions used, as well as from the emblem on the margin of the stone, it is evidently a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.

1 Samvatsara-satē paḿcha-striś-ottaratamē 100 30 5 Pushya-māsē
divasē vi[r]m[r]s[a] di 20 [1*] Déya-dharm[ā]-yaṁ viháravāmīny[ā]

2 Dēvtāyāś [11*] Yad-ātra punyāṁ tad-bhavatu mātāpitrōḥ sarvva-
sat[t][a]vānāḥ cha anuttara-jñānā-yāptayaś [II]

3 Saubhāgyāṁ prathiru(rū)patā guṇavatī klrttis-sapatna-kshayaḥ śrīman[t]ō
vibhavā bhavā[b] sukha-phalā nirvānām-anūtā śivam

4 a-stabdhā(?)ni bhavanti dāna-niratau chittam niyōjy-āikādā [—] i [— — —] vichā(?)raṇā[— — —] dhiyām [— — —] i [—] yām [11*]

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 Vihārasvāminś? Dēvatā. Whatever religious

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1 From the original stone.  
2 Read trīmś.  
3 Read dēvatāyāṅ.  
* This n is rather an anomalous one; but the character cannot stand for anything else.  
* There is no objection to the present reading; but we usually have avāptaya.  
* Metre, Śārdūlavikrama.  
* Vihārasvāminś, lit. '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 Dandandāyakī, 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 (?); having once fixed the thoughts upon the happiness of making gifts, ........................................

No. 64: PLATE XXXIX B.

GADHWĀ 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 *Archaeol. 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 Gadhwā, in the Karchhā Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was found on pulling down a ruined wall; and is on two faces of a fragment of a square sandstone pillar which had been cut into four beams by splitting it down the middle of each face, in order to adapt it to some later building purposes. The other pieces were not found. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing includes the remains of two separate records, which, however, seem to refer to one and the same object of donation. On that face of the stone which is represented in the left part of the lithograph, we have the remains of fourteen lines, covering a space of about 3½" broad by 1' 2½" high; and, on the other side, the remains of eight lines, covering a space of about 6½" broad by 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 1". 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 ś, in viṇśati, 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
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.**

*First Part.*

1. .................................................. Šr. ku. ²
2. .................................................. r . . . . . sattra yū (?) 9 (?)
3. .................................................. [dī]vasa-pūrvvāyaṁ ma-
4. .................................................. guptasya-aiva da y.
5. .................................................. [A]nantageya (?yā)
6. .................................................. puny-Āpyāyan-ā-
7. .................................................. sattra-sā[ma*]nya-bhōja-
8. .................................................. [dī]nāraiḥ
9. .................................................. vāsō-yugā-
10. .................................................. parō dī-
11. .................................................. dināraiḥ dē (?)va-
12. .................................................. [Yaś-ch=ainam] dhamma-skandhāṃ vyu-
13. .................................................. [chchhindyāt=sa pañchabhir mahāpātā]kaiḥ sa[m]yu-
14. .................................................. ktaḥ syād=iti [II]

*Second Part.*

15. .................................................. sat[t*]ra-sāmānya-bhōjanē ..................................................
16. .................................................. prati suvaṁmaɪ=ekān-na-vinśatibhi[h]
17. .................................................. kārītaḥ [I*] Brāhma (?) pō mayika ..................................................
18. .................................................. dvayam 2 karōta 2 bra ..................................................
19. .................................................. yugam 1 koṭṭayba sukun ..................................................
20. .................................................. dakśina-kūla-kañchaḍaṁ paksha .................................................. [II*]
21. .................................................. Yaś-ch=ainam vyuchchhin[dy]ā[t=sa pañchabhir mahā]-
22. .................................................. [pā]takais=sa[m*]yuktaḥ [s]yād=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 *karōtas* 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 had šri-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).

Kōsam, the ancient Kauśāmbī, is a small village near the left bank of the Jamnā, about eight miles to the south of Karārī, the chief town of the Karārī Pargañā in the Manjhanpur or Manjhandpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahabād District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the broken base of a sculptured standing group of Śiva and Pārvatī that was found buried in a field near the large monolith pillar inside the fort, which is described in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 309 ff.

The writing, which covers the whole face of the stone, measuring about 10” 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 1/8”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include forms of the numerical symbols for 7, 9, 30, and 100, and perhaps for 2.—The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is all in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription is one of a Maharaja named Bhimavarmān, who, judging by the date, must have been a feudatory of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and thirty-nine (A.D. 458-59), and the seventh solar day, perhaps of the second fortnight of a month, or perhaps of the second month of a season, but the details here are broken away and lost. It is evidently a Śaiva inscription; and the object of it must have been to record the gift or installation of the sculpture. on the base of which it is engraved.

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1 The ‘Kosam and Kosim Kheraj’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 20’ N., Long. 81° 27’ E.—Kheraj is a mistake for khirāj; the village consisting of two parts, of which one is inām or ‘rent-free’, and the other is khirāj or ‘rent-paying.’

2 The ‘Karalea’ of maps

3 See note 4 below.

4 Before the word diva there are two marks which seem to be the numerical symbol 2; and the passage might be completed either in accordance with the method of, for instance, the date of the 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 Mathurā inscription of Vasudevā, “in the 44 (74); in the first month of the rainy season; on the thirtieth day, 30” (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III, p. 32, No. 8). But I know of no other instance of these ancient methods being continued as late as the period of the present inscription; and this makes it doubtful whether the signs in question really are the numerical symbol 2.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 66, PLATE XXXIX D. 267

TEXT:
1 ......... Mah[a*]r[a]jasya śri-Bhimavarmanāḥ saṁwa[t*] 100 30 9
2 ........... 2(?)* diva³ 7 [1*] etad-[d*]ivasa kumarāmē
3 ........... pa

TRANSLATION.
.............. (In the government) of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Bhimavarman;
—the year 100 (and) 30 (and) 9; ................... 2 (?); the day 7;—(on)
this day ..................

No. 66; PLATE XXXIX D.
GADHWĀ 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 Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 11,
where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate v.
No. 4).—This rendering of the inscription has remained the only published version of
it up to the present time. But in 1882, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. page 311, note 3,
Dr. E. Hultsch pointed out that the correct interpretation of the date gave the year 148;
not 140, as read by General Cunningham.

This is another inscription from Gadhwā, 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 Vishnū, and is now in the Imperial
Museum at Calcutta.

With the exception of a margin of about 1/₅ 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
7/₅ 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. 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
chatudrinsad and vināṣati, line 1; (2) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r,
in chittra, line 3; and (3) the doubling of v, after the anusvāra, in saṁvoatsara, line 1.

1 From Gen. Cunningham’s ink-impression; so also the lithograph.
2 See page 266 above, note 4.
3 i.e. divasa, or divasē.
4 See page 266 above, note 4.
The inscription refers itself to the reign of some particular king; but his name has been entirely broken away and lost in the first half of line 1. The recorded date, however, shows that it was either of the time of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta, or immediately after his reign. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-eight (A.D. 467-68), on the twenty-first solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Māgha (January-February). It is a Vaishnava inscription. And the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Vishnu, under the name of Anantavāmin; 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 Chitrakūtasvāmin, or 'the lord of Chitrakūta.'

TEXT.

1 sya pravardhamana-vijaya-rājya-samvat-saraṣat-shtā
chatvāriṇḍad-uttarē Māgha-māsa-divasē eka-vihṛatīmē [1*]
2 puny-abhivridhy-artham vādabhimīn-kārayitīvā Ananta-
svāmi-pādām kartiṣthāpya gandha-dhūpa-sra[g...
3 [phu]ta-pratisamkāra-karan-ārtham bhaga[va]ch-Chitra-
[k]ūtasvāmi-pādiya-kōsthē(?)-ta-prāvṛṣya-mati.
4 tā dattā dvādaśa [II*] Yaimānī
syād-iti [II*]

TRANSLATION.

.... In the augmenting victorious reign* of .....................
in a century of years, increased by forty-eight, on the twenty-first day of the month Māgha:—

(Line 2.)—Having caused (a temple having) a flat roof° to be made, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of .................... (and) having installed the feet° of (the god) Anantavāmin .................. perfumes, incense, garlands .................. for the purpose of repairing whatever may become ................ torn, there have been given twelve ................ belonging to the entrance of ................ which belongs to the feet of the divine (god) Chitrakūtasvāmin.

1 The Chitrakūta 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 Allahābad; Lat. 25° 12' N.; Long. 86° 47' E. It is a great place of pilgrimage, and is especially sacred to Vishnu in his incarnation as Rāma.
2 From the original stone.
3 Read rājya samvat-saraṣa; see page 38 above, note 5.
4 Read vādabhimīn kārayitīvā, or vādabhimīn kārayitīvā. Read pādām or pādu.
5 Read ya ēnam, or ya ēch-aīnam. Read sa.
6 See page 38 above, note 5.
7 Read vādabhi (also valeabhi, 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.'
8° 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) Chitrakūtasvāmin' means simply 'the divine (god) Chitrakūtasvāmin.'
No. 67; Plate XL A.

TUSAM ROCK INSCRIPTION.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Bird, and was first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1875, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 138 ff., where he published a translation of it by Babu Pratap Chandra Ghosh, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xl. No. 5).

**Tusām** or **Tusām** is a village about fourteen miles to the north-west of Bhiwānī, the chief town of the Bhiwānī Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Hisār or Hissār District in the Pahājab. 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 dharmaṇḍakāra or 'wheel of religion,' or a sun-symbol. But there is nothing to connect it with the inscription now published; and it may belong to one of the shorter records, e.g. the Jitam bhāgamātā bhāgamā-pāda-dēṣṭa, '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 2/4" broad by 2 24/2" high; the lines being of unequal length to suit the irregularities of the rock. The engraving was rather shallow, and some of the letters are a good deal weather-worn; but, on the original rock, the inscription is quite legible throughout. —The size of the letters varies from 3/8" to 1 1/4". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets: but in the word aśī, 'a bee,' in line 1, they include the southern 1, 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 upadhyāya, line 5; and (2), as noted above, the use of the southern 1 in aśī, line 1, which is probably due to Sōmatrāta, whose record this inscription is, being a Sātvata from Central or Southern India.

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1 The 'Toosham and Tosham' of maps. *Indian Atlas*, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 51' N.; Long. 76° 0' 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 Tushāra-dīrgha, 'the Tushāra monastery.' But the sibilant is not the lingual sh; and the proposed etymology, due in the first instance to the supposition that the inscription mentioned a Tushāra king named Vishnu, cannot be upheld.

2 The 'Bhewani and Bhewanee' of maps.

3 See page 123 above, note 5.

4 See *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. Pl. xl. No. 1; which, however, is not quite an accurate 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 Somatrāta, of two reservoirs and a house, for the use of the god Vishnu under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One.

The manipulation of General Cunningham's ink-impression, as shewn by the published lithograph, led to the introduction of the name of the Early Gupta Mahārāja Ghatotkacha in line 2; and to the supposition that the name Vishnu, in the same line, was that of a Tushāra king who conquered Ghatotkacha, and who might be identified with the third Kapa or Kanvaya prince Narayana.1 As is to be seen, however, in my lithograph now published, there is no foundation whatever for this; the aksharas that were supposed to give the name of Ghatotkacha, being, in reality, nothing but danaa-anand, "(the women) of the demons," and tushāra here has no meaning but that of "frost."

TEXT.

1 Jitam*-abhihshnam-eva Jambavati-vadanaravind-orjja-atilinā l
2 danaa-anandat-mukhambhija-lakshmi-tusharena Vishnu.nā II(l)
3 Anēkapurushabhya-gat - aryasa.tvata - y*ōgāchāryya -
4 bhagavaddhakta - Yaśastrāta-prapātusya - āchāryya - Vishnu.natā -
   pātusya - āchāryya -
5 Vasudatta-p[u]trasya Gāvavyam-utpaṇnasya Gotama-
   sa.trasya - āchāryya - pojāhyaya -
6 Yaśastrāt-[ān]ujasy - āchāryya - Somatrātasya - ādam bhagavat-
   pād-o.paya -
7 jyan kundam-uparyy-āvasathaḥ kundam
8 ndam ch-āparaṃ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Verily victory has been achieved again and again by (the god) Vishnu, who is a mighty bee on the water-lily which is the face of Jambavati, (and) a very frost to (cause the withering of) the beauty of the water-lilies which are the faces of the women of the demons 1

(Line 3.)—This reservoir, intended for the use of the feet 2 of the Divine One, (and) the house above (it), and the second reservoir, (are the work) of the Āchārya Somatrāta,—the son of the son's son of Yaśastrāta, who was the successor of many men (of


* From the original stone.

* Over this m, there are the vowel-marks for o. But they are not connected in any way with the m; and it is not apparent why they were made, as they cannot possibly stand for the syllable ōm, and they are altogether superfluous and unmeaning.

* This y is rather an anomalous one; but the character cannot stand for anything else.

* See page 123 above, note 5.
**A.** - Tusam Rock Inscription.

**B.** - Deoriya Image Inscription.

**C.** - Kasia Image Inscription.


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<th>Scale</th>
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preceding generations); who was a highly esteemed Sātvata, who was an Āchārya of the Yōga philosophy; and who was a devotee of the Divine One;—the son's son of the Āchārya Vīshnurāṭa;—the son, begotten on Rāvaṇī, of the Āchārya Vāsuḍatta;—a member of the Gōtama gōtra;—(and) the younger brother of the Āchārya and Upādhyāya Yaśastāta.

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).

Deōriyā or Déwarīyā is a small village on the right bank of the Jannā, about eight miles towards the south-west of Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Pargāṇā in the Karchhanā Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the pedestal of a stone standing image of Buddha,—draped, and with small attendant figures kneeling at his feet, one on the right side, and two on the left,—that was found at this village. When I examined the image, it was in the Government Museum at Allahābād; 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 2½" high, is in a state of good preservation throughout. The size of the letters varies from 1/8" to 3/8". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose. The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; 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 Sākya mendicant named Bōdhivarman, of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.

1. Dēya-dharmmō-yam Śākya-bhikshō[r*]-Bōdhivarmanāṇah [i*] Yad-atra pūnya[m*]
2. tad bhava[tu*] mātāpiṭro[h*] sarvva-sat[t*]vānām ch-ānut[t*]ara-jñānāvāptayē [iī*]

---

1 Sātvata is explained in Monier Williams' Sāskrit Dictionary as being a name of Vīshṇu or Kṛishṇa, and also of a people, inhabiting a district in Central India, said to be the descendants of outcaste Vaiśyas. It seems to be, as used here, the name of some special sect of Vaiśnava or Bāgavatas, probably from Central or Southern India.


*From the original stone.

*This d was at first omitted, and was then inserted above the line.
TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya Bhikṣu Bōdhivarman. 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. Carleyle, 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 Gōrakhpur, in the Padraunā Tahsill or Sub-Division of the Gōrakhpur 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. Carleyle 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 1½". 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 palæographical 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 Mahāvihārasvāmin named Haribalasa, of the figure below which it is engraved.

TEXT. 4

1 Dēya-dharmāyaḥ mahāvihārasvāminō Haribalasa
2 Pratimā ch-ēyaḥ ghaṭītā Dīnē... mĀ(?)śvarēṇa l(II)

---

1 The 'Kasia, Kassia, Kasya, Kesia, and Kusya,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 102. L.ac. 26° 45' N.; Long. 83° 58' E.
2 The 'Paraona, Parāuna, and Pudrownan,' of maps, &c.
3 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 Sāñchi pillar inscription No. 73 below, Plate xlii A.
4 From Mr. Carleyle's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 70, PLATE XL D.

TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Mahāvihārasvāmin Haribala. And this image has been fashioned by Dīnē...māśvāra (?)

No. 70; PLATE XL D.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 230.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 185, where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate ii. No. 9) reduced from General Cunningham's ink-impression.—And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 37, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (id. Plate xvi. No. 23).

This is another inscription from Mathurā, the chief town of the Mathurā District in the North-West Provinces; and is on the pedestal of a stone standing statue of Buddha, draped, and with a nimbus behind his head and shoulders, that was found in the Katrā mound. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahābād; but it is now, I understand, in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The writing, which covers a space about 1' 4½" broad by 2" high on the upper part of the face of the pedestals, is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The average size of the letters is about 3 mm. 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 *ṛya* of bhaṭṭāryan-yad, line 1, we have to notice that the *ṛ* is formed on the line of writing, with a single *y* below it. And the same method of forming the *ṛ* is followed in dharmo and *ṛjaya*, though not in sarvva, 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. 549-50), without any further details. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a śākya female mendicant named Jayabhattachā, to a monastery called the Yasovihāra, of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.

1 Dēya-dharmo-yamn Yaśā(sō)vihārē Śākya-bhikshunyar=Jayabhattachā= Yaddatra puṇyaṁ tad-bhavatu sarvva-sa-
2 tvanam=anuttara-jñān āvāptaye I(II) Samvatsaraḥ 200 30 I(II),

1 See page 26 above, and note 2.
2 From the original stone.
3 Read *sattvānām*.
4 See page 26 above, note 1.
5 Read bhikṣunyā Jayabhattachāyāḥ I Yad.
TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift, at the (monastery called) Yasovihara, of the Sakya Bhikshunī Jayabhātā. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings! The year 200 (and) 30.

No. 71; PLATE XLIA.

BODH-GAYA INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

THE YEAR 269.

This inscription, which was published by me, for the first time, quite recently, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 356 ff., is from a stone-tablet that was discovered in the course of the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. J. D. M. Beglar at Bodd-Gayā, the famous Buddhist site about five miles due south of Gayā, the chief town of the Gayā District, in the Bengal Presidency. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone has the appearance of having been originally set in a socket about three inches deep, and morticed at the sides into a building. The front surface measures about 1' 7½" broad by 1' 6" high. Below the inscription, towards the proper right side of the stone, there are engraved in outline a cow and a calf, standing towards, and nibbling at, a small tree or bush; the tips of the ears of the cow are discernible in the lithograph, below the commencement of line 14.—The writing, which is in the upper part of the stone, and covers a space of about 1' 7½" broad by 1' 0" high, including a margin of about an inch all round, is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. The form of, throughout this inscription, is a slightly older variety of the fully developed Devanāgarī form exhibited throughout the Apsad inscription of Ādityasena, No. 42 above, page 200. In the conjunct letter ṛy, in yatir-yataḥ, line 7, we have to note that the r is formed on the line, with a single y below it. The characters include, in the last line, forms of the numerical symbols for 7, 9, 60, and 200.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing ऋ, and for the date at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points calling for notice are (1) the occasional doubling of k and ṭ, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in chakkrais, line 13; ṭantra, line 2; and chaṭtra, line 14; and (2) the use of v for b throughout, e.g. in vanḍha, lines 2 and 8; vabhāva, line 6; and vṛdhi, lines 10 and 12.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and sixty-nine (A.D. 588-89), on the seventh
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 71, PLATE XLIA.

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 Mahánáman,—the second of that name mentioned in this inscription,—of a mansion of Buddha, i.e. a Buddhist temple or monastery, at the Bódhimaṇḍā, or, rather, within the precincts of it; i.e. at the modern Bódh-Gayā.

With regard to the places mentioned in this inscription, Lánkā is, of course, one of the most well-known names of Ceylon. And General Cunningham tells me that Amardvipa, 'the mango-island,' is another of its names, derived from its resemblance in shape to a mango. Bódhimaṇḍā is the name of the miraculous throne under the bódhi-tree at Bódh-Gayā, also called the vajrāsana or 'diamond-throne,' on which Buddha and his predecessors sat, when attaining bódhi or perfect wisdom.1 And Professor Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary, added that he inferred that the term was also applied to the raised terrace built under the bódhi-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 Mahánáman mentioned in it, is the person of that name who composed the more ancient part of the Pāli Mahāvamsa, or history of Ceylon. If this identification is accepted, it opens up a point of importance in the question of dates. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the date of the present inscription has to be referred to the Gupta era, with the result of A.D. 588-89. On the other hand, from the Ceylonese records, Mr. Turnour arrived at A.D. 459 to 477 as the period of the reign of Mahánáman's nephew (sister's son) Dhātuśēna; and it was during his reign that Mahánáman compiled the history.

then considered that the same symbol occurs, in the record of the day, in the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Saṅkshôbhâ, No. 25, above; in line 24 of which (page 115) I accordingly read the solar day as 29. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, has found, by actual calculation, that the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, which is mentioned in line 2 f. of that record (page 114), was the twenty-seventh solar day in the month. Accordingly, the symbol which we have there, in line 24, must be interpreted as 7; not 9.—On fuller consideration of the whole matter, with the help of Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculation, I find that, in the three passages, we are concerned with two separate symbols; not one and the same.—One is the symbol which is the third in the years of the present inscription of Mahánáman, 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 Môrâb 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 Saṅkshôbhâ. And an examination of the lithograph (Plate xv B.) will shew, that it really differs from the symbol which I interpret as 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 Mahánáman; 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 Jishnugupta (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 172, and Plate); and it was Dr. Bhagwanial Indrají's interpretation of it there as 8, which led me to read it originally as 8 in the present instance.


The recorded date of the present inscription, therefore, shews,—if the identification suggested 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. Óm [II] Vyáptö yan-ā-praméyah sakala-śaśi-ruchā sarvvatah sat[ā]* va-
dhātuḥ kshunāḥ pāshanḍa-yaḍhās-sugati-patha-rudhas-tarkka-śastr-
āḥbhuyuktāḥ sampūrṇāḥ

2. dharmma-kōṣaḥ prakṛti-ripu-hritaḥ sādhis lōkā-bhūtyai i śāstūḥ Śāky-aik-
va (ba ndhōr-jayati chirataram tad yaśas-sāra-tantram II Nairōdhinā
subha-bhāvanā-

3. m-anuśrātaḥ sanśāra-sanākṣa-jīn-Maitreyasya karē vīmuktī-vasītā yasy-
ādbhuta vyākṛti i nirvāṇ-āvasare cha yēna charanau dṛishtau munēḥ

4. pāvanau i pāyād-vāḥ sa munīndra-sāsana-dharāḥ stūtyō Mahā-Kāśyapaḥ II
Sahyukt-āgaminō vīṣuddha-rajasah sat[ā]*v-anukāmp-ōdyatāḥ śisyāḥ

5. yasya sakrid-vichēru-arāmalāṃ Lāṅkā-āchal-ōpaya-kām tēbhyāḥ śīla-gun-
āvītiṣāṁ cha sataśāḥ śishyā-śrāvyāvīḥ kramāj-jātās-tūṅga-nārendra-

6. vamśa-tīlaṅkaḥ prōtrājya rājya-sriyām II Dhyānō-āday-āhita-hitaḥ subh-
āśubha-vīvēkakrid-vihata-mōhāḥ sad-dharmm-ātula-vībhavlā Bhavō
va (ba bhuva

7. śrānāṇa-tataḥ II Rāhuḷā-ākhyās-cha tach-chhishya Uśpasēnō yatir-yataḥ
Mahānāmā kramād-evam Upasēnas-tatō-parāḥ II Vatsalyamā śaraṇ-ā-

8. gatasya satatam dinasya vaisēshikāṃ vyāpat-sāyaka-saṅtā-śhata-dhrītēr-
ārttasya ch-āpaya-kām krūrasya-āhita-kāriyāḥ pravatām va (ba ndhōr-
yathā-

9. bhāvatāḥ evam sacya-śaritāḥ-ōdbhāvēna yaśasā yasya-āchitraḥ bhūtalām II
Āmadrivī[ā]-ādhibāśi prithu-kula-jālādhis-tasya śisyō mahīyān

10. Lāṅkā-āvīta-prasūtāḥ para-hita-nirataḥ san Mahānāmā-nāma I tēn-ōchhār-
Vēō (bbō) dhimandē śaśi-kara-dhavahā sarvavatō maṇḍapēna I

11. kāntāḥ prāśāda Ṛṣa Smara-va (ba) la-jayinaḥ kāritō lōkā-sāstūḥ II
Vypagata[ī]-vishayā-sēhō hata-timira-daśah praṇīpā-vad-a-sāngah

12. kuśalēnānēna jānō vēō (bbō) dhi-sukham-anuttaram bhajatām II Yāvad[ī-
dhvānt-āpahrī pravītā-sīraṇāh sarvavatō bhāti bhāsvān-yāvat-pūrṇa mva

---

1. From the original stone.
2. This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
3. Metre, Sragdhāra.
4. Metre, Śārdūlavikrājita; and in the following verse.
5. This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
6. My original reading was stūtī. I owe the correction, as also that of amalām, for atulām, in line 5, to the kind suggestion of Dr. Kielhorn.
7. Metre, Āryā.
8. Metre, Śōka (Anuṣṭubh).
9. From the vowel ē being partially engraved over this u, the engraver seems to have begun to form the ē here.
10. Metre, Śārdūlavikrājita.
11. Metre, Sragdhāra.
12. This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 71, PLATE XLI A.

13 ṛāśīḥ phaṇi-phāṇa-kuṭiṁār-ūrmiṇi-chakkrais-samamāt yāvach-ch=Ēndr-ādhivāsō vividha-maṇi-śilā-chāru-sringaṇ Sumēruḥ śōbh-ādhyam
14 tāvad-ētad-bhavanam=uru-munēḥ śāsvatavam=prayātun II Samvat 200 60 9
Chaittra su di 7 II

/TRANSLATION./

Om! Victorious for a very long time is that doctrine, replete with fame, of the Teacher, the chief kinsman of the Śākyas, by which, lustrous as the full-moon, the inscrutable primary substance of existence has been pervaded in all directions; by which the warriors, who are heretics, obstructive of the path of beatitude, have been broken to pieces, being assailed with the weapon of logic; (and) by which the whole treasure of religion, that had been stolen by the enemy which is original nature, has been recovered for the welfare of mankind!

(Line 2.)—May he, Mahā-Kāśyapa, who is worthy of praise, protect you,—he who observed the precepts of (Buddha) the chief of saints; who practised that auspicious habit of abstract meditation which is of the nature of a trance; who overcame the anguish of successive states of existence; whose wonderful subjugation of the passions in final emancipation (is to be) displayed in the hand of Maitrēya; and by whom the two pure feet of (Buddha) the saint were beheld at the time of attaining nirvāṇa!

(Line 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.

(Line 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.

(Line 7.)—And his disciple (was) he who had the name of Rāhula; after whom (there came) the ascetic Upāsena (I); then in succession (there was) Mahānāma (I); (and) after him another Upāsena (II.), whose special characteristic of affection, of the kind that is felt towards offspring,—for any distressed man who came to him for protection, and for any afflicted person whose fortitude had been destroyed by the continuous flight of the arrows of adversity,—extended, in conformity with the disposition of a kinsman, (even) to any cruel man who might seek to do (him) harm; (and) by whose fame, arising from good actions, the whole world was thus completely filled.

1 As regards the interpretation of the symbol for the day, see page 274 above, note 2.
2 Maitrēya is a Bōdhisattva, at present in the Tushita heaven, who is to be the next Buddha.
And the present passage, which is rather obscure, is perhaps explained by the injunction which Buddha, when on the point of attaining nirvāṇa, gave to Mahā-Kāśyapa, to deliver over his kāsāva 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 Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. II. p. 142 ff.)
3 Mahā-Kāśyapa was seated in meditation, when suddenly a bright light burst forth, and he perceived the earth shaking. And then, exerting his divine sight in order to ascertain what 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), (is) he who has the excellent name of Mahânâman (II); an inhabitant of Âmradvipa; a very ocean of a mighty family; born in the island of Lânkâ; delighting in the welfare of others;—by him this beautiful mansion of the Teacher of mankind, who overcame the power of (the god) Smara,—dazzling white as the rays of the moon, with an open pavilion on all sides,—has been caused to-be made at the exalted Bûdhîmanḍa.

(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) Sumûrû, 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 day1 7.

No. 72; PLATE XLI B.

BODH-GAYA IMAGE INSRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

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 Bûdh-Gayâ,2 in the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency.

The writing, which covers a space of about 18½" broad by 1½" high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation.—The average size of the letters is about ¾". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type with those of the preceding inscription of Mahânâman.—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 Bûdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, 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 Sthâvira named Mahânâman, who is obviously the second Mahânâman mentioned in the preceding inscription.

As pointed out to me by General Cunningham, this inscription shows that Mahânâman must have been at least thirty years old when he visited Bûdh-Gayâ; by the Buddhist rules, he could not receive the upasampâda-ordination, before attaining the age

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1 This refers generally to the subjugation of the passions; but also specially to the temptation by Mâra, 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 Thêra. A further point to be noted, is, that Mahânâman’s visit to Bôdh-Gayâ probably occurred before the time when Dhâtusêna became king of Ceylon,—during the flight of the uncle and nephew to avoid the persecution of the usurper Pându; according to Mr. Turnour’s deductions, this was between A.D. 434 and 439.

TEXT:

1 Òm Déya-dharmmô-yâm Śâkyya-bhikshôh Amradvipa-vâsi-sthavira-Mahânâmasya [II*] Yad-âtra punyâmb tad-bhavatu sarvâsar-[t*]vânâm-anuttara-jñân-âvâptayê=stu [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Óm! This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Śâkyya Bhikshu, the Sthavira Mahânâman, a resident of Amradvipa. Whatever religious merit (there is) 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 Bhûsa Topes, p. 199, where he published his reading of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xx. No. 199).

This is another inscription from Sânchi, in the Divâñganj Sub-Division of the Bhôpâl State in Central India. It is on the north side of part of a small monolith round pillar, broken, that stands a few yards to the north-east of the eastern gateway of the great Stûpa.

The writing covers a space of about 10" broad by 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 putra.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated. But, on paleographical 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 Vihârasvâtîn, the son of

1 From Mr. J. D. M. Beglar’s ink-impression; so also the lithograph.
2 Read mahânânah.
3 This stu (astu) is redundant, as we have already had bhavatu. The same redundant astu occurs also in line 2 of the Bôdh-Gayâ image inscription, No. 76 below, page 282.
4 See page 29 above, and note 2.
5 Vihârasvâtîn, lit. ‘master of a vihâra,’ is a technical religious title of office, applied to certain functionaries who came next in rank below the Mahâvihârasvâtîn; see page 272 above, note 3.
Gōsūrasimhabala, whose name is partially destroyed, only the first two syllables, Rudra, remaining.

TEXT:
1 A(?).ka... vihārasvāmi-Gōsūrasimhabala-puttra-Rudra .........

TRANSLATION.
......... the Vihārasvāmin Rudra......... the son of Gōsūrasimhabala........

No. 74; PLATE XLIIB.

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 91" broad by 2½" 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 1½" to 1¾". 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 atta and pittrōḥ, 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 Śākya mendicant named Dharmadāsa, of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT:
1 Dēya-dharmō=yaṁ Šākya-bhikshōr=Dharmadāsasya [tī] ya-
2 d-atta puṇyaṁ tan=matāpitrō[hī] sarva-sat[tī]vānāṁ ch-ā-
3 [nuttaraḥ-jñān-avāptayē=stu II]

TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya Bhikṣu Dharmadāsa. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), [let] it [be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge] by (his) parents and by all sentient beings.

1 From the original pillar
2 From the original stone.
3 This v 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. 75; PLATE XLII C.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1871, in the *Archæol. 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 Banāras), 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' 13'' broad by 24'' high, is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is about 14''. 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

1. Gurum³ pūrvvaṃgamam kṛtvā mātaram pitaram tathā kārīta
2. pratimā sāstuh ṣ Hariguptena bhikshunā

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' 11'' broad by 2'' high, towards the top of the pedestal, is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The average

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¹ From the original stone.
² Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).
³ and ⁴ In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
⁵ See page 274 above, and note 1.
size of the letters is about \( \frac{3}{16} \). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Bôdh-Gayâ image inscription of Mahâñâman, No. 72 above, page 278, Plate xli.B. But, as contrasted with the form in Mahâñâman's inscription of the year 269, No. 71 above, page 274, Plate xli A., we have to notice that, in conjunction with a following \( \gamma \), 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 palæographical 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 Śâkya mendicants named Dharmagupta and Dainshtrâséna, natives of Tipusâmratírtha, of the statue on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT:

1 Om Déya-dharmô-yam Śâkyâ-bhikshvô=Tishyâmratírtha-vásika-
Dharmagupta-Dainshtrâséna-atô=Yyad-attrra punyâ[m] tad-bhavatu
mátpâ[ta*]râv-áchâryy-ôpâdhyâyau pûrvaângama[m] kritvâ
2 sarvya-satvanâm²=anuttara-jñân-âvâptayê-stu² II

TRANSLATION.

Om! This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the two Śâkyas Bhikshus, Dharmagupta and Dainshtrâséna, residents of Tishyâmratírtha. 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) Áchârya and Upâdhyeya.

No. 77; PLATE XLIII A.

LAHOR COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION 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,\(^4\) the chief town of the Lâhor District in the Pânjáb. 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 \( \frac{1}{4} \) high. The flat surface of the seal is about \( \frac{1}{4} \) thick, and slightly oval in shape, about \( \frac{1}{8} \) by \( \frac{1}{8} \). At the top there is a bull, recumbent to the proper left, with a crescent moon in front of its face; below this, a straight line, turned up at each end; below

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\(^1\) From the original stone.  
\(^2\) Read sattvândâm  
\(^3\) This \( stu \) (\( astu \)) is redundant, as we have \( bhavatu \) in line 1; see page 279 above, note 3.  
\(^4\) The 'Lahore' of maps, &c, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30. Lat. 31° 34' N.; Long. 74° 21' E.
this, the legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; and, at
the bottom, a curved line, which is evidently intended for a nāga or hooded snake. The
legend is in reverse in the original, so as to give a direct impression on documents; and it
is evidently for some purpose or other of this kind that the seal was used. I give
a direct representation of it in the lithograph.—The weight of the seal and ring is about
2 1/2 oz.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language
is Sanskrit; and the legend is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for
remark.

The inscription simply records the name of the Mahārāja Mahēśvaranāga, the
son of Nāgabhāṭṭa, belonging, it may be presumed, to a branch of the well-known
Nāga family or tribe. On palaeographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about
the end of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT:

1 Mahārāja-Nāgabhāṭṭa-
2 putra-Mahēśvaranāga

TRANSLATION.
The Mahārāja Mahēśvaranāga, the son of Nāgabhāṭṭa.

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 Rōhtāsgadh or Rōhitāsgadh, twenty-four
miles south by west of Sahasarām, the chief town of the Sahasarām Sub-Division of the
Shāhābād (Ārā) District in the Bengal Presidency.

In the upper part, there is a somewhat damaged representation of a bull, recumbent
to the proper right, and below this, separated by a line about 1/9" broad, the legend, in two
lines, of which the text and translation are given below; the whole being enclosed in a cir-
cle, about 4 1/2" in diameter, with a breadth of circumference varying from 3/4" to 1 1/2". 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 cast-
ing copper-seals in relief, to be attached to copper-plate charters.—The average size of
the letters is about 1/8". 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 'Rhota surgh and Rhota garh' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104. Lat. 24° 37' N.;
Long. 83° 55' E.
3 The 'Sahasrām, Sahseram, and Sasseram' of maps.—The name is understood to be a corruption
of the Sanskrit sahasra-grama, 'the (circle of a) thousand villages.'
The inscription simply records the name of the Mahásámanta Śasáňkadéva. The age of the characters would justify us in identifying him with the Śasáňka (She-shang-kia), king of Karnasuvvarna (Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na) in Eastern India,—the contemporary and murderer of Rájyavardhana II. of Kanauj,—who is mentioned by Hiuen 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 Śri - mahásámanta-
2 Śasáňkadévasya

TRANSLATION.

Of the illustrious Mahásámanta Śasáňkadéva.

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 Sárnáth, 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' 0½" 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 Indraji, 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 ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, except that the Kuńila characteristic is only discernible in a few places, e.g. in nítardám níshkampah, line 7, they are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Aphsā́ inscription of Ádityasaśā,
A. — Lahor Seal of the Maharaja Mahesvaranaga.

B. — Rohtasgadh Seal-Matrix of the Mahasamanta Sasankadeva.

C. — Sarnath Inscription of Prakataditya.
No. 42 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 (1) the doubling of ɨ, in conjunction with a following r, once, in putrêna, line 16; and (2) the use of v for b throughout; e.g. in válaṭiya, and lavdhâ, line 3.

The inscription is one of a king named Prakataṭidiya, whose capital appears to have been Kāsi, i.e. Benares, which is mentioned in the first line. It is not dated; but, on palaeographical grounds it may be referred roughly to about the end of the seventh century A.D. It is a Vaishnava inscription; and the object of 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 Bālādiya. One of them was the father of Prakataṭidiya. The other was an ancestor of the same name; and, as he himself is called “another” Bālādiya, 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 Bālādiya. And the probability is, that the first Bālādiya is the one who is so well known in connection with the history of Mihiraṇakula.

**TEXT.**

1. dé(?)/vō(?)
   Kāśi-iti-vikhyātaṁ puraṁ kā(?)/me(?)/na bhuṣhitaṁ

2. [II] [Pu]raṁdara i[va] patatya-ahō(?)/1 T[u]ṅga-ta(?)/raṅga(?)/va. śastra-vidō tatānāṁ 1 kari

3. rān-madhya-da.ṁśam-anīthā l tad-vamśa-sambhavo-nyō Vā(bā)lādiyō nripaḥ prityā l Tad-gōtra-lavdhā(buha)-janmā Vā(bā)lādiyō


6. nu(?)/h suta-vatsala.sutaḥ sauryya-vinaya-sampannāḥ śrīmān=Prakataṭidiyō

7. [dvi]ja=a-vara-nikar-āśrayaḥ pravri(?)ddha(?)-guṇaḥ l kalpa-druma liva nitarām nishkampaḥ prakaṭa-mulō-pi


9. pū(?)/ravā Kṛttikēya iva l Yasya va. nīrgata luvdhā(buha)-hrishiṭa-bhrad-bhrama[ra] vi

10. ta-dināṁ prithu-pushkariṇyāḥ l Ye(?)/na(?)/ ripu-sundarināṁ malināṁ kritāni vi[1]pu[la]

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1 From the ink-impression.
2 Metre, Śūkha (Anushṭubh)
3 Metre, Āryā; and probably in the next verse.
4 Metre, Āryā.
5 Metre, Āryā; and probably in the next verse.
6 Metre, apparently Vasantatilaka
7 Metre, probably Āryā.
TRANSLATION.

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 Puramāra, 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 Bālādītya (l. 3). In the family of the latter, there was born yet another Bālādītya (l. 3). His wife was Dhavālā (l. 4), who is compared with Rōhidh, the wife of the Moon, Gaurī, the wife of Šūlapaṇi, and Lakshmi, the wife of Vāsudēva. Their son was the glorious Prakatādītya (l. 6), whose virtues and prowess, including a comparison of him with the god Kārttikēya (l. 9), are described in lines 7 to 10, apparently without the introduction of any further historical matter. Line 11 mentions the building of a temple of the god Muradvīśh. Line 14 contained some provision for the repairs of this temple. And line 16 gives us the name of Dēvaka, the son of Rāmachandra, apparently as the engraver of the inscription.

No. 80; PLATE XLIV.

NIRMAND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHASAMANTA 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.

Nirmand is a village, near the right bank of the Satlaj, twenty-one miles north-east of Plāch, the chief town of the Plāch Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Kullā Division of the Kāṅgra District in the Pañjab. The inscription is on a copper-plate, which belongs to a

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1 Metre, probably Śloka (Anushtubb).
2 The ‘Nirmand’ of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 47. Lat. 31° 25’ N.; Long. 77° 38’ E.
3 The ‘Plāch’ of maps.
4 The ‘Kullu and Kulu’ of maps.
temple of the god Paraśurāma at this village; and, in accordance with the custom of the country, it is kept nailed up on one of the walls of the temple. I obtained the original plate, for examination, through the kindness of Mr. L. W. Dane, B.C.S.

The *plate*, which is inscribed on one side only, is of rather irregular shape, the extreme measures being about $1' 6\frac{3}{8}''$ by $8\frac{5}{8}''$. 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 $\frac{1}{8}''$ to $\frac{5}{8}''$. 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 *paryantā*, line 8, and *kuryāt*, 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 *jihvāmbhiya* and *upadbāmbiya*, in *yugala-katra*, line 2; *dukkha*, line 6; *anudhyātā-praṃa*, lines 2, 3, and 4; *utpānna-pitā*, line 2; and *dayāprāmā*, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anuvāra*, before *i*, in *vansa*, line 1; (3) the occasional doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *samatiikkranta*, line 1; and *attrana* and *vadditra*, line 15; and (4) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, in *lavda*, line 3; *vaali*, line 7; *kūtumvind*, lines 8 and 9; and *kūtmvya*, line 9.

The *inscription* is one of a Mahāśāmanta and Mahārāja named Samudrasenā. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year six, and the eleventh solar day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). There is nothing to indicate any particular era to which the date should be referred. On palaeographical grounds, we might very well refer it to the Harsha era, with the result of A.D. 612-13. But I feel rather doubtful as to the probability of the years of Harshavardhana's reign having been constituted an era, of general acceptance, quite so soon after his accession. And I am inclined to look upon the date of this inscription as referring only to the years of the authority of Samudrasenā himself, as in the Āraṅg grant of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 191, the Ṛaypur grant of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēvarāja, No. 41 above, page 196, and the Chāmaka and Siwā grants of the Mahārāja Pravarasenā II., Nos. 55 and 56 above, pp. 235 and 243. And, in that case, all that can be said about the period of the present inscription, is, that it belongs roughly to about the seventh century A.D.1

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1 Gen. Cunningham (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XIV. p. 120 ff.) has referred this inscription to Vi- krama-Sārvat 1227 (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 Sūlisagrāma by Samudrasēna, to a body of Brāhmans who studied the Atharva-Veda at the agrahāra of Nirmanḍa, for the purposes of the god Tripurāntaka or Śiva, who, under the name of Mihiṛēśvara, had been installed by his mother Mihiṇralakṣmi at a previously established temple of the same god under the name of Kapālēśvara. It is therefore a Śaiva inscription; but the occurrence of the word mihira, 'the sun,' as the first component of the god's name, seems to indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites.

TEXT.'

1 ........................ bhikhyāta - narapati - vaṇḍa - jas = samaḥbhavach = chatur - udadhi-
samatikrānta-kṛittir-anēka-sāmant-ōttamāṅg-āvanata-mukuṭa - maṇi - mayukhe-
vichchhurita-charanāravinda-4

2 vugalaḥ = kratu-yājī mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-śri-Varunosēnas - Tasya putras-tat-
pād-āṇudhīyātah = paramadēvyāp(m) = Pravā(bā)likā-bhat[τ]ārikāyām = utpannaḥ =
pitr-aiva tulyō guṇair = mma-

3 hāsāmanta-mahārāja-śri-Śaṇjayasēnas - Tasya putras-tat-pād-āṇudhīyātah = parama-
dēvyām Śikharaśvāmin-bhat[τ]ārikāyām = utpannaś = samara-sāta-lavdh(bdda)-
yajas-tyāgi ma-

4 hāsāmanta-mahārāj-Śri-Ravishēnas - tasya putras-tat-p[4*]d-āṇudhīyātah = parama-
dēvyām śri-Mihiralahkṣmi-bhat[τ]ārikāyām = utpannaś = sarad-amala-śaṅkala-
rajanikara iva prāṇi-

true that the alphabetical characters of that part of the country are of an extremely conservative type; but not to anything like such an extent as to enable us to refer the present record to within several centuries of so late a period. The more important point, however, is, that his reading of the date is completely wrong. Overlooking altogether the numerical symbol that stands after the word samvat, he has obtained his reading of the date by interpreting, among the words that precede samvat, arka as 'twelve,' and gana as 'twenty-seven.' According to the numerical-word system, arka certainly does stand for 'twelve,' and gana might possibly be used for 'twenty-seven,' though I can find no authority for it. But, in the present passage, arka is simply the second component of the name of the writer of the grant; and, whatever gana may mean here, it is most certainly not used as a numerical word. The date is recorded, in the usual way, in the numerical symbol that stands immediately after samvat; and that symbol is a 6.—Gen. Cunningham found some corroboration of his interpretation, in the fact that the accepted genealogy of the 'Mandi' and 'Suket' families contains a Samudrasēna, whose date, reckoning backwards at the rate of thirty years to the generation from A.D. 1500, would be about A.D. 1140 to 1166, and who might, therefore, on his interpretation of the date, be identified with the Samudrasēna of this inscription. But this identification cannot be accepted for a moment; it is wholly impossible to accept the names of Virasēna, Vāhanasēna, Kanavāhanasēna, and Naravāhanasēna, which precede him in the genealogy, as being identical with, or even intended to represent, the Ravishēna, Śaṇjayasēna, and Varunosēna, of the inscription.

1 From the original plate.
2 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, bhī, is visible; but it is impossible to say what the entire letter may have been.
3 The mark over this ma is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.
4 The mark between the vi and the nā is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.
5 The upper parts of these three letters are broken away and lost; but enough remains to show distinctly what they were.
TRANSLATION.

Born in the lineage of the famous kings .......... there was the Maharaja, the illustrious Varunasena, whose fame stretched out over the

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1 Read karasya.
2 Read sarvavarmnā.
3 Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubb); and in the following two verses.
4 Read udyotārkaś.
5 This seems to be intended for gaṇa-srēśṭhakā.
6 This is what is engraved. But of course it is a mistake for vai, i.e. vaiśādkha; and it is easy to see how the engraver made the mistake in copying from the draft before him.
7 The mark that follows this va is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.
8 The mark before this dva 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 tiaras on the heads of many feudal chiefs; (and) who celebrated sacrifices.

(Line 2.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was verily equal to (his) father in virtuous qualities, (was) the Mahásáṃanta and Mahárdja, the illustrious Samjayaséna, begotten on the Paramadévi,1 the Bhattáríka Prabálíká.

(L. 3.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who attained victory in a hundred battles, (and) who was full of liberality, (was) the Mahásáṃanta and Mahárdja, the illustrious Ravišéna, begotten on the Paramadévi Síkharasvámí.

(L. 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahásáṃanta and Mahárdja, the illustrious Samudraséna,—who was begotten on the Paramadévi, the Bhattáríka, the illustrious Mihiralakshmi; 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) Mahéśvara; who is extremely friendly to Bráhmans; (and) who is entirely intent upon the supreme good,—for the sake of the religious purposes of (his) mother, the illustrious Mihiralakshmi, has allotted, as an agráhára of the god, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun and the stars, to the body of Bráhmans who study the Atharva-Véda at the agráhára of Nirmanda,—for the purpose of giving, at (the temple of the god) Kapáleśvara, the báli, charu, sattra, garlands, incense, and lights, of the holy (god) Mihéśvara, who is the divine Tripurántaka, the maker of the visible and invisible world, compassionate to those who worship (him), the destroyer of all sorrrows, (and) who was established by (his) mother at (the temple of the god) Kapáleśvara; and for the purpose of always repairing whatever may become worn-out and broken and torn,—the whole of the village of Súlisigráma, that was granted by the illustrious Mihiralakshmi, together with the level and marsh and forest lands; together with the inhabitants; with the udranga; (and) including all its boundaries, grass, timber, and springs,—(viz.) (the land) including the dvéša-land2 (that had been given) by the cultivator Vakkhalika, (whose holding was) on the edge of the newly-constructed vaidila3 of the village of Súlisigráma; and the dvéša-land, with the udranga (and) including the edges of (its) boundaries, (that had been given) by a cultivator of the town of Tálápura,4 who under a nick-name (was called) Phakka;5 and the holding of Sulabhaka and the holding of Dinna; (and) the land that had been given by the Mahárdja Šarvavarman at the former installation of the god Kapáleśvara.

(L. 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 Paramadévi, lit. 'supreme goddess,' was a technical title of the wives of Mahárdjas. The more usual title, however, was Maháddévi (see page 16 above, note 2).
2 dvéša.—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 Súlisigráma-nava, line 8, down to bhúmi dattá, line 9, is not quite clear. But it seems to specify certain previous grants which make up the aiśham or 'entirety' of Súlisigráma, as now bestowed by Samudraséna.
3 vaidila.—This is another word of which I have not been able to obtain any explanation.
4 Or perhaps Tálápura, with the short vowel ā 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 asssents (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 Kusalaprabhāsa; and the writer in this matter (is) Udyotāraka, 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 TIVARADEVA.

This inscription was discovered about 1785 by a Marāṭhā chief named Hanmantrao Maharik, and was first brought to notice in 1825, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. p. 499 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. R. Jenkins, a lithograph of it was published (id. Plate xiv.), accompanied by a version of the text by a Jain scholar named Srivarmasuri, and a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson.—Subsequently General Cunningham obtained the original plates again, and, in 1884, published a fresh lithograph in the Archaol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 17, and Plates vi. vii. and viii.

Rājim4 is a town on the right bank of the Mahānandī 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-Saṃvat 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 Dūtaka being employed for one and the same grant,—viz. "the Purāhita, the Thakkura, the illustrious Vāmanasvāmin; the Thakkura, the illustrious Purushottama; the Mahāpradhanā, the Rājaputra, the illustrious Dēvadāra; and others,"—without any such circumstances as those indicated in No. 30 above, page 134, which necessitated the despatch of a second Dūtaka 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 gana-śrēśṭha (?).—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 aī(?) ngi(?) k-dātra, in line 15, is too corrupt to be capable of translation. But it appears to record two other grants made by Mihiralakṣmī; and it mentions a park, some immovable property, and some musical instruments.

5 The 'Rājam and Rājim' 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 Rājivalōchana. 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 \(8\frac{5}{8}\) by \(5\frac{5}{8}\). 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 show through on the reverse sides of the first and last plates, so clearly that most of them can be read there. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters show 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 \(7\frac{1}{8}\) thick and \(4\frac{1}{2}\) in diameter. The ends of it are secured, in the usual way, in the lower part of a seal. The top of the seal is circular, about \(3\frac{1}{8}\) in diameter. It has, in relief, a rather deep countersunk surface, across the centre, a legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; in the upper part, a figure of Garuḍa, facing full-front, depicted with the head of a man and the body of a bird, with his wings expanded, with, apparently, human arms hanging down between the wings and the feet, and with a serpent, with expanded hood, standing up in front of and over each shoulder; on the proper right of this, a chakra or discus, the emblem of Vishnu; and on the proper left, a śanka 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. 6½ oz.; total, 5 lbs. 5½ oz.—The average size of the letters is about \(7\frac{1}{16}\). 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 vāddavāṇa, line 6, and gāddā, for gāḍhā, 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\(^1\) for 7, and also of the decimal figure\(^2\) 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 impercative 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 \(ś\), in nistriṇa, line 4; vaṁśa, line 16;

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\(^1\) This sign is, perhaps, rather an intermediate form between the numerical symbol and the decimal figure, as it differs a little from the symbol for 7 which we have in the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, No. 71 (see page 274 above, note 2); but it approximates much more closely to the symbol, than to the figure.—Gen. Cunningham (Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 17) interpreted it as 6; probably on account of its resemblance to the modern Bengali form of 6. This will not stand, because of the southern type of the characters of this inscription.—There might possibly be a doubt, whether it represents 7 or 9. But I think, on the whole, that it is intended for 7.

\(^2\) Here we have a fully developed decimal figure, and of the southern type, as shown by the slight bend to the left in the vertical stroke; it is also explained by the ordinal adjective ashtaṁ, 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 Shīrāghād Buddhist inscription of the Śīmanta Dēvadatta of Vikrama-Sāhyavat 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 *nrisansa*, line 27; (a) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vahala*, line 5; and (b) the use of *b* for *v*, in *bhavasthād*, line 8; *bapushi*, line 9-10; *abhibriddhayā*, line 22; *pratibastavyam*, line 25-26; *bydsya*, line 30; and *dā*, line 34.

The inscription is one of the *Ṛṣja Tivarādeva*, of the *Pāṇduvaṁśa* or lineage of *Pāṇdu*. In line 18, he has also the name of *Mahāśiva-Tivarārāja*; 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 *Śrīpura*, which is evidently the modern *Śirpur*, about forty miles east by north from *Rāyapur*. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by *Tivarādeva*, to a *Brāhmaṇa*, on the twelfth lunar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month *Jyēṣṭha* (May-June), of the village of *Pimparipadraya* in the *Penthāma* *bhukti*. 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 *Tivarādeva*.

*Tivarādeva'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. *Tivarādeva* was the adopted son* of *Nannādeva*, who was the son of *Indrabala*. *Nannādeva* 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 *Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII*. p. 25 f. and Plate xviii A.; and from this we learn that *Indrabala's* father was *Udayana*, of the *Śavara* lineage. The *Śirpur* inscription contains no date; but, on palaeographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the eighth or ninth century A.D. And it seems extremely probable that this *Śavara* 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 *Chōla* king *Koppara-Kesariyarman*, whose name appears in a Tamil addition to Nandivarman's grant. These points remain for further investigation. But they indicate the period to which the present inscription of *Tivarādeva* 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 *Tivarādeva*. But this is based upon his identification of Nannādeva's great-grandson *Śiva-gupta* with a certain *Śiva-gupta* of the *Śomavaṁśa*, a king of *Kaṭak*, who, according to the Orissa.

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1 *bhukti*, 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 *tanaya-prāpta*, line 16; lit. 'acquired as a son,'—Nannādeva's son by birth was Chandragupta, as recorded in line 5 of the *Śirpur* inscription referred to in this paragraph.
palm-leaf records, was reigning in the time of Yayāti or Yayātikēsarin; and upon his acceptance of Stirling’s date of A.D. 474 to 526 (or 473 to 520) for Yayātikēsarin, as correct. I shall discuss the matter at length hereafter. It is sufficient to say, here, that the date of Yayātikēsarin, 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 Śīvaguptas is correct, it leaves no doubt whatever that Tīvaradēva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800.

TEXT.

The Seal.

a Śrīmat-Tīvaradēvasya Kōsal-ādhīpatēr-idaṁ
b śāsanaṁ dharmma-vṛiddhī-arttha[m] sthiram-ā-chandra-tārakaṁ [II*]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ [II*] Jayati jagat-[t*]raya-tīla[m] kshitiḥ-kūla-bhavana-
man-gala-sūtra[h*] Śrī|m|mat-Tī|ti|varadēvo dhaurēya[h*] sa-
2 kala-punyakṛitām [II*] Sta|sa|sti Śrī|m|purāt|samadhigatapaṇcha-

mahāśabdag-āneka-nata-nripati-kirī(ri)a-

3 kōṭi-ghrīpta(ṣha)-charaṇa-nakha-darpaṇ-ōdghāsiṭo=pī kaṇṭhad-umukha-prakṣa-

riṇa-rāja-lakṣmi(kshmi)-

4 kēṣapāṣ-ākaraṇa-ḍurlalita-pañipalla[v*] niṣita-nistri(stri)ḥsa-ghana-ḥāta-pāttī-

āḍi-dvira-ku-

5 mbha-ṃanda-la-galad-va(ba)hala - sōpita - sad - āṣikta - muktaḥpala - prakara - maṇḍita-

rāṇaṅgaṇa-

6 dvi(vi)vidhā-ratna-sambhāra-lābha-lōbha-vijrimbhamāṇ-āri - kṣhārvāri - vāḍavānalaś-

chandr-ōdaya iv-ākṛita-v-

7 kar-ōdvēgaḥ kshi(kshi)rōda iv-ādhī(ṣi)rbhūt-ānēk-āṭiśāyi-ratna-sampat

Garutman-iva bhujāṅg-ōdhaḥ-chatura[h*]

8 parāṃsīṅha-ga(ṣa)trukalatra-ṃetṛ - āṃjana - kōmala - kapōla - kuṅkupatrapa - bhaṅgat

śisṭ-āchāra-by(a)va)vastha-

9 paripālan-aika-datta-chitta[h*] [I*] api cha prāktanē tapasi yaśasī
dhah chetasi chakshushi ba(va)p[u]-

Second Plate; First Side.

10 shi cha pūjitō janēn-āklīṣṭatayā nītāntam=a-viṣṇuptō gūḍo(qhō) gāda(qha)-

svachcha-prasanna-ya(va)da-

1 From the original plates.
2 Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
3 The vowel is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to say whether ō was engraved, or ӯ. In lines 1 and 18, the short vowel is used in this name; and, in fact, ō is used for ӯ throughout the greater part of the inscription; but the metre of line 1 shews that, in this name, the long vowel Ž is the correct one.
4 Metre, Āryā; but one short syllable is wanting in the second pāda.
5 The vowel ȗ is partly destroyed by the ring-hole of the plate.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 81, PLATE XLV.

11 nēna ch-ālaṅkṛita[h*] svāmi-bhavan[ē*]=py=a-bahu-lapanō=n-ujjhitah ku-triṣhñō=
   πi nitānta-tyāg-
12 gi(gl) ripujaṇa-praṃchaṇḍō=pi sō(sau)mya-darśanō bhūti-vibhūshanō=py=a-
   parushah svabhāva[taḥ*] ki-
13 nīch-ā-santushtō dharm-ārjanēna sampal-lābhē svalpa-krōdhēna prabhāve
   lubdhō yaśasī na pa-
14 ra-vitt-āpahāre sa(śa)k[l]aḥ subhāsi(shi)tēshu na kāmini(ṇl)-krii(krī)dāsu
   pratā-pānala-dadhē-āśēsha-
15 ripu-kula-tūlarāsis=tuhinaśilāsila-dhavala-yaśo-rāsi-prakāśita-diganta[h*] kānta[h*]
   prakṛitya
16 śrī(śrī)mad-Indrabala-sūnōr-alāṅkṛita-Pāṇḍuvaṁśasya śrī(śrī)-Nannadevasya
   tanaya-prayitaḥ sva-punya(nya)-
17 saṁbhāra-prasa(śa)m-it-āśēsha-jagad-upadravaḥ sva-prajñā-sū(sū)chi-samuddhrī-
   ākhila-kaṇṭakah para-
18 mavaishnavō mātpitri-pād-anudhyātaḥ śrī(śrī)-Mahāśiva-Tīraṇaḥ
   kuśali II² Penṭhāma-bhuktiya-

Second Plate; Second Side.

19 Pimpāripradrakē brāhmaṇapāṃ(n) sampūjya prativāsinah samājñā-
   payati [I*] Viditam-astu
20 bhavatāṃ yath-āsmābhīr-ayaṁ grāmō yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-kirāṇa-pratihata-
   ghōr-āndhakāram ja-
21 gad=avatishthatē tāvad=upabhōgya[h*] sa-nidhiḥ s-opanidhiḥr=a-chāṭa-bhata-
   pravēś[r*] dā-
22 radraṇaka-sarva-kar-ādāna-samētō mātā pitrō=āttmanaḥ=cha puny-ābhi-
   bri(ṛ)ddhayē Bhā-
23 radvājasagōtra - VājasaneṭyaMadhyandina bhaṭṭaGauridattaputra - bhaṭṭa-
24 Bhavadatta-bhaṭṭaHaraḍātābhyaṃ Jyēṣṭha-devādēṣyām-udaka-pūryam prati-
   pādita i-
25 ty=avagamya bhavadbhir=yath-ōchitam-asmaiḥ bhōga-bhāgam-upanayadbhiḥ
   sukham-prat-
26 vastabya(ṇya)m-iti II Bhāvinas=cha bhi māpālān-uddīsy=ēdam-ābhidhiyate [I*]
   Bhūmi²-pra-
27 dā divi lalanti patanti hri(ha)nta hriṭvā mahīḥ nripatayō narakē
   nri-śaṅsāḥ

Third Plate.

28 étad-[d*]vaya[m*] parikalayya chalāṇ=cha lakṣmi(kshmi)m=āyuṣ-tathā
   kuruṭa yad-bhavatām-abhi(bhī)ṣṭa[m*] [II*]

¹ Read tīvra. The engraver first cut the rō, of rājah, 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-opanidhibhīr.
⁴ The engraver first formed va, and then corrected it into ēa.
⁵ The engraver first began to form pītrō, and then corrected it into mātā.
⁶ The engraver first formed bṛī, and then partially cancelled the superscript i.
⁷ Read dōhyām.
⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka.
⁹ Read mahīm.
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.

Öm! 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 Šripura;—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 pañchamahâsâbda;—whose fingers are discourteous in pulling the flowing tresses of

---

1. Metre, Śîlka (Anushtubh).
3. This āchâ is imperfect in the lower part. It was repeated, and formed completely; but the greater part of the second āchâ was then destroyed by the ring-hole.
4. Metre, Śîlka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.
5. Read yudhisîthira.
6. Read mahîm.
7. Read dânâch=chhréyô.
8. Here, and in divasu and ashtamû, we have evidently a vernacular termination.—As regards the interpretation of the year and the day, see page 302 above, notes 1 and 2.
9. pañchamahâsâbda; 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 mahâsâbda is given as meaning 'an official title beginning with the word manda ('great'), and pañchamahâsâbda, in accordance with this, would denote five titles of rank and honour, such as Mahârâja, Mahâmamâdâlîvâra, Mahâsâmânta, &c. This explanation was adopted by me (Jour. Bo. 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 pañchamahâmânta of the Jains, and denoted the five titles of Arhat, Siddha, Ächârya, Upâdhyâya, and Sarvasâdhu. And, finding the five titles of Mahâsâmânta,
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

Mahāpratīhāra, Mahādandanāyaka, Mahākārtikritika and Mahārāja, twice applied to Dhruvaśena I. of Valabhi, in lines 13 f. and 29 f. of his grant of (Gupta)-Sanvat 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 Kanheri inscription of the Rāshrakūta king Amoghavarsha I. and his Silāhāra feudatory Kapardin II., dated Śaka-Sanvat 775 (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. 251 f.) quoted two passages from Ferishtah, and one from the nineteenth book of Chand's Prithviraj-Rāsa, which speak of the nauhat 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 Tulsīdās, 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 tantrī or lute, the tāl or bell-metal instrument played with a stick, the jhānjh or cymbals, the nagāra 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 paṇchama-mahāsabda and auspicious drums, stated that the Lingāyat Viśvakhintāmāni enumerates the five musical instruments as being the sting or trumpet, the tambāta or tambour, the sāṅkha or conch-shell used as a horn, the bherī or kettle-drum, and the jayaghanta or gong.—The last two contributions to the discussion leave no doubt whatever that the expression paṇchama-mahāsabda 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 Viśvakhintāmāni. Thus, the Baḷāgāṇīv inscription of Śaka-Sanvat 1103 (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 46, line 4) gives to the Kalachuri king Bijaḷa the epithet damaṛuka-tūrṇa-nirghośhama, 'he who has (played before him) the sound of the musical instrument called damaṛuka' (a double drum, shaped like an hour-glass). So, also, the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum had the epithet trivālī-tūrṇa-nirghośhama; e.g. in the case of Lakṣmīdēvā, in the Saundatti inscription of Śaka-Sanvat 1151 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 268, and Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 113, line 62). And the Kādambar of Goa had the epithet premaṭṭi-tūrṇa-nirghośhama; e.g. in the case of Śivachitta-Permaḍi, in the Veṅkaṭapura inscription of Śaka-Sanvat 1080 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 273, line 7 f.).—Occasionally, instead of paṇchama-mahāsabda, 'the five great sounds,' we have aṭeṣha-mahāsabda, 'all the great sounds,' e.g. in line 41 of the Barāda grant of the Rāshrakūta chieftain Karka II. of Gujarāt, dated Śaka-Sanvat 734 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 160), and in line 24 of the Barāda grant of the chieftain Dhrūva II. of the same family, dated Śaka-Sanvat 757 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 199). But, that this had no wider meaning, is shewn by the double expression aṭeṣha-paṇchama-mahāsabda, 'all the five great sounds' which occurs in line 1 of the Ambarnāth inscription of the Silāhāra chieftain Mānaviṇi, dated Śaka-Sanvat 782 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329), and in line 2 of the Aṇjanèrī inscription of the Yādava chieftain Śeṇavīṇa, dated Śaka-Sanvat 1083 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 126).—The epithet samudhigata-paṇchama-mahāsabda, 'one who has attained the paṇchama-mahāsabda,' is of very constant occurrence in inscriptions, in connection with the names of feudatories, and even of Mahākumāras or heirs-apparent. But the only instances that I can quote, in which it is applied to paramount sovereigns, are the cases of the Rāshrakūta king Amoghavarsha I., in line 6 f. of his Śirūr inscription, dated Śaka-Sanvat 788 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 218); of another Rāshrakūta king named Kakka, in line 22 of his Cīhārī grant, dated Śaka-Sanvat 679 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 108); and of Dēvāpāla of Dherä, in line 5 f. of the ' Chārā' inscription of Vikrama-Sanvat 1275 (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India, p. 111).—The only instance known to me, in which any reference is made to the source of this mark of distinction, viz. to its being bestowed upon a feudatory.
fire to the salt water of (his) enemies, 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, struck down with the crushing blows of (his) sharp sword;—who has not caused distress by (his) taxes, just as the rising moon does not cause distress by (its) rays;—who, like the sea of milk, manifests a wealth of many most excellent jewels;—who, like Garumati, is skilful in eradicating the serpents;¹—who breaks the saffron-leaves on the cheeks, soft with the collyrium (washed down by the tears) from (their) eyes, of the violated wives of (his) enemies;—whose thoughts are solely given to the establishment and protection of virtuous behaviour;

(L. 9.)—Who, moreover, is not too much puffed up with satisfaction, (though he is) unweariedly worshipped by mankind, in (respect of his) religious austerity (and) fame (and) secrecy (and) intellect (and) faculty of sight and (beauty of) form resulting from (good) acts done in a former life;—who is reserved, and is decorated with an impene-trable, pure, and complacent countenance;—who, even in the palace of (his) lord, is never at a loss (for words), though he does not talk too much;—who, though he is thirsty for (the acquisition of) land, is yet exceedingly liberal;—who, though he is fierce to (his) enemies, is yet mild of aspect;—who, though he is adorned with majesty, is yet not harsh;—who, moreover, is by nature never quite satisfied in accumulating religion in the acquisition of wealth, (and) in (displaying only) mild anger in (spite of all his) power;—who is greedy for fame, (but) not for the appropriation of the wealth of others;—who is affable in excellent conversations, (but) not in the 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-Tivararāja,—who is the adopted son² of the illustrious Nannadēva, who was the son of the illustrious Indrabala, (and) who adorned the lineage of Pându; who has allayed all the troubles of the world with the abundance of his religious merit; who has extracted all thorns with the needle of his wisdom; who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Vishnu; (and) who meditates on the feet of (his) parents,—being in good health, (and) having done worship to the Brāhmans at (the village of) Pimpripadraka belonging to the Peṇṭhāma bhukti, 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) Jyēṣṭha, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourself, to the Bhāṭṭa Bhavadatta and the Bhāṭṭa Haradatta, sons of the Bhāṭṭa Gauridatta, of the Bhāradvaja gōtra and the Vājasanēya-Mādhyamā-dina (śākhā),—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness

by the reigning paramount sovereign, is in the Dēogadh inscription of Bhōjādeva of Gwālior, dated Vikrama-Samvat 919 and Śāka-Samvat 784, in which (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 101, and Pl. xxxiii. No. 2, l. 3) the Mahāśāmanta Vishnu (?) has the epithet tat-pradatta-paṇchamahāśābda, “possessed of the paṇchamahāśābda conferred by him, i.e. by Bhōjādeva.”

¹ This possibly contains an allusion to the well-known Nāga family or tribe.
² tantray-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 ātradarānaka\(^1\) and all the taxes.

(L. 24.)—"Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness, rendering to them, in a proper manner, (their) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 26.)—And for the guidance of future kings, this is said,—"Those kings who bestow land, enjoy pleasure in heaven; (but) alas! those who confiscate land (that has been given), and (thus) work injury to mankind, fall into hell: bearing in mind these alternatives, and also that fortune (and) life are transient, do that which pleases you!" Moreover,—"The reward of protection ensures a fortunate condition, and of omission to protect, a state of misfortune; who, indeed, will (willingly) disregard heaven and obtain hell?"

(L. 30.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa:—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Vishnu; and cows are the daughters of the sun: therefore the three worlds are given by him, who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant!

(L. 35.)—The year 7 of the increasing victorious reign; (the month) Kārttika; the eighth day, (or in figures) 8.

\(^1\) ātradarānaka is a fiscal term that requires explanation. The dictionaries give dāra, in the sense of 'a cleft, gap, hole; a ploughed field; a wife; ' but they do not give dranaka, or any root by means of which it can be explained. The term may refer either to some agricultural cess, or to a marriage-tax of the kind spoken of in line 6 ff. of the Daṇḍāpur inscription of Jagattunga II., dated Śaka-Samvat 840 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 223 f.)
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First

Second

Third

Fifth

Seventh

Ninth

ten

Eleventh

Twelfth

Thirteenth

Dark fortnight:

Third

Seventh

Fifteenth

Fortnight not specified:

Twelfth

Days, solar, or more properly civil, denoted by aha, a by dīna, or divasa, or their abbreviations di and diva, and mentioned in dates of this series, in the other Gupta-Valabhi dates used for calculation, and in the Nēpāl inscriptions:

Bright fortnight:

Second

Fifth

Seventh

Eleventh

Thirteenth

Dark fortnight:

Seventh

Thirteenth

Fifteenth

Fortnight not specified:

Third

Fourth

Fifth

Sixth

Seventh

Eighth

Ninth

ten

Eleventh

Twentieth

Twenty-first

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Ruchirā

Śālīnī

Śārdūlavikṛdīta

Śālīkha (Anushtubh)

Śābharinī

Svāgata

Upājī of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā

Upendravajrā

Vaitālīya-Aupachchhandasika

Vaiśnāsātha

Vasanatilaka

in standard benedictive and impercatory verses:—

Indravajrā

Śālīka (Anushtubh)

Vaiśnāsātha

Vasantarilaka

in standard benedictive and impercatory verses:—

Indravajrā

Śālīka (Anushtubh)

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bhaṭṭā; with Jaya.
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ngā; with Bhava, Dēva, Gaṇapati, Kumāra, Mahēśvara, Sakti, Sarva, Skanda, Śvāmin.
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nandin; with Vishṇu.
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Nilarāja of Avamukta, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta.

Nimād District, an inscription from the...

Nirmand, a village in the Kāṅgra District; mentioned as the ancient Nirmaṇḍa agrahāra.

Nirvāṇa, ‘annihilation of human passion;’ a stage in the Buddhist practices, anterior to parinirvāṇa or complete annihilation of personal existence by absorption into the all-pervading spirit.

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Naradatta, Bhūgika and Amāyata.

Nārādhipati, ‘a chief ruler of men,’ contrasted with janāṅdram, ‘a lord of a people or tribe’.

Narayana, a Mālava feudatory of Chandragupta II. or of Kumāragupta.

Nārāyaṇa, a Kanva or Kanvāyaṇa prince, mentioned in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa; there is no foundation for the supposition that he is mentioned, as the Tushāra king Viṣṇu, in the Tūṣām rock inscription.

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Nashī, an ancient town or village in the Sukuli dēla.

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Palâsin, a river flowing from the mountains Ùrjyayat. 64

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pânchâ ânântaryâni, ‘the five sins that entail immediate retribution.’ 34 and n.

pânchâ mahrâpâtakâni, ‘the five great sins.’ 38 and n., 39, 40, 72, 120, 124, 129, 134, 138, 171, 265, 269, 291

pânchâ-mahâdâbda, the sounds of five musical instruments, the use of which was allowed to persons of high rank and authority (see also samadhigata:pânchâmahâdâbda). 296 and n.

pânchâ-mahâdyâniâka, the rites of the pânchâ-mahâdyâja or five great sacrifices; enumerated as bali, charu, vaivadêva, agnîhîtra, and atithi, 170, 190;—mention of the bali, charu, and satra, i.e. atithi, without the others. 116 and n., 124, 129, 132, 290

pânchâ-mandâli, ‘an assembly of five persons;’ equivalent to the modern Paîchâth, Paîchâyat, or Paîch, ‘a village-jury.’ 32 and n.
Parivrājaka Mahādrājā, 8, 95 n., 97, 104, 109, 111, 115; they belonged to the Bharadvaja gotra, 115; they were feudatories of later members of the Early Gupta dynasty; and the extreme importance of their records lies in their proving that the Gupta dominion continued to A.D. 528.

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Parnadatta, Skandagupta’s governor for Saurāshtra. 62, 63, 65

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Pausha, one of the Hindu lunar months; a rare instance of its being intercalary. 179

pautra and prapautra, especially as contrasted with napтри and pranapтри, are properly to be rendered by ‘son’s son’ and ‘son of a son’s son,’ instead of vaguely by ‘grandson’ and ‘great-grandson’. 15 n., 97 n.

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Rāghava, 'a descendant of Rāghu'; a name in particular of Rāmachandra, but also applied to Aja, Daśaratha, and Lakshmana 20

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Rājādhirāja, a title of paramount sovereignty, properly obsolete in the Gupta period, but used in some metrical passages, both alone and in Rājarājadehira, 35 and n., 62, 151, 156 and n.

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Ravidatta, Bhōgīka 100, 105, 109

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Saka era; an era of northern origin, commencing in A.D. 78, though usually represented as commencing in A.D. 79; according to the chief Hindu tradition, its starting-point was the defeat of a Saka king by king Vikrāmaditya of Ujjain, 142; according to a later tradition, it dates from the birth of king Śālikavahana of Pratishṭhāna; but there is no proof of his name being connected with it before the thirteenth century A.D. 142 n.; its real historical starting-point was the commencement of the reign of some particular king or kings of the Saka tribe, 142; a curious instance of confusion, by the Jain writer Śilāchārya, between the Śaka and the Gupta eras, 32 n.; the difference in the scheme of the Northern and Southern Śaka years, both commencing with Chaithra śukla 1, 70, 71; even in Southern India, the Amānta arrangement of the lunar fortnights was not used with the Śaka era, for the civil reckoning, till between A.D. 864 and 866, 70 n.; for the civil reckoning, the Śaka year is luni-solar, commencing with Chaithra śukla 1, and it is sometimes used thus by astronomers; but also, for astronomical calculations, it is sometimes taken as a solar year, commencing with the Māsā Śaṭabḍa, 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

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Sāgātra, 'belonging to the same gōtra with (the person from whom the gōtra-name is derived)' 70, 96, 103, 108, 114, 116, 166, 179, 193, 198, 157, 239, 240, 245, 246, 256, 270, 295
regnal or dynastic years, and must have been used as current years, 142, 143; — the substitution of the Śaka 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 Vedas; names of śākhās mentioned in this series of records:

- Āroupamanyava
- Bahvṛicha
- Chhaṇḍogya-Kautthama
- Katha
- Maitrāyaṇya
- Rāṣṭrapāla
- Taityirīya
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Śakra, the god Indra, as `the powerful one.'

- Śaṅkta or Tāntrika worship; apparent early instances of it (see also Vajrēśvara). 48 and n., 74, 220

Śaṅkināga, a grantee.

- Śākya, the name of the tribe or family of Buddha, 277; — mention of Śākya Bhikṣus, 272, 279, 280, 282; — and of a Śākya Bhikṣu.

- Śalapakṣa, a Bālādhikrita of Ādiyāsena of Magadhā.

- Śālāṭurīya, a name of the grammarian Pāṇini.

- Śālivāhana-Śaka, an expression that is frequently used to denote the Śaka era; but it is an anachronism for any period earlier than the thirteenth century A.D.

- sati, an abbreviation of the word sāmatṛta, `a year,' or of any of its declensional cases that can be used in expressing a date.

- samadhiṣṭhāna-paṇṭḥamaḥahāsabda, a customary epithet of feudatory nobles, indicating that they are entitled to the privilege of the paṇṭḥamaḥahāsabda, 206 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.

Sāṃdya, an official title, 41, 180, 182, 148 n., 203 and n.; — used in a non-technical sense.

- Sāṃdya, a Hindu king of Kābul; remarks on some of his coins, which have been supposed to bear dates in the Gupta era.

- Sāṃsāra-Samhita, an astrological work by Varahamihira, quoted by Upalā in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.
epithets are applied to Vijayarāja (Chalukya of Gujārāt), 14 n.;—his Allahbād (or Kausāmī) posthumous pillar inscription, 1;—his Ėraṅ inscription, 18;—his spurious Gaṅga grant of the year 9 .................................................. 254
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sāmvat, an abbreviation of the word sāmvatsara, a ‘year’, or of any of its declensional cases that can be used in expressing a date, 94, 97, 95, 97, 178 to 184, 22 n., 30 n., 47, 92, 108, 110, 180, 210, 257, 261, 267, 277, 289;—the use of this word is not really confined to the Vikrama era; and, joined with the name of the era, it gives a convenient method of quoting the years of any of the different eras. .................................................. 22 n.
sāmvatsara, ‘a year’ (see also sāmi. sāmvat, and year) 95 n.;—the reason why the earlier years of Hindu eras are quoted by this term, or by the abbreviations sāmi and sāmvat, without any dynastic appellation .................................................. 143
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Sāachi, or Sāchi, a village in the Bhōpāl State; its name is not derived from the Sanskrit word sānti, but is probably an alliterative vernacular word, 29 n., 260 n.;—in the Asoka period, its name was Kākanadā, 31;—in the Gupta period, the name of the great Stāpa here was Kākanadābodhamahāvīrāhā, 31, 261;—in the inscriptions it seems to be denoted by the term rataugriha, 33 and n., 34, 262;—the modern popular name of the great Stāpa is Sā bahun kā bījā, 30 n.;—the inscription of Chandragupta II. of the (Gupta) year 93, 39;—the inscription of the (Gupta) year 131, 260;—a pillar inscription .................................................. 279
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Sindhu, the river Indus; mentioned as having seven mouths.

Sīrpur, a town in the Rāypur District; mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit name of Sīrpa.

Sīrur, a village in the Dhārward District; examination of the date of the inscription of Amoghavarsa I, of the Śaka year 788, which proves that the Amṛtā arrangement of the lunar fortnights was applied to the Śaka years, in Southern India, between A.D. 804 and 866.

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Śivandi, the chief town of the Siwan-Chhapārā District; the grant of Pravarasena II.

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ERRATA.

INTRODUCTION.

Page 36, line 15, *for* Mr. Blochmann’s, *read* Mr. Kay’s.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

6, Text line 5, *for* öchchhri, *read* öchchhri (chchhri).
9, *for* sadrisány, *read* sadiśasy.
17, *for* parâkkram-ânkasya, *read* parâkkram-ânkasya.
20, *for* māhâbhaṭgasya, *read* māhâbhaṭgasya.
20, *for* kula-vadhuh, *read* kula-vadhuh (dhú)ḥ.
21, *for* ñrjìtum, *read* ñrjìtam.
26, *for* paribhîñhan(n), *read* paribhîñhan(n).
26, *for* ñcchhettuḥ, *read* ñcchhettuḥ.
27, note 4, *in* lines 1 and 13, *for* ñcchhêtri, *read* ñcchhêtri; *and* in line 1, *for* ñcchhêti, *read* ñcchhêti.
28, note 6, *line* 4 *from* the bottom, *for* Purâṇa, *read* Purâṇa.
48, note 1, line 2, *for* Visvavârman, *read* Visvavârman.
59, Text line 4, *for* Ñpi, *read* Ñpi.
11, *for* an-upaskritair, *read* an-upaskritair.
27, *the word* Guptânàm *should be in the thick type.
73, line 4, *for* appratimêna, *read* appratimêna.
74, Text line 8, *for* a-sahyâtamañ, *read* a-sahyâtamañ.
19, *for* (? shthā), *read* (? shthā).
23, *for* tãtītym, *read* tri(t)ītym.
39, *for* srimâṇã, *read* srimāṇã.
17, *for* ñbhiramânam *read* ñbhiramânam.
12, *for* pramukhânañã, *read* pramukhânañã.
14, *for* khandâ, *read* khandâ.
6, *for* âdin, *read* âdin.
4, *for* drishta, *read* drishta.
4, *for* ñdapan, *read* ñdapan.
7, *for* udûdham, *read* udûdham.
12-13, *for* visamvâ(v)a-diâ, *read* visamvâ(v)a-diâ.
17, *for* dèśam, *read* dèśam; *and* for ñlimbãm, *read* ñlimbãm.
18, *for* Dharmmādô, *read* Dharmmādô.
Page 154, Text line 19, for khâtayám, read khâñayám.
156, line 27, for mighty, read mighty.
162, Text line 4, for vrîshashya, read vrîshasra.
165, " " 3, for didhitir, read didhitir.
166, " " 14, for vad-apâst, read d-apâst.
173, " " 5, for trîna, read trîna.
193, line 6, to the word TEXT attach the note-reference 3.
194, Text line 11, for âtisra(sri)shta, read âtisra(sri)shta.
" " 19, for Shashtîm, read Shashtîn.
203, " " 10, for parînâyitavan, read parînâyêavân.
204, " " 23, for lakshîmlavan, read lakshîmlavan.
" " 24, for ahdô, read ahdô.
237, " " 13, for Chakra, read Chakra-. 
238, " " 25, for atisrishta, read atisrishta.
245, " " 1, for Drishtam, read Drishtam.
250, line 35, for Oldhausen, read Olshausen.
254, Translation, line 2, twice, for ana, read and.
286, No. 74, Text lines 2 and 3, the note-references should be 3 and 4.
290, line 12, the word Mihiralakshmi should be in the thick type.
294, Text line 1, as pointed out to me by Prof. Kiellorn, for sûtra[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 Indian Antiquary; since, to include them here, would further delay the issue of the book.