REPORT

OF

A TOUR IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

IN

1873-74 AND 1874-75.

BY

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"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them." — LORD CANNING.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally." — JAMES PRINSEP.


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PREFACE.

THE tour described in the present volume extended from Bharhut, half-way between Allahabad and Jabalpur, to Asir and Burhānpur on the west, and to Chânda and Mârkanda on the south, thus covering nearly the whole of the western half of the Central Provinces. In the middle ages the greater part of this country belonged to the Kulachuri Rajas of Chedi or Dâhal. At a still earlier date the northern tract, about Uchahara and Mahiyar, was subject to two petty chiefs, or simple Maharajas, who were tributary to the powerful Gupta Kings, in whose era they date all their inscriptions.

Notices of all these records are given in the following pages, with facsimiles of the dates in the accompanying Plates.

The occurrence of these dates has given me an opportunity of discussing the probable starting point of the Gupta era, which I have fixed approximately to the year 194 A.D. Four of these inscriptions contain a second date in the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, which, I think it probable, will ultimately lead to the discovery of the true initial point of the Gupta era. I am not at present in possession of all the information necessary for the full discussion of this question; but I may note here that the years of this cycle of Jupiter have the same names as the twelve months of the year, with the addition of the word Mahâ, or great, prefixed to each. Thus the year 156 of the Gupta era is also called
he year Mahá Vaisákha, while the year 209 is named Mahá Aswayuja. Now the difference between these two dates is 53 years, or 5 years over 4 cycles of 12 years; and as Aswayuja is the fifth name in order after Vaisákha, we thus learn that between the years 156 and 209 of the Gupta era there was no name omitted in the regular succession of the twelve years. But according to the old Astronomer Garga, the names of Aswayuja and Chaitra were omitted after the lapse of average periods of 85 years, so as to make the name of the year agree with that of the Nakshatra group, in which Jupiter actually rose heliacally. I have not yet been able to ascertain to my satisfaction what arrangement was actually followed in making these omissions, and I will not hazard any speculations as to the name of the year, which probably corresponds with A.D. 350, which, according to my proposed chronology of the Guptas, was the year Mahá Vaisákha. I hope, however, to obtain hereafter some positive information regarding the exact recurrence of these omitted names, which may then be brought to bear upon the initial point of the Gupta era. In the meantime, I wish to draw attention to the data furnished by the inscriptions of Budha Gupta and Dhruvabhata, from which I have deduced the probable commencement of the Gupta era in 194 A.D.

I have also given a short account of the silver coins of the Guptas and their successors, amongst which will be found the coins of two new kings—named Bhima Sena¹ and Sânti Varma. Since the plate was prepared, I have received the coin of a later Gupta King, with face to the right, as on all the Gupta coins. The coin is of rude and coarse execution, and must therefore be considerably later than the coins of Skanda and Budha Gupta. The name consists of four syllables, which I read, with some hesitation as to the first, as Dâmodara Gu(pta). The coin was obtained

¹ The name on this coin is read as Toramâna by Babu Rajendra Lalâ Mitra; but with this reading I cannot agree.
at Ajudhya, and bears on the reverse the usual Gupta peacock with expanded tail. The whole legend seems to read as follows:—


The name of Dāmodara Gupta is found in the Apshar inscription of the later Guptas. He was the son and successor of Kumâra Gupta II, who was the opponent of Sânti Varma. Dāmodara must therefore have reigned, according to my calculation of the Gupta chronology, from about 460 to 480 A.D., a date which agrees with the statement of the inscription that he had successfully encountered "at the battle of Maushari the fierce army of the Western Hunas."

I have also given a pretty long account of the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi, illustrated by numerous inscriptions. All of these are dated in an era of their own, which is called both Chedi Samvat and Kulachuri Samvat. The starting point of this era I have fixed with some certainty in the year 249 A.D. My account of the era is founded partly on the mention of the Kulachuri Kings in the dated inscriptions of other dynasties, and partly on the mention of several week days in some of their own inscriptions. Afterwards I was lucky enough to find two separate notices of the Chedi Kings by independent authors, which serve to establish the correctness of the date that I have assigned to the beginning of the era.

The first of these notices is a very short paragraph of Abu Rihân, the contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni, which has escaped the notice of all previous enquirers. After mentioning Kâlanjar he says, "thence to Dahâl, of which the capital is Bituri, the kingdom¹ of Kankgu." Now these names are only a slight disguise in Persian characters for Dâhal, which was another appellation of the country of

¹ See Reinaud, Fragments Arabes et Persans p. 106, and Elliot's Muhammadan Historians by Dowson, 1, 58. See also p. 106 of this volume.
Chedi, of which the capital was Tripuri, or Tripura, and the Raja was Gângeo, or Gângeya Deva. Abu Rihân’s account refers to the year 1030-31 A.D., while the reign of Gângeya is fixed by the genealogical reckoning of my chronology to the period between A.D. 1025 and 1050.

The second notice is in Dr. Bühler’s account of Bilhana, the author of the Vikramânkadeva Charita. Bilhana was born at Khonamukha, in Kashmir, and left his native country between 1062 and 1065 A.D. He visited Mathura, Kanauj, Prayâg, and Benares, and afterwards “resided for some time at the court of the Chandela Chief Karna in Dâhala, or Bundelkhand; and it was here, he tells us, that he gained his victory over the poet Gangâhara.” Eventually he became the court poet of the Châlukya King Vikramâditya Tribhuvana Malla of Kalyâna. As his life of this king was written about A.D. 1085, the date of his residence at the court of Raja Karna of Dâhala may be placed about A.D. 1070 to 1075, a period which agrees exactly with the approximate date of A.D. 1050 to 1075, which I had already assigned to him by the genealogical reckoning.

In this notice I have retained the statement that Karna was the Chandela Chief of Dâhala, or Bundelkhand, for the purpose of correcting the widely-spread mistake that Chedi was identical with Chandel. This error, I believe, originated with Lieutenant Price, the translator of the Mau inscription of the Chandel Rajas. After describing how Madana Varma Chandela had vanquished the King of Chedi “in the fierce fight,” he adds in a note, “the same, I believe, with Chandail,” so that Madana Varma must have conquered himself. Now Chandela is the tribal name of the Rajas who ruled over the country of Mahoba, Khajuraho, and Kâlanjar, which is called Jajahuti by Abu Rihân, and Jejâ-

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1 See the Vikramânkadeva Charita, edited by Dr. Bühler, Bombay. See also Indian Antiquary, V, 317, 324.
2 Researches of Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xii, para. 15, of translation.
kasukti in one of the Prithi Rāj's inscriptions. There is besides no Karna in the Chandela lists of kings. But Karna of Dāhala is the well-known Raja Karna of Chedi, which country, according to Hema Chandra, was also called Dāhala. I may add that Karna himself and all his descendants bear the titles of Chedindra and Chedinarendra, or "Lord of Chedi," in all their inscriptions.

I have also given a full account of the curious Buddhist caves at Bhândak, near the Wardâ River, and of the fine group of temples at Mârkanda on the Venya Gangâ River. As both of these places are in the ancient district of Vâkâtaka, I have suggested that Bhândak is only the modern abbreviated form of the old name.

A. CUNNINGHAM.
1.—LĀL-PAHĀR.

My tour in 1873-74 began with the discovery of the magnificent Stūpa of Bharhut, half-way between Allahabad and Jabalpur. As the description of this old Buddhist monument forms the subject of a separate volume, I only allude to it now for the purpose of indicating the site of the lofty crest of Lāl Pahār, or the "Red Hill," at the southeast foot of which the stūpa is situated. The hill is also known as Chhatri Pahār, that is, the "Umbrella or Canopy Hill," a name which is said to have been derived from a large round stone, with a hole in the middle, which is now lying on the top, and which is supposed to be like an umbrella. The height of the hill is 1,869 feet above the sea, and 500 feet above the plain of Bharhut.

Near the top of the hill there is a fine natural cave, large enough to hold as many as 100 people. Outside there is an inscription, painted in large white letters, which are now illegible.

Near the Chhatri stone there is a separate piece of rock, with an inscription on the top in large letters, which shows that the rule of the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi had once extended to Bharhut. The inscription will be examined hereafter, along with other records of the Kulachuri kings of Chedi.

A separate short line repeats the name of the inscriber, as "Rāut Sri Ballāla Deva."

This brief record is important in giving the week-day, which will help us in ascertaining the initial point of the Chedi or Kulachuri era, which is clearly the Samvat here used. The inscription was recorded by Prince Ballāla Deva, the son of Keśavaditya, and grandson of Nara Sinha Deva,
the Kulachuri Rájá of Chedi. This king is mentioned in other inscriptions, and more particularly in a record of his own reign, which is dated in Samvat 907, Mârga sudi 11, Sunday. An inscription of Jaya Sinha Deva, his younger brother, is dated in Samvat 928, Srâvana sudi 6, Sunday, and an earlier one without the week-day in Samvat 926. The earliest record of this family that I have seen is the copperplate [mentioned by Wilford] which bears the date of Samvat 793, Phálgun badi 9, Monday. From all these week-days we may now confidently expect to ascertain the initial point of the Chedi or Kulachuri era with absolute certainty. My assistant, Mr. Beglar, has since found several inscriptions of the Kulachuri Rájás of Mahá-Kosala, in which the era used is called both Chedi Samvat and Kulachuri Samvat. I have now got eight dates which give the week-day, four of which agree in placing the first year of the Kulachuri Samvat in A. D. 249.

Another point of some interest in this short record on the hill of Lâl Pahâr is the mention of the village of Vádyava-gráma, or Bâjagaon, which may have been the original name of Bharhut itself. It was certainly the name of Prince Ballâla Deva’s estate; and if it was not Bharhut itself, it could not have been far off, as his father's principality must have been a small one, most probably only the present chiefship of Uchahara.

2.—BHARHUT.

The great Buddhist Stûpa of Bharhut is situated nearly half-way between Allahabad and Jabalpur, and about 2 miles to the east of the railway, between the stations of Satna and Uchahara. The exact distances are 120 miles from Allahabad and 111 miles from Jabalpur.

The remains of the ancient stûpa have been described in a separate volume; but there is also a ruined temple of mediaeval date which deserves to be noticed, as it proves that the open profession of the Buddhist religion must have continued down to a very late period. The original old temple was of small size, but it would appear to have been enlarged at a later period; and it is difficult to say whether the fragments found in the excavations belonged to the old work or to the later additions. The back wall of the old temple is still standing; and this was retained intact when the additions were made. Its platform was disclosed by the excavations as a simple rectangle, 25 feet long by 20½ feet broad; the
temple itself being only 21½ feet long by 15 feet broad. At some subsequent period the platform was considerably enlarged, and two side-rooms were added to the temple. A portion of one of the pillars was found, as well as several pieces of the cusped arch of the entrance and a single piece of the canopy of the enshrined statue. The last bears a portion of a Buddhist dedicatory inscription. The original pedestal occupied the whole breadth of the temple; but afterwards a second smaller pedestal was placed on the top of the larger one, on which is seated a colossal figure of Buddha, with his right shoulder bare, his right hand resting on his knee and his left hand on his lap. On the upper pedestal to the right are some Brahmanical figures in subordinate positions,—Kāli, the skeleton goddess; Siva, with his noose and thunderbolt; Brahmā, with his beard and three heads; and Indra, on his elephant. The other side of the pedestal is broken. On the lower pedestal there are two lions. Amongst the broken sculptures are no less than four bearing on their pedestals portions of the Buddhist creed of $Yē-dharmma hetu prabhava, &c$. It is certain, therefore, that this was a Buddhīst temple down to the very last. After seeing many other small temples in different places, I am of opinion that the original temple was a square of 15 feet, with a portico in front, supported on four pillars. Judging from other examples, the portico would have been about one-half the width of the temple, which would make the total length 22 feet 6 inches, the actual length of the old temple being only one foot less. The plan of the old temple, thus described, may be conveniently compared with the plan of the Tigowa temple in the present volume. This proportion accords with the plans of most of the temples of the Gupta period, to which time I believe that this Bharhut temple belongs. At some later period, say about 1100 A. D., the temple was enlarged, and a second pedestal placed on the top of the old one, to give due elevation to the new statue, which then took the place of the ancient colossus.

Several moulded and curved bricks were also found, which, as they form portions of a circle not less than 20 feet in diameter, must have belonged to a small stūpa. Numerous pieces of iron were also discovered, which are not worth sketching. The uses of most of them are obvious, such as the razor and nail-cutter, which are easily recognized. Only one razor was found; although every monk was bound to possess one for his own tonsure.
A single bronze figure was also found in the excavations. It seems to be that of an attendant; and I am unable to say whether it is Buddhist or Brahmanical. I was disappointed in not finding any seals, either of burnt-clay or of lac, which have been found in such numbers at other places, as at Srāvasti, Sankisa-Bihār, Sārmāth, Bodh-Gaya, Bakror, Girye, and Birdrāban near Lakhi-Sarai. But Bharhut is not singular in this respect, as I have not obtained even a single seal at the eminently Buddhist site of Kosam.

3.—SANKARGARH.

Sankargarh is a small hill fort of no importance, 5 miles to the west of Bharhut and 4 miles to the north of Uchāhara. I visited the place to inspect a square stone pillar, which was said to have carvings like those of the Buddhist railing of the Bharhut Stūpa. The pillar stands in front of a Baori well, and is believed to have been set up by a Brahman, five or six generations ago. But the carving is much too good for such a late period; and as the figures are Brahmanical, the pillar cannot have been brought from Bharhut; although the representations of the mango fruit are in the Bharhut style, and are probably copies.

To the north of the village there is a fine tank and a Baori called the Bakoli Baoli, with a broken inscribed slab lying on its bank. The slab is said to be the monument of a Sati; and a curious story is told as to the cause of her death. There are many slightly differing versions of the story, but they all agree in the main points.

A Brahman girl, some say the wife of a Brahman, of the village Dāne, near Sankargarh, used daily to fill her water-vessel from the Tons river, near the village of Bakoli. Here she frequently met a shepherd of Bharhut, who tended his flock on the banks of the river. They fell in love with each other; but their intercourse remained unknown, until the sudden death of the shepherd. The girl had filled her water-vessel as usual, and the shepherd was assisting her in lifting it on to her head, when he was bitten by a snake, which had got into the water-pot unseen. After his death the girl declared her love, and became a Sati. Or, in the version which makes her a Brahman’s wife, she affirmed that she had been the wife of the shepherd in a former birth.
The story is widely known, and forms the subject of many doggerel verses, which are more popular than decent. The following verse gives the chief points of the story:

Pâni bharon Bakoli,
Bason Dâne-re gaon,
Bharhut Keâr Gadariya,
Tehu se judo saneo.

"To fetch water from Bakoli, a maiden of Dâne went; there met a shepherd of Bharhut, and fell in love with him."

4.—UCHAHARA, OR UCHAHADA.

Uchahara is a small town and railway station on the high road between Allahabad and Jabalpur, and six miles to the south-west of Bharhut. The town gives its name to the chiefship of a Parihâr Râjâ, who is, however, better known now as the Râjâ of Nâgod, since the Râjâ preferred to live there after the place was made a military cantonment. The situation of Uchahara at the junction of the two great lines of road from Allahabad and Benares towards the south and near the head of the long obligatory pass of the Tons valley between Mahiyar and Jokhai is a very favourable one. The original name of the district is said to have been Barmê, and the Barmê Nadi is noted as being the present boundary between the Mahiyar and Uchahara chiefships. But this stream was at first only the boundary line which divided the two districts of north and south Barmê. At Kâri Tâlai, which once formed part of Mahiyar, I found an inscription with the name of Uchahaḍa. The old name of Barmê is widely known; but few people seemed to know anything about the extent of the country. From the late Minister of the Uchahara State, I learned that the Parihâr chiefship was older than that of the Chandels of Mahoba, as well as that of the Bâghels of Rewa. According to his belief, it formerly included Mahoba, and all the country to the north as far as the Ghâts and Bilhari on the south; and extended to Mau-Mahewa on the west, and on the east comprised most of the country now held by the Bâghels. I do not suppose that the Bâghels would admit this eastern extension; but it seems to receive some support from the position assigned by Ptolemy to the Poruâri, who are very probably the same people as the Parihârs. The great lake at Bilhari, called Lakshman Sâgar, is said to have been made by Lakshman Sen Parihâr; and the great fort of Singorgarh,
still farther to the south, contains a pillar bearing the name of a Parihár Rájá. The family has no ancient records, and vaguely claims to have come from Abu-Sikhar in the west (Mount Abu), more than thirty generations ago.

In Uchahara itself there is no ancient building now standing; but there are numerous fragments of architecture and sculpture which probably date as high as 700 or 800 A. D. This is perhaps the earliest date that can be assigned to the Parihárs in Uchahara, as everybody affirms that they were preceded by a Teliya Ráj, or dynasty of Telis, who resided at Kho, over the whole of the country called Barmé.

5.—KHO.

I paid a visit to Kho, to examine the great mound, and to make enquiries regarding the exact find-spots of several copperplate inscriptions which are now in the possession of the Rájá of Uchahara. The old town of Kho has nearly disappeared, and is now represented by a small village. The great mound stands on the south bank of the Barúa Nálá, just three miles to the west of Uchahara. It is still upwards of 29 feet in height, and forms a conspicuous mark in the very middle of the valley. On excavation, I found the ruins of a large red brick temple, which had apparently been destroyed by fire, as the whole of the stone statues were split into small fragments, such as could not readily have been done with a hammer. There were also numerous friable flakes of stone; and on the north side there was a large quantity of concrete of brick-and-lime, of which many of the brick fragments had fused into slag.

The temple faced to the east, and was dedicated to Vishnu, as I found a part of a colossal statue of the Nara-Sinha-avatár, as well as a large statue of the Varáha, 5½ feet in length and 3 feet 9 inches high. Prone between the boar’s legs there is a Nága, with human head and body and serpent’s tail. He is canopied by five snakes’ hoods, and holds out two vessels in his hands below the boar’s snout. There are also many fragments of the well-known symbols of Vishnu, the discus, the shell, the club, and the winged figure of Garuda. The large dimensions of some of these symbols show that there must have been other figures of Vishnu of rather more than life-size; whilst a single thumb, 2½ inches in breadth, proves that there was at least one colossus of at least twice

1 See Plate III.
the natural height. All the human faces are remarkable for
the large size of the lower lip. In the accompanying plate I
have given a sketch of a fragment of a colossal head, which
is 8 inches broad. From the root of the nose to the parting
of the lips is only one inch, while the lower lip is one inch
and an eighth. In a second smaller example the dimensions
were respectively 5-eighths and 5 3/4-eighths of an inch. This
peculiarity was, therefore, intentional. Apparently, also, it
was the fashion of a particular period, as I have found terracotta heads in other places with the same large under lip.

The mound itself is called Ataritekra, or simply Atariya,
or the high mound, a name which it justly bears, as I found
that the floor of the temple was raised 22 feet above the
ground. The pedestals of the statues were still in situ; but
there was nothing, not even a single letter, to give any clue
to the date of the temple. The bricks were large, 14 x 8 3/4
x 2 3/4, and probably belong to the time of the Teliya Ráj.
As Kho is said to have been the capital of the Teliya Rájás,
this date is not improbable.

Regarding the inscribed copperplates which were found
in the Kho valley, I learned that one pair was discovered in
1870, in ploughing a field belonging to the neighbouring vil-
lage of Majgowa. As this pair had a ring and seal attached,
I am able to identify the inscription as an edict of Mahárája
Hastin, which is dated in Samvat 191 of the Gupta era.
Four other plates, which were found in the same place some
twenty years earlier, or about 1852 A.D., are said to have been
sent to Benares. I conclude, therefore, that these were the
four plates obtained by Colonel Ellis while Political Agent at
Nágod, as they were certainly sent to Benares, where they
were translated by Professor Hall. They also are dated in
the Gupta era. They will be described shortly when I come
to speak of the Bhubbhara Pillar.

6.—KÁRI-TÁLAI, or KARNAPURA.

The village of Kári-Tálai stands on the east side of the
Kaimur range of hills, 22 miles to the south-east of Mahiyar
and 31 miles to the south of Uchahara. The old name of
the place was Karnpur or Karpapura, which is now restrict-
ed to a small village, with a number of ruined temples lying
along the ridge, to the north of the modern town. There is

1 See Plate III.
also a large tank called Sāgar, half a mile in length, to the east of the ruins; but it is now nearly dry. The principal figure is the boar of Vishnu in red sandstone, which is 8 feet long, 7 feet high, and 2 feet 9 inches broad. There is also a colossal Narasinha in white stone, and one naked Jain figure. All the temples are mere heaps of ruins, from which the smaller figures have been removed, some to Kāri-Tālai, some to Jabalpur. In Kāri-Tālai I saw the Fish and Tortoise avatārs, each 4½ feet long and 3 feet broad. In the Jabalpur Museum there is a long inscription from Kāri-Tālai with the names of Yuva Rājā Deva and Lakhshmana Rājā. The latter is called both Chedindra and Chedinarendra, or the "Lord of Chedi." This inscription, therefore, proves that Kāri-Tālai was in early possession of the Kulachuris of Chedi.

But a still more important inscription was discovered, somewhere about 1850, in a small receptacle inside the ruined temple of the Varāha, or boar incarnation of Vishnu. This inscription is engraved on a plate of copper and records the grant of land by Maharājā Jayanāth in the Samvat year 174, which is noted both in words and in figures. The name of the Samvat is not mentioned; but, as I will show hereafter, there is no doubt that the era is that of the Guptas.

7.—BHUBHARA.

In the small village of Bhubhara, on the top of the tableland 12 miles to the west of Uchahara, there is a well-known pillar of dark-red sandstone called Thāri-pathar, or "the standing stone." The pillar is 10½ inches broad and 7 inches thick, with the lower part rectangular and the upper part octagonal. On the lower part there is an inscription of nine short lines in Gupta characters, which gives the names of two Rājās of different families, one of whom is the now well-known Rājā Hastin of the Uchahara copperplates, who has already been mentioned, and the other is Sarvvanātha, the son of Rājā Jayanāth, of the Kāri-Tālai copperplate. From this joint mention of their names, we find that Sarvvanātha and Hastin were contemporaries; and further, as the recorded dates of their separate inscriptions correspond, we learn that the era employed by Sarvvanātha and his father Jayanāth must have been that of the Guptas, which is used by Rājā Hastin. In this record the date is not given in numbers, but is simply named the Makā-Māgha.
Samvatsara, that is, the year of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, which was so called. As Sarvvanâth’s father, Jayanâth, was still alive in 177, and as Hastin’s son, Sankshobha, had succeeded him before 209, the only possible dates of this Bhubhara pillar are the Mahâ-Mâgh years of 188 and 200 of the Gupta era. But as we have another inscription of Hastin, dated in Samvat 156, the earlier date of Samvat 188 is the more probable one. There are several other inscriptions of these two families, which I will now notice in some detail, as they promise to give us most material assistance in finding the initial-point of the Gupta era.

INSCRIPTIONS.

DATED IN THE GUPTA ERA.

I have now collected no less than nine inscriptions which are dated in the era of the Guptas. Two of these of Râjâ Hastin have already been made known by Professor Hall’s translations. The following list gives the Râjâs names and the dates of these important records, with the place of their deposit. Extracts from all these inscriptions are given in the accompanying Plate, showing the dates at full length.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Gupta era</th>
<th>Year of Jupiter cycle</th>
<th>Place of deposit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Râjâ Hastin</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>Mahâ Vaisākha</td>
<td>Benares College.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>Mahâ Aswayuja</td>
<td>Allahabad Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Râjâ Jayanâtha</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>In author’s possession</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>Râjâ of Uchahara.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Râjâ Hastin</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>Mahâ Chaitra</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Râjâ Sarvvanâtha</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>In author’s possession</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Râjâ Sankshobha</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>Mahâ Aswayuja</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Râjâ Sarvvanâtha</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>In author’s possession</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Râjâ Hastin &amp; Sarvvanâtha</td>
<td>Mahâ Mâgha</td>
<td>Stone pillar at Bhubhara.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first point to be noticed in this list is, that the date of No. 2, the reading of which on the plate as 163 is quite clear, is certainly a mistake for 173. All the other dates fit into their proper places in the twelve-year cycle. Thus Aswayuja being the sixth name after Chaitra, the date of 209 falls exactly 18 years after 191; and another Aswayuja must have fallen 18 years before 191, or in 173, and not in 163, as actually written in the inscription. Similarly, Aswayuja being the fifth name after Vaisâkh, the two years named Mahâ

1 See Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, XXX, p. 1.
Aswayuja must have fallen in 161 and 173. When I first saw these inscriptions, I felt grave doubts as to the correctness of the generally accepted rendering of the words Guptanripa rájya bhuktau as the "close or cessation of the Gupta rule." I referred the point to some learned Brahmins, by whom I was assured that the true meaning of the expression was, "during the peaceful sway of the Guptas." This rendering has since been confirmed by the learned Rajendra Lâla Mittra.

In one of these inscriptions, No. 7 of Rájá Sarvvanâtha, dated in Samvat 197, I find mention of the goddess Prishta-puri Devi. Now this same name of Prishtapuri, according to my reading, occurs in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, which Prinsep has rendered Arghashtha-pura. If I am right in this reading, then Prishtapuri must have been the name of some small principality that was tributary to Samudra Gupta. This name I would identify with Pithora, one of the chief towns in the Uchahara district, and a place of considerable antiquity. In No. 8 inscription of Rájá Sankshobha, dated in Samvat 209, the name is written Prishtapuri. The great goddess of Pithora at the present day is Pataini Devi, who is represented with four arms and attended by several naked male figures, which lead me to suppose that she must be a Jaina goddess.

In Samudra Gupta's inscription the names of two other places are joined with Prishtapura, under the rule of the same king, which I read as follows: Prishtapuraka, Mahendragirika, Udyâraka, Svâmidatta. If Pithora be accepted as the representative of the first, then Udyâra may be identified with Uchahara, and Mahendragiri with Mahiyar, with its lofty conical hill, crowned by the far-famed temple of Sârdhâ Devi, or Saraswati.

As these inscriptions of the Gupta period are of paramount interest for early Indian history, I will forestall their detailed translations in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, by giving a brief statement of their contents at once. Faccsimiles of the dates will be found in the accompanying Plate.

1 The alteration required to change trisapt into trishakta in Gupta characters is very small; and the error was very likely due to the engraver, owing to some smearing of the original ink letters.
3 See Plate IV.
Copper-plate No. 1.—Rájá Hastin, Samvat 156.

"Glory to Mahadeva! Well be it! In the year one hundred and fifty-six of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the year Mahá Vaisákha, in the month of Kártika, on the third of the waxing moon. On that aforesaid day, by the great King Sri Hastin, sprung from the house of the Parisvájaka princes, great-grandson of Mahárájá Deváhya, grandson of Mahárájá Prabhajaná, and son of Mahárájá Damodara—giver of thousands of kine, of elephants and horses, of store of gold pieces and of land; diligent in homage to his spiritual guides, and to his father and mother; most devoted to the gods and to Brahmans; victorious in many hundreds of battles; the delighter of his race—with a view to enhance his own worthiness, and that he might make himself to mount by the flights of steps celestial, the village of Vasunataraspendika has been ceded, absolutely, to Gopaswámin, Bhavaswámin, Sandhyáputra, Diváraradatta, Bhäuseradatta, and Súryadatta, Vájasáneya, Mádhyaíndina, Brahmans of the stock of Kutsa.

"In all directions this village has fosses of demarcation. On the north side is the boundary of Mona and that of Púrvabhúkti. To Sandhyáputra and the rest the place is assigned, privileged from the ingress of fortune-tellers and soldiers, and with right to rid itself of robbers.

"By virtue of these presents, impediments to the franchises herein patented are not to be opposed, even in after-times, by those who arise in my family, or by those who are maintained by substance accruing from my shares. Thus it is enacted. Let one do otherwise than as I have decreed, and though my soul shall have transmigrated into another body, I will, with intense vigilance, bring him to destruction."

(Here follows the usual quotation against resumption of land).

"The end. And this was engrossed by Súryadatta, son of the financier, Ravidatta, grandson of the financier and minister Naradatta, great-grandson of the Minister Vakra. The commissioner in the transaction was Bhágara."

I have given the greater part of this translation in the very words of Dr. Hall, excepting, of course, the passage regarding the date. Dr. Hall translates 'rājye bhaktav' as "extinction of the sovereignty;" but, according to my view, which has the strong support of Babu Rajendra Lála Mittra, the true meaning is "possession of sovereignty."

Copper-plate No. 2.—Rájá Hastin, Samvat 163 (read 173).

An abstract of this inscription, embracing all its material points, has been given by Professor Hall, whose account I follow after the specification of the date."

¹See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, pp. 8, 9.
"Glory to Mahâdeva! Well be it! In the year one hundred and sixty-three of the possession of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the year Mahâ Asvayyâ, in the month of Chaitra, on the second of the waxing moon. On that aforesaid day, by the great King Sri Hastin, sprung from the house of the Parivrajaka princes, &c., &c., was bestowed on several Brahmins (mentioned by name), in perpetuity, 'the benefice' of Korpârika, which apparently was situated in the heart of a village.

"The estate thus assigned was bounded on the east by the ditch of Korpâra; on the north by Nimuktakakona in the village of Vangara; on the south by Mavrika and Amvratasantâraka in Valaka; and on the west by Nâgasari. To the south lay the allotment of Balavarman.

"The stanzas of the other grants are repeated in this, but, before the last of them, we have another: 'He who resumes land, given by himself or given by another, transformed to a dung-worm, along with his progenitors, receives retribution.'

"Sûryadatta is now become 'great seclial.' He styles his grandfather 'financier,' and no longer 'minister.' Bhâgâraha, as seven years before, is the commissioner. His name here precedes his title, in the Sanskrit"

Each of the sets of plates, as I have said already, is accompanied by a rude signet ring. "Of the fortunate Hastin," is inscribed on one of the rings; "The fortunate King Hastin," on the other.

Copper-plate No. 3.—Râjâ Jayanâtha, Samvat 174.

"Aum! Be it well! Descended from Achchakalpa was the Mahârâja Ughâ Deva, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen Kumâri Devi, was Mahârâja Kumâra Deva, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen Jaya Sûrîmini, was Mahârâja Jaya Swâmi, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen Râmâ Devi, was Mahârâja Vyâghra, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen Majhîta Devi, was Mahârâjâ Jayanâtha, who, being in prosperity, hereby notifies to all Brahmins, cultivators, and artisans, dwelling in Nâgadeya-santaka Chandapalli [? the village of Chandapalli in the district of Nâgod], that this village, undisturbed by thieves, not liable to have soldiers or officials quartered upon it, and well provided with water, &c., is given to Mittrawâmi, a Kâñwa Brahman, of the Mâdhyaandini division of the Vâjasaneyya sect, for the enhancement of my meritorious acts. And further, that all must pay to him the due rents, produce, fines, and presents, and be subject to his commands."

[Here follows the usual prohibition against resumption by any of the king's descendants, and the well-known quota-

1 The word here used 'kukalī' is the same in all these inscriptions, and means simply "being in good health." It would thus appear to be equivalent to the English testamentary form of "being of sound mind."
tion from the Mahábhárata, promising 60,000 years of heaven to the giver of land, and the same period in hell to the resumer of land."

"Samvatsara one hundred and seventy-four, month of Ashádha, fourteenth day. On the aforesaid day this is written by me, Bhogika
Gunuvajaka, son of Bhogika Dhruvadatta, grandson of the great Bhogika Támatya Sarvvardatta, head of the correspondence office. Samvat 174; Ashádha, day 14." ¹

Copper-plate No. 4.—Rájá Jayanátha, Samvat 177.

This inscription opens with the genealogy of Rájá Jayanátha, as given in the last copper-plate, and records the gift of the village of Dhavashandika. Then follows the date:

"Samvatsara one hundred and seventy-seven, month of Chaitra, twenty-second day. Written by Gullana, minister of peace and war [Sandhivigrahika], son of Bhogika Varshadatta, grandson of Bhogika Phágudattamátya, the householder Sarvvardatta, head of the correspondence office."

[Here follows a postscript which has no counterpart in the previous inscription.]

"The limits of possession are extended to the fields of corn, the mounds, the tracts of gold (?), the grass-meadows for cattle, the mango orchards, the surrounding woods, and all the village wells."

Copper-plate No. 5.—Rájá Hastin, Samvat 191.

"Glory to Mahádeva! Be it well! One hundred and ninety-one years of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings having passed, in the year Mahá Chaitra on the third day of the waxing moon of the month of Mágha. On that very day, month and year aforesaid, by the king of the race of Parivrájaka [ascetics], great-grandson of Mahárája Deváhya, grandson of Mahárája Prabhani,jana, son of Mahárája Dámodara Mahárája Hastin—giver of thousands of kine, elephants, horses, gold and land; renderer of homage to his preceptors and parents; devoted to the gods and to Brahmans; victor in hundreds of battles; delighter of his dynasty—was bestowed, at the request of Mahádevi Deva, the village named Bálugartta—well defined on all sides by Parvaghati [the Eastern ghát], and other boundary marks; not infested by thieves, not liable to be molested by royal troops or officials; with all its fields and produce, buildings and inhabitants, together with other belongings—on Govinda Sudámi, Gomíka Swámi, and Dáva Sudámi, Apamanyava Brahmans of the Chandoga and Gautama sects, by this copper-plate [tāmraadśana], that it may be enjoyed by their posterity." ¹

¹ In this inscription the date is given both in words and in figures.
“Thus have I enhanced the pious acts of my parents and myself, raising a succession of steps that may lead to heaven, and please Mahâdevi Deva!”

[Here follows the usual appeal to his successors against resumption, and the well-known quotation from the Mahâbhârata.]

“This was written by Vibhudatta, the minister for peace and war [Mahâsândhika Vigrahika], son of Sûryadatta, grandson of Ravidatta, great-grandson of Bhogika Naradatta, and great-great-grandson of the Minister Vakra. Agent the Adhikrita Nara Sinha. Samvat 191; Magh, day 3.”

By comparing the genealogy of the ministers with that of the Râjas in this and the previous inscriptions of Hastin dated in 156 and 173, it appears that the long reign of Hastin had covered two generations of ministers.

Copper-plate No. 6.—Râjá Sarvvanâtha, Samvat 197.

“Aum! Be it well! Descended from Ackhakalpa was the Mahârâja Ugha Deva, whose son, reverencing his father’s feet, born of the queen Hâdâ Devi, was Mahârâja Vyaghra, whose son, reverencing his father’s feet, born of the queen Majjhita Devi, was Mahârâja Jayanatha, whose son, reverencing his father’s feet, born of the queen Murunda Swâmini, was Mahârâja Sarvvanatha, who, being in good health, hereby makes known to all Brahmans, cultivators, and artisans, inhabitants of the two villages Vyaghra-palli and Kâchara-palli, that these villages,—undisturbed by thieves, and not liable to have soldiers or officials quartered upon them, together with their produce, fines, rents, and whatever pertained to the king, together with wood, water, &c.,—which were presented to Pulindra Bhaṭṭa in perpetuity, while the sun and moon shall exist, have been transferred by the said Bhaṭṭa to Kumdra-Swâmi, that he and his posterity may enjoy their possession, and maintain the worship and sacrifices of the goddess Priyâtapurika Devi, the family deity of Kârtika Deva of Mânpur; and [further] being bound to observe the law of land gifts, [the king] approved the said transfer by this decree engraved on copper [tâmrasâsana], and directs you to pay the due rents, fines, produce, gold, &c.”

[Here follows the usual quotation from the Mahâbhârata].

“This is written in Samvatsara one hundred and ninety-seven, in the month of Anwayuja, the twentieth day, by Manoratha, the minister of peace and war, son of Bhogika Varâhadatta, grandson of Bhogika Phâlgudatta mâyya.”

[Here follow the names and titles of some inferior officers.]

This inscription is interesting, as it differs from the others in being a confirmation by the king of a transfer of land
by a previous grantee, instead of the usual record of an original gift.

Copper-plate No. 7.—Mahārāja Sankshobha, Samvat 209.

"Glory to the divine Vasudeva! Be it well! In the year two hundred and nine of the peaceful and prosperous rule of the Guptas, in the Samvatsara Mahā Aswayuja, in the month of Chaitra, the thirteenth day of the waxing moon. On the aforesaid day, month, and year, descended from the stock of Bharadvāja, through the ascetic (Parivrājaka) King Susarman was the Mahārāja Devaśya, whose son was Mahārāja Prabhanjana, whose son was Mahārāja Damodara, whose son was Mahārāja Hastin, giver of thousands of cows, gold, and land, reverencer of his preceptor and parents, worshipper of the gods and Brahmans, the victor in a hundred battles, &c., by whose son Mahārāja Sankshobha, for the increase of the pious acts of his parents and himself, a grant was made, at the request of Chotugomika, as recorded on this copper plate, of half the village of Upana (?), in the district of Muni Nāgapāda (?), free from thieves and quarrels, that the various sorts of sacrifices may be duly performed by the family of Kartika Deva, in honour of the goddess Prishtapurika Devi."

[Here follows the usual quotation from the Mahābhārata.]

"This is written by Iswaradāsa, son of Bhujaṅgadāsa, and grandson of Jivita, by order from his own mouth. Chaitra, day 10."

[This figure should be 13, to agree with the written date given above.]

The letters of this inscription are throughout small and badly formed, and consequently there are many doubtful places. But I believe that the above abstract gives a very fair idea of the main points of the record. I notice that the king has become a worshipper of Vishnu, and that the writer of the inscription does not belong to the old family which had served his ancestors for several generations.

Copper-plate No. 8.—Mahārāja Sarvvanātha, Samvat 214.

"Aum! Be it well! [ The genealogy of Mahārāja Sarvvanātha is given exactly as in No. 6, dated in Samvat 197]. Mahārāja Sarvvanātha, being in prosperity, hereby notifies to all the Brahmans, cultivators, and artisans who dwell in the half village of Ghotanasi-Kadhepbashandika, that by this grant written on copper I bestow one-half of this village, not liable to the quartering of soldiers and officials, with a fort, &c., together with its whole produce, on Chotugomika, that his posterity may enjoy its possession while the sun and moon exist. And Chotugomika on his part undertakes to continue the various sacrifices and services required in honour of the goddess Prishtapurika Devi. All the rents, taxes, &c., must therefore be paid to him."

*Here occurs a term Sākṣadasaśa vīrāgya, which my Pandit translates, "In the kingdom of the seventeen great forests;" but the word appears rather to comprise 'ashtadasa,' or "eighteen."

* In No. 4, inscription of Jayanātha this appears to be Dhavanabandika.
[Here follows the usual quotation from the Mahābhārata.]

"This is written in Samvatsara two hundred and fourteen, in the month of Paūsha, the sixth day, by Nātha, the minister for peace and war, son of Manoratha, grandson of Varahadatta, and great-grandson of Phālgudattamātya. Dhritiswamika, agent (dutika)."

Stone Pillar No. 9.—Rājās Hastin and Sarvvanātha.

"Be it well! Bowing down to the feet of Mahādeva, this sacrificial pillar (yashtī) was set up by Siva Dāsa, son of Vasu Srāmika, grandson of the Bhogi (headman) Randana, in the reign of Mahārāja Hastin,
* * * Mahārāja Sarvvanātha, in the year Mahā-Māgha, in the month of Kartika, the 10th day."

I am quite unable to make any thing of the word which occurs after rājye, and immediately preceding the name of Mahārāja Sarvvanātha. I suppose that the pillar may have been set up as a boundary-mark between the territories of the two Rājās. I think it probable that the two principalities ruled over by these petty chiefs may have been the modern districts of Uchahara and Mahiyar: the son of Hastina reigning at Kho, and the son of Jayanātha either at Mahiyar or at Kāri-Tālai.

DATE OF THE GUPTAS.

For fixing the epoch of the Guptas we have the following data:—

1.—Date of Budha Gupta’s pillar inscription at Eran in the year 165, on Thursday the 12th of Ashādha sudi.

2.—Date of Dhruvabhaṭa in Samvat 447, he being presumably the king of that name who was reigning at the time of Hwen Thsang’s visit in A. D. 640.

3.—Date of the Morvi copper-plate in the year 585 of the Gupta era on the 5th Phālgun sudi, at the time of a solar eclipse.¹

4.—The name of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter in five different inscriptions added to the date of the Gupta era.

I will begin my examination of this question with the date of Dhruvabhaṭa. We now possess a complete list of the kings of Balabhi for twenty successive reigns, ending

¹ The date on the copper-plate is actually 5th Phālguṇa sudi, which is obviously wrong for the eclipse; but if we suppose that the inscription was engraved on that day, and that the eclipse took place five days earlier, at the candraśaya, or conjunction, on the 14th Māgh badi, then the date of Phālguṇa sudi 5th may stand.
with Dhruvakhaṭa, who is the only king of this name. If, therefore, he is not the Dhruvakhaṭa of Hwen Thsang, his date must be placed earlier than the visit of the Chinese pilgrim by at least one reign. But if we assume that he was the same king, then the beginning of the era will be close upon 447 years earlier than 640 — 447 = 193 A. D. Of course, Dhruvakhaṭa’s inscription may be some 25 or 30 years either earlier or later than the pilgrim’s visit. In any case, the initial-point of the Gupta era will lie between A. D. 163 and 223.

Accepting this period of 60 years as covering the whole of Dhruvakhaṭa’s possible reign, we have now to find some one year within its limit which, taken as the starting-point of the Gupta era, will fulfill the other two conditions of the weekday in Budha Gupta’s inscription of 165, and of the solar eclipse of the Morvi inscription in 585 of the era. This I have found in the year 195 A. D., which would be the first year of the era, supposing the Dhruvakhaṭa of the inscription to be the prince of the same name visited by Hwen Thsang. That he must have been so, seems to me to be almost certain, as I can find no later initial-point for the era that will agree with the two conditions of the Budha Gupta and Morvi inscriptions. I may mention more particularly that the Balabhi era, which is advocated by Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Burgess as the starting-point of the Gupta kāl, does not agree with either of the two test-dates of the Budha Gupta and Morvi inscriptions, according to my calculations. I may add, also, that it would place Dhruvakhaṭa of the inscription dated in 447 as low as 765 A. D.; that is, in the very middle of the reign of the famous Wan Rājā.

To prevent any misapprehension on this point, I must state that I have calculated both of these test dates myself, with reference to the Balabhi era:—

(1) Date of Budha Gupta in the year 165, on Thursday the 12th Ashāḍha sudi. By adding 318 + 165, we obtain A. D. 488, on which date the luni-solar year of the Hindus began on a Wednesday. The year was intercalary; but as the additional month was Sravana, which comes after Ashāḍha, the 12th of Ashāḍha sudi was the 101st day of the year, equal to Friday 3rd June O. S. 483 A. D.

(2) Date of the Morvi inscription in the year 585, on 14th Māgh badi at the time of a solar eclipse.
Here I read 14th of Mâgha bâdi, instead of 5th Phâlgun sudi, as given in the plate, for the simple reason that no eclipse of any kind can possibly take place on the fifth of a Hindu lunar month. Now 585 + 318 = 903 A. D.; but as Mâgha is the last month but one of the Hindu year, it will fall in A. D. 904, in which year there was no eclipse of the sun in either Mâgha or Phâlgun.

I return, therefore, to the year 195 A. D., as the probable initial-point of the Gupta era. Taking that year as the year 1 anno Guptae, the following are the results of my calculations:—

(1) Date of Budha Gupta in 165, on Thursday 12th Ashâdha Sudi. Adding 165 to 194, we obtain A. D. 359, when the Hindu luni-solar year began on Tuesday 16th March O. S. As that year was not intercalary, the 12th of Ashâdha sudi was the 101st day, equal to Thursday, the 24th June O. S. 359 A. D., as required.

(2) Date of the solar eclipse on 14th Mâgh badi Samvat 585. Adding 194, we obtain A. D. 779; but as Mâgh is the last month but one of the Hindu year, the date will fall in A. D. 780. Now the 14th Mâgh badi fell on 10th February O. S. 780 A. D., on which very day there was an eclipse of the sun visible in Eastern Asia.

Here, then, is a date which successfully fulfils all the three tests to which it has been subjected. It agrees with the week-day recorded in Budha Gupta’s pillar inscription; it corresponds precisely with the day of the solar eclipse mentioned in the Morvi inscription; and lastly, it places the period of the only Dhruvabhâta yet found in the Balabhi inscriptions in the year 641 A. D. (447 + 194), just one year after the date of Hwen Thsang’s visit to Balabhi, when the reigning prince actually bore that name.

The fourth test of the dates recorded in the 12-year cycle of Jupiter I am unable to apply at present, for want of exact information about the cycle itself. All the authorities agree that the 12 years bear the same names as the 12 months, and follows in the same order, each being distinguished by the prefix of Mahâ, as Mahâ Chaitra, Mahâ Vaisâkhâ, &c. The years are solar years, which are named after the nakshatra or lunar asterism in which Jupiter rises or sets, provided the asterism is one which gives its name to a month.
The 27 nakshatras are, therefore, divided into 12 groups, some of 2 and some of 3 asterisms. Thus Aswini and Bharani are grouped together; and should Jupiter rise or set in Bharani, the year must be called Aśwayuṣa, because Aswini is the name-giver of the month. Now, as Jupiter performs one-twelfth of a revolution in 361.0267 days, he passes through 86-twelfths in 85 solar years. Consequently one of the Jovian names has to be omitted in every period of 85 solar years. In the 60-year cycle the 86th year is regularly expelled in Northern India. But for the 12-year cycle a different arrangement was adopted; the names of Chāitra and Aśwayuṣa being alternately omitted. As these two names are derived from exactly opposite asterisms, the period of omission must have been sometimes more and sometimes less than 85 years. I have not yet discovered any statement as to the precise arrangement adopted; but I find that a series of three periods, two composed of 89 years each, and one of 77 years, or altogether 255 years, gives a mean period of exactly 85 years. The true period, as stated by Aryabhata and Varāha Mihira, is $85 \frac{2}{3}$, or 85.227 years; and as the fraction would amount to 331 days in four periods, one of the omitted names should have been allowed to stand after four periods, which would have made the average period very nearly exact, as the fraction, .227 of a year, multiplied by nine, gives only .043 in excess of 2 years. But as I do not find any trace of such an adjustment, I presume that the fraction was disregarded in calculation.

According to my approximate calculation, which places the establishment of the Gupta era in A.D. 194, and the completed year 1 in A.D. 195, the year Mahā Vaisākha of Rāja Hastin, which was the year 156 of the Gupta era, would correspond with 194 + 156 = A.D. 350. Taking this year as the starting-point of the inscriptions bearing double dates in the Gupta era, and also in the 12-year cycle of Jupiter, the following will be their corresponding dates in the Christian era.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gupta era.</th>
<th>12-year cycle of Jupiter.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahārāja Hastin</td>
<td>156 Mahā Vaisākha</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>173 Mahā Aswiniya</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>191 Mahā Chāitra</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahārāja Hastin &amp; Sarv-vuṣṭh.</td>
<td>Mahā Māgha</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Mahārāja Sankshobha | 209 Mahā Aśwayuṣa | 403 | or perhaps 383.
As the number of years elapsed between 156 and 209, or 53 years, divided by 12, leave five over, we learn that no Jovian year was omitted during this period, as Aswayuja is the fifth name after Vaisākha.

In his account of Indian eras, Abu Rihān speaks of the Gupta kāl and the Balabhi kāl as if they were the same, and he fixes the initial-point of the latter in Saka 241, or A. D. 319. But, as I have already shown, this could not have been the starting-point of the era of the Guptas, as it disagrees with the week-day of Budha Gupta’s inscription. Neither could it have been the starting-point of the era used by the Balabhi kings themselves, as it disagrees with the date of Dhruvabhaṭa. My impression is, that Abu Rihān had found that the Guptas and Balabhis actually used the same era; and as he knew that the era called the Balabhi kāl began in Saka 241, or A. D. 319, he took it for granted that this was the era used by the Guptas and Balabhi kings. At the same time he knew that the Guptas preceded the Balabhis, as he distinctly states that “the era which bore their name was the epoch of their extermination.” According to Abu Rihān’s views therefore, the Gupta power in Western India was extinct in A. D. 319. But we have an inscription of Skanda Gupta, carved on the rock of Junagarh in Surāshtra, which is dated in 138 and 139 of the Gupta kāl. The Gupta dominion was, therefore, still intact in Surāshtra so late as 139 + 194 = 333 A. D. I conclude, therefore, that the Balabhi era, which began in A. D. 319, had no connection whatever with the downfall of the Gupta dynasty.

Having established this point, as I believe, satisfactorily, it remains to be shown how the epoch of 195 A. D., as the 1st year of the Gupta era, agrees with the data which may be gathered from other sources.

(1) The Senāpati Bhaṭṭaraka is supposed to have become virtually independent on the death of Skanda Gupta; but as the title of Mahārāja was not assumed until the accession of his second son, Drona Sinha, who himself states that he was “installed by the king of the whole world,” I conclude, with some certainty, that Balabhi was an acknowledged dependency of the Gupta kingdom until the time of Drona Sinha. Now, the earliest inscription of his successor, Dhruva Sena I., is dated in 207, which, referred to the Gupta era, is equivalent to A. D. 401. If we place the beginning
of his reign in A. D 390, that of his elder brother, Drona Sinha, may certainly be placed as early as 365 or 370, which would make him a contemporary of Budha Gupta, whose coins are dated in 174 of the Gupta era, or A. D. 368.1 Drona Sinha would, therefore, have been installed by Budha Gupta.

2 The coins of Toramâna, who certainly succeeded to the power of Budha Gupta in Mâlava, are dated in 52 and 53.2 If we refer these dates to the Balabhi era of 319, we obtain 318 + 52 = 370 and 371 A. D. as the period of Toramâna’s occupation of the Narbada districts of the Gupta empire. Now, the pillar of Budha Gupta at Eran is dated in 165 of the Gupta era, or A. D. 359, and his silver coins in 174, or A. D. 368, both of which dates are compatible with the subsequent erection at Eran of the boar statue in the first year of Toramâna’s reign by the same person, Dhanya Vishnu, who set up Budha Gupta’s pillar.

According to these determinations, the approximate Gupta chronology will stand as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sri Gupta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ghatot Kacha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Establishment of the Gupta era.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chandra Gupta I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Samudra Gupta, Parâkrama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Chandra Gupta II, Vikrama, dates 82, 93.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>Kumâra Gupta, Mahendrâ, dates 96, 130.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>1 20th year of Kumâra, Balabhi era established.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>6 (Deva Gupta?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>11 Skanda Gupta, Kramâditya, dates 138, 146.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>21 (Senapati Bhâtaraka, Governor of Surâshtra.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>31 Budha Gupta, dates 165-174-180 odd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>42 (Sridhara Sena, son of Bhataraka.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>48 Mahârâja Drona Sinha, installed by Budha Gupta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>51 Toramâna, dates 52-53.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Silver coins of the Guptas and their successors.

In discussing the epoch of the Gupta kings, I have referred to the dates on their coins, as well as on those of Toramâna, the immediate successor of Budha Gupta, in Mâlava. As I have lately acquired some coins of at least two other princes of Northern India, and have succeeded

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1 I have since obtained another coin of Budha Gupta, of which the decimal figure is 80.
2 These dates have hitherto been read as 82 and 83; but as the figures 2 and 3 are invariably formed by horizontal strokes, the decimal number placed above them becomes 80, and cannot, therefore, have any connection with the Gupta era.
in reading the inscriptions on the coins of two other princes of Southern India, all of whom were the immediate successors of the Guptas, I take this opportunity of reviewing in detail the whole series of the silver coins of these princes now known to us.

The silver money of the Guptas presents such a marked difference to their gold coinage, and at the same time has such a striking resemblance to the silver coins of the Satraps of Surâshtra, that there can be no doubt it was a direct imitation of the Satrap coinage. The fact that we possess gold coins of Ghatot Kacha, Chandra Gupta I, and Samudra Gupta, while the silver coinage begins only with Chandra Gupta II, points to the same conclusion, as we learn from tradition that Surâshtra was first added to the Gupta dominions during the reign of that prince.

The coins of the Satraps present us on the obverse with a royal head, surrounded by a legend in barbarous Greek letters, and with the date in old Indian numerals behind the head. On the reverse there is a Chaitya symbol, with the sun and moon to the right and left, surrounded by an Indian legend, giving the name of the Satrap and that of his father. On the coins of Chandra Gupta II, the obverse presents us with the head of the king, without any Greek letters, and with the date placed in front of the face. On the reverse the Chaitya symbol is replaced by a peacock, with outspread wings and drooping tail. On one class of the coins of Kumâra Gupta the barbarous Greek legend still appears; but the letters appear to be confined to a repetition of ONONO. On the reverse is a figure, which I take to be that of a peacock standing to the front with outspread wings, but with the tail hanging behind unseen. Mr. Thomas takes this for a figure of Pârvati; but, to my eye, the device appears to be a simple peacock. On some of the later coins of Skanda Gupta a recumbent bull takes the place of the peacock.

On the coins of Bhima Sena, Toramâna, and Sânti Varma, their successors in Northern India, the king’s face is turned to the left. The date is still placed in front of the face; but it no longer refers to the Gupta era. The reverse, however, is still the same peacock, with expanded wings and outspread tail. On the coins of the princes of Western India, the Valabhis and Râshtrakutas, the head faces to the right, but there are no letters or date; while on the reverse the
former substitutes the *trisūl*, or trident, of Siva, and the latter a recumbent bull, which is also a symbol of Siva. With these few explanatory remarks, I now proceed to describe the coins, which are principally taken from my own cabinet. The normal weight of the coins was about 30 or 32 grains. Several of the early pieces, which are much worn, are lighter; while some of the later ones, containing alloy, are heavier, rising to 34 and 35 grains. The whole of these coins are arranged in the accompanying plate.¹

CHANDRA GUPTA II.

Vikrama.

No. 1.—*Obv.*: Head of the king to right, with long hair and moustaches, and a collar round the neck. Remains of barbarous Greek letters.

*Rev.*—Peacock standing to front with expanded wings. To the right a sun or star. Legend in old Gupta characters: *Sri Guptakulasya Mahārājādhirāja Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramārāṅgksya* = "Coin of the king of kings, Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramāṅka, the descendant of Sri Gupta."

Only four specimens of this coin are known to me: one which belonged to the late Mr. Freeling, first published by Mr. Thomas; two belonging to Sir E. C. Bayley; and the fourth to myself.

No. 2.—*Obv.*: Head of king to right with moustaches, as on No. 1. Traces of a barbarous Greek legend.

*Rev.*—Peacock standing to front with expanded wings. Sun or star to right. Legend in old Gupta characters: *Parama bhāgavata Mahārājādhirājā Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya* = "The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, the king-of kings, Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya."

No. 3.—Similar to No. 2, but the letters smaller.

The two coins given in the plate belong to my own cabinet. Mr. Newton and Sir E. C. Bayley have published similar coins which they attribute to *Bakra* Gupta. But I look upon the name so read as only an *imperfect* rendering of Chandra. The title of Vikramāditya, which was certainly borne by Chandra Gupta II, is also in favour of my views, as we have not yet found two Gupta kings bearing the same titles. Sir E. C. Bayley’s reading of the date on his coin

¹ See Plate V. All the sketches are from photographs.
as 90 is another strong evidence against any Bakra Gupta, as we know that Chandra Gupta II was reigning in 93, and Kumāra Gupta in 96. Up to the present time, therefore, I remain quite unconvinced of the reality of Bakra Gupta. I may add that the coins attributed to Bakra Gupta have a sun or star, beside the peacock, as on the acknowledged coins of Chandra Gupta.

KUMARA GUPTA.

No. 4.—Obv.: Head of the king, with moustaches to the right. Barbarous Greek letters. On some specimens I have noticed traces of a date behind the head.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front with outspread wings. No sun or star. Legend in old Gupta characters: Parama bhágavata Rájádhirajá Sri Kumára Gupta Mahendrāditya = “The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, the king of kings Sri Kumára Gupta Mahendrāditya.

No. 5.—Similar to No. 4, but the king’s head larger, and with the expanded title of Mahárájádhirája.

No. 6.—Obv.: King’s head, without moustaches, to right. In front of the face the date 129.

No. 7.—Obv.: Similar head with the date of 130.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, with outspread wings and expanded tail. Legend in old Gupta characters: Devajanita vijitávaniravanipati Kumára Gupta. “His Majesty Kumára Gupta, having conquered the earth, rules.”

SKANDA GUPTA—KRAMÁDITYA.

No. 8.—Obv.: King’s head with moustaches, to right.

Rev.—Chaitya symbol. Legend in old Gupta characters very much crowded together: Máharájá Kumáraputra Parama Maháditya Mahárájá Skanda Gupta?

Mr. Newton has published a similar coin, of which he remarks that the title of Mahárájá refers it to the Gupta series, while the addition of the father’s name forms a connecting link with the coins of the Satraps of Suráshtra.

¹ Bombay Asiatic Society’s Journal, VII, p. 12, and fig. 13.
Mr. Newton reads the name of the king as Rudra or Nanda. I think, however, that it is intended for Skanda Gupta, the letters being so crowded together, that only portions of them could be delineated on the coin. I should like to have read Deva Gupta; but there is a tail to the second letter on both coins, which points to nd or nadr. Perhaps the name may be Chandra Gupta III, which would be a natural appellation of Kumára’s eldest son, as it has always been a Hindu custom to name one child after its grandfather, just as Kumára’s own father Chandra Gupta II was named after his grandfather Chandra Gupta I.

No. 9.—Obv.: Head of king without moustaches to right. In front of the face the date 144.

No. 10.—Obv.: Similar to No. 9, but with the date 145.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, with expanded wings and outspread tail. Legend in old Gupta characters: Deva-janita vijitácaniravanipati Skanda Gupta = “His Majesty Skanda Gupta, having conquered the earth, rules.”

No. 11.—Obv.: Rude head of king with moustaches to right. Two characters on helmet, and rude Greek letters in front of face.

Rev.—Very rude representation of the peacock with expanded wings standing to front. Legend in old Gupta characters, as read by Mr. Thomas: Parama bhágavata Sri Skanda Gupta Kramáditya = “The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, Sri Skanda Gupta Kramáditya.”

No. 12.—Obv.: Rude head of king to right without moustaches.

Rev.—Recumbent bull to right. Legend in old Gupta characters, as read by Mr. Thomas: Parama bhágavata Sri Skanda Gupta Kramáditya = “The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, Sri Skanda Gupta Kramáditya.”

BUDHA GUPTA.

No. 13.—Obv.: Head of king to right, without moustaches. In front of face the date 174.¹

¹ This date is read as 155 by Mr. Thomas; but the value of the decimal is known from my Jayanáth inscription, which is recorded in words as well as figures. A second specimen which I have since acquired has the decimal figure 80.
Rev.—Peacock standing to front, with outspread tail and expanded wings. Legend in old Gupta characters: Devajayate vijitāvaniravānapati Sri Budha Gupta = “His Majesty Budha Gupta, who has subdued the earth, rules.”

I obtained five of these coins at Benares in 1835, of which impressions are now before me. All are dated in 174, as in my specimen in the plate.

BHIMA SENA.

We have now seen the last of the Guptas as represented by the silver coins, and have to deal with their successors, who continued the peacock device on their coins, but turned the faces of the obverse to the left, as if to denote the change of dynasty which had taken place. But the dates still keep their position in front of the face, although it is difficult to read them from their incompleteness. I have placed Bhima Sena before Toramāna on account of the superior execution of his coin. The specimen in the plate was obtained by Mr. Rivett-Carnac at Ajudhya, and is, I believe, unique.

No. 16.—Obv.: Head of king to left, with portions of the date in front of face.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, with outspread wings and expanded tail, copied from the Gupta coins. Legend in old Gupta characters: Devajānita vijitāvaniravānapati Sri Bhima Sena = “His Majesty Bhima Sena, who has subdued the earth, rules.”

No. 17.—Obv.: Head of king to left.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, very much worn; only a few letters of the legend are visible. I can read the word Deva at the beginning of the legend, and immediately preceding it I read the letters sara or sana. The coin may possibly belong to Bhima Sena, but this reading is doubtful.

TORAMĀNA.

No. 18.—Obv.: Head of king to left. Date in front of the face 52.

Rev.—Rude peacock standing to front, with outspread wings and expanded tail. Legend in old Gupta characters:
Devajanita vijitāvaniravanipati Sri Toramāṇa = "His Majesty Sri Tromana, having subdued the earth, rules."

No. 19.—Similar to No. 18, but dated in 53.

The two representations in the plate are taken from Mr. Thomas's autotypes of the coins. The dates are perfectly clear, and can only be read as 52 and 53.

The late Dr. Bhau Daji and Babu Rajendra Lāla Mittra have, independently of each other, proposed to identify this Toramāṇa, the king of kings of Mālava, with the Yuva Rājā, or sub-king Toramāṇa of Kashmir, who spent the greater part of his life in prison in his native country. The identification appears to me to be utterly impossible, and I only mention it for the purpose of recording my dissent. All that we know of Toramāṇa of Mālava is, that he ruled over the country between the Jumna and the Narbada, as shown by the inscription placed on the Great Boar at Eran in the first year of his own reign, and by the inscription set up in the temple of the Sun at Gwalior by the minister of his son Pasupati.

SĀNTI VARMA.

No. 20.—Obv.: Head of king to left, with imperfect date in front of face.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, with expanded wings and outspread tail. Legend in old Gupta characters: Devajanita vijitāvaniravanipati Sri Sānti Varma = "His Majesty Sānti Varma, having conquered the earth, rules."

Nos. 21 and 22.—Similar coins, but less perfect. The first coin, No. 20, was procured at Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand, the ancient Ahichhatra. The others were obtained by Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac at Ajudhya. The date appears to be the same on all the three specimens in the plate. I read it as 55, and would complete it to 155 if I could be certain that this Sānti Varma is the same as the king who is mentioned in the Apshar inscription.1 The genealogy recorded in this inscription gives (1) Krishna Gupta; (2) Harsha Gupta;

1 In my first Report, Archeological Survey of India, I, p. 40, I mentioned that this important inscription was missing. The stone is still missing, but a beautiful impression of it taken by Major Kittoe himself was found by Mr. Beglar in the Asiatic Society's Library. The translation given by Babu Rajendra Lāla was made from a Nāgari transcript prepared by Kittoe. In this transcript I have now found that Kittoe has misread Harsha Gupta as Hashka Gupta: see Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, p. 272.
(3) Jivita Gupta; (4) Kumāra Gupta; (5) Dāmodara Gupta; (6) Mahāsena Gupta; (7) Mādhava Gupta. Of the fourth of these kings, Kumāra Gupta, it is recorded that "he, with a view to obtain Lakshmi, assuming the form of Mount Mandāra, churned the milky ocean produced by the forces of the moon like king Śānti Varma." Regarding the date of these Guptas, all that we can say at present is, that they must be placed before the famous Saśāṅka Narendra Gupta, who destroyed the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya, close to A. D. 600. A family of seven kings would reign about 175 to 200 years, which would place Krishna Gupta about A. D. 400, and Kumāra Gupta II about A. D. 490. If, therefore, we reckon Śānti Varma's coin date of 155 from the same starting-point as the dates on Toramāna's coins, we shall get $155 + 318 = 473$ for the date of Śānti Varma, which agrees very well with the approximate date obtained for his antagonist, Kumāra Gupta. But these dates are still only approximate, although they are sufficiently accurate to fix the period of Śānti Varma and Kumāra Gupta II somewhere in the fifth century of the Christian era.

SENAPATI BHAṬĀRAKA.

The remaining coins belong to the princes of Southern India, who succeeded to the power of the Guptas. Of these, the most famous were the rulers of Valabhi, who traced their genealogy up to the Senapati Bhaṭāraka. As his title implies, he was only the "general" of some powerful king; and I am willing to accept Major Watson's traditional account, that he was the Governor of Surāśṭra, under Skanda Gupta. As his eldest son Sri Dhara Sena takes only the same simple title, I conclude that he remained tributary to Budha Gupta. His second son Drona Sinha, however, not only bears the title of Mahārājā, but records that he was installed "by the king of the whole world." As I have already pointed out, this was probably the last act of supreme sovereignty performed by Budha Gupta, which was most probably forced upon him by the combined action of Drona Sinha of Surāśṭra and Toramāna of Māḷava. This, at least, is my view of the relations between these kings, which tends to confirm the traditional account regarding Senāpati Bhaṭāraka, and to place him as the Governor of Surāśṭra.
shortly after Skanda Gupta’s death. The coins which I am now about to describe seem also to confirm this state of things, as I read on them the title of Śāmanta, which is equivalent to the Śenāpati of the inscriptions.

No. 23.—Obv.: Head of king with moustaches to the right; two crescents on the head-dress or helmet. No trace of any legend or date.

Rev.—The trisul or trident of Siva. Legend in modified Gupta characters. Mahārājno Mahākṣhata paramāditya Śāmanta Mahā Śri Bhaṭṭārakasa.

One of Mr. Newton’s coins and several of my own seem to read: Rājno Mahākṣhata paramāditya Rājno Śāmanta Mahā Śri Bhaṭṭārakasa.

Both of these legends seem to me to refer distinctly to Bhaṭṭāraka himself; and therefore the coins must be assigned to the founder of the dynasty. No. 25 has the same legend, with several of the letters that are missing on No. 23.

No. 24.—Obv.: Head of the king with moustaches to right.

Rev.—Trisul, or trident, of Siva. Legend in modified Gupta characters. Mahārājno Mahākṣhata Śāmanta Ma-hesa Pramāditya Dhara Senasa?

The coin represented in the plate was obtained by me at Pushkar near Ajmer. A similar coin has been published by Mr. Newton. The reading of the name is very doubtful. I possess several other coins of the same types, but of much ruder execution, which I would assign to some of the later kings of Valabhi. The legends are much contracted, and are quite unintelligible, as at least one-half of the symbols are mere upright strokes with a knob at the top, like a common pin.

KRISHNA-RAJA.

No. 26.—Obv.—Rude head of king with moustaches to right. No trace of legend or date.

Rev.—Reclining bull to right; legend in modified Gupta characters:

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1 Bombay Asiatic Society’s Journal, VII, p. 14, and accompanying plate, fig. 71.
Parama Maheswara, Mahāditya pāḍinudhyāta Sri Krishnā Rājā—

"The Supreme King, the worshipper of Mahāditya (Siva), the fortunate Krishna Rājā."

Photographs of five coins of this type have already been published, with some remarks by the late Dr. Bhau Dāji. He mentions that 83 coins were found by some boys in the village of Deolāmā, Tālukā Bōgīlān, in the district of Nāsīk. The coins vary in weight from 30 to 34 grains, the average weight being 33½ grains. Bhau Dāji’s tentative reading is:

Rājā parama Maheswara mānasā nriṇa Deva dhyāna Sri Kau.?

He concludes by stating his opinion that "the coins belong to a king, probably of the Dakhin, about the end of the fourth century of the Christian era." I am glad to be able to quote the opinion of one who had such an intimate knowledge of the coins of this early period, as my attribution of the coins to Krishna Rājā Rāshtrakūṭa assigns them to exactly the same time. Krishna Rājā’s date is fixed within very narrow limits by the mention of his name in the early Chālukya inscriptions. He was the father of Indra Rāshtrakūṭa, who was defeated by Jaya Sinha Chālukya, the grandfather of Sri Vijaya Rājā, of whom we possess an inscription dated in Saka 394, or A. D. 179. Jaya Sinha’s own date will, therefore, be about A. D. 400 to 430, and that of Krishna Rājā Rāshtrakūṭa, the father of his antagonist Indra, will be A. D. 375 to 400.

On some of my coins the word which I have read as Mahāditya may perhaps be Mahākshatra, in which case the translation would be "the reverencer of the great king," that is, the Chālukya sovereign of Kalyān. The word which I have read as pāḍinudhyāta is quite clear and unmistakable. It means, literally, "bowing down to the feet," and is used by a son towards his father, or by any king towards his predecessor, or by any person towards the god whom he especially worships. On some of the coins the final letter ja is omitted, and I was at first inclined to assign the coins to Kumāra (Gupta), the reverencer of the feet of the great king (his father Chandra Gupta). But the second letter of the name is not the same as is found in parama, &c., and the addition of ja would be left unexplained. Its omission on some coins was no doubt simply due to the faulty calculation of his space on the part of the engraver.

1 Bombay Asiatic Society’s Journal, XII, 214.
The only possible objection to this identification that occurs to me is the type, the recumbent bull, which is found on all the seals of the Valabhi kings, and which was no doubt their acknowledged symbol or ensign. But as the same bull is found on the coins of the Guptas themselves, as well as on the coins of some of the Nine Nāgas, there does not seem to be any reason why the Rāṣṭrakūṭas should not have adopted it also. Their own proper symbol was Garuḍa, the eagle of Vishnu. But we have in later times an exactly similar adoption of the symbol of another dynasty by the Rathors of Kanauj and the Chandels of Mahobā, both of whom placed on their coins the four-armed goddess Durgā, which was the ensign of the Haihayas of Chedi, whose coins they copied.

8.—PATAINI DEVI.

Eight miles to the north of Uchahara, and 4 miles to the east of Pithaora, the temple of Pataini Devi forms a conspicuous object in the treeless landscape, standing out boldly on a low projecting spur of the lofty hill whose quarries furnished the stones of the Bharhut sculptures. The temple itself is a very small one, being only 6 feet ten inches long by 6 feet 6 inches broad. But it is remarkable for its massive stones, and more particularly for its flat roof, which is formed of a single slab, 7 feet 8 inches by 7 feet 4 inches, after the manner of the early Gupta temples. Inside the temple is only 5 feet by 4 feet, with a door of one foot 10 1/2 inches. The pedestal of the enshrined statue occupies the whole breadth of the sanctum. The figure of the goddess is 3 1/2 feet high, and she is surrounded by a number of small figures, of which there are 5 above, 7 to the right, 7 to the left, and 4 below. Her four arms have been broken off, so that she now holds no symbols by which she could be recognised. But luckily the small figures have their names labelled below them in characters of the 10th or 11th century. Thus the five figures above, which are all females, are named Bahurupini, Chāmurā, Padumāvati, Vijayā, and Sarāsati. The seven to the left are named Aparājīta, Mahā munusi, Anantamati, Gandhāri, Mānari jāla mālini and Mānuji. The seven to the right are named Jayā, Anantamati, Vairātā, Gaurī, Kāli, Mahākāli, and Vrijamsakalā. Over the doorway

1 See the plan and view of this temple in Plate VI.
outside there are three figures, each squatted with hands on lap. The middle figure has an umbrella canopy and a bull on the pedestal, and is probably the Jain hierarch Adināth. The figures to the right and left have each a snake on the pedestal, the former being canopied by a seven-headed serpent, and the latter by a five-headed serpent. These three figures have such a decided Jainish appearance, that I feel satisfied that the enshrined goddess must belong to the Jains. This conclusion is supported by the inferior positions assigned to the Brahmanical goddesses which surround the principal figure. On the outside of the temple also, both Siva and Pārvatī are represented in subordinate positions. The enshrined goddess is further attended by two lines of standing male figures, who are quite naked, and whose hands reach below their knees, in strict accordance with the Jain idea of human proportions.

The temple appears to be much older than the earliest date which can be assigned to the inscriptions. It is, of course, possible that the names may have been added long after the statue was set up. But I incline rather to the belief, that the present statue is of the same age as the inscriptions, and that it was set up in the old temple which had been for a long time empty.

The temple itself is remarkable for two lines of moulding which run right round the building, after the fashion of the mouldings of the early Gupta temples. These are well shown in the accompanying plate. I am therefore strongly inclined to place the date of the temple as early as the time of the Guptas, and to identify it with the shrine of the goddess Pishṭa-purika Devī, for whose service three of the land grants which were recorded in the copper-plate inscriptions previously noted were made by three different Rājās. There was formerly a portico in front of the door, supported on two pilasters, and two pillars in front. This is proved beyond all doubt by the angular ends of the architrave beam over the door, which must have been cut in this form to admit the similar angular ends of the architraves which spanned the spaces between the front pillars and the wall pilasters.

An attempt has been made to pull down the temple by wedging out two of the corner stones of the back wall. These are now sticking out from the building upwards of

1 See Plate VI.
one foot. Apparently the destroyers were suddenly interrupted. The people of the neighbouring village were unable, or perhaps only unwilling, to say by whom the attempt was made.

9.—MAHIYAR.

Mahiyar, the capital of a small chiefship of the same name, is a good-sized town of about 2,500 houses. Its happy situation near the source of the Tons river at the northern end of an obligatory pass, leading from Allahabad and Benares to Jabalpur and the Narbada, must have ensured its occupation at a very early period. At the present day it is known chiefly for its famous temple of the goddess Saraswati, whose shrine crowns an isolated and lofty conical hill, three miles to the west of the town. Only the basement of the old temple now remains; but the statue of the goddess is still there, and under her name of Sânddá Devi she is more widely known than any other deity between the Jumna and Narbada. She is represented, as usual, with four arms and sitting on a hansa, or goose. One of her hands is lost; a second carries a book, as the goddess of learning; and the other two hold the víná, or lute, as the goddess of music. The famous Banâphar hero, Alhá, is said to have paid especial worship to Sânddá Devi, and to have built her temple. Upwards of twenty Brahman pujáris ascend the hill every morning, and remain throughout the day to receive the gifts of the numerous pilgrims who flock to the shrine.

Lying outside the temple there is a long inscription of 39 lines, very much worn by exposure to the weather. The slab is 3 feet 4 inches long by 2 feet 10 inches broad, with the first and last lines incised on the surrounding frame. The record opens with an invocation to Saraswati, "Aum namah Sarasvatye," but the whole inscription is so much injured, that I am afraid it will never be deciphered.

Under the figure of the goddess, there is also a short inscription of four lines, which are so worn away, that I could read only the name of Váchaspatih at the end of the second line.

From the shapes of the letters, I think that these two inscriptions may be assigned to the ninth or tenth century.

At the small village of Râmpur on the tableland seven miles to the west of Mahiyar, and near a small temple, there
is a Sati pillar, with an inscription of five lines containing the name of a Rájá. The fourth and fifth lines are injured, but the greater part of the record is fairly legible. I read it as follows, retaining the faulty spelling of the original:

1. Samvat 1404 varsha Phálgun badi 14 some-swasti.
2. Sri parma (sic) bhadraka parameswara Saṅkapa prapa
3. ti ráje Mahárájá Sri Víra Rájá Deva vela pawa Sri.
4. * rana saura * * Siromani Mahádevya sati Talágvya sati ka.
5. * * * * * likhitam Kurma Pánde.

The main subject of the inscription is luckily in good order, and records that “on the 14th of the waning moon of Phálgun, in the Samvat year 1404 [A. D. 1347], Siromani and Tala, the queens of Mahárájá Sri Víra Rájá· Deva, became Satis; written by Kurma Pánde.”

Above the inscription there is the usual representation of an outstretched hand, with the sun and moon in one compartment, below which there is a lingam with the two Sati queens kneeling before it, one on each side. In another compartment the corpse of the Rájá is seen lying at full length on a bedstead, with a female touching his feet; and in the left-hand corner there is a boar. This last figure is, I think, intended to represent the manner of the Rájá's death at a boar hunt. As I failed altogether in obtaining a copy of the genealogy of the Rájás of Uchahara, I am unable to say whether the above Víra Rájá Deva was one of the Parihár ancestors of the present family.

10.—BILHARI.

The old town of Bilhari is situated 10 miles to the west of the Katni railway station, and about half-way between Bharhut and Jabalpur. It was formerly a place of considerable importance, as shown by its ruined temples and fine tanks. Its original name is said to have been Puphávati (or Pushpávati), “the town of flowers,” and it is said to have been founded by Rájá Karn Dāhariya in the time of Bhartri, or Bhartrihari, the brother of Vikramáditya. The name of Puphávati is recorded to have lasted down to the tenth century of the Samvat, after which time it was superseded by that of the Bilahari or Bilhari. Nearly all the existing remains, including the fort and the magnificent tank called Lákshman Ságar, are attributed to Rájá Lakshman Sinh.
Parihār, who is said to have lived about 900 years ago. The only old temple now standing, named Vishnu Varāha, is also assigned to him. It is sad to see the wreck of so many temples; but the work of destruction is not of recent date, as I counted no less than ninety-five carved stone pillars in the private houses of the town, and in other places not attached to temples. Some stones are said to have been carried off to build a bridge at Katni; but these were specially stated to have been taken from the old ruined temple (Maṛh or Maṭh) mentioned in the Central Provinces Gazetteer.

The only remains of any consequence now existing at Bilhari are the great tank of Lakshman Sāgar, the small tank of Dhabora Tāl, the Vishnu Varāha temple, and the ruined temple known as the palace of Kām Kandalā.

The Lakshman Sāgar is a fine sheet of clear water, about half a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad. At the time of my visit, in February, it was 15 feet deep, and it is said to rise five or six feet higher during the annual rains, up to the bed of a side channel, cut through the rock to carry off the higher flood. In February the water was two or three feet higher than the floors of the houses in the town. All the well water is said to be bad, and the people universally drink that of the Lakshman Sāgar, in which no one is allowed to wash any clothes, although every one bathes in it.

There was formerly a temple in the middle of the tank, which fell down and disappeared. But in very dry seasons, when the waters are low, the ruins become visible. A bamboo now marks the site of the temple. The tank is full of crocodiles, which chiefly remain at the hill end and come out in the early morning to bask in the sun. The excavation of the tank is always attributed to Lakshman Sīnḥ Parihār; but there is a story of a Rājā Lakshman Sen who had a very beautiful daughter married to a Gond chief. She bore a son named Magar dhvaj, who succeeded to the throne, and became the first Gond king of Bilhari. Some of his descendants are now living in the village of Magardhā, 8 miles to the north-west under the hill. Some people, however, say that the mother was carried off by a crocodile. It seems possible, therefore, that Magardhāvaj may have been the name of the Gond chief, and not of the son. The story, however, clearly points to the transfer of power from the Parihārs to the Gonds.
The Dhabora Tal is a pretty sheet of water in a valley to the west of the town. On its bank there is a famous figure of a snake, which is worshipped daily by anointments of ghee and red-lead and copious libations of water. The snake called Naga Deo is sculptured on a slab 4 feet 2½ inches high and 20 inches broad. It has a single head, with a broad hood and a long body, which is twisted below in a number of graceful convolutions. There are two lines of writing, but the characters are too much worn to be deciphered.

The Vishnu Varaha temple is said to have been built of the stones of an old temple which were brought from the south Patpara hill about 300 or 400 years ago, either by Lakshman Sen, or by Lakshman Sinh Parihar, or by some one unknown. The period of 300 or 400 years ago will suit the story of Lakshman Sena, whose daughter married the Gond chief; and this late date will account for the fact that the temple has been built of old materials. The only sculpture that requires notice is a gigantic bracket capital lying in front of the door, and which probably formed part of the portico. The pillars of the portico are gone, and the only part of the temple now standing is the sanctum. This grand bracket is five feet four inches across, the diameter of the circular portion of the true capital being exactly three feet, and that of the octagonal shaft one foot ten inches. I found four pillar shafts in the village, each nine feet high and 21 inches in diameter, which I conclude must have belonged to the same temple. There is now no trace of any building on the south Patpara hill, the whole of the stones having been carried off.

The temple known as the "palace of Kâm Kandalâ" is situated on the Patpara Pahar or "tableland hill" to the west of the town. It is now a mere heap of ruins, the great blocks of stone of the upper walls having fallen down in a confused heap on the floor of the building. After cutting some bushes, and pushing aside some of the smaller stones, I found that Kâm Kandalâ's palace was only a temple of Mahâdeva, with the lingam and argha still standing in situ in the ruined sanctum. The entrance of the temple faced the west, which is a very unusual arrangement, except where the building forms one of the subordinate shrines grouped around a large temple. But this could not have been the case with Kâm Kandalâ's so-called palace, as it is a large building, 54 feet in length by 32 feet in breadth, with pillars in the mahâmandapa, or great hall,
10 feet 8½ inches in height. The plan of the temple and a specimen of the pillars are shown in the accompanying plate.¹

About three-quarters of a mile down the hill to the south-west there is a court-yard, 200 feet square, surrounding the ruins of a second temple. This is universally known by the name of hóstal, or the “elephant stables,” where Kám Kandalà is said to have kept her elephants.

The legend of Kám Kandalà is as follows: In Puphâvatîni-gari [the old name of Bilhari] reigned Rájá Govind Rao in the Samvat year 919, or A. D. 862. He had a very handsome Brahman attendant named Mâdhavânâl, who was specially skilful in singing and dancing, as well as an adept in all arts and sciences, so that all the women fell in love with him. The husbands complained to the Rájá, and Mâdhavânâl was banished from Puphâvari. He retired to Kâmvari, the capital of Rájá Kâm Sen, who was fond of music and singing, and gave the Brahman a place in his Sabhâ, or assembly. This Rájá had a most beautiful woman named Kám Kandalà, with whom Mâdhavânâl fell in love, for which he was expelled from Kâmvari. He then went to Ujâin, and asked a boon from Rájá Vikramâditya, who was famed for granting every request that was made to him. The promise was duly made, and the Brahman claimed to have Kám Kandalà given up to him. Vikramâditya accordingly besieged Kâmvari, and captured Kám Kandalà, who was at once made over to Mâdhavânâl. After some time, with Vikrama’s permission, the happy pair retired to Puphâvari, where Mâdhava built a palace for Kám Kandalà on the Patpara hill, which is universally identified with the ruined temple of Mahádeva, just described. Many of the stones are said to have been carried away in Samvat 1919 or A. D. 1862 to build a bridge at Katni.

The names of Mâdhavânâl or “sweet-flame” and Kám Kandalà, or “love-gilder,” are the well-known appellations of the hero and heroine of the popular love story, called Mâdhavânâlakathâ. There is a copy of this legend in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, which was written as far back as Samvat 1587 or A. D. 1630. According to the analysis of Babu Rajendra Lâla, it recounts the amours of Mâdhavânâl and Kám Kandalà, who are said to

¹ See Plate VII.
have resided at Pushpavati in the neighbourhood of the palace of King Govinda Chandra. In the legend he is called simply Govind Rao, and his date is fixed in Samvat 919 or A. D. 862, if the era of Vikramaditya is meant. But it is more likely that the local Samvat of Chedi is intended, which would fix the date in A. D. 1168. It is, therefore, not at all impossible that Govinda Chandra of Kanauj is the king alluded to. We know, however, that the country to the north of Bilhari was still in the possession of the Chedi kings in A. D. 1158, when the Bharhut inscription was engraved on the rock of Lal Pahar; although it is certain that their power was already on the wane. But as Govinda Chandra was still reigning up to A. D. 1168, it is quite possible that he may have conquered the northern districts of Chedi about A. D. 1160.

11.—Rûpnâth.

Rûpnâth is the name of a famous lingam of Siva, which is placed in a cleft of the rock, where the Bandar Chûna nala pours over the face of the Kaimur range of hills. The descent is made in three falls, each of which has a famous pool, which is also an object of worship. The uppermost is named Râm-kûnd, the middle one Lakshman-kûnd, and the lower one Sitâ-kûnd. An annual mela, or fair, was formerly held here on the Siv-râtri; but this has been discontinued since the time of the mutiny. The holy pools, however, are still visited by occasional pilgrims as one of the scenes of the famous wanderings of Râma during his twelve years’ exile from Ajodhya.

But the site of Rûpnâth, and its holy pools, is more interesting to Europeans, from the presence of one of the rock-inscriptions of Asoka. A facsimile of this edict, with a translation by Dr. G. Bühler, has already been published by me with some remarks on the date of 256, which occurs near the end of the inscription. Some exception has been taken to the attribution of this record to Asoka by Mr. Rhys Davids. But as the critic has accepted the reading of the number of upwards of thirty-two years of the king’s reign, his objections may be safely set aside, as Asoka was the only one of all the Maurya kings whose reign extended over thirty years.

1 Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. II., p. 137.
2 Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I., containing the inscriptions of Asoka, pp. 95—137.—Indian Antiquary 1877—p. 156.
12.—AMODA.

The village of Amoda is situated on the crest of the Kaimur range, seven miles to the south-west of Bahuriband, and about 20 miles nearly due west from Sleemanabad. Amongst the Sati monuments in the neighbourhood, there is one with an inscription dated in Samvat 1651, or A. D. 1594, during the reign of the Gond Raja, Prem Narayan. In this inscription he is called Prem Sahi. It consists of seven lines of Hindi, as follows:

Sri Ganesa. Sri Man Maharajadhiraja, Prema, 
Sahi ko sakho bhayo Gadha-desa Amoda sthah, 
ne, Krishna Raya rajya karoti, Samvat 1651, 
Samaya Karthik badi 2 raviwasare Basant Raya, Dor, 
da Siyala Kshipalithani ke, Thakur vako bete, 
Siromani Rautil tako sati bhai Rachit Supangha, 
ra Ganesam.

"Sri Ganes. During the sovereignty of the fortunate king of kings, 
Sri Prem Sahi, and under the rule of Krishna Ray of Amoda, 
in the country of Garkha in the year 1651, on Sunday, the 2nd 
of the waning moon of Kartik, the wife of Siromani Raut, son 
of Basant Ray, Dor Siyala, Thakur of Kshipalithani, became 
a Sati. Written by Ganes of Supnaghur."

The village of great Suma, three miles to the south-east, 
probably represents Supnaghur. The date is clearly Samvat 
1651, or A. D. 1594, which, according to the Gond chronicles, 
was the second year of his reign. My calculation of the 
week day makes the 2nd of Kartik badi a Saturday, instead 
of a Sunday.

13.—BAHURIBAND.

The small town of Bahuriband is situated near the edge 
of the tableland of the Kaimur range of hills, 32 miles to 
the north of Jabalpur. The name seems to have been de-
lected from the great number of embanked sheets of water 
which surround it on all sides, as Bahuriband means simply 
"many dams." On the accompanying map I have marked 
by consecutive numbers the positions of forty-five of these 
dams, without which the whole of the rainfall on this 
plateau would run off in a few hours, and leave the land 
utterly dry and barren. In this part the Kaimur range is

1 See Plate VIII. According to the Kunnungi of Bahuriband, the actual number of 
yMelas is only thirty-nine, as those to the west of the Chawla mela are not reckoned as 
belonging to Bahuriband.
not more than 120 feet in height above the plains on the East, but it rises again in a few places before it sinks into the great rent cut by the Sonār river. The tableland of Bahuriband is intersected by numerous low broad belts of rock which are generally parallel to the outer edge. The people have taken advantage of these broad ridges to form tanks by connecting them together by artificial embankments. Most of the jhils have no other name than that of the hamlet to which they belong; but one of them called Jamunia Tāl is said to have been made by Jamuna Sinh, the brother of Lakshman Sinh Parihār.

According to the traditions of the people, there was once a large city on the site of Bahuriband. This belief is amply confirmed by the quantities of broken bricks and pottery which still cover all the high ground. It was not a walled town, and no names of gates have been preserved. I think it not improbable that Bahuriband may be the Tholabana of Ptolemy, as the Greek θθ might easily be substituted for an o. The name might, therefore, have been Volabana, which is a very close rendering of Bahulaband. As Ptolemy’s Tholabana was one of the towns of the Poruari or Parihārs, this conjectural identification seems not impossible.

The only piece of antiquity of any interest is a naked colossal Jain figure, 12 feet 2 inches high and 3 feet 10 inches broad, which is standing under a pipal tree near the town. It is a stiff, clumsy figure. On the pedestal there is an inscription of seven lines, opening with the date. This is unfortunately injured in the third and fourth figures, but the century is certain. I read the beginning of the record as follows:—

Line 1.—Samvat 10 ** Phālgun badi 9 Some, Sri mad Gaya-Karna Deva vijaya rā,

Line 2.—jye Rāstrakuta Kuloṭbha Madhāsamantādhipati Sri mad Golhane Devasa pravardhamānasya,

Line 3.—Sri mad Golla Prithi* maya.

"In the Samvat 10 **, on Monday, the 9th of the waning moon of Phālgun, during the victorious reign of the fortunate Gaya Karna Deva, and the commander-in-chiefship of the prosperous Golhane Deva, of the exalted race of Rāstrakuta, the fortunate Golla Prithi, &c."

The remaining lines are so imperfect, that I am unable to decipher any continuous portion of them. But the main
fact of the inscription was doubtless to record the erection of the statue. At the same time, we learn that the country belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Golhana Deva as a tributary under the great Kula-churi king Gaya Karna Deva as suzerain. The inscription is valuable on another account, as proving that the Samvat used in other Kula-
churi inscriptions must be dated from a much later period than the initial-point of the Vikramāditya era. The date in the present inscription of Gaya Karna Deva is clearly one thousand odd, while the Bhera Ghât inscription of his son Nāra Sinha Deva is dated in 907, and the Bharhut inscription of the same king in 909, his own inscription from Tewar being dated in Samvat 902.

We know also that Gaya Karna’s father, Yasa Karna, must have been living within 30 years of A. D. 1120; so that Gaya Karna himself was no doubt reigning in that year. According to my reckoning of the genealogy of the Kula-
churi dynasty, the reign of Gaya Karna must have extended from about A. D. 1100 to 1125. The date in this Bahuri-
band inscription must, therefore, be in the Saka era, which would range from 1022 to 1047.

14.—TIGOWA.

At the small village of Tigowa, two miles to the north of Bahruriband, there is a low rectangular mound, about 250 feet long by 120 feet broad, which is entirely covered with large blocks of cut-stone, the ruins of many temples. Only one temple is now standing. Originally it was a small single room, with an open portico in front, supported on four pillars, of the same type as those of the Gupta temples at Udayagiri and Eran.

About 60 feet to the north-east there is part of an en-
trance door of a second Gupta temple of a much larger size. But, besides these two Gupta shrines, I traced the foundations of no less than thirty-six other temples, the largest of which was only 15 feet, while many of the smaller ones were but 6, and even 4 feet square.1 The whole of these had been utterly destroyed by a railway contractor, who collect-
ed all the squared stones in a heap together, ready to be carted off to the neighbouring railway. Two hundred carts

1 See the map of Tigowa in Plate IX.
are said to have been brought to the foot of the hill by this rapacious spoiler, when the removal of the stones was peremptorily stopped by an order from the Deputy Commissioner of Jabalpur, to whom the people had sent a petition. His name, which is still well remembered, was Walker. Wherever I go, I hear of the sordid rapacity of some of these railway contractors. By one of them, named Pratt, the great temple at Bilhari is said to have been despoiled; and by another a fine temple at Tewar was completely removed. To the railway contractor the finest temple is only a heap of ready squared stones; and

The temple of Jerusalem,
A ready quarry is to him;
And it is nothing more.

Tigowa is only a small village; but, according to tradition, it was once a large town, with a fort named Jhanjhargarh. The village itself stands on a rocky eminence, and the fields around are strewn with broken bricks. The name means simply the "three villages," the other two being the neighbouring hamlets of Amgowa and Deori. Originally they are said to have formed a suburb of Bahuriband.

All the smaller temples of 4 to 6 feet would appear to have been built with three sides only, the fourth being open to the east. Those of the next size, 7 to 10 feet, had doorways with two pilasters, while those of the largest size, 12 to 15 feet, had porticoes supported on four pillars. The whole of these temples had spire roofs, covered with the usual pinnacle of the amalaka fruit. They were all Brahmanical; not a single fragment of Buddhist or Jain sculpture having been found amongst the ruins.

The oldest temple at Tigowa is a small stone building, 12 feet 9 inches square, covered with a flat roof. In front there is a portico, supported on four pillars. The style is similar to that of the cave temples of Udayagiri, and of the structural temples at Eran, which, from their inscriptions, we know to belong to the Gupta period. I have therefore ventured to give the name of the "Gupta style" to all the temples of this class; although it is probable that the earliest specimen of this kind of temple belongs to a period shortly preceding the Gupta rule. The chief characteristic features of Gupta temples are:—

(1). Flat roofs, without spires of any kind, as in the cave temples.
(2). Prolongation of the head of the doorway beyond the jambs, as in Egyptian temples.

(3). Statues of the rivers Ganges and Jumna guarding the entrance door.

(4). Pillars, with massive square capitals, ornamented with two lions back to back, with a tree between them.

(5). Bosses on the capitals and friezes of a very peculiar form like Buddhist stūpas, or beehives, with projecting horns.

(6). Continuation of the architrave of the portico as a moulding all round the building.

(7). Deviation in plan from the cardinal points.

The use of flat roofs would seem to show that these buildings must belong to the very earliest period of structural architecture. When the architect, whose work had hitherto been confined to the erection of porticoes in front of caves, was first called upon to build the temple itself as well as the portico, he naturally copied this only prototype, and thus reproduced in a structural form the exact facsimile of a rock-hewn cave. The roof is not a mere interior ceiling, but is finished on the top, with channels and spouts for the discharge of rain water; and where more than one slab is used to form the roof, the two adjoining edges are raised and covered by a long stone, which is grooved to fit exactly over the joint.

The prolongation of the lintel of the entrance door far beyond the jambs on each side is common to all the temples of this class down to the latest period. It is seen also in all the entrances to the caves of Udayagiri, and in the still earlier examples of the Nāsik caves. This peculiarity was no doubt derived from the original door-frame of wood, in which the prolongation of the lintel is a matter of necessity; and the fact of its being a copy serves to show that, in India as elsewhere, the costly stone architecture was preceded by a more primitive construction of wood.

Intimately connected with this curious peculiarity of construction are the two figures of the rivers Ganges and Jumna, which are invariably placed in the outer angles of the lintel and jambs. The figure of the Ganges is known by her attendant crocodile on which she stands; and that of the Jumna by her attendant tortoise, on which she also stands. Each goddess carries a water vessel.
The square capitals of the pillars are remarkable for their massiveness, the side of the capital being just double that of the shaft. The couchant lions, with the tree between them, are the direct descendants of the couchant animals on the capitals of the Asoka architecture, as seen in the sculptures of Bodh Gaya and Bharhut. And these, again, were the offspring of the Achaemenian capitals of Persepolis and Susa. In these earlier examples, however, the couchant animals cross each other, and the floral symbol between them takes a conventional form. But the greater breadth of the Gupta capitals necessitated the separation of the two animals, while the floral symbol became the representative of a real tree.

The stūpa-shaped bosses on the capitals of the pillars, on the entablature of the main building, and over the doorway, are very striking features from the boldness of their projection; and still more so from their being the only ornament used on the architraves of all the earlier examples. Similar projecting bosses are found in most Hindu temples down to a comparatively later date; but they are much more elaborate in their form, and are always accompanied with other ornaments. The bosses over the doors and on the entablatures are usually placed on square projecting blocks, which seem to me to represent the ends of the beams of the original wooden prototype. They, therefore, correspond exactly with the triglyphs of Greek architecture.

The continuation of the architrave of the portico pillars all round the building, as a lower cornice or moulding, is found in all the examples of the Gupta style, from the earliest specimen at Sānchi to the latest yet discovered at Tīgowa and Pithaora.

The last marked peculiarity of the Gupta temples is the frequent deviation in plan from the cardinal points. Out of eight examples, I find that five have an average deviation of 13° from the true meridian. As the amount of variation, according to my notes, is limited to 5° in the two extreme cases, I think it possible that it may have been an intentional deviation of one nakshatra, or lunar mansion amounting to 13° 20'. But this is a mere guess; and the near agreement in the amount may be due simply to the small number of examples which have yet been found.

As the temple at Tīgowa possesses every one of the peculiarities just described, it may be taken as a very fine
example of the Gupta style of architecture. It is true there is no inscription to vouch for this assignment; but as the cave temples at Udayagiri, and the structural temples at Eran and Bilsar, all of which are of the same style, possess several inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty, I do not hesitate for a moment in ascribing the Tigowa example to the same period.

Inside, the Tigowa temple consists of a single room 8 feet by 7½, in which is enshrined a statue of the Narsinh avatar of Vishnu. The body of the temple is 12 feet square, with a portico in front of the entrance, supported on four pillars. The middle intercolumniation is 2 feet 9 inches, but the two side ones are only 2 feet 6 inches. As this difference is also found in other Gupta temples at Sânchi, Udayagiri, and Eran, it may be looked upon as one of the minor marks of the Gupta style.

The four pillars are exactly alike, with the single exception of the tree, which is placed between the lions on the upper part of the capital. This varies on the different faces of the capitals; being on one face a mango tree, on another a palm tree, and on the others some conventional or unrecognized tree. The lions’ heads at the corners do duty for two bodies on two adjacent faces, as in most of the Assyrian sculptures. On each face of the lower part of the capital there are two of the peculiar bosses or stûpa-shaped ornaments, which I have already described as forming one of the peculiar marks of the Gupta architecture. Each boss has a curved projecting horn on each side, and a circular panel in the middle, filled with a head, either of a man or of a lion.

The lower part, for about three-eights of its height, is square and quite plain; then comes a highly ornamented octagonal portion, followed by another of sixteen sides, above which it becomes circular. This portion of the shaft appears to me to form one of the most characteristic features of the Gupta pillars. In the oldest example at Sânchi we see the simple reeded-bell capital of the Asoka pillars. But in all the later specimens at Udayagiri, Eran and Tigowa the bell has become fluted, and its lower part, or mouth, has been quite separated from the upper swell by a different style of ornamentation. From each corner, also, of the square portion of the upper shaft, a small foliated turn-over hangs

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1 See plates X and XI, for a plan and view of this temple.
gracefully down. In this arrangement I see the original of the famous kumbha, or water-vessel, which forms the principal features of all Hindu pillars down to the present day. In a single example in one of the Udayagiri caves a rampant animal takes the place of the turn-over. The effect is not unpleasing; although the upward spring of the animal is in direct opposition to the downward trail of the drooping turn-over.

The entrance door is the only part of the body of the building which is ornamented. Immediately over the lower door-frame there is a line of 7 square bosses, which represent the ends of the beams of an original wooden portico. On each side of the door there is a pilaster of the same form as the pillars of the portico. These pilasters rise to only two-thirds of the height of the doorway, and form supports for the two figures of the Ganges and Jumna. The Ganges is represented standing on a crocodile and plucking a fruit from a custard-apple tree; while the Jumna is standing on a tortoise and plucking a fruit from a mango tree. Above these figures is the main architrave of the doorway, over which there is a line of thirteen square bosses, immediately over which rest the great roofing slates. There can be no doubt, therefore, that these square projecting bosses represent the ends of the beams of the original wooden prototype. In this particular temple these bosses are quite plain; but I believe that they are only unfinished, as in a second and larger example of Gupta doorway at Tigowa all the square bosses are ornamented with the stūpa-like ornament which has already been described.

On one of the pillars of the portico there is a short inscription of three lines, in characters which, in my opinion, are not later than the 7th or 8th century. I read them as follows:—

Śitabhādra sthāna Sāmā-
nya Bhāṭṭarputtra Uma Devaḥ
Kanṇakubja Sanīpaḥ.

These appear to me to record the simple fact that “Sāmā-
nya Bhāṭṭa’s son, Uma Deva of Kanyakubja, paid his devo-
tions [sani] at the temple of Śitabhādra.” This inscription
is only a pilgrim’s record of his visit at some date subsequent to the building of the temple; but there is nothing to show how much later it may be. I would refer the inscription to the 8th century, about which time the portico of the temple
was turned into a *mandapa*, or hall, by closing the side openings with sculptured slabs; while another portico of quite a different style was added to the front. These additions are shown in the plan without any shading.\(^1\) None of the later pillars are forthcoming; but the great difference of style between the original temple and the new portico may be seen in their respective basements, which have nothing in common. The sculptures of the late addition are about half Śaiva and half Vaishnava. On the upper panel of a slab on the left there is the skeleton goddess, attended by skeleton figures; and in the lower compartment there is Vishnu Nārāyana reposing on the serpent Ananta. On the opposite slab to the right there is another figure of Kāli, with the Varāha avatar of Vishnu below. Portions of the old pilasters and pillars have been cut away to receive these slabs. The original temple undoubtedly belongs to the Gupta period, and cannot, therefore, be later than the fifth century A. D.; but it is more probably as old as the third century.

At a short distance to the north of this old temple there stands an ornamented stone doorway, which is the only portion now remaining of a still larger temple of the Gupta period. The breadth of the doorway of the existing temple is 2 feet 6 inches, while that of this solitary ruin is 3 feet 10 inches. If these proportions were observed in the other parts of the building, the body of this ruined temple would have been not less than 19½ feet square, which is rather more than that of the magnificent temple at Deogarh. The latter, however, has a spired roof; but the Narsingh temple at Eran, which is 16 feet square, had a flat roof; and there would be no difficulty in a sandstone country in procuring thick roofing slabs of even greater length than 20 feet. The style of ornamentation of this doorway was the same as that of the doorway of the standing temple. There were the same seven square bosses immediately over the door; and above them a second row, which would have supported the large roofing slabs. The lower bosses are ornamented with men’s and lions’ heads alternately; but the upper ones are all blank. My search for other portions of this temple was fruitless. It was no doubt ruined long ago, as its doorway now forms an entrance to the court-yard of a shapeless modern temple.

\(^1\) See Plate X.
15.—MAJHOLI.

The village of Majholi lies on the old road leading from Tewar (Tripura), the old capital of Chedi, to Bilhari, being 22 miles to the north of the former, and 30 miles to the south-west of the latter. It once possessed a famous temple of Vishnu, of which nothing now remains but a large statue of the Varāha or boar incarnation of Vishnu. The statue is almost hidden in the deep darkness of a modern temple, which has been built out of the ruins of the old fane, with numerous pieces of sculpture inserted in the wall. Close by I found one of the ceiling slabs of the old temple, with its deeply cut squares and circles of ornamental moulding. This has been turned into a chakki, or mill-stone, for grinding lime. Nothing is known about the history of the temple—not even its name. Amongst the broken sculptures in the neighbourhood I found a Hara-Gauri, or Śiva and his wife, seated, with a standing figure of Siva and a squatted Jain statue, naked as usual. These last figures show that Majholi must also have possessed a shrine of Siva and a Jain temple, as well as a shrine of Vishnu as the Varāha avatār.

16.—SINGORGARH.

The great ruined fortress of Singorgarh commands the Jabera pass leading through the hills between Jabalpur and Damoh and Saugor. It is 35 miles to the north-west of Jabalpur, and 32 miles to the south-east of Damoh. The road enters the hills at Katangi, and proceeds north for 9 miles to the Kair river near Sangrāmpur, from whence it turns to the west for 9 miles to Jabera, passing immediately under the hill of Singorgarh. The Kair river breaks through the Kaimur range to the eastward of Sangrāmpur by a deep rent which it has cut for itself, and which is commonly known by the name of kattao, or “the cut.” To the west of Singorgarh there was formerly a great lake, which extended as far as Bansipur, a distance of 7 miles, with a width of more than 5 miles from north to south, from Bai-Sāgar to Karanpur. Both the fort and the lake are attributed to Rājā Ben Basar. The embankment was judiciously thrown across a very narrow gorge, just below the village of Bansipur, which is said to have received its name from the Rājā’s fishing rod [bānsi], as he was fond of fishing in the deep water under the embankment. No less than
twenty-eight villages were included within the limits of the lake.

The name of Rájá Ben is as widely known in Northern India as that of Ráma or Vikramáditya. But he is always called Rájá Ben Chakravartti; whereas at Jabera he is only known as Rájá Ben Basor. The title of Basor, or Bansor, is a well-known contraction of bánsphor, or bamboo-splitter, which is the name given to all basket-makers. But the people of Singorgarh are not contented with such a lowly origin for the maker of their great fort and lake. They have invented a curious story to account for the name of Basor. According to the legend, the Rájá every year used to make a fan of bamboo, which possessed such miraculous powers that, whenever he cut a piece of it, a portion of his enemy’s army was at once cut to pieces; or, as one of my informants explained, the army fell to pieces and dispersed.

I look upon this legend as only an idle attempt to account for the name of Basor. The embankment is not so large that it could not have been made by a wealthy dealer in bamboos; and to him I would attribute the construction of the lake. But the fort is not likely to have been built by any private person. It is true that the old fort is not of great size; but its name would appear to have been derived from a certain Gaj Singh Pratihâr, according to an inscription of 8 lines which is recorded on a square stone pillar, 10½ feet high, which still stands on the top of the hill to the south-east of the fort. In this inscription the hill is called Gaja-Singhadurgyge; from which it seems probable that the fort must have been called Gaja-Singha durga garh, or the “hill-fortress of Gaj Singh.” By dropping the first syllable, and eliding the d of dury, the name would have become simply Singorgarh, as it is written at present. The monolith is called kirti-stambha, or the “pillar of fame.” It was set up in the Samvat year 1364, or A. D. 1307, on the vijaya dasame, that is, on the tenth day, or dasahra, of the great festival, when Ráma overthrew Râwan. As the lake was called Vijaya-Sâgar, or Bijay-Sâgar, I think it probable that it was so named on the same occasion of the vijaya dasame. The village of Bai-Sâgar, on the northern bank of the lake, seems to preserve the name of the Bijay-Sâgar in a curtailed form.

About half a mile beyond this pillar there is a second monolith, 13 feet high, with a short inscription of two lines,
apparently without date. This monolith is also called a kirtti-stambha, or pillar of fame. I read it as follows:—

Nikumbha Râwan Suta Ratanasya Sri
Meta nāhitasya Kirtti Stambho yamasi (?) 66.

As Nikumbha was the name of Râwan's brother, it is possible that this pillar represents the site of the fort of Râwan, (generally known as Lanka, or Ceylon), while the other pillar would represent the position of Râma's army.

According to Sir William Sleeman, the fort of Singorgarh was built by Râjâ Belo, one of the Chandel Râjâs of Mahoba.1 But none of my informants had ever heard of Râjâ Belo Chandel; and I have very grave doubts as to the Chandel rule having ever extended so far to the south. The whole of this part of the country would appear to have belonged to the Parihârs or Pratihiârs as we find was actually the case in A. D. 1307, when these monoliths were erected. But the Pratihiârs were tributary to the great Kulachuri Râjâs of Chedi, whose rule certainly extended as far northward as Bharhut and Kalanjar. The latter place was recovered by the Chandels in the 11th century; but the Kulachuris still held the country about Bharhut in the 12th century. At the close of the 15th century the districts to the north of the Narbada had fallen into the hands of Sangrâm Sâh, the Gond Râjâ of Garha Mandala. His son Dalpat Sâh, about A. D. 1540, removed the seat of government from Garha to Singorgarh, which he enlarged and strengthened. In 1545 he married the beautiful Chandel princess Durgâvati; and in 1549 he died, leaving an infant son, Bir Nârâyân, under the regency of his widowed queen. For fourteen years she governed the country with singular skill and prudence, when the report of her accumulated wealth excited the cupidity of Âsaf Khân, the Muhammadan governor of Karân. Having obtained the consent of Akbar, this rapacious chief started on his unhallowed expedition, without even the shadow of a pretext. But the country was said to be rich, and it was presumably defenceless, as its ruler was a woman. There would consequently be much plunder, but little risk. The account of this unprovoked attack may best be left to the pens of the Muhammadan historians.

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1 Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VI, 627.
According to the Tarikh-i-Alfi, the invasion took place in the year 968 A. H., or A. D. 1560,¹ when—

"Khwâja Abdul Majîd, who had received the title of Āsaf Khan, was appointed Governor of Karâ, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his services was the conquest of Garha, a territory abounding in hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by any ruler of Hind since the rise of the faith of Islâm. At this time it was governed by a woman called Râni, and all the dogs of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. Āsaf Khan had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretexts, and when he had learnt all the circumstances and peculiarities of the country, and the position and treasures of the Râni, he levied an army to conquer the country. The Râni came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 horses. The armies met, and both did their best. An arrow struck the Râni, who was in front of her horsemen, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner, she seized a dagger from her elephant-driver, and plunged it into her stomach, and so died. Āsaf Khan gained the victory, and stopped his advance at the tâluk of Chauragarh, where the treasures of the ruler of Garha were kept. The son of the Râni shut himself up in the fort, but it was taken the same day, and the youth was trampled to death by horses. So much plunder in jewels, gold, silver, and other things were taken, that it was impossible to compute the tenth part of it. Out of all the plunder, Āsaf Khân sent fifteen elephants to Court, and retained all the rest for himself."

The author of the Tabakât-i-Akbari places the invasion in A. H. 971 or A. D. 1563, a date which is confirmed by the Akbarnâma, and which also agrees exactly with the genealogies of the Gond Rajás.²

"The country of Garha-Katanga was near to Āsaf Khân, and he formed the design of subduing it. The chief place of that country is Chauragarh. It is an extensive country containing seventy thousands (haftâd hazâr) flourishing villages. Its ruler was at that time a woman named Durgâvati, who was very beautiful. When Āsaf Khân heard the condition of this country, he thought the conquest of it would be an easy matter, so he marched against it with fifty thousand horse and foot. The Râni collected all her forces, and prepared to oppose the invader with 700 elephants, 20,000 horsemen, and infantry innumerable. A battle followed, in which both sides fought obstinately, but by the will of fate the Râni was struck by an arrow, and fearing lest she should fall alive into the hands of the enemy, she made her elephant-driver kill her with a dagger. After the victory, Āsaf Khân marched against Chaurâgarh. The son of the Râni, who was in the fort, came forth to meet him; but he was killed, and the fort was captured, and all its treasures fell into the hands of the conquerors. Āsaf Khân,

¹ Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, V, 169, by Professor Dowson.
after he had achieved this victory and acquired so much treasure, returned, greatly elated, to Karâ, and took possession of his government."

The account of Ferishta is much the same; but he adds some particulars regarding the plunder which are omitted by the other authorities:—

"When Āsaf Khân was raised to the rank of a noble of five thousand horse, and procured the government of Karâ Mânikpur, he obtained permission of the king to subdue a country called Garhâ, at that time governed by a Râni (a Hindu queen), whose name was Durgâvati, as celebrated for her beauty as for her good sense. Āsaf Khân Hirvi heard of the riches of this country, and visited it with constant depredations, till at length he marched with a force of between five and six thousand cavalry and infantry to Garhâ. The queen opposed him with an army of fifteen hundred elephants and eight thousand horse and foot. Under these circumstances, a sanguinary battle took place, in which the queen, who was on an elephant, having received an arrow in her eye, was unable to give orders; but apprehending the disgrace of being taken prisoner, she snatched a dagger out of the girdle of the elephant-driver and stabbed herself. Her country fell into the hands of Āsaf Khân Hirvi. Āsaf Khân next proceeded to Chauragarh, and took it by storm; and the son of the Râni or queen, who was but an infant, was trodden to death in the confusion. Independently of the jewels, the images of gold and silver and other valuables, no fewer than a hundred jars of gold coins of the reign of Alâ-ud-dîn Khilji also fell into the hands of the conqueror. Of all this booty, Āsaf Khân presented to the king only a small part; and of a thousand elephants which he took, he sent only three hundred indifferent animals to the king, and none of the jewels."

The scene of the battle between the rapacious Muhammadan soldier and the heroic Hindu queen is still pointed out by the people in the wide open plain about Sangrâm-pur, four miles to the east of Singorgarh. But, according to tradition, it was not there that Durgâvati was wounded; but in a second fight, which took place while retreating towards Garhâ. The details of this invasion, which have been so fondly preserved by the people, have been collected by Sir William Sleeman, whose account I will quote:—

"Āsaf Khân, the imperial viceroy at Karâ Mânikpur on the Ganges, invited by the prospect of appropriating so fine a country and so much wealth as she was reputed to possess, invaded her dominions in the year 1564, at the head of six thousand cavalry and twelve thousand well disciplined infantry, with a train of artillery.

1 Briggs' Ferishta, II, p. 217.
2 Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 628, pp. 630.
"He was met by the queen regent, at the head of her troops, near the fort of Singorgarh; and an action took place, in which she was defeated. Unwilling to stand a siege, she retired after the action upon Garhâ; and finding herself closely pressed by the enemy, she continued her retreat among the hills towards Mandala, and took a very favourable position in a narrow defile, about 12 miles east of Garhâ. Asaf's artillery could not keep pace with him in the pursuit, and on attempting the pass without it, he was repulsed with great loss. The attack was renewed the next day, when the artillery had come up. The queen advanced herself on an elephant to the entrance of the pass, and was bravely supported by her troops in her attempt to defend it; but the enemy had brought up his artillery, which, opening upon her followers in the narrow defile, made great havoc among them, and compelled them to give way. She received a wound from an arrow in the eye, and her only son, then about eighteen years of age, was severely wounded and taken to the rear. Durgâvati, in attempting to wrench the arrow from her eye, broke it, and left the barb in the wound; but notwithstanding the agony she suffered, she still refused to retire; knowing that all her hopes rested on her being able to keep her position in the defile till her troops could recover from the shock of the first discharges of artillery, and the supposed death of the young prince; for by one of those extraordinary coincidences of circumstances, which are by the vulgar taken for miracles, the river in the rear of her position, which had during the night been nearly dry, began to rise the moment the action commenced, and, when she received her wound, was reported unfordable. She saw that her troops had no alternative but to force back the enemy through the pass, or perish, since it would be almost impossible for any of them to escape over this mountain torrent, under the mouths of their cannon; and consequently, that her plan of retreat upon Mandala was entirely frustrated by this unhappy accident of the unseasonable rise of the river.

"Her elephant driver repeatedly urged her in vain to allow him to attempt the ford. 'No,' replied the queen; 'I will either die here, or force the enemy back.' At this moment she received an arrow in the neck; and seeing her troops give way, and the enemy closing around, she snatched a dagger from the driver and plunged it in her own bosom.

"She was interred at the place where she fell; and on her tomb to this day the passing stranger thinks it necessary to place, as a votive offering, one of the finest he can find of those beautiful specimens of white crystal, in which the hills in this quarter abound. Two rocks lie by her side, which are supposed by the people to be her drums, converted into stone; and strange stories are told of their being still occasionally heard to sound in the stillness of the night by the people of the nearest villages. Manifest signs of the carnage of that day are exhibited in the rude tombs, which cover all the ground from that of the queen all the way back to the bed of the river, whose unseasonable rise prevented her retreat upon the garrison of Mandala.

"Her son had been taken off the field, and was, unperceived by the enemy, conveyed back to the palace at Chaauragarh, to which Asaf returned immediately after his victory, and laid siege. The young prince was killed in the siege; and the women set fire to the place, under
the apprehension of suffering dishonour if they fell alive into the hands of the enemy. Two females are said to have escaped—the sister of the queen, and a young princess who had been betrothed to the young prince Bir Nārāyan; and these two are said to have been sent to the Emperor Akbar."

To Durgāvati is attributed the construction of the Rāni Tāl, one mile to the east of Garhā, and of the second Rāni Tāl at the foot of the Kaimur range of hills, where the Kair river breaks through the rocks, 5 miles to the east of Sangrāmpur.

It is said that Durgāvati, on her retreat from Garhā, threw the pāras, or philosopher's stone, into the Rāni Tāl; where it is still supposed to be. A characteristic story is told of this queen, whose memory is so affectionately cherished by the people, that everything relating to her is devoutly believed. The story runs that the King of Delhi, when passing by Singorgarh, saw a lamp burning on the top of the fort. He asked whose palace it was; and on being told that it was the palace of a Rāni, he sent her a golden "cotton gin" [chārkha], as an appropriate present. In return, Durgāvati sent him a pinjan, or "cotton bow," for cleaning or teasing cotton wool. This well-deserved retort so enraged the king, that he marched at once with his whole army to fight the queen.

17.—TEWAR OR TRIPURA.

Tewor or Tripura was the capital of the Kulachuri Rājās of Chedi. In the Haima Kośa, Tripura is also called Chedi-nagari. Amongst the Brahmans, it is famous as the site of the defeat of the demon Tripura by Śiva. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the place is of great antiquity; although it is probable that it was not the most ancient capital of the celebrated Chedi-des. At a very early period, the whole of the country lying along the upper course of the Narbada would appear to have been occupied by the Haihaya branch of the Yādavas. In the Mahābhārata several different persons are mentioned as kings of Chedi; but as nothing is said about their relationship, they most probably belonged

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1 Professor Hall: Journal of the American Oriental Society, VI, p. 520.
2 Inscription from Kurugode, translated by Colebrooke; Essays, II, 240; "I prostrate myself before Sambhu whose unquenchable blaze consumed the magnificent Tripura."
to different divisions of the country. It would seem, therefore, that, some time before the composition of the Mahábhárata, the land of Chedi had already been divided into two or more independent States, of which one belonged to Rájá Sisupála, whose capital is not mentioned; and another to the father of Chitrangadá, whose capital was Manipura. The capital of Chedi, in the time of Rájá Vasu, is said to have been situated on the Suktimati river, which, according to the Puráñas, has its rise in the Riksha range of hills, along with the Tons and the Narbada. In later times we know that there were two great Haihaya States in Central India, viz., the kingdom of Mahá Kosala, with Manipur for its capital, and the kingdom of Chedi proper, with Tripura for its capital. But as the Haihayas of Kosala date their inscriptions in the Chedi or Kulachuri Samvat by name, we have an additional proof that their country was once included within the limits of the ancient Chedi. I incline, therefore, to look upon Manipur (to the north of Ratanpur) as the original capital of Chedi-des; and to identify the Suktimati river with the Sakri, which rises in the hills of the Káwarda State to the west of Láphá.

The derivation of the name of Chedi is uncertain; but, according to one of my informants, the country was originally called Chitrángadi-desa, after Chitrángadá, the daughter of the Rajá of Manipur. In process of time this long name was gradually shortened to Changedi-desa and Chedi-desa.1 In all the inscriptions hitherto found the name is simply Chedi; but I think it highly probable that the old form of the name may be preserved in the Sageda metropolis of Ptolemy, and in the Chi-ke-da of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen-Thsang. The learned translator of the pilgrim’s travels transcribes the Chinese syllables as Tchi-ki-to, and reads them doubtfully as Tchikdha.2 On referring to the original Chinese characters, I find that the value of the middle syllable may be either kí or ke, as it is used by the pilgrim in the words kokila, avalokitëswara, keyura, and harikesara.3 I find also that the third syllable has the power of da in dakshina. The whole name may, therefore, be transcribed as Chi-ke-da; and in this form it offers such a remarkable similarity to the

1 So also by dropping r and t, Mríttikávati became Makauti.
2 Julien’s Hwen Thsang, III, p. 168 and p. 531, Index.
3 Julien’s “ Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres Chinois, p. 214.
Sageda of Ptolemy, as to suggest their absolute identity. Both places were situated in Central India, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Narbada river.

Professor Hall was the first to suggest the possible identity of Chikito and Chedi.¹ There are no doubt several difficulties in the way; but some of them are certainly due to Hwen-Thsang's text. The first is the bearing and distance from Ujain, which he makes north-east 1,000 里, or 167 miles. Now, this direction will be wrong, if Chikito was in Southern India, as a north-east bearing would place it in the neighbourhood of Kulhâras, just 90 miles to the south of Gwalior, which cannot possibly be reckoned as belonging to South India. By making the bearing east, instead of north-east, the position of Chikito would accord fairly enough with that of Chetiya, or Sânchi, near the great old city of Besnagar, which I found to be just 142 miles from Ujain, measured by perambulator. But the subsequent bearing and distance of 150 miles north to Maheswarapura would land us in the neighbourhood of Narwar; with which it seems impossible to identify it. Another difficulty is, that in the life of Hwen-Thsang, when there is no mention of Chikito, Maheswarapura is said to be 900 里, or 150 miles, to the north-east of Ujain; and as it is stated to be in Central India, the northerly bearing is indispensable. Seronj, to the north-east of Bhilsa, would suit these conditions almost exactly. And from thence to Chedi the distance corresponds very well with 1,000 里, or 167 miles; but the bearing is south-east. A southerly direction, however, is absolutely required, as Chikito is said to be in Southern India. This identification seems to me to be the most probable under all the conditions.

The other identification, however, which I have proposed of Ptolemy's Sageda metropolis with Chedi, appears to me to be almost certain. In the first place, Sageda is the capital of the Adisathri, which I take to be a Greek rendering of Haya-kshetra, or the country of the Hayas or Haihayas. It adjoins the country of the Betigi, whom I would identify with the people of Vâkâtaka, whose capital was Bhândak. One of the towns in their country, situated near the upper course of the Son, is named Balantipurgon or Balampurgon. This I take to be the famous fort of Bândogarh, which we know formed part of the Chedi dominions. To the north-east

was Panassa, which most probably preserves the name of some town on the Parnasa or Banas river—a tributary which joins the Son to the north-east of Bardogarh. To the north of the Adisathri, Ptolemy places the Poruari, or Parihars, in their towns named Tholobana, Bridama, and Malaita. The first I would identify with Boriban (Bahuriband), by reading Oslobana or Volobana. The second must be Bilhari; and the last may be Lameta, which gives its name to the ghât on the Narbada opposite Tewar, and may thus stand for Tripura itself. All these identifications hold so well together, and mutually support each other, that I have little doubt of their correctness.

Of the tribal name of Kulachuri, or Kalachuri as it is also written, I am not able to offer any satisfactory derivation. Tod quotes the name of Kalcharak, or Kurchara, as that of one of the 36 royal races mentioned by the bard Chand. Kalcharak was also the form of the name preserved in the books of Mûkji, the famous bard of the Khichi Chauhans. In my Ratanpur inscription, Jájalla, the “mighty sovereign of Chedi,” is said to have assumed the title of “Lord of the Suras;” 1 but whether such a form as Kulasura (Kulachuri) would be permissible, is perhaps doubtful. This title would seem to have been confined to the Tripuri branch of the Haihayas and its ramifications; while the Manipur kings, after the transfer of their capital to Ratanpur, were known as the Ratnavali Haihayas.

The present village of Tewar is a small place, six miles to the west of Jabalpur, and on the south side of the Bombay road. Many of the inhabitants are stone-cutters, whose chief, perhaps only, quarries are in the ruins of the old city of Karanbel and its temples. To the east of the village there is a fine large tank named Bâl Sâgar. Its embankment is formed of square blocks of granite, cramped with iron. Near the middle of the tank there is a small island, with a whitewashed modern temple.

At the west end of the village, under a large tree, are collected together a great number of sculptures, all more or less broken, but many of them still in very good preservation otherwise. Every one of them is said to have been brought from the site of the old city of Karanbel, about half a mile to the south-west of the village of Tewar.

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1 Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, p. 294; translated by Babu Râjendra Lâîa.
The most perfect specimen is a Buddhist sculpture of Vajrapāni, who is represented seated under a canopy with his hands in front of his breast, with the fingers arranged in the posture of teaching. On the right and left are figures with chauris and garlands; and two kneeling figures, that to the left holding 2 vajras or thunderbolts, and the other to the right with his hands joined in adoration. On the pedestal is inscribed the Buddhist creed of “Ye dharma hetu,” &c., in large letters, which is followed by a longer inscription beginning with the name of Vajrapāni.

A long stone, broken at one end, presents a number of figures, grouped about a man, who is lying on a bed. His right knee is raised, and grasped by his left hand; while his right hand rests on his head. To the right, a female is kneeling at his head; and to the left, a male attendant is standing, with joined hands. Beyond him, there are two females, seated on morhas. Below these is an inscription of two lines; but the letters are much worn, and the reading is doubtful. The sleeping figure is known as Tripura Devi, in spite of its masculine appearance.

A small statue of a four-armed female, with a crocodile symbol, is worshipped as Narmada mai, or “Mother Narbada”; but it is more probably a figure of Ganga from one of the old temples.

There are many other sculptures, which need not be described further than that they belong principally to the worship of Vishnu and Siva. Of the latter, there is a statue, 3½ feet in height, with 3 heads and 12 arms. Of the former, there is a Krishna, playing the flute and attended by several naked females. There are also many obscene sculptures, like those which disgrace the fine temples at Khajurāho.

Lastly, there are three naked Jain statues of the Digambari sect: one of Adinath, seated with 2 naked attendants and a bull on the pedestal; and 2 standing figures, 2½ feet high, which once formed part of a pillar.

About half a mile to the south-east of the village are the ruins of the old city of Tripura, now known as Karanbel. The following account of the remains is taken from Mr. Beglar’s report; and it will be useful to compare it with Colonel Yule’s account, which was written many years earlier.¹

¹ See Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, 1861, vol. XXX, p. 211.
within its influence, has long since so reduced the ruins, that no remains are now supposed to have been left of any interest. I found, however, at the foot of a low, long hill, known as Kari-Sarai, the remains of two structures. One of these, situated about a mile and a half from Tewar, consists of a cell, composed of two rows of three pillars each, with long stones between them, piled on each other for walls, on three sides. The pillars are 1½ feet square; but they are evidently taken from some more ancient building, as two of them, though doing duty as pillars, are the top or sides of a doorway. The pillars are surmounted by cruciform corbels, one foot three inches deep, carrying architraves of the same depth and one foot six inches wide. The roof itself has long ago disappeared. The ruin is known as "the Banya's house." About 200 feet off it, but quite hidden away in the dense jungle, one comes quite suddenly on a remarkably picturesque ruin. This consists of the remains of two distinct buildings, both made of, or supplemented by, spoils from other buildings. They consist of two colonnades. The higher and larger one has four rows of pillars, three in each row, surmounted by capitals and architraves, but without a roof. The other consists of four rows of two pillars each, but much lower in height; though the pillars appear similar, both in execution and in all particulars of size, except height. These are also surmounted by corbelled capitals and architraves. The pillars are not all alike: some are very fine and massive, and plainly, but exquisitely and boldly, sculptured; some are thin and coarsely executed; while others, again, are made up of nondescript fragments, piled upon each other. The architraves, surmounting and connecting the pillars, are massive and sculptured in the plain geometric patterns so common in the Chandel temples of Central India. One of the finer pillars is represented in the accompanying plate.1

"Turning sharp round from these ruins is a narrow goat-path, leading up the low hillock; the top is flat and of considerable extent, and is strewn with fragments of bricks. This hillock, or mound, is known as Bara Hathi Gara. This last is in places profusely scattered over with fragments of bricks, which must have been of large size, as I measured a fragment more than 14 inches long by a foot wide.

"The broken bricks both on this and on the smaller height, following generally the edge of the flat tableland on the top, show that they are the remains of a defensive wall of some kind, which ran along the edge of the hillocks. In addition to the bricks, there are also rudely dressed stones, piled on each other, without cementing material of any kind. It appears from these that both hillocks were at one time surrounded by a fortified wall, built of brick, or of brick and stone. This fort was naturally divisible into two portions, occupying respectively the larger and smaller heights, and connected or separated by the depressed neck between them, spoken of before. The larger contained, besides, a citadel of rubble stone walls, laid on each other without cementing material. The position is naturally strong; being defended on three sides by a great bend of a rivulet, which runs past, and is known as the Bān Gangā. The ravines from the river reach right up to these hillocks, and are deep, with very steep sides.

1 See Plate XIV for this pillar, with two others from Bhera Ghāt.
"A few fragments of sculpture are scattered here and there within Bara Hathia Garh. The principal statue, which is still worshipped, is a large three-headed figure, having a tall conical head-dress, ornamented with 7 rows of fringes. The heads have all a third eye in the forehead; the left head has its mouth open, and the tongue projected half out. The figure is broken; the portion now remaining being only the upper half of the body. The face measures eighteen inches across from ear to ear; and the whole fragment measures three feet nine inches by five feet three inches. As I have already stated, it is worshipped by the villagers; and I found a bunch of peacock's feathers and a few glass bangles, probably the offerings of some devout females, near the statue."

"Close to, and just outside the east end of the fort, there is a deep rock cut hollow containing water. It is unmistakably the site of an old quarry.

"Not far from Tewar and Karanbel there is a sacred tank known locally as Pushkarini; close to it, and near the road, is a statue, with an inscription in two lines, which ends with the words 'Itaśa Sinha Murtika Pahita.'"

18.—BHHERA GHAT.

About six miles west-by-south from Tewar by the road, but not more than two miles direct from Karanbel, there is a famous bathing-place on the Narbada, named Bhera Ghat. It is situated at the confluence with the Narbada of the small stream which winds round the ruins of Karanbel. At the old city it is called the Bāngangā, but at its junction with the Narbada it is known only as the Saraswati. On both sides of this rivulet there are temples. The western group is considered the more sacred one; but the whole are of modern rubble and stucco, and are utterly devoid of interest. Immediately above the confluence are the famous "marble rocks," which rise in nearly vertical strata on both sides above the clear waters of the Narbada. In the fork formed between the little Sarsuti and the great river, the rocks rise into a small hill, which is crowned by a temple, surrounded by a very curious circular cloister of considerable antiquity. A long flight of roughly hewn stone steps leads right up from the bed of the river to the temple. The position of this temple is singularly fine and commanding. Close beneath, on the south, the blue waters of the Narbada seem to sleep, spell bound, under the snow-white walls that shut them in. To the north and west the view is bounded by thickly wooded heights; but on the east the eye looks down on a long reach of the river, stretching away for miles towards Jabalpur. It is just such a spot as a Buddhist would
have chosen for a stūpa. But the attraction for the Brah- 
man must have been the sangam, or junction of the holy 
waters of the little Saraswati with those of the Narbada. 
Every confluence of rivers is held sacred; and the mingled 
waters of two streams are considered more efficacious in 
the washing away of sin than those of any single river, however 
famous it may be. Hence Bhera Ghāt is one of the holy 
bathing-places on the Narbada. Here bathed King Gāyā 
Karna, attended by his queen and his son, his prime minister, 
and his commander-in-chief, his treasurer and his family 
priest, and other officials, on the occasion of making a grant 
of land to certain Brahmans. Here also bathed Queen 
Gosalā Devi, the widow of King Nara Sinha Deva, on making 
a grant of the village Choralaga to a Brahman. The spot 
was, therefore, a holy one in the eyes of the Brahmans, and 
was no doubt occupied at a very early period by one of their 
temples.

The present temple is a comparatively modern building, 
being made up partly of old carved stones, and partly of 
bricks. It does not occupy the centre of the circle, nor does 
its mid-line even correspond with the mid-line of the en-
closure. The basement of the temple itself, however, appears 
to be old and undisturbed; but much of the superstructure 
and the whole of the portico are of a later period. Looking 
at its position in the north-western quadrant of the circle, 
I am inclined to think that originally there must have been 
a similar shrine opposite to it in the south-western quarter, 
with the main temple, occupying the eastern half of the 
circle, immediately opposite the western entrance. Accept-
ing this proposed arrangement as a probable one, the oblique 
position of the south-eastern entrance is at once accounted 
for by its convenience for an approach from the eastern 
side. By this arrangement also the portico of the present 
temple, which now forms an incongruous excrescence, 
would become quite unnecessary; and its deeply moulded 
pillars would be available for the portico of the supposed 
main temple on the east side of the circle. The basement 
of the present temple, which is 25 feet long by 22 feet broad, 
will thus belong to the same period as the pillars of the fine 
circular cloister which now surrounds it.

The temple is known as the shrine of Gaurī Sankar, 
from a group placed inside. But this group, which is 4 feet

1 See Plate XIV for elevation of these pillars.
1½ inches high and 2 feet 7½ inches broad, must have belonged to the cloister series of figures, as it corresponds exactly with their dimensions, and is, moreover, set up on one of the cloister pedestals. Other figures now inside the temple are—

(1) Vishnu and Lakshmi on garud in dark-blue stone.
(2) Sūrya, standing with Arun, driving the seven horses of the sun, 3 feet 6 inches high by 1 foot 10 inches broad.
(3) Small Hara-Gaurī, or Siva and Pārvatī.
(4) Small figure of Ganesa.
(5) Figure of Dharmma, a 4-armed female, 1 foot 10½ inches high, with a small figure of Buddha in the head-dress. Flying figures with garlands above, and the traces of the Buddhist creed inscribed on the base.

From the presence of this undoubted Buddhist figure it might be supposed that the circular cloister must once have surrounded a Buddhist stūpa. But the letters of the inscription are of later date than those of the names inscribed on the pedestals of the cloister statues, which themselves appear to be an integral part of the original structure. The circular form is certainly unusual in Brahmanical enclosures; but it would appear to be the correct form for temples that are dedicated to the Chaunsat Joganis, as three other Joganī temples of this form are now known. The fifth Joganī temple at Khajurāha is oblong; but all the five temples are hypaethral, or open to the sky.

The inner diameter of the cloister is 116 feet 2 inches, and the outer diameter 130 feet 9 inches. The cloister consists of a circular row of 84 square pillars, with the same number of full pilasters arranged opposite to them against a back wall. The actual cloister is only 4 feet 9 inches wide and 5 feet 3½ inches high under the eaves, with a rise of 8½ inches above the ground. The back wall is 2 feet 7½ inches thick. The eaves are formed by a 10-inch projection of the architrave, which is sloped away in a graceful curve, as shown in the section of the cloister.1 The whole is roofed with large slabs of stone from 8 to 9 inches thick, which are moulded on both front and back, and form a graceful finish to this fine colonnade.

The number of pillars being 84, the cloister is divided into as many spaces or intervals. Three of these—two to the west, and the other to the south-east—are left as entrances;

1 See Plate XIII
while the remaining 81 spaces are fitted with pedestals between the pilasters for the reception of statues. Each of these pedestals is 3 feet 5 inches long, 1 foot 8 inches broad, and 1 foot high.1 The pillars are 10 1/2 inches square, and the intervals between them 3 feet 5 1/2 inches. But the intervals between the back pillars is 3 feet 7 1/2 inches, so that the pedestals just fit in between them; and they were no doubt an integral part of the original structure.

The statues are of two kinds—sitting and standing. The sitting statues are generally 4 feet 2 inches high, and 2 feet 5 1/2 inches broad. Where not otherwise described in the following list, they are all four-armed goddesses, and are generally remarkable for the size of their breasts. Most of them are Joginis (Sanskrit, Jogini), or female demons, attendant on Durgā. The temple is, therefore, commonly known as the Chauansat Jogini, or “sixty-four female demons.” Eight of the figures I have identified as the ashta saktī, or female energies of the gods. Three of them seem to be personified rivers; while two only are male figures of Siva and Ganesa [Nos. 15 and 1]. All the other sitting figures I take to be Joginis. There are, besides, four dancing female figures which are not inscribed (Nos. 39, 44, 60 and 78); but one of them, No. 44, is certainly the skeleton goddess Kāli; and the others are no doubt only various forms of the same malignant deity. Most of the statues have inscriptions on their pedestals, as detailed in the following list.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inscription</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sri Ganesah</td>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>Sitting</td>
<td>Jogini,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sri Chhattr̐ Samvara</td>
<td>Fabulous lion</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sri Ajità</td>
<td>Fabulous lion</td>
<td>Standing female</td>
<td>Sakti,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sri Chandikā</td>
<td>Skeleton figure; pros-</td>
<td>Standing female</td>
<td>Do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sri Mānandā</td>
<td>Lotus</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Jogini,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sri Kāmādi</td>
<td>Yoni; 2 men worshiping</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sri BRAhmanī</td>
<td>Goose</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Sakti,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sri Maheswarī</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sri Tānkāri</td>
<td>Fabulous lion</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Jogini,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sri Jayani</td>
<td>Feline animal</td>
<td>10-armed female</td>
<td>Do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sri Pādmas-hanaś</td>
<td>Flowers</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sri Ramakīr</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>[Name lost]</td>
<td>Nāgul</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sri Hanumān</td>
<td>Goose</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sri Jāwari</td>
<td>Hill-peak</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Jogini,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sri Thānl</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Do,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sri Indrajāl</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Do,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Wilson, Sanskrit Dict., in loco, limits the yoginis to 8; but the number of 64 is well known all over India, and there is, besides, another temple at Khajuraho, which is named after them, the chauansat jogini.

2 See Plate XVI for copies of all these inscriptions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Inscription.</th>
<th>Symbol.</th>
<th>Figure.</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Broken</td>
<td>Bull, skeletons</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Jogini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sri Thakini</td>
<td>Camel</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Sri Dhansendri</td>
<td>Prostrate man</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Sri Uuttāla</td>
<td>Antelope</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Sri Lampatā</td>
<td>Prostrate man</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sri Ubā</td>
<td>Peacock</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Saraswati river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Sri *ismādā</td>
<td>Boar</td>
<td>Winged female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Sri Gāndhari</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>Armed female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Sri Jāmārvī</td>
<td>Crocodile</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Ganges river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Sri Dākini</td>
<td>Man and skeletons</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Jogini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Sri Brahmahī</td>
<td>Small male figure</td>
<td>Sitting female, lion's head</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Sri Darpaḥārī</td>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>Female sitting on garud</td>
<td>Sakī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sri Bāishārvī</td>
<td>Garud</td>
<td>Sitting female, dancing</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Sri Danggini</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Sakī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Sri Bīkāhī</td>
<td>Crocodile</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Jogini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Sri Sīkīnī</td>
<td>Vulture</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Jagini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Sri Gharāltī</td>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>Sitting female, elephant's head</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Sri Tattāri</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Sitting female, elephant's head</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Sri Ghagghnī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Sri Bhūshānī</td>
<td>Prostrate man, with rayed head-dress</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Sri Satānū Sambarī</td>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Sri Ghatānī</td>
<td>Ram</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>[Not inscribed]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Sri Dūndārī</td>
<td>Saddled horse</td>
<td>Sitting female, bear's head</td>
<td>Jagini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Sri Vārāhi</td>
<td>Boar</td>
<td>Sitting female, with cowl's head</td>
<td>Sakī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Sri Nālīnī</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Jagini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>S-E. ENTRANCE.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Sri Mandānī</td>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Sri Indrānī</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Sakī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Sri Kūrī</td>
<td>Cow</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Jagini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Sri Shāndāmī</td>
<td>Donkey</td>
<td>Broken figure</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Sri Alīnggīnī</td>
<td>Man with elephant's head</td>
<td>Sitting female with elephant's head</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>[Name lost]</td>
<td>Boar</td>
<td>Sitting female with 20 arms</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Sri Tārānta</td>
<td>Mahesvar</td>
<td>Sitting female with 10 arms</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Sri Pārāni</td>
<td>Prostrate man</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Sri Vāyūvēna</td>
<td>Antelope</td>
<td>Sitting female, with 10 arms</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Sri Ubhērā Varṛddhānī</td>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>[Not inscribed]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sitting female, with 10 arms</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Sri Surīvṛata-mukhī</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Sitting female, with bear's head</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Sri Mandodari</td>
<td>2 men worshiping</td>
<td>Broken figure</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Sri Kheknāhi</td>
<td>Long-beaked bird</td>
<td>Sitting female, with 10 arms</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Sri Jāmbavī</td>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Sitting female, with 10 arms</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Sri Aursāgā</td>
<td>Naked man</td>
<td>Sitting female, with 10 arms</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Sri Thīru-chittā</td>
<td>Man praying with folded hands</td>
<td>Sitting female.</td>
<td>River Jumna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Sri Yamunā</td>
<td>Turtle</td>
<td>Sitting female, 2 arms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sitting female, 2 arms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Sri Vībhāsā</td>
<td>Prostrate man and skeleton</td>
<td>Sitting female.</td>
<td>Sakī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Sri Nīhā-siha</td>
<td>Lion-headed man</td>
<td>Sitting female with lion's head</td>
<td>Jagini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Sri Nīlāmsārī</td>
<td>Garud</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>[Worn away]</td>
<td>Flame</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Sri Antakārī</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>Sitting female with open mouth</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>[Name lost]</td>
<td>Long-nosed bull</td>
<td>Sitting female</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Sri Pīnggālī</td>
<td>Peacock</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Sakī.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It will be observed that the four standing statues bear no inscriptions, and that only two of them have symbols on their bases. The sitting statues are made of a grey sandstone, and are all highly ornamented; whereas the standing statues are made of a purplish sandstone, and are much less ornamented. Other details are noted in the following remarks on the probable meanings of the names, and the probable identification of the figures as joginis, saktis, rivers, &c.

3. Sambarā—a Sāmbar deer. Deer on the pedestal; but the allusion to chhatra is not known.

4. Ajitā.—Ajita-Śiva, “the unconquered;” and ajitā is the feminine form.

5. Mānandā.—Probably for Ānandā, the “happy, or joyful.”

6. Kāmadi.—Kāmada is the fabulous cow of plenty; so Kāmadi is the goddess who grants all desires; and the symbol of the yoni points to the desires as sexual.

7. Brahmvāni.—A goose on the pedestal shows that this goddess is the sakti, or female energy, of Brahmvā.

8. Maheswari.—The bull Nandi on the pedestal shows that this goddess is the sakti, or female energy, of Maheswara, or Śiva.

9. Tankāri is probably derived from tanka, a sword or axe, both of which weapons are carried in two of the ten hands of this goddess.

10. Jayani—the “conquering” goddess.

11. Padma-haṁsā.—Not known.

12. Rāṇājīṛā—goddess of the “battle field.”

14. Hansini, or Hansinirā.—Not known.
16. **Iswari.**—Name of *sakti*, or female energy, either Durgā or Lakshmi.

17. **Tháni.**—Sthánu is a name of Siva, as the “firm or immovable,” from *stha* to stay, or *sthā* to stand still; hence the mountain peak is an appropriate symbol of *stháni*, the “immovable” goddess, just as a mountain is called *achala*, or the “immovable.”

18. **Indrajáli**—the “deceiving” goddess. The elephant symbol alludes to the name of Indra, with perhaps an allusion to his well-known deceits.


With reference to the camel symbol on the pedestal, Mr. Beglar suggests *Ushtrakini*, or the cameline goddess. This derivation is countenanced by that of No. 17, in which the initial sibilant is omitted.

22. **Dhyanendri.**—Dhan means to “sound;” but it is spelt with the dental *dh*. The use of the cerebral is probably a mistake, and the name may simply mean the “sounding goddess.”

24. **Uttalá** may perhaps mean the “swift goddess,” as the antelope symbol seems to imply.

25. **Lampalá**—the “courtesan goddess.”

26. **Úhá.**—I think that this goddess is the personification of the Saraswati river. In Nos. 29 and 68 we have the Ganges and Jumna personified. The name may be derived from Úha, “to reason;” and Úhá would mean the “reasoning goddess”—an appropriate name for Saraswati, the goddess of speech and eloquence. This assignment is confirmed by the peacock on the pedestal, which is the symbol of the Saraswati river.

27. * tsamddá—boar on pedestal. The initial letter unknown. It occurs again in initial No. 35.

28. **Gándhári**—a winged goddess, with horse or ass symbol. I think that the name must be connected with *gandharvaa*, “a horse,” typical of swiftness, which is also implied by the wings.

29. **Jáhnavi.**—This is a well-known name of the Ganges; and as the symbol is a *makara*, or “crocodile,” it is certain that this is the river goddess herself.

30. **Dákini.**—In Hindi *dakin* is the common name for a witch or she-demon.

31. **Bandhani**—from bandh, to bind, or bandhan, hurting, injuring, killing. Mr. Beglar suggests that the man on the pedestal may be a prisoner.
32. Darppahári—most probably a mistake for Darbbahári. Darbba means a rákshasa, or demon, from drière, to "tear;" and darbbahári would be the "tearer,"—a title confirmed by the lion on the pedestal, and by the lion’s head of the goddess.

33. Vaishnavi is the name of the sakti, or personified energy of Vishnu, known also by garud, on the pedestal.

34. Danggini.—First letter doubtful.

35. Rikshíni—crocodile on the pedestal. The value of the first letter is uncertain (see No. 27). The symbol of the crocodile seems to point to a river goddess; and Rikshíni would be the name of the Narbada, which rises in the Ríksha mountain. A female figure at Tewar, standing on a crocodile, is called Narbada mai, or "Mother Narbada."

36. Sákini.—Wilson describes sákini as "a female divinity of an inferior character attendant equally on Siva and Durgá." Mr. Beglar remarks that "in the Baiñál Fachisi sákinis are mentioned in connection with cemeteries." They are, in fact, the female goblins whom Rájá Vikram saw eating the dead bodies. The symbol of a culture on the pedestal is, therefore, appropriate.

37. Ghaññáli—the "bell" goddess, with a bell or ghanta on the pedestal.

38. Taññari.—Wilson says a kettle-drum, or any musical instrument. I presume that the name refers to the "trumpet," as the goddess has an elephant's head, and there is an elephant on the pedestal. Tañña is the imitative sound of the trumpet, like tuntarara in English.

40. Gánggini.—The first letter is doubtful.

41. Bhishañi—the "terrible goddess." Bhishàna is a name of Siva.

42. Sáñacu Sambará—deer on pedestal. Sámbará is the Sámbar deer.

43. Gahání—ram on pedestal. The first letter is doubtful. The name may mean the destroying goddess, from gáh, to destroy.

45. Duduri.—The derivation is not clear: du means "bad," and also "to give pain." Perhaps it is only a duplication of dur = pain, which would mean the "pain-giving" goddess. But the symbol of the saddled horse is puzzling.

46. Váráhi is one of the saktis of Vishnu, as the Varáha Avatára. There is a boar on the pedestal, and the goddess has a boar's head.
47. Nālini—perhaps from nal, "to bind." There is a bull and cow on the pedestal, and the goddess has a cow's head.

50. Nāḍīnī is the title of the goddess Pārvati; but the lion on the pedestal rather seems to point to Nādinī, or "roarer," as the true name.

51. Indrānī—the wife of Indra. As there is no Aindri in this collection, Indrānī must be intended for the sakti, or female energy, of Indra.

52. Eruri, or Ejari; but the first reading seems preferable. The goddess has a cow's head, and there is a cow on the pedestal.

53. Shandini.—Shanda means a bull; but the animal on the pedestal is apparently an ass.

54. Ainggini—an elephant-headed goddess, with an elephant-headed man on the pedestal. The name seems to refer to ingga, "movable," which is itself derived from igi, 'to go.'

56. Teraita, or perhaps Techanta. As there is a figure of Mahesasuri on the pedestal, the title must refer to some name of Durgā. The goddess has 20 arms.

57. Pāravī.—I take this name to be a mistake for Pārvati, as the goddess has 10 arms, which point to Durgā.

58. Vyayucghā—"swift as the wind." The antelope on the pedestal evidently alludes to the swiftness.

59. Abhera Varadhanī—"the increaser of light." There is a class of demi-gods, 64 in number, who are named abhas-varas, who, from their number, would appear to have some connection with the 64 joginis. The bird on the pedestal gives no assistance towards the meaning of the name.

61. Saracato-mukhi.—This goddess has 12 arms and 3 heads, with a head also between her breasts. The number of heads explain the name of "Facing everywhere." Mr. Beglar remarks that the leaves of the lotus and the six points of the double triangle seem also to allude to the name.

62. Maundodari, or "slow-belly," was the name of Rāvan's wife.

63. Khemukhi.—The long-beaked bird on the pedestal seems to refer to the name, which may perhaps be translated "voracious mouth," from khed, to eat. The statue is broken.

64. Jámbavī, or the "bear goddess," with a "bear" on the pedestal, evidently points to Jámbavat, the fabulous bear
who was the father-in-law of Krishna. This statue probably had a bear's head; but it is now broken.

65. Aurága—The first letter is not certain, and the naked man on the pedestal does not seem to give any assistance.

67. Thira-chittá is probably intended for Sthira-chitta, "the firm or steady minded."

68. Yamuná.—This goddess is the river Jumna personified, of whom the tortoise on the pedestal was the symbol.

70. Vibhásá must be connected either with vibheshu, "terrible," or with vibhitu, "the piercer." The skeleton and prostrate man on the pedestal point to some appellation of Durgá.

71. Siňha-siňhá.—This lion-headed goddess, with the lion headed-man on the pedestal, is probably intended for Narasiňhá, the sakti or female energy of the Narasiňhá avatára.

72. Niladmbará is probably the same as Nílámbará, a female demon; and the garud on the pedestal refers to her connection with Vishnu.

74. Ańtakári—a goddess, with open mouth, ready to devour—must mean the "death-causer," from anta, "end or death." Antaka is a name of Yama, the god of death; but the bull on the pedestal would seem to refer to Śiva, who, as Pasupati, is also the god of death and destruction.

76. Píṅgalá means "tawny, or brownish-red." The peacock on the pedestal would point to Kaumári, the sakti of Skanda Kumára or Kárttíkeya.

77. Akkhalá.—On the pedestal are two men, with folded hands, worshipping. The reading of the name is clear; but I am ignorant of its meaning.

79. Kshattrá-dharmámi.—The compound kshattrá-dharmma means the duty of a kshattrá, or soldier, i. e., "bravery." But as kshattrá is derived from kshad, "to eat, to rend, to tear to pieces," the title of this goddess would mean the "tearer to pieces, or the devourer." The skulls in her head-dress confirm this meaning, and the lion on the pedestal must refer to the same.

80. Vírendri is armed with sword and shield, and has a horse's head, with skeletons, on the pedestal. I believe that the name should be Várendrí, the "inimical goddess," rather than Vírendri, the heroic goddess.

82. Kídháni Devi—"the hurtful goddess," from rih, to "hurt." The animal, with claws, on the pedestal seems to confirm this derivation.
The result of this examination shows that the statue set up in this circular cloister may be divided into five distinct groups as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Statues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saktis, commonly known as ashta-sakti</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivers: Ganges, Jumna, and Saraswati</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing goddesses: Kâli, &amp;c.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gods: Siva and Ganesa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joganiz, or the chaunzat jogini, 57 intact, 7 lost</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                      | 84      |

The saktis are generally known by their names, although the lists differ in one or two of them. They form a very common group in most Brahmanical temples, and also in many of the later Buddhist temples.

Two of the rivers—the Ganges and the Jumna—are found sculptured in nearly all the earliest Hindu temples, one at each side of the entrance. The Ganges, the Jumna, and the Saraswati are known by their attendant animals, the crocodile, the tortoise, and the peacock, which are singularly appropriate symbols of the three rivers. The Ganges teems with crocodiles; the Jumna with tortoises; and the banks of the Saraswati with peafowl.

The dancing goddesses, Kâli, &c., are known to be merely different representations of Durgâ, the wife of Śiva.

The only gods now in the cloister are Śiva and his son Ganesa.

The Joganis are always represented as attendants on the blood-thirsty goddess Kâli or Durgâ. At Khajurâha, where there is a rectangular cloister, with 64 cells, dedicated to them, I was informed that, whenever a battle takes place, the Joganis hasten with their bowls to catch the blood of the slain, and that whoever dedicates a temple to them, will be victorious. In the Rájá Tarangini they are called "divinities of a lower order," maḍyapadevata, who were both lustful and blood-thirsty. They could reanimate the dead to satisfy their desires, or tear them to pieces to appease their hunger.¹ In the Prabodha Chandrodaya they are described as dancing on the field of battle, and making use of the skulls of the slain as symbols.² In the Rudra Upanishad it is

¹ See Rájá Tarangini, II, 100-103, and Troyer's note.
² Prabodha Chandrodaya, Taylor's Translation, Prologue, XI.
stated that Śiva, after the death of Jalandhara on the field of battle,—

"summoned in thought the yoginis, who instantly appeared, and thus, with folded hands, addressed him: 'Oh Śiva! what shall we do?' He replied: 'Quickly, in obedience to my command, devour the flesh of that Daitya.' Then Brahmī, Maheṣvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishnavi, Vārāhi, and Mahendri, with cruel looks, hastened to devour the flesh of Jalāndhara. Śiva then said to them: 'Drink up the blood,' and they, delighted, immediately quaffed the gory stream, and danced with joy." ¹

It is perhaps noteworthy that five of the six goddesses mentioned in this extract are generally considered as saktis.²

At the present day the Joganis are still described as frequenting cemeteries and devouring the dead. When Rājā Vikramājit approached the siris tree in which a corpse was suspended, "he saw that goblins were laying hold of and eating men; that witches were chewing the livers of children; tigers were roaring, and elephants screaming."³ This extract explains the origin of many of the names of the joganis, which refer to noise; and why lions and elephants were considered appropriate symbols.

In the Bhāra Ghāt sculptures, many of the Joganis are represented with their mouths open, and showing their teeth, or rather fangs. In the pictures of the present day they are represented in a similar fashion; but their teeth are longer, and their mouths are always red. This is in strict accordance with the general belief, which has passed into a proverb,—

"Dāhin khai, to munh lāl,
Nak khai, to munh lāl."

"Whether or not she eats the dead,
The goblin's mouth is always red."

Nothing whatever is known about the builder of this curious temple, and the only means we have left to fix the date are the shapes of the characters used in the inscriptions. The style of architecture is plain and simple, and may belong to any period between 900 and 1200 A. D. But the characters of the inscriptions point to the earlier date, as they correspond exactly with those of one of the inscriptions of Lakshmana, who was the father of Yuva Rājā, the contemporary of Vākpati of Mālwa. Lakshmana's date must,

¹ Researches into Hindu Mythology, by Vans Kennedy, p. 490.
² See Colebrooke, Amarakosha, p. 6, note.
³ Baitāl Pachaisi, translated by Hollings, p. 9.
therefore, be placed about A. D. 950 to 975; and to this period, the latter half of the tenth century, I am inclined to assign the statues.

Only one inscription has been found at Bhera Ghát; but this is of a much later date—certainly as late as A. D. 1100. In it is recorded the building of a temple, which I should have been glad to accept as an account of the origin of the Chaunsat Jogini colonnade. The following is Professor Hall’s translation of the verses relating to the building of a temple at Bhera Ghát some time after 1100 A. D. :—

Verse 27.—“That lady, the open-handed Alhanā Devi, mother of the happy Nara Sinha Deva, occasioned this sanctuary of Indu Mauli [Siva] to be erected, and this cloister, with its admirable pavement.

Verse 28.—The same, by the agency of her commissioner, constructed this hall of learning and line of gardens, wanting for nothing, in two ranges, attached to the temple of Sambhu [Siva].

Verse 29.—To this divinity, entitled Vaidyanātha, the queen, to the end that her good deeds might be blazoned, set apart the village known by the name of Undi, in the canton of Jāūli, with all the dues exigible therefrom.”

In these verses the word translated ‘cloister’ is matha, which, so far as I know, does not usually mean an open colonnade for the reception of statues, but a monastic cloister or college, where young and unmarried Brahmins pursue their studies. The “admirable pavement,” adbhuta bhumika, seems, however, more applicable to the open court surrounded by the chaunsat jogini cloister, than to the floor of a college hall. The Bhera Ghát temple, with its circular cloister, was undoubtedly dedicated to Siva; and so also was Alhanā Devi’s temple. But the characters of the inscriptions seem to me to be so clearly of an earlier date than 1100 A. D., that I feel very great hesitation in accepting so late a date for the Bhera Ghát jogini temple. We know that Yaśa Karnā, the father of Gāyā Karnā, made a grant to a Brahman, who was still alive in A. D. 1120, when he transferred the land to another person. Gāyā Karnā could not, therefore, have begun to reign much before A. D. 1100; and as Alhanā Devi’s temple was built after the death of her husband Gāyā Karnā, when her son Nara Sinha Deva was already grown up, its date cannot be placed earlier than 1120 to 1130 A. D., which is just one century and a half later than the period which I should be inclined to assign to it on

1 Journal of the American Oriental Society, VI, 511. Two Sanskrit inscriptions translated by Professor Hall.
the palæographic evidence. There remains, however, the stubborn fact, that this record of Alhanā Devi, describing the erection of a temple to Śiva, was actually found at Bhera Ghāṭ, where there still exists a temple to Śiva, and the only one to which the queen’s inscription can possibly be applied. My conclusion therefore is, that the Chaunsat Jogini temple was originally a simple circular enclosure, containing the figures of the Joginis, the wall being of the same height as the statues. This old wall, with the inscribed statues, I would assign to the latter half of the tenth century. That the original wall was restricted to this height, is absolutely certain, from the difference of construction between the upper and lower portions. The lower wall up to the heads of the statues is built throughout of large squared blocks of stone, in regular courses, which fit together accurately; while the upper portion is built of smaller stones of irregular shape, and not accurately fitted, the interstices being filled in with small pieces. In this upper part, also, there are many carved stones, belonging to former buildings. I conclude, therefore, that the circular cloister, as it at present stands, is the work of two different periods: the old circular wall, with its inscribed statues, belonging to the tenth century; and the cloister, with its roof, being the work of Queen Alhanā Devi in the twelfth century. To this latter period I would assign the portico pillars of the present temple.

In the accompanying plate I have given a sketch of what I conceive to have been the original old wall with its simple projecting eaves over the line of statues; and below it I have given a section of the cloister as it stands at present, showing what I believe to be the additions made by Alhanā Devi.1 In the circular temple of Coimbatore the enclosing wall reaches only to the shoulders of the statues. This also is the case with the Buddhist temples in Burma, where the heads of the statues can be seen from the outside over the top of the surrounding walls. Besides the supposed section of the original Bhera Ghāṭ circle, I have given a section of the Rānipur-Jural circle from Mr. Beglar’s drawings. In this example there is no colonnade, but only a simple surrounding wall, with thin partition walls separating the 64 statues—an arrangement which tends very strongly to confirm the correctness of my supposed design of the original Bhera Ghāṭ temple.

1 See Plate XIII.
In the oblong Jogini temple at Khajurâha there are 64 distinct cells, separated from each other by thick walls; while each cell has a distinct pyramidal roof. Colonel Macpherson, also describes 65 cells in the Surâdâ temple in the district of Kâlâhandi. There is no mention of cells in the Coimbatore circle; but there are exactly 64 cells in the Rânipur-Jural circular cloister. In the Khajurâha example the circular form was perhaps found impracticable, owing to the narrowness of the ridge on which it is built. But as all the other four temples are circular, it would seem that this was the recognized, if not the obligatory, form of a Jogini temple. But there is another peculiar feature, which must, I think, be considered as absolutely obligatory, as all the five known examples are simple enclosures, open to the sky. They may, therefore, be called Indian hypathral temples, as they have already been designated by Sir Walter Elliot.

In the Khajurâha enclosure there is no trace of any central shrine; but in the Bhera Ghât circle there is a raised platform, which, as it lies in a direct line between the two entrances, would appear to have formed a part of the original structures. In the Rânipur-Jural temple there is a central canopy, supported on four pillars, and an open shrine, due south, in the surrounding wall.

The following are the dimensions of these curious circular temples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temple</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhera Ghât temple</td>
<td>130 feet 9 inches outer diameter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surâdâ</td>
<td>66 &quot; 10 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rânipur-Jural</td>
<td>55 &quot; 9 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the narrow channel of the Narbada, winding between the white marble rocks, there is one place where the cliffs approach so closely, that the people have named it the monkey’s leap [bandar kudni]. This passage is said to have been made by Indra; and the round marks of his elephant’s feet are still pointed out on the rocks. According to the legend, the monkey, who gave the name to this narrow part of the river, lost her life in attempting to leap across. She fell into a clump of bamboos, where her head stuck fast, while her body fell into the Narbada. In her next birth this monkey became the daughter of the Râjâ of Kâşi [Benares]. In person she was faultless; but she had a monkey’s head. Learned Brahmans were consulted, who

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1 Indian Antiquary, VII, p. 20, about lat. 29° and long. 83°.
gave their opinion that her monkey's head was derived from her previous birth; that her monkey's body had been purified by immersion in the holy waters of the Narbada, but the head was still impure. The monkey's head was accordingly diligently sought for, and taken from its bamboo tomb, when, after immersion in the Narbada, the princess suddenly found her head changed into that of a lovely girl.

I have already noted that nothing whatever is known by the people regarding the building of the Chaunsat Jogini temple; but there is a widely known legend which attributes its erection to a miraculous personage named Sālicāhan Nāgeansa. His mother was the beautiful daughter of a Baniya of Benares, who, when going to bathe in the Ganges, was pursued by a large snake; and finding herself unable to escape, sat down, and shut her eyes in horror. But the nāga was charmed by her beauty; and assuming his human shape, had connexion with her. When the signs of pregnancy appeared, her parents turned her out of the house; and she found refuge with an old potter. Soon after she gave birth to a son, who was adopted by the potter; and from that day good luck attended him. When the boy was 7 or 8 years old, the King of Delhi sent to demand tribute from the Rājā of Benares, whose country extended to Badalgahr on the south side of the Narbada. When the Rājā and his minister were debating what was to be done, the old potter and the boy happened to attend with some vessels which he had been ordered to make. The boy, hearing the discussion, suddenly, to the surprise of every one, counselled war. After his return home, he went out to play in the jungle; and having loitered till it was dark, he lost his way, and, getting quite bewildered, he sat down and cried. At that very moment Śiva and Pārvati were riding together through the air on the bull Nandi. When Pārvati heard the child's cry, she prevailed on Śiva to descend to the earth. The boy told the story of the morning; how he had made a promise to fight for the Rājā; but as he had neither followers nor money, he could not keep his promise, and could only bewail his helplessness. Then Pārvati took pity on him, and begged Śiva to give him some help. So Śiva questioned the boy whether he had nothing of his own: to which he replied that he had nothing whatever, except plenty of clay toys.  

In India children's toys are usually made of clay. This legend I owe to Mr. Regier.
gave him a handful of ashes, and told him to bathe early in the morning, and afterwards to sprinkle all his toys with the ashes, and to say to them—"By the mercy of Mahâdeva, may you become alive." With a warning that the men so created, though invincible on land, would melt away and disappear in water, the god and goddess resumed their flight through the air.

In the morning the boy did exactly according to Śiva's bidding; and, with his army of animated clay men, gave battle to the King of Delhi; and so utterly defeated him, that he fled away at once, with all his soldiers, to the south, towards the Nârbada. The potter's boy unthinkingly followed them into the river—when, instantly, his whole army disappeared, and he was left alone on the north bank of the Nârbada, facing the King of Delhi and his troops on the south bank. Seeing everything lost, he fled away at once to Benares, where the Râjâ received him with joy, and set him up as Râjâ of Badalgarh, with the title of Śâlivâhan Nâgvânsi. Soon after his accession, he built the temple at Bhêra Ghât, out of gratitude to his benefactors; and in it he placed the statues of Śiva and Pârvati, riding their bull Nandi, just as he had seen them when he was crying in the jungle.

This group is now actually inside the temple; but, from its coincidence in size with the cloister figures, as well as from its being set up on one of the cloister pedestals, there can be no doubt that it is one of the original set of figures. The group is a peculiar one, as the god has a bull's head; while both figures are represented actually riding the bull Nandi—one behind the other, with legs astraddle, instead of being seated in the usual fashion, side by side, with crossed legs. My impression is, that this group was the principal object of worship, and, as such, was originally set up on the platform in the midst of the open court.

The name of Chedi, as already noticed, is as old as the composition of the Mahâbhârata, in which Sisupâl Râjâ of Chedi, whose betrothed wife Rukmini was carried off by Krishna, is one of the principal figures. It was in Chedi also, in the palace of the Râjâ, that Damayanti took refuge when deserted by Nala. In the Mahâbhârata, Râjâ Chedi is said to be the son of Damaghosha; but in the Purânas he is called the son of Kusika. In either case, he was a descendant of Kroshtri, the younger son of Yadu, the progenitor of
the Yadavas. But these are the half mythical heroes of the early legends of India. The later kings of Chedi, who ruled over the country along the upper course of the Narbada for several centuries, also claim descent from Yadu, through Kārtavirya and Haihaya, the descendants of Sahasrajit, the elder brother of Kroshtri. Their temples and inscriptions still remain to attest both their wealth and the extent of their dominions. In all their inscriptions they boast of their descent from Kārtavirya or Arjun of the thousand arms (Sahasrabahu), "the destroyer of the ten-necked demon's pride" [Rāwan]. They also call themselves Haihayas, or the descendants of Haihaya,—a name by which they are well known all over India. But the particular name of the brilliant dynasty which ruled over Chedi for several centuries before the Muhammadan conquest was Kulachuri, the origin of which is unknown. The princes of this dynasty established an era of their own, which is called sometimes the Kulachuri Samvat, and sometimes the Chedi Samvat. It is used in all their inscriptions, and, as nearly as I can ascertain at present, it would appear to have been founded in A. D. 248. They also styled themselves "kings of Trikalinga," tri-Kalingadhipati, and lords of Kālanjjarapura.

The capital of Chedi was named Tripura after the demon Tripura, who was said to have been slain by Śiva on the site of the city. It is almost certainly as old as the establishment of the Kulachuri dynasty, as it would appear to have been their capital throughout the whole period of their rule. Of the early history of the dynasty nothing has yet come to light; but it may be conjectured with much probability that the Kulachuri rule was firmly established in Chedi-des at the time when their era was founded, about A. D. 248. The Kulachuris are first mentioned in the time of Mangalisā Chālukya [A. D. 530 to 550], who is said to have destroyed their power. The same king is also said to have expelled Budha Rājā, son of Sankaragana. No country is mentioned; but as the peculiar name of Sankaragana occurs twice amongst the rulers of Chedi at a later period, I conclude that Budha Rājā must have been one of the earlier Kulachuri sovereigns. His father Sankaragana would, therefore, have lived about A. D. 500. In later Chālukya inscriptions we learn that the Haihayas were defeated by Vinayāditya (A. D.

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1 See Sir Walter Elliot in Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, IV, 39; and Sir LeGrand Jacob in Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal 1, 209.
660 to 695), and that Vikramâditya II (inscription S. S. 665 = A.D. 733) married Lokamahâ Devi, a Haihaya princess.

In Bâna's Harsha Charita, mention is made of Kâkavarna, lord of Chandi [? Chedi], who was cut off by a descendant of Sišupâla. The name of Sišupâla, the famous Râjâ of Chedi, is sufficient to show that this Kâkavarna must have been one of the kings of that country.

I.—BILHARI INSCRIPTION.

The earliest inscription that has yet been discovered of the Haihaya rulers of Chedi was found in the old city of Bilhari. The text has been published by Professor Hall, with his accustomed accuracy. No translation is given; but all the historical facts worth preserving are duly noted. The slab is a large one, 6 feet 5½ inches by 3 feet 5 inches. When Professor Hall saw it, it was at Jabalpur; but it has since been removed to the Nâgpur Museum. The following is its summary of its contents:

"The names of kings—
Kokalla.
Mugdhatunga.
Keyûravarsha.
Lakshmana.
Sankaragana.
Yuvarâjâ.

"In this series, the succession passed from father to son; only Yuvarâjâ was Sankaragana's younger brother.

"We here have introduced to us a new line, descended from Kokalla, that bore sway in Chedi; the other line being that which proceeded through Gângeya. Whether he was the elder son, or whether Mugdhatunga was, is not ascertained. However this may have been, it is tolerably clear, that, immediately after the time of Kokalla, Chedi underwent partition.

"Kokalla's grandson's grandson, Gáyá Karnâ, married a granddaughter of Udayâdita, sovereign of Dhârâ; and the Krishna Râjâ whom Kokalla is said to have defeated in the south was not, impossibly, that lady's ancestor. Again, the Bhoja whom he is recorded to have vanquished in the west was, without much question, one of the two kings

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1 Prof. Hall's Preface to Vâsavadatta, quoted by Bhan Daji in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, X, 42.
2 Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, XXX, p. 317.
of Kanauj who bore that appellation. These kings will be spoken of in my next paper.

"Of Mugdha's exploits we learn nothing, further than that he wrested Pali from the lord of Kosala.

"Keyuravarsha wedded a lady, Nohal by name, of whose family a few particulars are specified. Her father was Avanivarman, son of Sadhanwan, son of Sinharvarman. Their clan was the Chalukya. The Chalukyas, it is related, arose in this wise: Drona, son of Bharadwaja, becoming on one occasion incensed at Drupada, took water in his hand, in act to curse him. Some of it fell to the ground; and from it the Chalukyas derived their origin.

"Queen Nohal erected a temple to Siva, and gave it in charge to Iswarasiva, disciple of Sadhasiva, who came after Pavanasiwa, son of Madhumati. On Iswarasiva she bestowed two villages, Nipanlya and Vipataka; and she likewise set apart, for the behoof of the temple, Dhangata, Pataka, Pondi, Nagabalal, Khailapataka, Vidal, Sajjakali, and Gashthapali.

"Lakshmana was son of Keyuravarsha by Nohal. Like his grandsire, Lakshmana waged hostilities against Kosala, and overcame its chief; if-words of an Indian eulogist may be taken literally. Odra, or Orissa, he is also reported to have invaded, and to have despoiled its king of an effigy of Kaliya, wrought in gold and precious stones. This effigy he consecrated to Siva, at the famous temple of Someswara or Somanatha, in Gujurt, where he had before dedicated a car.

"Nohal's temple, from which doubtless our inscription came, is again spoken of, with its incumbents, and their spiritual precursors. One Rudrasambhu was a devotee at Kadambagah. Among his disciples was Mattamaayuranatha, who was religious guide to a chieftain called Avanti. A line of holy personages is named as having followed Mattamaayuranatha's successor, Dharmasambhu: Sadhasiva, Madhumateya or Sudhaman, Chudhasiva, and Hridayasiva. The last was in the service of Raja Lakshmana, who entrusted to him the temple aforesaid. From Hridayasiva it passed into the custody of Sadhuvarinda, disciple of Aghorasiva.

"Sankaragana and his younger brother are dismissed by the inscription-writer with nine stanzas of vague encomium.

"Equally in inscriptions from the west, and in the one under abstract, which was discovered not far from the Narmada, we encounter the very uncommon names of Kokalla and Sankaragana, where the kings of Chedi are in question. There can scarcely, then, any longer be a doubt, that it is one and the same royal family which all those memorials have in reference.

"The first three kings of our inscription are panegyrized in it, we are told, by Srinivas, son of Shrinananda; and the remaining three by Saajana, son of Shtra. The compiler and supplementer of their labours seems to have been Rajasekhara. If this was the dramatist, a matter of some curiosity, in a literary point of view, now approaches its solution. Towards its conclusion, the inscription is much worn. Something is wholly abraded; and much more is impracticable of confident decipherment. The names Tripuri, Saubhagyapura, Lavana-
gara, and Durlabhapura are, however, perfectly legible; and so are those of the transcriber for engraving, Tunai, son of Vira, and of the engraver Nona, son of Sangana, artificer. But the most important loss by much is that of the date, which was dynastic. I hazard the conjecture that it corresponded to one of the early years of the twelfth century."

From this summary it appears that Professor Hall was inclined to look upon Kokalla as the same prince who is named in the Benares and Kumbhi copper-plates. But this identification seems to me to be quite impossible; and I think that the following facts are sufficient to prove that there were two Kokallas, who were separated by four intervening generations.

1.—The Kokalla of the Bilhari inscription is said to have defeated Krishna Rájá of the south, whom I take to be Krishna Ráshtrakuta, who certainly reigned about 860 to 880 A. D., as he was the fifth in descent from Dânti-Durgâ [inscription S. S. 675 = A. D. 753], and also the great grandfather of Govinda Ráshtrakuta [inscription S. S. 855 = A. D. 933]. In one of the Ráshtrakuta inscriptions,1 this Krishna Rájá is said to have married Mahâdevi, the daughter of Kokalla Rájá of Chedi, which further confirms the early date assigned to this Kokalla, whom I will hereafter designate as Kokalla I.

2.—In another Ráshtrakuta inscription2 the King Jagatrudra, son of Krishna, is stated to have married the two daughters of Sankaragana, Rájá of Chedi, and son of Kokalla I.

3.—In a third Ráshtrakuta inscription3 Indra Rájá is said to have married Dwijâmbâ, the great-grand-daughter of Kokalla I. Now, the date of Indra Rájá and his queen is fixed with certainty by an inscription of their son Govinda Rájá, in S. S. 855 = A. D. 933.

From these three inscriptions, which fix the date of his daughter, his grand-daughter, and his great-grand-daughter, there can be little doubt that the Krishna Rájá whom Kokalla I. encountered must have been the Ráshtrakuta prince who flourished from about 860 to 880 A. D.

There was also a fourth marriage connection of a Ráshtrakuta prince with a daughter of Chedi; but the name of the lady's father, Yuvarâjá, which means younger Rájá, or heir-apparent, leaves it uncertain whether the father of the

1 Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society, IV, 97.
3 Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, IV, 97.
princess Kandakā Devi was Lakshmana himself, or his younger son, each of whom bore the title of Yuvarājā. Amogha Varsha, the Rāṣṭhrakuta Rājā, was himself the great-grandson of Kokalla I, through his mother Govindambā, and was, therefore, of the same generation as Lakshmana. I incline rather to identify Kandakā Devi’s father with Lakshmana, as her grandson Amogha Varsha II was reigning in S. S. 894 = A. D. 972; so that she cannot well be placed later than A. D. 940, which is the approximate date of Lakshmana. The difference, however, amounts to one generation, or about 20 to 25 years.

The date of the second Kokalla will appear in the discussion on the later inscriptions of the Kulaḍhuri princes.

II.—KARĪTĀLAI INSCRIPTION.

This large inscription measures 4 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 8 inches, and contains 34 lines of well-formed Kutila characters. The stone is broken in several pieces, and the lower left-hand corner is missing, as well as some unknown portion at the top. There is no date now remaining; but the approximate date is known from the name of the King Lakshmana Rājā, the son of Yuvarājā Deva, who reigned from about A. D. 950 to 975.

The inscription opens with the name of Yuvarājā Deva and his minister Bhaka Misra. The son of the latter, named Someswara, became the guru of Yuvarājā’s son, Lakshmana, who is said to have erected a very high building with a tall flag, “threatening the birds of heaven.” The place, called Pāṭangir, was on a mountain, from which flowed a river. Rājā Lakshmana also bestowed 8 villages on 8 Brahmans, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To Bhānu Bhaṭṭa</th>
<th>Ehaḍa.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Chakrāhiri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sankara Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>[Name lost.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someswara Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>[Name lost.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhavalahara Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Dwādaskhānika grāma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Māḷādwadasa grāma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Sāyanaṽata gartīka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Khariwa grāma.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the same time several other Brahmans received “eleven yokes of land.”

1 This would appear to be the same place as Patkār of the Jabalpur copper-plate (No. 4 inscription), from which the river Karnavati is said to flow. There is a town called Patan, 18 miles west-north-west from Jabalpur on the direct road to Sāgār.

2 Village of the “twelve mines.”
III.—BENARES INSCRIPTION.

The Benares inscription, which is engraved on two large copper-plates, was found in a well in the Rájghát fort at Benares in the beginning of the present century. A summary of its contents was given by Wilford; but there is good reason to believe that this was inaccurate in some of its details. The copper-plates, which were lost for a long time, were re-discovered about 1362, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, Principal of the Benares College, I received a carefully made impression of the inscriptions, with a translation by one of the pupils of the College. During my stay in England I made over to Professor Hall both the impression and the translation; and I have now with me only a few of my own notes to refer to. From these I am able to state that the record was dated in Samvat 793 Phalgun badi 9 Some," which were the last words on the plate. This date was quite distinct, and it was not possible to read the figures of any other way. I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193; and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plate, as he states "the grant is dated in the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192."

Wilford's account of this inscription is given in the following extracts:

"A few years ago (in 1801), this grant was found at the bottom of an old well, filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraved on two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the imperial seal. It is of the same size, nearly, and in the same shape with that found at Monghir. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The imperial seal is about three inches broad. On it, in bas-relief, is Párvati with four arms, sitting with her legs crossed. Two elephants are represented—one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull Nandi, in a reclining posture; and before him is a basket. Between Párvati and the bull is written Sri Karna Deva. The grant is dated in the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192.

"The ancestors of Sri Karna Deva mentioned in the grant were, first, his father Gángeya Deva, with the title of Vijaya Kántaka; he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kokalla Deva, whose father was Lakshmana Rájá Deva.

"The famous Sri Karna Deva, in his grant, lately found at Benares, declares that he was of the Haihaya tribe, who lived originally on the banks of the Narmadá in the district of the western Gandh or Gaur, in the province of Malwa. Their residence was at Chauti Mahasana, 1

1 Asiatic Researches, IX, 106.
famous place of worship to this day on the Narmadâ, and built by one of his ancestors. The western Gaur was also the native country of a most respectable tribe of Brahmans called Sandila, who for several generations acted as prime ministers to the emperors of the Audhra tribe. That this was their native country is attested by Major Mackenzie in his account of the kings of Warangal. One of the thirty-six musical modes in India, and belonging to the superior Râga, or mode called Mâlava, is denominated Gaur from the country of Gauda, which was part of the province of Mâlava.

"For by Gauda we must not by any means understand Bengal, which, as far as I can recollect, is never thus called in any book I ever met with. Its metropolis is indeed called Gaudi, from the goddess of that name, who was worshipped there: hence it is with propriety called Gauri gâtha (Gorygaga) by Ptolemy. But Gauda, as the name of a country, does not seem to be in the least connected with that of the goddess Gaudi."

These extracts agree generally with the notes which I made from the Pandit’s translation already mentioned; but the original gives a longer genealogy, which most satisfactorily confirms my argument regarding the early date of the Chedi kings mentioned in the Bilhari grant. According to the Pandit’s reading, the genealogy was as follows:—

Kârttavirya Deva,
from whom descended the Haihayas.

Kokalla,
made Nandâ Devi Chandella.¹

Prasiddha Dhaivala.

Bâla Harsha.

[Yuvarâja Deva,
younger brother did not reign.]

Lakshmana.

Sankaragana.

[Yuvarâja Deva,
younger brother did not reign.]

Kokalla Deva,
lord of the earth.

Gânggeya Deva.

Karna Deva.

¹ I find the name of this famous clan thus written with double d in several inscriptions.
Here, then, we see that there were actually two Kokallas, as I have already deduced from a comparison of the Chedi line of kings in the Bilhari grant with that of the Râshr-stokuta princes, whose daughters intermarried with them. In both grants we find a Lakshmana Rájá, the grandson of Kokalla I, and the father of two sons named Sankaragana and Yuvarájá. It is true that the name of Mugdhatunga is widely different from Prasiddha Dhavala; but the royal fashion of having two or more names was so common at this period of Indian history, that the difference is of little moment when the names of the first, fourth and fifth generations are absolutely the same. In the third generation, also, Yuvarájá was the younger brother of Keyûra Varsha, and his own name is not known; but in both plates he is made the father of Lakshmana.

I may note, also, that in both the Bilhari and Benares grants, Kokalla I is said to have warred with Bhoja Rájá. This Bhoja is not the famous Rájá of Dhar, the pet of the Brahmans, who lived about A. D. 1000 to 1050, but the much greater Bhoja of Kanauj, whose rule extended from the confines of Kashmir to Mâlwa. He is mentioned in the Rájá Tarangini as a powerful chief adhirâj, who had over-run the country of Thakkiya, from which he was expelled by Sânkara Varmma between 883 and 901 A. D.² He is the Bhoja Deva of the Pahewa inscription which is dated in Samvat 276, and of the Benares copper-plate inscription of his son Mahendra Pâla Deva, which is dated in Samvat 315. These dates I refer to the era of Sri Harsha [or Harsha Varadhana of Kanauj], which began in A. D. 607. Bhoja’s date in the Pahewa inscription will, therefore, be A. D. 882, and that of his son, 921 A. D. This Bhoja is also the hero of my Gwalior inscription, which is dated in Samvat 933, or A. D. 876; and lastly, he was the possessor of Eastern Mâlwa, as I found an inscription bearing his name in the great fort of Deogarh to the east of Chanderi, which is dated in Samvat 919, and in Saka kâla 784, both in words and figures, equivalent to A. D. 862. It is certain, therefore, that this Bhoja Deva of Kanauj must have reigned from A. D. 860 to 890; and we may, therefore, safely fix his contemporary, Kokalla I, at 850 to 870 A. D.

¹ Thus Krishna Râjá was also called Upendra; and his grandson Vâkpati was also known as Amogha Varsha and Munja.
² Rájá Tarangini, V. v. 161. Thakkiya must be the district called Tse-kia or Tukria by Hwen-Than, and the Tukiya which was visited by Jaiyiya, son of Dhâhir, on his way from Sindh to Kashmir.
But there is still another evidence in favour of the early
date of the Kulachuri princes who are recorded in the Bil-
hari grant. One of the composers of the inscription was
Rajā Śekhara, who, as the name is an uncommon one, was
most probably the poet Rajā Śekhara whose patron was
Mahendra Pāla Rajā of Mahadayā or Kanauj. Now, I have
already noted that the inscription of Mahendra Pāla, the son
of Bhoja Deva of Kanauj, is dated in 921 A. D., which makes
him a contemporary of Lakshmana Kulachuri, the hero of
the Bilhari grant. For Lakshmana was the great-grandson
of Kokalla I; and was, therefore, of the same generation as
Indra Rajā and Amogha Varsha I, the two Rāṣṭrakuta
princes whose dates are absolutely known from copper-plate
inscriptions recorded in the Śaka era.

The complete accordance of the dates derived from all the
inscriptions previously quoted will be best seen by placing
the generations and their intermarriages side by side.

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KOKALLA I.


950 Dvijāmbā. x Indra Amogha Varsha I. x Kandaka Devi. Rāṣṭrakuta. Lakshmana.


1000 ... S. S. 995 = Amogha Varsha II x Vikramāditya ... Kokalla II. A. D. 933.

1055 ... ... S. S. 994 = A. D. 972 A. D. 1030 Gāṅggeya.

From these lists we learn with certainty that Kokalla II
was of the same generation as Amogha Varsha II Rāṣṭrakuta, who was reigning in A. D. 972; and that he was
the nephew of Vontha Devi, whose husband Vikramāditya
IV Chālukya died in A. D. 973. His generation, there-
fore, belongs to the period about 980 to 1000 A. D. That
this was his real date, we have further evidence in the fact,
that his father, Yuvrajā, had fought with Vākpati Rājā
of Dhār, three of whose dates, A. D. 974, 979, and 997, are
known. It is also recorded that Kokalla’s grandson Karna warred with Bhima Deva of Gujarat, A. D. 1022 to 1072; and with Bhoja Deva of Dhâr, of whom we have an inscription dated in A. D. 1021, and who is known to have been alive in A. D. 1042. But there is also an inscription of a Kokalla at Khajurâha, which is dated in Samvat 1058, or A. D. 1001, just two years after the death of Râjâ Dhanga Chandel. It seems probable, therefore, that Kokalla II. may have made a successful invasion of the Chandel territory after the accession of Ganda Râjâ, the son of Dhanga Gânggeya Deva, the son of Kokalla, probably reigned for only a short time; as nothing is recorded of him save that he died at Prayâga, or Allahabadd. Karna, the son of Gânggeya, may, therefore, have succeeded as early as 1020 A. D., or certainly not later than 1040, which agrees exactly with the notices already quoted, which make him a contemporary of Bhima Deva of Gujarat and of Bhoja Deva of Dhâr. His own inscription is dated in Samvat 793, on Monday, the 9th of the waning moon of Phâlgun. But this date is no doubt reckoned according to the era adopted by the Kulachuri Râjâs of Chedi, which in other inscriptions is called sometimes the Chedi Samvat and sometimes the Kulachuri Samvat.

The exact beginning of the Chedi Samvat has not yet been absolutely determined. If we take the year A. D. 1040 as the date of his accession, the initial-point of the Chedi Samvat will be A. D. 249; for 793 being the second year of his reign, the difference between 792 and 1040 is 218 years. By calculation, also, I find that in the year 1041 A. D., or 793 of the Chedi Samvat, according to this reckoning the 9th day of Phâlgun badi was a Monday. I find also that the same initial-point will exactly fit a second inscription from Râjim, in which the date is specially designated as the Kulachuri Samvat. This date is expressed as follows—

Kulachuri samvatsare 896 Mâgha masi
Sukla pakshe Rathashtamam Budha dine.

A second inscription from Seorinârâyan is also dated in the Kulachuri Samvat in the year 898, Aswin sudi some. A

1 See Professor Hall in Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, XXX, p. 197, for A. D. 974; and XIX, p. 475, for A. D. 979.
2 This is the inscription noted in Asiatic Society’s Researches, XV, p. 505, as being dated in Samvat 798; but the first figure is clearly 8, as indeed had been suggested by Wilson.
third inscription, also from Scorinārāyan, gives its date as "Chedi Samvat 919." And a fourth inscription from Kharod is dated in "Chedi Samvat 933." It is to be noted that these four inscriptions, in which the name of the era is specially distinguished as the Chedi or Kulachuri Samvat do not belong to the Chedi Haihayas of Tripuri, but to the Rātvāvali Haihayas, or eastern branch of the family which ruled over Mahā Kosala, with Ratanpur for its capital. In all the inscriptions of the Kulachuris of Chedi that I have yet seen, the date is simply recorded as Samvat without any distinctive name; but, from the synchronisms which I have already brought forward, there can be no doubt that the whole of their inscriptions are dated in the Samvat which bears their names.  

IV.—JABALPUR INSCRIPTION.

This important inscription was engraved on two plates of copper, each 18 by 12 inches. The plates were transferred to the Nāgpur Museum, where a Nāgari transcript was made by some one imperfectly acquainted with the characters. The first plate is still in the Museum; but the second, which contained both the date and the name of the reigning prince, has been stolen. This is the more unfortunate, as both the date and the king’s name beyond all doubt have been wrongly rendered in the Nāgari transcript. The latter is given as Śri Makeṣa Karna, which I can correct to Śri mad Gaya Karna; but the date I am unable to restore. It is given in the transcript as Samvat 529; and is quoted by Mr. Grant as Samvat 528, with a suspicion that it may have been wrongly read. Now Gaya Karna’s grandfather, Karna Deva, began to reign in the year 792 of the Chedi Samvat; and Gaya Karna himself, who was reigning in 902 of the same era, had been succeeded by his son, Nara Sinha Deva, before 907. The three generations had, therefore, just covered one whole century; and Gaya Karna’s reign must be fixed from about

1 Sir William Sleeman, however, states that “there is a stone inscribed by Rājā Karna on the dedication of a temple at Jabalpur dated Samvat 943,” Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, VI, 625, note. If the figures have been read correctly, the date must be reckoned in the Saka era, which would make 943 × 78 = 1021 A. D. for Rājā Karna.
2 The same fatality has attended many of the inscribed copper-plates in the Museum of the Bengal Asiatic Society.
870 to 903 of the Chedi Samvat. Perhaps 879 was the actual date on the plate.

In the first plate we have the usual genealogy of the Kulachuri kings of Chedi from Yuvarája Deva, through Kokalla [whose name was read as Kokasya], Gággeya Deva, Karna Deva, and Yaśa Karna Deva, the father of Gáyá Karna Deva. The last words on this plate are—

Parama bhaṭṭāraka Mahárajádhikśirája
parameswara Śrī Vama Deva pá—

which are continued in the transcript of the second plate.—

dānudhyāta 1 parama bhaṭṭāraka Mahárajádhikśirája Maheswara parama
maheswara trikalingaḥdhipati nijā bhūjo parjistáśwapati, gajapati,
narapati rājya triyādhipati Śrī mad. GAYA-KARNA-DEVA.

The whole of this string of titles is applied in the Kumbhi copper-plates to Viśaya Sinha Deva, and I may add that the first eleven slokas of the Kumbhi plates are word for word the same as the first eleven slokas of the Jabalpur plates. In these, however, we have a much longer account of Yaśa Karna, besides an additional sloka given to Karna Deva.

Of Gánggeya Deva, it is said that he died at the foot of the banyan tree [the famous akshay baṭ] at Prayāga, along with 150 of his wives.² His son Karna Deva built a fort named Karna Meru, from which flowed the river Karnavati (the Kiyan or Cain river). His son was Yaśa Karna Deva, at whose accession the Ránis of Húna race were joyful. He worshipped Bhimeswara Deva. His son was Rájá Gaya Karna, who, with his queen, his son, his minister, his general, his family priest, his treasurer (and several other officials), having bathed in the Narmadá at the time of the Makar-Sankránt on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Māgh in the Samvat year ***, made a grant of the village of Patinkar in the division of Jâuli-patan (the present Jabalpur) to a Brahman named Hari Šarma, the son of Nágo and grandson of Bhava.

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¹ Read as pddánvira.
² The original words, as copied by the Nagpur Pandit are—" prāpti Prayāga vata
mula neveau valla, Saridham satena grihiňbhīra matri mukti. I presume that it must have
been a passage similar to this which Wilford had before him in the Karna Deva inscription,
and which he translated as "he died in a loathsome dungeon." I suppose that he may have
read garhini instead of grihini.
V.—YASAH-KARNA INSCRIPTION.

This inscription on copper was first published by Professor Hall, with a short abstract of its contents, which contains all that is worth preserving—

"We are here told," he says, "that in Anno Vikr. 1177, corresponding to A. D. 1120, a transfer of landed interest was made in presence of King Govinda Chandra of Kanauj, and his court. The property that exchanged hands, the village of Karanda, and the talla of Karanda, in the pattal of Antarâla, passed from the possession of Bhatâraka Rudrasiva, a royal chaplain, into that of the Thakkur Vasishtha. Rudrasiva, it is stated, was invested with his estate by Raja Yasahkarna. It can scarcely be questioned that this was the ruler of Chedi, and how could the king of Kanauj have had authority, save as the result of conquest, over soil which was once under his control?"

Professor Hall is, no doubt, right in identifying this Raja Yasahkarna with the king of Chedi, as the two kingdoms of Kanauj and Chedi were conterminous for a long distance, somewhere about the latitude of Rewa. As the grant is said to have been made to the very person who transfers it, we have a limit to the period by which Yasahkarna's grant must have preceded its transfer. It may be accepted, I think, as quite certain, that Rudrasiva, the family priest, was not under 30 years of age when he received the grant, and as very nearly certain that he was not over 60 years when he made the transfer. Raja Yasahkarna of Chedi must therefore have been reigning within 30 years of A. D. 1120, or in A. D. 1090, which agrees with the period which I have already assigned to him on other evidence, from A. D. 1070 to 1100.

The district of Antarâla, in which Karanda was situated, I believe to be the country immediately to the east of Rewa, or the "included space" [Antarâla], lying between the Kaimur hills on the south, and the nameless range which bounds the right bank of the Tons river. This valley is conterminous with the Kantit district of Mirzapur, which must always have belonged to the Râthors of Kanauj. The Antarâla here mentioned is, perhaps, the same district as the Antarapatta of Raja Hastin's inscription, as the country about Rewa must almost certainly have formed part of his dominions.

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VI.—TEWAR INSRIPTION.

This inscription, which is only 14\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches by 13 inches, is engraved on a light-green stone. The letters are small, and are generally in good order. It mentions Gaya Karna as the reigning king, and his son Nara Sinha Deva as the Yuva Raja, or heir apparent. I read the date as 902 of the Chedi Samvat. The word sat is spelt with the wrong s, but as it is preceded by nava, “nine,” and is followed by the name of the month and day, there can be no doubt that it is intended for sat, or “hundred.”

The inscription simply records that in the time of Raja Gaya Karna Deva, and his son Nara Sinha Deva, the Yuva Raja, a certain Brahman, named Bhava-brahma, built a temple to Mahâdeva; and that Prithivi-dhara, the son of Dharanidhara composed the inscription. The date is discussed in another place. I read it as Wednesday (Budhe), the 1st of Jyeshtha Sudi, Samvat 902 (of the Chedi era).

VII.—BHERA-GHAT INSRIPTION.

We are fortunate in having a complete translation of this inscription by the competent pen of Professor Hall.\(^1\) It is dated in the year 907 of the Chedi Samvat, and records the building of a temple to Siva under the name of Indu Mauli, or “Moon-crested,” under the name of Vaidyanâtha, together with a matha, or cloister, and a vyakhânasâla, or “hall of learning,” with gardens, attached to the temple. I have already discussed the probability of this temple being the present Chaunsat Jogini of Bhera Ghât. I have also a strong suspicion that the name of Bhera Ghât may have been derived from that of Vaidyanâtha. In speaking of the bathing place, the name would certainly have been shortened, by the omission of nátha, to Baidya-Ghât which might easily have been corrupted to the present form of Bhera, or Bheda Ghât. Queen Alhanâ Devi, the builder, was the widowed queen of Gaya Karna Deva. Her father was Raja Vijaya Sinha, Ruler of Mewâr, who married Syâmalâ Devi, the daughter of Udayâditya, king of Mâlwa. She was therefore a direct representative of two of the most famous royal families of mediaeval India, the Gohilas of Mewâr and the Pramâras of Mâlwa. Her marriage with Gaya Karna shows

\(^1\) American Oriental Society’s Journal, —VI,—p. 509.
that the Kulachuris of Chedi were of equal social rank with the highest Rajput races.

Two villages are mentioned as having been made over for the maintenance of the temple. One named Undi in the canton of Jāūli, is most probably the present village of Undia, five miles to the south-south-west of Bhera Ghāt. There is, however, another village named Emteea in the map, which is only one mile and a half to the south-east of Bhera Ghāt, which may perhaps dispute the claim of Undia. The second village called Makarapataka, situated at the base of the hills to the south of the Narmodā, I have failed to identify.

As this inscription relates the genealogy of the Kulachuris from Kokalla downwards, and is mainly devoted to an account of their exploits and marriages, I will here give the full translation made by Professor Hall:—

"Om! Glory to Siva!

"1. May the lunar digit on the brow of the Moon-bedecked, which digit, though but one and individual, yet even in the absence of evening, constantly begets the conviction, as pertains to the opulent in attendants, that it is the second, augment your prosperity, and preserve it unimpaired!

"2. May the ranges of sacred watering-booths—chafed by the creeping and leaping waves of the celestial river which meanders on the head of Siva—protect you. Is it lines of white lotuses that present themselves? Or divisions of the moon? Or germs of virtuous deeds? Or else, the sloughs of serpents? Or, again, eruptions of ashes? Thus are they made the subject of speculation by the immortals.

"3. That which is a pure pervading element; that by whose revolutions the earth is illuminated; that which imparts happiness to the eyes of the world; that which is the cause of diversity among savors and the like, whose inhesion is in the terrene; that which is a receptacle surcharged with odor; he that sacrifices; that which is absolutely cold; and that which is tactile, but devoid of color: may Siva, by virtue of these material forms, defend you.

"4. May Nilakantha—exciting, by the display of his javelin and battle-axe, affection in his votaries; the smeared with camphor; and exultant in his dance—confer on you all objects of desire.

"5. May the Elephant-faced—counterfeiting ivory whiter than the jessamin, in bearing a lunar fragment potent to dispel the darkness of multitudinous impediments, and free from the smallest stain—compassionately accord to you supreme felicity.

6. "May Saraswati—practising, with manifold elocution, all her devices; and by employing though but the minutest rudiment of whose blandishments, men inspire, in assemblies, the highest reverence—support you.
7. "In the lunar line there was a sovereign, by name Arjuna: possessor of a thousand arms; a fire by night and day, in subduing the hearts, one after another, of all dwellers in the three worlds; by his effulgence putting contempt on other monarchs; and, by the recollection of whom, things long ago lost, or taken by thieves, are even to this day recovered.

8. "Among his descendants arose Kakalla Deva, a famous lord of earth, whose story, though most wonderful, is yet not mythical, wearing a majestic aspect, and whose name, invoked, was the sole resort that produced joy to the triple universe.

9. "From him sprung King Gângeya Deva, who, by the discomfiture of hostile princes, sustaining huge mountains of pride, acquired infinite distinction, and who, an all-bestowing tree to suppliants, as making Mount Meru unworthy of similitude, placed this earth, though lying below, above elysium, and rendered it a fit habitation for the gods.

10. "The vine of whose renown—a vine sprinkled with the nectar of meritorious achievements, and promotive of pure excellence—expanded itself over the entire pavement of the cosmic egg.

11. "Of him—who replenished with gold the ocean of importunities of his crowd of petitioners; and of coveted celebrity—was born King Karna.

12. "Which king, unprecedented in splendour, maintaining the full energy of heroism, the Pândya discontinued violence; the Murala renounced all inclination of arrogance; the Kanga negotiated an audience; the Vanga, with the Kalingas, was solicitous to do thereafter; the Kîra, like a parrot, stayed in his house, as a cage, and the Hûna dismissed his elation.

13. "Princes at variance with him; whose consorts severally thus protested: 'This whole country, which he enjoys in consequence of the defeat of our lords; will we, as it were, diminish to view: for that, by the tears springing from our eyes, we have made great the seas; and we have, moreover, aggrandized them by the surpassing water of our jewels.'

14. "From him the illustrious Yasah Karna derived his honorable origin: who lighted up the circuit of the quarters with the moon of the fame which accrued to him from devastating Chanpâ-ranya; whose heart was free from crookedness; pre-eminent esteem, enriched them by his munificence.

15. "From him a treasure of the perfection of all virtues, inscrutable, sprung King Gaya Karna Deva; the very sun of whose grandeur availed to bring about the uprising of a sea of desolation to the wives of his foes.

16. "A monarch was he, who, in brightness of complexion, outrivalled ornament; who was a cornucopia of probity, a garland of diffusive merits, the one destroyer of the hordes of his enemies, of unsullied splendour in battle, restraining the wicked by his beaming glory, and whose sword was of the keenest.

"The race of the sons of Gobhila is of note among the nations. Therein was born King Hansapâla; by whose thronging armaments equipped with gallantry, and irresistible the marshalled squadrons of all combined antagonists were humiliated.
18. "The issue of his body was the fortunate King Vairisinha; whose feet were tinged by the reflection of the head-gems in the frontlets of all tributary chieftains, prostrate in act of fealty, a repository of faultless wisdom, but not, indeed, an asylum to imperious suitors.

19. "He, Vairisinha, moreover, consigned the kinsmen of his adversaries to the recesses of deep caverns, and entering in person, caused that their women neglected their tresses altogether.

20. "Of him was born King Vijayasinha; the good fortune of whose foes was overborne by the pressure of his comeliness and chivalry deserving the congratulations of all the people; and the moon of whose glory was waxing in the world continually.

21. "Syamalâ Devi, the beauteous daughter of Udayâditya, supreme ruler of the realm of Malâva, was his consort; a talisman of bountiful courses, and lauded for her elegance.

22. "Of him King Vijayasinha, equal to the custody of the world, was borne by her, Alhanâ Devi; in presentment the spotless, fluttering pennon of her long descended lineage: as the wife of Sankara had her origin from the Master of mountains, by Menâ, and as the spouse of Sûhrabâhu sprang from Daksha, creator of the human family by Vêrinâ.

23. "King Gaya Karna, celebrating nuptial rites with her, bestowed on her the highest affection; even as Sânkara on Siva.

24. "She a mansion of erotic sentiment, the pinnacle-ball of accomplishments, a wreath of loveliness, the emporium of excellencies, brought forth, by King Gaya Karna, a son, King Narasinha Deva.

25. "Of him, the prosperous King Narasinha Deva, may the resplendent moon of glory as it were imbue the walls of the directions with grateful store of refreshing nectar. And may the earth, obtaining in him a fitting protector, thus enjoy content, as that of foregone mighty monarchs it shall take no slightest thought.

26. "May his younger brother Jayasinha Deva in wondrous wise doing honor to his brother, the first-born; like as far Rama regard was had by Saumitri—be eminently victorious; who strong-armed, defeated his enemies' hosts, strepitant as thundering clouds, teeming with strategy, and comprising warriors of most stalworth frames. Bravo!

27. "That lady the open-handed Alhanâ Devi, mother of the happy Narasinha Deva, occasioned this sanctuary of Indumauli to be erected, and this cloister, with its admirable pavement.

28. "The same by the agency of her commissioners constructed this hall of learning and line of gardens, wanting for nothing, in two ranges attached to the temple of Sâmbhu.

29. "To this divinity, entitled Vaidyanâtha, the queen—to the end that her good deeds might be blazoned set—apart the village known by the name of Undî in the canton of Jâuli, with all the dues exigible therefrom.

30. "In like manner she appropriated another village, called Makarapâtaka, situated at the base of the hills, on the south bank of Narmadâ.
31. "Let the auspicious Rudrarasi, a Pashupata ascetic, of the Lata race, and his heirs spiritual, fitly administer the duties of the charge of this establishment, till Sambhu shall mete out the duration of the spheres.

32. "In the family of Maunin connected with three branches, those of Bhargava, Vaitahavya, and Savetasa was born of Maheshwara so called one Dharanidhara by name; a person of worship, repute, and good presence.

33. "By whom adorned with seemly radiance as his frontlet, replete with exuberance of exalted tenderness, and whose gratifying condition long endured the three worlds were, so to speak, irradiated.

34. "His son Prithwidhara—who has scanned the further shore of the profound main of all science, and whose concourse of disciples has conquered scholastically the round of quarters—transcribed this encomium.

35. "His Prithwidhara's younger brother, of singular skill among such as are conversant in logic, the learned Sasidhara, as was his appellation, composed this memorial.

36. "All this the artificer called Pithe, proficient in the ordinance of Visvakarman, has regulated, as Prithu disposed the earth.

37. "Mahidhara, son of the chief craftsman, Balsinha, wrought this stone with characters; as the firmament is bestrewn with stars, Sunday, the 11th day of the light fortnight of Marga, in the year 907."

VIII.—Bharhut Inscription.

This inscription is valuable, as showing that the rule of the Kulachurhi Kings extended certainly as far north as Bharhut, about half-way between Jabalpur and Allahabad. The first four lines of the inscription give the titles of Narasinha Deva in exactly the same words as are applied to his father Gaya Karna Deva on the Jabalpur copper plates, and to his nephew Vijaya Sinha on the Kumbhi copper-plates. The following is the text of the record which contains several mistakes such as battarakaka and Buddha for bhattraka and Budhe, and others, which show that the inscriber was probably ignorant as well as careless.

1. Swasti Sri parna bhattachara maharajadhiraiparameswra Sri
2. Vama-deva padauddhyata para para batcharaka maharajadhheraja para
3. meswara para maheswra Tri-Kalingadhipati nija bhujo parjita A
4. Swapati, Gajapati, Narapati, raja triyadhipati Sriman NARA
5. SINHA-DEVA charanah Vidyaav gramaakaya mahara
6. Ja-putra Sri Kesavaditya putra Ballala Deva kasya bahah
7. Samvat 909 Sravana Sudi 5 Budhe.

In a separate line below are the words;

Rat Sri Ballala Deva. The record was engraved by order of Prince Ballala Deva, the son of Kesavaditya and grandson of Rajar Nara-Sinha Deva.

1 Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VIII, 483.
IX.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

This inscription is now deposited in the Nagpur Museum. It measures 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 10 inches, and contains 27 lines of closely packed letters, but the whole is so weather-worn as to be in many parts quite illegible, and in others very difficult to decipher. It was seen by Professor Hall in Jabalpur, who gives the following account of it:1—

"When passing through the station of Jabalpur in February of last year [1858], I found in the museum at that place a somewhat weather-worn inscription, hitherto inedited, of the same class as those which precede. Unhappily I had neither leisure nor health to take a copy of it. The date it bears is Samvat 926."

Samvat Shabdradalvatara navasatoblepi 926.

Its poet was Sashihara, son of Dharamidhar; and it makes mention of Namadeva, son of Mahidhara, as a Sutrakara. Three of these names we have met with in the record of 907. At the foot of the stone, the ensuing benediction, in the Arya measure, is legible without difficulty.

Yavat suryachandran yatayata namhaste tapatah tavat kirtanametat kirtiyai kartuhi sthriam chuyat.

"As long as the sun and moon, going and returning, shall shine in the firmament, so long may this eulogy endure, conducing to the renown of the doer of the transaction herein memorialized."

I have found the name of Jaya Sinha Deva in both the 24th and 25th lines, and the tribal name of Kulachuri-Kula in the middle of the 13th line. A more minute examination would no doubt reveal other names of the rulers of Chedi, but the result would hardly repay the trouble.

X.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

Both the discovery and the translation of this short inscription are due to Professor Hall.2 It is dated in the year 928 [of the Chedi Samvat] while Nara Sinha Deva was still reigning. The record is so short that I may give its translation in full—

1.—"We render homage to the supreme Brahmá, who is intellect and felicity; adored by Brahmá and the other inferior deities; Mahádeva, god of gods, parent of the world.

2.—"The son of the fortunate King Gayá Karna, the auspicious King Nara Sinha Deva, has conquered the earth. May the fortunate Jaya Sinha Deva, his younger brother, long be triumphant.

1 American Oriental Society's Journal, VI, 533.
3.—"Keśava, son of the late Aladeva Astaka, the Brahman so called, procured this temple of Iswara to be constructed.

"In the year 928, Sunday, the 6th day of the light fortnight of Srāvana; the moon being in the asterism Hasta.

"Family name of Keśava the collector Kātyāna; his residence, the village of Sikhā, in Mālavaka."

This inscription is valuable for its date, as we learn from another inscription dated in S. 932, that both Nara Sinha and his brother Jaya Sinha had died in the short interval of four years. But that Jaya outlived his brother and reigned for a brief period, we learn from the following inscription.

XI.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

This nearly perfect inscription is 3 feet 6 inches long by 1 foot 8 inches broad, and contains 21 lines. It is unfortunately broken right across near the middle, but the fracture is so clean that very few, if any, of the letters are lost. It opens with the usual invocation to Śiva and ends with the words Kritastyā jyateḥ. The genealogy opens with the descent of the Kulachuri kings from Atri, but the details begin with Yuva Rāja Deva, after whom follow Kokalla, Gāngeya Deva, Karnā Deva, Yasah Karnā, Gayā Karnā, Nara Sinha and his brother Jaya Sinha. The inscription was recorded during the reign of Jaya Sinha, who is called Srimān Mahitriyā Jaya Sinha Deva in one place and Kshitiyāti and Nripati in others. The genealogy of Alhanā Devi, the queen of Gayā Karnā, is the same as that recorded in the Bhera Ghāṭ inscription; but the wording is somewhat different. In that record her mother Śyāmala Devi is called the daughter of Udayāditya, king of Mālava, Mālavamaṇḍalādāthināthodayāditya-sutā, while in the present inscription she is said to be the "daughter of Udayāditya, lord of Dhāra,"

Dhārādhiṣodayāditya-sutā.

We thus learn that Dhāra, and not Ujain, was the capital of Udayāditya.

I cannot find any date, nor do I see the name of Vijaya Sinha Deva, the son of Jaya Sinha, who, as we know from the Kumbhi inscription, had already succeeded his father in the year 932 of the Chedi era. The date of the present record is therefore fixed between the narrow limits of the four years 928 to 932.
XII.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, on a dark reddish-brown stone, is in two pieces, measuring 2 feet 4 inches in breadth by 2 feet in height. But each piece is imperfect at the top, and on one side, what remains is in fair order, and consists of 25 lines, wanting at both beginning and end. I have, however, managed to make out that it was a record of Jaya Sinha Deva during his short reign, which was limited between the year 928, when his elder brother Nara Sinha was still reigning, and 932, when we know that his son Vijaya Sinha Deva had ascended the throne. I find the name of Sri Yasahka [r]na Deva] in the 11th line; but that of Sriman Jaya [Sinh Deva] had already appeared in the 7th line; and in the 16th line he is distinctly entitled king [nripat];

Samara Sahasra Jayi Jaya Sinha Deva nripatirijayati. Further, in the 18th line I find his son’s name—

Jayastu Vijaya Sinha.

This record may therefore be placed about the year 930 of the Chedi Samvat.

XIII.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

The only notice of this inscription is due to Professor Hall. He found two undeciphered inscriptions in the Jabalpur museum—

“But both too nearly worn out ever to be read in their entirety. The later, dated in the year 931 of an unknown era, exhibits the names of king Gayâ Karna, of Saśidhara, pandit and poet, and of the engraver Nâma Deva, of Mahidhara.”

As I could not find any trace of this inscription at Jabalpur, I conclude that it must have been removed to the Nâgpur museum, where, however, I failed to find it.

XIV.—KUMBHI INSCRIPTION.

The text and translation of this inscription were first published in 1839; but the reading was so full of errors that its revision was happily undertaken by Professor Hall in 1862. According to my information, the two copper-plates on

1 Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, 1861, p. 323, note.
which the inscription is engraved were found at Kochnâr, a small village 1\frac{1}{2} mile from Kumbhi, on the Heran or Hiran-yavati river. They are said to have been a pair of small plates and to have been discovered by a Kurmi Zamindar when digging a koh, or grain-pit, outside his house. I heard also that a second pair of large copper-plates were found about 1865 by a Baisâkhî Kol. They had no ring or seal. It seems probable that the last pair were the Jabalpur plates which I have already described.

As the Kumbhi inscription is rather a long one, I gladly avail myself of Professor Hall’s abstract, which contains all that is worth preserving for historical purposes.

"The inscription begins with a doxology to Vishnu; to the lotus of his navel; to Brahmâ, who originated therefrom; to Brahmâ’s son Atri, and to the moon which emanated from one of Atri’s eyes. From the moon, by a daughter of the sun, sprung Bodhana; and from him was born Purûravas, who had to wife Urvasî and Earth. Among the descendants of Purûravas was Bharata. To him the Haihayas traced their origin; and from these came Kârtavîrya, the founder of the family of Kulachuri. To this family belonged the last dynasty that dominated over Chedi."

"Beginning with Yuvarâja, father of Kokalla, and ending with Ajaya Sinha, heir-apparent, the line of kings recorded in the inscription is so well known that their names need not be repeated. Of their family we are here furnished with a few facts, additional to those which I have detailed on former occasions. Gângeya died at Prayâga or Allahabad, and we are led to infer that his wives, amounting in round numbers to a hundred, underwent cremation with the mortal remains of their lord. Karna built the city of Karnavati. The consort of Gayâkarna or Gayakarna was Alhanâ; and that of Vijaya Sinha was Gosâl. The appellations of these two ladies have hitherto been misrepresented.

"A crown-village Choralâyi, in the pattalâ of Sambalâ, is transferred by the relique under notice, a legal document. The donor is Gosâl, on the part of her son Ajaya Sinha, a minor. The donee is a learned Brahman, one Sidha, son of Chhiktû, son of Sûharna, son of Jânârâdan. Six royal functionaries are enumerated in the grant; and the official designations are added of three more whose names are not specified.

"The present inscription is, by one year, the latest, as yet brought to light, published by the Haihaya rulers in Central India. We learn from it, that the capital of those potentates, from the very first, was Tripûrî; and that their kingdom, so long as they are known to have possessed it, was called Chedi. We find it set forth that "in that Kulachuri family was a monarch, eminent among the just, His Majesty Yuvarâja,—a young lion in destroying odour-bearing elephants, i. e., pride-blind kings,—who sanctified Tripûrî, resembling the city of Purandara."


In the 23rd verse of this inscription we have the distinct announcement, that Jaya Sinha had succeeded his brother on the throne of Chedi—

*Sri Jaya Sinha Deva nripati rājyabhīshekam nripa.*

Here we have not only the title of king (*nripa*), but a proof of his inauguration or coronation in the term ‘abhīsheka.’ The grant was made during the reign of his son Raja Vijaya Sinha in the year 932 of the Chedi Samvat, Prince Ajaya Sinha being the heir-apparent.

**XV.—GOPALPUR INSCRIPTION.**

The first notice of this inscription is also due to Professor Hall, who was informed that the tablet was broken in an attempt to remove it. It is still at Gopālpur, a village 2 miles to the south-east of Bhera Ghat, where my copies were taken. The stone is 4 feet 6 inches in length by 1 foot 9 inches in breadth, and contains 21 lines. It is very much injured in the lesser half, which forms the left side, and in the right half it is in many places weather-worn and indistinct. Professor Hall gives some portions of the text, on which he remarks—

"Here we have the names of Arjuna, the thousand-armed, of Kulachuri, Karna, Yasāh, Karna, Jaya Sinha, Gosalā, and Vijaya Sinha, and these names indicate that the inscription is Chedian, and of nearly the same date with that of the inscription printed at large from Kumbhi."

It has no date, as noticed by Professor Hall; but the name of *Sri Vijaya Sinha Deva Nripa*, which occurs in the 16th line, shows that it cannot be earlier than the year 932 of the Chedi era.

**XVI.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.**

This is only a fragment of an inscription on a dark-green stone, found at one of the stone-cutter’s houses in Tewar. It is only 10 inches long and 8 inches broad, with parts of eleven lines of inscription, including a part of the first line. It is broken on both sides. I notice it here, because some one hereafter may chance to find other pieces, which would help to complete it. I see the name of Tripura in the 7th

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1 Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXXI, 113, and VIII, 483.
line, and of Sinhapura in the 8th line. I find also the name of Bhima Pāla and of Mahā Samudra in the 4th line. The characters are a little more than half inch in height, and of the square form usually found in the later inscriptions of Nara Sinha and his brother Jaya Sinha.

From all these inscriptions I have compiled the following genealogy of the Kulachuri Rajas of Chedi, beside which, for the sake of ready reference and comparison, I have arranged the genealogies of the kings of all the neighbouring countries, including the Rāhtors of Kanauj, the Pramāras of Mālwa, the Gobhilas of Mewār, and the Chandels of Mahoba. On the left I have given the approximate dates at the rate of 25 years for each generation, and under each name I have placed the actual dates of the Christian era. In the three known instances of long reigns, those of Govinda Rāthor, Bhoja Pramāra, and Dhanga Chandella, there is some discrepancy when compared with the approximate dates, but it will be seen that these are speedily rectified in succeeding generations.

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A comparison of this list with that previously given of the intermarriages between the Kulachuris and Rāshtrakutas will most fully establish the approximate dates which I
have assigned to the Kulachuri kings. Perhaps a somewhat higher rate than 25 years per generation might be allowed; but after a rather extensive scrutiny I have found that 25 years is as nearly as possible the exact average of an Indian generation. Out of 16 families, counting 141 generations, the total duration was 3,442 years, which gives an average of 24.41 years to each generation. The means vary from 20.25 years to 28.75 years. Occasionally there may be three or four long generations, as amongst the Mughals from Akbar's accession in 1556 to Aurangzeb's death in 1707, there were four generations, covering 151 years, which gives the very high average of 37.5 years to a generation. But these four reigns were very exceptional, as Akbar was only 13 years old when he ascended the throne, and Aurangzeb was nearly 90 years old when he died, and the true average was obtained after the next 12 years, when two more generations had disappeared, so that six generations had passed away in 163 years, giving only 27 years to each. I am therefore satisfied that the rate of 25 years is a very near average whenever the number of generations exceeds five or six.

The following notes regarding the kings of Chedi are taken partly from their own inscriptions, and partly from those of the neighbouring princes, with whom they fought or formed alliances. The information thus obtained is not very extensive, but it covers a long period of the history of Central India, of which little or nothing was previously known. It is, however, both exact and trustworthy, two rare qualities in early Indian history.

The Kulachuris, or Kalachuris, for the name is written both ways, claim to be descended from the Moon through Atri and Yadu. They are, therefore, Somvansi Yadavas. From Yadu was descended Haihaya, who gave his name to the Haihayas, and from him Kārtavirya, who in every inscription is stated to be the founder of the Kulachuri family. The origin of this name is quite unknown; but it is undoubtedly old, as it is found in an inscription of the Chālukyas as early as the reign of Mangala, or Mangalisa, the son of Pulakesi before A. D. 550. This king boasts of having overcome Buddha Raja, the son of Sankaragana. The latter name is a rare one, and the only other examples of it known to me are in the Kulachuri family. But as a later inscription of the Chālukyas describes the fierce Mangalisa as "ravishing the power of the Kulachuris like a
thunderbolt," there can be little doubt that the two names of Sankaragana and Buddha belong to the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi. In a third inscription the Chalukyas claim to have acquired the kingdom of the princes of the Kulachuri dynasty.

But the kingdom of the Kulachuris must have been established at least three centuries before the time of Mangalisa Chalukya, as the dates of their inscriptions all refer to a period close to A. D. 249 as the initial point of the Kulachuri, or Chedi, Samvat. The inscription of Mangalisa is dated at full length, but the numeral word is unfortunately doubtful. It was read as chahatavara by General Legrand Jacob, but I think it must be intended for Chaturtha Samvatsara, the 4th year, which would be about A. D. 533. We thus get a glimpse of the Kulachuris just three centuries after their first establishment, and then all becomes dark again for about three centuries more, when Kokalla Deva I. appears upon the scene. But from his time until the Muhammadan conquest, a period of nearly four hundred years, we have a very complete genealogy of the family.

1.—Kokalla Deva I. His name is placed at the head of the detailed genealogy in both the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions. In the latter he is said to have married Nanda Devi Chandella; and in both he is stated to have warred with Bhoja Deva, who is called a Raja of the West. The Bilhari stone also makes him war with Krishna Raja in the South.1 The former prince I have identified with Bhoja Deva I. of Kanauj, whose date ranges from A. D. 860 to 900. His earliest inscription, which is engraved on a temple pillar in the great fort of Deogarh near Chanderi, is dated in Samvat 919, in figures only, and also in Saka Kalà 784, both in words and in figures. Both dates correspond with A. D. 862. His next inscription is engraved inside a rock temple in the fort of Gwalior. It is dated in Samvat 933 both in words and figures, equivalent to A. D. 876.2 A third inscription is at Pahewa, or Prithudaka, to the west of Thanesar. This is dated in the year 276, which, as Bhoja was a king of Kanauj, I have referred to the era of Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj beginning with 607 A. D. The date of this inscription will therefore be 882 A. D. A fourth inscrip-

1 Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXXI, p. 321 and p. 325, sloka 17.
2 Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXXI, 398.
tion of his son Mahendra Pâla Deva, on a copper-plate found at Benares, bears the date of S. 315, which referred to the Harsha era, places Mahendra in A. D. 921, and his father Bhoja about A. D. 900.

Bhoja Raja is also mentioned in the Raja Tarangini as having over-run the country of Thakkiya in the Panjáb about the beginning of the reign of Sankara Varmma of Kashmir—863 to 901 A. D. Thakkiya is no doubt the same district as the Tâki of Hwen Thsang, close to Sangala in the Panjáb, and the Tâkiya of the Sindh chronicles, which was visited by Jaisiya, son of Dâhir, on his way from Sindh to Kashmir. As lord of the Eastern Panjáb and the district of Thanesar, Bhoja Deva of Kanauj was fully entitled to be styled lord of the West. But I believe that the west in the notice of Kokalla’s fight with Bhoja refers simply to the direction from which Bhoja advanced. The fort of Deogarh near Chanderi, in which was found Bhoja’s inscription of A. D. 862, lies 150 miles to the north-west of Tewar or Tripura. In this direction therefore the two kings may have come into conflict at any time between A. D. 860 and 900.

With regard to Krishna Raja of the south, I have already noted that he must be identified with Krishna II. Râshtrakuta, who is recorded in another inscription to have married Mahâdevi, the daughter of Kokalla. This is shown conclusively in the first table giving the intermarriages of the Kulachuris and Râshtrakutas. Now, Krishna’s date can be fixed with some certainty to the period between 870 and 890 A. D. by the ascertained dates of the inscriptions of Govinda Raja and Amogha Varsha II. The first was his great-grandfather, whose date is A. D. 808; the second was his great-grandson whose date is A. D. 933. The interval is 125 years, which gives nearly 21 years to each prince, and assigns Krishna to the period between 871 and 892 A. D.

The reign of Kokalla I. as derived from the dates of his contemporaries Bhoja and Krishna, may therefore be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A. D.

2. —Mugdhatunga is the name of Kokalla’s son and successor in the Bilhari inscription; but in the Benares copper-plate he is called Prasiddha Dhavala. The two names, however, must belong to the same person, as in each record he is

1 Bombay Asiatic Society’s Journal, IV, 97.
made the grandfather of Lakshmana, and the great-grandfather of Sankaragana and Yuvaraja. The exploit related of Mugdhatunga is that "he wrested Pâli from the lord of Kosala." The approximate date of his reign will be A. D. 900 to 925. To Mugdhatunga's reign must be assigned the loss of the two districts of Râlà and Rodapâdi, as recorded in an inscription at Bhilsa discovered by Professor Hall, who gives the following abstract of its contents:

"Kaundinya, entitled Vâchaspotâ, was premier of a Raja Krishna, and dwelt on the Vetravati. After discomfiting the lord of Chedi by slaying a Sabara, named Sinha, probably the Chedian generalissimo, he established the district of Râlà, and Rodapâdi, which also seems to denominate a district."

The home of the minister on the Vetravati, or Betwa River, proves that the country was Mâlwa, and that the king was Krishna Pramâra. As he was the great-grandfather of Vâkpati Pramâra, whose known dates are A. D. 974 and 993, his own date must be fixed approximately about 75 years earlier, or in A. D. 900 to 925, which will make him a contemporary of Mugdhatunga. Other children of Kokalla were Sankaragana, Arjuna, and Mahâdevi. But as the first is distinctly called Raja of Chedi, he was probably the elder son, who left no male issue, and was thus succeeded by his younger brother Mugdhatunga.

3.—Keyuravarsha in the Bilhari inscription is the son and successor of Mugdhatunga. In the Benares plate, however, the grandson of Kokalla is called Bâla Harsha; but this is very probably the same name imperfectly deciphered. The queen of this prince was Nahalâ of the Chalukya family. She erected a temple to Sîva, and gave for its support several villages, of which one named Pondi still exists 4 miles to the north-west of Bilhari. A second village named Khailapâtaka is most probably now represented by Khailwâra, 6 miles east-north-east of Bilhari. The identification of these two villages in such close neighbourhood to Bilhari is sufficient to prove that the inscription transcribed by Professor Hall was actually brought from Bilhari, as he was informed. The reign of Keyura Varsha must be assigned approximately to A. D. 925 to 950. According to the Benares plate Yuva Râja was the younger brother of Bâla Harsha, and Lakshmana was his son. This is the Yuva Râja whose daughter Kandakâ Devi was married to Amogha Varsha I. Râshtrakuta, which agrees with the
genealogies, as both were descendants in the third generation from Kokalla I.

4.—Lakshmana was the son and successor of Keyûra-varsha, following the Bilhari inscription, but his nephew according to the Benares plate. His father Yuvarâja having died early, Lakshmana is said to have conquered the Râja of Kosala, and to have invaded Orissa, from which he brought away a figure of the serpent Kâliya, which he consecrated to Śiva in the famous temple of Someswara, or Somanâtha in Surashtrâ, where he had previously dedicated a car. He is also stated to have appointed a holy person named Hridaya-siva to the service of Queen Nohalâ's temple.

To Lakshmana must be assigned the construction of the fine large tank at Bilhari, named Lakshman Sâgar. The people of Bilhari also attribute the ruins of a palace to Râja Lakshmana, who, as they informed me, lived 900 years ago. This would place him in A. D. 970, which agrees exactly with the approximate date of A. D. 950 to 975 which I have computed for him by the recorded generations of his dynasty.

According to one of the Châlukya inscriptions, Vikramaditya IV. married Vonthâ Devi, daughter of Lakshmana, Râja of Chedi desa. Now, this king died in A. D. 973, which confirms the approximate date of 950 to 975 which I have assigned to Lakshmana.

5.—Yuvarâja, according to both inscriptions above quoted, was the younger son of Lakshmana, the elder being Sankaragana. The Bilhari inscription was recorded during the reign of Lakshmana, but the later record from Benares gives the crown to Yuvarâja. As he was the father of Kokalla II. he is the same prince with whom so many of the later inscriptions begin their genealogies.

Amongst the inscriptions preserved in the great temple at Udaypur to the north of Bhilsa, there is one of Râja Bhoja Pramâra, which relates that Vâkpati, the uncle of Bhoja, “defeated Yuvarâja and took possession of Tripura.” Now, Vâkpati’s date is known to include A. D. 973 and 994, which is the very period, 975-1000, which I have already assigned to Yuvarâja by reckoning the generations of his own family.

6.—Kokalla II. was the son and successor of Yuvarâja. Nothing special is related of him. He was a great warrior, and the progress of his arms was only stopped on the shores of the four surrounding oceans. There is an inscription of
a Kokalla at Khajurâha which is dated in Samvat 1058 or A. D. 1001. It ends with the words Śri Kokkalena, and has the name of Kokkala also in the 17th and 18th lines, but I am unable to say whether it refers to Kokalla of Chedi. Its date, however, agrees exactly with the approximate period of that king, 1000 to 1025, as derived from the reckoning of generations of his family.

7.—Gânggeya Deva was the son and successor of Kokalla II. In the Kumbhi plates it is said that "to him was dear the abode at the root of the holy fig-tree at Prayâga." There he died, and his hundred wives became Satis. Wilford makes him die in a "loathsome prison;" but it is quite certain that there must be some mistake in this passage of Wilford's abstract of the Benares copper-plate. It is, of course, quite possible that Gânggeya may have been made captive by the Râthor Râja of Kanauj, and that he may have been imprisoned at Prayâga; but it is absolutely impossible that his own son Karna Deva should have recorded anything about a "loathsome dungeon." His hundred or hundred and fifty wives are a sufficient proof that he must have reigned for some time. By the genealogical reckoning his reign is fixed approximately at from A. D. 1025 to 1050. It is certain that he was reigning in A. D. 1030-31, as he is mentioned by name by Abu Rihân as the king of Dâhal [or Chedi]. The geographer, after mentioning Jajhaoti and Gwâliar and Kalinjar as lying to the south-east of Kanauj, adds—

"On arrive aussi à Dâhl, dont la capitale est Bitoura. Le prince de ce pays est maintenant Kankyon."

In the original these names are Dâhal, Pituri, and Gangeo, which are clearly intended for Dâhal (or Chedi), Tipuri (or Tripuri, the capital of Chedi), and Gânggeya Deva. To him we most probably owe the issue of the gold, silver and copper coins which bear a four-armed figure of Dûrgâ on the obverse, the well-known cognizance of the Kulachuris of Chedi, and on the reverse the inscription in bold characters Śri mad Gânggeya Deva. The name is a very uncommon one, and does not occur amongst any of the other contemporary dynasties which issued similar coins. The four-armed figure of Dûrgâ is a strong evidence in favour of the first issue of these coins by the Chedi Prince. There are similar coins of the Chandel Kings Kirtti Varman, Hallakshana

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1 See Reinaud, Fragments Arabes et Persans, pp.—85,106.
Varmma, Jaya Varmma, and Madana Varmma, all of whom were posterior to Gânggeya. There are similar coins also of Govinda Chandra Râthor of Kanauj and of Kumâra Pâla and Ajaya Pâla of Gujarât, the successors of Siddh Ray; but they, too, were posterior to Gânggeya. It seems, however, difficult to explain why none of Gânggeya’s successors should have followed his example.

8.—Kârṇa Deva was the son and successor of Gânggeya Deva. The Benares copper-plate was engraved during his reign. It is dated in the year 793 of the Chedi Samvat, which, according to Wilford’s account, was also the 2nd year of his reign. In the Bhera Ghat inscription it is said that during his reign—

“The Pândya discontinued violence; the Mûrâla renounced all inclination of arrogance; the Kanga negotiated an audience; the Vanga, with the Kâlingas, was solicitous to do thereafter; the Kira, like a parrot, stayed in his house as a cage; and the Hûna dismissed his elation.”

It will be observed that all these districts are at a long and safe distance from Chedi, and their conquest might be asserted with impunity. Nothing is here said of Râja Bhoja of Mâlwa, or of Bhima of Gujarât, with whom, as we learn from other sources, Kârṇa really did come into contact. Bhima Deva reigned from A. D. 1022 to 1072; and Bhoja was reigning in 1021-1034, and 1042, and very probably for some time after 1050. In 1059 his successor Udayâditya was on the throne. The accession of Kârṇa cannot therefore be placed later than 1050 A. D. Reckoning by the generations of his own family, his approximate date is 1050 to 1075. In the Jabalpur plate Kârṇa is said to have conquered Bhimeswara, king of Andhra. This prince must be Bhima II., one of the Eastern Châlukyas.

In the 12th stanza of the Kumbhi plate it is recorded that Kârṇa built the City of Kârṇâvati. The same fact was also stated in the Benares plate. It has generally been supposed that the ruins of Kâranbel must be the city of Karnavati; but I suspect that the true site was near Kârî Talai, where there are extensive ruins of an old city with numerous temples, which are still called Karnpur. No. 2 inscription of Râja Lakshmanâ came from this place, and in the ruins there still stands a huge boar incarnation of Vishnu 8 feet long and 7 feet high. The temples are said to have been built by Râja Karn Dâhirya; and to the same king is attributed the foundation of Bilhari. Here tradition has preserved
the king's title very correctly, as Dāhala is a name of Tripura, and Karna of Dāhala is precisely the same thing as Karna of Chedi.

In the prologue to the curious drama called Prabodha Chandrodaya, which was performed before Kirtti Varmma Chandel, it is stated that "Vishnu having subdued the powerful Karna gave prosperity to the king Kirtti Varmma."¹ This defeat of Karna is also mentioned in one of the Kālinjar inscriptions,² where the Chandel king is said to have conquered the southern country, and speedily "defeated the immense army of Karna." The same victory of Kirtti Varmma is no doubt mentioned in the Mhau inscription, although the name of the conquered king has been lost.³ Lieutenant Price translates the passage as follows:—

"His son was Kirtti Varmma Deva, of good renown * * * as if virtue had descended in a human form, who vanquished * * * * through the aid of his six allies."

Here I believe that we must supply the name of Karna, as this success would appear to have been the chief exploit of the Chandel King. Kirtti Varmma was, therefore, a contemporary of Karna of Chedi. Now, I have lately obtained an inscription of Kirtti Varmma, which is carved on the rock of the great fort of Deogarh, to the east of Chanderi. This is dated in the Samvat year 1154, or A. D. 1097. But as Jaya Varmma, the grandson of Kirtti Varmma, was reigning in Samvat 1173, or A. D. 1116, the year A. D. 1097 must have been near the close of Kirtti's reign. Some years ago, I had placed him approximately between the years A. D. 1065 and 1085; which I would now extend to 1100. Rāja Karna of Chedi must, therefore, have reigned for sometime after 1065, which agrees with the date already assigned to him from A. D. 1050 to 1075 by the reckoning of the generations of his own family. As a contemporary of Bhoja Deva of Mālwa, Bhima Deva of Gujarāt and Kirtti Varmma of Mahoba, this date seems unexceptionable; although neither the beginning nor the end of the period may be quite exact. There is, however, a notice of a Karna Rāja who was defeated by Udayāditya of Mālwa; but both in the copy and in the translation of the inscription he is called Karna or Karnaṭa.⁴ But it is difficult

¹ In Dr. Taylor's translation the name of the king of Chedi is omitted; but it is given in the original Sanskrit as Karna. See Archaeological Survey of India, II, 403.
² Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XVII, Part I, 319.
³ Asiatic Researches of Bengal, XII, 357.
⁴ Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, I, 269.
to see exactly how the King of Mālwa could have reached Kārnāṭa; and if he had got so far, it is equally difficult to see where he could have found a Kārṇa Rāja. In none of the lists of the Kārnāṭa, to which I have access, is there a single Kārṇa. It seems therefore not improbable that we should read Ṛāja Kārṇa of Kārnāvaṭi, as Udayāditya of Mālwa was not only his contemporary, but also his immediate neighbour on the east. Now, I possess an inscription of Udayāditya dated in Samvat 1137, or A. D. 1080; while another inscription assigns to him the building of the magnificent Udaypur temple in Samvat 1116, or A. D. 1058—a period which coincides exactly with that which I have already assigned to the King of Chedi.

9. Yasah Kārṇa was the son and successor of Kārṇa Deva. No Chedian inscriptions have yet been found of this King; but he is mentioned by name in one of the Rāthor copper-plate grants as having bestowed a village on Rudraśiva, which was afterwards transferred by the recipient to another person in the presence of Govinda Chandra Rāja of Kanauj, in the Samvat year 1177, or A. D. 1120. I conclude therefore that he must have been reigning some 20 or 30 years previously, or between A. D. 1090 and 1100, which agrees with the date of 1075 to 1100 assigned to him by the reckoning of generations. It seems highly probable also that he was the reigning King of Chedi some time before A. D. 1104, when Lakshmīdhara Rāja of Mālwa “conquered Tripuri in a campaign, resembling an ordinary excursion of pleasure.” As this exploit was recorded, along with many others, in the year 1104 A. D., it must have taken place some time previously. As an eclipse of the sun is mentioned, the actual date of the inscription must be the 16th February 1105, towards the close of the Hindu year 1161.

10. Gaya Kārṇa was the son and successor of Yasah Kārṇa. Of him I possess a perfect inscription dated in the year 902 of the Chedi Samvat, when his son Nara Sinha Deva was Yuva Rāja. This was close to the end of his reign, as his son had already succeeded him in 907. He married Alhanā Devi, the grand-daughter of Udayāditya of Mālwa [A. D. 1059 to 1080] and the niece of Lakshmīdhara (inscription 1104 A. D.) and of Nara Varma, who died in A. D. 1133. Her marriage may, therefore, be placed sometime after 1100 A. D. His approximate date by reckoning the

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1 Bombay Asiatic Society’s Journal, I, 270.
generations is from 1100 to 112, A. D. The Jabalpur copper-plate, which was most probably dated in 879 of the Chedi Samvat, is the earliest record of his reign. The colossal Jain statue at Bahuriband was set up in his reign; but the date is, unfortunately, doubtful. The figure is called Kanūṇa Deva, which would appear to have been the name of one of Gaya Karna’s sons, as there is a cenotaph of a royal prince on the bank of the great tank, with the following inscription on one of its pillars:—

Mahārāja putra Śrī Kanuha Deva.

Bahuriband was most probably his estate, and there he died and was burned. In after-times, when the Jain temple was destroyed, and the enshrined figure was forgotten, I suppose that it came to be looked upon as the statue of their popular prince, Kanuha Deva.

Of Gaya Karna the poet remarks that “he was a cornucopia of probity, a garland of diffusive merits,” and that “the brightness of his complexion outrivalled orpiment.”¹ To his queen, “open-handed Alhanā-Devi,” we perhaps owe the curious temple of Bhera Ghat.

11. Nara Sinha Deva was the son and successor of Gaya Karna. Of him we possess several inscriptions dated in the years 907, 909, 926 and 928 of the Chedi Samvat. He would appear to have left the actual government very much in the hands of his younger brother, Jaya Sinha Deva, who, in the very beginning of the reign, is described as eminently victorious:—“who, strong-armed, defeated his enemies’ hosts.” But the Hindu poets judiciously suppress all reverses, so that we learn nothing from the Chedian panegyrist regarding Madana Varmma Chandel, “from whose name even the King of Chedi, vanquished in fierce fight, ever quickly flees.”² As Madana Varmma’s inscriptions range from A. D. 1131 to 1163, he was, undoubtedly, a contemporary of Nara Sinha Deva, whose reign, reckoning by the genealogy of his family, extended from A. D. 1125 to 1150.

12. Jaya Sinha Deva would appear to have succeeded his brother on the throne of Chedi, as the Kumbhi plate speaks of his coronation (abhisekha). But his reign must have been limited to two or three years, as his sons’ inscription is dated in the year 932.

13. Vijaya Sinha Deva was the son and successor of Jaya Sinha. The only dated inscription of this prince that

¹ American Oriental Society’s Journal, VI, 510. Inscription translated by Professor Hall.
² Bengal Asiatic Society’s Researches, XII. Translation of Mhow inscriptions by Lieutenant Price.
has yet been found is that quoted above with the Chedi Samvat year 932. But there are several undated records, of which the longest is the Gopālpur inscription, No. 15, which mentions both Vijaya Sinha and his wife, Gosālā Devi. As these inscriptions have not yet been translated, all that we know of this reign is, that there was a young prince named Ajaya Sinha as early as 932.

There are no less than eight inscriptions dated in the Chedi Samvat in which the name of the week-day is also given. With this abundant aid I expected to have been able to fix the initial point of the era with absolute certainty; and I believe that I have succeeded in ascertaining the true starting-point in the year 249 A. D. But the result of my calculations has not proved so satisfactory as I expected, as only four out of the eight dates, or just one-half, agree precisely with the stated week-day. Three of the remaining four, however, agree within one day—an amount of deviation which is not uncommon in Hindu dates. One at least of the deviations is undoubtedly due to the original writer of the inscription, as we have two dates of the same year 928, which cannot be made to correspond with the stated week-days, either by the northern or the southern mode of reckoning. The following list shows the dates given in the inscriptions, with the week-days calculated from A. D. 249 as the initial point of the era, the year 250 A. D. being the year 1 of the Chedi or Kulachuri Samvat, the Hindu reckoning being invariably recorded in complete or expired years, in the same way as a person’s age is reckoned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chedi Samvat.</th>
<th>A. D.</th>
<th>Month and day.</th>
<th>Calculated week-day.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>793</td>
<td>1042</td>
<td>Phālgun badi 9, Monday</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>896</td>
<td>1145</td>
<td>Māgha sudi 8, Wednesday</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>898</td>
<td>1147</td>
<td>Aswina sudi 7, Monday</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>902</td>
<td>1151</td>
<td>Ashādha sudi 1, Sunday</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>907</td>
<td>1156</td>
<td>Mārgasiras sudi 11, Sunday</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>909</td>
<td>1158</td>
<td>Srāvana sudi 5, Wednesday</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>928</td>
<td>1177</td>
<td>Srāvana sudi 6, Sunday</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>928</td>
<td>1177</td>
<td>Māgha badi 10, Monday</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The Jahalpur copper-plate also gave the name of the week-day, but the year was unfortunately misread as 628 Samvat; and as the plate has since been stolen from the Nāgpur museum, the date can only be corrected by calculation. The month and day are Māgha badi 10, Monday.
From all the data which I have noticed in my accounts of different reigns, it is certain that the initial point of the era must be close to A.D. 249; and as that year gives the correct week-days by computation for four of the recorded dates, and gives a difference of only one day in three of the other four dates, I think that it may be accepted, for the present, as being almost certainly the true starting-point of the Chedi era. The following table of the Kulachuri Kings will show how well this initial point agrees with all their recorded dates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chedi era</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>The Chedi or Kulachuri Samvat established.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>Kakavarna, King of Chedi, cut off by a descendant of Sisupala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>Sankaragana, Raja of Chedi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>Buddha, Raja of Chedi [his son], defeated by Mangalisa Chalukya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>431</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>The Haihayas defeated by Vinayaditya Chalukya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>481</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>The Haihaya Princess Lokamahā Devi marries Vikramaditya II. Chalukya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>626</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>Kokalla I., contemporary of Bhoja of Kanauj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>Mugdhatunga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>676</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>Yuvaraja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>Lakshmana, made Lakshman Sagar at Bilhari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>726</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>Yuva Raja, contemporary of Vākpati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Kokalla II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>771</td>
<td>1020</td>
<td>Gānggeya Deva, reigning in A.D. 1030 (Abu Rihān).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>791</td>
<td>1040</td>
<td>Karṇa Deva (\text{S. 793, contemporary of Bhoja.})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{S. 815, built palace at Bilhari.})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>831</td>
<td>1080</td>
<td>Yaśah Karna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>866</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>Gaya Karna, S. 902.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>902</td>
<td>1151</td>
<td>Nara Sinha Deva, S. 907, 909, 926, 928.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>930</td>
<td>1179</td>
<td>Jaya Sinha Deva (brother).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>932</td>
<td>1181</td>
<td>Vijaya Sinha Deva, S. 932.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inscription of Vijaya Sinha Deva, dated in 932 of the Chedi Samvat, is the last notice that has yet been found of this old family, which for one thousand years had ruled over the upper valley of the Nerbada. How, or when, they were expelled we know not; but it seems almost certain that one of the chief causes of their downfall was the rise of the
Bâghel power in Rewa, which, according to the genealogies of the Rewa and Bâra families, must have been some time during the 12th century A. D. The present generation is the thirty-first from Vyâghra Deva, the founder of both branches of the family. Allowing 25 years to a generation, the death of Vyâghra will fall in the year 1186 A. D. Now, the Bâghels derive their name from this Vyâghra, who is said to have been a son of Siddh Rai Jay Sinh, who ruled at Analwâra from 1100 to 1150. His son will, therefore, date from 1150 to 1175; and his settlement in Rewa, the northeastern half of the Chedi kingdom, must be assigned to the same period. Thus the rise of the Bâghels and their settlement in Rewa in the latter half of the 12th century correspond exactly with the decline and extinction of the Kula-churi dynasty of Chedi. What became of the people is unknown. There are now no Harihays to be found, either at Bilhari or at Jabalpur. A few still exist in the upper valleys of the Sohâg pur district, in the wildest corner of their former dominions, about 100 miles to the east of Jabalpur, and the same distance to the south of Rewa.

19.—KHANDWA.

The town of Khandwâ is situated at the junction of the two great roads leading from Northern and Eastern India towards the Dakhin, or south. Its happy position must have led to its early occupation, and I believe, therefore, that it may be identified with Ptolemy's Kophnabanda. It is mentioned by Abu Rihân, under the name of Kandwâhâr, as lying on the road from Dhar towards the Dakhin. The present town consists of two broad streets of two-storied houses crossing each other, with a few other narrow and winding streets in the angles. The slight eminence on which the town stands is not a mound, formed by the ruins of former buildings, but a natural elevation of rock, which in many places is quite bare. In consequence of the want of soil, there are no large trees, and but few small ones.

The town is surrounded by four great tanks—the remains of former prosperity. The Padam kund, to the north-west of the town, is 90 feet square. Numerous pieces of old carvings are let into the stone walls of this tank. There are six short inscriptions on the roofs of some small niches, which have almost certainly been taken from a temple. All of
them are dated in Samvat 1189, or A.D. 1132. The figures about the tank are all Brahmanical, such as Ganeśa, Bhairava, and the Bull Nandi. Close by is a small modern temple of Padmeswara, with an enshrined lingam, and many small figures from some old temple. It seems probable, therefore, that the tank was repaired from the ruins of an old temple of Padmeswara. Still farther to the north-west there is a fine large tank named Bhairon Tāl, which is 600 feet square.

To the south-west of the town lies the Kīlāl kund, which is 50 feet square, with walls broken. To the south-west is the Bhim kund, near the railway iron bridge; and to the north-east is the Suraj kund.

Near the Kīlāl kund there is a small plastered modern temple of Tulja Devi, beside which a great fair is held annually on the full moon of Pous. Here also there are some remains of Brahmanical sculpture, amongst which I observed a large figure of Ganeśa and a long frieze covered with small figures.

In the Padam kund there is said to be an inscription on the floor of one of the niche temples, which is covered by the water. It is generally believed to cover treasure; and I was informed that three men from Nāgpur, Hushangābād, and Khandwā had once made an attempt to lift the stone. But as it would not move, they began to cut it with chisels, when the goddess Devi made them all ill, and they died suddenly.

The inscriptions at the Padam kund are all more or less injured, and not one of them has yet been read. Apparently, they recorded the names of different statues which must once have occupied the niches. I can read Murtti Jalesayām at the end of one, and Murtti Sri at the end of the first line of a second. I have a suspicion that they must have belonged originally to a Jain temple.

In the town there is a Jain temple of Pārasnāth, which contains several inscribed statues; but the Seth in charge would neither allow me to see them, nor my servants to copy them. Two of them are dated in eleven hundred odd of the Samvat. I may add here that in nearly all the places which I have visited, I have found the Jain custodians both surly and unaccommodating.
The city of Burhānpur is situated on the north bank of the Tapti river, 12 miles nearly due south from Asirgarh, and 40 miles south by west from Khandwa. It was founded in A. D. 1399 by Nasir Khan, the first of the Fāruki kings of Khândes, on the site of an old Hindu town named Basâna-khera. The new city was named Burhānpur, in honour of the famous saint Burhân-ud-din of Daulatabâd. It was the usual residence of all the later Fāruki kings, and it was during their rule of two hundred years that the two great mosques named the Jâmi Masjid and the Bibi Masjid were built. The city within the walls is just two miles in length from north to south, by half a mile in breadth. But there are numerous remains outside, showing that the suburbs must once have been very extensive. There are no Hindu remains of any kind, and the very name of Basâna-khera, or the “mound of Basâna,” would seem to show that the place was a mere mass of ruins when first occupied by the Muhammadans. There are several Muhammadan tombs; but the only buildings of any archaeological interest are the Bibi Masjid and the Jâmi Masjid.

The Bibi Masjid was built by one of the queens of the Fāruki dynasty; but her name has not been preserved; and as there is no inscription on the building, even its date is uncertain. It seems, however, very probable that it must have been built by the Gujarâti princess, the daughter of Muzafar Shah, and the wife of Adîl Shah II. Her husband died after a short reign of nine years, in A. H. 926, or A. D. 1520; yet she most probably retained both wealth and authority during the succeeding reigns of her two sons, Miran Muhammad and Mubârak. The latter died in A. H. 974, or A. D. 1566. I would therefore assign the erection of the Bibi Masjid to the period between A. D. 1520 and 1540. In A. D. 1874 the building was said to be 375 years old, which would place its foundation A. H. 915, or A. D. 1510. As this is the very date of the accession of Adîl Shah II., it is possible that the masjid may have been begun by his mother, the daughter of Mahmûd Shah of Gujarât. It is recorded by Ferishta that Adîl Shah removed his court from Tâlner to Burhânpur, and it is only natural that a masjid should have been one of the first works erected for the adornment of his new capital.
The masjid is a simple rectangle in plan, 132\(\frac{1}{2}\) feet long by 48\(\frac{1}{2}\) feet broad outside, and 123\(\frac{1}{2}\) feet by 39\(\frac{1}{2}\) feet inside, the walls being exactly 4 feet 6 inches thick. The roof is supported on four rows of square pillars, forming five aisles in the length and fifteen in the breadth.\(^1\) There are three large arches in the front wall, the middle one being 14 feet 7 inches wide, and the side ones, 7 feet 10 inches. On each side of the main entrance there is a massive square tower, with the angles indented after the fashion of Hindu temples. In the piers between the arches there are smaller openings of 3 feet 8 inches, each being covered in front by a small projecting balcony. In the inside, opposite each of the three large arches, the four middle pillars are omitted, and the open space is covered by a large dome, springing from the octagon, formed in the Hindu fashion. All the remaining squares are covered by pointed arches, and the angles of the three great squares are cut off by pendentives of plain, pointed arches.

The two towers which flank the middle arch, are five storeys in height; but only the two lower storeys are of stone, the three upper ones being of brick. From this I conclude that they were originally the flanking towers of a central screen wall, as in the fine examples still existing at Jaumpur, Benares, Etawah, and other places. That the upper storeys of brick are later additions, is, I think, proved by the fact, that there is an undoubted brick addition to the whole front wall of the masjid, which has been heightened by building a brick-wall of 8 feet on the top of the original stone battlements. All the small domes are completely hidden by this brick wall, and the view of the three large domes is utterly spoiled by the concealment of the cylindrical necks.

The masjid is a good deal injured from the effects of time and weather. The walls of the courtyard are dilapidated, and the entrance gateway is closed. There is a short inscription of three lines over the door. The upper line is the usual Kalimah; and the lower lines seem to be an extract from the Kurâân. I noticed that the building was not finished inside, as only the pillars in the south row and the pilasters against the back wall, with a single one in the middle octagon, have their angles indented, all the rest being plain square blocks. There is one, however, on which the

\(^1\) See Plate XVII for a plan of this masjid.
indentations have been roughly hewn, and its unfinished state is the most complete proof that the work of the masjid must have been suddenly stopped, most probably by the death of the queen.

The Jami Masjid is built on the same plan as the Bibi Masjid, with four rows of pillars, forming five aisles in the length and fifteen in the breadth, without any front wall, the whole of the fifteen arches being open to the court. The minār towers are also of the same pattern; but they are attached to the two angles of the building—an arrangement which was adopted by Jahāngir and Shah Jahān. But this is the earliest specimen of lofty corner minārs with which I am acquainted. The date of the building is recorded in its inscriptions, both in Arabic and in Sanskrit, as A. H. 997, Samvat 1646, Sāke 1511, and the year Virodhi of the Jovian cycle, all of which correspond with¹ A. D. 1589, during the reign of Adil Shah.

III. The Sanskrit record is remarkable for giving at some length the genealogy of the Fāruki kings, who claim descent from the kings of Ghazni [Gajani Naresha]. These inscriptions are placed in the right corner of the back wall inside the masjid. Outside the wall of the left hand minār there is a short inscription of Akbar, dated A. H. 1009, in which he records the conquest of Khāndes and the Dakhin [fath Khāndes wa Dakin].

The Jāmi Masjid is an unusually plain building, its exterior ornament being confined to a floriated battlement which runs all round the walls, while the only ornament of the interior is lavished on the pilasters of the niches in the back wall. These are all highly carved; and their contrast with the plain square pillars and the bare walls is so great, that I strongly suspect the intended ornamentation was suddenly stopped by Akbar’s conquest of Khāndes, which took place only eleven years after the date of the inscription. The building is generally in very good condition. Some repairs are said to have been made by Akbar, as well as by Aurangzeb; but if any work was done by Akbar it must

¹ These inscriptions were all sent to my lamented friend Mr. Blochmann, who, in his last letter to me dated 21st May 1878, thus refers to them: “The Asirgarh inscriptions have been lying ready for publication on my desk for a long time. You remember there was a Sanskrit inscription among them, which gives the pedigree of the Berar Sultans; and I had collected all references to Berar from Muhammadan historians in order to put them, with your inscriptions, to the second part of my Ain, which, from want of funds, has not yet been commenced.”
have been the completion, and not the repair, of the building. It is considerably larger than the Bibi Masjid, being 148 feet long by 49 feet broad inside, and 157 feet by 54 feet outside. The roof is vaulted throughout, with pendants at all the points of intersection of the vaults. There is no lofty central arch, and no great colour to attract the eye; but the long line of battlement pierced by fifteen pointed arches and flanked by two lofty minars, 120 feet in height, has certainly a very pleasing as well as a very striking effect. The front view recals the Moti Masjid at Agra, and the pleasing effect of both is no doubt due to the same cause, the harmonious symmetry of their proportions.

21.—ASIRGARH.

The famous fort of Asirgarh is situated on an isolated hill of the Sâtpura range, 12 miles nearly north from Burhânpur, and 8 miles west from the Railway Station of Chandai. It is visible from both places. In early days it was a position of great importance, as it commanded the high road leading through the Sâtpura range from Northern to Southern India, while it was itself nearly impregnable from its great height and its unfailing supply of water. It is only half the size of Gwâlior, but it is just double its height. Its strength has not been exaggerated, as it stood a long siege against Akbar’s generals, and was only taken at last by the indomitable perseverance of Abul Fazl. So overjoyed was Akbar by its reduction, that he recorded the capture not only on the walls of the Jâmi Masjid at Burhânpur, and on the rock of Asirgarh itself, but also on a gold medal, which bears the proud inscription Zarb Asir, “struck at Asir.” On the obverse of the medal there is a falcon, emblematic of his swoop on this famous stronghold, and on the reverse is the inscription:—Allah Akbar, Zarb Asir, Isfandârmaz, Ilâhi 45. “God is great! Struck at Asir, in the month of Isfandârmaz, in the 45th year of the Ilâhi era.” As the Ilâhi years were solar, and the reckoning began from Akbar’s accession in February 1556 A. D., the 45th year extended from February 1600 to February 1601. Asir was taken some months previously, on the 17th Safar 1009 A. H., or 18th August A. D. 1600; but the distribution of honours was delayed until the 8th Shâbân, or 1st February 1601, when “the Emperor bestowed great
honours on Sheikh ‘Abul Fazl,’ including a banner and kettle drums.” As this date of the Hijra corresponds with the month of Isfandârmaz of the Ilâhi era, the gold coin just described must have been issued at the same time. I know of only two specimens of this coin, of which one is in the Payne-Knight Collection of the British Museum, and the other belonged to a Brahman family at Benares.1

The fortress of Asir including the lower work of Malai-garh is nearly one mile in length by half a mile in breadth. The upper fort, or Asirgarh, is upwards of half a mile in length, and 750 feet in height above the plain below. The upper part of the rock is very precipitous, and quite unapproachable, especially on the southern face. On the east and west sides a second wall has been added at the foot of the cliff, and the main entrance on the west is further protected by the lower fort of Malaiagarh. To the south-east, only one-quarter of a mile distant from the walls, there is a small but lofty hill, now named Mughal topi, which I believe to be the “little hill called Koriya,” which was seized and occupied by Akbar’s general because it was—“so close to the fortress as to have command over it. The besiegers then saw that by occupying this commanding position, and by getting possession of another which was strongly fortified, they might overcome the garrison. The former masters of the place had seen the importance of this position, and had scarped the rock so, that no one could climb up * * * After hard fighting the position was carried.”2

The scarped height here described must be the isolated peak immediately outside the south-east corner, which by some fatal oversight is not included within the works. As the historian mentions, some one must have seen the importance of this point, as not only has the rock itself been scarped to make it inaccessible, but a sally-port has been constructed in the south-eastern bastion to give the garrison the ready means of repelling an assault in this direction.

Akbar appointed his son Dâniâl Governor of Khândâs, at the same time changing its name to Dândâs. His capture of the fortress is recorded on the rock on the right-hand side of the ascent by the western gate. The dates are 1009 A. H.

1 See Plate XIX, for a sketch of this gold coin. The other specimen has been described by Maraden in the Numismata Orientalia, but is not accompanied by an engraving.  
2 See Plate XIX—and the Akbar Nama in Sir H. Elliot’s Muhammadan Historians of India, by Dowson—VI. 144.
and 45 Ilahi. Close by there is an inscription of his son Daniyal dated on the 12th Ardi-bihisht, and 26th Shawal, in which he calls himself “Governor of Dandes and Dakhin.”

On a slab of stone at the Phuta Darwaza, on the old ascent there is an inscription of Shah Jahân with the dates of A. H. 1037 and 1040, and containing the names of Parvez and Mahabat Khan.

On a second stone slab (now in the Cantonment Magistrate’s Office) there is a second inscription of Shah Jahân with the date of A. H. 1061, and julus 25. This is said to have been taken from the Masjid on the top of the fort, which was built in Shah Jahân’s reign. This must be the inscription which in Mr. Forsyth’s time was near the large tank.

On the rock there is another inscription of Shah Jahân dated in A. H. 1037.

On the rock near the Kamirgarh gate there is a curious inscription of Aurangzeb’s time, recorded in the very first year of his reign before he had assumed the title of Alamgir. It is important, also, from the mention of his having acquired the kingdom by his sword. As it is short, I will quote the whole record:

“The Prince Aurangzeb, protector of religion (may he be mighty for ever), by the mercy of God ascended the throne of the Emperor Akbar. He acquired his father’s place by the power of his sword. The point of my pen is sharp to write the date: at once is written the name of Badshah Kishwargir,” [conqueror of countries].

This title, by the values of its letters, gives the date 1069 A. H.-1658 A. D.

The name of this famous fort has been variously derived. The common people say that it was named after Asa Gauli, and that the tank and temple of Asa Devi, outside the fort on the south, were named after his sister Asawari Devi. Ferishta makes Asa on Ahir, with the too transparent motive of deriving Asir from Asa Ahir. The Brahmans, however, are unanimous in assigning the name of the place to Asvathâma Rishi, and they point to the shrine of the saint, which is now called Astamba or Astamb. Abul Fazl also says that it possessed a shrine of Asvatthâma, when the Fârûkî kings took it from the Hindus. It seems probable, therefore, that Asvatthâma-giri was the original name, and that the spoken form of Asthâmgir, or Asthamgir, has
been gradually shortened to *Asir*. It has been suggested by Mr. Forsyth that the hill was—

"first occupied for defensive purposes when the struggle commenced between the Hindu invaders of the Dakhin, and its aboriginal inhabitants."

This suggestion carries back the fortification of Asir to the very dawn of Indian history, when the Haihaya Yādavas first occupied the valley of the Narbadā. Without attempting to specify any particular period, the great antiquity of Asir may be admitted at once on account of its extremely favourable position. As I have already pointed out, it commands the only high road between the north-western and south-western districts of Indīa. This obligatory passage through the Sātpura range of mountains also gave rise to the old Hindu city of Khandwā, and in later times to the Muhammadan city of Burhānpur. Khandwā is mentioned by Abu Rīhan in the beginning of the 11th century; and Burhānpur is said to have been built on the site of an old Hindu town named Basāna, or Bajāna. But these were mercantile towns, the offspring of a comparatively civilized age, whereas the scarped hill of Asir must almost certainly have been occupied as a stronghold at a much earlier period. I am inclined to identify it with the *Ozaabis* of Ptolemy, and to take Khandwā as the representative of his *Kogvabanda*.

22.—BHĀNDAK OR VĀKĀTAK.

The province of *Vākātak* is mentioned in three different inscriptions, from which we learn that it included the district of Seoni, between Jabalpur and Nāgpur, and that it formed the western boundary of the dominions of Rudra Deva of Warangal. The third inscription is in the Zodiac cave at Ajanta, which may also have belonged to the extreme western division of the country, as it is only 20 miles to the west of the source of the Pain Ganga river. Its boundaries may be approximately defined as the Mahādeva range of hills on the north, and the Godāvari river on the south, with the Ajanta hills on the west, and the hills at the sources of Mahānadi on the east. Roughly speaking, therefore, it corresponded with the province of Berār, or the modern Nāgpur. According to Abul Fazl, the Muhammadan Subah of Berar extended from Hindīa
on the Narbadâ to Nander on the Godâvari, a distance of 180 kos; and from Patâla to Wairagarh a distance of 200 kos. These limits include the southern banks of the Narbadâ, which most probably did not belong to Vâkâtak; but the length measured from Wairâgarh to the westward would just reach to Ajanta. I do not know the position of Patâla, but it cannot be far from Ajanta. Abul Fazl states that the ancient name of Berar was Wardâtât. His words are—asli nâm Wardâtât—Wardâ rûde ast, o tat kinâr, (viz. ast); “the original name is Wardâtât. Wardâ is a river and tat [is] border.” Hence Berâr would mean the “land of the Warda.”

The inscriptions give no hint as to the name of the capital, but it seems to me almost certain that Bhândak was the chief city of the province in ancient times. This also is the judgment of Mr. A. C. Lyall, whose intimate knowledge of Berar and its antiquities makes his opinion on such a point almost conclusive. His words are:

“Bhândak is most indubitably the site of an ancient city of the pre-Muhammadan era. The ruins are very extensive and most interesting. I have seen a good part of the old kingdom of Kosala, but I have nowhere found such clear signs and tokens of an extinct town as exist at Bhândak.”

I have twice visited Bhândak myself and have explored its Buddhist caves and Brahmanical temples with great interest. The present town is upwards of a mile in length but the houses are scattered and straggling, and are said to number no more than 500. In former times, however, it must have been a very large place, extending about two miles from north to south, and one mile from east to west, which would give a circuit of six miles. The town occupies the top of a broad plateau of rock, thinly covered with soil. The old roads have cut deeply into the soft coarse rock, in many places as much as two or three feet below the surface. The wheel-ruts in which the bullocks also go, are still deeper, being often more than one foot below the middle of the road on which the people walk. Near the north end of the town there is a large enclosure called the fort, which is built entirely of squared stones. Outside it is 304 feet long from north to south, and 276 feet broad. The walls are 14 feet

1 In Gladwin’s translation the name is given as Durdatat, and tat kinâr is altered to Sittthener. For the correction in the text I am indebted to my good friend Mr. Blochmann, whose untimely death has been a sad loss to Muhammadan literature.
thick, and from 25 to 30 feet high, with square buttresses, or bastions, 28 feet broad, with a projection of 15 feet beyond the walls. There are three of these buttresses on each of the long sides, and two on each of the others. Inside there are only two small buildings, one on each side of the entrance. There is nothing to show what was the original purpose of this building, but its costliness would seem to show that it must have been the Râja's palace. The walls contain upwards of half a million cubic feet of squared stone laid without mortar after the fashion of Hindu temples. But the stones of the gateway are laid with lime mortar. At first I was inclined to look upon this curious place as a stronghold of the Muhammadans, built out of the spoils of Hindu temples. But they do not appear to have ever occupied Bhândak, and I believe that the radiating arches, as well as the figure of Ganesa and of other gods in the gateway, are due to the Gond Râjas of Chânda. One man, however, informed me that he had heard that the fort had been built by a Muhammadan governor named Ismail Khan. I doubt the truth of this statement on account of the figures of Ganes and other gods being set up in the walls.

The town is nearly surrounded by pân gardens, old tanks, and large forests of trees. Towards the west the country is open, and even bare, but the bareness is scarcely noticed as the view is bounded by the picturesque hills of Wijâsan crowned with temples. To the north-west there are the ruins of two temples in the fields near the Taka Talao. To the east and south are numerous mounds strewn with cut stones, carved pillars and broken sculptures. Only three of the existing temples are old; but the hundreds of sculptures, and the numerous foundations of squared stones, show that Bhândak must once have been a great city. The only temples which have preserved their names are called Badari-nâth, or Badari-Nâg, Chandi-Devi and Pârswanâth. The ruined temples have received fancy names from the people, such as "Jobnâsa's Palace," whilst others are only known by the names of the tanks near which they are situated. The name of Jobnâsa, or Yuvanâswa, has been adopted from a mistaken identification of Bhândak with Bhadravati, where Yuvanâswa

1 See plate XX for a map of the country around Bhândak.
attempted to perform the Asvamedha sacrifice with the horse Sāmkarna, which was carried off by Bhima. Altogether, I found 14 caves, 18 temples, 24 wells and 8 tanks, but the hollows of at least 30 more tanks are still traceable. The oldest of these remains appear to be the Buddhist caves of Wijāsan and Gaurārā, and the latest the Brahmanical temples of Chandā Devi and Johnāsa's Palace.

CAVES OF WIJASAN.

The small hill of Wijāsan is situated rather more than one mile to the south-west of Bhāndak. To the north lies a fine lake called Rākha Tāl which is nearly a mile square, and to the west of the lake there is a lofty hill two miles in length, on the top of which there is a ruined fort and a Brahmanical temple. The smaller hill, also, has its ruined temple, but the remains of greatest interest are the Buddhist caves, which are still in a very perfect state of preservation, owing, I believe, to the extreme dryness of the rock.

The name of the hill is written indifferently either as Wijāsan or Wijnjāsan. The first may be derived from Vidya-āsan. "the abode of learning;" but the other form points to the Vindhyu, although it is probable that the nasal is a mere local addition. The principal cave is known simply as the house of Bhāmsen, and I could not hear of any traditions regarding the origin of the caves.

These caves differ from all the other greater groups that I have seen, in having no large halls for meeting, and no chaitya caves for perambulation. The three principal works consist entirely of long passages leading through small chambers up to small shrines of Buddha.1 The excavations are in the shape of a cross, the lower member being an open passage 63 feet long, the upper member a gallery cave 74 feet long, and the right and left members two gallery caves, respectively 47 feet and 35 feet long. The open passage runs from east to west, with a general width of 20 feet, of which the central passage occupies 9 feet with a platform of 6 feet on each side. In the left wall there are four small shrines, all empty; and on the platform in front of them there is a square stone pillar with two carved faces, of which one presents a figure of the four-armed Durgā slaying the Mahesāsur or Buffalo-demon. A

1 See plate XXI for a plan of these caves.
mutilated inscription shows by the shape of its letters that the pillar is of comparatively late date. On the same wall of the passage there is a shallow recess holding a three-headed Brahmanical figure; and just beyond it there is a Buddhist Stûpa in high relief.

On the right hand, or north side of the passage, there are three Buddhist Stûpas carved in high relief. Over the largest of these an oblong panel has been roughly traced with a chisel. As this tracing is of exactly the same size as the Brahmanical shrine on the south side, and is immediately opposite to it, we have the clearest proof that the Brahmanical occupation of the caves was of later date than the Buddhist. On this wall there are traces of inscriptions in several places, but they are all too much mutilated to be readable. Some of the letters are quite perfect, and from their shapes I infer that the original excavations may reach as high as the second or third century A.D.

At the west end of the open passage we reach the doors of the three caves, one to the front, and the others to the right and left. I think that these three cave doors are mentioned in the opening of the great Bhândak inscription as the trisile mukha, or “three rock cut doors.” Passing through the middle entrance, we reach a flat-roofed chamber 9 feet by 4 feet, beyond which is a large chamber 32 feet long, and from 8 to 10 feet broad, with a pointed arched roof springing from an impost. On the left-hand there is a small room 6 feet 9 inches square, with a low pointed roof; and beyond it a niche containing a four-armed statue of Saraswati holding a book and a lute [Vina]. On the right-hand are two small rooms, one 6 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 3 inches, and the other 5 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 6 inches. The roofs are half arches. These must be the cells of two attendant monks, as they are simply stone beds, raised 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) foot above the floor, with a rock pillow at each end. From the head of the long chamber a few short passages lead up to the sanctum, a small room 11 feet 3 inches long by 7 feet 1 inch broad, and 8 feet 4 inches high with a flat roof. Here is enshrined a mutilated figure of Buddha seated on a throne, which is only darkly visible in the dim religious light at the end of the low gallery 74 feet in length. There is a short inscription of six letters on the right jamb of the entrance. The first and last letters are doubtful; but the whole may be read as *Sri Rudasachi-hu*. This record seems
to be only the name of a pilgrim, Rudrâ, who had visited the cave. But it is of value as a guide to the age of the cave, as the letters are all of the Gupta type of an earlier date than A. D. 500.

The right-hand, or north cave, is of exactly the same character as the front cave, but it is smaller, being only 47 feet in length with a height of 8 feet. At 8 feet from the entrance we pass through a chamber 10 feet long with a round arched roof 8 feet 7 inches high; but there are neither side chambers nor niches, and the sanctum is empty. On the entrance door the character bi is engraved of the gigantic size of 10 inches high by 6 inches broad. It may perhaps be the initial syllable of Bijásan.

The left-hand, or south cave, is similar in character to the others, but is still smaller, being only 34 feet 9 inches in length. The long passage has the same round arched roof, but it is 9 feet 5 inches high. On the right-hand side there is a chamber 6 feet 4 inches long by 2 feet 7 inches broad, which was no doubt the cell of the attendant monks. The sanctum is only 6 feet 9 inches by 5 feet, but the statue of Buddha is still seated in its place.

A glance at the plate of these caves will show that they are all executed on the same plan. There is first a narrow entrance leading to a cross chamber beyond which is a long vaulted gallery. This is followed by a second cross chamber, and in the largest cave by a third, when another narrow passage opens into the sanctum.

The inscriptions on the north wall of the open passage are unfortunately too much injured to be readable. A few of the letters are quite certain, and their forms show distinctly that they belong to two different periods; the earlier to the Gupta period before A. D. 500, and the later to the 7th or 8th century, when the attached vowels and the feet of the consonants were prolonged into barbed flourishes.

The earliest notice of these caves that I have seen is by Dr. S. G. Malcolmson, which is valuable for its silence regarding the great inscription, as it shows almost conclusively that this record of the caves had already been removed to Nâgpur. His account is so brief that it may be quoted entire:—¹

"In May 1828, I passed through a town called Bhândak, 18 miles from Chânda, on the road to Nâgpur, and finding many Hindu ruins

¹ Bengal Asiatic Soc. Journal, IV, 190.
well sculptured on the sandstone of the district, I spent the day in examining them. To the greater number I could give names, but one insignificant head, much injured, struck me as having the composed sleep-like appearance of the Buddhist sculptures. This induced me to make some enquiries, and I soon heard that, in a hill two miles off, there was a cavern, and on reaching it I found an excavation consisting of three parts, the principal of which penetrated 20 paces into the rock, but was narrow in proportion to its length. In a small apartment at its extremity was a sitting Buddha figure, six feet high. The passage was arched with several recesses on each side, and near the entrance the two other portions of the temple extended 10 paces into the rock, like the arms of a cross, and were in every respect similar. A rude outline of Buddha could be traced on the rock, where it was smoothed away on each side of the mouth of the cavern. There was a figure of Durgā inside the temple, and one at the door, on separate pieces of stone, and of modern appearance. The small head which first attracted my attention was found amongst the rubbish of a ruined temple, which some Jain Baniyans in the town were engaged in removing in search of their images, and amongst these I found several of the naked figures (four or five feet high), with curly hair, and differing amongst themselves, usually found in Jain temples, and also representations of Buddha in the sitting posture, with the hands laid over each other, the palms uppermost, the hair curly, the forehead wide, with little figures kneeling before him, and others fanning him; amongst them was a figure of Durgā. The Jains have also a modern temple there.”

In December 1873, when I was at Bhāndak, I was informed that an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nāgpur during the time of the Raja about 40 or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Saheb. Now Major Wilkinson was the Resident at the Nāgpur Court at that very time, and from him was received the copy of an inscription which Dr. Stevenson published in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society. This very inscription is now in the Nāgpur Museum. It is a long slab just as described to me by the people of Bhāndak, and it is of the very same fine-grained, reddish stone as that of the caves in the Wijāsān hill. I have no doubt, therefore, that this is the identical inscription on a “long slab of red stone” which was removed by Major Wilkinson from the Wijāsān caves to Nāgpur. This is further confirmed by the inscription itself, which records the fact of the reigning sovereign Bhava Deva having become a Bodhisatvā, or Buddhist sage. It also mentions that the place to which the inscription was attached was the “house of Sugata” and the “abode of Jīna,” two well-known names of Buddha.

1 Bombay Asiatic Soc. Journal, 1, 148.
Dr. Stevenson was fully aware that this was a Buddhist inscription, as he says that—

"The tablet from which the transcript is taken was probably originally attached to a building destined for Buddhist ascetics by a sovereign of that faith."

and further that the record is

"of considerable importance as affording direct proof that up to a period comparatively recent, the Buddhist ascendancy was maintained."

Here Dr. Stevenson adds the words "in the east of India;" as he believed that the inscription described Raja Surya Ghosha as the "lord of Urisi" or Orissa. But the word which he took for Urisi was certainly misread. I read Asindhitras Kshitipate, "the Lord of Asindhitru;" but the name is indistinct. It may perhaps be the Asidathra of Ptolemy, which belonged to the country of the Bettiji. I take exception, also, to Dr. Stevenson’s date which he finds in the words sam Shivojivale, or 711. The word jwádá is clear enough, but the first letter is not Sam but Sra, and this at once disposes of the date. I am also puzzled to understand how a record, which, as Dr. Stevenson admits, "affords direct proof" of Buddhist ascendancy, can open with a long invocation to Siva. A simple reference to the Brahmanical deities, such as to Lakshmi the goddess of prosperity, or to Saraswati "the goddess of eloquence" would be natural enough. It is true that the invocation ends with the name of sarvajna, which is a title of Siva; but as it was also a title of Buddha or Jina. I think it possible that Dr. Stevenson may have been misled by the faultiness of his copy. Unfortunately he has not given any transcript of the inscription; but several portions of the opening lines on the stone are so much obliterated, that it seems quite impossible to restore them. Besides which, I can vouch for the inaccuracy of many parts of the lithographed copy which accompanies the translation.

My copy of the inscription was made from actual paper impressions on which many of the fainter and more doubtful letters were pencilled on the spot. Some were given up as utterly hopeless; but the greater part of the letters are fairly legible. Judging from the forms of the letters, I would assign the inscription to the 7th or 8th century A. D.
BHÂNDAK TEMPLES.

In Bhândak itself there is only one cave worth notice. It is excavated in the western face of the low ridge on which the town is situated, at a short distance from the temple of Badarinâg. It consists of a large open court 35 feet long by 18½ feet broad, from which two openings on the east lead into a suite of caves, and one opening on the south into a single one.¹ The two doors of the eastern cave open into a hall 33 feet long by 10½ feet broad, in which there is a single niche with a figure of Lakshmi holding the club and discus of Vishnu. This hall is from 8 to 9 feet high. On the east side there are two openings leading into two separate chambers, each about 9 feet square and 7 feet high. In the left-hand chamber is enshrined a seated figure of the ten-armed Durgâ, and in that to the right a four-armed figure of Siva with trident and three-headed snake. There was formerly also a colossal figure in this cave, but only the two attendants now remain, one of them being the skeleton goddess Kâli. From the south-east corner of this chamber a narrow passage leads into an unfinished cave 11 feet long by 3 feet broad.

The south cave consists of a single room 17 feet 6 inches in length by 15 feet 7 inches in breadth. Nearly in the middle there is a small raised platform 3 feet square, which most probably once supported a lingam of Siva.

There is nothing to show the age of these caves except the few figures which still remain. From the style of these I infer that the caves belong to the same age as the Brahmancial temples, that is to the 11th or 12th century.

The Brahmancial temples of Bhândak are all more or less ruined, but several of the remains are of sufficient interest to warrant a detailed notice.

The Chandî Devî temple is situated on a rising ground in the midst of the forest to the south-east of the town, and just 540 paces from the Akhâra mound. Its proper name, as noted in a short inscription on one of the pillars, is Chandrikâ Devî. From this record also we learn that the temple was built in the Samvat year 1133, or A. D. 1076. Its ground plan differs from that of the other temples of

¹ See Plate XXII.
Bhândak in having two pillared halls, but I cannot help suspecting that the outer one is a subsequent addition. 1

The entrance to the temple is towards the town facing the west. The portico, which is 11 feet square, leads into an open pillared hall, 26 feet square, supported on 16 square columns nearly 8 feet in height. From the middle aisle another doorway leads into the second hall, which is only 21½ feet in breadth by 26 feet in length. Its roof is supported by 8 square columns and 8 pilasters. The sanctum, which is nearly 10 feet by 6 feet, enshrines a standing female figure 4 feet 4 inches high. She has only two arms, and is, I suppose, the Chandikā Devi of the inscription after whom the temple is named. The roof of the sanctum was a low pyramid.

In the hall there are figures of Ganesa, Mahesāsuri Devi, and of a god, goddess and child grouped together. Outside the temple there are statues of Hara-Gauri, Ganesa, and of a woman with a child on her hip.

I was informed that the road officer had begun to dismantle this temple, and had taken down two of the architraves of the Mahāmandapa, when he was stopped by the civil authorities. I afterwards verified this statement of the people by an examination of the nearest bridge on the high road, where I found several carved and squared stones still lying unused.

The Dvārā tank is situated just one mile to the east of the town, and close to the high road. On an island in the middle of the tank there was formerly a temple which was approached from the south by a long bridge. The bridge still remains, but nearly all the stones of the temple have been carried away to make road bridges. Even the name of the temple has now been lost, and the bridge is only known as the Chumārika-Dvārā. Its construction is very simple. Sixteen pairs of square pillars 4 feet apart, are placed at intervals of 8 feet 4½ inches from the tank to the island. The intervals are spanned by stone beams, over which is laid the roadway of stone slabs. The whole structure is 157 feet long and 5½ feet broad. The pillars are 16½ inches square, with spreading capitals of a rather elegant design which give a very pleasing appearance to this long viaduct. A sketch of one of the pillars is given in the accompanying

1 See Plate XXIII.
plate,¹ along with others from neighbouring temples with which it may be compared.

The Akhāra mound is the ruin of an old temple which has been cleared and levelled as a wrestling place. Nothing is known about the temple, and the only figure which is set up on the top was brought from the temple of Chandi Devi. It is a seated figure holding a club over the left shoulder, and was no doubt selected as an appropriate adornment of the palaestra, where club exercise is daily practised by the wrestlers. The mound is situated at the south end of the town, and 525 paces from the temple of Badarināg.

In the forest to the north-east of the Akhāra mound, at a distance of 330 paces, there are some remains of a Jain temple to Pārśvanāth. The sanctum still remains with a naked figure of Pārśvanāth, canopied by a seven-headed snake. The statue is 8 ½ feet high, and the cell is nearly 8 feet square. Beyond it are the remains of a hall 20 feet long and 7 ½ feet broad.

The temple of Badarināg is the only one of all the Bhāndak shrines that has preserved its fame. The “Snake-temple” is known all over the country, but it is the holiness of the Nāga, and not the beauty of the temple that has made the shrine so famous. As it now stands the temple consists of a half-open hall supported on 20 pillars, with a small sanctum at one end, but the whole is a hasty reconstruction of old materials. There is no entrance porch, and the officiating Brahmans gain admittance through a door in one of the side walls.²

The object of worship is a Nāga, or snake, which is said to make its appearance on all public occasions. Inside the sanctum there is a curious brass cover, surmounted by a five-headed snake. The cover, which is open both at top and bottom, is conical in shape and corrugated horizontally to represent the coils of a snake. Its form is just like that of a puffed crinoline. This curious vessel was presented to the temple upwards of one hundred years ago by Sāmbaji Kasār. At the annual fair this vessel is carried to the meeting by a party of Dhimars.

In the courtyard of the temple outside there are several figures standing against the wall, of which the most noteworthy are:

1.—A large statue of Vishnu with boar’s head, as the Varāha Avatār, with the other incarnations in small size grouped around.

¹ See Plate XXIV. ² See Plate XXIII.
2.—Statue of Vishnu, four-armed, holding the club, the discus, shell and lotus.
3.—Statues of Vishnu and Lakshmi on Garud.
4.—Hara-Gauri.
5.—Ganesa.
6 and 7.—Two rude Lions.

Along with these figures there is an inscribed slab, dated in Sake 13 *, in the Kshaya Samvatsara. The date is therefore either 1301 or 1368 Sake, or A. D. 1386 or 1446, as Kshaya is the last year of the Jupiter Cycle of 60 years. But there is no certainty that this record belonged to the temple which is now called Badari-Nâg. The inscription itself records the dedication of a statue of Jagannârâyana, and as the principal figures now standing outside are of Vishnu, it seems highly probable that the original temple was dedicated to that god. The plan of the present temple in the accompanying plate shows that it is a modern reconstruction.

The Tâka Tatao Temple is situated close to a tânka or tank, 300 feet square and 20 feet deep, the sides of which are built of "cut stones" [tânka] with the upper course moulded. The tank is a little way outside the town on the north-west. The main body of the temple is said to have been very nearly intact some years ago, when the engineers of the Warora coal works began to dismantle it. The traces of the removal of beams and slabs from the roof were quite fresh at the time of my visit. The people appealed to the Deputy Commissioner of Chânda, and the demolition was at once stopped.

The temple consists of one large hall of three aisles, the centre aisle leading direct from the entrance to the anteroom in front of the sanctum being 7 feet 3 inches wide, while the side aisles are only 4 feet 2 inches. Lengthwise, also, the pillars are spaced differently from the usual custom, as the middle space is only 4 feet 2 inches, instead of 7 feet 3 inches. Perhaps this narrowing of the central space was found from experience to be necessary on account of the liability to breakage of long beams when subjected to a heavy weight. I noticed that all the beams of the Dolarâ Bridge, which have a span of 8 feet 4 inches, are intact, while the temple beams of the same span are generally broken. The roof of the hall is supported on eight pillars and 12 pilasters, which are remarkable for the great splay of
their bracket capitals. Two specimens of these pillars are given in the accompanying plate; that marked A being from the western side of the temple, and B from the middle aisle. The mouldings of the capitals of these aisle pillars appear to me to be quite new and peculiar in their arrangement. Compare the Ghorpet capital in the same plate. They are of the same character as the Dolara and Gaorara examples, but are quite different from any others that I have seen in Northern India, and would seem to be peculiar to this part of the country.

Inside the temple there is a large figure of Vishnu sleeping on the serpent Ananta, 6 feet long by 3 feet broad, which is sufficient evidence to show that the temple must have been dedicated to that god.

To the eastward of the Taka temple and to the south of the Dudhara tank, there are four richly carved pillars, standing in a field, which once formed part of a great temple. The pillars are 8½ feet in height, and 1½ foot square at the base. They form a square which was originally the central part of the Mahamandapa, or great hall. The mouldings of the capital combine the upper member of the Taka Talao example with the lower members of the Gaorara example.

**GAORARA.**

Gaorara, or Gavarara, is a small village situated one mile and a half to the south of Bhândak. To the west are several fine tanks, especially the Asan Tál, beyond which is a low hill crowned with the remains of several temples. There are also many detached rocks, several of which have been hollowed out to form caves and niches. The principal temple is called Johnasa's Palace, and the two chief caves are called his Big and Little Fowl-houses.

The rock-cut niches are found in a group of huge rounded stones which form a tolerably uniform front about 40 feet in length. The first niche beginning from the left hand contains a lingam, and the second a row of figures of the Ashta-Sakti, on eight female effigies. The third has a seated figure of Ganesa, the fourth is empty, the statue having been removed from its socket, but there is a lingam scratched on the wall behind. The sixth niche contains a
lingam, and a place for a second figure. The seventh niche has only a mutilated figure. All these niches are roughly hewn out.

The "Big Fowl-house" is a carefully cut room, 9 feet long by 5 feet 2 inches broad, and upwards of 7 feet high. The entrance is 3 feet 7 inches wide, and there are traces of a structural porch which once stood in front of it. Round the three walls of the cave there is a raised platform for the reception of statues. This has been very carefully hewn, with mouldings both above and below. There are eight large sockets in the platform for the reception of as many statues. In the plate I have marked the holes with the letters A to H. At present there are only a few loose figures in the cave, which from their small size are not likely to have been the original objects of worship. Three of these are Vishnu himself, on Ananta, and the dwarf and boar incarnations. A fourth is an unidentified seated figure, and the fifth is a lingam. If the cave had been dedicated to the Das-Avatār of Vishnu, there would have been ten socket-holes instead of eight, unless, which is quite possible, more than one figure had been carved upon two of the stones. I have seen the fish and tortoise incarnations placed one above the other on the same stone, and such may have been the arrangement in this cave. But whatever may have been the original arrangement, it is clear that the worship of Vishnu was in fashion when the present figures were placed inside. It is quite possible that the cave may have been a Buddhist one, for the worshippers of Buddha always arranged their statues on platforms around the walls, as they do even at the present day in Burma. In favour of this assignment, I may note that a draped figure of Buddha is now lying at the foot of the hill, and that the small cave, called the "Little Fowl-house," which is close by, was almost certainly a monk's cell. It is 5 feet 5 inches long by 3 feet 3 inches broad, which are about the usual dimensions of the rock-hewn cells.

On the hill above these two caves stands the Brahmanical Temple called Johnāsa's Palace. Although ruined externally, the arrangement of the interior is still nearly perfect. The entrance, which was to the south, has gone, but most of the pillars of the Mahāmandapa, or great hall, are still standing as well as the walls of the Antarāla and sanctum. The roof of the hall was supported on 16 pillars, each 7½
feet in height. The capitals of these pillars appear to me to be more graceful in their proportions than those of the Bhândak temples.\(^1\) They are also remarkable for the disuse of the pinched neck which gives an appearance of weakness to other Hindu pillars. But this advantage would seem to have been gained rather by decreasing the bulk of the shaft than by increasing the width of the neck.

The antarâla and sanctum are rather larger than those of the Bhândak temples. They are both empty; but in the hall there is a figure of Ganeśa, and another of the Bull Nandi. On the left hand jambs of the antarâla there is an inscription dated in the Samvat year 1166, or A. D. 1109. This temple is therefore somewhat later than that of Chandika Devi. A plan of it is given in the accompanying plate.\(^3\)

On the south side, at a distance of only 21 feet, there is a small side temple containing a large statue of Ganeśa. It consists of a single room 16 feet 4 inches long by nearly 7 feet wide, the entrance being towards the temple.

At 500 feet to the south there are the foundations of a large Saiva temple; and on low spurs of the hill to the east and north-east, distant 400 feet, there are the traces of two other temples. To the north also there are traces of three more temples.

DEWALWÂRA.

The hill of Dewalwâra is situated just six miles and a half to the west of Bhândak. On the top there is a small square fort with high walls, now in ruins. Inside the fort there are four pillars of an old temple still standing, of the same style as those of Chandika Devi. There is also a dry tank called tânka, and to the east of it is a natural mark in the rock, 15 inches long by 6 inches broad, called Bhim Sen's Charan, or foot-print.

In the side of the hill there are several caves, of which the largest is named Narsinh. This is a long, narrow passage which has all the appearance of a natural rent somewhat enlarged. Altogether it is 32 feet long from its mouth, but only 4 feet wide, except in a small chamber near the entrance, where it is 6 feet wide and 6 feet high. In this chamber there is a figure of the goddess Devi.

\(^1\) See Plate XXIV.
\(^3\) See Plate XXIII.
About 100 feet to the south of the Narsinh cave there is a group of four small caves or cells which are rough and of no interest. But 100 feet further to the south, there is a double-roomed cave with straight sides. The outer-room is 8 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 3 inches, and has openings to the outside. The inner-room is only 6 feet 3 inches by 5 feet. Both rooms are extremely low, being only 4 feet 7 inches from floor to roof. It seems probable, therefore, that the excavation was not completed when the work was stopped.

23.—GHorPET.

At the village of Ghorpet, between Bhándak and Chánda, there was once a fine temple which has been utterly destroyed by a gigantic pipal tree, the roots of which now hold together a portion of its walls with one pilaster and several mouldings complete. This pipal tree is 9 feet in diameter and 29 feet in circumference. The pilaster is remarkable for being built up in regular courses of stone with the walls, instead of being a monolith. The remains were formerly much more extensive, but the stones are said to have been carried away by a road officer to build a bridge. The pilaster is a very fine example of the style of mouldings of the medieval temples of this part of the country. One of the upper mouldings is undercut, and one of the lower mouldings has a raised lip on its upper edge. Nothing whatever is known as to the age of the temple; but as the neighbouring baori well of 13½ feet diameter has an arch of overlapping stones, the whole may be assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century. A sketch of the pilaster is given in the accompanying plate, for comparison with other pillars at Bhándak and Márkanda.¹

24.—CHÁNDa.

The large city of Chánda, the capital of the southern Gonds, is said to have been built by Khândkia Ballál Sáh in the 13th century. But as this prince, according to the native annals, was only four generations prior to Bálají Ballál Sáh, the contemporary of Akbar, the date of the foundation of the city cannot be placed higher than A. D. 1450. The capital of the earlier kings was Ballálpur, on the left bank

¹ See Plate XXIV.
of the Wardâ river, 6 miles to the south of Chânda. Here there is a stone fort with the ruins of an old palace attributed to Bhima Ballâla Sinha, the founder of the Chânda Gond dynasty. As he was ten generations prior to the founder of Chânda, the establishment of the Chânda Gonds may be referred to about 1200 A. D. The Gonds of the Mandala dynasty profess to trace their annals up to Samvat 415, or A. D. 358; but their claim of royalty is quite incompatible with the acknowledged supremacy of the Haihayas of Chedi. Yâdava Raja, the founder of the family, is said to have been in the service of the Haihaya King, and it seems probable that his descendents may have been petty chiefs under the great Kalachuri Kings of Kosala.

Nothing is known of the Chânda district prior to the Gond occupation by Bhîma Ballâla Sinha. But the caves and temples of Bhândak show that this was the capital of a considerable kingdom for several centuries before the time of the Gond Kings. In my account of Bhândak I have suggested the probability that it was the ancient Vâkâṭaka, the seat of the Kailakîla Yavanas about the third and fourth centuries A. D. From the great Bhândak inscription, also, we learn that it was the chief city of a later dynasty which numbered amongst its Princes Surya Ghosha, Kutsa, Udayana, and Bhava Deva. These four probably reigned from A. D. 700 to 800, judging by some of the peculiar forms of the letters of the inscription. After this we have no mention of Vâkâṭaka until the time of Rudra Deva of Warangol, of whose kingdom it formed the western boundary in A. D. 1162. As this date is quite close to that of the rise of the Gond monarchy, it seems probable that Vâkâṭoka had existed as a distinct kingdom from the first centuries of the Christian era down to the Mahârattas conquest in the middle of the last century.

Chânda is a large walled town situated in the fork between the Jharpat Nala and the Erai river. It is about one mile and a half in length, by a mile and a quarter in breadth, but the greater part of the enclosed space is vacant. The walls were built by the Gond Raja Khândkia Ballâl Sâh, the contemporary of Akbar; but they were repaired by the Mahârattas and are now in excellent order. The walls are rather low, with lofty battlements, and they form a very efficient protection against the flood waters of the Erai river when driven backwards by the inundation of the Wardâ river.
The only buildings of any consequence are some temples and the tombs of the later Gond kings. The last are plain and substantial buildings, but rather heavy in appearance. The gateways offer good specimens of Gond art, as they are ornamented with sculptures of the fabulous monster lion overpowering an elephant, which was the symbol of the Gond kings.

The temples are generally plain, with pyramidal roofs in steps. The only exception is the fane of Achilleshvara, the walls of which are covered with a multitude of small sculptured panels. There are several sculptures of the Nāga, but only one of them is of large size, with two smaller snakes on the same slab.

Outside the town to the south-east, at a picturesque spot called Lālpet, there is a large collection of colossal figures which are more remarkable for their size than for their artistic excellence. They are situated on a rocky eminence amidst a fine grove of mango, custard-apple and tamarind trees. They must certainly have been carved on the spot, as many of them are much too heavy to be moved. In several cases they appear to have been detached rocks which were first rudely shaped into symmetrical blocks, and afterwards carved. They are arranged in a sort of rough circle, 150 feet across from east to west, by 120 feet from north to south, with a lingam of Siva in the middle. The following list of the subjects and dimensions of these curious sculptures shows that they are nearly all dedicated to the worship of Siva.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Breadth</th>
<th>Height</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A    Lingam and Argha ...</td>
<td>9 0</td>
<td>5 9</td>
<td>7 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B    Elephant</td>
<td>5 9</td>
<td>3 6</td>
<td>3 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C    Siva's bull, Nandi</td>
<td>26 6</td>
<td>18 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D    Ten-headed Durggā</td>
<td>13 9</td>
<td>7 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E    Siva, standing naked</td>
<td>19 6</td>
<td>8 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F    Do. standing</td>
<td>9 0</td>
<td>4 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G    Do. standing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H    Ten-armed Mahesasuri Devi</td>
<td>16 10</td>
<td>8 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J    Ganesa, son of Siva</td>
<td>11 9</td>
<td>7 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K    Hanumān, facing to West</td>
<td>10 7</td>
<td>6 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L    Do. facing to East</td>
<td>10 4</td>
<td>5 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M    Bhairava, son of Siva</td>
<td>10 6</td>
<td>6 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N    Tortoise incarnation of Vishnu</td>
<td>13 7</td>
<td>3 8</td>
<td>5 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O    Fish incarnation of Vishnu</td>
<td>12 0</td>
<td>8 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P    Nāga with expanded hood</td>
<td>13 6</td>
<td>8 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R    Lingam and Argha ...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The last of these sculptures is hewn out of the solid rock, and apparently does not belong to the group of detached sculptures, as it lies away from them to the south, and is pointed in a different direction. The whole group is known as Râwan, or Râwan-ka-patthar.

A is the central lingam around which the other sculptures are grouped.

C is the bull Nandi on the east with face turned towards the lingam.

D is the largest of all the sculptures, and represents the goddess Durgā standing, with ten heads, ten arms and ten legs. In her five right-hand she holds a sword, a thunderbolt, a club, a trident and a shell, and in her left-hand a human head, a bow, a discus and two objects not identified. On the pedestal under her feet Siva is represented as a tapasi or ascetic. The weight of this mass must be about 57 tons.

E is a naked standing figure of Siva with four arms. In his hands he holds a sword, a snake, a trident and a human head, below which there is a dog lapping the blood. In front, towards the lingam, there is a small figure of Ganesa.

F is a two-armed figure of Siva, standing, and holding in his hands a sword and a bowl.

G is a four-armed figure of Siva, standing, and holding in his hands a trident, a sword, a bell and a cymbal.

H is a ten-armed figure of Durgā killing the buffalo demon. In her hands she holds a sword, a trident, a bow, the demon’s head and other objects. This figure stands 80 feet to the west of the central lingam.

J is a four-armed figure of Ganesa seated, holding an axe and a club and canopied by a Nâga.

K and L are a pair of figures of Hanumân which are represented facing in opposite directions.

M is a two-armed figure of Bhairava, the son of Siva, holding as usual a sword in his uplifted right-hand.

N and O are the tortoise and fish incarnations of Vishnu. This pair of figures stand 43 feet to the south of the central lingam.

P is a large Nâga with a pair of small snakes, one on each side.

R is the detached lingam and argha, sculptured on the solid rock to the south of the group.

The whole of these figures are executed in a very soft and coarse sandstone, which has already suffered much from the
action of the weather. All the larger sculptures are lying on their backs on the ground, and I believe that they were never set up, but were carved in their present positions out of detached blocks.

25.—KELJHAR.

Keljhar is a large village about half-way between Chânda and Mârkanda, and within a few miles of Rajgarh and Mulh. Here I found two small cromlechs or dolmens, which at first I took for kistvaens that had been broken open. On enquiry, however, I was assured that they were temples raised by the Kurumbâr shepherds. I then remembered that I had seen a much larger one at Mulh, which was undoubtedly a place of worship, as a goat had been sacrificed in front of it only half-an-hour before my arrival, and in the presence of several of my servants. This temple was 6 feet long, 4 feet broad and 4 feet high. It was closed on the three sides and open to the east. At the back there was a raised terrace of earth, on which were set up a number of stones smeared with vermillion, each of which was said to be a Kurmâr Devi. I thought at first that this was the actual name of the goddess; but I now found that it is only the Gondi name for the deity of the Kurumbâr shepherds. These temples are called Mallâna by the shepherds themselves, and they are generally built in pairs, one dedicated to Mallâna Deva and the other to Mallâna Devi. There was a second small cromlech at Mulh close beside the large one. The Kurumbârs sacrifice a goat to the Mallânas to save their flocks from tigers and murrain. The shrines are generally open to the east, but sometimes they are completely closed for the purpose of keeping the sacred stones, which represent the Mallâna deities quite safe. The two temples at Keljhar have not been used for a long time, but those at Mulh are much frequented. Beside the sacred stones I saw a number of wooden figures, which were said to be the offerings of sick people, generally small-pox patients, to avert death. I was also told that men who are killed by tigers or snakes are buried under similar dolmens raised on low mounds, on which the relatives place rude representations of horses.

I find that Meadows Taylor had already guessed that these cromlechs were most probably temples, and not tombs.
for he notes,—"they do not, so far as I have opened them, contain funeral remains, and therefore may have been temples, or altars only, for the performance of sacrifices or other ceremonies."

The actual graves which I have seen are mere cairns or barrows covered with pottery horses. The temples of the Mallâna deities are cromlechs. Both kinds are found all over the country to the south of the Narbadâ beyond the Gond area. The Gonds themselves call the two Mallâna deities Kurmâr Pen and Kurmâr Devi, and speak of them with something like contempt. But their own demon-worship is much the same. Between Chândâ and Keljhar there is a broad tract of thick jungul covering the slopes of the Mulh range of hills. At Chândâ the mass of the people are still Gonds, but on passing this belt of jungul to the east, we come at once upon a different race, who call themselves Telingas and speak Telugu. To the west of this line amongst the Gonds there are none of these remains; to the east in the vicinity of Mulh I heard of fifteen villages which are said to have two cromlechs each: and "at Chamursi, to the east of the Wen Gangâ river, there is a group of twenty cromlechs or kistvaens."

In the accompanying plate I have given a sketch of the two cromlechs at Keljhar. They are of small size, being only 2 feet 7 inches square inside, and perhaps about the same height originally, but the earth had accumulated about them, so that the more perfect one is only 1 foot 8 inches high at the back above the ground. This one stands on the top of a little mound about 2½ to 3 feet high, and 40 feet diameter. The smaller one is on the slope. The covering stone is 4 feet 2 inches long by 1 foot 9 inches broad.

26.—RAJGARH.

Râjgarh is a large village on the road between Chândâ and Mârkanda. It possesses an old temple of Mahâdeva which, though small in size, is interesting for its details, as it is generally in very good preservation. It consists of a sanctum 13 feet 3 inches on the outside, with a half open pillared hall in front, 21 feet 6 inches square. The temple is dedicated to Mahâdeva, whose lingam is enshrined inside.

1 See Plate XXV.
2 See Plate XXVII.
The entrance is to the east. The hall or Sabha mandapa, is surrounded by a low wall on which stand ten short pillars of the same design as the four taller pillars in the middle. The shafts of these four middle pillars are ornamented with chains and bells. Their capitals have the same pinched necks which are so common at Mârkanda and Bhândak. They are quite plain, excepting only the figure of a hooded cobra on the face of each of the cruciform brackets. The cobra is also sculptured on the brackets of the Nandikeswar temple at Mârkanda, but I do not remember seeing a single example of this kind at Bhândak. The erection of the temple is, of course, attributed to the magic powers of Hemâd Panth. There is no inscription, and I could not find even a single letter or mason's mark on any of the stones. The style is however the same as that of the Mârkanda temples, and the roof of the sanctum is a pyramid rising in steps exactly like the pyramidal spires of the Das-Avatâr temple at Mârkanda, which will be described presently.

27.—MARKANDA.

Mârkanda is the name of the principal temple of a group situated on a rocky point on the left bank of the Wen or Venya Gangâ river about 40 miles to the east of Chânda, and 90 miles to the south-east of Nâgpur. Here the river is fordable, being about 2 feet deep, with a clear broad stream running rather rapidly over a firm sandy bottom. The little village is named Mârkandi. It was once a large place on the open plain to the west, but the frequent inundations have driven most of the people away, and there are now not more than 20 occupied houses.

The principal temple takes its name from Mârkanda Rishi, but it is dedicated to Siva, whose lingam is enshrined in the sanctum. Nothing whatever is known about the building of the temple, nor are there any inscriptions to give a clue to its age. The same story is told of this temple as of all others in Nâgpur and Berar, that they were built in a single night by Hemâd Panth. To him is ascribed the erection of all the temples at Bhândak, and I was assured that all the temples, even as far as Kâsi-Benares, had been built by him. According to my informant, Hemâd Panth was the son of a learned Brahman. The story of his birth is the same as that which is told of Lakshmaniya Raja of Gaur.
When his mother's confinement drew near, the time was said to be unlucky; so she ordered her attendants to delay the birth by hanging her up by the feet with her head downwards, until the lucky hour arrived. She was at once taken down, and then gave birth to Hemâd Panth, but died herself immediately afterwards. Hemâd became learned in every science, and more especially in medicine. When Vibishana, the brother of Râvana, was sick, Hemâd cured him, and the grateful patient told him to ask a boon. Hemâd asked for the aid of the Râkshasas to build temples whenever he might require them. The boon was granted; but on the condition that the Râkshasas were not to work for more than one night at a time. Accordingly with their aid Hemâd Panth built all the temples at Mârkanda, Bhândak, and other places between the Ganges and Godâvari. I was further told that Hemâd was the "same person who is called Pratâp Rudr in the Telinga country of Orangul (Warangal)." Now Pratap Rudra is a well-known historical personage, who lived in the 12th century, and he was certainly not a Brahman as Hemâd is always said to have been in accordance with his title of Panth.

The temples are enclosed in a quadrangle 196 feet long from north to south and 118 feet broad. There are upwards of twenty of them of various sizes, which are grouped around the great central fane of Mârkanda Rishi. Some of these are in complete ruin, and others are very small; but the whole taken together forms, perhaps, the most picturesque group of temples that I have seen. They are neither so large nor so many in number as the Khajurâha temples, but they are equally rich and elaborate, both in their ornament and in their sculptures. There are no inscriptions to tell their age; but their style is so similar to that of the Chandel temples of Khajurâha and other places, that there can be little doubt that they belong to the same period of the 10th and 11th centuries, A.D.

The wall of the quadrangle has a very primitive appearance, and is probably much older than any of the present temples. It is nine feet high and three feet nine inches thick at base, with sloping sides crowned by a rounded coping stone two feet thick. The main entrance is on the south, but there are two side entrances, one towards the river.

1 See Plate XX for a general plan of the Mârkanda group of temples.
2 See Plate XXVII.
on the east, and the other on the west towards the village. These two are mere openings in the wall, but the southern entrance though small, is a two-storeyed building with a pair of pillars, both inside and outside. The upper storey is an open room with eight pillars intended for the use of the musicians.

The following list of the Mārkanda temples shows their names and sizes, and the gods to whom they are dedicated. Many of them are so small and unimportant as to require no further description:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Enshrined figure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A — Mārkanda</td>
<td>73 7 x 55 3</td>
<td>Siva lingam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B — Nandikeswara</td>
<td>38 3</td>
<td>Do. with bull Nandi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C — Mārkanda</td>
<td>36 3 x 27 6</td>
<td>Do. with two Nandis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D — Jōdh Ling</td>
<td>10 2 x 6 7</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E — Mritunjaya</td>
<td>18 6 x 10 0</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F — Yama Dharmarāja</td>
<td>14 9 x 10 0</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G — Umā Maheswara</td>
<td>16 0 x 10 0</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H — (Ruined)</td>
<td>9 0 x 9 0</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J — Rāj Rājeswara</td>
<td>7 8 x 7 2</td>
<td>Hanumān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K — Nāg Rishi</td>
<td>(Ruined)</td>
<td>Siva lingam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L — Koteswara</td>
<td>23 8 x 14 8</td>
<td>Hall for ascetics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M — Dharmasāla</td>
<td>13 8 x 10 0</td>
<td>Siva lingam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N — (Ruined)</td>
<td>6 3 x 6 3</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O — Siva</td>
<td>6 6 x 6 6</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P — Nameless</td>
<td>7 0 x 6 6</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q — Do.</td>
<td>7 0 x 5 0</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R — Ganesa</td>
<td>10 0 x 7 0</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S — Isveswara</td>
<td>14 6 x 14 6</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T — Siva</td>
<td>16 6 x 16 6</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U — Māmleswara</td>
<td>11 0 x 11 0</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V — Bhimā Sankara</td>
<td>24 0 x 24 0</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W — Das Avatār</td>
<td>79 0 x 11 0</td>
<td>Incarnations of Vishnu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X — Dwārka Pillar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On entering by the southern door, the path leads between two rows of small temples and past several curious old square pillars, which are apparently much more ancient than any of the temples. Nearly all of them are sculptured, and some of them are inscribed. The chief figures are soldiers, armed with battle-axe, bow and quiver full of arrows, in an attitude of attack. On one pillar I noticed the sun and moon
above an illegible inscription. As these emblems are generally found on Sati pillars, I have a suspicion that most, if not all, of these pillars are memorials of Satis. When the deceased was a soldier, he was sculptured with his arms; and if he died in battle, he was represented fighting.

A.—The temple of Mârkanda Rishi is by far the largest of the group, and is also the most elaborately sculptured. About 200 years ago it was struck by lightning, when the upper part of the massive spire was hurled down on to the roof of the Mahâ Mandapa which was broken in, and at the same time a small temple marked H in the plan, was utterly destroyed. The roof of the hall was repaired about 120 years ago, but in a very rude manner, by one of the Gond Rajas, whose architect introduced huge piers with radiating arches inside the principal room.

The temple consists of an entrance porch on the east, leading into the great hall, which has also two side entrances on the north and south, each covered by a porch. Beyond this is the antarâla or antechamber leading into the sanctum, both of which are old work. Inside there is a lingam of Siva, with a mukuta, or cap of brass, surmounted with five human heads, under a canopy of five snakes' hoods.

The general style of the Mârkanda temple is like that of the Khajurâha temples, with three rows of figures all round, two feet three inches in height. In each of these rows there are 45 human figures, making 135 in the lower part of the temple. Higher up than these there is a row of geese, and a row of monkeys, and above these are four more rows of human figures. The whole surface of the temple is, in fact, literally covered with statues and ornaments. Altogether I counted 409 figures; and there are about half as many lions and elephants forming divisions between the human statues. About one-half of the panels are given up to Siva and Pârvati in various forms. There are also many subordinate female figures, some dancing, some playing musical instruments, and one holding a mirror, while putting antimony to her eyelids. Several of the statues of Siva are naked, and so are some of the female statues; but they are simply nude figures without any suggestive indelicacy, such as is only too prominent in the obtrusive bestiality of the Khajurâha sculptures. The attitudes of the figures are generally easy, but

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1 I have since met with similar pillars in other places, which are undoubted Sât memorials.
there is invariably the same passionless expression in all the faces; and Siva has just the same calm features when he is caressing Pârvati, as when he is trampling an enemy to death.

On the jambs of the south door is inscribed the name of "Magar-dhwaj Jogi, 700." A similar record is incised on temples at Bilhâri and Amarkantak, as well as in Bihar. The number of 700 is most probably intended for the date of his visit; but it certainly cannot refer to either the Vikrama-ditya or Saka era, as the characters are comparatively modern. The earliest date that I would assign to the writing is about A.D. 1000; and if referred to the Chedi Samvat, the date will be about A.D. 950. The temple itself may be as old as the beginning of the tenth century, as it rivals in richness of sculpture and luxuriance of ornamentation the great temples of the Chandel Kings Yaso Varmma and Dhanga, who reigned from A.D. 925 to 1000. A glance at the mouldings of the plinth in the accompanying plate will show the great variety and beauty of form which the Hindu architect lavished without stint on this fine temple. One is surprised to find such a rich and costly building in the wilds of Central India.

B.—The temple of Nandikeswara faces the Mârkandya temples on the east, the two entrances being 10½ feet apart. It is, as its name implies, a shrine for the Bull Nandi, which is one of the usual adjuncts of the temples dedicated to Siva. This shrine is an open pillared hall, 24 feet square, with a projecting portico of seven feet on each of the four faces. There are four pillars on each side, two in each portico, and four in the middle of the hall for the support of the pyramidal roof. The outer pillars are 6 feet high and 16 inches square at base, but the inner pillars are 19 inches square. They are well-proportioned, but comparatively plain, the only ornament being a hooded cobra on each face of the bracket capitals. There is however a row of guttae, or drops, pendent from the cornice all round, which gives a very rich effect to the otherwise plain mouldings. Inside there is a figure of the Bull Nandi.

C.—The second temple in size is named after Mârkand Rishi, who is said to have been a brother of Mârkand. It consists of a hall two-thirds open, a small anteroom and a

1 See Plate XXIX.
2 See Plates XXVI and XXIX, for a plan and a pillar of this temple.
sanctum. The hall is 27 feet 6 inches by 25 feet outside. In front there are four short pillars standing on a low wall, with a door in the middle. On each side there are two similar pillars and one pilaster forming two-thirds of the side length of the hall, the remaining third being closed by a wall. In the middle are four richly carved pillars for the support of the pyramidal roof. Over the sanctum rises the usual lofty spire curving in towards the top, and crowned with two amalaka fruits one above the other. The spire is square in plan with the corners indented, and at each of the four angles at the neck of the pinnacle is placed the figure of a bearded Rishi with matted hair. The spire is nearly perfect, and is a very graceful specimen of Indian architecture. The temple is dedicated to Siva, as shown by the lingam placed in the sanctum, and the two figures of the Bull Nandi in front of the antarāla, or antechamber.

D.—This small temple of 10 feet by 7 feet contains a symbol of Siva named Jodh-Ling, regarding which I could not obtain any information. The entrance is to the east.

E.—This is another temple dedicated to Siva as Mritunjaya, or the "conqueror of death." It contains the usual lingam in the sanctum, with figures of Ganesa and Vishnu in the hall, and a small figure of Ganesa over the entrance to the sanctum. The temple is 18½ feet long by 10 feet broad, and faces the east. On the left jambs of the door there is engraved a curious account of some measurements, of which I have not yet been able to unravel the meaning. The whole of the writing is given in the accompanying plate. There are two columns of figures, one on the left hand having reference to dharini, or "the earth," and the other on the right to Gangā, or the river Wen Gangā, which flows past the enclosure. I read the different entries as follows:

| Dharini gaj | 714 | Gangā | ... | 12 |
| Bhābhū | 314 | Gangā | ... | 60 |
| * * * | 286 | Gangā | ... | 124 |
| Eta gaj tā tu | 1314 | Gangā Sainpalana | 196 |

Below this last line there is a rude sketch of a man's head, with the left arm holding a book. It will be observed that both sets of figures are totalled up below, the sum of the three left-hand numbers being 1314, and that of the three

1 See Plates XXVI and XXIX for a plan and a pillar of this temple.
2 See Plate XXIX for a pillar, and basement section of this temple.
right-hand numbers 196. I can only make a guess that they may refer to two different classes of offerings which the owner of the rudely-sketched head may have made to the temple.

F.—This is the only temple that I have met with dedicated to Yama. As he is called Jam-dharmraj by the officiating Brahman, there can be no doubt that it is the god of the lower world who gives his name to the temple, although there is only a lingam of Siva enshrined inside. On each side of the door of the sanctum there is a very richly carved group of Siva and Parvati. This temple is placed exactly opposite that of Mrityunjaya, with its entrance facing the west. It is 16 feet long by 10 feet broad, being only a little less in length than the other. The two temples are clearly connected by position, and I conclude that the intention of the builder was to represent Siva in the two-fold capacity as Yama, or "death," and as Mrityunjaya, or the "conqueror of death" by reproduction.

G.—the temple of Umâ Maheswara is another Saiva fane, Umâ being only another name for Parvati.

J.—Râj-râjeswara is a simple lingam without any traces of a temple.

The remaining temples with the single exception of X, do not require any particular description, as they are all dedicated to Siva under different names, and contain lingams.

X.—The temple of the Das Avatâr, or ten incarnations of Vishnu, is an open cloister, 75 feet long by 7 feet wide inside, placed against the western wall of the enclosure. It is divided into twelve compartments by pilasters, two of the divisions being probably intended for statues of Vishnu, and the remaining ten for the Avâtâras. In front of the eight middle divisions there are seven pillars resting on a low wall, as shown in the accompanying plate,¹ the two divisions at each end being closed by a wall, with a door leading into the first and twelfth compartments. Outside there is a continuous projecting cornice running the whole length of the building, above which rise twelve pyramidal spires, being one separate roof for each of the twelve shrines. One of these is represented in the plate.² In each division there is a pedestal, but several of them are now empty. There are two tortoise incarnations, one flat, and one upright. The boar

¹ See Plate XXVI.
² See Plate XXVIII.
incarnation is also in its place. The Narsinh-Avatār has been taken inside the Mārkanda temple; and the Kālki-Avatār is lying outside broken. All the other incarnations have disappeared, unless, perhaps, the naked Jain-looking figure may have been intended for the Bodh-Avatār. I searched in vain for inscriptions which might have given a clue to the age of this temple. I am satisfied that it is older than any of the Saiva temples which I have just described, and I am inclined to look upon it as a part of the original enclosure, and to assign it to a period two or three centuries earlier than the date of the lingam temples. There is a similar arrangement at Garhwā, where a long cloister was dedicated to the Avatārs of Vishnu, long before the erection of the lofty detached temple to Siva. In this case we know positively from the inscriptions on both statues and temple that the former are at least two centuries earlier than the Siva fane. Almost every where where the worship of Vishnu appears to have prevailed from the seventh to the tenth century, when it was forcibly supplanted by the more fashionable worship of Siva’s lingam.

I have already noticed in their proper places the short inscriptions which are found on the pillars and door-jambs of the temples. There are similar records also on the rocks, but they are too much injured to be legible. All of these are of middle age, ranging from the middle of the tenth century down to 1500 A. D. But on two of the old square monoliths there are characters of a much more ancient date. On one of them there are only three letters remaining, pra-yā-Sri; but these are sufficient to show that the pillar cannot be later than the fifth or sixth century.¹ The letters are near the top of the stone, and below there is a male figure with four arms, carrying a battle-axe, and attended by two females. A snake encircles his waist, which may perhaps serve to identify the figure with Siva; but there is no other trace of that god, so far as I could see.

A second square monolith with a moulded capital is inscribed on three faces.² Its characters are somewhat older than those of the other pillar, say of the sixth or seventh century. The two lines on the left face of the pillar apparently form a distinct record, of which the latter half of the second line is in much smaller characters. The main record

¹ See Plate XXX, fig. 5, for a copy of these three letters.
² See Plate XXX, fig. 1.
begins at the top of the middle face with the words "Swasti
Sri." Several of the letters are rather doubtful; but they
appear to me to read somewhat as follows:—

\[
\begin{align*}
1. & \text{Swasti Sri Samiyidha} \\
2. & \text{jna Chila badra chigi} \\
3. & \text{posa dhi ha * lu ma} \\
4. & \text{* budhi suchandra sishya} \\
5. & \text{nta Chaitriyama sute} \\
\text{Middle face.} \\
1. & \text{* * bra * *} \\
2. & \text{* thu la * *} \\
\text{Right face.} \\
3. & \text{nya dha di yaga} \\
4. & \text{ma yi badi nga bra} \\
5. & \text{Sata di * * ba}
\end{align*}
\]

Apparently this last inscription on the right face, which
is in much larger letters, has no connection with that on the
middle face. I can make nothing of them; but so little is
lost that I believe the whole may be deciphered by a com-
petent Sanskrit scholar.

28.—GONDS OR GAUDAHS.

The country of the Gonds received from the Muham-
madans the convenient name of Gondwāna. But the actual
districts occupied by the Gonds did not comprise more than
one-third of the wide region of Muhammadan writers,
which included all the wild tracts of Central India lying
between Kândêš and Orissa. The true Gond country is the
long table-land which gives rise to the Tapti, the Wardâ, the
Wen Gangâ, and the Narbadâ, and comprises the districts of
Betul, Chhindwâra, Seoni, and Mandala. In ancient times this
territory would appear to have been called Gaudâ or Gau,
the "western" Gauda of Wilford. In A. D. 1042 Gauda
formed part of the dominion of Karna Deva, Raja of Chedi.
In A. D. 812 Karka, Râshtrakuṭa, Raja of Lâteswara, saved
the king of Mâlava from the kings of Gaudâ and Gurjjara.
About A. D. 780, or one generation before A. D. 808, the
Râshtrakuṭa Râja, named Faura, invaded Maru [the country
of Vatsa Raja] who was "intoxicated with the wealth of the
king of Gauda." In A. D. 606 Râjya Vardhana, the king
of Kanauj, invaded Mâlava with 10,000 horse, and killed
the king; but was himself slain by Gupta, king of Gauda.
From all these notices we learn that the territory of Gauda
must have bordered on Chedi and Mâlava, as well as on the
country of the Râshtrakuṭa, Princes of Berâr. All these
requirements are most satisfactorily met by the position and limits of the country actually inhabited by the Gonds, or Gondwâna proper, which must therefore have formed part of the ancient Gaudâ, or the western Gaur.

The name of Gond is simply a corruption of Gaudâ. In the northern Gaudâ, or Uttara Kosala, the chief town is still named Gaudâ, which the Muhammadans before us corrupted to Gonda. On the finger-posts leading to the place, the Nagari गाँउँ Gaudâ and the English Gonda are placed side by side. I spent several months in the Central Provinces, and I never once heard the aborigines called Gond, but always Gor. Now, as Gaudâ is a pure Sanskrit word, it would seem that this was not their true name, and that it must have been derived from the country in which they dwelt. This appears the more probable when we learn that they do not call themselves either Gond or Gor, but Koïtur. It is also strongly confirmed by the fact that there are no Gonds in the northern Gaudâ, or Uttara Kosala, and none in the eastern Gaudâ or western Bengal. This being the case, it follows that, when Gaudas are mentioned, the name does not necessarily refer to the aborigines now called Gonds, but may belong to the rulers who held the country of Gaudâ at the time; as in the instance of Karna Deva, the Kulachuri ruler of Chedi, who calls himself also king of Gaudâ.

This conclusion, however, refers only to the rulers of the country, and not to the bulk of the population, which even in the time of Ptolemy would appear to have been the aboriginal Gond. In his day the large district at the head of the Nanagunu, or Tapti River, was occupied by the Kondali or Gondali, a name which has been generally identified with that of the Gonds. But their country is described as pars Phullitarum, the Phulliâ themselves being placed more to the north. I take this name to be a pure Greek one, φυλλίας, descriptive of the "leaf-clad" aborigines. Varâha Mihira notices the Parna-Sabar, or "leaf-clad Sauras"; and we know that the Juangs of the present day still preserve this primitive costume. I believe therefore that there may have been Parna Gaudâs, or "leaf-clad Gonds," in the time of Ptolemy, and that these are the people intended by his Phulliâ-Gondali.

My explanation of Gaudâ as a geographical term which gave its name to the Gond people, instead of having received it from them, is still further confirmed by the fact that
numerous temples which are said to have been built by the Gonds, were certainly not erected by them. Thus the temples at Dudahi, Chandpore, and Deogarh, all in the Lalitpur district, have been attributed to the Gonds. But this assignment is quite impossible, as we know from their inscriptions that at the time they were erected the country was possessed by the Chandels of Mahoba. The same assertion is made about Garha near Jabalpur, to which may be given a similar answer that the country was then possessed by the powerful Kulachuri Rājas of Chedi-des. I suspect that these erroneous statements have originated in the accessions of rubbish which in later times have been shot into the Prithiraj rāyasas of Chand. In that poem there are three passages which, as they at present stand, are undoubted anachronisms that must have been foisted into the text by some copyist at a much later date. At the breaking out of the war between Prithiraj Chauhān, and Parmāl Chandel of Mahoba, the Chandel bard, named Jagnik, was sent to Kanauj to induce the two Banāphar heroes, Alha and Udal, to return to Mahoba for the defence of their country. Alha replies to Jagnik—

Suni Jagnik, yeh bât sunâni,
Hamayharâj kochhu nahi jâni;
Ham sir bândhi Mahoba rakhiv,
Nrip Chandel jugal mukh dik khiv;
Ham mare bar Gaurâ, Deogarh, Chândâ-wâre,
Ham Jâdo kari juddh ghâr Chandel udhâre;
Ham Kathariya kati Parmâl des dal,
Ham kotik kari bân luti line sabke bal.

Here the Banâphar chief consents to return to Mahoba, and then, after the fashion of the Homeric heroes, boasts of his own exploits—

"We conquered the whole of Gauda, Deogarh, Chanda; we fought with the Jâdon and saved the Chandels; we cut off the Kathariya for the sake of Parmâl, and plundered every king around."

In the same strain he continues his anachronisms—

Ham âge Pâtsâhi phôj bhâgi das bârah—

"Before us the Padshahi army ten and twelve times fled."

Mewât mari padhar kariya Antarbed dahâiyo,
Banghel mari basudhâ hari garh Chandel lagaiyo—

"We harried Mewât and frightened Antarbed; we plundered the Baghel, and brought his wealth to the palace of the Chandel."
In another passage the minister of Prithirâj addresses his master—

Kânan suni Chahûdn kahe barday mantr gati,
Pratham des Parimâl rahyo Jasrâj senipati;
Garha jay nrip lâgi pari Gaudan son jangah,
Paryo jâl Chandel dâli dharnî-dhar angah;
Rokiyo seni ari seni sab kâm maran dhiran dhariya,
Kheliyo vyâl bin sis dhar kâm jay phateh kariya;
Garha nagar Chandel suiniyo,
Gaudasu mile jugghtâji hiyo;
Bhâgi seni dekhi Jasrâjah,
Dinhon sis swamike kâjah;

The pith of this long story is simply that Parmâl invaded Garha, and was defeated by the Gaudas (Gonds), but was saved by his general Jasrâj, who lost his life in defence of his master.

In a third passage is described the fight between Udal Banâphar and Kanh Châuhân, the brother of Prithirâj: the latter is made to say—

Tabe Kanh bolyo mahâ ros hoë,
Suno nand Jasrâjke bât soë;
Jhân Gaur nahi Garha mari jâno,
Awe Kanh Chauhân son jugghtâno.

"Then said Kanh in a great rage,
"Hear, O son of Jasrâj, it is not the Gaur of Garhâ whom you conquered, but Kanh Chauhân with whom you have to fight."

In these three passages the Gaudas of Garha are most probably intended for the Gonds, as Garha was their capital some centuries later. But it is absolutely certain from the Kulachuri inscriptions of Tewar, only a few miles from Garha, that in Samvat 1239 or A. D. 1182, when Prithirâj defeated Parmâl, the country of Chedi, of which Tewar was the capital, was still in the possession of the Haihaya Kula-

churis. Deogarh and Chânda were also two well-known capitals of the Gonds in later days; but it is very doubtful whether Deogarh was a separate principality in the time of Prithirâj; and it is quite certain that both places were beyond the reach of Alha and Udal, as the territory of the Kulachuris of Chedi, extending along both banks of the Narbada, lay between the Chandels and the Gonds. My impression is that the popular canto of Chandel's poem called the Mahoba-khand or Alha-khand, in which the conquest of
Mahoba is related, has been largely interpolated by the Chandel bards, and that to them we are indebted for the mention of Garha. It is quite possible that Deogarh and Chanderi, the two great forts on opposite sides of the Betwa, may have fallen into the hands of the Kulachuris of Chedi after the death of Kirtti Varmma, and that they were recovered by Alha and Udal. In later times this exploit was magnified into the capture of the more distant forts of Deogarh and Chanda, to the south of the Narbada, and the Gauda of Western India was held to be the country of the Gonds of Gaisha. In favour of this explanation is the fact that the Kulachuri Haihayas of Chedi had fought with the Chandels of Mahoba during the reign of Madana Varmma, only a few years before the accession of Parmal. In the Mhau inscription it is said of Madana Varmma, "from whose name even the king of Chedi, vanquished in the fierce fight, ever quickly flees." We know that Gauda was in the possession of Karna Deva of Chedi in the end of the eleventh century, and I am not aware of any reason for supposing that it had passed out of the hands of the Kulachuri princes during the following century. If by the Gauda of Gaisha we are to understand the aboriginal Gonds, then the statement is clearly an anachronism; but if we may accept it as referring to the Kulachuri Haihayas as kings of Gauda and Gaisha, then the passage may remain unchallenged. But in this case the two forts of Deogarh and Chanda must be identified with the two great forts of Deogarh and Chanderi, on the opposite banks of the Betwa, in preference to the two more distant forts of Deogarh and Chanda to the south of the Narbada.

By identifying the country of the Gonds with the Western Gauda, we get a glimpse of their history in the very beginning of the seventh century. The account is given in Bana's Harsha Charita, of which notices have been published by Professor Hall and Dr. Bhau Daji. The earlier portion of the story is given by Professor Hall as follows:

"Rajyavardhana [the elder son of Prabhakara Vardhana, king of Kanauj], by command of his father, made an expedition to the north against the Har-Hunas [this must have been in A.D. 606.] Harsha [his younger brother] followed him. While hunting on the skirts of the Himlayas, a domestic Karangaka brought intelligence that the king was critically ill. Harsha hastened back, and was just in time to

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1. Bengal Asiatic Soc.'s Journal, XXXI, p. 3.
see him expire. On the very day of Prabhākara Vardhana's decease, Graharvarman was massacred by the king of Mālava, who also threw Rājayasri into chains. This took place at Kanauj.

"Grahavarman, son of Avantivarman, of the Maukbara family, was husband of Rājayasri. As we do not find it stated distinctly that the king of Mālava had aggressed on Kanauj, we should understand, it may be, Graharvarman owed his death to the son of that sovereign, who, it is said, was staying at the Kanaujan Court. Apparently, he was there in the character of hostage; and perhaps he received the assistance of troops from his home unexpectedly.

"Rājayavardhana, taking with him Bhanḍin, a subject of high rank, by whom his education had been superintended, and an army of ten thousand horses, marched to attack the king of Mālava. Him he slew; but his own fate was defeat and death at the hands of Gupta, king of Gauḍa, of which the news was brought back by Kuntala, a chief officer of cavalry. Sinhanāda and Skandagupta, the generalissimos, urge Harsha to make reprisals; and they lose no time in embarking on the enterprise.

"The account of Harsha's progress towards the south-east I omit. Before he could reach Gauḍa, Bhanḍin arrived with spoils of the Mālavas. Enquiries were at once made for Rājayasri. She had escaped from Kanauj, and fled towards the Vindhyā mountains. Thither Harsha directs his steps. He is visited by Bhūkampa, a military retainer to some local dignitary, Vyağhraketu, son of Sārabhaketu. These names, by-the-by, seem to be coinages suggested by the fancied fitness of circumstances. Bhūkampa knows nothing of Rājayasri's present quarters, and recommends that Harsha should seek for information at the neighbouring hamlet. She is discovered when on the very point of burning herself."

The latter part of the story is given by Dr. Bhaub Dāji as follows:

"Rāja Harsha having entered the wilds of the Vindhyā mountains, travelled in all directions for many days for the discovery of his sister, Rājayasri. He met a chief named Vyağhraketu, son of Sārabhaketu. He introduced to the king Nirghāṭa, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bhūkampa Sabaras. The king made inquiries of the Sabara Chief regarding Rājayasri; he replied that no woman answering to the description given by the king was known to have been seen in his jungles, but promised to make vigorous efforts for her discovery. He remarked that at the distance of two miles, on a hill with a thick wood at its base, there resided, with a number of disciples, a Bhaudha Bhikshu, a mendicant (Pindapati) named Divākaramitra, who might possibly have heard of Rājayasri. Hearing this the king thought that Maitrāyaṇīya (Brāhmaṇa) Divākaramitra, the friend of Graharvarma, having abandoned the "way of the Vedas," in his youth put on brown clothes and embraced the Saṅgata creed. King Harsha, taking the Sabara Chief with him, proceeded to the abode of Divākaramitra. He admired the mountain scenery on the way, and got down from his conveyance on"

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approaching the hermit’s residence. Having placed his hand onMadhavagupta’s shoulder, he with a few chiefs walked on. He found there followers of various schools, viz., Vitaraugas, Arhatas, Maskarins, Svetapatas, Pataraabhikshus, (commentator), (in the text, Panduribhikshu), Bhagavatas, Varnins, Kesalunichakas, Kapillas, Kanadas, Apanishadas, Asvaras, Karanins, Karandhamins, Dharmashastrasins, Pauranikas, Saptantavas, Sabdas, Pancharatrikas, and others. He also met Divakaramittra Bhikshu, and made him obeisance. Divakaramittra seeing the king, said, ‘To-day our austerities have even in this life borne us good fruit by giving us a sight of the beloved of the gods; at the expense of my own body, I am ready to do the king’s business.’

The king made inquiries regarding Rajyasri. It so happened that Rajyasri was at this time making preparations for self-cremation. An old female companion of Rajyasri went to a disciple of Divakaramittra and said, ‘O mendicant! Pranrajya (the vow to abandon all worldly enjoyments) is generally full of mercy to all beings, and Sangatas (Buddhists) are ever intent on fulfilling the vow, to suffer themselves for the relief of the sufferers of others. The teaching of the Lord Sakya Munis is the family abode of mercy, the goodness of Jina is ever ready for the benefit of the whole world, and the religious law (dharma) of the Munis is a way of securing future bliss. There is no meritorious action more praised in the world than that of saving life. Pray, therefore, prevent my companion from destroying herself by fire.’ ‘My Guru (Master) said the disciple, ‘is verily a second Sugata (Buddha); when I relate to him this account, he is sure to come. He is full of pity. By the good words of Sugata, calculated to pierce the dark veil of sorrow, and by his own discourses, with illustrations culled and rendered weightier from the various Agamas (scriptures), he would lead the good-natured lady to the path of knowledge.’

‘Accordingly a Bhikshu (mendicant) came and said,—‘A woman in sorrow is ready to destroy herself by fire, not far from this abode.’ Hearing this, the King, with Divakaramittra, proceeded quickly, followed by the King’s retinue, to the place of the fire. With great difficulty she was persuaded to abandon her purpose, and they having succeeded in consoling her and soothing her sorrows, treated her to a dinner. The Raja heard all that had happened from the time she was put in confinement in Kanyakubja, and from which she was released by a descendant of the Gupta kings. She then heard of the death of Rajyavardhana, her eldest brother, on which she left off food and drink, and wandered through the woods of the Vindhyas. Overcome with sorrow, she made preparations to burn herself. All this the King heard from her attendants.’

From this account we learn that Prabhakara Vardhana, after having conquered and killed the King of Malava, was himself defeated and slain by Gupta, King of Gauda. It is clear, therefore, that Gauda could not have been far from Malava. But in the account of Prabhakara Vardhana’s death given by Hwen Thsang, it would appear that it was instigated
by Sasângka, the King of Kirna-Śuvarna. Professor Hall has suggested that his full name may have been Sasângka Gupta; but I learn from Dr. Bühler, that in the Jain books Sasângka is called Narendra Gupta. Putting all these statements together, it would seem that Sasângka, or Narendra Gupta, must have been the king of Gauda as well as of Kirna-Śuvarna. From his inscription cut on the rock of Rohitâs, we know that he had extended his rule northwards as far as that celebrated fortress; and from the different statements which I have just quoted about Râjya Vârdhana's death it may be inferred that the western Gauda was also included within his dominions.

When the news of his brother's death was brought to Harsha, he determined to take revenge, and at once marched towards Gauda. But on the way he was met by Bhandin with the spoils of the Mâlanas. Up to this point his march is said to have been towards the south-east. After the meeting with Bhandin he proceeded in search of his sister Râjyasri, who, after the death of her husband, had escaped from prison and fled to the Vindhya mountains. In his progress he encountered the Bhûkampa Sabaras, an aboriginal race, whose chief is named Vyâghra-ketu, "the tiger-demon," son of Sarabha-ketu, "the monster-demon." As the general is called Nirghâta, or the "man-slayer," all these names must be accepted as the inventions of the writer, which were considered appropriate for the chiefs of the Bhûkampa, or "Earthquake" Sabaras. At the same time they appear to me to be a recognition of the former power of this now despised race. In a subsequent report I propose to give some account of the Sabaras, and to show by their inscriptions that they once had Kings of their own, bearing the title of Gupta. According to the statistics which I have collected, the number of the Western Sabaras at the present day is not less than 120,000 persons.

The Sabaras are mentioned in the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa as one of the Dasyu races descended from Viswamitra; and the Mâhabhârata includes them amongst the seven races of Dasyus conquered by the Pândus in the Great War. They appear also in Ptolemy's map in the same two divisions in which they are now found; the Eastern Sabaras as Sabara, who are the Saury of Pliny, and the Western Sabaras

1 Julien's Hwen Thaung II. 248.
2 Professor Hall, Bengal Asiatic Soc. Journal XXXI—4.
as Sora Nomades. But the Gonds are not mentioned in any of the old Hindu authorities, and the earliest notice of them that I am aware of is by Ptolemy under the name of Gondali.

In the absence of other information we turn naturally to the traditions of the people themselves. Like most other traditions, those of the Gonds are utterly wanting in dates, and extremely vague as to places. But all the leading events are very striking, and from their remarkable similarity to the traditions of other far distant races, they possess an interest and an importance which, without it, would be altogether wanting.

According to the Gond legend, Lingo was the leader who liberated the first men of the nation from a cave in Kachikopa Lohagad, or the "Iron-Valley in the Red Hill." The exact position of this valley is not stated, but it would seem to have been somewhere in the Himalaya mountains, as Mount Dhavalagiri is mentioned. Mahadeva is said to have closed the mouth of the cave with a large stone sixteen cubits high. Lingo removed the stone, and "sixteen scores of Gonds" came out of the cave. No meaning seems to be attached to the name of Lingo, but in Gondi, lângyâ means a "wolf," and in Maharathi, longâ.

According to the traditions of the Mughals, their ancestors were confined in the iron-bound valley of Irgune-kon, from which they were delivered by Burte-chino, or the "Dun wolf." According to Abulghazi Khan the ancestors of the Turks were liberated from the iron-bound valley of Irgana-kon by Bertezena. Every year the Khan of the Turks went to sacrifice in the cave of his ancestors in Mount Erkeneh-kun.1

Speaking of the ancient Gerse, Strabo remarks that Zamolxis, whom they revered as a god, "retired into a district of caverns." The mountain is held sacred, and is thus distinguished, being named Kogaiônos."

In all these legends we have a hero, the founder of the nation, connected with a cave. In the eastern versions the cave is situated in a valley surrounded by iron mountains, from which the founder manages to liberate his people. The resemblance between the tradition of Gonds and that of the Turks and Mughals seems too close to be accidental, and

1 Dr. Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, VI. 152. The name of the mountain is variously spelt by different authors—see Gibbon, C. 42, and Prichard's Physical History of Mankind. IV. 337.
if not accidental, it would go far to prove the Turanian origin of the Gonds. Dr. Caldwell and Colonel Dalton both agree in classing the Gonds as Dravidians. But the former specially notes that "whilst he regards the grammatical structure and prevailing characteristics of the Dravidian idioms as in the main Scythian," he thinks that "they are allied not to the Turkish family, or to the Ugrian, or to the Mongolian, or to the Tungusian, but to the group or class in which all these families are comprised." He then points out that "the Scythian family to which, on the whole, the Dravidian languages may be regarded as most nearly allied, is the Finnish or Ugrian," and that this supposition derives some confirmation from the fact brought to light by the Behistun tablets, that the ancient Scythian race, by which the greater part of Central Asia was peopled prior to the eruption of the Medo-Persians, belonged, not to the Turkish, nor to the Mongolian, but to the Ugrian stock."

Dr. Caldwell regards "the Dravidians as the earliest inhabitants of India, or at least as the earliest race that entered from the north-west." He also—

"feels convinced that the Dravidians never had any relations with the primitive Aryans, but those of a peaceable and frequently character; and that if they were expelled from Northern India, and forced to take refuge in Gondwana and Dandakârânya, the great Dravidian forest, prior to the dawn of their civilization, the tribes that subdued and thrust them southwards must have been pre-Aryans."

But these pre-Aryan-Scythians, by whom he supposes the Dravidians to have been expelled from the northern provinces, are not, "he says," to be confounded with the Kols, Santâls, Bhils, Dôms, and other aboriginal tribes of the north." By whom, then, were the Dravidians expelled from Northern India? Dr. Caldwell thinks that the Sudras may have been the conquering race.

"The tribes of Northern India whom the Aryans gradually incorporated in their community as Sudras, whoever they were, must have been an original and formidable race."

Here I agree fully with Dr. Caldwell, that the Sudras were most probably the people with whom the Aryans came into contact in Northern India. But I think that he has unnecessarily hampered himself by supposing that the Dravidians entered from the north-west. On the contrary, I believe that they came from the west, and that they were

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the Accad or Accadians, a branch of the southern Turanians, who occupied Susiana and the shores of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean including the Delta of the Indus. From these seats they were eventually driven out by the Aryans of Ariana and Persia, when they retired to Southern India, leaving only a remnant of the nation behind in the Brahūi mountains, where they still exist.

Under this supposition the Dravidians may have occupied the greater part of Southern India about the same time that the Aryans took possession of the Panjāb and Aryavarta, while the whole of Northern India was held by another Turanian people, who had entered long before from the north-west. The latter I believe to have been a Medo-Scythian race. Such of them as submitted were allowed to join the Aryan nation as a separate class under the name of Sudras; while the greater number retired to the east of the Karmanāsā River, where they bade defiance to their enemies for several centuries.
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INSCRIPTIONS.

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TEMPEL
OF
KAM-KANDALA.

GREAT BRACKET
TEMPLE OF VISHNU.

2 Feet = 1 Inch.

A. Cunningham, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, January 1875.
Lithographed in the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta, April 1878
from a Photograph by J. D. Peglar.
BHERA-GHÂT

Section of side wall of Portico.

J. D. Bristow, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, January 1876.
Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, May 1879

From a Photograph by J. D. Beglar.
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## Alphabets Compared

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k o d bh d k r y l s s k o d bh d k r y l s s k o d bh d k r y l s s k o d bh d k r y l s s
MARKANDA.

PLATE XXVIII.

DAS-AVATAR

TEMPLE.

Inches 0 4 8 10 Feet

Photographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.
2. Sculptured Stone

4. Armed figure.

3.—Door of Markanda Temple.

4. At Amarkantak.

5. Markanda Temple.


8.—Rock on Bank of River.

A. Cunningham, del.