CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM.

Vol. III.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GUPTA KINGS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS.

BY

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

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JUST half a century ago, in 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 663, Mr. James Prinsep, by whom the study of Indian archaeology was first placed on a sound and critical basis, indicated the necessity of systematically arranging the epigraphical materials for the study of the ancient history of India, which were then being gradually found to exist in considerable numbers; and also suggested the name which the collective publication of them should bear, viz. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. F. FLEET.
INTRODUCTION.

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

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

To the same period belong the two inscriptions of the Rulers of Máláva; No. 17, page 72, the Gangdhar inscription of Viśvarman, dated ² in A.D. 424; and No. 18, page 79, the Mandaśor inscription, dated in A.D. 474, which gives us the date of A.D. 437 for Kumáragupta and his feudatory, Bandhuvarman; and, in doing so, has supplied what was always felt to be the most urgent desideratum, viz. a date, for any one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in a standard era, capable of identification, other than the era which was habitually used by the Early Guptas themselves. With the exception of a few among the Miscellaneous Inscriptions, to be noticed hereafter, No. 17 is the last record that belongs specifically to the Early Gupta dynasty.

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

¹ I call the members of this family the “Early Guptas,” by way of easily distinguishing them from the later Guptas of Magadha, whose genealogy is given in the Añhas inscription, No. 42, page 200, and in the Dā-Parañāk inscription, No. 46, page 213.

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

In No. 21, page 93, down to No. 25, page 112, we have some inscriptions, ranging from A.D. 475 to A.D. 528, which overlap, on one side, the time of Budhagupta, and on the other, the periods of Tōramāṇa, Bhānugupta, and Mihirakula. They are the records of a feudatory family, to the members of which it is convenient to give the name of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas. And the extreme importance of them lies in the fact that they expressly show that, though the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty itself may have become extinct, the Gupta dominion still continued, and the name of the Gupta kings was still recognised as a power, down to A.D. 528. Another very special feature in them, as will be seen, is the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, in the records of the dates. As will now be shown for the first time, this point really furnishes most valuable corroboration, if not actually independent and conclusive proof, of my general results as to the exact year from which the dates of the Early Guptas and their successors run.

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

The Gupta inscriptions; introduction.

If Gupta-Saṃvatsa (156 and 157) and for Śrāvanātha, the extreme dates of the years 193 and 214 with the year 177 as the latest known date for his father Jayānātha. And, as it is unlikely that Hastin continued alive and in power for any length of time after Gupta-Saṃvatsa 191, it seemed, on the supposition that both the series of dates were to be referred to the Gupta era, that the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara in question was the one commencing in Gupta-Saṃvatsa 180 rather than that commencing in Gupta-Saṃvatsa 35; since, the former was easily obtained by adding only four years at the commencement of the period for Śrāvanātha; whereas, to obtain the latter, we should have to add on ten years at the end of Hastin’s already long enough period of thirty-six years. On the other hand, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara occurred previously, in Hastin’s period, in Gupta-Saṃvatsa 165 and 177. If the Uchchākalpa dates were referred to the Kalachuri era, with General Cunningham’s epoch of A.D. 240-50, Śrāvanātha’s latest date, the year 214, would be equivalent to A.D. 463-64, or Gupta-Saṃvatsa 144; and we should have to add on twenty-one years at the end of his known period, in order to make him the contemporary of Hastin in Gupta-Saṃvatsa 165. Whereas, if an epoch could be found for the Kalachuri era about twenty-five years later than that proposed by General Cunningham, the two Mahārājas would be naturally contemporaneous in Gupta-Saṃvatsa 165 or A.D. 484-85. By calculation, however, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit found that, though General Cunningham’s proposed epoch might be very close to the real truth, yet it was certainly not the absolutely correct one. Also, though he found that nearly all of the ten Kalachuri or Chōdi dates, given by General Cunningham,¹ would work out correctly with an epoch of A.D. 248-49, or just one year earlier than that proposed by General Cunningham, yet both he and I felt that the available data, in the shape of the published readings and lithographs of the dates, were not sufficiently reliable for any definite theory to be built up on the results obtained by him. Again, if the Kalachuri era really existed in that early time,—in which case, of course, there were then actually kings of the Kalachuri dynasty,—it seemed strange that no distinct reference should be made to the dynasty in the Allahābad pillar inscription, which, with much minuteness of detail, claims for Samudragupta the conquest of the whole earth;² especially since the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of the Early Chalukya king

¹ Indian Eras, p. 61.
² I do not overlook the ‘Pardi’ grant of the Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Dahrasena (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 346 ff.), which is dated in the year 207 of an unspecified era; or the Kapheri plate (see No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archeological Survey of Western India, p. 57 ff.), which is dated “in two centuries of years, increased by forty-five, of the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas.” But it still has to be proved, either, on general grounds, that the era of these two records, is the Kalachuri era; or that the Traikūṭa whence these Traikūṭakas derived their name, is identical with Tripura or Tripur, the capital of the Kalachuris of Central India.
³ Prinsep, indeed (see, for instance, Prinsep’s Essays, Vol. I. p. 237), found the possible mention of a Tripura in the Kartripura which is spoken of in line 22 of this inscription. But he would have identified it with the modern ‘Tipperah.’ And the immediate connection of Kartripura, in the inscription, with Samatastä or Lower Bengal, Īdvāka (i.e. ‘Dacca,’ if the correct spelling really is Īdāka), Kāmarūpa or Assam, and Nēpāl, shews that the place was indeed very far away from Central India.
Maṅgallāśa\(^1\) shows that the dynastic name was very well established in at least the sixth century A.D., and mentions it under the Sanskritised form of Kalatśū. As, however, the Kalachuris, in their later records, represent themselves as descendants of Sahāṣra-Arjuna\(^5\) or Sahasrabāhu-Arjuna,\(^6\) the required reference to them in the Allahābād inscription might be found in the Arjūndanyas, who are mentioned in line 22; and no special objection need be taken on that ground. The real difficulty was to prove that the Kalachuri era, and, with that, sovereigns of the Kalachuri dynasty, really existed in early times; and that the era was not merely one of somewhat later invention, fitted to an early epoch. But, since the time when I first drafted the preceding remarks, Prof. Kielhorn has determined, quite recently,\(^4\) that, if we only take three of the ten dates in question as denoting expired years, all the dates will work out correctly with the epoch of A.D. 248–49. It is, therefore, really a question for consideration whether the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa were not indeed feudatories of early kings of the Kalachuri dynasty; and whether the dates of their records do not furnish the earliest instances of the use of the Kalachuri era. Unfortunately, these Uchchakalpa dates do not contain details for computation; and the question, accordingly, cannot at present be decided in that way.

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

\(^1\) See my Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, pp. 22, 53.
\(^4\) See the Academy of the 10th December, 1867, p. 394 f.
to which the brothers Mātrivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu belonged. Putting everything together, in writing my paper on "The History and Date of Mihirakula," it soon became perfectly clear that the king who is mentioned in the Gwalior inscription, is the great Mihirakula himself; that he was the son of Tōramāṇa; and that his downfall was accomplished by Yaśodharman within a very few years on either side of A.D. 533-34. In proper chronological order, therefore, Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula come next after Budhagupta; and Tōramāṇa certainly, and probably Mihirakula also, so far as Eastern Mālwa is concerned, before Bhānugupta. Plate xxiii A. and B. should, therefore, properly have been placed next after Plate xx. To my present brief notice of these two kings,—who belonged to a foreign race, which, whether best and most properly known as Indo-Scythians, Śākas, Hūnas, Turushkas, Shāhīs, Shāhānushṭāhis, or Daivaputras, had established itself in the Paņjab at an early date, and continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta,—I will only add that, the first year of Tōramāṇa, which is recorded in his inscription, and which fell for certain after A.D. 484, which is Budhagupta’s inscriptive date, and before A.D. 510, which is Bhānugupta’s inscriptional date, is evidently only the first year of his possession of Eastern Mālwa. Coming down, as he did, from the extreme north-west corner of India, it is impossible that we should suddenly find him, fully established as the first of a new dynasty, in the very heart of the Gupta country, in absolutely the first year of his reign. His own dynastic date, which must correspond to just about the same year, is given in his silver coins, which follow the Early Gupta silver coins in general style, but differ from them in certain marked peculiarities that were evidently introduced for the express purpose of shewing that his power was hostile to theirs, and had superseded it. There are two excellent specimens of his coins, which I have examined, in the British Museum; and the date on them is the year 52 or 82, in numerical symbols. General Cunningham has read the dates as 52 and 53; but the second symbol in each case is certainly 2; as regards the first symbol, I will not at present give a final opinion as to whether it is 50 or 80; since, though probably a 50, it is possibly an 80, turned half round on the die, so as to lie vertically, instead of horizontally, in order that it might not fall chiefly beyond the edge of the coin. Without doubt, it would make the case very simple indeed, if we could read the date as 182, as Mr. Thomas did,—or even read it as 82, and, on the theory of "omitted hundreds," interpret it as 182,— and refer it to the Gupta era, with the result, now, of A.D. 501-502. But the date is either 52 or 82, and nothing else; without the slightest grounds for supposing that the symbol for 100 was stamped, but has now become obliterated, or was engraved on the die, but, in the stamping, fell beyond the edge of the coin; and, if it has to be interpreted as 152, on the theory of "omitted hundreds," then at any rate it cannot possibly be referred

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 245 ff.
to the Gupta era. I have shewn elsewhere\(^1\) that Mihirakula’s fifteenth year, which is recorded in his Gwalior inscription, must fall somewhere very close to A.D. 533-34, which is the recorded date of Yaśodharman; and in all probability a year or two before it; so that we shall be very near the mark, if we select A.D. 515 for the commencement of his career. If, then, the date on Tūramāṇa’s coins is 52, and if we apply it as his regnal date, about which there need be felt no special difficulty, Tūramāṇa’s reign must have commenced, roughly, about A.D. 460. This falls very near the latest date, A.D. 466, that we have for Skandagupta, who, up to A.D. 457-58, held the whole of Northern India, below the Pañjāb, from Kāthiawād to the frontier of Nēpāl. And it was doubtless the death of Skandagupta, that enabled the Hūpas, who had been repulsed by him, to assume the aggressive again, under the leadership of Tūramāṇa; and, on this occasion, with such success as to hold even Central India for a short time. This view is also in perfect accordance with the statement of the Valabhi inscriptions,\(^2\) that it was the founder of their family, the Śhūlapati Bhātārka, with the date of about A.D. 500, who successfully fought, in Kāthiawād, against the Maitrakas, i.e. the Mihiras, i.e. the particular family or clan, among the Hūpas, to which Tūramāṇa and Mihirakula belonged. If, on the other hand, the date on Tūramāṇa’s coins is 82, then it cannot be applied as a regnal date; and, though it must then run from the period at which his own branch of the Hūpas rose to power, it cannot be used to fix the commencement of his own accession. The general outline of the history of the period, which I have briefly indicated above, would, however, remain much the same.

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

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

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

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

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

The Apsaḍ inscription of Ādityasēna, No. 42, page 200, introduces us to two important contemporaneous families. The first of these is that of the Maukharis, or Mukharas, of whom we have inscriptions in No. 47, page 219, to No. 51, page 228. The great antiquity of this family is shewn by a clay seal in General Cunningham's possession, obtained at Gayā, which has on it, in Asoka characters, the Pali legend Mōkhaliṇam, "of the Mōkhalis, Maukharis, or Maukharis." No. 47, page 219, gives us the names of three feudatory Mahārājas, followed by two paramount sovereigns, of one branch of this family; and it is probably the Mahārāja Ḣāvarvarman, of this branch, of whom we have a record in No. 51, page 228. A connecting link between these Maukharis and the Guptas of Magadha seems to be established in Ādityavarman's wife, Harshagupta, who was probably the sister of Harshagupta of Magadha. Subsequently, the relations between the two families were less friendly. Thus, it can hardly be doubted that the king Ḥānavarman of this family is the one who, as recorded in line 6 f. of the Apsaḍ inscription, was conquered in battle by
Harshagupta's grandson, Kumāragupta. Dāmōdaragupta, again, in the same inscription, is mentioned as breaking-up the forces of the Maukharī king, which had previously overcome the army of the Hūnas. And the Susūhitavarman who was conquered in battle by Mahāsēnasagupta, doubtless belonged to the same lineage. Other, references to the Maukharīs are to be found in the Harshacharita of Bāna, and in the Nēpāl inscriptions.1 Nos. 48, 49, and 50, give us another minor branch of the Maukharī lineage, of evidently much less importance, belonging to the neighbourhood of Gaya.

The second of the contemporaneous families introduced by the Apsaṅ inscription, is that of the Kings of Kanauj, to which belonged the great Harshadeva or Harshavardhana. Of this king I am able to give a brand-new inscription, in the Sōnpat seal, No. 52, page 231. This is the first epigraphical record of this family that has ever been obtained; and it is of extreme interest in carrying back the genealogy to two generations before Harshavardhana's well-known father, Prabhākaravardhana; and in shewing that the latter was the first paramount sovereign in the family. The verse in the Apsaṅ inscription which mentions Harshavardhana, under the name of Harshadeva, is partly obliterated; but it refers to Mādhavagupta either as a feudatory of the Kanauj king, or as seeking an alliance with him. A connection between the two families appears to be established in Mahāsēnasagupta, the wife of the Mahārāja Ādityavardhana, who was the grandfather of Harshavardhana; it can hardly be doubted that she was a sister of Mahāsēnasagupta of Magadha, the father of Mādhavagupta. Another point of importance in this Sōnpat seal is, that it shews that the father of Prabhākaravardhana was neither Pushpabhūti or Pushyabhūti, who is mentioned by Bāna, in his Harshacharita, in connection with this family; nor king Śilāditya of Mālava, who is spoken of by Iliuen Tsiang, but the feudatory Mahārāja Ādityavardhana. That Śilāditya of Mālava was the father of Prabhākaravardhana, was assumed by Mr. Fergusson.3 And Prof. Max Müller has asserted the same relationship in respect of Pushpabhūti;4 but Dr. F. E. Hall only speaks of Pushpabhūti as an ancestor, more or less remote, of Harshavardhana; and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,5 who writes the name Pushyabhūti, only speaks of Harshavardhana as belonging to the Pushyabhūti dynasty.

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

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1 Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.
2 See page 232, note 3.
4 Vāsaavadattā, Preface, p. 51; in his analysis of the Harshacharita.
6 See page 215, note 7.
the Vākṣaṇa Mahārājas to a period later by fully two centuries than has hitherto been allotted to them; but there is nothing in the palæography of their grants to oppose this result, even if it does not actually prove it. A clear instance of the comparatively long preservation of antique characters for official purposes, is furnished by the Rājim grant of the Rāja Tvaradeva, No. 81, page 291, which is undoubtedly almost, if not quite, the latest record in this volume, though at first sight its characters would seem to refer it to a much earlier period.

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

THE GUPTA ERA.

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

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

**Genealogy of the Early Gupta Kings.**

Gupta,  
*Mahārāja.*

Ghatotkacha,  
*Mahārāja.*

Chandragupta I.,  
(Vikrama I., or Vikramāditya I.),  
* Mahārājādhirāja.*  
Married to Kumāradēvī, of the Lichchhāvī family.

Samudragupta,  
(Kāchha),  
*Mahārājādhirāja.*  
Married to Dattadēvī.

Chandragupta II.,  
Vikrama (II.), Vikramāditya (II.), or Vikramānka,  
*Paramabhūtāraka,* and *Mahārājādhirāja.*  
Married to Dhruvadēvī.  
[Gupta-Saṁvat 82, 88, 93, and 94 or 95.]

Kumāragupta,  
Mahendra, or Mahendrāditya,  
*Mahārājādhirāja.*  
[G. S. 96, 98, 129, and 130 odd.]

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

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

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

The genealogy, as given by Mr. Thomas in his edition of _Prinsep's Essays_, Vol. I. p. 245, includes the name of Devī, a daughter of Mahādāitya, as one of the queens of Samudragupta; and, as a son of Skandagupta, a young prince, whose name is suggested to be Mahendra-
gupta. The entry of Devī and Mahādāitya, appears also in the same list as republished by Mr. Thomas in the _Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind._ Vol. II. p. 19, and again in the _Jour. R. As. Soc._ N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 533; in each of which places we also find, as another wife of Samudragupta, a queen, name unknown, the daughter of an independent princess 'Sanhārikā.' The second list repeats the name of Mahendra-
gupta; but, in the third, there are substituted the words "royal issue expected at the date of this inscription," _i.e._ of the Bhitarl pillar inscription of Skandagupta. The existence of the supposed

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Mahendragupta, however, as pointed out by me on page 56, note 2, is due to nothing but Dr. Mill's original mislection of the Bhitarl inscription, coupled with the real name of Mahendradjita on Kumargupta's coins. And the existence of the independent princess 'Sanhārika,' with her unnamed daughter, and of Mahādaitya, and his daughter Devi, is equally imaginary; being due, as indicated on page 1, only to early mislections of the Allahābād pillar inscription. In his first list, Mr. Thomas entered the Mahārāja Gupta, and his descendants, as belonging to the Solar lineage; and this mistake, though not repeated in his second and third lists, has not even yet been completely eradicated; but, as shown on page 1, the statement rests on nothing but Dr. Mill's mislection of a passage in the Allahābād inscription.

The Nomenclature of the Era.

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

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

It is true, also, that the words Guptasya kāla, "from the era of Gupta," were supposed by Dr. Bhau Daji¹ to exist in line 15 of the Junāgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta. But the real reading there, as is quite clear even in the lithograph from which Dr. Bhau Daji worked, is not Guptasya kālad[4] ajanāda vishāya, "counting from the era of Gupta," but Gupta-pratikīda janaṇadīd vishāya, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas." And there can be little doubt that Dr. Bhau Daji's reading, and his translation, which was more or less unavoidable after the adoption of the reading, were suggested by M. Reinaud's previously published translation of the extract from Albéroni, in which, though translating Śaka-kāla by "the era of Śaka," he transliterated the original Arabic by Gupta-kāla, with the words "era of the Guptas" added in brackets.² Dr. Bhau Daji's

² Fragments Arabe et Persans, p. 143.
reading was unfortunately accepted without further investigation; and has stood up to the present time. And, in particular, it was most emphatically endorsed by Mr. Thomas, who, in 1876, and again in 1881, stated that he had previously had doubts as to the correctness of the reading and translation, but had then become quite satisfied concerning it, from a personal comparison of Dr. Bhaub Daji’s materials with others. 1 It is undoubtedly only to this erroneous opinion, that we must attribute Mr. Thomas’ later belief 2 that on certain coins of ‘Syalapati,’ he could read the syllables Gu and Gupta, with possible indications of even Guptasya, shewing, it was supposed, that the dates on these coins referred to an era of Gupta, or the era of the Guptas. These, however, are purely imaginary readings. And the fact remains that, in the Jundagadh inscription, the expression Guptasya kda does not occur. And, apart from the obvious meaning of the words; and from the fact, which will be insisted on more fully further on, that the Mahārāja Gupta, the founder of the family, being only a feudatory Mahārāja, had not the power of establishing an era at all,—that, in the real reading Gupta-prakāśa, we are to interpret the first member of the compound as representing the genitive plural, not singular, is expressly indicated by the use of the full genitive plural, Guptānām, governed by kda, in another date in line 27 of the same inscription. Of course, both these passages connect the era with the Guptas, as belonging to them, and as being used by them; which had then been the case, so far as their epigraphical records go, for at least three generations. But not either of them suffices to show that it had been established by them; or even that it had, at that time, acquired the technical name of the “Gupta era.” And what the first expression really shews, is, simply that the date was being recorded in an era which was new to Kāthiawād, and was not the customary era of that part of the country.

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

Again, in the grants of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas Hastin and Samākshobha, No. 21, page 93, to No. 23, page 106, and No. 25, page 112, we have the expression Gupta-prāya-rājya-bhuktau, “in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings.” And this

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

Indeed in the Mārbi grant of Ṣainka, again, as read by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar,¹ we are supposed to have a very clear intimation indeed, that the era was then known as the Gupta era; his reading and translation being—pṛac̄ch-dāmīyā yute-thē samānām sāta-paṁc̄ha-kāe Ṣaṁptē dādāv-ādō nripaṁ s-ōparagā-ṛka-mandaḷa,—of which a more literal translation than that given by him, would be "the Gupta fifth century of years, together with eighty-five (years), having elapsed, the king gave this, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed."

There is a difficulty in disposing finely of the whole bearing of this inscription; for the reason that the first plate had been lost sight of, before the grant was obtained for examination at all; as the result of which, the genealogy of Ṣainka is not known; and the second plate contains no name of a place, unless we are to find it in the verse that I have quoted. And now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid, and is not forthcoming. That the date refers in all probability to the Gupta era, I do not dispute. But the above reading of it, takes no notice of the fact that the real word, in line 17, is not gaṁptē at all, but gōptē; the au being arrived at only by applying again, as a component of the vowel, a perfectly distinct and separate sign, which is in reality nothing but the single mark of punctuation after paṁc̄ha-kā, at the end of the half-verse, and which had already been properly interpreted as such. It is only by the deliberate correction of 0 into au,² that the name of the Gupta can be introduced into this passage; but even then the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, paṁc̄ha-kā, which it qualifies. We might, with just as much reason, correct gōptē, into gōptē,³ to the protector, i.e. the local governor; and this would be even more sustainable; for the word stands immediately before dādau, 'he gave,' in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative, or some other case. Or, again, without any correction at all, we might translate "the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gōptā." And this, I expect, will be found to be the real meaning, if ever the first plate, which is said to be now at Gaṅgāsāgar in Bengal, can be obtained for examination. As matters stand, there is at least nothing in this passage that compels us to connect the name of the Gupta with the date. And, at the best, even if a future discovery of the first plate should force us to adopt the reading of Gaṁptē in the date, the grant belongs to rather a late period, when, in Kāthiāwaḍ and Gujarāt, any knowledge of the real origin of the era must have been lost, and all that remained was that it was the Gupta kings who had introduced the era into those parts.

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 358, line 161. ² The mistake of 0 for au does occur in the word svārbhāno, for svārbhbhānau, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word paṁc̄ha-kā, the au is formed quite correctly and completely.
And, finally, in a curious passage from the Achāraṭikā, which I give in full at page 32 below, note 3, we have the date “when there have gone by seven centuries of years of the Gupta, increased by seventy-two;” in which there is used again the genitive plural, Guptādṛṣṭam. But the passage contains, as will be seen, a remarkable confusion, which cannot at present be cleared up, between the Gupta and the Śaka eras. And, like the Mūrša grant, this record belongs to a late period, and furnishes no authority for early times.

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

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

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

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

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

Until the discovery of the Mandasor inscription, No. 18, page 79, the only direct information available as to the epoch of the Gupta era, was the statement of Alberuni, who, writing in the period between the 30th April and the 30th September, A.D. 1030, left on record the following notes, as taken from M. Reinaud's French translation in his Fragments Arabes et Persans, page 138 ff:—

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

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

2 As is shown by Alberuni's statement further on, this is not the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing A.D. 606 or 607, of which we have an instance in this volume, in No. 43, page 208; but an earlier era, commencing B.C. 457, of which we have no epigraphical record, and, in fact, no information of its existence beyond Alberuni's statement, which is accompanied by the remark that, in a Kasmiri almanac, he had read that Sri-Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramaditya, and that he could obtain no explanation of the discrepancy (Sachau's Alberuni's India, Translation Vol. II. p. 5).

3 Reinaud's Arabic text contains no authority for his use of the double l throughout, and of the aspirated bh in the name of the town. So, also, Sachau's text contains no authority for his use, once of the form Ballabha, and once of Ballaha. These forms can only be attributed to some fancied connection between the name of the city of Valabhi and the Sanskrit word valabha, 'lover, husband, friend, favourite,' which was very often used as a proper name, but not in the case of any of the rulers of Valabhi. The word valabha itself means 'the wooden frame of a thatch, a roof; a turret or temporary building on the roof of a house.' It occurs in No. 18, line 6, page 81; and, in the form vadabhi, in No. 65, line 2, page 268. Alberuni himself, in treating the name as that of a person, as well as of a town, possibly wrote under some similar misconception. But, setting aside any such mistake as this, which is rather like that of his treating Saka as the name of an individual, instead of a tribe, he is of course speaking of the era that was used by the well-known Kings of Valabhi.

4 The ydyanas, a measure of distance, seems to have varied from 24 to 9, or even 18, English miles; but with an average length of between 4 and 5 miles. Walia, the modern representative of the ancient Valabhi, is about one hundred and thirty-five miles almost due south of Anhilwara.
the same time the cube of 6 (216) and the square of 5 (25). The remainder is the era of Ballāba. This era will be discussed in its place. As to the Gupta-kāla (the era of the Gupta), we understand by the word gupta certain people who, it is said, were "wicked and powerful; and the era which bears their name, is the epoch of their exter-
mination. Apparently Ballāba followed the Gupta immediately; for, the era of the Gupta also commences the year 241 of the era of Śaka. The era of the astronomers commences the year 587 of the era of Śaka. It is to this era that the Kandakhālaka Tables of Brahmagupta are referred. This work has among us the title of Ārkand. Accordingly, placing ourselves in the year 400 of the era of Yazdajird,¹ we find ourselves in the year 1488 of the era of Śrī-Harsha; the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya; the year 953 of the era of Śaka; the year 712 of the era of Ballāba and of that of the Gupta."

Albérûni's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Sachau.²

And to this we have now to add Prof. Sachau's English rendering of the same passages, in his Alberuni's India, Translation,³ Vol. II. page 5 ff.:—

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

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

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

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

⁴and See page 23 above, note 3.

⁵The reference appears to be to the story of the fruit-seller Rāhka and the king Vaiśālī. Translation, Vol. I. p. 192 l., in Chapter XVII., "on Hindu Sciences which prey on the Ignorance of People."
"years later than the Šakakāla. On this era is based the canon Khaṇḍākhādyaka by Brahmagupta, which among Muhammadans is known as Al-arkand. Now, the year 400 of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of the Indian eras:—(1) to the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harsha; (2) to the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya; (3) to the year 953 of the Šakakāla; (4) to the year 712 of the Balaba era, which is identical with the Guptakāla."

The Results of the above Renderings.

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

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

And secondly, in respect of the initial point, he seems first to state, very clearly, that the epoch of the era, under either name, was when Šaka-Saṅvat 216 + 25 = 241 had expired; which, taking the expired Šaka year in the way in which it has to be used for the purposes of the present Tables,² gives us A.D. 319-20 current for the epoch or year of the era, and A.D. 320-21 current for its commencement or first current year. This is shewn, first by the rule for subtracting 241 complete Šaka years; and secondly by Guptavalabhi-Saṅvat 712 being quoted as equivalent to Šaka-Saṅvat 953, which is known to be intended as an expired year, since Albérūnī gives it as the equivalent of the year 400 of Yazdajird, which is A.D. 1031-32 current. In his next mention, however, as rendered by M. Reinaud, he apparently speaks of the era as commencing with, i.e. as having for its first current year, Šaka-Saṅvat 241, which must be understood as an expired year; according

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² e.g. those in Gen. Cunningham’s Book of Indian Eras, and Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Graha-śāddhāḥkāla Kēśṭakāś, or “Tables for calculating the Places of the Planets.”

² Or, more accurately, the period from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320. It is, perhaps, desirable to point out, for general readers, that the quotation of two years of the Christian era in this way, “A.D. 319-20,” does not denote the whole period of the two years, but only the period from the commencement of the Šaka year in the first of them, to the end of it in the second.
to which its epoch would be when 240 years had expired. While, in a third passage, a little further on in the book, in mentioning the "roundabout way" in which the Hindus computed the date (in January, A.D. 1026) of the destruction of Sômâthpâtan by Mahmûd of Ghazni, which event took place "in the year of the Hijra 416, or 947 Šakâkâla," he tells us that they first wrote down 242, then 606 under it, and then, again, 99; with the result, by addition of the figures, of Šaka-Sâṃvat 947, which, as an expired year, brings us to the period A.D. 1025-26 current, inclusive of the month of January, A.D. 1026. And here the first figures would seem, at first sight, to indicate that, in this calculation, the epoch of the era was treated as being when Šaka-Sâṃvat 242 had expired.  

1 Albérâûnî's India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 9.

2 This last passage is introduced by Albérâûnî in connection with his remarks on the Lôkakâlë or popular reckoning by cycles of a hundred years. And he expresses himself as being inclined to think that the number 242 indicates the years which preceded the time when the Hindus commenced to use the cycle of a hundred years, and that they adopted this cycle together with the Gupta era; also that the number 606 represents the completed cycles, viz. six, "each of which they must reckon as 101 years;" and that the number 99 gives the expired years of the current cycle. He goes on to say that, as found by him in the writings of Durlabha of Multân, was, to write down 848, and add the Lôkakâlë; the sum of which would give the Šaka year. But, in proceeding to apply this rule to Šaka-Sâṃvat 953 (expired), as corresponding to the year of Yârâjîr which he had already used as a "gauge-year," he points out that, subtracting 848, there remained 105 for the Lôkakâlë, while the destruction of Sômâthpâtan would fall in the 98th year of the cycle. There are subsidiary difficulties here, which cannot at present be fully cleared up. One of them is, the reference of the destruction of Sômâthpâtan to both the ninety-eighth and the ninety-ninth years of a Lôkakâlë cycle; with the addition, moreover, that the ninety-eighth year is indicated as current, and the ninety-ninth is inferred to be expired. Another is, that, according to the only Lôkakâlë reckoning of the nature of which has been fully explained (Indian Eras, p. 6 fl.), viz. that used in Kâsmîr, which, Albérâûnî tells us, had been adopted by the people of Multân a few years before his own time,—the event in question would fall in the first current year of a cycle. Thus, Kâlana, in the Rûjûtarsâmîndâ, i. 52 (Calcutta edition, p. 3), makes a very explicit statement regarding the equation between the Šaka era and the Lôkakâlë of Kâsmîr. His words are — Lâukikā-bdē chatur-vimâše Šaka-kâlasya sâmârâśtanâ saptâyâdhihitân ytahit sahârasa parivatsaraḥ, "at this present moment, in the twenty-fourth Lâukikā (or popular) year, there have gone by one thousand years, increased by seventy, of the Šaka era." In this passage, he quotes the Šaka year as expired, in accordance with the practice of astronomers; but the Lôkakâlë year as current, as would naturally be the case in using a popular reckoning of that kind. He was writing, therefore, in Lôkakâlë 24 current, and when Šaka-Sâṃvat 1070 had expired; which is equivalent to A.D. 1148-49 current. And this gives Lôkakâlë 1 current of the same cycle, as corresponding to Šaka-Sâṃvat 1047 expired; which is equivalent to A.D. 1025-26 current. Now, that the scheme of each year of the Kaśmîr Lôkakâlë cycle was identical with the scheme of the Šaka years of Northern India, commencing with the first day of the month Chaitra (March-April), is shown by Albérâûnî's statements, and by the notes put together by Gen. Cunningham in his exposition of this reckoning. And it follows that the first year, current, of each Kaśmîr Lôkakâlë cycle coincides exactly with the forty-seventh year expired, and the forty-eighth current, of each century of the Šaka era, and with part of the twenty-fifth and part of the twenty-sixth years, current, of each century of the Christian era. The month of January, A.D. 1026, therefore, fell in Lôkakâlë 1 current, of Kaśmîr, which coincided with Šaka-Sâṃvat 947 expired, and extended (see Indian Eras, p. 171) from the 3rd March, A.D. 1025, to the 21st March, A.D. 1026. And it is difficult to see how, in the
Albérunit’s Statements, as rendered by Prof. Wright.

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

application of a Lokakāla reckoning introduced from Kasmīr, an event occurring in that month can be correctly referred even to Lokakāla 99 expired; and, much more so, to Lokakāla 95 current. To suit the former case, we require a cycle commencing one year later than the Kasmīr cycle; and to suit the latter case, a cycle commencing three years later than the same. And, that there were varying starting-points of this kind, as well as a want of uniformity in respect of the scheme of the years, is indicated by Albérunit’s remark that the totally different accounts of the Lokakāla reckonings, given to him, rendered him unable to make out the truth about it.—One point, however, seems clear. As to the number 606, given by Albérunit in his first illustration, it is impossible that a centenary cycle can consist of a hundred and one years. And Albérunit himself had previously said distinctly (Albérunit’s India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8) “if a centennium is finished, they drop it, and simply begin to date by a new one.” It is plain, in fact, that the odd six years do not belong to the cycles of the Lokakāla. To that reckoning, only the six even centuries belong. I shall show hereafter that the epoch of the Gupta-Valabha era really was A.D. 319-20 current; which might be quoted either as Śaka-Saṅvat 241 expired or 242 current. If we add the odd six years to Śaka-Saṅvat 241 expired, we obtain Śaka-Saṅvat 247 expired, or 248 current, equivalent to A.D. 325-26 current; and this, as we have just seen, would coincide with the first current year of a Lokakāla cycle, as reckoned in Kasmīr. But it is one year too early for the first current year of any cycle of a reckoning, in a subsequent cycle of which the event in question belonged to the ninety-ninth year expired and the hundredth year current. Now, I suppose that we must assume that Albérunit has quoted Durlabha correctly. And, if so, then the first current year of each cycle in the Maltan reckoning really was one year later than in the Kasmīr reckoning; and coincided with the forty-eighth year expired, and the forty-ninth current, of each century of the Śaka era, and with part of the twenty-sixth and part of the twenty-seventh years, current, of each century of the Christian era. And, if the introduction of the reckoning, at Maltan, could be carried back so far, it commenced with Śaka-Saṅvat 248 expired, and 249 current. This year might have been obtained by adding seven to Śaka-Saṅvat 241 expired. But, as will be seen hereafter, the real use of Śaka-Saṅvat 241 expired is only for obtaining the basis with which Gupta-Valabha dates have to be calculated; and it only brings us to the beginning of the Gupta epoch. The difference between Gupta-Valabha and Śaka years, both treated as current for purposes of comparison, is 242. And Śaka-Saṅvat 242 expired brings us to the beginning of the first current Gupta year. This is the starting point that was really wanted for a process of the kind shewn to Albérunit. And this is why that year was selected as the apparent basis of the computation; the true basis being Śaka-Saṅvat 848 expired.—It is evident, therefore, that the process illustrated by the figures given to Albérunit does involve a method of adapting the Lokakāla reckoning to the Gupta era; or, more properly, of converting Lokakāla dates into Śaka dates through the Gupta reckoning. So far, however, from the figures tending to support any inference that the Lokakāla reckoning was introduced by, or in the time of, the Early Guptas, the fact that Durlabha of Maltan would deduct 848, with a remainder, in the particular instance, of 105, or one complete Lokakāla cycle and five years over, seems to indicate very clearly that the use of this reckoning in that part of the country commenced with Śaka-Saṅvat 848 expired, equivalent to A.D. 926-27 current; had it been otherwise, Durlabha’s rule would surely have been worded in such a way
That the true solution was to be found, not in wrong information given to Albëründ, or in a mistake made by him in reporting correct information, but in an erroneous interpretation of his meaning, was first indicated to me by Mr. Rehatsiek, who, in December, 1886, gave me, from M. Reinaud's published text, the following literal rendering of the crucial passage,—"and (as regards) the Gupta era, it was, as is said, a nation wicked (and) strong; and when they perished, dating was made according to them."¹ Such a rendering as this would enable us to give to Albëründ's words a meaning perfectly clear and consistent with the usual order of things; viz. that the Guptas, though wicked and inferentially unpopular, yet had exercised so powerful a sway that, even when their dynasty came to an end, the era, that had been used by them, still continued to be used.

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

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

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

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

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

**Text and Literal Rendering.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wali-dhalika} & \quad \text{'atra'du} \quad \text{'an-ha} \quad \text{wa-ja'ud} \quad \text{'ilad} \\
\text{And for this} & \quad \text{they have turned away} \quad \text{from them} \quad \text{and have come to} \\
\text{tawarik} & \quad \text{Shri-Hrish} \quad \text{wa-Bigarmadita} \quad \text{wa-Shaka} \quad \text{wa-Bilaba} \\
\text{the eras of} & \quad \text{[Shri-Harsha]} \quad \text{and [Vikramaditya]} \quad \text{and [Saka]} \quad \text{and [Valabhi]} \\
\text{wa-Kubita.} & \quad \text{.................} \quad \text{Wa-ammah} \quad \text{ta'rikh} \quad \text{Balba} \\
\text{and [Gupta].} & \quad \text{.................} \quad \text{And as regards} \quad \text{the era of} \quad \text{[Valabhi]} \\
\text{wa-huwa} & \quad \text{sahib} \quad \text{madnat} \quad \text{Balbah} \quad \text{wa-hiya} \quad \text{janublah} \quad \text{'an} \\
\text{and he} & \quad \text{lord of} \quad \text{the city of} \quad \text{[Valabhi]} \quad \text{and it} \quad \text{south} \quad \text{from} \\
\text{madnat} & \quad \text{'Anhivarah} \quad \text{bi-qarib} \quad \text{min} \quad \text{thalathin} \quad \text{jozhan} \quad \text{fa-inna} \\
\text{the city of} & \quad \text{[Anhilvada]} \quad \text{by near} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{thirty} \quad \text{[yojuna]} \quad \text{behold} \\
\text{'auwala-hu} & \quad \text{muta'akhhir} \quad \text{'an} \quad \text{ta'rikh} \quad \text{Shak} \quad \text{bi-mi'atain} \\
\text{the first of it} & \quad \text{posterior} \quad \text{to the era of} \quad \text{[Saka]} \quad \text{by two hundred} \\
\text{wa-ihdah} & \quad \text{wa-arban} \quad \text{sanah.} \quad \text{Wa-musta'milhu} \quad \text{ya'da'on} \quad \text{Shak-kal} \\
\text{and one} & \quad \text{and forty years.} \quad \text{And the users of it} \quad \text{put down} \quad \text{[Saka]-era} \\
\text{wa-yankuusun} & \quad \text{min-hu} \quad \text{majmu'} \quad \text{muka'ab} \quad \text{as-sittah} \quad \text{wa-murabba'} \\
\text{and lessen} & \quad \text{from it} \quad \text{the sum of} \quad \text{the cube of} \quad \text{six} \quad \text{and the square of} \\
\text{al-khamshah} & \quad \text{fa-yakab} \quad \text{ta'rikh} \quad \text{Balba.} \quad \text{Wa-khabaru-hu} \quad \text{'atin} \\
\text{five} & \quad \text{and remains} \quad \text{the era of} \quad \text{[Valabhi].} \quad \text{And his history is coming} \\
\text{fl mauqidhi} & \quad \text{Wa-ammah} \quad \text{Gubt-kal} \quad \text{fa-kana} \quad \text{kanu} \quad \text{kila} \\
\text{in its place.} & \quad \text{And as regards} \quad \text{[Gupta]-era} \quad \text{they were as} \quad \text{is said} \\
\text{kauman} & \quad \text{'ashratan} \quad \text{'akwiya'a} \quad \text{fa-ammah} \quad \text{'inkara'du} \quad \text{urrikha} \\
\text{a people} & \quad \text{wicked} \quad \text{strong} \quad \text{and so after} \quad \text{they perished} \quad \text{it was dated} \\
\text{bi-him.} & \quad \text{Wa-ka'anna} \quad \text{Bib} \quad \text{kana} \quad \text{akhir-hum.} \quad \text{Fa'inna} \\
\text{by them.} & \quad \text{And as if that} \quad \text{[Valabhi]} \quad \text{was the last of them.} \quad \text{And behold} \\
\text{'auwala} & \quad \text{ta'rikhi-him} \quad \text{'a'idan} \quad \text{muta'akhhir} \quad \text{'an} \quad \text{Shak-kal} \\
\text{the first} & \quad \text{of their era} \quad \text{also posterior to} \quad \text{[Saka]-era} \quad \text{is coming} \\
\end{align*}
\]
241. Wa-ta'rkh al-munajjimln yata'akhkhar 'an Shg-kāl

241. And the era of the astronomers is posterior to the [Śaka]-era

587 wa-'alai-hi buniya zlį Knḍktk li-Bṛhmāgupt

587 and on it is built the canon [Khaṇḍakāṭaka] by [Brahmagupta]

wa-huwa 'al-ma'ruf 'inda-nā bi'l-Arknd.

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

Fa'-idhan sinā ta'rkh Shṛt-Harish li-sanati-nā

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

'al-mumaththal bi-hā 1488 wa-ta'-rīkh Bṛkmāḍ 1088

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

wa-Shg-kāl 953 wa-ta'rkh Balba 'alladh huwa 'aḍān

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

Gūbita-kāl 712.

[Gupta]-era 712.

Translation.

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

1 See, however, page 24 above, note 6.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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\(^1\) See Indian Eras, p. 126.

\(^2\) See Appendix I. below.

A curious instance of confusion between the Gupta and the Śaka eras, on the part of a Hindu writer, is furnished by the following two passages from the commentary named Āchārāṅga, by Śālakārya, on the Jain work called Āchārangasūtra; I have taken them from a manuscript, supposed to be about three hundred years old, shewn to me in the early part of 1883 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.—This first passage, on pp. 207a and 208a, is in metre, and runs—dvāsaptaty-adhikēṣhu hi satēṣhu saptasu gatēṣhu Guptaḥāṃ śati vatsarṣaśe māsī cha Bh[ā*]drapadē śukil(ki)a-pañcakṣamāṃ II Śīlācārīyāṃ kaṛṭa Gambhūṭāṃ viśhättēna tk=ainhā Ī śamya-gaupayuva śādyā mātadvya-vinākṣairiyair=āryē (raiy) bh II. This passage gives Gupta-Sañvat 772, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, as the date on which this portion of the Commentary was completed by Śīlācārīya, at Gambhūṭā (7 Cambay).—The second passage, on p. 236b, at the end of the whole book, is in prose, and runs — Śaka-nirpa-kāl-āṭa-sanīvatasat-satēṣhāsu (read śatēṣhu) saptasu I ashtānavaty-adhikēṣhu Vaiśākha-suddha-pañcakṣamāṃ Āchārāṅga kaṛṭa-eti II Na II Saṅvat (page 256b ends here; and the next page, containing the repetition of the date in figures, and the last final words of the author, is lost). This passage gives Śaka-Sañvat 798, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, as the date of the completion of the whole Commentary.—The two passages, indicating, as
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Cunningham, who finally fixed on A.D. 166-67 as the epoch;—and the late Sir E. Clive Bayley, who selected A.D. 190-91.

Examination of the previous Theories.

Mr. Ferguson's theory of A.D. 318-19 for the epoch of the era, and A.D. 319-20 for its commencement, is easily disposed of. It was wrong; but by one year only. The reason is, that, as has been said, his assumption,—based apparently on a suggestion thrown out by Dr. Bhau Daji in 1864,—was, that the commencement of it was regulated only by the completion of four of Jupiter's Sixty-Year Cycles from the commencement of the Šaka era, in order that there might be always an even and convenient difference of two hundred and forty years between the Šaka and Gupta dates. This, however, could be arranged only by applying the Sixty-Year Cycle as used now in Southern India, where it is not in reality an astronomical cycle at all; since there the cyclic years run on in regular succession, without any adjustment of them to the motion of the planet, with reference to his sign-passing or his heliacal rising, by the omission of a year on certain occasions, and are taken as commencing and ending with the lunisolar years. According to the present southern system, Šaka-SAIVAT 1 current (A.D. 78-79) was the Bahudānya śaṁvatsara; and Šaka-SAIVAT 241 current (A.D. 318-19) was again the same cyclic year, Bahudānya; and, by this means, some justification might be found for Mr. Ferguson's view. But I shall shew hereafter that the real epoch of the Gupta era was A.D. 319-20, which does not correspond to Šaka-SAIVAT 241 current; so that there was, in reality, a completion of four cycles and one year, even by the southern system; and this, alone, is fatal to they stand. That Štulachārya treated the Gupta and Šaka eras as identical, contain a mistake of some kind or another, which must be attributed to a pedantic desire on his part to introduce a mention of an era,—whether the Gupta or the Šaka, as the case may be,—with which he was only imperfectly acquainted. And the mistake cannot be cleared away, unless we can obtain some independent record of the real date of Štulachārya, sufficient to show whether the Āchāraṇīkā was written during Gupta-SAIVAT 772 to 798 expired (A.D. 109 to 111), or during Šaka-SAIVAT 772 to 798 expired (A.D. 850 to 876). As to this, I can only say that the Šaka era was used so rarely, if at all, in Gujārat and Kāthiāwād, except by the Gujārat branch of the Rākṣaṭā family, that probably the Gupta era gives the real date for Štulachārya. And I would throw out a suggestion that possibly some mistake of the same kind may account for the dates, Šaka-SAIVAT 400 and 417, of the apparently spurious Umātā and Ilā grants of Dudda II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 61 ff.; and Vol. XIII. p. 115 ff.).—The passages, however, are of some interest, in shewing that, in Štulachārya's time, there was still a recollection of the fact that the era,—which must have been known best from its use by the rulers of Valabhi, and which came eventually, in Kāthiāwād, to be called the Valabhi era,—was connected originally and specially with the Gupta kings, by whom it was introduced into Kāthiāwād and the neighbouring parts. After writing this note, which appeared originally in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 188, I found an allusion by Dr. Bhau Daji, in 1864, to what is evidently the same manuscript, though he quoted only the Gupta date. He wrote (Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 246) "I have a Jaina manuscript which is dated in the 772nd year of the Guptakāla; but unfortunately the corresponding Vikrama or Śalivaḥana's year is not given; nor is it possible at present to ascertain the exact date of the author from other sources."
the proposed epoch of A.D. 318-19. And, in addition to this, amongst other inscriptions, the Wañ grant of the Rāshṭrákūṭa king Góvinda III., which records\(^1\) that in Śaka-Saṁvat 730 the Vyaya saṁvatsara was current on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśākhā (April-May), and the Rādhana pur grant of the same king, which records\(^2\) that the Sarvajit saṁvatsara, the next in the cycle, was current on the new-moon day of the month Śrāvana (July-August) in the same year, shew very plainly that the present arrangement was not the original one, even in Southern India.

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

Nor can it have been determined by the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years of which may be regulated either by the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac to another; or, as was the more ancient custom, by his heliacal rising in a particular lunar mansion.\(^3\) Taking first the sign-passing system, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat i current (A.D. 78-79), the saṁvatsara was Mahā-Āśvayuja, the twelfth in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Kārttika, the first of the next cycle, on, as before, the full-moon day of the month Pausha, in December, A.D. 78. While, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the saṁvatsara was Mahā-Pausha, the third in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Māgha, the fourth, on, as before, the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna, in February, A.D. 319. And, by the heliacal-rising system, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat i current (A.D. 78-79), the saṁvatsara was Mahā-Bhadrapada, the eleventh in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Āśvayuja, the twelfth, on the twelfth lunar day of

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

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

\(^3\) For an explanation of the systems of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, see Appendix III. below.
the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, in April, A.D. 78, soon after the commencement of the year. While, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṅvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the saṅvatsara was Mahā-Pauṣa, the third in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Māgha, the fourth, on the sixth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrāvana, in July, A.D. 318. Thus, between Śaka-Saṅvat 1 and Śaka-Saṅvat 241, there had expired twenty complete cycles and three saṅvatsaras over, by the sign-passing system, and twenty cycles and four saṅvatsaras over, by the heliacal-rising system; and the epoch of the Gupta era could not be determined by any consideration connected with this cycle, unless it should be placed in A.D. 315-16 or A.D. 314-15.

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

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

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

After this, in a paper read on the 15th April, 1848, and published in 1850 in the *Jour. R. As. Soc*. F. S. Vol. XII. p. 1 ff., **Mr. Thomas** entered into an extensive disquisition on the history connected with the dynasty of the so-called ‘Sāḥ’ kings¹ of Saurāśṭra or Kāṭhiavārd; in the course of which, it became incumbent on him to consider the Early Gupta dates. Accepting it as proved by M. Reinaud’s rendering

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

1 i.e., literally, “Iśvaradatta, son of a year.” The legend on his coin is given on id. p. 50, as ending with Varsha putha, in which putha is taken (id. p. 51) as a Zend substitute for the Sanskrit putra, ‘a son.’ The two aksharas are in reality the first two syllables of the Sanskrit word prathamè-varshë prathamè, “in the first year;” see Newton, in Jour. Br. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 8, and Plate, No. 8; see also Plate i. No. 1, accompanying Thomas’ paper, where the legend is almost equally clear.

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

In 1854, General Cunningham published his Bhilsa Topen, in which, on p. 138 ff., he drew particular attention to the fact that Albērūnl three times mentions the Gupta and Valabhi eras, and identifies them with each other; and on each occasion specifies them as starting from the same date, A.D. 319. He proceeded to remark—"but it appears to "me that the most important of these passages must be either corrupt or obscure; for "the translation given by M. Reinaud makes the epoch of the Guptas commence from "the date of their extermination! If this is a correct translation, there can be little "doubt that the text of Abu Riḥān must be erroneous; for we know positively that the "Guptas were reigning during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. .......... "The statement made in M. Reinaud's version is so extraordinary, that, even without "any direct proofs of its inaccuracy, I would have set it aside as erroneous. The era of "the Seleukids began with the foundation of the Syrian empire by Seleukos; the Chris-"tian era is dated from the establishment of Christianity; and the era of the Guptas "without doubt commenced with the settlement of their own dynasty. For the Guptas, "as I have mentioned before, date their inscriptions in an era of their own; which, though "not so named by them, was actually a Gupta-Kal, and must, therefore, have been called "such by the people." And he suggested a different translation of Albērūnl's statement; "to the effect that the Gupta era became extinct with the Gupta dynasty, instead of dating from the extermination of it; and throughout the rest of his book, he applied the "epoch of A.D. 319 to the Gupta dates. If General Cunningham, our leader in Indian "archeology since the death of Prinsep, had continued to hold these views, and had "worked out his other researches in accordance with them, we should probably have heard "but little more of any theory assigning to the Guptas an earlier period. But, as we "shall see, he soon adopted other opinions.

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

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

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

Genealogy of the Kings of Valabhi.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 On this point, Mr. Fergusson wrote,—"I do not think the difference of spelling here indicated, of any importance. Hiuen Tsiang's name was translated first from Sanskrit into Chinese, and from Chinese into French; and might easily have been more changed in the process."—The same mistake has been made in more recent times. And I will, therefore, now point out that the two names are utterly distinct, and belong to totally different persons. In respect of the king mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang (Beal's Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. II. p. 168 ff.; Julien's Hiouen Thsang, Vol. I. p. 149 f., Vol. III. p. 41 ff.), we are not dependent on the correctness of the restoration in the French or English translation. Hiuen Tsiang gives, as the first component of this name, the well-known Fo-ťo, which he uses so habitually for Buddha, the teacher, the holy Śâkya-Tathâgata, and in respect of which he could not possibly be
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

arrived at; but, of course, they were established only as matters of argument, and not by means of any definite proof. On the grounds that (id. p. 90) it was inconceivable that the Valabhi era should not have been used by the Kings of Valabhi themselves; that (id. p. 89 f.), by applying the Valabhi dates to A.D. 318, we obtained a Drhyvasena, who would answer to the Dhruvapatau who was on the throne at the time of Huien Tsang's visit to India; that (id. p. 104), in addition to the inherent improbability in Albârdel's statement about the Gupta era dating from the extermination of the dynasty, there was no battle, massacre, or other important event that could be placed in A.D. 318; that (id. p. 104), the latest date of the Guptas themselves being that of Budhagupta in the year 165, this, if referred to the Saka era, with the result of A.D. 243, still left a gap of seventy-five years, with no names to fill it, before we arrived at the last of the Guptas in A.D. 318, and (id. p. 107) a still longer interval if referred to the Vikrama era; on the general admission that (id. p. 121) the order of succession was, first the so-called Sâhs, then the Guptas, and then the Kings of Valabhi; and on architectural grounds, and general historical and numismatic arguments which are not within the scope of my present remarks, Mr. Fergusson arrived at the conclusions that (id. p. 128 ff.) the Vikrama era of B.C. 57 was founded by the so-called Sâh dynasty; that this dynasty continued down to A.D. 235; that there then rose the Andhra dynasty, in which Gôtamiputra was the king of Western India in A.D. 318-19; that the Valabhi era was established then, probably on the building of the city of Valabhi; that the Mahârâja Gupta, the founder of the Gupta family, must have been the viceroy of one of the Andhra kings, but not necessarily at the time of the building of Valabhi; and that the Early Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi thus derived the era which afterwards came to be known by the names of both of them. And, in the course of this paper, Mr. Fergusson first broached the theory (id. p. 131 ff.) that no such person as Vikramâditya, the traditional enemy of the Sâkas and founder of the Vikrama era, existed anterior to the Christian era, or within some centuries of that time; but that, "some time after Vikramâditya of Mâlwa," whom he placed (id. p. 90) about A.D. 490 to 530, "had rendered the name so celebrated, the Hindus, on the revival of Brâhmaism, wished to possess an era which should, at least, be older than the Buddhist era of Śâlivâhana," i.e. he Saka era. "At that time, the Sâh era, established by Nahapâna, was vacant, having fallen into disuse on the destruction of that dynasty and its supersession by the era of Valabhi; and that the Hindus then appropriated it, by attaching to it the name that it now bears, and inventing the history requisite to render its adoption feasible." This adaptation of the era was then allotted by him either to the time of Bhûja of Dharâ, about A.D. 993, or to the restoration of the Western Châlukya dynasty, in A.D. 973.

mistaken. Whereas, in respect of the king mentioned in the Êrag inscription, the metre, as well as the perfect clearness of the reading, shews as conclusively that the first component of that name is Budha, the planet Mercury. Sanskrit scholars will recognise at once the thorough difference between the two names.—For my own remarks on the date of Buddhagupta of Magadha, see the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 251 f.
In 1871, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. V. p. 193 ff., **General Cunningham** attached a note to Professor Dowson’s paper on “Ancient Inscriptions from Mathurā;” in which (*id. p. 196*), on the grounds that both Kanishka and Huvishka must have preceded the establishment of the Śaka era, he referred the dates of their inscriptions to the Vikrama era; and he quoted the reference, in the Allahābād pillar inscription, to the Daivaputras and Śhāhānushāhis, “who must have been the Turushka kings of the Pañjāb,” as shewing that Samudragupta was “a contemporary of the Turushka kings, whose domination, according to the Chinese authorities, had already passed away in the beginning of the third century after Christ.” As to this last point, I will only say that what we have in reality, in the Allahābād inscription, is, not the means of fixing the date of Samudragupta through the Chinese accounts, but the means of correcting the Chinese accounts by the date of Samudragupta.

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

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

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*Albèruni’s India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 6.*
being that it commemorated the coronation, as Mahârâja, of Drônasîmha, the second son of
the Śrîñapati Bhaṭṭârka, by a sovereign who, in the Valabhi grants, e.g. No. 38, line 5, page
168, is described as “the paramount master, the sole lord of the circumference of the
“territory of the whole earth;” from the date of this event, he held, the members of the
Valabhi family were independent kings. In 1874, however, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. III. p.
303 f., on the grounds that the alphabet used in the Valabhi grants resembles very much
that used in the Western Chalukya grants belonging to the early part of the eighth cen-
tury, and for other reasons not fully specified, he modified this opinion, so far as “to think
that the Valabhi dates must be referred to an era other than the Śaka;” and he proceeded
to join Mr. Fergusson in referring them to an era commencing A.D. 318. But he still
maintained a verbal difference with Mr. Fergusson, to the effect that, since in the Valabhi
family there was no individual named ‘Ballaba,’ or Valabhi, “it is doubtful whether the
“era was really of Bhaṭṭârka’s family. If the era was not the era of the dynasty, but was
“in use in Saurâshṭra before the foundation of the dynasty, the Valabhi dates may be referred
“to it. Or, more likely, since the Guptas, who preceded that dynasty, introduced their
“era into the country, the grants must have been dated in that era. But there is no differ-
ence in effect; since the initial dates of both are the same.”

In 1873, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 313, Col. J. W. Watson published the follow-
ing tradition, attributed to the bards of Kâthiâwâd:—“The bards relate that Vâlâ Râma
“Râjâ, son of Vâlâ Warsîṅgîl, reigned at Junâgaḍh and Vanthall. He was famed for his
“munificence; and it is told of him that, when his beard was shaved for the first time, he
“gave in charity twenty-one villages, and distributed fifty lakhs of rupees1 as alms to the
“poor. Râma Râjâ was of the Vâlâ race. It is said in Saurâshṭra that, previous to the
“rise of the kingdom of Junâgaḍh-Vanthall, Valabhinagara was the capital of Gujarât.
“The rise of Valabhi is thus told by the bards. The Gupta kings reigned between the
“Ganges and Jamnâ rivers. One of these kings sent his son, Kumârapâlagupta, to
“conquer Saurâshṭra; and placed his viceroy Chakrâpâni, son of Prâñadatta, one of his
“Amrâs, to reign as a provincial Governor in the city of Wâmanasthall (the modern Van-
“thall). Kumârapâla now returned to his father’s kingdom. His father reigned twenty-
“three years after the conquest of Saurâshṭra, and then died; and Kumârapâla ascended
“the throne. Kumârapâlagupta reigned twenty years, and then died, and was succeeded
“by Skandagupta; but this king was of weak intellect. His Śrîñapati Bhaṭṭâraka, who
“was of the Gehlot race, taking a strong army, came into Saurâshṭra, and made his rule
“firm there. Two years after this, Skandagupta died. The Śrîñapati now assumed the
“title of King of Saurâshṭra; and, having placed a Governor at Wâmanasthall, founded
“the city of Valabhinagara. At this time, the Gupta race were dethroned by foreign in-
“vaders. The Śrîñapati was a Gehlot, and his forefathers reigned at Ayôdhya, Ānâgarı,
“until displaced by the Gupta dynasty. After founding Valabhi, he established his rule

1 Nominally, half a million pounds sterling.
in Saurashtra, Kachchh, Lataadäa, and Mâlava. The Vâlás were a branch of the Geh- 
lots. After the fall of Valabhbî, the Vâlâ governor of Wâmanasthall became indepen-
dent. Râma Râjâ had no son; but his sister was married to the Râjâ of Nagar Thâtha," 
&c. This story was criticised by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in the Ind. Ant. Vol. III. p. 303; 
his opinion being that "the tradition itself, though interesting, as giving the truth gen-
erally, cannot be considered to be true in the particulars; ............. it simply gives 
"us what was known before, that the Valabhîs succeeded the Guptas." In reply to this, 
and in defence of the supposed tradition, Mr. Thomas¹ said that it "may be imperfect, as 
such old-world tales are liable to become; but there is an instructive confirmation of 
one obscure portion of the earlier history given by the Muhammadan inquirer," and a 
"clear explanation of the causes of the local transfer of power, combined with an impor-
tant reference to the conventional imperial delegation of authority to a son, as well as an 
"indication of the length of the reigns of two kings, to be found nowhere else; and, to 
complete the tale, we trace in its details, a fully reasonable accord with the more precise 
data furnished by inscriptions and coins." Of course, this supposed tradition is of that 
half-perfect kind which carries its own confirmation with it; if we could but accept it. 
Nothing is more natural, for instance, than the introduction of the termination pada into 
the middle of the name of Kumâragupta; and than the substitution of Pânapaddata and 
Chakrapâni for the Parpadatta, and his son Chakrapâlita, of the Junâgaâdh rock inscription 
of Skandagupta, and of Bhaṭṭâraka for Bhaṭṭârka, as the name of the upstart Sênâpatai. 
But no further attention need be paid to the matter; since I have it on the best possible 
authority,—that of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrají himself,—that the supposed tradition has only 
 sprung into existence within the last fifteen or twenty years, and owes its origin only to 
certain speculations of his, which found their way to the bards through an educational 
treatise! It simply furnishes an instance of the extreme suspicion with which we must 
view every Hindu historical legend.

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

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

In 1876, in the Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 18 ff., Mr. Thomas published a chapter on the “Śāh and Gupta Coins, &c.”, in which, as already noted, he included some strong remarks in support of the authenticity of the supposed bardic tradition from Kāthiāwād, that had been brought to notice by Col. Watson. In his tabular statement of the Early Gupta dynasty (id. p. 70), he referred the Gupta dates, as before, to the Śaka era, and, with them, the date on Tōrāmāṇa's coin, which he interpreted (id. p. 66) as 182; on the authority of the supposed tradition, he placed the Śūdrápāti Bhāṭārka, the founder of the Valabhi family, specifically two years before the death of Skandagupta; and he added a remark indicating apparently that his opinion was, that the Valabhi era, commencing A.D. 319, was established by the Mahārāja Dharasena II., “who seems “to have been the earliest monarch of any real pretensions.”

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

In 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 9 ff., General Cunningham brought to notice the grant of the Mahārāja Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106; the Bhumarā pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110; the Mahārāja Sangkhobha’s grant, of the year 209, No. 25, page 112; and, with the exception of No. 28, page 125, the grants of the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa, No. 26, page 117, to No. 31, page 135, ranging from the year 174 to the year 214. And, in the grants of Hastin and Sangkhobha, he followed Prof. Wilson in giving to the expression Gupta-nriṣa-rdya-bhuktau interpretations which, though
not grammatically, were substantially correct, in shewing that it indicated that the Gupta sovereignty was still continuing when the grants in question were issued. To his notice of these inscriptions he annexed some remarks (id. p. 16 fl.) on the "Date of the Guptas," in which he arrived at the conclusion that the probable epoch of the Gupta era was A.D. 194-95, and its commencement A.D. 195-96. Starting with accepting it to be almost certain that Śilāditya VII. was the king of Valabhl who was reigning at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit in A.D. 640, he pointed out (id. p. 17) that, as the year 447 of the grant might fall twenty-five or thirty years either earlier or later than the pilgrim's visit, the initial point of the Gupta era might lie anywhere between A.D. 163 and 223. Within this period, he found, the only year which would suit the conditions of the record in the Éraṅ pillar inscription of Budhagupta and the Môrbl grant of Jáṅkadéva, was A.D. 194-95 as the epoch of the era. Applying this epoch to the Éraṅ date, the result (id. p. 18) was A.D. 359; in which year the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āshādha, according to his calculation, was, as required, a Thursday; viz. the 24th June. And applying it to the solar eclipse mentioned in the Môrbl grant, which he assumed to have occurred on the new-moon day of the month Māgha, five days before the writing of the grant, the result was the 10th February, A.D. 780, "on which very day there was an eclipse of the sun, "visible in Eastern Asia."1 The fourth test, which, he indicated, should be applied, was the mention of some of the Āśvatsaras of Jupiter's Twelve-Year Cycle in the grants of the Mahārājus Hastin and Saṅkhshobha. Exact information about this cycle, however, was not then forthcoming; and, in making the Mahā-Vaisākha Āśvatsara correspond (id. p. 19) with A.D. 350, which, with the epoch of A.D. 194-95, would be the equivalent of Gupta-Sāvant 156, recorded in the Mahārājya Hastin's grant, No. 21, page 93, he seems to have acted on pure assumption; while, in order to make the Mahā-Āśvayuja Āśvatsara, recorded in the same Mahārājya's grant of Gupta-Sāvant 163, No. 22, page 100, fit in with his view of the cycle, he had to alter* the original date from 163 to 173, with the result of A.D. 367. On this occasion, General Cunningham (id. p. 21) again referred the establishment of the Gupta era to Chandragupta I.; and he placed the foundation of the Valabhl era of A.D. 319 in the twentieth year of the reign of Kumāragupta. And, in connection with this Valabhl era, he expressed the opinion (id. p. 20) that it could have no connection whatever with the downfall of the Gupta dynasty; for the reason that, applied to the epoch of A.D. 194-95, the dates of 138 and 139 in the Jñāgādāh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14, page 56, shewed that the Gupta dominion was still intact, in Saurāshtra or Kāthiāwād, up to* A.D. 333. And he expressed the opinion that the apparent incon-

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

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

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

The subject was taken up again by General Cunningham in 1880, in the Archeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 111 ff., in his Appendix on "The Gupta Era;" and on this occasion he arrived at the final conclusion, that (id. p. 126) the commencement of the era was probably in A.D. 167 and, therefore, its epoch was A.D. 166-67. Of the leading general facts on which he relied (id. p. 116), the first was that Samudragupta's date seemed to be fixed approximately, within rather narrow limits, by two facts; viz.—

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

In the same year, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XII. p. 259 ff., Mr. Fergusson*
issued his paper "On the Śaka, Samvat, and Gupta Eras," as a supplement to his original
paper "On Indian Chronology," which has been noticed at page 46 f. above. In his
previous paper, he had adopted General Cunningham's view that Kanishka died A.D. 24.
Now, however, on arguments based (id. p. 264) on the comparative state of decay exhib-
ited by coins of Kanishka and by some belonging to the Roman Consular period, found
in Kanishka's Štāpa at 'Manikya'; on the understanding (id. p. 265) that the legend of
St. Thomas having visited the East in the reign of a certain king Gondophares,—which
visit, if it really occurred, must have been after A.D. 33 and probably before A.D. 50,—is
at any rate admissible so far as to shew that the inventors of the legend must have
known that the king of 'Taxila' at that time was Gondophares, whose name occurs, on
coins, among a series of kings "who reigned in the north-west of India, certainly subse-
quent to the fall of the Greek dynasties, and as certainly anterior to Kanishka;"
on similar grounds, he arrived at the conclusion (id. p. 261) that the Śaka era was estab-
lished by Kanishka, and took the name of the Śālivāhana era from having been intro-
duced into Indiā in the reign of Śātakarni II. of the Andhra dynasty, the "chief of the
"Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana race." As regards the Gupta era, Mr. Fergusson took this
opportunity of recording his impression (id. p. 285) that his view of it "would
"never have been considered doubtful, had it not been that the chronology of that period
"had hitherto been based almost exclusively on numismatic researches." And, in re-
peating his conviction (id. p. 281) that the commencement of the era was in A.D. 319,
and (id. p. 270) that it was established in the reign of the Andhra king Gōtamiputra,
he also now maintained (id. p. 271) that the era did not necessarily date from the acces-
sion of the king, or from his death, or from any specific event in his reign, but
that, in order that dates in the new era might be easily convertible into the old era,
the commencement of the new era was simply fixed by the expiration of four of Jupiter's
Sixty-Year Cycles from the commencement of the Śaka era. In respect of his theory that
the Śaka era was established by Kanishka, and of some others of his general results, I see
no reason, at present, to dispute them, apart from the arguments on which they were
based. But a few words seem necessary in connection with the key-note to his whole
paper, which is plainly to be recognised in his desire to find for the Vikrama era some
origin other than its actual establishment in B.C. 57, and, according to tradition, by a king
Vikrama or Vikramāditya, actually reigning at that time. He had already thrown out this
suggestion in his previous paper. And now he claimed that, granting the correctness of
his other conclusions, there could be found (id. p. 271) no direct evidence for the existence
of a Vikrama era in the first century B.C., nor for a very long time afterwards; for so
long, in fact, that it was impossible to establish any connection between a king Vikrama
and the original establishment of the era. Referring to two passages in the Kājataram-
gīni, one of which1 speaks of Pratāpāditya, who was brought from another country to be
crowned king of Kaśmīr, as a kinsman of a king Vikramāditya who, the book states, was
wrongly thought by some to be the Śakāri or 'enemy of the Śakas,' and the other of which2
states that, at the time of the death of Hiranya of Kaśmīr, there reigned at Ujjain a powerful
king Vikramāditya, who had the second name of Harsha, and who also had destroyed the
Śakas; and quoting also Alberūnl's explanation that the Vikramāditya who, according to
the tradition given to him, conquered the Śakas a hundred and thirty-five years after the
establishment of the Vikrama era, could not be identical with the founder of that era,—the
conclusions at which he arrived were (id. p. 274) that the Vikramāditya who conquered the
Śakas at the battle of Karūr, was Harsha-Vikramāditya of Ujjain; that his death took
place about A.D. 550, and the battle of Karūr, in A.D. 544; that, about or before A.D.
1000, when "the struggle with the Buddhists was over, and a new era was opening for the
"Hindu religion," the Hindus sought to establish some new method of marking time, to

1 Calcutta edition, ii. line 6; page 15.  
2 Calcutta edition, iii. lines 125, 128; page 26. •
supersede the Buddhist Śaka era of Kanishka; that, the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi having then passed away, and having also been insignificant and of doubtful orthodoxy, in looking back for some name and event of sufficient importance to mark the commencement of a new era; they hit on the name of Vikramāditya, as the most illustrious known to them, and his victory at Karur as the most important event of his reign; and that then, since the date of that victory, A.D. 544, was too recent to be adopted, they antedated the epoch by ten cycles of sixty years, thus arriving at B.C. 56 for their Vikrama era, and also, not content with this, devised another era, which they called the Harsha era, from the other part of his name, and the epoch of which was fixed in B.C. 456, by placing it ten even centuries before the date of the battle of Karur. It is an actual fact, that the name of Vikrama does not occur in connection with the era of B.C. 57 until a comparatively late date.  

But Mr. Fergusson's arguments are vitiating throughout by the undue reliance which he placed on the quasi-historical records of the Rājatarangini. The early chronology of Kaşmir has still to be fixed; and the means of adjusting it are to be found in A.D. 533 as the date of Mihirakula, who, according to the book itself, reigned in the eighth century B.C. And, if the date of Harsha-Vikramāditya of Ujjain is really dependent on the date of Hiranya of Kaşmir, it certainly cannot be placed as early as the sixth century A.D.

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

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

"to it," he arrived, by a series of historical, numismatic, and palæographical arguments, at the conclusion that the rise of the Early Guptas must be placed in A.D. 319, and their downfall about A.D. 480. In the course of the paper, he suggested (id. p. 219) that the T'ü-lu-ť'ō-po-ťu of Hiuen Tsiang may be Dērabhaṭa of Valabhi, or may indicate one of the Dharasēnas or one of the earlier Śīlādityas of that family; and that, at any rate, the occurrence of the title Dhrūbhaṭa in the Alhā grant, as only a secondary title, furnishes no conclusive evidence against the commencement of the era in A.D. 319. He announced (id. p. 220) that, with the epoch of A.D. 319, the record of the Ėrān pillar inscription of Budhagupta, that the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āshāḍha of Gupta-Saṅvatsāra¹ 165 was a Thursday, was quite correct by the Tables and formulæ in Warren's Kala-Sankalita. And (id. p. 222), referring to the supposed tradition of the bards of Kāṭhiāwāḍ, he gave perfectly good reasons for holding, even without further proof, that it was nothing but "a very poor compilation, pieced up of what those 'bards' knew by hearsay of the results of modern epigraphical and numismatical investigation."

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

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

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

Closely connected with the preceding, is Sir E. Clive Bayley’s paper “On certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hindu kings of Kābul, expressed in the Gupta Era and in Arabic (or quasi-Arabic) numerals,” published in 1882, in the Numismatic Chronicle, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff. This paper was issued in support of his theory of A.D. 189-(90) or 190-(91) for the epoch of the Gupta era; which was based to a great extent on the apparent deduction from the Almā grant of Silāditya VII., noted at page 51 above, that the era cannot have commenced later than A.D. 200; coupled with his reading of “698 Gupta” on the earliest of the coins of ‘Syalapati,’ which, as he placed ‘Syalapati’ between A.D. 887 and 916, would shew that the Gupta era commenced after A.D. 180. As regards the era of A.D. 319, his suggestion, based on the weakness attributed to Skandagupta in the supposed tradition of the Kāthiāwād bards, was (id. p. 155 f.) that it might date from the death of Kumāragupta, and might memorialise a rebellion against Skandagupta by the members of the Valabhl family. The latter dynasty, he held, still continued, in spite of any such circumstances, to use the Gupta era. The key-note to the whole theory is to be found in Sir E. Clive Bayley’s agreement with Mr. Thomas, that the specified abbreviations of a full legend, which must be taken as ‘Guptasya Kāl,’ were really to be found in the dates on the Kābul coins. But in details he differed widely from Mr. Thomas. Thus (id. p. 145) he read the signs in the opposite way to that in which Mr. Thomas would read them; and, instead of accepting the conventional date of 617, he found in the figures various values, to suit the period, A.D. 887 to 916, which he assigned to ‘Syalapati.’ The question of the true interpretation of the dates on the coins in question, depends chiefly on the real period, still to be proved, that is to be assigned to ‘Syalapati’1 and the other kings in ques-

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1 In connection with this, I would draw special attention to the coin of ‘Syalapati’ figured in Prinsep’s Essays, Vol. I. p. 304, Pl. xxv. No. 2, which, as now explained by Sir E. Clive Bayley’s Table, gives the unmistakable date of 814, traces of which are also discernible in No. 1 on the same Plate. This No. 2 has behind the horseman the same monogram, u u, (not f f,) as Sir E. Clive Bayley’s Nos. 25, 26, and 27 have; also, as explained by No. 1, it has in the upper corner, in front of the horseman, the same symbol (interpreted by Sir E. Clive Bayley on his No. 20 as a rude imitation of adal, ‘just [weight or value]’) that appears in the same position on others of these coins, and resembles a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle. These points of similarity suggest that possibly Sir E. Clive Bayley’s Nos. 25, 26, and 27 (and others) belong really to ‘Syalapati,’ though his name is not on the obverse. And the unmistakable date of 814 on at any rate Prinsep’s Essays, Pl. xxv. No. 2, further suggests that the figures on Sir E. Clive Bayley’s Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, should not be read as 707 and 727.—Sir E. Clive Bayley placed ‘Syalapati’ in A.D. 887 to 916; which would agree very satisfactorily with the date of 814 on Prinsep’s coin, if we might refer it to the Šaka era, with the result of A.D. 891-92. Mr. Thomas (Jour. R. As. Soc. F, S Vol. IX. p. 179) placed him about the same time; viz. “early in the tenth century.” On the other hand, General Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XIV. p. 45) has placed him rather earlier, about A.D. 800; but he quoted no authority for this. I have not been able to find any other information as to the probable date of ‘Syalapati’.
tion. And, without attempting any full discussion of the matter here, where it would be out of place, I will only bring forward a few points to shew that, at any rate, Sir E. Clive Bayley's interpretation of the dates is quite untenable. Of the coins in question, those that have the clearest dates on them (id. Plate vii. Nos. 24 to 27), belong to some unnamed king. They are not attributed to 'Syalapati'; but are considered to be rather more recent. It is admitted, however, that they belong to the same series; and I take them first, because they are so very clear. If we examine them with the help of Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table of Numerals (id. Plate vii.), it is evident at once that No. 24 reads, not "802 Gu," but simply "804," with nothing after it; and that Nos. 25, 26, and 27 read, not "812 Gu," but simply "814," again with nothing after it; the figures being, in fact, absolutely identical with those which Sir E. Clive Bayley himself read as simply "814" on Nos. 19 to 23, 29 to 31, and 34. In these instances, the supposed Gu is nothing but the sign that makes the difference in these numerals between a 2 and a 4. And Sir E. Clive Bayley's reading further involves the peculiar anomaly that the figures have to be read in one direction, from the rim of the coin, and the supposed Gu in the opposite direction, from the inside of the coin; which results in the curious arrangement of "802 nG" and "812 nG." We have here to note that Sir E. Clive Bayley reported (id. p. 145 f.) that Mr. Thomas, reading the signs that were supposed to mean Gu, Gup, and Gupta, in the opposite way to that in which he himself read them, read the whole date in one direction, from the inside of the coins, and interpreted all the figures as giving only one uniform and conventional date, viz. "Gu 617," denoting the initial date of Sāmanta's dynasty according to the Gupta era. Allowing for the possibility of the first sign being capable of meaning Gu, this way of interpreting the figures seems to be equally well borne out by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table. But the first sign cannot mean Gu, and does not mean Gu. And a reference to the Table will shew immediately that the figures have to be read, as Sir E. Clive Bayley read them, from the rims of the coins; and that the dates are in reality nothing but 804 and 814, as I have pointed out above. Of the coins of 'Syalapati' himself (Plate i. Nos. 3 to 5, and 7 to 10), No. 7 is read as "707," and Nos. 8, 9, and 10 as "727," without any supposed reference at all to the Gupta era; and these readings are in accordance with the Table of Numerals, if the dates are read from the rim of the coins, like the dates of Nos. 19 to 27, 29 to 31, and 34, referred to above. On the other hand, if we might read the figures on these seven coins from the inside, there appears no particular objection to interpreting them as respectively "808" and "868." There remain Nos. 3, 4, and 5, which are read respectively as "Gupta" with two doubtful figures, "98 Gu," and "99 Gu;" meaning (6)98 and (6)99, on the principle of "omitted hundreds." And these, unfortunately, are not so easy to deal with; since,—though the signs that are supposed to mean Gupta must be in reality numerals of some kind or another,—there is nothing in Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, and I can obtain nothing elsewhere, to explain their value as numerals. But, in attempting to find a proper reading of them, we must in the first place notice that the sign which,
on Nos. 4 and 5, Sir E. Clive Bayley interpreted as the figure 9, and entered as such in his Table, occupies exactly the position which is filled in Prinsep's coin No. 1, referred to on page 58 above, note 1, by a symbol resembling a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle; and this suggests that the sign in question is not a figure at all. I give here a reproduction of Sir E. Clive Bayley's representation (id. Plate vi. No. 6) of the signs in question, which were supposed by him, and by Mr. Thomas, to represent the word Gupta, and were claimed by him (id. p. 127) to be "a fair rendering of the usual form of the word." What they really mean, I will not attempt to decide; beyond pointing out that, as I have said above, they must be numerals of some kind or another. But it will be admitted at once, by any qualified palæographist, that they answer in no way whatever to the usual form of the word Gupta, and cannot be so interpreted in accordance with any known alphabet; even though we should follow Mr. Thomas (id. p. 128) in looking upon them as "a degraded and contracted form of the word," or Sir E. Clive Bayley (id. p. 145) in holding them to be "a gross corruption of it." And to these remarks I will only add that, as I have shewn at page 19 ff. above, the very expression Gupṭasya kāla or Gupta-kāla is a purely imaginary one, without any real epigraphical existence; and, therefore, abbreviations of it cannot possibly exist on the Kābul coins, or on any others. As a Postscript to his paper, Sir E. Clive Bayley shortly afterwards issued some remarks on the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, as used in the grants of the Mahādrāja Hastin and Saṁkshōbha. His views on this point, however, were radically vitiated, in the first place, by his following General Cunningham's mistaken assumption that the sāṁvatsaras of this cycle always begin and end with the luni-solar years; and, further, by a series of mistakes which it is really difficult to know how to criticise properly. He took the sāṁvatsara that is mentioned in the Bhumarā pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110, to be Mahā-Mārgaśīra, instead of Mahā-Māgha; a mistake which threw this record out by two sāṁvatsaras. He proved General Cunningham's results to be right only in one instance out of the five, viz., in the case of this supposed Mahā-Mārgaśīra sāṁvatsara of the Bhumarā record, by himself making them gratuitously wrong, in assuming that General Cunningham's epoch for the era was A.D. 167-68, instead of A.D. 166-67. And he entirely overlooked the fact that, as there are ordinarily twelve years in each cycle, and as his own proposed epoch was exactly twenty-four years later than that proposed by General Cunningham, his own results could be neither any more nor any less correct than General Cunningham's under ordinary circumstances; but would, in the particular case, be less correct than General Cunningham's, because, by General Cunningham's Table, which he accepted as correct, there was an expunction of a sāṁvatsara between A.D. 394 and 395, which, while it did not affect General Cunningham's results, did affect his own, in making Gupta-Saṁvat 209 coincide with the Mahā-Kārttika sāṁvatsara, instead of Mahā-Āśvayuja (for which, by the way, Sir E. Clive Bayley again wrote Mahā-Mārgaśīra) as recorded in the grant itself, No. 25, page 112. In fact, a full examination of the original
paper and its Postscript, will shew that, for the proposed epoch of A.D. 190, there are absolutely no grounds whatever; and that the theory has no importance at all, except in introducing one of the side-issues which, endorsed by a name that carries authority, have to be disposed of, before any settlement of the main question will be accepted as final by general readers.

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

1In this grant, the date (from the published lithograph; Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 155, and Plate, line 1 f.) runs—Vikrama-saṁvatsara-vaśikha saṁvat-saptasaptakām navatrayadikākṣṇa-mukkha, 974 Kārttikām-aśvapha-pakṣāḥ amāśayānām ādityavārāḥ Jyéśthā-nakṣatratrā śrīdhamāna-saṁvatsara-māsa-pakṣa-divasa-purvayām tithi-dvādaśā-satā sa-vētha Bhāumikāyā &c.—"in seven centuries, increased by ninety-four, of the years of Vikrama, (or) in figures, 974 (the interpretation of the figures, however, with the exception of the 4, depends purely on the preceding expression in words; the first two of them present anything but the appearance of 7 and 9); in the latter fortnight of the month Kārttika; on the new-moon tithi; on Sunday; under the Jyéśthā nakṣatra; on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun; on this lunar day, (specified) as above by the year, and month, and fortnight, and (solar) day; to-day; here, at Bhāumikā,", &c.—This gives us for calculation, Vikrama-Saṁvats 794, current according to the literal meaning of the text; the month Kārttika (October-November); the second, and as shown by the following mention of the new-moon day and a solar eclipse, the dark fortnight; the new-moon tithi; Sunday; an eclipse of the sun; and the Jyéśthā nakṣatra or lunar mansion. And, as the details of the inscription connect it specifically with Saurāśtra or Kāśi-pād, we have to understand that the Vikrama year quoted is the southern Vikrama year, commencing with Kārttika sukla 1, and having the Amānta southern arrangement of the months (see Table III., page 71 below), in which the second fortnight of each month is the dark fortnight. This is, in fact, proved by the record itself, in allotting to the second fortnight of the month the new-moon tithi, which of course belongs to the dark fortnight. And, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit tells me, it is also shown by the mention of the Jyéśthā nakṣatra, which can never occur on the new-moon tithi of the Pārśimānta northern Kārttika.—As belonging to southern Vikrama-Saṁvats 794, the given tithi belonged, according to the Tables, to Śaka-Saṁvats 659, expired; and, if it belonged to southern Vikrama-Saṁvats 795, it would belong to Śaka-Saṁvats 660, expired. With the basis of these two Śaka years, taken as expired, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit gives me the following English equivalents of the recorded date;—for Vikrama-Saṁvats 794, Monday, the 28th October, A.D. 737, when there was the Anurādhā nakṣatra, and most probably no eclipse of the sun (none, at least, is recorded in Indian Eras, p. 211);—and for Vikrama-Saṁvats 795, Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738, when there was the Jyéśthā nakṣatra; but there cannot have been an eclipse of the sun, since there was one on the preceding new-moon tithi, on Friday, the 17th October, A.D. 738, or, by the English Tables (Indian Eras, p. 211) Saturday, the 18th October (the difference in the day is because the conjunction of the sun and the moon occurred late towards sunrise; and, for the same reason, the eclipse was not visible in India). This, of course, was the new-moon tithi of the Pārśimānta northern Kārttika that fell in A.D. 738; but the supposition that this is the day intended, is barred by the facts that I have mentioned above, which prevent our understanding that the month recorded is the Pārśimānta northern month at all; and also by the fact, ascertained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, that on the 17th October, A.D. 738, the nakṣatras were Svātī and Visākha. To complete the details, I would add that he finds that the English equivalent of the new-moon tithi of the Pārśimānta northern Kārttika, which fell in A.D. 737, was Saturday, the 28th September, A.D. 737, when the nakṣatras were Chitrā and Svātī, and there was no solar eclipse.—The only English date, therefore, which at all answers to the record, is Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738; and this is the date that was accepted by Dr. Bühler, in publishing the inscription, on calculations made by Prof. Jacob. In order to arrive at it, however, he translated the record as meaning Vikrama-Saṁvats 794 expired and 795 current. And in dealing with the eclipse, which, according to the same Amānta reckoning, occurred one lunation earlier, on the new-moon tithi of the preceding month Āśvina, he arrived at the conclusions, that the
In 1884, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar issued a note on the question in his Early History of the Deccan, Appendix A. p. 97 ff.; and announced his acceptance of the theory of A.D.

grant was actually made on the new-moon tithi of Āsvina, because, though the eclipse was not visible, yet the occurrence of it was known, and therefore the occasion was one of special merit; but that the actual drafting of the charter was done a month later, on the new-moon tithi of Kārttika, and the person who drafted it was careless, and omitted to draw a distinction between the two occasions.—This date has also been discussed by Gen. Cunningham, in his Indian Eras, p. 48 ff. His conclusions were, that the date belongs to Vikrama-Saṅvat 794, not 795; but that the eclipse intended really is that of the (17th or) 18th October, A.D. 738. In order, however, to arrive at these conflicting results, he assumed that the year commenced, not with the month Kārttika, but with the month Māgāśṛṣa (November-December), in accordance with a custom which Alberdin tells us, was current among the people of Sindh and Kanaunj and other localities, and had been followed at Multā up to a few years before his own time. By this arrangement, of course, the month Kārttika of Vikrama-Saṅvat 794 would belong to the end of the year, and would therefore fall in A.D. 738, not 737.

But, by the southern reckoning, the new-moon day of Kārttika in A.D. 738 would be the 16th November, which was not the day of the eclipse. Accordingly, there remained something still to be explained; and Gen. Cunningham proposed to complete the arrangement by reading Āsvina, instead of Kārttika; which would agree with the real eclipse-day, viz. the (17th or) 18th October, A.D. 738.

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

There was, really, no reason at all for proposing this alteration of the text; for, from the localities mentioned by Alberdin, a year commencing with Māgāśṛṣa could only be coupled with the Pūrṇimāņta northern arrangement of the months; and, by that arrangement, the 17th October, A.D. 738, on which day, as we have seen, the eclipse occurred for India, actually was the new-moon day of Kārttika. The Pūrṇimāņta northern arrangement, however, is barred in the present case by the points to which I have drawn attention above.—Gen. Cunningham's proposals, therefore, will not do. Nor will Dr. Bühler's interpretation of the date. For, though it remains to be finally decided whether the given date in the southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 794, current, or expired, belongs to Śaka-Saṅvat 659 expired, or to 660 expired, yet the eclipse selected by him, as by General Cunningham, was not visible in India; and the assumption that it is the one referred to, also entails a greater variation between the facts and the recorded statements than could possibly occur in a genuine charter.—I confess that from the first, I have thought that the Dhiniki grant is not genuine; partly from the type of the Devanāgarī characters used in it, which, though they present some apparently antique characteristic, are much inferior to those used in certain early palm-leaf MSS., and are also rude, even as compared with the characters of the Sāmāṅgād grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga, of Śaka-Saṅvat 675 expired (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 108 ff. and Plate), which belongs to just about the alleged period; and partly from its giving so much earlier an instance than can be found anywhere else, of the use of the name of Vikrama in connection with the era. My impression has been that the grant was made spurious by substituting the word Vikrama for Valabhī. This view, I find, cannot be upheld; as the recorded details are not correct for Valabhī-Saṅvat 794 (A.D. 1112-14), or a year before or after. But, that the grant really is spurious, is, I think, now certain, from all the results that I have recited above. And judging by the characters, I should be inclined to refer the fabrication of it to about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. As the Jyāśhik nakṣatra appears to occur always on, or within two days after, the new-moon tithi of Kārttika, this detail was probably selected as a fairly safe one; the others being purely fictitious.
318-19 for the epoch of the Gupta era. He held (id. p. 97) that Alberânl's statement regarding the era dating from the extermination of the Guptas, was to be attributed to nothing but the fact that, as in the case also of the Śaka era, the Hindus had repeated to him a mistaken tradition; and that the only reasonable course was, while accepting his initial date for the era, to reject his explanation of the circumstances under which it was established; and he held (id. p. 98) that the fact that this era came to be known in later times by the name of the Valabhi era, was due only to its being having been introduced into Saurashtra by the Valabhi family, who were originally dependents of the Guptas, and the dates in whose grants could, at any rate, plainly not be referred to the rise of the family under the Śeñāpati Bhāṭārka. The principal tests applied by him were, the record of the week-day in the Ėrān pillar inscription of Budhagupta; and the names of the samvatsaras of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, as recorded in the grants of the Mahārājas Hastin and Saṁkshôbhâ. In respect of the Ėrān record, he announced (id. p. 99) that Prof. K. L. Chhatre had found that it was correct for Śaka-Saṁvat 406, as an expired year, and equivalent to A.D. 484-85, i.e. for the Śaka year for which it should be correct according to the initial date given by Alberânl; and his grounds so far were correct. In respect, however, of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter (id. p. 99) he went quite astray; partly through accepting the view that the samvatsaras of the cycle begin and end with the luni-solar years; partly through assuming, evidently in order to apply General Cunningham's Tables of the samvatsaras, that the Gupta dates denoted expired years, with current samvatsaras, which led to the result that Gupta-Saṁvat 156 should be the Mahā-Chaitra samvatsara, instead of Mahâ-Vaisākha as recorded; and partly through his acceptance of General Cunningham’s alteration of the date of No. 22, page 100, from Gupta-Saṁvat 163 to 173. In the course of the arguments which occupy the rest of his paper, he suggested that the T'iu-lu-p'o-po-tu of Huien Tsiang was Dhruvasêna II. of Valabhi. But on this point it is hardly possible to endorse any part of his statement (id. p. 100) that “nothing important is involved in the suffix bhaṭa. It was a mere title or honorific termination, "as pânt and râv are among us, the Marâṭhâs. Sëna, simha, and bhaṭa were the Valabhi honorific endings; and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in "the plates as Dhruvasisimha, may have been called Dhruvabhaṭa by ordinary people, from "whom Huien Tsiang must have got the name.” But the name of Dhruvasisimha does not

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

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

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

The Mandasör Inscription of Mālava-Sarīvat 529.

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

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

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

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

This was not the first instance that had been obtained of the use of this era, which may for convenience be called the Mālava era. For, it is obviously identical with the era which is alluded to in the Kaṇaswa inscription dated when the 795th year of the Mālava lords had expired; and is also mentioned, under the specific name of the Mālava-kāla, i.e. 'the Mālava era,' or 'the time of the Mālavas,' in a fragmentary inscription at 'Gyāraspur' or 'Gyārīspur' in Central India, dated when the 936th year had expired. But

1 Edited by Dr. Kielhorn, in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 162 ff. The date (from the published text; p. 164 f.; line 14 f.) runs—sa-mavatsa-sa-viṣayat yadā sa navat-sa-paṭha navat-argalaih so-paṭha bhū-pādānu mandiram Dhurjaiṭh kriyam, "in the year that is denoted) by seven expired centuries of "years, coupled with ninety-five, of the Mālava lords, (this) temple of (the god) Dhurjaiṭi has been "made."

2 Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 33 f., and Plate xi. The date, part of which is broken away, (from the Plate) runs — Mālava-kālāyāḥ-chhāvadān that-triṣṭat-saṁyutīcchāy atīṭiṣchā navat-saṁtasu, "when nine centuries of autumns, joined with thirty-six, have gone by, from (the com- mence ment of) the Mālava era (or, from the time of the Mālavas)."—The counting of the era by autumns is followed also in line 21 of the Mandasōr inscription of Yaśōdharmar and Vishvuvardhana, of Mālava-Saṁvat 589 expired, No. 35, page 150. And it is worth noting, as being one of the points which identify the Mālava era with the Vikrama era. It can hardly be doubted, that the
though, in commenting on this latter inscription, General Cunningham expressed the opinion⁠¹ that this Mālava era must be the same as the era of Vikramāditya of Ujjain, commencing in B.C. 57, this point has not hitherto been capable of proof; for the reason that neither of these two dates gave sufficient details for actual computation, or any other available grounds for historical identification. Nor does the Mandasor inscription, now brought to notice, furnish any details for calculation. But, in its mention of Kumāragupta, it answers the purpose equally well.

Turning to the Gupta inscriptions and coins, the earliest and latest dates that we have for Kumāragupta are, respectively, Gupta-Saṁvat 96 and 130 odd. The first is established by his well-known Bilsad pillar inscription, No. 10, page 42; and the latter, by one of General Cunningham’s coins.⁠⁸ Best, however, the coin-date should be looked upon as at all doubtful, we must note also his Mankuwār inscription, No. 11, page 45, dated Gupta-Saṁvat 129. And, of these extreme dates, we may take Gupta-Saṁvat 113 as the mean.

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

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

The first three results, however, each entail the supposition of a brand-new era, hitherto unheard of, and entirely unexpected. At the same time, as regards the second possible result of about B.C. 214, we must not overlook the existence of certain coins, found in large numbers at Nāgar in the north of Mālwa, about forty-five miles north of Kōṭā, and originally brought to notice by Mr. Carlleyle,⁹ which have on them the legend Mālavānāṃ jayak, “the victory of the Mālavas,” in characters ranging, in General Cunningham’s opinion, “from perhaps B.C. 250 to A.D. 250.” These coins shew that the Mālavas existed, as a recognised and important clan, long before the time when, as I consider, their “tribal

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

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constitution," which led to the establishment of their era, took place; and so also, in the other direction, does the mention of them in the Allahabad pillar inscription, among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta, shew that, down to his time at least, they maintained their tribal constitution and importance. And, if we were compelled to have recourse to a new era, these coins might justifiably induce us to select, as its epoch, B.C. 223, the date fixed by General Cunningham for the death of Ašoka;\(^1\) which would make the date of Mālava-Saṃvat 493 correspond with A.D. 270, or well on into the first decade of Kumāragupta's reign according to General Cunningham's theory. But this entails, as I have said, the supposition of the existence of an era, of which not the slightest indication has ever yet been afforded by the very numerous inscriptions that have now been examined from all parts of the country; and this is an expedient that must by all possible means be avoided.

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

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

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

The Determination of the Exact Epoch of the Era.

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

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

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

The Scheme of the Gupta-Valabhi Year.

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

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

The Śaka years of both Northern and Southern India commence with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, immediately after the new-moon conjunction. But in the scheme of the year, there is the important difference that, in the northern arrangement, the dark fortnight of each month precedes the bright;2 whereas in the southern year, it is the bright fortnight that stands first. Popularly, and in Panchāṅga or Hindu almanacs, the northern arrangement is called Pūrṇimā, or ‘ending with the full-moon,’ and the southern arrangement is called Amānta, or ‘ending with the conjunction of the sun and the moon,’ i.e. with the new-moon;3 and these terms will be found very convenient for practical use. The result of this difference of arrangement, is, that, in the northern year, the dark fortnight of Chaitra stands at the end of the year, instead of in the place of the second fortnight, which it occupies in the southern year; and that the dark half of the southern Chaitra is the same lunar period as the dark half of the northern Vaiśākha; and so on all through the year. For dates in the bright fortnights of Śaka years, it obviously is immaterial whether we follow the northern or the southern scheme. But, for dates in the dark fortnights, it is as obviously essential, in order to compute them correctly, that we should know exactly which scheme they conform to; since, for instance, the thirteenth lunar or solar day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month Āshāṣha represents, if treated as a southern date, an English day later by one complete lunation, or practically a month, than the English equivalent of it as a northern date.

In the southern Vikrama year, the arrangement of the fortnights is the regular Amānta southern arrangement. But the year commences seven lunations later than the equivalent Śaka year, and corresponding northern Vikrama year;4 viz. with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). Here, again, for purposes of computation, any date in a southern Vikrama year has to be treated as the same date in the equivalent Śaka year. And a reference to the right-hand columns in Table III. on page 71, will shew at once the way in which the years overlap; and will explain fully the

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

2 See Beal’s Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. I. p. 71, where Huien Tsiang’s account shows that the arrangement was just the same twelve centuries ago.

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

Comparative Table of the Vikrama, Śaka, and Gupta-Valabhi Years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern India, Paryamaṇa.</th>
<th>Months and Fortnights.</th>
<th>Southern India, Amāśānta.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaitra</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td>Chaitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
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<tr>
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<td>dark</td>
<td>Jyēśṭha</td>
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<td>Āśāḍha</td>
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<td>Āśvina</td>
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<td>Kārttika</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Kārttika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārgaśīrsha</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td>Mārgaśīrsha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Pausha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māgha</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phālguṇa</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>Phālguṇa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Śaka-Saṅvat 1186.  
Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321.  
Gupta-Valabhi-Saṅvat 944.  
A.D. 1263-64.

(Verduval Inscription, Ashāḍha; the dark fortnight; the 13th solar day; Sunday.)

Śaka-Saṅvat 1187.  
Vikrama-Saṅvat 1322.  
Gupta-Valabhi-Saṅvat 945.  
A.D. 1264-65.

Śaka-Saṅvat 1186.  
Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321.  
A.D. 1263-64.

Śaka-Saṅvat 1187.  
A.D. 1264-65.

Śaka-Saṅvat 1187.  
A.D. 1264-65.

Śaka-Saṅvat 1186.  
A.D. 1262-63.
necessity of determining the question with which we are concerned. By the epochs of the
two eras, the nearest equivalent of, for instance, southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 current is
Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 current; and this is also its actual equivalent for any date from Kārttika
śukla 1 up to Phālguna krishṇa 15, both included; but, for any date from the following
Chaitra śukla 1 up to Āśvina krishṇa 15, both included, the actual equivalent of Vikrama-
Saṃvat 1321 current is the following Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 current. Consequently, if the
Gupta-Valabhi year is to be treated as a southern Vikrama year, any such date as Gupta-
Valabhi-Saṃvat 944, Chaitra, śukla 1, up to Āśvina krishṇa 15, will give an English equi-
valent later by twelve complete lunations, or practically a year,¹ or else any such date
as Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 944, Kārttika śukla 1, up to Phālguna krishṇa 15, will give
an English equivalent earlier by twelve complete lunations, than the English equivalents if
the year is to be treated as a Śaka year.

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

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

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

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

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

The earliest eras used in these inscriptions, are the Gupta era, and the era of Harsha-vardhana of Kanauj. And the recorded dates in them range, respectively, from A.D. 635 to 854, and from A.D. 639 to 758. Soon after that time, these eras were supplanted, in Nēpāl, by the Nēwār 1 era, the epoch of which, according to Mr. Prinsep’s statement 2 that the year 951 ended in A.D. 1831, is A.D. 879-80; and the commencement, A.D. 880-81. Mr. Prinsep also recorded that each year of the era began in October; which is in accordance, broadly, with the information obtained by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, when travelling in Nēpāl, that the initial day of each year is the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November).

As regards the origin of the era, the Nēpāl Vamsāvali, or List of Kings, states 3 that it was established by Jayadēvamalla, of the second Ṭhākurī dynasty of Amśūvarman. But a more important indication of the truth is given by its immediately following statement, that, on the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrāvana, in the ninth year of the era, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 811 which as an expired year is equivalent to A.D. 889-90, during the joint reign of Jayadēvamalla and his younger brother Ānandamalla, there came from the south a certain Nānyadēva, who conquered the whole of Nēpāl, and established the Karpṭāka Dynasty. The truth probably is that Nānyadēva was a minister of Jayadēvamalla, and eventually usurped the sovereignty, which, according to the Vamsāvali, remained with his descendants for five generations after him. Whether Nānyadēva really came from the south, it is of course difficult to say. That statement, and the name of his dynasty, may perhaps be only inventions, to account for the nature of the year that was coupled with the new era, which was evidently introduced by him, and not by Jayadēvamalla. But it is plain that, in addition to the establishment of a new era, there was made an important change in the calendar, consisting of the substitution of a foreign Karpṭāka year for the year that had hitherto been used in Nēpāl. The available dates do not furnish absolute proof that the initial day of the new year was Kārttika śukla 1. But the Vamsāvali gives the following two equations,—under Nānyadēva, as already noted, Nēpāla-Saṁvat 9 = Saka-Saṁvat 811 (expired), with the date of Śrāvana śukla 7; and under Harisimhadēva, No. 1 in the Sūryavarṇī Dynasty of Bhattgām, Nēpāla-Saṁvat 444

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

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

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

Śaka-SAṁvat 1245 (expired),—which, as the difference in the first case is 802 years, and in the second, 801, show that the scheme of the year differed from that of the Śaka years. And, taking this in connection with the information obtained by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and with the fact that all such dates as have been examined tend to support the result, it seems certain that the initial day of each year was Kārttika śukla 1; and it is evident that the year was borrowed from the southern Vikrama year. The question remains as regards the arrangement of the fortnights of the months; and here, though we might most reasonably expect that, so far north as Nēpāl, even a year borrowed from the southern Vikrama year, would be coupled with the PĀrṇimānta northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights, yet we find that this distinctly was not the case, but the Amānta southern arrangement was preserved. This is proved, in the first instance, by the mention in the inscription of Śiddhirbinisinha, dated Nēpāla-SAṁvat 757, of Śrāvaṇa krishna 8 after Śrāvaṇa śukla 12; and still more explicitly by the provision, in the same passage, 1 for performing the janmādhiṣṭami-puja, or 'worship on the eighth lunar day which is (the anniversary of) the birth (of Krishna),' on the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa; for, a comparison of any Pañchāṅgas will show that the festival in question occurs in the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa only according to the Amānta southern reckoning, but, according to the PĀrṇimānta northern reckoning, on the same tithi in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada. Further, the inscription of Riddhilakshmi gives a date in a dark fortnight, available for calculation. The details are Nēpāla-SAṁvat 810 current; the month Kārttika; the dark fortnight; the second lunar day; and Sunday. With the epoch of A.D. 879-80, the given tithi should fall in A.D. 1689; and, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dixhit finds that, by the Amānta southern arrangement, it did end on a Sunday, viz. the 20th October, A.D. 1689; while, by the PĀrṇimānta northern arrangement, it ended on a Friday, viz. the 20th September. Also, in connection with the question of the epoch itself being A.D. 879-80, he finds that the given tithi did not end on a Sunday in either A.D. 1688 or 1690, by either the Amānta or the PĀrṇimānta arrangement. 2 It is absolutely certain, therefore, that the year which was used in connection with the Nēwār era of Nēpāl, and which had Kārttika śukla 1 for its initial day, was a southern

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

2 Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 192.—Nēpāl-dādē gagana-dharini-nāga-yuktē kil-ōrē māṣē pakṣē viḍhū-virahitē svduṣṭādiś-tīthān sd krītōd dēśādayam-api Ravan Riddhilakshmi prasannā chakrē dāda swovidhi-vīdiśām Śaṅkarasya pratishthām.—"in the Nēpāl year possessed of the sky (=o), the earth (=1), and the (8) Nāgas; in (the month) Ūrja (i.e. Kārttika); in the fortnight which is deprived of the moon; on the excellent second lunar day; on Sunday; having made (this) temple, she, the gracious (and) majestic Riddhilakshmi, made an installation, according to all the proper rites, of (the god) Śaṅkara."—The name of the week-day is overlooked in the published version.

3 The English equivalents for those years, are, by the Amānta arrangement, Tuesday, the 30th October, A.D. 1688, and Saturday, the 8th November, A.D. 1690; and, by the PĀrṇimānta arrangement, Monday, the 1st October, A.D. 1688, and Thursday, the 9th October, A.D. 1690.
year. On the other hand, when the Nepālese abandoned this offshoot of the southern Vikrama era, and introduced the Vikrama era itself from the neighbouring parts of Northern India, they adopted it in its northern variety, with Chaitra sukla' as its initial day, and with the Pārśimānta northern arrangement of the fortnights; as is proved by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations of the dates in dark fortnights, recorded in the inscription of queen Lalitatriparasundari.¹ The dates are, Vikrama-Saṅvat 1874, Bhādrapada krishna 9, Śukravāra ² or Friday; Vikrama-Saṅvat 1875, Mārgaśīrsha krishna 5, Budhavāra or Wednesday; and Vikrama-Saṅvat 1877, Jyēṣṭha krishna 10, Ravivāra or Sunday. By the Amānta southern arrangement, the week-days do not come out right at all. While by the Pārśimānta northern arrangement, the English equivalents are, as required, Friday, the 5th September, A.D. 1817; Wednesday, the 18th November, A.D. 1818; and Sunday, the 7th May, A.D. 1820.

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

The Khōh copper-plate grant of the Parivraja Mahārāja Samkshōbha, of the year 209 (A.D. 528-29), No. 25, page 112, is dated "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahā-Āsvayuja samvatsara;" and, as regards other details, in fortunately a double manner. In line 2 f. we have—Chaitra-māsa-śukla-paksha-traya-dāsyāṁ (where, in apposition with trayōdatyām, we have to supply titha),—"on the thirteenth titki, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra." And at the end, in line 24, in numerical symbols, this date is repeated as—Chaitra di² 20 7 (where the abbreviation di stands for dina, dinē, divasa, or divasē),—"(the month) Chaitra; the (solar) day 20 (and) 7." This double record is explicable only on the understanding that, in the scheme of the months of the Gupta year, the dark fortnights stood first, according

² The published text has śuklē, which is obviously a mistake for śukrē.
³ In my printed version of this inscription, the second numerical symbol is given as 9, with a reference (page 112, note 4) to a note that it might possibly be 7, 8, or 9. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit having found by calculation that this titki was the twenty-seventh solar day in the month, I now substitute 7 for 9 (see page 274, note 2).—The point that is proved by this double record had been missed, until I brought it to notice in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 145; because Gen. Cunningham, who first brought the inscription to notice, read the first symbol in line 24 as 10, instead of 20, and overlooked the second symbol altogether. He thus obtained "Chaitra, day 10:" and added the remark "this figure should be 13, to agree with the written date given above" [in line 2 f.] (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. 14, p. 15). There are, however, distinctly two symbols, meaning 20 and 7; or, together, 27.
to the regular Pūrṇimānta northern scheme. By this means only can the thirteenth tīthi, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight answer to the twenty-seventh solar day of the whole month. A double record of precisely the same kind is given in the Majhgawām grant of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106, in which we have, in line 2,—Māgha-māsa-bahula-paksha-trītyāyām,—“on the third tīthi, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha;” and, in line 21,—Māgha di 3, —“Māgha, the (solar) day 3.” But, the number of the solar day in this instance being under sixteen, this record is not in itself sufficient to prove the case, one way or the other.1 What we require is a double date, in which the tīthi of the fortnight, the number of which cannot exceed fifteen is connected with a solar day, the number of which, exceeding sixteen, shews itself to be reflected to the whole month, and not to the fortnight. This we have in the grant of the Mahārāja Saṅkshōbha. And the record proves absolutely that, in the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year, it is the Pūrṇimānta northern system that is concerned; and, consequently, the general scheme of the years of the era was not that of any southern year at all.

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

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

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1 There seemed to be also a double record of the same kind in the Ēraṅ pillar inscription of Goparājā, of the year 191, No. 20, page 91, in which we have, in line 2, Śrāvaṇa ba di 7, "(the month) Śrāvaṇa; the dark fortnight; the (solar) day 7;" and, in line 1, apparently Śrāvaṇa-bahula-paksha-sap[ī]am[di][am] (or sap[ī]am[yan]), "on the seventh tīthi, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of (the month) Śrāvaṇa." Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, finds that, in Gupta-Saṅvat 191, the seventh tīthi or lunar day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa, ended on Monday, the 14th June, A.D. 510; and that this was the sixth solar day in the fortnight or month; since, the preceding new-moon tīthi ended on Tuesday, the 8th June. Accordingly, at the end of line 1, we should perhaps read sap[ī]am[di], sap[ī]am[ē-khi], or sap[ī]am[ē dinf.]

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

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

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1 Albērāni’s India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8 f.—He also, in the same place, mentions a year commencing with the month Bhādrapada (August-September). But, from his statement, it seems to have been confined to the vicinity of Kaśmīr. And, under any circumstances, as Bhādrapada is earlier than Kārttiika in the Śaka year, the circumstances which bar a year commencing with Kārttiika, still more emphatically bar one commencing with Bhādrapada.
known year of general use to fall back on, except the Śaka year,1 and giving due consideration to the explicit manner in which Alberūnī connects the years of the Gupta-Valabhl era with those of the Śaka era by an even number, without any fractions; and having regard also to the fact that any Hindu date has to be converted, for purposes of calculation, into its equivalent Śaka date,—we may accept it as almost certain that, whatever may have been the real historical initial point of the Gupta-Valabhl era, after no great lapse of time the scheme of its years became in all respects identical with the scheme of the Śaka year, with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra as the initial day of each year, and with the Pārśimānta northern arrangement of the lunar fortights, in accordance, in both respects, with what seems to have been always the custom of Northern India.2

1 I have heard from Mr. Vajeshhankar Gaunshankar that, in the west of Kāthiāwār, there is current a year commencing with the Āśadhā sukla 1 that precedes the Kārttika sukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. This year is called the Ḫāḷārl year, as belonging to the Ḫāḷārl Prānt or Sub-Division of Kāthiāwār. I do not know whether it is coupled with the Amānta or with the Pārśimānta arrangement of the lunar fortights. But it appears to be of purely local usage; it does not help to reconcile the discrepancy in the results for the dates of the Kaīra grant of Dharāsena IV. of the year 330 and the Vārāval inscription of Valabhl-Sainvat 927, as compared with the results for all the other dates; and, in order to suit the dates in Pān pillar inscription of Budhāgupta and other records, it ought to commence with the Āśadhā sukla 1 following, not preceding, the Kārttika sukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. There appear, therefore, no grounds for supposing that this Ḫāḷārl year is any remnant of the Gupta reckoning.

2 Evidence is, in fact, accumulating that, even in Southern India, or at least in some parts of it, the Amānta southern arrangement of the lunar fortights was not coupled with the Śaka years until a comparatively late period.—One point in favour of this is the Haḍmarshād (Deekkan) grant of the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II., in which the details for computation (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 73, line 11 ff.) are Śaka-Sainvat 534 expired, the month Ḫāḍrapada (August-September), the new-moon tīṭhi, and an eclipse of the sun. I have noticed this date in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 109 ff.; and I arrived then at the conclusion that the solar eclipse in question is that of the 23rd July, A.D. 613. This, however, was in consequence of a mistake as to the English equivalent of the indicated current Śaka year, due to the manner in which the Tables are arranged for expired years without any distinct intimation to that effect, and (see Appendix I. below) by no means confined to myself. Śaka-Sainvat 534 expired, and 535 current, is really equivalent to A.D. 612-13. In this period there was an eclipse of the sun (see Indian Eras, p. 310) on the 2nd August, A.D. 612; which was the new-moon tīṭhi of Ḫāḍrapada according to the Pārśimānta northern arrangement. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, however, by the Śāraya-Siddhānta, that the tīṭhi ended at 35 ghafīs, 46 palas; and consequently that the eclipse, occurring in the night, was not visible in India. Accordingly, there being no eclipse of the sun on the given tīṭhi in the preceding year, it is doubtful whether the record really refers to the eclipse of the 2nd August, A.D. 612; or whether we have here a genuine instance of a mistake in the year that is quoted, and the eclipse that is really intended is that which occurred, fully visible under very impressive circumstances at the locality, Bhalāmi, to which the record refers itself, on the 23rd July, A.D. 613, which date again answers to the new-moon tīṭhi of Ḫāḍrapada according to the Pārśimānta northern arrangement. But the point to which I have to draw attention here, is, that, whichever of these two eclipses we select, the Pārśimānta northern arrangement of the lunar fort-
The Calculation of Recorded Dates.

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

The Ēraṅ Inscription of the year 165.

The earliest record that furnishes the easy test which is provided by the mention of the name of a work-day, combined with the other necessary details, and the first that was tested for me by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, is that given in the Ēraṅ pillar inscription nights has to be applied.—Again, in a grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., from the Kanarese country, we have for calculation (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 126, line 1 ff.) Śaka-Saṅvat 726, the Subhânu saṁvatara of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the month Vaiśākha (April-May), the dark fortnight, the fifth titi, and Bṛhaspativāra or Thursday. Whether a literal translation of the text indicates the given Śaka year as current, or as expired, is not quite certain. But correct results can be obtained only by taking it as an expired year. With the basis of Śaka-Saṅvat 726 expired, the given titi, belonging to Śaka-Saṅvat 727 current, ended, by the Āṁḍaṇa arrangement, on Friday, the 3rd May, A.D. 804; but, by the Pūrṇimānta arrangement, on Thursday, the 4th April, as required. And this is in accordance with the Northern System of the Sixty-Year Cycle, by which the Subhânu saṁvatara commenced in Śaka-Saṅvat 726 current, on the 17th June, A.D. 803, and was followed by the Tārāpa saṁvatara in Śaka-Saṅvat 727 current, on the 12th June, A.D. 804; so that it was current, as recorded, on the given date. By the Southern System of the cycle, the Subhânu saṁvatara coincided with Śaka-Saṅvat 726 current (A.D. 803-804). And for this year, with the basis of Śaka-Saṅvat 725 expired, the equivalents of the given titi are, by the Āṁḍaṇa arrangement, Saturday, the 15th April, A.D. 803, and, by the Pūrṇimānta arrangement, Friday, the 17th March.—On the other hand, the Śīrā (Dhāravād District) inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavasīha I. gives us for calculation (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 219, line 15 ff.) Śaka-Saṅvat 788, the Vyāya saṁvatara, the month Jyēṣṭha (May-June), the new-moon titi, Āḍityavāra or Sunday, and an eclipse of the sun. Here, again, it is not quite certain whether a literal translation of the text indicates the given Śaka year as current, or as expired. But correct results can be obtained only by taking it as an expired year. In Śaka-Saṅvat 788 current (A.D. 865-866), there was no eclipse of the sun on the given titi. Also, by the Southern System of the Sixty-Year Cycle the Vyāya saṁvatara coincided with Śaka-Saṅvat 789 current (A.D. 866-867); and by the Northern System it commenced in Śaka-Saṅvat 788 current, on the 23rd September, A.D. 865, and was followed by the Sarvajit saṁvatara in Śaka-Saṅvat 789 current, on the 20th September, A.D. 866. With the basis of Śaka-Saṅvat 788 expired, the given titi ended, by the Pūrṇimānta arrangement, on Saturday, the 18th May, A.D. 866, when there was no solar eclipse; but, by the Āṁḍaṇa arrangement, on Sunday, the 16th June, as required, when there was an eclipse of the sun (see Indian Eras, p. 212), which, as the titi ended about 20 P.M. (for Bombay), would, ceteris paribus, be visible in India.—It would appear, therefore, that the Āṁḍaṇa southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights was applied to the Śaka years, in Southern India, at some point between A.D. 804 and 866.
of Budhagupta, from the Sagar District in the Central Provinces, No. 19, page 88; in
which the date (line 2 f.) runs — sātē pañcha-shashty-adhikē varṣhaṇāṁ bhūpatau cha
Budhagupté 1,Āśādaḥa-māsa-śukla-dvādaśyāṁ Suragurūr-divasē II Sān 100 60 5,— in
a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (īśa) king; on the
twelth tīthī, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Āśādaḥa; on the day of
Suraguru; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5.'

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

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

Again, in 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 17 f., General Cunningham,—
whose theory then was that the epoch should be A.D. 194-(93),—announced as the
result, Thursday, the 24th June, A.D. 359, Old Style. The basis of this calculation was
Tuesday, the 16th March, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-
Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 194-95 = A.D. 359-60 = Śaka-Saṁvat 281 expired; and the result
was derived from the assumption that the given tīthī fell on its theoretical normal place
on the 101st solar day of the year. And, in the same place, he intimated that, with the
epoch of A.D. 318-(19), the result would be Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483. The basis

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

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

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

In 1882, in the Postscript to his paper on the "Dates on Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kābul" which was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff., Sir E. Clive Bayley,—whose theory was that the epoch should be A.D. 190-(91),—announced that the result was a Thursday in A.D. 355, and that it seemed to be Thursday, the 17th May, in that year. But he gave no indication of the way in which this result was obtained; beyond a general reference to Prinsep's Tables in Thomas' Edition of his *Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, pp. 180, 181. And, as a matter of fact, this result was altogether wrong. The 17th May, A.D. 355, was a Wednesday, not a Thursday; and, as closely as can be ascertained by General Cunningham's Tables, it represents Āṣāḍha krishṇa 5 of the northern year. Sir E. Clive Bayley seems to have very soon become aware of the mistake; since, at the end of the copy of the Postscript which, with a copy of the principal article, reached me from him in May, 1883, there is added, in manuscript, the remark—"this date is erroneous; but the real date, as calculated by Professor Jacobi, comes out a Thursday." The real date of Āṣāḍha śukla 12 of Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 355-56 = Śaka-Saṁvat 277 expired, is Thursday, the 8th June, A.D. 355; as obtained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, from Prof. Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables.

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

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

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

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

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

2 The results are put in this way for the sake of brevity. The more absolutely accurate method of expressing them would be to say, in this instance, that the given *tithi*, as belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, and as calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired, ended on a Hindu Thursday, and at such a time that it ended also during the English Thursday, which was the 21st June, A.D. 484, Old Style. — The hours at which the *tithi* ended, according to the different authorities, and as reckoned from mean or from apparent sunrise at Bombay, Ujjain, and Erān, are given in Appendix II. Table VI.
The second result, Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484, is the only one that answers to the week-day mentioned in the record. And a reference to Appendix II. Table VI. will show that it so answers, not only by Prof. K. L. Chhatrē's Tables, but also by the Ārya-Siddhānta, and by all the other leading authorities. It answers, as is required, to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year; though it does not, in itself, prove conclusively either the exact epoch of the era, or the scheme of the year; for the reason that, being a date in a bright fortnight, this Āśādha śukla 12 was the same tihti, and fell on the same solar day, represented by the 21st June, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Saṅvat 407 current, and in southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 541 current, as well as in northern Vikrama-Saṅvat 542 current. It gives Śaka-Saṅvat 407 current (A.D. 484-85), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year. And, finally, as it is obtained by applying the resulting year, Śaka-Saṅvat 406, as an expired year, so that the given tihti really belongs to Śaka-Saṅvat 407 current, it shews that, in following Albērēnt's statement and adding two hundred and forty-one, what is really accomplished is the conversion of a given current Gupta-Valabhi year into an expired Śaka year, by which we obtain precisely the basis that is wanted for working out results by Hindu Tables, viz. the last Śaka year expired before the commencement of the current Śaka year corresponding to a given current Gupta-Valabhi year; and that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhi and current Śaka years, is two hundred and forty-two.¹

The Verāwal Inscription of Valabhi-Saṅvat 945.

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

The details of this date (from Dr. Hultzsch's published text; Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 242, line 2 ff.) are — Śrī-Viśvanātha-pratibaddha-naujanānāṃ bōdhaka-rasūla-Mahaṃmada-saṅvat 662 tathā Śrī-nṛpa-Vikrama-saṅvat 1320 tathā Śrīmad-Valabhi-saṃ 945 tathā.

¹Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar arrived at the conclusion (Early History of the Dekkan, p. 99) that the addition of 241 would turn a past Gupta year into a past Śaka year; and the addition of 242, a past Gupta year into a current Śaka year. This result is due to the general mistake as regards the epoch of the Śaka era (see page 64 above, note 2).—For an instance of the actual use by Hindus of the additive quantity 242, see page 26 above, note 2.
Sīr-Sinha-samā 151 varshē Āśādha va di 13 Ravāv-ady-ēha ............. iha Sīr-Somā-
āṭhadēvā-pattanē,—"the year 662 of the prophet Mahammada, who is the teacher of the
sailors connected with (the temple of) the holy (god) Viśvanātha; so also the year
1320 of the glorious king Vikrama; so also the year 945 of the famous (city of)
Valabhi; so also the year 151 of the glorious Sinha; in (this) year; the month Āśādha;
the dark fortnight; 1 the (solar) day 13; on Sunday; to-day (and) here; .............
here, in the city of the holy god Sōmanātha."

This gives us, for calculation, Valabhi-Saṅvat 945, current; the month Āśādha
(June-July); the dark fortnight; the thirteenth solar day of the fortnight, with whatever
tithī, presumably the thirteenth, fell on it; and Ravivāra, or Sunday. And,—as the
mention of the year 1320 of the Vikrama era, and of the year 662 of the prophet Muḥam-
mad, which is the year 662 of the well-known Hijra era, and commenced 2 on Sunday,
the 4th November, A.D. 1263, and ended on Saturday, the 23rd October, A.D. 1264,
shews that the Valabhi era quoted in this record must have had its starting-point in or
about A.D. 319, and must of necessity be the Valabhi era that is mentioned by Alberūni,
—in accordance with the results obtained for the date in the Ėrān inscription, the given
tithī should belong to Valabhi-Saṅvat 945 + 242 = Śaka-Saṅvat 1187 current (A.D.
1264-65); and, in using Hindu Tables, the calculation should be made with the basis of
Śaka-Saṅvat 1186 expired.

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

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

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

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

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

² *Indian Eras*, pp. 50, 55, 63.
³ According to the present Tables, the given Vikrama year 1320 must be interpreted as an expired year; and the indicated current year is, therefore, 1321. This, however, does not make the given Valabhl year an expired year; just as it does not, and can not, convert the given Hijra year into an expired year.
⁵ The ordinary equivalent of Āshāñja is June-July. But the dark fortnight of the northern Āshāñja corresponds to the dark fortnight of the southern Jyēṣṭha, which month is ordinarily May-June. And this, with the fact that Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 current, commenced rather early, on Saturday, the 1st March, or Friday, the 29th February, A.D. 1264, is the reason why this dark fortnight of Āshāñja fell entirely in May.
⁶ As opposed to these results. Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, p. 53) has quoted this record as proving absolutely that Valabhl-Saṁvat 1 = A.D. 319 (-20); which could only be by taking the epoch as
the two years, can be based on the mere fact that the record mentions both a Vañabhi year and a southern Vikrama year. It might just as well be asserted that the mention also of the Hijra year 662, shows that the scheme of the years of that era, too, is identical with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year; whereas,—even apart from the fact that the Hijra year 662 commenced, as stated above, on Sunday, the 4th November, A.D. 1263, while the southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1320, as an expired year, i.e., more properly, southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 1321 current, commenced on Friday, the 5th October of that same year,—everyone knows that these two eras have absolutely nothing in common at all; the Hijra era being a purely Musalmān era. The Verāwal record is simply analogous exactly to scores of documents that are still being turned out in India, in which the date is expressed according to the English and also one or other of the Indian systems; and in which the principal record depends entirely upon the person by whom, and the circumstances under which, it is drawn up. Sometimes it will be the English date; sometimes the Indian. We shall see immediately that, in this Verāwal inscription, the principal record is the Vañabhi date; and that the Vikrama date accidentally, as well as the Hijra date naturally, was entirely subordinated to it. Possibly, we may hereafter obtain instances, in which the reverse of this will be found to have been the case. But they will not avail to disprove any of the pointed and unavoidable conclusions, regarding the epoch of the Gupta-Vañabhi era and the scheme of its years, which are absolutely forced on us by the circumstances of the present Verāwal date.

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

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

2 Cowasjee Patell’s Chronology, p. 150.

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

1 Indian Eras, p. 179.
2 Chronology, p. 150.
4 Chronology, p. 71.
5 A verse that is given by Bapu Deva Shastri, in his edition of the Siddhānta-Śīrṣaṇa of Bhāskaracārya, p. 49, note, as belonging to the Brahma-Siddhānta, indicates a more ancient custom, according to which the first (bright) and the second (dark) fortnights would belong to the natural month; and the third (bright) and the fourth (dark), to the intercalated month. The verse runs—Mēkhādi-sthā savitari yā yā māsāḥ praparyatā chāndraḥ Chaitr-ādyah sa jāyah partivāṁ dhiṃśoṁ niyah,—”whatever lunar month is completed when the sun is standing in Aries and the following (signs), that month is to be known as Chaitra, &c.; when there are two completions, (there is) an intercalated month, (and it is) the latter (of the two).”—Now, intercalated months are held to be inauspicious, and the performance of ceremonies in them is prohibited. Only if, in one and the same year, there are two intercalary months (which are always accompanied by the expunction of a month, which may be one of the two, or a third month), then the first intercalated month is prastāsa, or ‘stamped as excellent or approved of;’ the second being, as usual, nindya, or ‘to be looked on as under prohibition.’ And the rule attributed to the Brahma-Siddhānta would make the intercalated fortnights different, in different parts of India, according to the northern or southern scheme of the year. It must, obviously, have been highly inconvenient, especially on the border-land of the dividing-line between Northern and Southern India, that the prohibition should not be applicable to exactly the same lunar periods. And a change, in accordance with the necessities of the case, was eventually made,—and must have been made long before the period of the present inscription; though, apparently, after the time of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV., of Gupta-SAṃvat 330, the “second Mārgasira” of which is undoubtedly the intercalated month,—by which the intercalated fortnights of
record as the natural month, the English equivalent, for the given date as referred to the northern year, will be about a month earlier than the English equivalent for the given date as referred to the southern year; and that an English equivalent, answering to the given date as referred indifferently to either the northern or the southern year, can be obtained only by treating the Æsadhâ of the record as the intercalated month. That we have, however, to look on the given date as belonging to the dark fortnight of the natural Æsadhâ, is at least to be assumed *prima facie*; partly because the record contains no qualifying term, indicative of the intercalated month; and partly because of the prohibition of official, ceremonial, and religious acts in an intercalated month.\(^1\)

The results, worked out by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit from Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, for the natural Æsadhâ, are — with northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired, *Sunday*,\(^3\) the 25th May, A.D. 1264, for both the thirteenth *tithi* and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired, Tuesday, the 22nd July, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Wednesday, the 23rd July, for the thirteenth solar day;\(^2\) and the result for the intercalated Æsadhâ is Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Tuesday, the 24th June, for the thirteenth solar day, by both the northern and the southern reckoning, according to the present custom in both parts of the country. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has also given me full results, according to both the Pārṇimānta northern system, and the Amânta southern system, with Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 and 1187 expired; in order to present at once all the possible surroundings of the date. These results are — with northern Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 expired, Tuesday, the 5th June, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Wednesday, the 6th June, for the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 expired, either *Wed-

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\(^1\) See the preceding note.  
\(^2\) *i.e.* the thirteenth solar day counted from the commencement of the fortnight, without omitting a solar day with the lunar *tithi* that was expunged (see page 85 above, note 1.)  
\(^3\) The *tithi* ended 13 *ghatis*, 30 *palas*, after mean sunrise at Bombay.
nesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth tithei, but, 
in either case, Friday, the 6th July, for the thirteenth solar day; with northern Śaka-
Śaṅvat 1187 expired, Saturday, the 13th June, A.D. 1265, for both the thirteenth tithei and 
the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Śaṅvat 1187 expired, Sunday, the 12th 
July, A.D. 1265, for the thirteenth tithei, but Monday, the 13th July, for the thirteenth 
solar day. The last is the only other case in which the result includes a Sunday at all. 
But it is of no practical value; because it is obtained by the treatment of the Śaka year as 
a southern year, whereas I have already shown that this is not the treatment which is to 
be applied; and, still more conclusively, because it would have to be allotted to the 
southern Vikrama-Śaṅvat 1321 expired, whereas the record specifically refers to the 
preceding year, 1320 (expired).

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

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

The Verāval Inscription of Valabhl-Śaṅvat 927.

The third and last date, with the mention of a week-day, that I have to comment on, 
is contained in an inscription which has not as yet been published, but has been placed at
my disposal, for present purposes, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajli, the discoverer of it. The inscription is on the pedestal of an old image, which is now built into the wall of the modern temple of the goddess Harsaṭadēvi at Verāval. The date, with some important words in the context, (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajli's cloth-rubbing) runs — (l. 1) śrīmadvālapāl-sa[ṃ]*vat 927 varṣhē Phālguna śu di 2 Saumē II Ady-ēha śrī-Dēvapattanē
........................................ (l. 4) śrī-Gōvardhāna-mūrtti[h*] ........................ (l. 5) kārāpiṭā; —in which, unfortunately, there is some doubt as to the proper rendering of the first syllable of the word that gives the name of the week-day. The vowel au was undoubtedly formed; though, in the rubbing, the top-stroke is partially filled up, in consequence either of want of depth in the engraving, or of want of care in making the rubbing. And, the consonant presenting the appearance in the rubbing of being bh, the natural inclination is to read Bhaumē, "on Tuesday." Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajli, however, tells me, that in the original, the consonant is certainly s; and the appearance of bh, therefore, is due to an imperfection in the rubbing. The reading of the original, accordingly, is to be taken as Saumē. But this is not a real word; and it requires to be corrected into either Sōmē, "on Monday;" Bhaumē, "on Tuesday;" or Saumē, "on Wednesday." It is unfortunate that we should have to make any correction at all, in a point of such importance; especially when so very free a choice is open. But it has to be done. And the calculated results favour the supposition that the reading intended was Sōmē, "on Monday." Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajli was of opinion that the intended reading was Bhaumē, "on Tuesday;" which, of course, might be supported by assuming carelessness on the part of the engraver, in letting his tool slip in such a way as to give the bh a more or less complete appearance of s. But, from the appearance of the rubbing, the reading Sōmē is equally justifiable, on the assumption that the partial appearance of bh in the rubbing, instead of s, is due only to a fault in the rubbing, and that the mistake in forming au instead of ō was discovered before the stroke which turns ō into au was completed; this would account for this stroke being no shallow as to cause the blur which almost entirely conceals it in the rubbing. Adopting the reading or correction of Sōmē, the translation will be — "the year 927 of the famous (city of) Valabhī; in (this) year; (the month) Phālguna; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 2; on Monday; to-day; here, in the famous (city of) Dēvapattana ............. (this) image of the holy Gōvardhana ............. has been caused to be made."

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

The result for Śaka-Saṃvat 1169, which is the year in which the week-day should presumably prove correct, does not answer at all. If we could understand that the reading intended was Saumyā, “on Wednesday,” then the result for Śaka-Saṃvat 1170 might be accepted; subject only to the considerations that Saumyāvāra, though perfectly allowable, is not often used as a synonym for Budhāvāra, ‘Wednesday;’ and that the result is later by a year than what it ought to be, and can be arrived at only through accepting an alteration in the reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhl era, precisely the opposite of the alteration which, as shown at page 72 f. above, was certainly made, in Gujarāt, before the date of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 330. If, on the other hand, we take Śomā, “on Monday,” as the intended reading, then the result for Śaka-Saṃvat 1168 may be accepted, subject only to the consideration that it is earlier by a year than what it ought to be. This result would be quite intelligible, if we could refer the given date to a year commencing with Mārgaśīrṣha; for then, belonging to Valabhl-Saṃvat 927, it would belong quite regularly to Śaka-Saṃvat 1168, and its English equivalent would fall quite regularly in A.D. 1246. This, however, as I have stated at page 78 above, is distinctly prevented by a perfectly conclusive obstacle. The only resource that remains, is to hold that, for some reason or other, the date given in this record, like the date in the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 330, was taken from a Gujarāt almanac, and belongs to a year the initial day of which was the Karttika śukla 1 preceding the true commencement of Gupta-Valabhl-Saṃvat 927. This, again, would be perfectly intelligible, if we could only assume that the image, which is probably portable enough, was fashioned, together with the engraving of the inscription, at some place in Gujarāt; and was then transported by a pilgrim to Verāwal. But the objection to this is, that the inscription seems to record distinctly that the image was made at Dēvapattana; and Dēvapattana is well known as another name of Śomnāṭhpātan, i.e. the modern Verāwal itself; and it is difficult to understand how the corrupt Gujarāt reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhl era can have been introduced at Verāwal in A.D. 1246, when, as we have already seen from the other Verāwal inscription, of Valabhl-Saṃvat 945, the true original reckoning was used there up to at

1 The tiṣṭhi ended, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables, 29 ghāfs, 59 palas, and by the Sārya-Sidhānta, 30 ghāfs, 2 palas, after mean sunrise at Bombay.

2 Here the times are respectively 8 ghāfs, 33 palas, and 9 ghāfs, 25 palas.

3 Here the times are respectively 31 ghāfs, 57 palas, and 34 ghāfs, 43 palas.
least eighteen years later. The explanation, however, is perhaps to be found in the sup-
position that the inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from
Gujarat, who had brought a Gujarati almanac with him.

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

The Kaira Grant of the year 330.

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

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

This gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṃvat 330, current; an intercalation of the
month Mārgaśīra or Mārgaśirsha (November-December), as shown by the reference
in the text to two months of that name; the bright fortnight of the second Mārgaśīrṣha; and the second titiḥ or lunar day. And, on the analogy of the Verawal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945, the given intercalated month should belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 330 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 572 current (A.D. 649-50); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 571 expired.

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

¹Indian Eras, p. 158.
²See page 88 above, note 5.
undoubtedly fell, not in A.D. 649, as should be the case according to the true Gupta Valabhi reckoning, but in A.D. 648; and belonged, for astronomical purposes, to Śaka-Saṅvat 571, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarāt, to the southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 706. And, since the localities mentioned in the charter connect it absolutely with a province of Gujarāt, the year 330 of this record must have commenced, like the southern Vikrama-Saṅvat 706, with the month Kārttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṅvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṅvat 572, according to the original scheme of the years of the era.

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

The Nēpāl Inscription of the year 386.

The next inscription that I have to notice, is the Nēpāl inscription of Mānadeva, of the Sāryavahā or LiechchHAVI family of Mānagriha, on the lower part of a broken pillar placed to the left of the door of the temple of the god Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa, about five miles to the north-east of Khāṭmāḍu; in which the date (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajil's published text and lithograph; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 163, line 1 f.) runs — saṅvat 300 8o 6 Jyēṣṭha-m[a]sa-śukla-pakṣē pratipadi 1 [Rōhiṇi-nakshatra-yukt[?]] chandramasi m[u]ḥūrtā praṣastē-Bhijiti,—"the year 300 (and) 8o (and) 6; in the bright fortnight of the month Jyēṣṭha, on the first tīthi or lunar day, (or in figures) 1; the moon being in conjunction with the Rōhiṇi nakshatra; in the excellent munhūrtā (named) Abhijit."

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

1The charter was issued from the victorious camp at Bharukachchha, i.e. the modern Broach (Bharuch); and it records the grant of some lands in the Khētaka dhāra, or the territorial division of which the chief town was Khētaka. i.e. the modern Kaira (Khēṭā).
records, was not apparent. And it only became clear on Mr. Bendall’s discovery of the Gólmaḍhīṭol inscription of the Mahārāja Śivadēva I. of Mānagriha, which he published originally in the \textit{Ind. Ant.} Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and has given again, with a slight correction in the reading of the date, in his \textit{Journey in Nēpāl and Northern India}, p. 72, and Plate viii. This inscription is dated in the year 316, without any specification of the era. But the clue to the interpretation of the date is given by its mention of the Mahādātmanta Anśuvarman, as the contemporary of Śivadēva I. Anśuvarman’s approximate date, \textit{viz.} about A.D. 637, was very well known from Hsiun Tsiang’s mention of him.\textsuperscript{1} And, as the Nēpāl series included three inscriptions of Anśuvarman himself, dated in the years 34, 39, and 44 or 45 of an unspecified era, and another, of Jishugupta, dated in the year 48, and mentioning Anśuvarman, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrají very properly referred these dates to the \textit{na} era running from the accession of Harshavaradhana of Kanauj, and commencing\textsuperscript{4} in A.D. 606. This much being quite certain, it follows that the date of the year 316 for Śivadēva I., the contemporary of Anśuvarman, must of necessity be referred to a starting-point just about three hundred years before the Harsha era. And the era which exactly meets the requirements of the case is the Gupta era; for, 316 + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 635-36; which is in due accordance with the recorded dates that we have for Anśuvarman in the Harsha era, representing from A.D. 639 to 649 or 650.

As regards the present inscription of Mānadeva, its palæography, as well as a general consideration of the historical results, shows that the year 386, quoted in it, belongs to the same series with the year 316 that is quoted in the Gólmaḍhīṭol inscription of Śivadēva I. And, accordingly, this record gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṁvat 386, current; the month Jyēṣṭha (May-June); the bright fortnight; the first \textit{tithi} or lunar day; the Rōhini nakshatra or lunar mansion; and the Abhijit muhūrta or thirtyieth part of the day and night. And, on the analogy of the Verāval inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945, the given \textit{tithi} should belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 386 + 242 = Šaka-Saṁvat 628 current (A.D. 705-706); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Šaka-Saṁvat 627 expired.

Making the calculations by the \textit{Sārya-Siddhānta}, and applying the results to the longitude of Kāṭmāṇḍu, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, with the basis of Šaka-Saṁvat 627 expired, the given \textit{tithi}, belonging to Šaka-Saṁvat 628 current, ended on Tuesday,

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

\footnote{2 See Beal’s \textit{Buddh. Rec. West. World}, Vol. II. p. 81; also \textit{Ind. Ant.} Vol. XIII. p. 422, and Vol. XIV. p. 345.}

\footnote{3 On this point see a note in Appendix IV. below.}

\vspace{1cm}
the 28th April, 1 A.D. 705, at 57 gha\'asis, 12 palas, after sunrise; that there was the Krittika nakshatra up to 11 gha\'asis, 3 palas, after sunrise, and then the R\'ohini nakshatra, which continued up to 1 gha\'asis, 18 palas, after sunrise on the next day, Wednesday; and that, consequently, the Abhijit muh\'urtta, being the eighth in order among the muh\'urtas, and beginning after the expiration of fourteen gha\'asis after sunrise, occurred, as required by the record, while the R\'ohini nakshatra was current. He also finds that the same conditions of the nakshatra and the muh\'urtta did not occur, if the given ti\'thi is treated as belonging to S\'aka-S\'an\'avat 627 or 629 current.

The result, therefore, answers, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhi and current S\'aka years; and to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern S\'aka year. And it gives S\'aka-S\'an\'avat 628 current (A.D. 705-706), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year. But, like the result for the date in the \'Era\'u pillar inscription of Budhagupta, it does not, in itself, prove conclusively either the exact epoch of the era, or the scheme of the year; for the reason that, being a date in a bright fortnight, this Jy\'esh\'tha sukla 1 was the same ti\'thi, and ended on the same solar day, represented by the 28th April, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern S\'aka-S\'an\'avat 628, and in southern Vikrama-S\'an\'avat 762, as well as in northern Vikrama-S\'an\'avat 763.

The M\'orbi Grant of the year 586.

The last date that I have to notice from the present point of view, is contained in the M\'orbi grant of J\'ainka, from K\'athik\'at
d, published by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in the Ind.
Ant. Vol. II. p. 257 f. The record includes two dates. In line 16 f., in connection with the making of the grant, we have (from the published lithograph)—pa\'anch\'-\'asita\'y\'a yut\'e-
\'at\'ate sam\'an\'am \'ata-pa\'anchak\'e \'G\'op\'ta dad\'av-ad\'o ni\'riph\'a s-\'opar\'ag\'e-rkka-ma\'n\'dal\'e \'\'i,—
"five centuries of years, together with eighty-five (years), having passed by, the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) \'G\'op\'ta, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed;" in which the year is expressly coupled with a word meaning "expired." And in line 19 f., in connection with the writing of the charter, we have—san\'avat 585 Ph\'algun\'a su\'su di 5,—"the year 585; the month Ph\'algun\'a; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 5;" without any indication whether the year is an expired one, or current. The eclipse is also mentioned in line 3, in the words — m\'arr\'tanda-ma\'ndal-\'asray\'i\'ni Svabh\'an\'a\' (read Svabhh\'an\'au),—"while Svabh\'an\'u (i.e. R\'ahu, the personified ascending node) is resting on the disc of the sun."

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

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

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

1 The mistake of † for au does occur in the word svabhānd, for svarbhādnau, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word panvau, the au is formed quite correctly and completely.

We might easily find its present representative in the modern name of Gēp, which occurs in the case of a village, in Kāthiawād, about seventy-five miles south-west of Mörbi; twenty-five miles south of Nawāgar or Jāmnagar; and fifty miles east of Dhinikā, where there was found the copper-plate grant of Jākādēva, which purports to be dated in Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 (see page 62 above, note 1.)

3 Of course, as it could only take place at a new-moon conjunction, it did not occur on the given solar day for the writing of the charter.—The limits within which we must look for it, are the first and the last days of Śaka-Saṁvat 828 current, as given in Indian Eras, p. 167.
General Cunningham's Table\(^1\) mentions no solar eclipse, as having occurred during the period defined above. But, by calculations from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds\(^2\) that there was an eclipse of the sun, on Tuesday, the 7th May, A.D. 905, corresponding to the new-moon \textit{tithi} of the \textit{Pārṇimānta} northern \\ Yjēśh-
\text{\v{N}a} of Šaka-Saṃvat 828 current, which fully answers the required conditions.\(^3\) It was visible at Môrbl; over almost the whole of Southern India; and in Ceylon. The magnitude, at Môrbl, was one ninth of the sun's disc; and, in the southern parts of India, greater than this. And the middle of the eclipse, at Môrbl, was at 12.9 midday of the Môrbl mean civil time. This eclipse, accordingly, was very distinctly visible at Môrbl; even if it was not known beforehand, from calculations.

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

In respect of the given solar day for the writing of the charter, viz. the fifth solar day in the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna (February-March), as the name of the weekday is not given, the only test that we can apply is the presumption \(^4\) that the running number of the lunar \textit{tithi} is the same as that of the solar day; \textit{i.e.} that the fifth lunar \textit{tithi} ended on the fifth solar day of the fortnight. If the year 586, connected with this solar day, is to be taken as expired, as in connection with the eclipse, this should be the case in Šaka-Saṃvat 828. And, by calculations for that year from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables; Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon \textit{tithi}, which was that of the \textit{Pārṇimānta} northern Phālguna, or the \textit{Amānta} southern Māgha, ended on Monday, the 27th January, A.D. 906; and that the fifth \textit{tithi} of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended

\(^1\) See Indian Eras, p. 213.

\(^2\) For his calculations, which are based on the apparent longitudes of the sun and the moon, he has taken the latitude and longitude of Môrbl, which I was not then able to supply to him, as 22° 45' N. and 70° 51' E. I now find that, in Thornton's Gazetteer of India, the figures are 22° 49' N. and 70° 53' E. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit states, however, that the difference will not palpably affect his results.

\(^3\) So also Prof. K. L. Chhatre himself obtained the same eclipse; see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan, p. 99, where, with a slight difference of phraseology, the eclipse is given as occurring "on the 30th of Vaiśākha, Šaka 827;" the reference being to the \textit{Amānta} southern month and the expired Šaka year.

\(^4\) See page 85 above, note 1.
on Saturday, the 1st February, which was the fifth successive solar day. If this date is accepted, then the charter was written nine months after the making of the grant. On the other hand, if the year 585 is here to be taken as current, there should be the same agreement of the lunar *tithi* and the solar day in Śaka-Saṅvat 827. And, for this year, Mr. Sh. B Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon *tithi* ended on Thursday, the 7th February, A.D. 925; and that the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguṇa ended on Tuesday, the 12th February, which was again the fifth successive solar day. If this date is accepted, then the charter was prepared two months before the actual making of the grant.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 See, for instance, *Indian Eras*, p. 26 ff.—This interpretation of the rules in question leaves unutilized, and unexplained, the first remainder, obtained from the division by 3750 according to Varāhamihira’s rule, and by 1875 according to the rule of the *Jyotisṭhava*. In connection with the *Jyotisṭhava* rule, however, Warren has shown (*Kala-Sankalita*, p. 202) how this remainder gives the means of determining the actual commencement of each *samvatsara*.—From the use of some Tables drawn up by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, for determining the actual commencement of each *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and of each *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle
The correct theory of the cycle, according to the requirements of the system actually applied in the records now under consideration, with the proper method of determining each of the saṃvatsaras, has now been demonstrated by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, in his paper which is published as Appendix III. below. And, by calculations based on the Śrīya-Siddhānta, he has worked out all the results required for a full treatment of the dates in question; giving the full English and Hindu dates throughout, in order that both European and Hindu astronomers may be in a position to easily check his results. In publishing his results, I am confident that no essential errors can be established in them; even though it should be shewn, by more exhaustive calculations, that his longitudes for the heliacal risings of Jupiter are capable of slight corrections. And, as will be seen, his results corroborate, in the most emphatic manner, all that has been established in the preceding pages; first, approximately, from the statements of Alberūni, the Māndasor inscription of Mālava-Saṃvat 529 expired, and the Ėraṅ pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta-Saṃvat 165; and then, exactly, by the Verāval inscription of Valabhi-Saṃvat 945.

It is not essential, for the most part, to enquire whether any of the dates, which give correct results with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, also give, by coincidence, correct results with any of the suggested earlier epochs. And, indeed, to make any such inquiry systematic and thorough, it would be obligatory to make the calculations, throughout, for at least a dozen years or so before and after the proposed epochs. Such inquiries are certainly unnecessary in respect of any epoch as early as that proposed by Mr. Thomas. It seemed worth while, however, to calculate the dates now under consideration, and to give the results, for the epochs proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley; both of whom have dealt with the whole subject on the clear understanding that these dates are recorded in the era that was actually used by the Early Guptas themselves. And it will be seen according to the mean-sign system, I find that, for the purposes of such rules as that given by Varāhamihira in the Brihat-Samhitā, viii. 20, 21, the Śaka years must be treated as commencing with the Mēsha-Saṃkrānti or entrance of the Sun into Aries, and not with Chaitra śukla 1; though the latter is the initial day that is required for the notation of tithis. For instance, by Varāhamihira’s rule, the Viśvāvasu saṃvatāra of the Sixty-Year Cycle was current at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 748 current (A.D. 825-26); and, by Gen. Cunningham’s extension of the rule (Indian Eras, p. 27), the Mahā-Āśvayujja saṃvatāra of the Twelve-Year Cycle was current on the same date. In Śaka-Saṃvat 748, the Mēsha-Saṃkrānti occurred on the 21st March, A.D. 825; and Chaitra śukla 1 ended on the 22nd February. The Viśvāvasu saṃvatāra of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and, with it, the Mahā-Āśvayujja saṃvatāra of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, actually commenced on the 15th March; and thus they were current at the Mēsha-Saṃkrānti, but not on Chaitra śukla 1. And the same will often happen when the saṃvatsaras are commencing shortly before the Mēsha-Saṃkrānti. This application of such rules as that given by Varāhamihira, is, in fact, the natural one; though it may not be apparent at first sight. For, the Mēsha-Saṃkrānti is a very definite point in the year; whereas, Chaitra śukla 1 is always shifting backwards and forwards by about eleven and nineteen days at a time, and its circumstances could not be met by any such hard-and-fast rules.

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

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

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

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

A.—The Khôh Grant of the year 156.

The first inscription is one of the Khôh grants of the Mahârâja Hastin, No. 21, page 93; in which the date (line 1 ff.) is—šatpañchâś-ôttarê-bda-šatê Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau Mahâ-Vaiśākha-saṅvatsare Kârttiqa-mâsa-sukla-paksha-tritlyâyâm, —"in a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (year); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Vaiśākha saṅvatsara; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttiqa."

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

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

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

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

3 Jupiter's daily rising, next after his becoming capable of rising heliacally, takes place about forty-four minutes before sunrise, and therefore in the period during which the Hindu and the English week-days are not identical (see a note in Appendix II. below). In the present case, it took place at the time in question before sunrise on the English Saturday, the 18th October. Kârttiqa sukla 2 did not end till after sunrise on that day. Consequently, as current tithis are not quoted, unless under certain very exceptional conditions not applicable to such occurrences as this, the tithi on which he rose was Kârttiqa sukla 1. And this tithi, ending after sunrise on the Friday (and before sunrise on the Saturday), has to be coupled with Friday, the 17th October, as its week-day. Hence the apparent, but not actual, difference of a day, according as we take the Hindu or the English calendar. And a similar difference runs through all the dates of the heliacal risings given below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E1</th>
<th>E2</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gupta year, current</strong></td>
<td>156</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>209</td>
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<td><strong>Add the difference of</strong></td>
<td>242</td>
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<td>242</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Saka year, current</strong></td>
<td>398</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The given saṃvatsara</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>The given date</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Corresponding to</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahā-Vaiśākha</td>
<td>Mahā-Āśavayuja</td>
<td>Mahā-Chaitra</td>
<td>Mahā-Āśavayuja</td>
<td>Mahā-Māgha</td>
<td>Mahā-Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārttika śukla 3</td>
<td>Chaitra śukla 2</td>
<td>Māgha krishṇa 3</td>
<td>Chaitra śukla 13</td>
<td>Kārttika, 19th day</td>
<td>Kārttika, 19th day</td>
</tr>
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<td>19th October, A.D. 475</td>
<td>7th March, A.D. 482</td>
<td>3rd January, A.D. 511</td>
<td>19th March, A.D. 528</td>
<td>13th October, A.D. 508</td>
<td>2nd October, A.D. 520</td>
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<td><strong>Jupiter's preceding rising</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kārttika śukla 1 of Saka 398</td>
<td>Vaiśākha krishṇa 6 of Saka 404</td>
<td>Āśvina śukla 11 of Saka 433</td>
<td>Chaitra śukla 12 of Saka 451</td>
<td>Śravana śukla 15 of Saka 431</td>
<td>Bhārapada śukla 3 of Saka 443</td>
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<td>17th October, A.D. 475</td>
<td>18th October</td>
<td>5th April, A.D. 481</td>
<td>19th March, A.D. 528</td>
<td>29th July, A.D. 508</td>
<td>2nd August, A.D. 520</td>
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<td><strong>longitude then was</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>195° 24'</td>
<td>20° 35'</td>
<td>4° 21'</td>
<td>17° 47'</td>
<td>34° 45'</td>
<td>113° 47'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Viśākha</td>
<td>Aśvina</td>
<td>Chaitra</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
<td>Magha</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>And the saṃvatsara, which</strong></td>
<td>Mahā-Vaiśākha</td>
<td>Mahā-Āśavayuja</td>
<td>Mahā-Chaitra</td>
<td>Mahā-Āśavayuja</td>
<td>Mahā-Māgha</td>
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<td><strong>then began, was</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Jupiter's following rising</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mārgaśīrsha śukla 13 of Saka 399</td>
<td>Jyēṣṭha śukla 8 of Saka 405</td>
<td>Mārgaśīrsha krishṇa 7 of Saka 434</td>
<td>Jyēṣṭha śukla 3 of Saka 452</td>
<td>Āśvina krishṇa 13 of Saka 432</td>
<td>Āśvina krishṇa 1 of Saka 444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th November, A.D. 476</td>
<td>12th May, A.D. 482</td>
<td>29th October, A.D. 511</td>
<td>26th April, A.D. 529</td>
<td>29th August, A.D. 509</td>
<td>3rd September, A.D. 521</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>English date</strong></td>
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<td><strong>longitude then was</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>225° 35'</td>
<td>40° 34'</td>
<td>20° 35'</td>
<td>24° 30'</td>
<td>30° 9'</td>
<td>117° 49'</td>
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<td>Jyēṣṭha</td>
<td>Rōhiṇī</td>
<td>Viśākha</td>
<td>Kṛṣṭi</td>
<td>Uttarā-Phalguna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>And the saṃvatsara, which</strong></td>
<td>Mahā-Jyēṣṭha</td>
<td>Mahā-Kārttika</td>
<td>Mahā-Vaiśākha</td>
<td>Mahā-Kārttika</td>
<td>Mahā-Phalguna</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>then began, was</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE IV.**

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS: INTRODUCTION.

105
195° 24. By both the systems of unequal spaces for the longitudes of the ending-points of the nakshastras (see Appendix III. Table IX.), he was then in Viśākhā; and the saṅvatsara which then began (see Appendix III. Table VIII.), must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākhā: Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mārgaśīrṣa sukla 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 399, corresponding to Monday, the 15th November, A.D. 476; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 16th November. His longitude then was 235° 35'. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyēṣṭha; and the saṅvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēṣṭha. While, by the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Anurādhā; and the saṅvatsara which then began, must have again been named Mahā-Vaiśākhā; which shews that, by this system, there was at this period a repetition of a saṅvatsara. This difference as to the following saṅvatsara, however, does not affect the given date. By both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Vaiśākhā saṅvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 398 current (A.D. 475-76), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

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

1 I have not been able to obtain the original authority for the use of the prefix mahā (mahat), 'great.' And it does not occur in connection with the two saṅvatsaras mentioned in the Halaf grants of the Kādamba chieftain Mrīghāsavaraman; viz. the Pausha saṅvatsara, in line 8 of the grant dated in his third year (Prā. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 35), and the Vaiśākhā saṅvatsara, in line 10 of the grant dated in his eighth year (id. Vol. VI. p. 24). I use the prefix, however, throughout, in accordance with the custom of the original records now under examination.
be named Mahā-Chaitra; and the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṃvatsara would not begin till Jupiter's rising next after the given date, when, by the same system, his position was in Anurādhā. Accordingly, the system of equal spaces could be applied to the present record, only with a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years; which would be in contradiction with the fact that, to prove the saṃvatsaras of all the remaining records, it must be applied with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. It is evident, therefore, that, in dealing with these records, the system of equal spaces is not the correct one; and that we have to apply one or other of the systems of unequal spaces.

This, however, is only natural; for they are both more ancient than the system of equal spaces; and, the older the system, the greater the certainty that it is the one in use in the Early Gupta period. Also, the Dēoḡaḍh inscription of king Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, dated Šaka-Saṅvat 784, indicates very plainly that one or other of the systems of unequal spaces, if not both of them, continued in use, in what had formed a part of the Early Gupta territory, down to at least the last half of the ninth century A.D.1 Of the two systems of unequal spaces, whether we are to apply the Brahma-Siddhānta system, or the still more ancient Garga system, cannot at present be derided;

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1 In this inscription, which was brought to notice by Gen. Cunningham in the Archeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 101, and Plate xxxiii. No. 2, and is on a pillar in a detached portico in front of the hall of a temple at Dēoḡaḍh, about sixty miles to the south-west of 'Jhansi' in Scindia's Dominions in Central India, the date (from an ink-impression; lines 6 ff., 10) runs—saṃvat 919 Asvaśa(ya) jya-śukla-paksha-chaturdasāyam Vrīhaspati-dinābu Uhtar[ā]*-Bhādrapad[ā]*-naḥkṣatrā idām stambham samāptam-iti . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Šakakālā-bhada-saptā-satāni chatur-aśiya-adhikāni 784,—"the year 919; on the fourteenth titiki or lunar day in the bright fortnight of Asvayujā; on the day of Vṛihaspati; under the Uttarkā Bhādrapadā nakṣatratā, this pillar was finished; . . . . . . . . seven centuries of years, increased by eighty-four, of the Śaka era; (or in figures) 784." This gives us, for calculation, Vikrama-Saṅvat 919 and Śaka-Saṅvat 784; the month Asvayujā (September-October); the day of Vṛihaspati or Jupiter, i.e. Thursday; and the Uttarkā-Bhādrapadā nakṣatratā. The date, of course, is a northern date; but, as the given titiki is in a bright fortnight, this point is immaterial.—Taking the Śaka year in question as an expired year, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has obtained as the English equivalent, by both Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables and the Śrīruṣa-Siddhānta, Thursday, the 10th September, A.D. 862. The titiki ended at 56 ghaṭṭas, 34 palas, or 22 hrs. 37 min. 36 sec., after sunset on that day. By the equal-space system of the nakṣatras, the moon was in the Pūrva-Bhādrapadā nakṣatra up to 53 ghaṭṭas, 31 palas, or 21 hrs. 24 min. 24 sec., after sunset on the Thursday; and she then entered the Uttarkā-Bhādrapadā nakṣatra; i.e. assuming sunset at 6 A.M., only 2 hrs. 35 min. 36 sec. before sunrise on the Friday (the time, all through, is for Ujjain, as I have not the exact longitude of Dēoḡaḍh; taking it, approximately, as 78° 15' E., the time in each case, will be a little less than ten minutes later). This, however, is a highly improbable hour for the completion, as stated in the record, of the pillar on which the inscription is engraved. But, by the unequal-space systems of the nakṣatras, the Pūrva-Bhādrapadā nakṣatra ended at about 23 ghaṭṭas, 40 palas, or 9 hrs. 28 min., after sunset on the Thursday; and the moon then entered the Uttarkā-Bhādrapadā nakṣatra; i.e., roughly, about half past three in the afternoon, leaving ample time, in ordinary working hours, for the completion of the pillar before sunset.—It is evident, therefore, that for the determination of the nakṣatra in this record, we have to apply one or other of the systems of unequal spaces.
since, the only variation between them is in respect of the *samvatsara* following the *samvatsara* which was current on the given date of the present record.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

B.—The Khôh Grant of the year 163.

The next inscription is the other Khôh grant of the Mahārāja Hastin, No. 22, page 100, in which the date (line 1 f.) is — tri-shashty-uttarē-bda-śatē Gupta-nripa-rājja-bhuktau Mahā-Āsvayuja-sāṃvatsarē Chaitra-māsa-śukla-paksha-dvitiyāyām,—"in a century of years, increased by sixty-three; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahā-Āsvayuja sāṃvatsara; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra."

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahā-Āsvayuja sāṃvatsara, as current on the second tīthi or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Saṁvat 163 current. And, on the analogy of the Verawal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 943, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṁvat 163 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 405 current; in which year the given tīthi corresponds to Sunday, the 7th March, A.D. 482.

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

In this instance, the given sāṃvatsara was not current on the given date in either the preceding year, Śaka-Saṁvat 404, or the following year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406. The result,
therefore, not only answers to, but also proves, the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.

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

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

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṃvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 252 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 17th February, A.D. 329. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Āshādha krishṇa 6 of Śaka-Saṃvat 251, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th May, A.D. 328; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 17th May. His longitude then was 47° 25'. By all three systems, he was then in Rōniḥ; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āshādha ṣukla 10 of Śaka-Saṃvat 252, corresponding to Sunday, the 22nd June, A.D. 329; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 23rd June. His longitude then was 82° 12'. By all three systems, he was then in Pūnarvasu; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pauṣha; the intervening saṁvatsara, Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Vaiśākha ṣukla 3 of Śaka-Saṃvat 250, corresponding to Tuesday, the 11th April, A.D. 327, or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 12th April; when his longitude was 11° 21', and, by all three systems, he was in Āśvin. And thus the given saṁvatsara was current on the same date in the preceding year.—With the same epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1) of Gupta-Saṃvat 173, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 262 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 27th Febru-
ary, A.D. 339. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 261, corresponding to Friday, the 10th March, A.D. 338; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 11th March. His longitude then was 339°54'. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Bhāḍrapadā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhāḍrapada. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 262, corresponding to Tuesday, the 17th April, A.D. 339; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 18th April. His longitude then was 16°34'. By all three systems, he was then in Bhaṅgāl; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Accordingly, with this epoch, even with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was not current on the given date; but only on the same date in the following year.

By the mean-sign system, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Māgha śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 249 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th January, A.D. 327; and was followed by Mahā-Kārttikeya on Māgha śukla 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 250, corresponding to Monday, the 8th January, A.D. 328; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The saṁvatsara then current was Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, which commenced on Phālguna krishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 251 current, corresponding to Friday, the 3rd January, A.D. 329.—With the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 173, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Pausha krishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 261 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 22nd November, A.D. 338; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttikeya on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 262, corresponding to Sunday, the 18th November, A.D. 339. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system, with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date. The proposed alteration of the original text, however, cannot be justified.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 276 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 22nd February, A.D. 353. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Āshāḍha krishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 275, corresponding to Wednesday, the 27th May, A.D. 352; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 28th May. His longitude then was 57°12'. By all three systems, he was then in Mriga; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āshāḍha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 276, corresponding to Thursday, the 1st July, A.D. 353; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the and July. His longitude then was 91°19'. By all three systems, he was then in Punarvasu; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was not current on the given date. As a matter of fact, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara of
this cycle may have been omitted. Thus, in Śaka-Saṁvat 273 current, Jupiter’s rising took place on Vaiśākha krishṇa 6, corresponding to Friday, the 16th March, A.D. 350; or, by the ‘English calendar, on Saturday, the 17th March. His longitude then was 345° io’.

By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhādrapada. His next rising took place on Vaiśākha śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 274, corresponding to Monday, the 22nd April, A.D. 351; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 23rd April. His longitude then was 21° 35’. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bharanī; and the saṁvatsara which then began, would be named Mahā-Āśvayujā; and there would be an omission of the following saṁvatsara, Mahā-Kārttiika. But, by the two systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛttikā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, would be named Mahā-Kārttiika; with an omission of the intervening saṁvatsara, Mahā-Āśvayujā.

—With the same epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 173 (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1), the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 286 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 4th March, A.D. 363. Here, Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 285, corresponding to Thursday, the 21st March, A.D. 362; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 22nd March. His longitude then was 350° 11’.

By all three systems, he was then in Rēvati; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayujā. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 286, corresponding to Sunday, the 27th April, A.D. 363; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 28th April. His longitude then was 26° 35’. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛttikā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttiika. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bharanī; and, by this system, the saṁvatsara which then began, must have again been named Mahā-Āśvayujā; which shews that, by this system, there was at this period a repetition of a saṁvatsara. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayujā saṁvatsara was current on the given date. This, however, is a mere coincidence. And the proposed correction of the original reading cannot be justified.

By the mean-sign system, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, the Mahā-Āśvayujā saṁvatsara commenced on Kārttiika krishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 273 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd October, A.D. 350; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttiika on Kārttiika krishṇa 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 274, corresponding to Sunday, the 29th September, A.D. 351; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The saṁvatsara then current was Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, which commenced on Kārttiika krishṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 275 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 24th September, A.D. 352.—With the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Saṁvat 173, the Mahā-Āśvayujā saṁvatsara commenced on Bhādrapada śukla 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 285 current,
corresponding to Tuesday, the 13th August, A.D. 362; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttikeya on Bhādrapada śukla 12 of Saka-Saṅvat 286, corresponding to Saturday, the 9th August, A.D. 363. Accordingly, with this epoch again, and by this system also, with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āsvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date. But the proposed alteration of the original text cannot be justified.

C.—The Majhgawāṁ Grant of the year 191.

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

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

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. C.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Āśvina śukla 11 of the same year, Śaka-Saṅvat 433, corresponding to Wednesday, the 29th September, A.D. 510; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 30th September. His longitude then was 177° 47'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Chitṛa; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Chaitra. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mārgaśīrsha kṛṣṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṅvat 434, corresponding to Saturday, 3rd of October, A.D. 511; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th October. His longitude then was 207° 41'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Viśākhā; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Chaitra saṁvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saṅvat 433 current (A.D. 510-11), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The next inscription is the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Sâmksôbha, No. 25, page 112, in which the date (line 1 ff.) is — navô-utare-bda-sata-dvaye Gupta-nripa-râyya-bhuktau śrîmati prâvârdhamâna-vijaya-râjye Mahâ-Âsvayuja-sâmâ-vatsarè Chaitra-mâsâ-śukla-paksha-trayōdaśâyam,—“in two centuries of years increased by nine; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the glorious augmenting and victorious reign; in the Mahâ-Âsvayuja sâmâ-vatsara; on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra.” And at the end, in line 24, the date is repeated as — Chaitra di 20 7,—“(the month) Chaitra, the (solar) day 20 (and) 7.”

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

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. D.) that Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 12 of the same year, Śaka-Sâmâvat 451, corresponding to Saturday, the 18th March, A.D. 528; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 19th March; i.e. at the dawn immediately before the making of the grant.1 His longitude then was 347° 45’. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rêvatil; and the sâmâ-vatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Âsvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyēsthâ śukla 3 of Śaka-Sâmâvat 452, corresponding to Thursday, the 26th April, A.D. 529; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 27th April. His longitude then was 24° 36’. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Krittikâ; and the sâmâ-vatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahâ-Âsvayuja sâmâ-vatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Sâmâvat 451 current (A.D. 528-29), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

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

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

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara did not commence till Aśvina śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṃvat 451 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 2nd September, A.D. 528; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The saṁvatsara then current was Mahâ-Bhâdrapada, which commenced on Bhâdrapada krishṇa 11 of Śaka-Saṃvat 450, corresponding to Tuesday, the 7th September, A.D. 527.

With General Cunningham’s epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 298 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 2nd March, A.D. 375. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Vaiśākha krishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 297, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th March, A.D. 374; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 27th March. His longitude then was 355° 11’. By all three systems, he was then in Revatī; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Āśvayuja. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 298, corresponding to Sunday, the 3rd May, A.D. 375; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 4th May. His longitude then was 31° 49’. By all three systems, he was then in Krittikâ; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date. This, however, is a mere coincidence. As we have seen at page 109 above, there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of A.; but it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara commenced on Śrāvaṇa krishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 297 current, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 374; and it was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika on Ashâḍha śukla 4 of Śaka-Saṃvat 298, corresponding to Friday, the 19th June, A.D. 375. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date.

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

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

E.—The Bhumarā Pillar Inscription.

The last inscription of this series is the Bhumarā pillar inscription of the Mahārājas Hastin and Śarvanātha, No. 24, page 110; in which the date (line 7 ff.) is — Mahā-Māghē saṁvatsarē Kārttika-māsa divasa 10 5,—“ in the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara; the month Kārttika; the (solar) day 10 (and) 9.”

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara, as current on the nineteenth solar day of the month Kārttika (October-November); but the current year of the Gupta era is not given. The only guide, therefore, in determining the approximate Gupta year, for which the calculations should be made, is the fact that this inscription shows that the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin was, at the time of this record, contemporaneous with the Mahārāja Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa. For the Mahārāja Hastin, we have the extreme recorded dates of Gupta-Saṃvat 156 and 191; while, for the Mahārāja Śarvanātha, we have similarly the dates of the years 193 and 214; and for his father, Jayanātha, the latest date of the year 177, all of which may have to be referred to the Gupta era. If so, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara in question,—on the assumption that what should be its regular place in the series was not affected by any omissions and repetitions, subsequent to the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṁvatsara which was current on Kārttika śukla 3 in Gupta-Saṃvat 156,—must be found in or about Gupta-Saṃvat 189 or 201; with a preference in favour of the year 189, because of the early date of the year 156 for the Mahārāja Hastin.
For Gupta-Saṁvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 431 current, the given date, *via* the nineteenth day of the month Kārttika, corresponds to Monday, the 13th October, A.D. 508. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. E1) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvana śukla 15 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 431, corresponding to Monday, the 28th July, A.D. 508; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 29th July. His longitude then was 117\(^\circ\) 4'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Magha; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina krishṇa 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 432, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th August, A.D. 509; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th August. His longitude then was 147\(^\circ\) 49'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Uttara-Phālguna; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṁvat 189, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara was current on the given date. And this result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 431 current (A.D. 508-509), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

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

The results for these two years, Gupta-Saṁvat 189 and 201, answer, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years. But they do not, in themselves, prove it; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record. The important point is, that in neither of these two cycles was the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara omitted.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

If the dates in the grants of the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa are to be referred to the Kalachuri era,\(^1\) then the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara of this record will be earlier by either one or two cycles than the first of the two years given above. Here, again, in respect of the actual epoch no absolute proof can be derived from this record; and the only important point is, to ascertain that the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara was not omitted in either of the two cycles in question. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, in Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, Jupiter's rising took place on Śrāvaṇa ūkla 10, corresponding to Thursday, the 19th July, A.D. 484; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 20th July. His longitude then was 108° 19'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Āśleṣṭha; and the saṁvatsara which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 419 current, Jupiter's rising took place on Bhādarapada krishṇa 13, corresponding to Wednesday, the 24th July, A.D. 496; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 25th July. His longitude then was 112° 48'. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Magha, and by the Garga system, in Āśleṣṭha; and, by both systems, the saṁvatsara which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttiika in the same year, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṁvat 165 and 177 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date, and was not omitted. And these results give either Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current (A.D. 484-85) or 419 current (A.D. 496-97), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṁvat 166 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 408 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara commenced on Chaitra ūkla 5, corresponding to Thursday, the 7th March, A.D. 485; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttiika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Chaitra ūkla 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 409, corresponding to Monday, the 3rd March, A.D. 486. Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 419 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara commenced on Phālguna krishṇa 12, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th January, A.D. 497; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttiika in Gupta-Saṁvat 178; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Māgha ūkla 4 of Śaka-Saṁvat 420, corresponding to Monday, the 12th January, A.D. 498. Again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 431 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara commenced on Pausha krishṇa 3, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th November, A.D. 508; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttiika in Gupta-Saṁvat 190; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Pausha krishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṁvat 432, corresponding to Sunday, the 22nd November.

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

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

Again, for Gupta-Saṅvat 199 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 365-66 = Śaka-Saṅvat 288
current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Wednesday, the 5th
October, A.D. 365, Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvana
śukla 1 of the same year, Śaka-Saṅvat 288, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th July,
A.D. 365; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 7th July. His longitude then was
95° 56’. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the saṁvatsara which then
began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha. Jupiter’s next following rising took place
on Bhādrapada śukla 15 of Śaka-Saṅvat 289, corresponding to Monday, the 7th August,
A.D. 366; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 8th August. His longitude then
was 127° 24’. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pṝṛvā-Phālguna; and
the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; the interven-
ing Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was
then in Maghā; and the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṁvat 200. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Āśvina kuṭaṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 290, corresponding to Friday, the 7th September, A.D. 367; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 8th September. His longitude then was 157° 42'. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Phālguna; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; and it was a repeated saṁvatsara by the two systems of unequal spaces, but an ordinary saṁvatsara by the system of equal spaces.

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

With Sir E. Clive Bayley’s epoch of A.D. 190-91, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, for Gupta-Saṁvat 187 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 377-78 = Śaka-Saṁvat 300 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Sunday, the 22nd October, A.D. 377. Jupiter’s rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhādrapada kuṭaṇa 4, of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 300, corresponding to Tuesday, the 11th July, A.D. 377; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 12th July. His longitude then was 101° 32'. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pauṣa. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Bhādrapada ṣukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 301, corresponding to Sunday, the 12th August, A.D. 378; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 13th August. His longitude then was 131° 50'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pūrvā-Phālguna; and the saṁvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; the intervening Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was then in Maghā; and the Mahā-Māgha saṁvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṁvat 188. Jupiter’s next following rising took place on Āśvina ṣukla 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 302, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th September,
A.D. 379; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 13th September. His longitude then was 162° 0'. By all three systems, he was then in Hasta; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; and it was a repeated saṃvatsara by the two systems of unequal spaces, but an ordinary saṃvatsara by the system of equal spaces.

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

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṃvat 188 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 378-79 = Śaka-Saṃvat 301 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara commenced on Āśāṛa krishṇa 10, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th June, A.D. 378; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Āśāṛa śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 302, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd June, A.D. 379. Again, in Gupta-Saṃvat 200 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 390-91 = Śaka-Saṃvat 313 current, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara commenced on Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 2, corresponding to Wednesday, the 17th April, A.D. 390; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Jyēṣṭha krishṇa 8 of Śaka-Saṃvat 314, corresponding to Sunday, the 13th April, A.D. 391. And thus, with this epoch also, and by this system, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṃvat 188 and 200. But here, again, the results do not in themselves prove anything definite as to the proposed epoch; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record; and, by taking different Gupta years, the same results would be obtained with a different epoch.

Summary of Results.

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

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

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

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

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

Such dates, again, are those contained in the inscriptions of Śivadéva I. and Mânâdévâ of Népâl. And, that the first of them is recorded in the era in question, is shewn by the dates, in the Harsha era, for Arûśuvarmâ, the contemporary of Śivadéva I.; while, with the same treatment, the details of the second of them work out quite correctly.
Such another date is that contained in the Mörbi grant of Jáiṅka. And the details of this, again, work out correctly with the same treatment.

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

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

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

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

A few concluding words, however, seem necessary as to the exact years of the Christian era, which represent respectively the epoch or year 0, and the commencement or first current year, of the Gupta-Valabhi era.

Taking the years quoted in the records without qualification, as current years, we have obtained the following results,—by the Ēraṅg pillar inscription of Budhagupta, Gupta-Saṁvat 165 current = A.D. 484-85 current;² by the Parivājaka grants, 156 current = A.D. 475-76 current,³ 163 current = A.D. 482-83 current,⁴ 191 current = A.D. 510-11 current,⁵ and 209 current = A.D. 528-29 current;⁶ by the Nêpâl inscription of Mânadêva, 386 current = A.D. 705-706 current;⁷ and by the Verâwal inscription of Arjunâdeva, 945 current = A.D. 1264-65 current.⁸ And all these equations give the uniform result of Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 319-20 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period from the 6th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320; and Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 1 current = A.D. 320-21 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period from the 26th February, A.D. 320, to the 15th March, A.D. 321.

The results obtained from the Kaira grant of the year 330 and the Verâwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 927, differ slightly from the above, and are—Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 330 current = A.D. 648-49 current,⁹ and Valabhi-Saṁvat 927 current = A.D. 1245-46 current.¹⁰ In these two instances the difference is due to a local alteration of the true and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹ Here I owe the initial and ending dates, which it was desirable to have exactly, to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

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

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

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

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

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

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1 Here, again, I owe the exact dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

2 A clear instance of this is furnished by the date in the Deogadh inscription of Bhojadēva (see page 107 above, note 1). By the literal rules of translation, the given Śaka year, 784, has to be interpreted as a current year; but, for the calculation, it has to be applied as an expired year.
Such an era is the Vikrama era. And, though the expired years of this era might be quoted, as is shewn, for instance, by lines 19 and 21 of the Mandasór inscription of Mālava-Saṅvat 529 expired, No. 18, page 79, and by line 21 of the Kāḍr grant of Jayantāśīrha of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1280 expired,—yet, that, occasionally at least, the current years were used, is proved by the Gwālior Sāsabha temple inscription of Mahāpāla, in which we have first in words, the number of years expired, 1149, and then, partially in words and fully in figures, the number of the current year, 1150. Such an era, again, is the Gupta-Valabhi era; or, at least, we have not as yet obtained the slightest indication of its ever having been used by astronomers as the basis of calculations. And, in the absence of the use of any word meaning “expired” in connection with the year in a Gupta-Valabhi date, it is only reasonable that we should follow the ordinary rules of interpretation, and render the original passage as denoting a current year.

In one instance only, among the Gupta-Valabhi dates at present known, is a word meaning “expired” used in connection with the year. This exceptional instance is the Mūrbi grant of Jānka, in which an eclipse of the sun is recorded as having occurred when the year 585 had passed by. Unfortunately, the month and āthi, in and on which the eclipse occurred, are not specified; nor even the week-day. And, as we have seen at page 100 above, it might be possible to identify the solar eclipse of this record with that of the 10th November, A.D. 904. In that case, the given year 585 expired, and the indicated year 586 current, would be equivalent to A.D. 904-905 current. It would then be as an expired year, not a current one, that the year 165 of the Ēraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta is equivalent to A.D. 484-85 current; and so on with all the other dates.

And we should have to apply, in the case of all dates in the era referable to the true and original scheme of its years, the epoch of A.D. 318-19 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period from the 18th February, A.D. 318, to the 8th March, A.D. 319; and, in the case of dates belonging to the same class with those of the Kaira grant of the year 330 and the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṅvat 927, the epoch of A.D. 317-18 current, or more precisely, by the Vikrama year, the period from the 23rd September, A.D. 317, to the 11th October, A.D. 318. But we have also seen that the solar eclipse in question can be far more satisfactorily identified with that which occurred on the 7th May, A.D. 905; to do which, we have to take the given year 585 expired, and the indicated year 586 current, as equivalent to A.D. 905-906 current. And this record, therefore, furnishes strong and instructive corroboration of my view that, in the absence of

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


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

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

The Origin of the Era.

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

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

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

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

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3 See page 67 above.
4 And it must be very nearly his latest date; for, he had then been reigning for at least thirtythree full years, and we have the date of the year 136 for his son and successor, Skanda-gupta. The selection of any later date would, of course, only intensify the force of the argument.
5 The silver coins (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 63 f.) seem to give the year 94 or 95; but the latest absolutely certain date is the one that I quote. Here again, the adoption of a later date would only strengthen the argument.
6 See my Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 18, Table.
7 The exact year was doubtful when I wrote the book referred to in the preceding note; but it has now been established by the Kauṭhē bi grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 15 ff.)
should have to allot to each of the four Early Gupta kings in question. And even this
result is due chiefly to the extraordinarily long reign of Vikramaditya VI., for fifty-two
years, from Śaka-Saṃvat 997 to 1048. If we take the whole period of the Western
Chalukya dynasty; covering one hundred and ninety years, from Śaka-Saṃvat 895, the
first year of Taila II., down to Śaka-Saṃvat 1084, as the end of the reign and the death
of Taila III.,¹ we have ten reigns, with an average duration of just nineteen years each.
An average of thirty-two years for four successive reigns of Hindu fathers and sons, seems,
from every point of view, an impossibility. And this prevents our making the Gupta era
run from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I. We must, therefore,
accept it as certain that the Early Guptas only adopted the era of some other
dynasty. And we must look for its origin to some extraneous source.

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

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

² An objection of this sort does not apply to the use of the Gupta era by the Valabhi family. The
Śrīkapati Bhaṭārka drove out the invaders who had overthrown the Gupta sovereignty in Western
India; and may possibly have been himself the feudatory of some descendant of the original Gupta
stock. And when Dharasena IV. became a paramount sovereign, it was on the disruption of the
Kanauj kingdom. At neither point was there any reason for the members of this family to feel any
aversion to the Gupta era.
present, in connection with India itself, we know of no king the commencement of whose reign can with any certainty be referred to A.D. 320; and of no historical event to which we can safely allot that date. Nor, while the Early Gupta sovereignty continued, is there any indication of the Gupta era having been used, in India, by any other independent dynasty. The nearest approximation to the year in question that we have, is in the case of the Kalachuri dynasty of Central India; in respect of which certain points in the records of the Parivrajaka Mahârâjas and the Mahârâjas of Uchchakalpa do tend to support the actual existence, in the Early Gupta period, of a Kalachuri era, and, consequently, of Kalachuri kings under some earlier name.¹ The Kalachuri dates, however, certainly cannot be referred to the Gupta epoch. And circumstances indicate that the dominion of the Kalachuri kings, at that time, was confined entirely to the more eastern parts of Central India; so that they were only contemporaries of the northern dynasty of which the Early Guptas were at first the servants. Mr. Fergusson’s opinion,² again, was in the direction of the era being established, with the foundation of Valabhl as a new capital of Western India, by the Andhra king Gîtamiputra, whom he placed between A.D. 312 and 333; the Mahârâja Gupta being a feudatory of him or of one of his immediate successors. But the chronology of the Andhras,—who, at the best, seem to have been too essentially a western and southern dynasty to be concerned in any leading way with the history of Northern India,—still remains to be finally determined. And Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who has given more consideration to the subject than any one else as yet, places Gîtamiputra about two centuries earlier,³ in the period A.D. 133 to 154; and, according to his view of the early chronology, we should have to refer the establishment of the Gupta era to some event connected with either the downfall of the Kshatrapas of Saurashtra or the history of the Râshtrâkûtâs of the Dekkan. The Kshatrapas, however, certainly did not use the Gupta era. And there is not the slightest particle of evidence that the Râshtrâkûtâs ever had an era of their own. There can be but little doubt that the real paramount lords of the Mahârâjas Gupta and Ghaṭôtkacha, and at first of Chandragupta I. himself, were some of the later Indo-Scythian kings of Northern India, whose duration is certain at any rate up to the time of Samudragupta. These Indo-Scythian kings must have used the Śaka era. But this era, again, had not then become an astronomical era;⁴ and there was, therefore, no special inducement for the Early Guptas to adopt it; but, on the contrary, there was an objection of the kind already indicated. Further, the Vikrama era was not an astronomical era; and the use of it, in those days, under the name of the Malava era, was probably confined to the different sections of the Malava tribe, and to territories of which no part was brought under the Early Gupta sway until the time of Samudragupta. And, finally, the Kaliyuga era in all probability was used only

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

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

¹ And here we may note that the Kings of Valabha can have had nothing to do either with the introduction of an era into Nēpāl, or with the borrowing of an era from that country. As I have already had occasion to remark, the members of the Valabha family, for the first six or seven generations inclusive of Bhaṭārka, were mere feudatory Śrāṇpatis and Mahārājas; and those members of the family, at any rate, cannot possibly have conquered Nēpāl, or even have extended their territory up to the confines of that country. The first of the family who claimed to be a paramount sovereign is Dharasēna IV., with the dates of 326 and 330; and with the titles of Paramabhattāraka, Mahārāja, and Paramēśvara, in common with all his successors, and also with that of Chakravartin, which, not being assumed by any of his successors, may perhaps indicate that his power was more extensive than theirs ever was. Now, in passing, if we refer his first date of 326 to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, the result, A.D. 645-46, brings us to a very suitable period indeed for him to assume the position and titles of a paramount sovereign; via. to the commencement of the anarchy which, as Mātvan-lin tells us (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 20) attended the death of Harshavardhana, "the warlike lord of all the region of the north." It ended in the complete disruption, for the time, of the kingdom of Kanauj. Aṁśuvarman became paramount in Nēpāl, and Adityasēna in Magadha; and the opportunity was of course taken advantage of by Dharasēna IV., to assert his independence in the west of India. But, to say nothing of the improbability of the thing on other grounds, the fact that Aṁśuvarman became king of Nēpāl, is in itself enough to prevent our admitting the possibility of a conquest of that country by Dharasēna IV. Referring the same date of 326 to the three earlier proposed epochs, we have respectively A.D. 403, 492, and 516. For these periods there is, perhaps, no particular objection to our assuming, for the sake of argument, that Dharasēna IV. may have extended his power over a considerable portion of Northern India, in the parts nearer to Kāthiāwād and Gujarāt. But the Valabha charters, in which a conquest so extensive as that of the whole of Northern India up to Nēpāl, or inclusive of that country, would most certainly have been recorded, give not the slightest hint of any such event at any time in the history of the family. In fact, with the exception of the allusion to the overthrow of the Maitrakas by Bhaṭārka, they give absolutely no detailed information at all in connection with any of the successes claimed by the members of this family; which tends to shew very plainly that, from beginning to end, the Valabha power was purely local. And, in connection with the earlier proposed epochs, even if Dharasēna IV. did conquer Nēpāl, or Northern India up to the frontier of Nēpāl, and did introduce there the era of A.D. 319-20, the question still remains, and cannot be answered,—Why should he act with such extreme inconsistency as to introduce there this era, which, according to those who have sought to establish those epochs, was not brought into actual use in his own territory; instead of the Gupta era which he himself, and his successors, continued to employ for all the official purposes of their own kingdom?
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTION.

In Appendix IV. below, I give an account of such of the inscriptions from Nêpál as have any bearing on the question now under consideration. The actual dates of them range from A.D. 635 to 854; and give a fairly clear idea of the history of the reigning families of the country during that period. They shew two separate houses, ruling contemporaneously, and mostly on equal terms; and each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own. One of them was a family, the name of which is not mentioned in the inscriptions, but which in the Vansêvali is called the Thâkuri family, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Kailâsakâtabhavanâ, and uniformly using the Harsha era. The other was the Lichchhavi family, distinctly so named in the inscriptions, and in the Vansêvali allotted to the Sûryavarmâ or solar lineage, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Mânagriha, and uniformly using an era with the Gupta epoch.

That the Lichchhavi clan or tribe was one of great antiquity and power, in the direction of Nêpál, is shewn by the writings of Fa-Hian and Huien-Tsang,1 which connect them with events that preceded the nirodâ of Buddha. No exception, therefore, need be taken to the general outlines of the long account in one of the inscriptions, which, so far as the Nêpál branch of the tribe is concerned, gives us the first really historical member of it in the person of Jayâdevâ I., who, by the ordinary allowance of time for each Hindu generation, must be referred to the period A.D. 330 to 335.

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

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

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

4th November 1887.
APPENDIX I.

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

‘Gén. Sir A. Cunningham’s Tables,’ and Ganpat Krishnaji’s and Kero Lakshman Chhatre’s almanacs, show the period from the 5th April, A.D. 1866, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṅvat 1808. So, also, the Sāyana-Pāñchāṅg shows the same period, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṅvat 1808, as the ordinary nirayana luni-solar year; the period covered by Śaka-Saṅvat 1808, as a saṅyana year, being from the 6th March, A.D. 1886, to the 22nd February, A.D. 1887. For all purposes of calculation, however, this Śaka year has to be taken as “the year 1808, expired;” even if we were working out the very first day of it, Chaitra śukla 1. The Tables are intended for this application of the number; and there are, in fact, no grounds for doubting that the above period really is equivalent to Śaka-Saṅvat 1808 expired, and 1809 current. But it is quoted, for all ordinary purposes, simply as Śaka-Saṅvat 1808. And, if a Hindu were converting “Saturday, the 1st January, A.D. 1887,” into its corresponding Hindu date, he would write down, as the result, “Śakė 1808 Pausha śukla saptami Śanivāra;” in which, not only does he abstain from including any word meaning “expired,” but he actually uses, instead even of the crude form Śaka, the Sanskrit locative Śakē, which literally means “in Śaka (1808),” i.e. “while Śaka 1808 is current;” and this is the meaning which the mention of the year presents to any Hindu who is not an astronomer, and

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

2 Unless with Tables based on the Māsha-Saṃkrānti, or entrance of the sun into Aries, as Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables are; in which the Śaka year is practically treated as commencing with the day of the Māsha-Saṃkrānti. With such Tables, for any tithi connected with Śaka-Saṅvat (1809 current and) 1808 expired, up to the tithi that coincided with the solar day on which the Māsha-Saṃkrānti occurred, we must work with the basis of even one year still earlier, viz. Śaka-Saṅvat 1807 expired.
who is not acquainted with the technical application of the number of the year. So, also, the same expression is used in the almanacs themselves; thus, in the first two almanacs mentioned above, "Śākē 1088 Vyaya-nāma-sā nvatsarē, on the title-page; and "Śākē 1088 Chaitra-śukla-pakshah," on the top of the page which exhibits the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra; and, in the Śṛyana-Paṇḍhūg, "Śālivāhana-Śākē 1088 Vyaya-nāma-sānvatsarāḥ," on the title-page, and elsewhere "amāntaḥ Chaitra-śukla-pakṣah Śālivāhana-Śākē 1088 Vyaya-nāma-sānvatsarāḥ." In the same way, I find, for the same period, "Śākē 1088 Vyaya-nāma-sānvatsarē" on the title-page of an almanac published at Pandit Umacharan Muhatmim's Press at Gwālior; and, for the period from the 17th March, A.D. 1885, to the 4th April, A.D. 1886, "Śālibhāṣa-Śākē 1079," on the title-page of the Jōdhpur Chaṇḍu-Paṇḍhāṅg for that year, and "Śrī-Saṁvat 1942 Śākē 1077 Chaitra-śukla-pakshah," in Bapu Deva Shastri's almanac, prepared at Benares and published at Lakhnau.

Again, in the preliminary passages that introduce the saṁvatsara-phala or ' (astrological) results for the year,' and other similar matter, Ganpat Krishnaji's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs, contain the passage—atha gata-Kałiḥ 4987, śēsha-Kałiḥ 427013; Svasti; śrīman-nṛpa-Vikramārka-samay-ālita-saṁvatsarā 1 1942, Hēmalamba-nāma-saṁvatsarē; tathi śrīman-nṛpa-Śālivāhana-Śākē 1088, Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsarē; asmin varṣhē rājā chandraḥ,—"now the expired (portion of the) Kali (age) (is) 4987 (years); (and) the remainder of the Kali (age) (is) 427013 (years). Hail! In the year 1942 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramārka,2 (and) in the Hēmalamba saṁvatsara; so also in the Śaka (year) 1088 of the glorious king Śālivāhana, (and) in the Vyaya saṁvatsara; in this year, the king (is) the Moon." And, for the nīrayaṇa year, the Śrīyana-Paṇḍhāṅg for Śaka-Saṁvat 1088 has — Kaliyugasya gata-varṣhāṇi 4987; śrīman-nṛpa-Vikramārka-saṁvatsarā 3 1943 Vilambi-saṁvatsarāḥ; śrīman-nṛpa-Śālivāhana-Śak-ābdhaḥ 1088 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsarāḥ; athāśmin varṣhē rājā chandraḥ,—"the expired years of the Kaliyuga (are) 4987; in the year 1943 of the glorious king Vikramārka, (there is) the saṁvatsara named Vilambin; (and there is) the year 1088 of the Śaka of the glorious king Śālivāhana, (and) the saṁvatsara named Vyaya; now, in this year, the king (is) the Moon." In these passages, these three almanacs again treat the Śaka year,

1. i.e. saṁvatsarē, or saṁvatsarābhīsu.

2. It is curious that here the Vikrama year should be distinctly specified as expired, while the Śaka year is not qualified in the same manner; as 'f a distinction were being made in the methods of reckoning the two eras.

3. i.e. saṁvatsarē, or saṁvatsarābhīsu.—The figures here, and in the Gvālior almanac, 1943, differ from those in Ganpat Krishnaji's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs, 1942, because the latter quote the southern reckoning, by which each Vikrama year commences with the month Kārttika, seven lunations later than the same year in the northern reckoning; consequently, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 1088 (expired), on the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, Vikrama-Saṁvat 1492 was still running, by the southern reckoning.
apparently, as a current year. The Gwalior almanac, however, which I have quoted above, has — gata-Kalib 4987, šesha-Kalib 427013 ·········; tan-madhyē gata-Śaka 1808, śesha-Śaka 16192 ········· Svasti; śr̥t-Vikramārka-rājya-samayād attī samvat[1] 1943, Śaka-gata-varshēshu 1808, chāndra-mānēna Vyaya-nāma-samvat-sarē; Bāharpatya-mānēna, Śakē 1807 Aśvīna-kṛishṇa-7 Śukrē sūry-ōdayād gata-ghatī-śhu 47 palēshu 24 tad-avadhi, Śakē 1808 Aśvīna-krishna-14 Bhaumē ghat[e]šu 46 palē[shu*] 3 tāvat-paryantaṁ, Vilambi-saṁvatsar-ōllekkhaḥ vidhiyāh, tad-agrē Vikāri-saṁvatsar-ōllekkhaḥ kāryāh; Chaitr-ādau rājā chandrayā,— "the expired (portion of the) Kali (age) (is) 4987 (years), (and) the remainder of the Kali (age) is 427013 (years) ·········; in it, the expired (portion of the) Śaka (era) (is) 1808 (years) ; and the remainder of the Śaka (era) (is) 16192 (years) ········· Ha! In the year 1943 expired from the time of the reign of the glorious Vikramārka, (and) in the expired Śaka year 1808, (and), by the lunar reckoning, in the (current) saṁvatsara named Vyaya;[2] —by the reckoning of Jupiter, the Vilambin saṁvatsara is to be used in writings from the expiration of 47 ghaṭīs, 24 palas, from sunrise on Friday, the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of Aśvina, in Śaka 1807, up to (the expiration of) 46 ghaṭīs, 3 palas, (from sunrise) on Tuesday, the fourteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of Aśvina, in Śaka 1808; after that, the Vikārin saṁvatsara is to be used in writings,—at the beginning of Chaitra, the king (is) the Moon." Passages of a similar kind with those quoted above, occur at the end of each almanac, in connection with the Saṁkritaṁ.

In the same passages for the śdyana year, Śaka-Saṁvat 1808, the Sāyana-Paṅchāṅg does not confine itself to any indefinite expression, but explicitly quotes the Śaka year as a current year; thus — Kaliyugasya saṁdhyāyā āditāḥ, Śālivahana-Śaka-arambhakāla-paryantaṁ, Nand-ādī Indu-guṇa-(3179)-mitāṁ saura-varshāny-atitāṁ; pravartamāna-Śālivāhana-Śak-ābdaḥ asht-ottar-āshtādaśa-(1808)-mitāḥ; aṁum saṁvatsaram Narmadāyā dakshiṇa-bhāgē Vyaya-nāmnā vyavaharanti, uttara-bhāgē cha Vilambi-nāmnā; ath-āsmin varshē rājā Śañih,— "from the commencement of the saṁdhyā[3] of the Kaliyuga, up to the time of the commencement of the Śālivāhana-Śaka, there expired solar years which are measured by the (nine) Nandas, the (seven) mountains, the (one) moon, and the (three) qualities, (3179); (and) the current year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka is measured by eighteen hundred, increased by eight, (1808); on the south side of the

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[1] i.e. attē saṁvatsare, or attēśhu saṁvatsareśhu.

[2] The context is "at the beginning of Chaitra, the king (is) the moon," a little further on. The intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis.

[3] saṁdhyā, which is usually translatable by 'morning or evening twilight,' means, as applied to any of the four ages, a long period that runs at the commencement of each, before the full development of the age itself. The saṁdhyā of the Kali age is one hundred divine years, equivalent to 36,000 years of men; so that we are still only in this period. The age itself will run for 360,000 years of men. And it will end with a saṁdhyāmīna of 36,000 years of men. These figures make up the total of 432,000 years in the age.
Narmadâ, they distinguish this *sānvatsāra* by the name of Vyaya; and, on the north side, by the name of Vilambin; now, in this year, the king (*rî*) Saturn." But, in the corresponding passage in the same almanac for the preceding year, Śaka-SAṃvat 1807, after giving in the same words the number of the solar years that had expired from the commencement of the *samdhya* of the Kaliyuga up to the commencement of the Śaka era, the text runs — *tātā vartamāna-vatsar-ārambhakāla-paryantam sapta-ōtjar-āshṭādāśa-sāta-(1807)-mitāni varshāṇi, gatāṇi; amum vartamāna-sānvatsaram Narmadāyā dakshinē bhāge Pārthiva-nāṃmā vyāvharanitī, uttarē bhāge cha Hēmalamba-nāṃnā; ath-āśmin varṣē rājā Bhaumāḥ,—"from then, up to the commencement of the current year, there have expired years which are measured by eighteen hundred, increased by seven, (1807); on the south side of the Narmadă, they distinguish this current *sānvatsāra* by the name of Pārthiva; and, on the north side, by the name of Hēmalamba; now, in this year, the king (*rî*) Mars." In passing, therefore, from Śaka-SAṃvat 1807 to 1808, a verbal distinction, at least, was made between expired and current years; and the phraseology adopted in the almanac for Śaka-SAṃvat 1807, has been repeated in the almanac for the next year, 1809. In one instance, A.D. 1885-86, the Pārthiva or Hēmalamba *sānvatsāra*, each current, was treated as equivalent to Śaka-SAṃvat 1807 expired; while, in the other, A.D. 1886-87, the Vyaya or Vilambin *sānvatsāra*, each current, and each the next in the cycle after respectively Pārthiva and Hēmalamba, is treated as equivalent to Śaka-SAṃvat 1807 current. What were the reasons for this change, I do not know; and I will leave it to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, one of the editors of the almanac, to explain them elsewhere. But, by the literal interpretation of the phraseology for A.D. 1885-86, and in accordance with the principles of the Tables, that period was equivalent to Śaka-SAṃvat 1807 expired, (and 1808 current); and A.D. 1886-87 should have been described as being represented by Śaka-SAṃvat 1808 expired, (and 1809 current).

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

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

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

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

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

3 Thus, even Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, — through whose “Note on the Śaka Dates and the Years of the Bārhaspataya Cycle, occurring in the Inscriptions” (Early History of the Dekkan, p. 105 ff.) my attention was first drawn to the desirability of examining the details of the alma. nacs, — has written (id. p. 99: the italica are his) “191 Gupta past + 242 = 433 Saka current + 78 = 511 A.D. current .......... 209 Gupta past + 242 = 451 Śaka current + 78 = 529 A.D. current.” I myself had the same view, till not very long ago. Other writers could easily be shown to have lain under the same misconception, And Dr. Barnell even went so far as to say (South-Indian Palaeography, p. 72, note) “the rough equation for converting this era into the Christian date, is + 784. The beginning of the year being at the March equinox; if the Śaka aśṭha” (i.e. expired) “year be mentioned, the equation is + 794.”

4 I owe these four dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit. Gen. Cunningham (Indian Eras, p. 139) gives from the 14th March, A.D. 78, to the 17th February, A.D. 79; and from the 18th February, A.D. 79, to the 8th March, A.D. 80. But a comparison of his initial days for the epoch and the first year, shews at once that there is some mistake. The 18th February is twenty-four days earlier than the 14th March; whereas the difference should be only eleven days. Mr. C. Patell (Chronology, p. 96) does not give the initial day of the epoch; but gives, in the same way, the period from the 18th Feb-ruary, A.D. 79, to the 8th March, A.D. 80, for the first year.
equivalent to expired Śaka years. It is evident from the details given above regarding Śaka-Saṅvat 1808 and 1809, that, according to the reckoning of the era as fixed by the early astronomers, and as preserved to the present day, the true epoch is A.D. 77-78, and the period from the 3rd March, A.D. 78, to the 20th February, A.D. 79, is in reality the commencement, or first current year; and that, to obtain current Christian years, equivalent to current Śaka years, the true additive quantity is 77-78. But, of course, there is always the possibility that, if ever we obtain a date, with full details for calculation, in a very early Śaka year, or in one of the very earliest of the regnal or dynastic years which afterwards developed into the Śaka era, this exact equation may not hold good; in consequence of the date belonging to a period anterior to the adoption of the era by the astronomers.

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

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

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

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

Postscript.

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

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

BY SHANKAR Balkrishna Dikshit; BOMBAY EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

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

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

Explanation of Technical Terms.

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

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

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

³ There are three schools of astronomers in India. One follows the Śūrya-Siddhānta, and is called Saurapaksha; another follows the Brahma-Siddhānta, and is named Brahmāpaksha; while the third follows the Ārya-Siddhānta, and is called Āryapaksha. The main point on which they differ is the length of the year; but with differences, between each other, of only a few vipalas (a vipala is the sixtieth part of a pata). Another point of difference is, that the number of revolutions of the moon, planets, &c., in a certain period,—for instance in a Mahāyuga,—is generally different in each of them. Prof. K. L. Chhatre has adopted, from the Śūrya-Siddhānta, only the length of the year, and its starting-point, that is the Mēsha-Samkrānti; in almost every other respect he follows none of these three authorities, but has based his Tables on European Tables of planets. As to his Tables relative to tithis, however, in the part of his work called Kaita siddhāna, see page 149 below, note 11, and the text above note 1 on page 155.
is used as meaning the time of the Sun’s entrance into Aries with reference to his mādhyama or ‘mean’ longitude. So, also, the length of the solar year adopted by him is that of the Sūrya-Siddhānta, which is accepted, in the present day, in most parts of India. It should, however, be borne in mind that the Tables of the sun and the moon, and those of the planets, given by him, are based on European Tables; and that the places of the sun and other heavenly bodies, obtained from his book, are reckoned from the equinoctial point. The starting-point adopted by Hindu astronomers, for reckoning the places of heavenly bodies, coincided, in their opinion, with the equinoctial point about Śaka-Saṅvat 444 expired (A.D. 522-23). The interval in time between two successive returns of the sun to the vernal equinox,—called “the tropical year,”—amounts at present to 365 days, 14 ghataś, and 31972 palas; while the length of the year, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, is 365 days, 15 ghataś, and 31523 palas. During this time, the sun’s motion amounts to one complete revolution from equinox to equinox, plus about 58.6881 seconds of arc. The starting-point, therefore, of the Hindu astronomers is at present a little more than twenty-degrees to the east of the vernal equinox. This difference is called ayaṇāṃśas, lit. ‘degrees of precession;’ and the ayaṇāṃśas for the present year, Śaka-Saṅvat 1809 expired (A.D. 1887-88), are 22 degrees, 45 minutes, according to the Graha-Lāghavā of Gaṇeśa Daivajña.1 As the longitudes of heavenly bodies, reckoned from the equinox, include these ayaṇāṃśas, they are called śāyana, lit. ‘possessed of ayana or precession.’ And the places of heavenly bodies obtained by the method given in the Sūrya-Siddhānta and other Hindu works, are called, for the sake of distinction, nirayana, lit. ‘destitute of precession.’ The places obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s Tables are śāyana. The tīṭhi, however, obtained by either process, is the same; but this is not the case with the nākṣatra or ‘lunar mansion,’ and the yōga or ‘addition of the longitudes of the sun and the moon.’

The figures for the abdapa are given in Table I. on pp. 10, 11, of Prof. K. L. Chhatre’s book, and are expressed in vāras, ghataś, and palas. Of these, the vāra, or week-day, sometimes also called dina or divasa, or ‘solar day (and night),’ is counted in regular order from Sunday, as 1, up to Saturday, as 7 or 8; and it is always reckoned by

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

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

The word tīthi denotes the thirtieth part of a lunaion or lunar month; that is, as applied to the ecliptic circle, it denotes exactly the one-thirtieth part of that circle, viṣ. twelve degrees; but, taken as an apparent tīthi, and applied to the period of a lunaion, it may be the exact thirtieth part of that period, or it may vary from fifty to sixty-six ghaṭis as subdivisions of a solar day. If the word tīthi requires to be rendered into English, it is best represented by 'lunar day.' Of the thirty tīthis of each month, fifteen belong to the bright fortnight, or period of the waxing moon, and fifteen to the dark fortnight, or period of the waning moon. The fifteenth tīthi of the bright fortnight is called pārṇimā, pārṇamāsī, or paurṇamāsī, lit. 'that which has the full-moon, or that on which the month is completed'; and the fifteenth tīthi of the dark fortnight is called amāvasyā, lit. 'that on which there is the dwelling-together (of the sun and moon).' At the end of the amāvasyā, the sun and the moon are together; that is, they have the same longitude. When the moon, moving towards the east, leaves the sun behind by twelve degrees of longitude, then ends the first tīthi, which is technically called pratiḍāda or pratiḍāda. So, a tīthi is the time which the moon takes to out-go the sun by twelve degrees. With the exception of the pratiḍāda, the tīthis are denoted by the regular ordinal numerals, dvitīya, tritīya, &c., up to caturḍāsa, 'the fourteenth.' The pārṇimā and amāvasyā are called sometimes by their own special names, and sometimes pānchādāsa, 'the fifteenth'; but the amāvasyā is generally entered in Paṇḍāsa as the thirtieth tīthi,
even in Northern India, where the dark fortnight of the month precedes the bright.¹ In Pañcaṅga, the ghaṭis and pālas of tithis are given; and, by them, it is to be understood that the tithis end so many ghaṭis and pālas after sun-rise.² In general, the expression tithi means the end of a tithi; not its beginning, or its duration.

The term tithi-suddhi, lit. 'the subtraction of tithis,' denotes the number of tithis that elapse from the beginning of the month Chaitra (March-April) up to the time of the Mēṣha-Samkrānti. In Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, this term is used to shew the number of tithis, calculated from the difference between the moon's mean longitude and the sun's apparent longitude, that elapse from the beginning of Chaitra to the time of the sun's spashṭa or 'apparent' Mēṣha-Samkrānti.³ Thus, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, at the time of the Mēṣha-Samkrānti the sun's mean longitude was 11 signs, 20 degrees, 46'1 minutes (p. 46); and the apparent longitude obtained from it, according to the method given by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, is 11 signs, 22 degrees, 38'9 minutes. The moon's mean longitude at that time was 4 signs, 25 degrees, 42'4 minutes (p. 87). The difference between the longitudes of the sun and the moon,—the sun's longitude being subtracted from that of the moon,—is, therefore, 5 signs, 3 degrees (=153 degrees), 3'5 minutes. Then 153° 3'5 + 12 = 12 + (9° 3'5 + 12) tithis; that is, 12 tithis, and about 45 ghaṭis and 14 pālas, had elapsed. This, therefore, is given as the tithi-suddhi for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired. In one solar year, the mean tithis are 37¹, and 3 ghaṭis, 53'4 pālas. Dividing 37¹ by 360, the remainder, 11 tithis, 3 ghaṭis, 53'4 pālas, is given as the variation in the tithi-suddhi in one year (p. 10, col. 4).

The tithis obtained from the mean places and mean motions of both the sun and the moon, are madhyama or 'mean' tithis. So, also, those calculated from the apparent place and motion of the sun and the mean place and motion of the moon,—as in the case of the tithi-suddhi and the mean solar equivalents of tithis given in Table III. pp. 13-19, col. 2,—may be called mean tithis and not apparent. But the tithis, &c., given in our Pañcaṅga are always spashṭa or 'apparent;'⁴ that is, they are calculated from the apparent places and motions of the sun and the moon. The spashṭa-tithi differs from the madhyama-tithi sometimes by nearly twenty-five ghaṭis; and this is chiefly owing to the fact that the moon's apparent longitude differs from her mean longitude sometimes by about five degrees.⁵ Many corrections have to be applied to the mean place of the

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

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

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

⁴ According to European Tables, the difference is sometimes about eight degrees.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; APPENDIX II.

moon, in order to find her apparent place; but only one of these, called phala-samskāra, which is 'the equation of the centre,' is taken into account by Hindu astronomers; and this, as given by them, amounts to a little more than five degrees at the greatest. This correction varies according to the moon's kēndra or 'anomaly,' which is taken to be her distance from apogee. From this correction is calculated the correction in time to be applied to the mean tithi; it is named parākhyā; and it is given in Table IV., on p. 20, in the column headed parākhyā. It evidently varies according to the moon's kēndra. One revolution of the moon's kēndra is completed in 27 days, 33 ghātis, 16'56 palas. This period is called nīchāchcha-māsa; and is known to English astronomers by the name of the 'anomalous month.' This period, converted into tithis, is equal to 27 tithis, 59 ghātis, 33'36 palas; that is, nearly and practically, 28 tithis. It is converted into tithis for the sake of convenience; since, the variation in the kēndra is one tithi of kēndra in one tithi of time; and it is called tithi-kēndra, or 'the anomaly of the tithi,' expressed in tithis. The moon's mean kēndra at the Mēsha-Samkrānti of Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, was 10 signs, 19 degrees, 58'9 minutes (p. 87). This, converted into tithis, is equal to 24 tithis, 52 ghātis, 50 palas; and this is given (p. 10) as the tithi-madhyama-kēndra, or 'mean anomaly of the tithi;' at the time of the Mēsha-Samkrānti of Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired. It shews that so many tithis and parts of a tithi had elapsed, up to that Mēsha-Samkrānti, from the moon's preceding arrival at her apogee. The variation in the moon's kēndra, in one solar year, is 3 signs, 2 degrees, 6'2 minutes (p. 87, col. 3). This, changed into tithis by the rule of three, viz.—360° : 92° 6' 2'' :: ti. 27, gh. 59, p. 33'36 : ti. 7, gh. 9, p. 42,—is given, therefore, as the variation in the tithi-kēndra in one year (p. 10, col. 5).

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

To find the Week-Day of a given Tithi.

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

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

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

1 In this term nīcha means 'perigea,' and uchcha, 'apogee.' And nīchāchcha-māsa is the period in which the moon comes from perigea or apogee to the same point again.

4 One tithi is equal to 09843529572 of a mean solar day.

6 360° : 319° 58' 8'' :: ti. 27, gh. 59, p. 33'36 : ti. 24, gh. 52, p. 50.
expired (A.D. 484-85); the month Āśāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the twelfth tithi.

From Table I. p. 10, write down (see Table V. on page 151 below), in three separate columns, three quantities, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, which are technically called the kṣāpaka or 'additive quantities'; viz. in (a) the abdapa, enter vātras 1, ghāṭs 10, palas 10; in (b) the tithi-suddhi, enter tithis 12, ghāṭs 45, palas 14; and in (c) the tithi-madhya-kāṇḍra, enter tithis 24, ghāṭs 52, palas 50. Below each of them respectively, in its proper column, enter, from the same Table, the bhēda or 'variation' for the component parts of the given Śaka year; viz. for 400, in (a) vātras 6, gh. 30, p. 9·3, in (b) tithis 15, gh. 55, p. 49·2, and in (c) tithis 9, gh. 24, p. 45; and for 6 years, in (a) vātras 0, gh. 33, p. 9·1, in (b) tithis 6, gh. 23, p. 20·2, and in (c) tithis 14, gh. 58, p. 39.

Now, as the given year is anterior to Śaka-Saṁvat 1622 expired, a correction, to be arrived at from Table II. p. 12, is to be applied, and is always to be added, in respect of the tithi-suddhi and the tithi-madhya-kāṇḍra. The reason for this correction, is this. As explained above, the tithi-suddhi and the tithi-madhya-kāṇḍra depend respectively on the mean longitude and the mean anomaly of the moon. But the moon's mean motion is not always the same. Therefore, to her mean longitude and mean anomaly, obtained from the general Table of annual variation in them (Table III. p. 87 f., cols. 2, 3), a correction (Table IV. p. 89 f., cols. 2, 3) is to be applied. Thus, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, the correction in the moon's mean longitude is 44 seconds, and that in the kāṇḍra is 2 degrees, 55 seconds (p. 90). These, turned into tithis, are 3 ghāṭis, 40 palas, with regard to the tithi-suddhi; and 14 ghāṭis, with regard to the tithi-kāṇḍra. These figures, therefore, are given as the correction in respectively the tithi-suddhi and the tithi-kāṇḍra for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired. In the Table, this correction is given for intervals of 1000 years each. Taking first the tithi-suddhi, the correction for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired, is gh. 3, p. 40; and the correction for Śaka-Saṁvat 1000 expired, is p. 32. Therefore, deducting the latter from the former, the difference, gh. 3, p. 8, or 188 palas, is the variation of correction in 1000 years. Then, by the Rule of Three,—1000 years : 406 years :: 188 palas : 76 palas. And 76 palas are gh. 1, p. 16. As the quantities are decreasing ones, this is to be subtracted from gh. 3, p. 40, for Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired. And the remainder gives us, as the sufficiently approximate correction for Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, gh. 2, p. 24, to be added in (b). Similarly, the correction for the tithi-madhya-kāṇḍra, worked out in the same way, is gh. 9, p. 8, to be added in (c).

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

2 Properly speaking, this variation is for Śaka-Saṁvat 500 expired, midway between Śaka-Saṁvat 0 and 1000. It should be reduced first for the year midway between Śaka-Saṁvat 0 and the given year; in this instance 406. But there is no absolute necessity for such exact precision.
TABLE V.
Calculation of the Week-day of a given Tithi.
Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired = A.D. 849-85 current.
Āśāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suranguruvāra (Thursday).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Abdasa.</th>
<th>(b) Tithi-tuddha.</th>
<th>(c) Tithi-madhyaṁa-kēndra.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Śaka-Saṁvat 0 expired (p. 10)</td>
<td>1 10 10</td>
<td>12 45 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add variation for 400 Śaka years (p. 11)</td>
<td>30 9'3</td>
<td>15 55 49'2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add variation for 6 Śaka years (p. 10)</td>
<td>0 33 9'1</td>
<td>6 23 20'2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add correction for a date prior to Śaka-Saṁvat 1622 expired</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 2 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week-day and time of the Māha-Saṁkṛanti of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired</td>
<td>13 28'4</td>
<td>5 6 47'4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From one tithi</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghafis and palas only, from above</td>
<td>0 13 28</td>
<td>Deduct bhukta-tithi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add, from (b), the mean solar day</td>
<td>0 52 20</td>
<td>bhāgya-tithi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tithi-bhāga</td>
<td>1 5 48</td>
<td>Deduct as many palas as there arc ghafis in the bhāgya-tithi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean solar day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expired tithis:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitra</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Add, from (b) the tithi-kēndra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>tithi-spasṭha-kēndra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyeṣṭha</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśāḍha</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minus, from (b), tithi-dhārra</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expired tithis from end of Chaitra</td>
<td>95 23 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śukla 5</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solar equivalent of 96 tithis (p. 14)</td>
<td>94 17 36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add parākṣaṇa obtained from (c) tithi-spasṭha-kēndra of Āśāḍha śukla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0 24 19</td>
<td>Add tithi-kēndra of (a) 96 tithis (p. 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tithi-spasṭha-kēndra at end of Āśāḍha śukla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Days elapsed up to end of apparent Āśāḍha śukla</td>
<td>95 47 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add week-day of Māha-Saṁkṛanti of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce to weeks</td>
<td>90 (13) 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remainder, the 5th day, is Thursday</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

We thus obtain in (a) the \textit{abdapa}, \textit{vāras} 1, \textit{gh.} 13, \textit{p.} 28.4. The first quantity, of the days, shows that the week-day on which occurred the \textit{Mēsha-Saṁkrānti} of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired, was Sunday. And the remaining quantities show that the \textit{Mēsha-Saṁkrānti} took place at the end of \textit{gh.} 13, \textit{p.} 28.4, after sunrise on that Sunday. The small decimal which we have here, as also in (b) the \textit{tithi-suddhi}, under the \textit{palas}, may be disregarded in the following steps of the process.

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

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

In (c), the \textit{tithi-madhyama-kēndra}, we obtain \textit{tithis} 21, \textit{gh.} 25, \textit{p.} 22. This gives us the moon's kēndra, reduced to \textit{tithis}, at the time of the \textit{Mēsha-Saṁkrānti} of the given year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired.

To this, the \textit{bhōga-tithi}, viz. \textit{gh.} 53, \textit{p.} 13, is to be added. And the result, \textit{tithis} 22, \textit{gh.} 18, \textit{p.} 35, is the kēndra at the end of the 6th \textit{tithi} of Chaṭtra. This is called the \textit{tithi-spaśta-kēndra} or 'apparent kēndra of the \textit{tithi}.'

Next, by subtracting from the \textit{bhōga-tithi}, viz. \textit{gh.} 53, \textit{p.} 13, as many \textit{palas}, 53, as there are \textit{ghaṭis} in it,\textsuperscript{1} we convert it into a \textit{mean solar day}, with the result of \textit{gh.} 52, \textit{p.} 20.

\textsuperscript{1} i.e. by subtracting the sixtieth part. This proportion is taken for the sake of easy calculation. Properly speaking, to convert a \textit{tithi} into a solar day, the sixty-fourth part should be subtracted; because one mean \textit{tithi} is equal to 984353 of a solar day, \textit{i.e.}, as nearly as possible, sixty-three sixty-fourths of a solar day. The difference, however, does not introduce any material error.
Add this gh. 52, p. 20, to the ghatis and palas only of (a) the abdapa. The result, vāra 1, gh. 5, p. 48, shows that the 6th mean tithi of Chaitra ended with gh. 5, p. 48, after sunrise on the following day, Monday, after the day of the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti, Sunday. This quantity, vāra 1, gh. 5, p. 48, is called the tithi-bhōga, lit. 'the enjoyment or duration of the tithi;' and it is the end of the tithi-dhruva, increased by one tithi. It is, of course, a mean tithi. And it shows that days 1, gh. 5, p. 48, had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti, up to the end of Chaitra ṣukla 6 as a mean tithi.

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

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

Consequently, from the beginning of Chaitra, up to the commencement of the given tithi, Āshāda ṣukla 12, there had elapsed only the usual number of one hundred and one tithis; vi. in the bright fortnight of Chaitra, 15; in Vaiśākhā, 30; in Jyeṣṭha, 30; and in Āshāda, 15 in the dark fortnight, and 11 in the bright.1 From this number of tithis, 101, we subtract the tithi-dhruva, 5. And the remainder, 96, is the number of tithis elapsed from the end of Chaitra ṣukla 5 up to the end of Āshāda ṣukla 11. But the tithi-bhōga, which we have already arrived at, is the end of Chaitra ṣukla 6; and the same number of tithis, 96, expire from the end of Chaitra ṣukla 6 up to the end of Āshāda ṣukla 12. Therefore, adding to the tithi-bhōga the solar equivalent, now to be introduced, the result will bring us to the end of the given tithi, Āshāda ṣukla 12.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And, on the other hand, the method exhibited above being in close agreement with Hindu works, it may be claimed that the *tithi* obtained by it will differ but very little from the *tithi* obtained by the method prescribed in the *Sārya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works. The difference¹ will amount to five or six *ghaṭis* at the utmost; and that in but very few cases.

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

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

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1 *i.e.* the work that is usually called the *Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta.*—There are two distinct and separate works, each bearing the name of Āryabhata as its author. The one published by Dr. Kern contains one hundred and eighteen verses in the Āryā metre, and is called Āryabhaṭīya in general and by the author himself; but it may, and justly so, be called Ārya-Siddhānta; and it is called so by many Hindu astronomers. The date of this work is Śaka-Saṅvat 427 expired (A. D. 499-500). The other, which, I believe, has not yet been printed, contains about six hundred and twenty-five verses in the Āryā metre, divided into eighteen chapters. The date of it is not given. But, from internal evidence, I find that it is later than the *Brahma-Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta (Śaka-Saṅvat 550 expired; A.D. 628-29); and there is a reference to it in the *Siddhānta-Sīrōmaṇi* (Śaka-Saṅvat 1072 expired; A.D. 1150-51). Its date, therefore, lies somewhere between these two limits. In the first verse of it, the author calls himself Āryabhata; and his work, a Siddhānta, without Laghu or any other epithet. In a manuscript copy of it, I find that it is named *Mahā-Siddhānta* at the end of some chapters, and *Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta* at the end of others. For the sake of distinction and convenience, it is better to call the authors of these two works, the first and the second Āryabhata. The numbers of the revolutions of the planets &c. given, as belonging to the Ārya-Siddhānta, in the Rev. E. Burgess’ Translation of the *Śāra-Śiddhānta*, and in some instances those given by Prinsep (Prinsep’s Essays, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 153) as belonging to the same authority, belong really to the second Āryabhata. Probably, when these gentlemen wrote, they had not themselves seen the Siddhānta of the first Āryabhata. Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, also, was not, it seems, aware of the two different Āryabhataś, when he wrote (Indian Eras, p. 88) “according to Warren the number of days assigned by Āryabhata to a Mahāyuga of 4,320,000 years is 1,577,917,500 in the south of India and 42 more in the MSS. preserved in Bengal.” Of these two numbers, the former belongs to the first, and the latter to the second, Āryabhata.

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1 *i.e.* on a Hindu Thursday.—It must be borne in mind that the Hindu week-day is reckoned, with the solar day and night, from sunrise to sunrise, as stated at page 146 f. above; but the English week-day, and the civil date coupled with it, from midnight to midnight. In comparing Hindu and English dates, the only course is to take mean sunrise and mean midnight (6° A.M. and 12° P.M. respectively), and to give, as the English equivalent, that week-day, with its civil date, which is actually running during these eighteen hours, when of course the same week-day is running in India; *i.e.* the week-day which is identical for the greater part by both the English and the Hindu reckonings. And, if the difference in mean time between Greenwich and Ujjain, viz. 5 hours, 2 minutes, 52 seconds (using the same longitude for Ujjain, 75° 43', taken from Keith Johnston’s Atlas, that is used by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit for his calculations in this paper and for the *Śāyana-Paḥchāng*) be taken into consideration, of course the week-days of the two places are absolutely identical, except for the space of 57 minutes, 8 seconds, or 2 *ghatīs*, 228 *palas*, at the end of the Hindu week-day; during that time, while at Ujjain a Hindu Thursday, for instance, is still running, at Greenwich the week-day will be Friday. Owing to this, there may sometimes be a nominal discrepancy in the resulting English week-day for a given *tithi*; but the instances will be few and far between, as very few *tithis* will be found to end so late after sunrise; and the discrepancy will be confined mostly to such occurrences as the heliacal rising of Jupiter (see, for instance, the double dates which it has been necessary to quote at page 104 ff. above). In the present case, not one of the ending-points of the given *tithi* falls within the debatable period; either for Ujjain, or for Ėran, which is appreciably to the east of Ujjain.—J. F. F.
**TABLE VI.**

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

Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired — A.D. 484-85 current.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Time, after Sunrise, at which the Tithi ended</th>
<th>By K. I., Chatterje's method exhibited above</th>
<th>By the Arya-Siddhānta of the first Aryabhata.</th>
<th>By the Brahmat-Siddhānta of Brahma-gupta.</th>
<th>By the Surya-Siddhānta</th>
<th>By the Surya-Siddhānta of the second Aryabhata.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reckoned from mean sunrise at Bombay</td>
<td>47 43</td>
<td>49 19</td>
<td>49 46</td>
<td>50 42</td>
<td>52 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>52 54</td>
<td>53 21</td>
<td>53 21</td>
<td>54 24</td>
<td>54 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>48 12</td>
<td>49 48</td>
<td>50 15</td>
<td>51 11</td>
<td>53 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>53 37</td>
<td>54 19</td>
<td>54 19</td>
<td>55 18</td>
<td>55 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; apparent sunrise at Ėrāq</td>
<td>50 33</td>
<td>52 9</td>
<td>52 36</td>
<td>53 32</td>
<td>55 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57 14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE VII.**

Calculation of the English Date of a given Tithi.

Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired — A.D. 484-85 current.

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

| Date of the Mēsha-Samkrānti in March of A.D. 0 | 13 59 10 |
| Add variation for 400 years A.D. (p. 30)      | 3 30 9  |
| " 84 years A.D. (p. 27)                       | 0 44 7  |
| Date of the Mēsha-Samkrānti in March of A.D. 484 | 18 13 26 |
| Add days elapsed from the Mēsha-Samkrānti up to the given tithi, from col. (a) of the previous process | 95 |
| Deduct number of days in completed months from the 1st March: — | 113 |
| March                                      | 31  |
| April                                      | 30  |
| May                                       | 31  |
| Remainder is the current day of the next month, and the current day of the given tithi  | 21  |

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹The *ghatis* and *palas* ought to agree with the *ghatis* and *palas* of the *abdapa* of Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired, in col. (a) of the previous process. Here there is a difference of 24 *palas*; which shews that there is a small mistake somewhere in the Tables.
From this sum subtract the number of days in as many entire months as were completed within the total of 113 days; \textit{vis.} in the present instance, in March, 31 days; in April, 30; and in May, 31; total, 92.

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

The Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

BY SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT; BOMBAY EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

The names of the sāṁvatsaras, or years, of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, are determined in accordance with the following rule in the Brihat-Samhitā of Varāhamihira, adhyāya viii. verse 1, — nakshatreṇa sah-ōdayam upagachchhati yēna dēvapati-mantri I tathā saṁjñaḥ vaktavyām varsham māsa-kramaṇa-aiva II, — “with whatever nakṣatra (Jupiter) the counsellor of (Indra) the lord of the gods attains (his) rising, the year is to be spoken of (as) having the appellation of that (nakṣatra), in accordance with the order of the months.”

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

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

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

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

One revolution of Jupiter, in the zodiac, is completed in about twelve years; and, in twelve years, there are twelve revolutions of the sun (that is, of the earth). So that, in this period of about twelve years, there are only eleven conjunctions of the sun and Jupiter. Therefore, in twelve years there are only eleven heliacal risings of Jupiter. The interval between two risings is generally 299 days. And thus, in each cycle of the heliacal-rising system, there are only eleven saṁvatsaras in twelve years; the duration of each being about 400 days, and one saṁvatsara, determined by the circumstances of the particular cycle, being altogether omitted.

The names of the lunar months are used as the names of the saṁvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. And the names of these months are given to the saṁvatsaras, in accordance with the particular nakṣatras in which Jupiter’s heliacal rising takes place. Of the twenty-seven nakṣatras, two are assigned to each of nine of the twelve months; and three to each of the remaining three months. The rule for this is given in the Brihat-Samhitā, viii. 2, — varşāṇi Kārttikā-Adiṇyā-āgneyād bha-dvay-ānuyogini kramaśa tri-bhām tu pañcchamam upāncyam antyaṁ cha yad varṣam II,—“the years Kārttika and others (that follow) combine two nakṣatras, from (the nakṣatra) belonging

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

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

Regulation of the Names of the Samvatsaras from the Nakshatras.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names and Grouping of the Nakshatras</th>
<th>Names of the Months to be allotted to the Samvatsaras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kṛittikā; Rāhiḍā</td>
<td>Kārttika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mriga; Ārādā</td>
<td>Mārgaśiṛsha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punarvasu; Pushya</td>
<td>Pausha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āḍāśāhā; Maghā</td>
<td>Māgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrvā-Phalguna; Uttarā-Phalguna; Hasta</td>
<td>Pāñcaguna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Čhitrā; Svātī</td>
<td>Čaitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśākha; Anurādha</td>
<td>Vaiśākha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyēṣṭhā; Mōla</td>
<td>Jyēṣṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrvā-Ashāṇḍā; Uttarā-Ashāṇḍā; (Abhijit)</td>
<td>Āśāṇḍha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Abhijit); Śravaṇa; Dhanishṭhā</td>
<td>Śravaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śatātārakā; Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā; Uttarā-Bhādrapadā</td>
<td>Bhādrapada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvaṭī; Āsvīnti; Bharañī</td>
<td>Āsvina (Āsvayuṇa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

3 I should state, however, that there is a little difference of opinion on this point. Utpala, the commentator on the Brihat-Samhāla, has discussed it at length; and arrived at the conclusion which is exhibited in Table VIII. In the ancient and modern works that I have referred to, I find ten authorities,—and such ancient names as those of Vṛddha-Garga and Kaśyapa among them,—giving the rule regulating the names of the samvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the nakshatras. Out of these ten, Garga (not Vṛddha-Garga), and Parāśara, as quoted by Utpala,—but these two only,—hold that the tenth and eleventh months, Śravaṇa and Bhādrapadā, have three nakshatras each; viṁ Śravaṇa, Dhanishṭhā, and Śatātārakā, are assigned to Śravaṇa; and Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā, Uttarā-Bhādrapadā, and Rēvaṭī, to Bhādrapadā; and, consequently, Āsvina has only Āsvinī and Bharañī.
in Table IX. on page 165 below. And generally, whenever we meet with a nakshatra spoken of with reference to the place of a heavenly body, that nakshatra is to be taken in the above sense.

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

One system of unequal spaces, according to this method, is referred to in some of the verses from the Garga-Samhitā, which are quoted by Upalā in his commentary on the Brihad-Samhitā. The commentary, with the passages quoted in it, runs—tatha cha Gargah 1 Uttarā 2 cha tathā-Adityaṃ Viśkhā 3 ch-aiva Rōhiniṃ 4 ētāni shat adhyardha-bhūgānī 5 Paushh-Āsvi-Krittikā-Sōma-Tishya-Pītrya-Bhagā-hvayaḥ Sāvitra-Chitr-Ānūrdhā 6 Mūlān Tōyaṃ cha Vaishnavaṃ Dhanishṭhā-Ājikapāḥ ch-aiva sama-vargah prakṛtītaḥ ētāni pañchadaśa sama-bhūgānī 7 Yāmya-Aindra-Raudra-Vāyavya-Sārpa-Vāruṇa-samjñītāh ētāni shat ardha-bhūgānī 8 , and so Garga (says), 'the Uttarās (i.e. Uttarā-Phalgunī, Uttarā-Ashādha, and Uttarā-Bhādrapadā), and Āditya (Punarvasu), Viśkhā, and also Rōhini; these six (are) of one-and-a-half times (the average) longitude. ' (The nakshatras) of which the names are Pausha (Rēvatī), Āsvi (Āsvinī), Krittikā, Sōma (Mriga), Tishya (Pushya), Pītrya (Magha), and Bhaga (Pūrvā-Phalgunī), (and also) Sāvitra (Hasta), Chitrā, Ānūrdhā, Mūla, Tōya (Pūrvā-Ashādha), and Vaishnava (Śravaṇa), (and) Dhanishṭhā, and also Ajikapād (Pūrvā-Bhādrpadā); (this class of nakshatras) is called the equal class; these fifteen (are) of equal (average) longitude. ' (The nakshatras) which have the appellations of Yāmya (Bharani), Aindra (Jyesṭhā), Raudra (Ārdrā), Vāyavya (Śvāti), Sārpa (Āśleṣha), and Vāruṇa (Śatāraka); these six (are) of half (the average) longitude." In this system, which I would name the Garga system of unequal spaces, the number of the nakshatras is twenty-seven, as usual. The average space of a nakshatra, therefore, is 13 degrees, 20 minutes; a one-and-a-half space is 20 degrees; and a half space is 6 degrees, 40 minutes. The longitudes of the ending-points of all the nakshatras, according to this system, are given in the last column but one in Table IX. on page 165 below; and the entries of 3/4 and 1 3/4 in the sub-column, mark the spaces which differ from the average space. Nārada and Vasishṭha give this system in the same way as Garga. It seems to have originated in the fact that the distances between the chief stars, called yōga-tārd, of the different nakshatras, are not equal. The distance is naturally expected to be 13 degrees, 20 minutes. But, in some cases it is less than 7 degrees; while in others it is more than 20 degrees. However, be the reason of the system what it may, there is no doubt that it was extensively in use in ancient times. And, that either it,
TABLE IX.

Longitudes of the Ending-points of the Nakshatras.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order of the Nakshatras</th>
<th>System of Equal Spaces</th>
<th>Garga System</th>
<th>Brahma-Siddhânta System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deg. min. sec.</td>
<td>deg. min. sec.</td>
<td>deg. min. sec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āsvinī</td>
<td>13° 20' 0&quot;</td>
<td>13° 20' 0&quot;</td>
<td>13° 10' 35&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharaṇī</td>
<td>26 40 0</td>
<td>20 0 0</td>
<td>19 45 52½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krittikā</td>
<td>40 0 0</td>
<td>33 20 0</td>
<td>32 56 27½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāhu</td>
<td>53 20 0</td>
<td>53 20 0</td>
<td>52 42 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrīga</td>
<td>66 40 0</td>
<td>66 40 0</td>
<td>65 52 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ārdrā</td>
<td>80 0 0</td>
<td>73 20 0</td>
<td>72 28 12½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punarvasu</td>
<td>93 20 0</td>
<td>93 20 0</td>
<td>92 14 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushya</td>
<td>106 40 0</td>
<td>106 40 0</td>
<td>105 24 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśāĕhā</td>
<td>120 0 0</td>
<td>113 20 0</td>
<td>111 59 57½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magha</td>
<td>133 20 0</td>
<td>126 40 0</td>
<td>125 10 32½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrvā-Phalgunṭ</td>
<td>146 40 0</td>
<td>140 0 0</td>
<td>138 21 7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarā-Phalgunṭ</td>
<td>160 0 0</td>
<td>160 0 0</td>
<td>158 7 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasta</td>
<td>173 20 0</td>
<td>173 20 0</td>
<td>171 17 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitrā</td>
<td>186 40 0</td>
<td>186 40 0</td>
<td>184 28 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svātī</td>
<td>200 0 0</td>
<td>193 20 0</td>
<td>191 3 27½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśākha</td>
<td>213 20 0</td>
<td>213 20 0</td>
<td>210 49 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anurādhā</td>
<td>226 40 0</td>
<td>226 40 0</td>
<td>223 59 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyēshṭhā</td>
<td>240 0 0</td>
<td>233 20 0</td>
<td>230 35 12½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūla</td>
<td>253 20 0</td>
<td>246 40 0</td>
<td>243 45 47½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrvā-Ashāḍhā</td>
<td>266 40 0</td>
<td>260 0 0</td>
<td>256 56 22½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarā-Ashāḍhā</td>
<td>280 0 0</td>
<td>280 0 0</td>
<td>276 42 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Abhijīt)</td>
<td>(Balance)</td>
<td>280 56 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śravaṇa</td>
<td>203 20 0</td>
<td>293 20 0</td>
<td>294 7 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanisṭhāhā</td>
<td>306 40 0</td>
<td>306 40 0</td>
<td>307 17 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śatārakā</td>
<td>320 0 0</td>
<td>313 20 0</td>
<td>313 52 57½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā</td>
<td>333 20 0</td>
<td>326 40 0</td>
<td>327 3 32½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarā-Bhādrapadā</td>
<td>346 40 0</td>
<td>346 40 0</td>
<td>346 49 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvatī</td>
<td>360 0 0</td>
<td>360 0 0</td>
<td>360 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

¹ By this name, is to be understood, throughout this paper, the Siddhânta by Brahmagupta.
usual twenty-seven nakshatras, on a similar arrangement of unequal spaces, amounts to only 355 degrees, 45 minutes, 45 seconds, the remainder,—4 degrees, 14 minutes, 15 seconds,—is allotted to Abhijit, as an additional nakshatra, placed between Uttara-Ashādhā and Shravana. This system, which I would name the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, is best explained by Bhāskarāchārya,1 in his Siddhānta-Sirṣaṇa, Part iii., chapter 2 (Grahaganitaspasthādīkāra), verses 71 to 74. His text, and his own commentary on it, are as follows,—sthūlaṁ kriyāṁ bh-ānayanāṁ yad etay jyotrīvāṁ san-vyavahāra-hetūḥ II 71 II Sūkhśmaṁ pravakṣyētha muni-praṇītāṁ vivāha-yātrādhi-pāla-praśiddhyai svadhyādaṁ shad atrā taj-jñāṁ prōchur Viśākha-Āditiḥbha-dhruvaṁ II 72 II Shad ardhā-bhōgaṁ ca Bhōga-Rudra-Vāt-Antak-Ādhipa-Vārūṇaṁ śāśāy-ataṁ paśchadaśa-āika-bhōgaṁ-uktā bha-bhōgaḥ śāśa-mahyā-bhuktya II 73 II Sarv-arṣa-bhōga-dōna-chakra-liptā Vaśīva-āgratāṁ syād Abhijit-bhā-bhōgaḥ II 74 II Commentary.—Iha yan nakshatrān-ānayanāṁ kriyāṁ tat sthūlaṁ lōkā-vyavahārārtha-mātram kriyāṁ II Atha Pulīśa-Vasīṣṭha-Garg-Ādibhir yad vivāha-yātrā dpau san-vyak-sala-siddhyārthāṁ kathāṁ tat sūkhśmaṁ idāṁ pravakṣyeII Tatra shad adhyardha-bhōgaṁ II Viśākha Puṇarvasu Rōhīṇā-Uttara-trayaṁ I atha shad ardhā-bhōgaṁ II Āśleśhā-Ārdra Svātī Bharanī Jyēśṭhā Śataghishak I ebhyāṁ śēśāṁ paśchadaśa-āika-bhōgaṁ II Bhōga-pramaṇāṁ tu śāśa-mahyā-bhuktya 790 35⅓ adhyardha-bhōgaḥ 1185 52½ ardhā-bhōgaḥ 395 17⅓ Sarv-arṣa-bhōga-gairūṇāṁ chakra-kalanāṁ yach chhēshāṁ sūr-Bhijit-bhōgaḥ 254 15⅔. Translation.—"This bringing out of nakshatras (i.e. the method of finding nakshatras, with their ghatis and palas) which has been made (in the preceding verses), (is) rough, (and is) only for the practical purposes of astrologers. Now I will explain the accurate (method) taught by [Pulīśa, Vasīṣṭha, Garga, and other] sages, for the purpose of securing [good] results in the case of a marriage, a journey, &c. On this point, those who are versed in that (branch of the science) say, that six (nakshatras) have (each) a space which is one-and-a-half (times of the average space); (viz.) Viśākha, Aditiḥbha (Punarvasu), and the dhruvas (Rōhīṇa, Uttarā-Phalguni, Uttarā-Ashādhā, and Uttarā-Bhādrapāda). And six have a half space (each); (viz.) those the lords of which are Bhōgin, Rudra, Vātā, Antaka, and Indra, and Vārūṇa [Āśleśhā, Ārdra, Svātī, Bharanī, Jyēśṭhā, and Śataghishaj (Śatārakā)]. The remaining fifteen (nakshatras) have one space (each). The (average) space of a nakshatra is declared to be the (daily) mean motion of the moon [790 35′ (=13° 10′ 35″)]. [A one-and-a-half space (is) 1185 52½′ (=19° 45′ 52½″)]. A half space (is) 395 17½′ (=6°35′ 17½″)]. The space of the nakshatra Abhijit, (which comes) next after Vaśīva (Uttara-Ashādhā), is [the remainder, 254 15′ (=4° 14′ 15″)], of the minutes of the whole circle, diminished by the spaces of all the (other) nakshatras." The longitudes of the ending-points of all the nakshatras according to this system, are given in the last column of, Table IX., on page 165 above. And, as before,
TABLE X.
Details of two Twelve-Year Cycles of Jupiter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1780</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td></td>
<td>7th June, 1858</td>
<td>41º 47'</td>
<td>Rōhiṇī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1782</td>
<td></td>
<td>13th July, 1859</td>
<td>77 2</td>
<td>Punaṅgastru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td></td>
<td>15th August, 1860</td>
<td>110 20</td>
<td>Asśēhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td></td>
<td>16th September, 1861</td>
<td>141 53</td>
<td>Uttarā-Pagānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td></td>
<td>1st October, 1862</td>
<td>171 55</td>
<td>Chaitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td></td>
<td>16th November, 1863</td>
<td>201 32</td>
<td>Vaiśākhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td></td>
<td>16th December, 1864</td>
<td>232 3</td>
<td>Māla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1788</td>
<td></td>
<td>18th January, 1866</td>
<td>263 48</td>
<td>Uttarā-Aśādāhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td></td>
<td>22nd February, 1867</td>
<td>298 0</td>
<td>Dhanispāhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td></td>
<td>29th March, 1868</td>
<td>334 3</td>
<td>Uttarā-Bhaiḍrapāda</td>
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<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td></td>
<td>6th May, 1869</td>
<td>10 27</td>
<td>Aśvina</td>
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<tr>
<td>1792</td>
<td></td>
<td>12th June, 1870</td>
<td>46 39</td>
<td>Rōhiṇī</td>
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<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td></td>
<td>18th July, 1871</td>
<td>81 47</td>
<td>Punaṅgastru</td>
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<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td></td>
<td>16th August, 1872</td>
<td>114 45</td>
<td>Magha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td></td>
<td>20th September, 1873</td>
<td>145 53</td>
<td>Uttarā-Pagānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td></td>
<td>21st October, 1874</td>
<td>175 52</td>
<td>Chaitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td></td>
<td>20th November, 1875</td>
<td>205 36</td>
<td>Vaiśākhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td></td>
<td>16th December, 1876</td>
<td>235 21</td>
<td>Aśvina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td></td>
<td>18th January, 1878</td>
<td>267 22</td>
<td>Uttarā-Aśādāhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td></td>
<td>27th February, 1879</td>
<td>302 46</td>
<td>Dhanispāhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td></td>
<td>4th April, 1880</td>
<td>339 0</td>
<td>Uttarā-Bhaiḍrapāda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td></td>
<td>11th May, 1881</td>
<td>35 10</td>
<td>Bhayatī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the entries of ¼ and 1¼ in the previous sub-column, mark the spaces which differ from the average space.

Now, the additional nakshatra Abhijit, introduced in this system, is not taken into account among the nakshatras from which the names of the months are derived. The question, therefore, occurs.—What name is to be given to the samvatsara, when Jupiter rises in Abhijit? It can be solved thus. Abhijit is considered to be composed of the last quarter of Uttarā-Aśādāhā, and the first fifteenth part of Śravaṇa. This is stated in the following verse of Vasishṭha, as quoted in the commentary, called Pṛyāśadhātra, on the Muhārta-Chintāmāni;—Abhijit-bha-bhṛogam étad Viśvēdev-antya-pādam akhilam tat ādyaa-chataśaṁ nādyo Haribhasya,—"this (is) the longitude of Abhijit; the whole last quarter of Viśvēdeva (Uttarā-Aśādāhā), (and) the first four ghatis (i.e. the fifteenth part) of Haribha (Śravaṇa)." And other later authorities give the same rule. A quarter of a nakshatra is 3 degrees, 20 minutes; and a fifteenth part is 53 minutes, 20 seconds; and the sum of the two amounts to 4 degrees, 13 minutes, 20 seconds. In other words, Abhijit consists of nineteen parts; of which, the first fifteen come from, and properly belong to, Uttarā-Aśādāhā; and the last four come from, and properly belong to, Śravaṇa. And the name of the samvatsara is to be determined as Aśādāhā or Śravaṇa, according to the particular part of Abhijit in which Jupiter rises.

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

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1 See the verse varshaṇī Kārttikādona, etc., at page 162 above.
four years, from Śaka-Saṁvat 1780 to 1803 (expireá), 1 with Jupiter's apparent longitudes at the time, and his nakṣatras determined from those longitudes. The dates of the risings of Jupiter are taken from ordinary Pañchāṅga in my possession, printed in different Presses at various places. The lunar months in which the risings took place, are all given by the Amānta southern reckoning. 2 The longitude of Jupiter at each rising, is calculated from his longitude, given in the Pañchāṅga, at some stated interval; for instance, of seven or fifteen days. In naming the nakṣatras, the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, in the last column of Table IX. on page 165 above, is the one that has been resorted to. In the last column, the months, that is, the names of the saṁvatsaras which then began, are given. It will be seen, that Mārgaśīrsha is omitted in each of these two cycles. Other saṁvatsaras also may be omitted, in the same way, according to the circumstances of the particular cycle.

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

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

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

The rule for that which I have named the mean-sign system, is thus given by Āryabhaṭa in his Ārya-Siddhānta or Āryabhaṭiya, Kalākriyāpāda, verse 4,—Guru-bhagaṇa rāṣi-guṇās tv-Āśvayuj-ādyā Gurōr abdāh,—"the revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by the signs (twelve), (are) the years of Jupiter, the first of which is Āśvayuja." And it is given, in very similar words, by Brahmagupta, in his Brahma-Siddhānta, adhyāya xiii, verse 42,—Guru-varṣāṇy-Āśvayujād dvādaṣa-guṇitā Gurōr bhagaṇāḥ. In this rule, the revolutions (bhagaṇa) are meant to be taken from the beginning of the Kalpa, or of a Mahāyuga. But, for practical purposes, we need not go back so far. One Twelve-Year Cycle is completed in one revolution. And, therefore, we can determine the sāṃvatsara for a given year, or for any given date in it, by taking Jupiter’s signs, including the current sign, of the current revolution, and counting from Āśvayuja. In this system, the signs are intended to be taken, and in practice are taken, according to Jupiter’s mean longitude. Now, suppose that on a certain day Jupiter’s mean longitude is 9 signs and 12 degrees; i.e., that he is in the tenth sign. Then, counting from Āśvayuja, we have Āshādha, as the current sāṃvatsara for the given day.\(^1\)

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

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\(^1\) In his treatment of the Twelve-Year Cycle (Indian Eras, p. 26 ff.), Gen. Sir A. Cunningham opens the subject by quoting Kern’s translation (see page 161 above, note 1) of the same verse in the Brāhmat-Samhitā which I use for the same purpose. But, for the rest, he altogether ignores the force of the reference to Jupiter’s rising, and treats the subject as if the heliacal-rising system, described by me above, did not exist at all. What he has deduced from the verse, is only the mean-sign system, which the verse does not really refer to at all; and in respect of which he is wrong in making the sāṃvatsaras of both the Twelve-Year and the Sixty-Year Cycle, begin and end with the luni-solar years. The rules that he applies give, at the best, only the sāṃvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, and of the Sixty-Year Cycle, that are current at the commencement of a given solar year; they do not provide for the essential point in both the cycles, viz. the determination of the exact day on which a given sāṃvatsara of either cycle commences.—I have not had an opportunity of seeing the writings of Davis and Warren on this subject. But, with all due deference, I may safely say that the Twelve-Year Cycle by the heliacal-rising system, has hitherto remained quite unknown to European scholars.—I would take this opportunity of remarking that I cannot find any authority for the Introduction, in Kern’s translation, of the bracketed words "(during which Jupiter completes a twelfth part of his revolution)." Jupiter completes a twelfth part (edī) of his revolution in about three hundred and sixty-one days; while the interval between two of his heliacal risings is about four hundred days.
mical system of it, and was current, as is shewn by many epigraphical quotations of it, in Southern India also, are determined by Jupiter's mean place. And the rule is thus given in the Sūrya-Siddhānta, i. 55,—dvādaśa-ghnā Gūrōr yātā-bhagaṁ d vartamānakaiḥ i rāśibhiḥ sāhīrāḥ sūdhhāḥ shashtyā syur Vijay-ādayaḥ II,—"the expired revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by twelve, (then) increased by the current signs (of the current revolution), (and then) divided by sixty, are (i.e. the remainder is) (the samvatsaras counted from) Vijaya as the first." In fact, the Sixty-Year Cycle, and the Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, are quite identical with regard to the day of the commencement of each samvatsara; and, consequently, with regard also to its duration, which, according to Jupiter's mean motion as given in the Sūrya-Siddhānta, is 361 days, 1 ghāṭa; 36 pālas. The Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, therefore, with regard to its other details, may be most properly described with the Sixty-Year Cycle, which I shall treat of fully on a separate occasion. And I have introduced the present brief mention of it, only because references to it are unavoidable in the following observations.

The eleven authorities for the heliacal-rising system, in addition to the Brihat-Saṁhitā, of which I have spoken, are as follows,—(1) Parāśara says—Kritikā-Rohiniḥ-udītē kṣuḥcchhastra-agni-vriṣṭi-vyādhī-prābalyam .... Chitṛā-Svātīyōr uditē niṣpa-sasya-varsha-kṣeṁ-arōgya-kaṇaḥ.—(2) Garga says—pravās-āntē sah-arkśēṇa hy-udītō yuga-pach charī tasmāt kālad riksha-pūrvō Gūrōr abdā pravartatē II.—(3) Kāśyapa says—saṁvatsara-yugē ch-āiva shashty-abdeṅ-āṅgirasas sutaḥ i yan-nakshatra-ōdayam kuryāt tat-saṁjñāṁ vatsaraṁ viduḥ II.—(4) Rishiputra says—yasmin tisṭhāti nakshatrē saha yēna pravardhatē I saṁvatsaras sa vijēyas tan-nakshatra-abhidhānakaḥ II.—(5) Also, in the following, Rishiputra quotes Vasishṭha and Atri, in addition to Parāśara, who is separately referred to above,—Tishy-ādika-yugamā prahr Vasīṣṭha-Atri—Parāśarāḥ I Brihaspatēs tu Saumy-āntāṁ sadd dvādaśa-vārshikam II Udēti yasmin māsē tu pravās-ūpagaṭo-āṅgirāḥ I tasmāt saṁvatsaraḥ.—(6) In the Saṁśa-Saṁhitā, a short work by Varāhamihira, we have,—Gurōr udayati nakshatrē yasmin tat-saṁjñāṇī varshaṁ.—(7) Brihaspati, as quoted in the Krimadvalī, a commentary by Dādabhāl on the Śārīra-Siddhānta, says,—yadā Gurōr-ūdayō bhānūr Gūrōr abdas tad-ādītaḥ.—(8) In the Nārada-Saṁhitā, Guruchārādhyāya, we have,—yad-dhishñy-abhyudito Jivas tanakshaṭr-Ahva-vatsaraḥ.—(9) In the Muhūrta-Tattva, Guruchāra, verse 7, we have,—dvī-rikshū-Gnēḥ Kārttiṅkā try-riksla ishu-ravi-Sīvō-bdāḥ sa yēṅ-ōdīt-Ejyaḥ.—(10) In the Jyōtishadarpāṇa, adhyāya v., we have,—yasmin abhyudito Jivas tan-

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

2 I have taken this, and the preceding five quotations, from Utpala's commentary on the Brihat-Saṁhitā.
nakshatrasya vatsarah. — It is unnecessary to translate these ten quotations; as the general purport of all of them is the same; viz. that "a saṁvatsara is to be named after that nakṣatra in which Jupiter attains his rising." — (11) In the remaining authority, the Śūrya-Siddhānta, the rule appears to be a little different from that of all the other authorities; though the general features are the same. And, for this reason, though the work is one of the earliest, I have quoted it last. The rule is given in the verse—Vaiśākhādī[1] krīṣṇe cha yodha pāṇehadāśe tithi l Kārttikādīni varṣhāpi Gurūr ast-ādayāt tathā ॥,—"and the years Kārttika and others (that follow) (are to be named) from the rising, after setting, of Jupiter, according to the occurrence (of Kṛttikā and other nakṣatras) on the fifteenth tithi in the dark fortnight of Vaiśākhā and other (months that follow)." The application of this rule seems to be thus:—The years are to be named, according as Kṛttikā and other nakṣatras, evidently those in which the sun and the moon stand, occur on the amavasyā of Vaiśākhā and others, immediately preceding or following the day on which Jupiter rises; that is, on whatever day Jupiter may rise, the nakṣatra on either the preceding, or the following, amavasyā, gives the name to the saṁvatsara. This rule seems to have been alluded to, though not in the name of the Śūrya-Siddhānta, by Utpala; but it is rejected by him. It may possibly have been occasionally in use; but it certainly does not apply to the Gupta records.

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

1 I should remark that Raṅganātha, one of the best commentators on the Śūrya-Siddhānta, explains this verse with the understanding, into which he seems to have been led by Utpala's comments on the Bṛhat-Samhitā, viii, 1, that ast-ādayāt means "from the setting or rising." He adds, however, — idāṁm udāya-varsha-vyavahāro āṇakair ganañjati,—"at the present time, the practice of (naming) the year by the rising, is taken into account by astronomers." For the sake of consistency, it is justifiable to translate the expression ast-ādayāt as I have translated it above; and the use of the compounded base in the singular, supports that translation, I also find that Dādābhā, in his commentary on the Śūrya-Siddhānta, explains it in the same way; his words being—tathāastād udāya-kāḍā Gurūs tad-yuktā-nakṣatra-sāṁjñāt Gurūr abhā jātyah,—"so the year of Jupiter is to be known as having the appellation of that nakṣatra with which he is joined at the time of (his) rising after setting."—[There can be no doubt that ast-ādayāt is used here in the sense of "from the rising after setting;" compare such compounds as supt-āttīha, 'having arisen from sleep;'], lit. 'having slept and then having risen.'—J. F. F.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So much, as regards the antiquity of the heliacal-rising system. Let us now look into its somewhat later use. Varāhamihira is later than Āryabhaṭa. And his verse with which I have opened my account of the Twelve-Year Cycle, undoubtedly refers to this system. So, also, another of his verses, in the Brāhmanasūtra, viii. 27, points to the same thing. It runs—adyaye Dhanishtām samabhīrapannō Māghē yad-āty-udayān Suntīrṣya

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1 The phenomenon, moreover, is one to which much attention has always been paid in India. Even in the present day, almost all the Hindu Pañcabhīṣṭa give the dates of the heliacal rising and setting of Jupiter. This is for religious purposes; since, when Jupiter is invisible, some duties and ceremonies, such as investiture with the sacred thread, marriage, pilgrimages, &c., are not to be performed; and the dates in question are necessary, in order to know when he is visible, and when he ceases to be so. In Pañcabhīṣṭa printed in Māhārāṣṭra, the custom of naming the sāvatāras after the months is not in use; in fact, the Twelve-Year Cycle is now almost unknown to the people at large of the Dekkan. But in a Pañcabhīṣṭa printed by Jwaṭasvatika Sādārānti, and printed in the Jānashābhīya Press at Madras, I find that the author, in the sanvatsara-pahita, after giving the two sāvatāras of the Six-Year Cycle, according to the northern and the southern reckoning, goes on to say—svaratra Gura-dāya-vaśād (Chaitra)-abhā gotra—"all over (India) a (certain) year (i.e. such sāvatāras as Chaitra, &c.), which depends on the rising of Jupiter, is to be taken;" from which it is evident that some such rising-system, as that described above, is followed in this Pañcabhīṣṭa from Madras. Also, in the Chand-Pañcabhīṣṭa, prepared for the meridian of Jōlhur in Māṇḍalī, and used there and by Māṇḍalīs in other parts of India, the sanvatsaras are named as Chaitra-Varsha, Vaishākha-Varsha, &c.; the system adopted in that Pañcabhīṣṭa, however, for naming the sāvatāras, is the mean-sign system.

8 The reading that I give, is from my manuscript copy. But, ś and ś being very liable to confusion, the reading dhyām Dhanishtām śāṁśam abhiprapanṇō, which is given in some printed copies, may also be of some authority. By calculation, however, I find that Jupiter does not always stand just at the beginning of Dhanishtā, at the time of his rising at the commencement of the Prabhava sanvatsara. And I think, therefore, that the reading which I give, is the author's original reading. I take dhyām to qualify the word nakṣatram understood. And Varāhamihira calls the nakṣatras in question "the first," because his opinion was, I think, that Dhanishtā was the first nakṣatra of the Six-Year Cycle, as it was of the Five-Year Cycle of the Vṛ̤dhaṅga-Jyautiśra [see its verse—svar dārameśa sūn-ārāka yadda sukam sa-Viṣṇava syād tad-adhi-yugam Māghā,—"when the moon and the sun, being in (the nakṣatra) Vāsava (Dhanishtā), go together in the heavens, then there is the beginning of the Yuga (and of the month) Māgha"], which two he intends to reconcile.—[Kern would seem to have known only the reading dhyām Dhanishtām śāṁśam. His translation (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 49 f.), which follows also the reading of pravartād for prapadyatā, is—"when Jupiter, on reaching the first quarter of Dhanishtā, rises in the lunar month of Māgha, then begins the first year of the cycle of sixty, named Prabhava, a year salutary to all beings." And he adds the
shashty-abda-purva Prabhava sa namà prapadyate bhûta-hitas tad-âbda II,—
"when Jupiter, having come to the first (nakshatra) Dhanishtha, attains (his) rising in
(the mouth) Magha, then commences that year, beneficial to beings, which is named
Prabhava, the first of the sixty years." Now, in eighteen centuries from the beginning
of the Saka era, the Prabhava samvatsara has occurred thirty times. And, by approximate
calculations, I find that Varâhâmihira's assertion, though not quite correct, is
nearly so by the heliacal-rising system. Out of the thirty occasions, Jupiter rose, accord-
ing to the Amûlita southern arrangement of the fortnights; twenty-six times in the month
of Magha; three times early in Phalgunâ; and once in Pausha, nearly at the end of
it. And, on many occasions he rose in the Dhanishtha nakshatra; and on some, in
Srâvâna. The assertion, however, is not correct for the mean-sign system. According
to that system, at the commencement of the Prabhava samvatsara, which always begins
when Jupiter, by his mean longitude, enters Kumbha or Aquarius, he evidently always
stands in the middle of Dhanishtha. But the Prabhava samvatsara may begin, and
as a matter of fact I find by calculation that it has begun, in any of the twelve months;
as will be shewn when I treat of the Sixty-Year Cycle. It is evident, therefore, that the
verse in question supports the heliacal-rising system. Moreover, the word udaya itself is
used in it. It might be argued that Varâhâmihira's rule (Brihat-Saûhitâ, viii. 22;
èk-aïkam abdeshu nav-abhatìshu, &c.) for finding the nakshatra of Jupiter, has reference
to his mean longitude; and, consequently, that it gives the mean-sign system. But it
is absurd to suppose that so learned an astronomer as he, stating the rule that a samvatsara
is to be named from the nakshatra in which Jupiter rises, did not know that the nak-
shatra, at the time of his rising, can be determined only from his apparent longitude.
The reason why he gives a rule for finding the mean longitude only, is, in my opinion,
this:—Anyone conversant with Hindu mathematical astronomy, knows how tedious a
task it is to find the mean longitude of a planet from the ahargana, or number of elapsed
days, counted from the beginning of the Kalpa or of a Yuga. But, when once it has been
found, it is much less tedious to calculate, from it, the apparent longitude by the general
rules. So, Varâhâmihira, I think, gives a simple rule for finding the mean longitude of
Jupiter on a given day, and leaves to the astronomer the calculation of the apparent lon-
titude. Or, it may also be said, as the difference between the mean and the apparent
longitudes of Jupiter, on the day of his heliacal-rising, is not very much,—sometimes about
five degrees, and sometimes nearly nil, as I have found from several calculations,—
Varâhâmihira gives the simple rule for rough practical purposes only; leaving it to the

note—"cf. Davis, Asotic Researches, Vol. III. p. 220. The word anàsa also means 'degree,' but is,
here rendered by 'quarter,' according to Utpala, who explains it by pdda."—J. F. F.
1 See page 148 above, note 1.
2 The sign Kumbha commences in the middle of Dhanishtâ, and ends at the end of the third
quarter of Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ.
astronomer to make more detailed calculations, when absolute accuracy is required. But, even supposing that the said verse of Varāhamihira implies the mean-sign system, it will only prove that he gives both systems.

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

It is true that the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle is rare. This is shown by the fact that some astronomical works do not refer to it, in either system, though it would not have been beyond their sphere to do so; and by the fact that, out of many hundreds of inscriptions, only seven have been found, mentioning the saṁvatsaras of it.1 But, if the use of the heliacal-rising system is rare, the use of the mean-sign system is still more so. The saṁvatsaras mentioned in the four records of the Early Gupta period, which give full details for calculation, are proved to belong to the heliacal-rising system. And, while I have been able to quote no less than eleven authorities referring to that system, a distinct reference to the mean-sign system is to be found in only two; viz. Āryabhaṭa and Brāhmaṇagupta, as quoted above. If to these we add an interpolated verse in the Siddhānta-Śrīmāṇi, and also hold that Garga and Varāhamihira give the system, even then the number comes to only five.2 And, in about eight of such works as would be expected to refer to the system, of a date later than A.D. 1478, which I have examined, I find a reference to it in none at all.

Looking to the present time, if the mean-sign system is used in one part of the country, the heliacal-rising system is used in another;3 while, in others, both systems are almost, if not quite, unknown. The mean-sign system is doubtless the more convenient

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1 *via* the five records of the Mahārājas Hastin and Sarakshīsi; and the two grants of the Kadamba chieftain Mṛgēśavarman, referred to at page 106 above, note 1.

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

3 See page 173 above, note 1.
of the two; since the duration of the *samvatsara*, roughly three hundred and sixty-one days, approaches so near to that of the solar year; and the omission of a *samvatsara* occurs only once in about eighty-five years. And this point of convenience seems to be the reason for which the system was invented by the astronomers. But, as both the systems are given in astronomical works, both of them must certainly have been actually used. And such will always be the case, as long as those works exist.
APPENDIX IV.

The Chronology of the Early Rulers of Nêpâl.

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

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

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

A.—Mr. Bendall’s inscription No. 1; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 97 ff., and Journey in Nêpâl, p. 72 ff. and Plate viii.—The charter recorded is issued from the house or palace called Mânâgrîha (line 1). The inscription is one of the Bhaṭṭâraka and Mahârâja, the illustrious Śivâdeva I. (l. 2 ff.), the banner or glory of the Lichchhavikula. And it records a grant made by him on the advice, or at the request*, of the Mahâdsamanta Añâsuvarman (l. 6 ff.). The Dittaka is the Sûmîru Bhûgavaran (l. 15.)† The date

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1 See.
2 Lichchhavikula-kêtu, line 2.
3 Mahâdsamanta-Ánâsuvarmanand vijâpitēna maya; line 6-7.
4 This person would seem to be Añâsuvarman’s sister’s son, who is mentioned in inscription E. below.—He must not be confused with Śivâdeva II.’s father-in-law, the Maukhari Bhûgavaran, who is mentioned in inscription K. below, and was at least a full generation later.—See page 180 below, note 3, on another point.
(l. 15), in numerical symbols here and throughout the series, is (Gupta)-Sāhvat 316, Jyaishṭha-sūkla-divā-daśāmyām; which, with the epoch of A.D. 319-20, answers, approximately, to the 3rd May, A.D. 635.

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

C.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajji's inscription No. 6; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 169 f.—The charter is issued from the house or palace called Kailāsakūṭabhavana (line 1). The inscription is one of the Mahāśāṃta, the illustrious Amśuvarman (l. 2). The Dītaka is the Mahāsara[vadand]yaka Vikra[mśēna] (l. 14). The date (l. 14) is (Harsha)-Sāhvat 34, Jyaishṭha-sūkla-daśāmyām; which, with the epoch of A.D. 605-606, answers, approximately, to the 18th May, A.D. 639.

1 As in page 177 above, note 3.

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

3 This epoch is taken from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculation of the date in the Dīghā-Dubault grant of the Mahādrāja Mahendrapāla. At the end (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 113, line 14) we have, for the assignment of the charter, the year 155, Māgha-śūdi 10; and from line 12 we learn that, when making the grant, the Mahādrāja had bathed on the occasion of the Kumbha-Saṃkrānti or entrance of the Sun into Aquarius. The epoch of the era is fixed approximately by a statement of Albērūnī (Alberuni’s India, Translation, Vol. II. p. 5), to the effect that, in a Kaśmīrī almanac, he had read that Harshavardhana was six hundred and sixty-four years later than Vikramādiyā. Subject to some doubt as to whether Albērūnī is speaking of the epoch of the era, or of its first current year, and as to whether the Vikrama year indicated by him is to be taken as current or as expired, this statement indicates, approximately, Śaka-Sāhvat 528 expired, and 529 current (A.D. 606-607), as the epoch or year of the era. And this is the epoch selected by Gen. Cunningham (Indian Eras, pp. 64 f., 157 ff.), on the authority of Albērūnī’s statement. By calculations based on the Sūrya-Siddhānta, however, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that an epoch one year earlier than this is required, in order that the details of the date in the Dīghā-Dubault grant may work out correctly. Thus, with the basis of Harsha-Sāhvat 155 + Śaka-Sāhvat 527 expired = Śaka-Sāhvat 682 expired, the Kumbha-Saṃkrānti occurred at 43 ghaṣṭs, 40 palas, on Monday, the 19th January, A.D. 761; and the ninth tiṭhi of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended about four hours later, at 53 ghaṣṭs, 15 palas, on the same day. Or, by the Ārya-Siddhānta, the times were, for the Saṃkrānti, 42 ghaṣṭs, 30 palas; and for the tiṭhi, 52 ghaṣṭs, 41 palas. In both cases, the ghaṣṭs and palas are from mean sunrise at Ujjain. And he adds the note—“the pūnya-kāla or meritorious time for performing religious duties in connection with a saṃkrānti, is, according to some authorities, from sixteen ghaṣṭs before, to sixteen ghaṣṭs after, the time of the saṃkrānti; and, according to others, in the case of some saṃkrāntis, from ten to
D.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 2; *Journey in Népâl*, p. 74 f., and Plate ix.—The charter is issued from *Kailâsakûtabhavana* (line 1). The inscription is one of an illustrious *Mahâstâmanda*, whose name is effaced, but may with tolerable certainty be restored as *Amsûwarman* (l. 2). And it records the grant of two fields, for the purpose of providing for the repairs of some building. The *Dâtaka* (l. 17) is the *Mahâbâlalâyaksâ Vindusvâmin*. The *date* (l. 16) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 34, prathama-Pauṣha-sukla-dvitiyâyâm; which should answer,¹ approximately, to the 3rd December, A.D. 639.

E.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajî's inscription No. 7; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 170 f.—The charter is issued from *Kailâsakûtabhavana* (line 1). The inscription is one of the illustrious *Amsûwarman* (l. 5), to whom no formal titles are allotted here. It mentions sixteen or even forty *ghâsts* before the *samkrânti*, up to the time of the *samkrânti*, and, in the case of the other *samkrântis*, from the time of the *samkrânti*, up to from ten to sixteen or even forty *ghâsts* after it. But generally, when a *samkrânti* occurs at midnight,—as it did, roughly, in the present instance,—the *pûspiracyâla* is held to be on the following day. And, in the present case, there is every probability of the bathing &c. having been performed on the following day; *i.e.* on Maģha sukla daśāman.¹—With other years, the given *samkrânti* cannot be brought into accordance with the given day and *tithi*. Thus, with Śaka-Saṁvat 680 expired, the *samkrânti* occurred six or seven days after the given *tithi*, on the *Pâruimânta* Phâlguṇa krishṇa 2; with 681 expired, on the *Pâruimânta* Phâlguṇa krishṇa 13; with 683 expired, on the *Pâruimânta* Phâlguṇa krishṇa 5; with 684 expired, on Maģha sukla 1; and with 685 expired, on Maģha sukla 12. It is certain, therefore, that the correct English equivalent is the one obtained with Śaka-Saṁvat 682 expired. And, taking the given Harsha year as a current year, and treating it as having the same scheme with the northern Śaka year, the epoch is Śaka-Saṁvat 527 expired, or A.D. 605-606 current; and 528 years have to be added, to convert current Harsha years into current Śaka years, and 527, to convert them into expired Śaka years as of calculations. The commencement or first current year of the era, is A.D. 606-607 current.—I should remark, as I did when editing the grant, that a slight doubt may be felt as to the value of the third numerical symbol, in the units place, which I interpret as 5. And the exact epoch would be varied, by allotting a different value to this symbol. But the choice lies only between 4, 5, and 8. I do not think that any authority can be found for interpreting it as 4. And, if it were interpreted as 8, then the epoch of the era would be A.D. 602-603; and its first current year would be A.D. 603-604, for which year, as the commencement of the reign of Harshavardhana, there seems to be no authority whatever. I should also point out that the next inscription, D, below, of Harsha-Saṁvat 34, refers to an intercalation of the month Pauṣha; and that Prof. Adams of Cambridge, and Prof. Schram of Vienna, as reported by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 338 (see also *Journey in Népâl*, p. 76), obtained a mean intercalation of Pauṣha in A.D. 640; which would necessitate the adoption of A.D. 606-607 as the epoch. But this intercalation remains to be examined in detail; and, for the present, I have only a note by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit that, according to the verse *Mâhâdi-sthâ savitarâ &c.* (see page 88 above, note 5), the intercalated period should be called Mârgaśîra; and that, in calling it Pauṣha, exactly the contrary is done of the process by which we obtain Mârgaśîra as the name of the intercalated period that is referred to in the Kaira grant of Dharaśāṇa IV. of the year 330 (see page 93 f. above).—The question will, I hope, be treated more fully by Mr. Dikshit hereafter. Meanwhile, for present purposes, I adopt A.D. 605-606 as the epoch.

¹ As regards the equivalent English date, however, see a remark, in the preceding note, on the indicated intercalary nature of this month Pauṣha.
Amśuvarman's sister Bhogadēvi, who was the wife of the Rājaputra Sūrasēna, and the mother of the illustrious Bhogavarman and Bhagadēvi. It records certain orders addressed by Amśuvarman to the officials of the Western Province (paśchim-adhikaraṇa-vṛttiḥbhuja), lines 5-6; and paśchim-adhikaraṇa, line 14), in connection with three śīla forms of the god Īśvara or Śiva. The Dātaka is the Yuvarāja Udayadēva. The date (l. 22) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 39, Vaiśākha-śukla-diva-daśamyām; answering, approximately, to the 24th April, A.D. 644.

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

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

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

2 See page 177 above, note 4.

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

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

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

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

7 The purport of it, however, must have been the same as in the next inscription H.
H.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 10; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 173 f.—The charter is issued from *Kailásakūtabhavana* (line 6). The inscription is one of the illustrious *Jishnugupta* (l. 7). The details are much mutilated; but the subject is a *tilamaka* or 'water-course,' which had been constructed by the *Mahādīmaṇa*, the illustrious 1... déva. The name of the *Dātaka*, and the date, have peeled off and are lost.—Lines 3 and 4 of this inscription again mention *Mānagriha*, and, in connection with it, the *Bhāṭādraka* and *Mahādrjya*, the illustrious *Dhruvadeva*, the banner of the *Lichchhavikula*. Between *mānagriha* and *dita-chitta* in line 4, there are four (or perhaps five) *aksaras* which are much damaged, and are quite uncertain even in the rubbing; but the *ha* (not *ha*) is distinct enough; and this, and the whole construction, shews that we have here,—not *Mānagrihāti*, the formal ablative of issue,—but the base *Mānagriha*, as the first member of a compound, ending with *santu*; that qualifies *sri-Dhruvadeva*, and means something like 'who belonged to a lineage which had its thoughts [gladdened by residing] at Mānagriha.' As regards the connection between Dhruvadeva and Jishnugupta,—in line 5, after *sri-Dhruvadeva*, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read *purassarē sakalā*, and interpreted the passage as shewing that Jishnugupta acknowledged Dhruvadeva as his lord paramount. The interpretation is possibly correct; though the text may equally well mean nothing more than a courteous reference by Jishnugupta to one whose position was equal to his own. But, from the rubbing, the proper reading is certainly *purassara-sakulā*, in composition. The whole passage, in fact, from *Mānagriha*, line 4, down to *mānasu*, lines 5-6, is one continuous compound, meaning, in the latter part, that Jishnugupta's mind had been brought into a state of contentment by devising the means of freeing from calamity all the people headed by Dhruvadeva, &c. And the expression *Dhruvadeva-purassara-sakalājaṇa* is analogous in its purport to the *sa-nrīpatēr-śṛjñatā* (hitāya), "(for the welfare) of the world (i.e. of all the people), together with the king," of line 2 of inscription M. below.

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

J.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 3; *Journey in Nêpâl*, page 77 ff. and Plate x.—The charter is issued from *Kailásakūtabhavana* (line 1). The king's name is lost, somewhere in lines 2 to 7. The inscription provides for the worship of the god Vajrēśvara (l. 17), and other religious matters. The *Dātaka* (l. 28) is the *Bhāṭādraka*, the *Yuvardja* Skandadeva. The date (l. 29) is (Harsha)-*Saṁvat* 82, Bhādrapadu *ṣukla-divā* ...; which has its equivalent in the month of August, A.D. 687.

In the original rubbing, *sri* is very distinct at the beginning of line 14. Two *aksaras* are illegible between it and *dēvāna*. 
K.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’s inscription No. 1; *Ind. Ant.** Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.—This furnishes the following short genealogy:—*Vṛiṣahadēva* (line 8);—his son *Śaṁkara*vāda (l. 12), with a reference in lines 9 and 10 to other sons, who, however, are not mentioned by name;—Śaṁkara’s son, *Dharmadeva* (l. 16), who with justice [governed] a great hereditary kingdom (*kula-kram-agataṁ . . . . . . . . rājaṁ mahat*, line 17), and whose wife was Rājyavatī;—and Dharmadeva’s son *Mānadeva* (l. 20), who was appointed to reign by his mother on his father’s death. The inscription then records that Mānadeva made an expedition to the East, and reduced to obedience some “roguish,” ill-behaved, or rebellious *Sjāṇantas* there; and then went back to the West, where also he heard of misdoings on the part of a *Sjāṇa*. Here, unfortunately, the available part of the inscription terminates, the rest being buried underground. The *date* (l. 1 f.) is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 386, *Jyēṣṭha-māsa-sukla-pakṣa-patipadi i Rōhiṇī-nakṣatra-yukte* chandramasi muhūrtī praśastē-Bhiji; the exact equivalent of which, as we have seen at page 95 ff. above, is Tuesday, the 28th April, A.D. 705.

L.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’s inscription No. 12; *Ind. Ant.** Vol. IX. p. 174 ff.—The charter is issued from *Kailāsakōṭabhavana* (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Paramabhāṭ śrāka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Śivadeva II.* (l. 3). The *Dātaka* (l. 23) is the *Rājaṇupatra* Jayadeva. The *date* (l. 23) is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 119, *Phālguṇa-sukla-divā-daśāmyAm*; answering, approximately, to the 20th February, A.D. 725.

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

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

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1 *vṛtī-patīr=jagatō hitāṁ; line 2.
2 *ākṣaya-nītī; line 2.
3 I have not seen the rubbing of this inscription.
4 In Saṁvat 672 current, or 671 expired, the month *Jaṭha* was intercalary (see *Indian Epiz.* p. 161, and *Chronology*, p. 126). And the absence of any hint of this in the present record, would, if the reading of the second numerical symbol as 40 could be established, be a point in favour of the year being Saṁvat 671 current, or 670 expired; which is in accordance with the epoch of A.D. 603-606.
Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit read it as (Harsha)-Saṃvat 143, Jyaishṭha-ṣukla-divā-trayṇḍaṣṭyāṃ; answering, approximately, to the 25th May, A.D. 748. There is, however, the possibility that the second numerical symbol is 20 or 30, instead of 40.

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

P.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit’s inscription No. 3; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 167.—The charter is issued from Māṇagriha (line 1). The inscription is one of the Mahādīya, the illustrious Vasantasēna. The Dūtaka (l. 41) is the Sarvadandāṇyaka and Mahāpratihāra Rāvigna. The date (l. 20 f.) is (Gupta)-Saṃvat 435, Āśvayuji-ṣukla-divā-1; answering, approximately, to the 23rd September, A.D. 754.

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

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

Footnotes:

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

S.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's inscription No. 4; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 168.—The commencement of the inscription, recording the place whence the order was issued and the king's name, is broken away and lost. And the inscription, therefore, is of importance only as indicating the period during which the era that is referred to in it, continued to be used. The Dātaka (line 17) is the Rāja-putra Vikramasēna. The date (l. 18) is (Gupta)-Saṅvat 535, Śrāvana-śukla-divā-saptamīyām; answering, approximately, to the 1st July, A.D. 854.

When Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī summed up, according to his view of them, the historical results of his inscriptions, Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 1, A. above, was not known; and the only available clue was the mention, in B. C. E. F. and G., of Anśuvarman, who was evidently to be identified with the king of that name who was reigning during, or shortly before, Huıen Tsiang's visit to Northern India, in or about A.D. 657. Acting on this identification, he very properly referred the dates of (C.) 34, (E.) 39, (F.) 44 or 45, (G.) 48, (L.) 119, (N.) 143 (?), (O.) 145, and (R.) 153, to the era dating from the commencement of the reign of Harshavardhana of Kanauj in A.D. 606 (or 607).

Mr. Bendall's discovery of the Gólmādhītāl inscription, furnished the key-note for the interpretation of the whole matter. For, mentioning Anśuvarman as the contemporary of Śivadēva I., and giving for the latter the date of the year 316, it shews that this date, and all belonging to the same uniform series, must be referred to an era commencing just about three centuries before the Harsha era; i.e. to the so-called Gupta era, with the epoch of A.D. 319-20; for then the year 316 + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 635-36, which is in the closest possible accordance with the first recorded date of Anśuvarman, in A.D. 639.

But, when Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī wrote, nothing was certain about the other larger dates of (K.) 386, (M.) 413, (P.) 435, and (S.) 535; except that all the circumstances of the case shewed that they were not of the same series with the smaller dates belonging to the Harsha era. And, after examining the theory of the Śaka era, commencing A.D. 78, and rejecting it on the grounds that even this was not early enough, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī finally referred them to the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 58.

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

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

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

Starting with a mythological genealogy, this inscription carries the descent from the god Brahmān (line 3), through Sūrya or the Sun,\(^3\) Manu, Ikshvāku, and others, down to Raghū, Aja, and Daśaratha (l. 6). After Daśaratha, there were eight kings, in lineal succession of sons and sons' sons, who are passed over unnamed; and then there was the illustrious Lichchhavi (l. 6). Then comes verse 6, which records that "even still," at the time of the writing of the inscription, "there exists a family which bears the pure second name of Lichchhavi;"—svaḥcchhāmaṁ Lichchhavī-nāma vi(b)bhrad-aṁrav vanśah, (l. 7).

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his lithograph, text, and translation, gave aparād vanśah "a new race . . . . . . . . . . . . . which bears the pure name Lichchhavi." But, on examining his original rubbing, I find that the real reading is aparāmaṁ (nāma), "another name, a second name;"—not aparād (vanśah), "another race, a new race." This verse, therefore, is of some interest, in shewing that,—in addition to the appellation of Lichchhavānśa or Lichchhavīkula, the latter of which actually occurs in inscriptions A. B. and H. above,—the family had another original name, which, however, is not recorded. After Lichchhavi there came some kings, who again are passed over unnamed, and the number of whom is illegible\(^5\) at the end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8; and then the illustrious king Supūṣpha (l. 8) was born at the city of Pushpapurā.\(^4\) After him, "omitting in the interim (to mention the names of) twenty-three kings," there was another\(^6\) king, the famous

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\(^1\) Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 421 f.
\(^3\) In accordance with this, the Vamśīvali enters the historical Lichchhavis of this inscription as members of a Sūryavanśī family.
\(^4\) But the number was probably twelve, as hitvaṁśa[vdn=duddaśa] seems to suit best the metre and such traces as are discernible in the rubbing.
\(^5\) i.e. Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna in Bihār; Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 180, note 44.—This part of the inscription, therefore, relates to a period antecedent to the settlement of the Lichchhavis in Nēpāl.
\(^6\) As no previous Jayādēva, with whom this one could be contrasted, is mentioned in the inscriptions, aparā seems to introduce another branch of the Lichchhavi family, not directly descended from Lichchhavi and Supūṣpha.
Jayadēva I. (l. 8), who was treated by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajì as the first really historical member of the family, and the founder of the Nēpāl branch of it,¹ and on the Vikrama-Saṅiwat theory, was placed about A.D. 1. After this “victorious” Jayadēva I., and again “omitting in the interim (to mention the names of) eleven . . . . . . . kings,” the inscription gives the first unbroken succession of names that it contains; viz.—Vrishadēva (l. 9);—his son, Śanikaradēva;—his son, Dharmadēva;—his son, Mānadēva (l. 10);—his son, Mahidēva;—and his son, Vasantadēva. The first four of these names have already been made known by inscription K. above; and the sixth, in the form of Vasantasena, by inscription P. And these six kings plainly belong to the family, the genealogy of which forms the subject of the preceding part of the inscription; viz. the Lichhāvīkula.

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

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

Narëndradëva’s son was Śivadëva II. (line 12), who married Vatsadëvi, of the family of the Mauklarësi who abounded in strength of arm,1 the daughter of the illustrious Bhōgavarman, and the daughter of the daughter of “the great” Ādityaśeṇa, the lord of Magadha (l. 13). And their son was the Rāja, the illustrious Jayadëva II. (l. 14), also called Parachakrakāma (l. 18), whose wife was Rājyamati, of the family of king Bhagadatta or of the Bhagadatta kings (l. 16), the daughter of Harsha, king of Gauda, Īdrā, &c., and Kalinga, and Kosala (l. 15). The rest of the inscription details the beauty of the silver water-lily which Jayadëva II. caused to be made, and how it was worshipped and installed, with his father Vatsadëvi; and then concludes with the date.

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

1 The original has $dēvi ṣa(b)hu-na(ba)i-ādhy-a-Maukhar-i-kulā śrīvarma &c.; not $kula-śrī-

varmaṇa, in composition, as in the published text.
dēva to Śivadēva II. (both included), all of which denote "generations of kings, not reigns of collaterals," and taking twenty-one years as the smallest possible average for these generation-reigns, he found that no era later than the Vikrama era would meet the requirements of the case; and that that era would meet them. For, on the Vikrama-Sāṃvat theory, Mānadēva's first date represented A.D. 329; the interval from this to A.D. 759, the date of Jayadēva II., was 430 years; and this, divided by nineteen, gave about twenty-two years and three-quarters as the average for each generation-reign. This was all right enough from his point of view.

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

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

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

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


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

**List of the Early Rulers of Népál.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Lichāchavī or Sūryavāmśi Family of Mānagriha.</th>
<th>The Thākuri Family of Kailāsakūṭabhavanī.</th>
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<td>Śivādeva I., Mahārāja.—A.D. 635.</td>
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<td>Dhruvādeva, Mahārāja.—A.D. 653.</td>
<td>Jishnugupta.—A.D. 653.</td>
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<td>17. Mahādeva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 733-753.</td>
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<td>18. Vasantaśāna, or Vasantaśāna, Mahārāja, son of preceding.—A.D. 754.</td>
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Śivādeva I., (in A.D. 653 by Dhruvādeva),¹ in A.D. 705 and 732-33 by Mānādeva, and in A.D. 754 by Vasantaśāna or Vasantaśāna.

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

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

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

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

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

In the Thakkuri family, the earliest name is that of Aśūvarman, with the extreme dates of A.D. 635 and 649 or 650; and the next is that of Jishnugupta, A.D. 653. Aśūvarman is mentioned in the Vamśdvali, under exactly the same name, as the founder of the Thakkuri family; but Jishnugupta’s name is not given or represented. The connection between them is not as yet explained. They were followed by Udayadeva (about A.D. 675, not A.D. 400) and his descendants, who, from there being no mention of Aśūvarman and Jishnugupta in inscription R., plainly belonged to another branch of the family. Udayadeva was contemporary with Dh. Vrinda of the Lichchhavi family; he is not mentioned in the Vamśdvali, being certainly not the Udayadevaravarman, No. 24 in the Vamśdvali list of the Sūryavansi family. His son, Narendradeva, is possibly the person intended by Narendradeva, No. 7 in the Vamśdvali list of the Thakkuri family. His son, Śivadeva II., A.D. 725 and 748 (?), is not mentioned in the Vamśdvali. His son, Jayadeva II., A.D. 750 (?) and 758, is possibly the person intended by Jayadeva, No. 11 in the Vamśdvali list of the Thakkuri family.
APPENDIX V.

System of Transliteration.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

No. I; PLATE I.

ALLAHABAD, POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION
OF SĀMUDRAGUPTA.

This inscription appears to have been first brought to the notice of the public in 1834, when, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III. p. 118 ff., Captain A. Troyer published his reading of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate vi.), which was reduced by Mr. James Prinsep from a copy commenced by a brother of Lieutenant T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, finished by a Munshi, and revised by Lieutenant Burt himself.—In the same volume, p. 257 ff., the Revd. Dr. W. H. Mill, working from the same lithograph, published a revised version of the text and translation; followed, at p. 339 ff., by a supplementary paper containing the first genealogical tree of the dynasty. His version, however, though it was an improvement on that of Captain Troyer, still fell very far short of exhibiting the original completely or accurately; especially in his failing, like Captain Troyer, to recognise that the inscription is a posthumous one; in his misreading lines 11 and 21, in such a way as to introduce into the translation and genealogical tree, without any foundation whatever in the original, the independent princess Sāmhiñkāra, with a daughter, name unknown, who was the wife of Samudragupta, other mothers-in-law of the same king, and a royal issue expected at the date of the inscription; and in his treatment of line 30, where, instead of Aṣṭakṣaṇḍa i.e., bhūvā bāhur-ayam-uchchhrītāh stambhaḥ, “this lofty column (is) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming (the fame of Samudragupta),” he read rōma-charmaṇaḥ ravi-bhūvā bāhur-ayam-uchchhrītāh stambhaḥ, and translated “of this child of the Sun, though clothed in hairy flesh, this lofty pillar is the arm,” which led him to refer Samudragupta and his dynasty to the Solar Race, a mistake that sometimes seems to have been not even yet completely eradicated.—In 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 969 ff., Mr. James Prinsep gave a fresh and much improved lithograph of the inscription and its alphabet (id. Plate lv.), reduced from impressions on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own version of the text and translation. His rendering of the inscription still failed to represent the original with any real approach to accuracy and completeness. But it was a very great improvement on the two versions that had preceded it; especially in avoiding the leading mistakes of Dr. Mill, pointed out above. And it has remained the standard version up to the present time; except that in 1872,

1 The translation is reprinted in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 233 ff.
The round monolith sandstone column, thirty-five feet in height, on which this inscription is, dates from the third century B.C., as is shewn by the famous edicts of Aśoka on it. It now stands in a conspicuous position inside the Fort at Allahābād (properly Ilhābād), the seat of Government of the North-West Provinces. It is doubtful, however, whether the column was originally erected at this place, or whether, as has been suggested by General Cunningham, it was first set up at the ancient Kauṣāmbī, now represented by the village of Kōsam on the left bank of the Jamna, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahābād; and, being still at that place when the present inscription was engraved, was afterwards moved from there to Allahābād by one of the early Musalmān kings of Dehi, just as the two Aśoka columns now at Dehi were brought there from original positions at Mṛēth and in the Siwālik hills. The points in favour of the latter supposition are (1) that the column contains a short Aśoka edict addressed to the rulers of Kauṣāmbī; and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang makes no mention of this column in his account of Po-lo-ye-kia, i.e. Prayāga or Allahābād.

The writing, which covers a space of about 6' 8" broad by 5' 4" high, commences on the north of the column, towards the north-east, and in the longest part, line 30, runs all round the column, except for a space of about 1' 9". The bottom line is about 6' 0" above the point where the column starts from its present pedestal. There is a large crack in the column, from above the first word of the first line, and extending down to the beginning of the fourteenth. And the upper part of the inscription has suffered very much, partly from some of the mediæval inscriptions, which are so abundant on the column, being engraved on and between the original lines here, and partly from the peeling off of the surface of the stone in several places. But nothing of a historical nature appears to have been lost; except, perhaps, after the mention of Nāgasēna in line 13, and in connection with the mention of Pushpapura in line 14. A few letters, again, have been damaged or destroyed by the peeling off of the stone near the beginning of line 23, and in the centre of lines 23, 24, 31, and 32; but, except in line 32, the letters can be supplied without any doubt. The really important part of the inscription, the historical and genealogical passages commencing with line 19 and ending in line 30, is fortunately in a state of

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


5 The 'Kosam and Kosim Kheraj' of maps; about eight miles to the south of Karāṭ, the chief town of the Karāṭ Pargana in the Manjhanpur or Mānjanpur Tahsill or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 30' N.; Long. 81° 27' E.

6 Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I. p. 230 ff.; Stanislas Julien's Hiuen Tsang, Vol. II. p. 276 ff.—At the same time, it must be noted that Hiuen Tsang also makes no mention of any such column in his immediately following account of Kiu-šang-mi or Kauṣāmbī.
excellent preservation, and is decipherable without the slightest doubt from beginning to end.—The size of the letters (by which I mean, here and throughout, the height of such letters as cha, da, pa, ma, ba, va, &c., which are formed entirely within the limits of, so to speak, the lines of writing, without any projections above or below) varies from 1⁄8" to 2." As regards the paleography of this and the other inscriptions in the volume, this division of the subject is so extensive as to require a separate treatise to itself; and I cannot here do more than touch in a general way on such special points as call for particular notice. The characters of the present inscription belong to what it has been customary to call the Gupta Alphabet. This, however, like all other similar, dynastic appellations, is an unsatisfactory and misleading term. In the first place, these characters were not confined to the inscriptions of the Early Gupta dynasty; for they were used, with slight modifications, but not such as to affect their essential nature, on the coins of the later Indo-Scythian kings of the Pañjáb. Even in respect of a character of such leading importance as the letter m,—though some of these coins exhibit what is called the Indo-Scythic form,1 in distinction from the m of the northern Gupta inscriptions, yet, on one coin which I had the advantage of examining in General Cunningham’s collection, and which has on it the name of Samudra,2 the m that is used is the so-called Gupta m, somewhat later than the m of the present inscription, but of exactly the same shape with the m of mahārāja in line 8 (to choose a clear example) of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 below, Plate iiiA. And in the second place, the inscriptions of the Early Guptas themselves were by no means written exclusively in this alphabet. To say nothing of the frequent use of the Indo-Scythic m on Samudragnāra’s coins,—illustrated, for

1 Setting aside the few exceptional instances that we have of irregular usage, confined, I think, entirely to coins, this letter is in itself sufficient to shew, for the whole period covered by the inscriptions in this volume, whether the characters of a particular record belong to the northern or to the southern class of alphabets. The m of the Indo-Scythic inscriptions, a good representation of which may be seen in the word mahārājasya at the beginning of the Mathurā inscription of Huvisksa of the year 39 (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. Pl. xiv. No. 1), is simply a stiff angular development of the m of the Aśoka period. This particular form was not confined, however, to the Indo-Scythian records. We have it, in all its regularity, in the word svāmi in the Śākiṣa pillar inscription, No. 73 below, Plate xiiA.; and, with very little modification, in the early inscriptions from Nāsi and that neighbourhood published in the Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. Plates xiv. ff. And in the slightly modified form, with simply the angles rounded off, which it must have had in the earliest stages of development of the southern alphabets, we have it throughout the Śākiṣa inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 5 below, Plate iiiB., e.g. in mahāvahā, line 1; the Gaṅghār inscription of Viśvarman, No. 17 below, Plate x., e.g. in svaratīmbhava, line 4; and the Mandaśa inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xii., e.g. in bhavayam-iddam=uddram, line 23. While, in a more modified form, which must have been of later development, though the instances in this volume happen to be of earlier date, we have it throughout the Śāṇ inscription of Samudragnāra, No. 2 below, Plate iiA, e.g. in samara, line 21; and throughout the Udaiyagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiiB, e.g. in mahārāja, at the beginning of line 2. The m of the inscriptions now under notice must also be simply a development of the Aśoka m, arrived at by forming the left part of the letter in a different way, viz. by one unbroken movement, leading gradually to its being separated entirely from the right part, which then eventually assumed a straight form, instead of curved. And, though the instances in this volume happen to be of later date, undoubtedly the form that we have in, for instance, mahārāja, in line 8 of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 below, Plate iiiA., must have preceded the form used in the inscription now under notice.

2 The three components of the name are written one above the other, inside the spear and under the left arm of the king, on the obverse; and they are practically identical with the components of the same name on the coin of Samudragnāra given by Mr. V. A. Smith in Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. No. 6.
instance, by the coins given by Mr. V. A. Smith in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Plate ii. Nos. 3, 7, 9, 10, and 11,—we meet with at least two perfectly distinct alphabets in their inscriptions, in addition to the one now under notice. The Epigraphic inscription of Samudragupta, No. 2 below, Plate iiA., and the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB., are in a 'box-headed' and 'nail-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, which has hitherto been called the Nerbudda Alphabet and the Vākāṭaka Alphabet, and which, in addition to the very distinctive form of *m*, has all the leading characteristics of the southern alphabets. The Sāñcī inscription of Chandragupta II., again, No. 5 below, Plate iiiB., is distinctly in the characters of the southern alphabets. And the Junāgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta is in a somewhat later modification of the Saurāṣṭra or Kāśīwād alphabet, exhibited with all its leading characteristics in the inscription of Rudrādāman, on the same rock, of which we have a lithograph in the *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128, Plate xiv. It is perfectly plain that the alphabets varied, not according to dynasties, but according to localities; and, in establishing any system of comparative palaeography, we must select territorial, not dynastic, names. I would propose calling the alphabet of the inscription now under notice, the general North India Alphabet of the fourth century A.D. The characters include two letters which, after the Pāli period, lay for a long time in disuse in the southern alphabets, and were not revived for a considerable time after the present period; *vis*. the lingual *d*, as distinct from the dental *d*, exhibited in *kṛiḍā*, line 14, *dāvika*, line 22, and *vṛiḍita*, line 27; and the lingual *dh*, exhibited in *vīraḍ&aacute;*, line 18. On the other hand, in the *i* which occurs in *viḍala*, line 8, *kaurādaka* for *kairādaka*, line 19, *soimahaka*, line 23, and *lai̇ta*, lines 27 and 30, they include a letter which properly belongs exclusively to the southern alphabets and languages; and its occurrence here seems to furnish an unconscious piece of evidence to the effect that some, at least, of the conquests attributed to Samudragupta in the south of India, were actual facts; in the other inscriptions in this volume, this letter occurs only in the word *ati*; 'a bee,' in line 1 of the Tuṣām rock inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xI A. In *ṭāṣā*, line 18, *viṣṇugopā*, line 19, and *gā-bata*, line 25, the vowel *a* is formed in a rather peculiar way, which, so far as the right-hand stroke is concerned, is followed also in the vowel *a* as attached to the same consonants, *e.g.* in *ṣṇana*, lines 23 and 24, and *gā-pām*, line 31. In respect of *r* in combination with a following *y*, we have to notice that, as in the case of other consonants, the *y* is doubled, and the *r* is written above the line, *e.g.* in *vīryya*, line 13; whereas, in a somewhat later development of this alphabet in Central India, it became the custom, as in the case of *y* in conjunction with other letters, to write the *r* on the line, with a single *y* attached below it, *e.g.* in *māryādaya*, line 6-7, and *kurya*, line 12, of the Majhgawāh plates of the *Mahādēja* Hastin, No. 23 below, Plate xiv. The characters also include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the numerical symbols for 3, 4, and 8; the intervening symbols are destroyed.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as the end of line 16, and the rest in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *parakkrama*, line 17, *kriya*, lines 27 and 28, and *vēkrama*, line 30; (2) the doubling of *d* (by *d*, as required by the rules), in conjunction with a following *y* and *v*, in *addhylaya*, line 16, and *saddhu-asaddhu*, line 25; and (3) the use of the southern *l*, in the instances pointed out a few lines above.

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

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

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2 I exclude intentionally, of course, the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxvii.
3 The Udayagiri cave inscription, No. 6 below, Plate iv A. 1; and the Gaḍhā inscription of the year 88, No. 7, Plate iv B. 1.
made the point quite clear. As it is, we must look for the clue in the identification of the Kōta family, tribe, or dynasty, which is mentioned in the same verse. But, for this name, I have not as yet succeeded in obtaining any other reference.

TEXT.¹

1 [Yah²] kulyaiḥ svai ............. atasa ........................................... .................... [I°] [1]

2 ya(?)-sya(?)

3 Pu(?)-mva

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

5 kṣaḥ sphut-ōḍdvahā[m]sita .......................................................... [I°] [9]

6 Yasya² praṭi-hunāḥ-ōḍchita-sukha-manaśaḥ śāśtra-tattv-ārtha-bhartubh [---] stabdh[ō[---]]ni[----]n-ōḍchhṛi[---]


10 [Dṛ]jśtvā² karmāṇy-anēkāṇy-amanuṣya-sadṛśāṇy-ādbhut-ōdbhitha-harshā bh[a*]vair-āsvadaya[---] [kē]chhit

11 vṛty-āttaptāt-chā kēchit-ēcchhaṇam-upagatā yasya vṛttē praṇāme-  

12 [Ś]aṅgṛāmēṣṭhā² sva-bhuja-vijitā nityam-uchch-āpakārāḥ śvāḥ śvō mānā- 

13 tōsh-ūttungāḥ sphuttha-bahu-rama-snēhā-phullair-mmanōbhīḥ pacschāttāpanā 

14 udvēl*-ēdita-bāhu-vṛtyya-rabhasil-ēkēṇa yēna khaṇḍād-unmūṭy-Ācyuta- 

15 dasṭaigrāhavatya-āiva Kōta-kula-jāṃ Pushaḥ-lḥvayē kṛḍatā sūryyē 

16 Dharmaṃ-prācchra-bandhaḥ saṃ-kara-śuchayah kṛttayāḥ sa-pratanaḥ vaidu- 


18 Tasya vīvidhā-samara-śat-āvataraṇa-dakṣhasya sva-bhuja-bala-paraṃkram-aika- 

19 bandhōḥ paraṃkṛm-āṅkasya paraśu-śara-śaṅku-ṣakti-prāś-āni-tōmarā-

¹ From the original column.
² The first four lines, containing the first two verses, are almost entirely destroyed; and the few letters that remain of them do not suffice to show what the metres were.
³ Metre, Sragdharā.
⁴ Metre, Sragdharā.
⁵ Metre, Sṛddolavikṛtā.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. I, PLATE I.

1 Read kairojaka, for which the word in the text is obviously a mistake.—The text, as it stands, would give "the country, or city, of Kūrāla;" but, though kurdā occurs in the sense of 'a light bay horse with black legs,' it is not known as the name of a country or a city. Kērāla, on the other hand, is so well known as one of the countries in the south of India, that it would be strange if it were omitted in a passage like the present one; and it is easy to see how the engraver, or perhaps the writer from whose draft he engraved, formed kourdāka, by mistake for kairojaka, through a stroke on the right of the top of the k in kai and of the ra.

*This is not altogether an easy passage to deal with. In the first instance,—coming immediately after the mention of the city of Pīshātpurā, which is the modern Piśātpurām (the 'Pittapooram' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17° 6'; Long. 82° 18'), the chief town of the Piśātpurām Zamīndārī or Estate, twelve miles north by east of 'Cocanada' in the Gōdāvārī District in the Madras Presidency,—the syllables mahendragiri suggest at once a reference to the famous Mähendra-mountain in the Gāṇḍāmāt in the Ghats, the 'Mhendragiri' of maps (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108; Lat. 18° 58' N.; Long. 84° 26' E.), which is mentioned in other early inscriptions; for instance, as Mahendrakala, in lines 1 and 3 of the two 'Chicacole' grants of the Māhārāja Indravarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. pp. 130, 123). And this tempts us to divide the passage thus, Pīshātpuraka-Mahendragiri-Kauṭṭukara-Svāmidatta, and to translate "Svāmidatta of Pīshātpura and of Kauṭṭukara."—Another rendering that might suggest itself is "Svāmidatta of Pīshātpura, Mahendragiri, and Koṭṭūra," which, in fact, except in respect of his mistake of Kūrāla, for Koṭṭūra, was adopted by Dr. Bhau Daji (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. excvii.) But this is not admissible, because it would require mahendragiri in the text, instead of mahendragiri; and, though it is possible to find the final ka in the text as it stands, yet this would give us the next word, instead of Koṭṭūra (Koṭṭūra), which is a Dravīdian name of frequent occurrence, Oṭṭūr, for which I can find no authority at all, or Oṭṭūr (if we assume an omission of the initial k), which occurs, but not in connection with any place of importance.—If mahendragiri is to be taken as one word, and as denoting the mountain, the translation that I have noted above is the one that must be adopted. And it might be supported by the fact that we have a Koṭṭūr on almost the same range of hills as to which the Mahendragiri belongs; viz. the 'Kailaskotta and Kylascottah' of the map, (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 107; Lat. 10° 14'; Long. 85° 36' E.), which represents Kailāsa-Koṭṭa or Kailāsa-Koṭṭūr, and seems to be a place of importance.—But the objection to this interpretation is, that none of the 'Koṭṭūr's' names, mentioned in this inscription, are coupled with more than one locality. This leads us to connect Svāmidatta with Koṭṭūra only, and to find the name of another king in connection with Pīshātpura.—The first inclination then might be, to divide the text thus, Pīshātpuraka-Mahendragiri-Kauṭṭukara-Svāmidatta; and to translate, "Mahendragiri of Pīshātpura, and Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra." But, though girī or gir is a very common termination of proper names in the present day, my experience is, that it is used only as a religious title, and is affixed only to the names of Gōsāvala; and even among the Saivas, would seem to be confined to one particular division of the Dānavat Gōsāvala (see H. H. Wilson’s, Works, Rost’s edition, Vol. I. p. 202; Molesworth’s Marathi Dictionary, s. v. gir; and Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. gir). I think, therefore, that, in the absence of any other authority, it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suitable termination for a royal name.—I accordingly divide this passage thus, Pīshātpuraka-Mahendragiri-Kauṭṭukara-Svāmidatta; and translate, "Mahendragiri of Pīshātpura, and Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra on the hill."—Abh. Giri-Koṭṭūra, or "Koṭṭūra on the hill," may either be found in the
कार्यानुसार क्षेत्र, इसलिए मैं नहीं उल्लिखित किया; या, गुरु (जो गुरपूर्वक) के वर्ण से एक महत्वपूर्ण धर्म, मुख्य रूप से चंद्रगुप्त II के द्वितीय वर्ष 82, No 3 नीचे प्लेट iiB, इस नाम के साथ यह प्रकृति है जो छठी वर्तमान भाषा में है।

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

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

3 Mr. V. A. Smith (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XIII. Part I. p. 119, and note) has suggested that this name was not simply Gupta, as it is usually accepted, but Śṛgupta, which form he has use throughout; i. e. that, in this instance, śṛ is an integral part of the name, not the honorific preff. His grounds for this opinion are (1) that the past participle gupta, 'protected,' can hardly stand alone for a proper name, whereas Śṛgupta, 'protected by (the goddess) Śrī or Lakshmi,' would be a complete name, giving a suitable meaning; and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim L-ting (in India from about A.D. 67 to 693) speaks of a king or Mahārāja called Śṛgupta, who preceded his time by about five hundred years (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 171; Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 110), and who has been identified by some with the founder of the Gupta family. In addition to the instance quoted just above, Śṛgupta occurs as the name of a persecutor of Buddha (Beal's Buddh. Rec. West. World Vol. i. p. 151 f.; as the name of a Jain saint (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 103); and as the name of a merchant (Nepal inscription, No. 13, line 12; ib. Vol. IX. p. 125). But, with regard to the present passage, I have to point out (1) that, as it is now certain that the inscription by the Early Guptas commenced A.D. 319-20, the Mahārāja Śṛgupta, mentioned by L-ting and referred to him by about A.D. 175, cannot be identified with the founder of the Early Gupta family, who lived in
the fourth century, in the well-known name of the Buddhist saint Upagupta (e.g.,  *Buddh. Rec. West. Writ.* , Vol. II. pp. 88, 93, 273), we have a precisely similar instance of a past participial form, "hidden, concealed," standing by itself as a proper name; as also, in its feminine form, Upagupti, in the Astighad seal of Sarvarman, No. 47 below, Plate XXXA. (3) that, when *fri* is an integral part of a proper name of importance, it was customary to emphasise it and prevent the possibility of doubt, by inserting the honorific prefix before it; thus, mahādāyāmaṃ *sri*-śīrṣasyaṃ ṣutam, "begotten on the Mahādāya, the glorious Śīrṣa," in line 2 of the Dēb-Barrāṅk inscription of Itītagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxiB.; *sri*-śīrṣāhāyāṃ purī, "at the famous city of Śīrṣāpattā," in verse line 6 of the Byānā inscription of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1100 ( *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10); and *sri*-śīrṣāhāyāṃ, "at the famous Śīrṣāpattā," in prose in the Byānā inscription of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1503 (id. Vol. XV. p. 239). The analogy would require here the reading of mahārāja-sri-śīrṣāpattā-prajātaryya; which, however, does not once occur in the Early Gupta inscriptions. And (4) the word gupta does not appear at all in the name of Ghatotkacha in the next generation; it is only in the case of his son, Chandragupta I., and the successors of the latter, that the word is of necessity only an integral part of a fuller name.—There is, therefore, no objection, but on the contrary every reason, to read the present name as simply Guptā.—The possibility remains, however, of its being an abbreviation of some fuller original name, other than śīrṣapatā. And on this point I will produce here a note with which Dr. Bührler has favoured me:—"I should say the name of the founder of the family was Gupta, not Śīrṣapattā in the sense of śīrṣāguptā (protected by the goddess Śīrṣa). The name Rakshita occurs repeatedly in Brahmanas and Buddhists; "and means the same thing. The origin of such names as Datta, Gupta, Rakshita, &c., [the two first of these are well-known surnames in Bengal in the present day] "must, I think, be sought for in the habit "of the Hindus of shortening their names by giving only the first part or the second. The former practications are alluded to by Kātyāyana, in a Vārttika on Pāṇini, vii. 3, 45, where he teaches that, when the "second part of a compound is left out, the a is to remain unchanged before the feminine termination "a; thus, the feminine form of Dēvadattaka is Dēvadati; but, if Dēvaka is substituted for "Dēvadattaka, then the feminine is to be Dēvika, not Dēvikā. The second shortening also is common; "thus, we have mādhavi for mārjanaḥ, 'musk;' tāla for harītīla, a kind of tree; vēlis for "khetāvilī, 'the post of a threshing-floor;' and Bhāma for Sātyabhāma, a proper name. From "these facts it would seem that Datta, Gupta, &c., are abbreviations of longer names."—The only epigraphical instance that I can quote, of the omission of the first part of a proper name, is the use of Sarman for Dhrusarman in line 11 of the Bikrid inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 below, Plate v. But instances of the omission of the second part of a name are common enough. Thus, we have the use of Samudra on some of Sannadragupta's gold coins, e.g., *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I, 2, Nos. 3, 4, 5, and p. 173;—of Chandrā and Kumāra, for Chandragupta II. and Kumāragupta, in the same series;—of Vikrama and Mahāendra, for their full titles Vikramāditya and Mahendrāditya, illustrated partly in the same series, and partly in Kumāragupta's silver coins ( *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 66);—of Śrīdāla and Ananta, for Śrīdālavamar and Anantavarman, in the Barhār and Mahendrapuri Hill inscriptions, No. 48 below, Plate xxxB. II. 1, 4, 5, and No. 49, Plate xxxA. II. 1, 8;—of Kākṣuha and Mrigāśa for Kākṣuha and Mrigāśa in one of the Hald grants ( *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 28, ill. 3, 4);—of Harsha, for Harshavardhana of Kanauj, e.g. in the Kaushāṃ grant of Vikramāditya V. (id. Vol. XVI. p. 22, l. 26);—of Vikrama, for the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI., e.g. in one of the Narīgāla inscriptions ( *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 226, l. 24);—and of Padma and Sārya, for Padmapāla and Sāryapāla, in the Gvālor inscription of Mahāpāla ( *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 36 ff., ill. 1, 9, 22, 58.)

1 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
Khādyatapākikasya mahādanānāyaka-Dhruvabhūti-putrasya sāndhivigrasaṃ kumārāṃtāya-ma[hādanānāya]ka-Harishēṇasya sarvva-bhūta-hita-sukhām āstu (I II)
Anushīhitam cha paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyātēna mahādanānāyaka-Tilabhāṭṭakēna (I II)

TRANSLATION.

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

1 By taking an alternative meaning of uchchhṛitih, we might translate—"This column has been erected, as if it were an arm of the earth," &c. But this would include the assumption that the column had fallen, and was set up again in the time of Chandragupta II.; and in that case sthūpita would have been a better word to use than uchchhṛitih, and the word would have stood better after, instead of before, stambhaḥ. It seems best to adopt a translation that does not bind us to either view.—Prinsep considered it to be proved that the column had fallen, and was set up again, expressly to display the present inscription. His grounds for this opinion (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 967 f.) are, that there are several names on it which he considered to be in characters of a type intermediate between those of the Asoka and the Gupta inscriptions, and one of which, at least, it would have been exceedingly inconvenient, if not impossible, to have cut while the column was erect. But this particular name, with several of the others referred to by him, is in characters that are certainly of considerably later date than the Gupta inscription; and none of the names are in characters that are any earlier than the inscription.

2 i.e. on his death.—Compare the expression in line 23 f. of the Kardā grant of Kakka III. of Śaka-Saṅvat 894,—"and when (his) elder brother, the glorious Kṛṣṇa-kṛṣṇādēva, had ascended to the skies,—as if from a desire to conquer the realm of Indra" (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. pp. 265, 268); compare also line 14, verse 30, of the Gwādīr inscription of Mahāpāla of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1150 (id. Vol. XV. pp. 37, 43),—"Padmapāla, still a youth, through the adversity of fortune, obtained a seat [on the lap] of Saṁkṛandana (Indra)."

3 Mahārājādhikīraṇa, lit. 'supreme king of Mahārājas' (see page 15 below, note 4), is one of the titles indicative of supreme paramount sovereignty, and is the only expression that properly and fully answers to our idea of a 'king.' I use it and all other technical titles and terms, without translation, because, if only for the sake of uniformity and convenience of comparison, it is much better to use them in this way, than to attempt to render them into English by expressions which must always vary according to the idiosyncrasies of the translators, and which can never suffice to give exact and complete equivalents for the original titles.—The present title, Mahārājādhikīraṇa, in somewhat later times, is almost always coupled with two others, Paramāśiva, 'supreme lord,' and Paramabhāṭṭāraka, 'most worshipful one;' e.g. in line 50 ff. of the Alhā grant of Śādiyā VII., No. 39 below, Plate xxv. And the connection of the three titles was so constant, that a Rājā grant (unpublished) of, Trailokīyamalla, dated Vikrama-Saṅvat 1297, considers it unnecessary to give all three titles in full, and contents itself with describing him as paramabhāṭṭāraka-śiva-ādi-śiva-ādi-śiva-trāyāṇā-pātaḥ, "possessed of the three kingly titles (lit. succession) commencing with Paramabhāṭṭāraka.' Other titles of paramount sovereignty, occurring in this series, are Rājādhikīraṇa and Chakravartin.

4 śrī, 'fortune, majesty, glory,' and śrīmāt, 'possessed of fortune, majesty, glory,' are words of constant occurrence as honorific prefixes to the names of persons, gods, places, &c. I render them by 'glorious,' in the case of paramount sovereigns and their wives; 'illustrious,' of feudatories and other ordinary persons; 'saintly,' of priests, teachers, &c.; 'holy,' of gods; and 'famous,' of towns, &c.—The usual rule seems to have been, to use śrī before a consonant, and śrīmāt before a vowel; thus śrīmad-Indrāhalā-sāhṇī . . . . śrī-Namādevayya taṇḍana-prāptaḥ . . . . śrī-Mahādeva-Tvaṅgṛāṇaḥ, in the Rājīm grant of the Rājā Tvaṅgṛāṇa, No. 81 below, Plate xlv. i. 16 ff. But instances of deviation from this occur; thus, without samādi or the euphonic joining of vowels, śrī-Ādityasūmadeva, in the Shāhpur image inscription, No. 43 below, Plate xxix A. i. 2 f., and śrī-Ādityasūmadeva and śrī-
Samudragupta,—

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

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

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

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

{l}ijjādēyudm, in the Dād-Baraṇḍi inscription of Jñātigupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB., lines 2 f. and 5 f.; and, on the other hand, paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-ḥāṁśadēva-paramāyovara-śrīmat-Svornavovaradavah-priharavallabha-śrīmat-Vailabhavanarāvadjadēva, used in respect of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda V. in his Sāgīl grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 251, l. 39 f.); and numerous other instances.—It has been suggested that only śrī, not śrīmat, is used in the case of paramount sovereigns. But this is not the case. In addition to the passage noted above in connection with Gōvinda V., we have paramāyovara-śrīmat-Avantivarman, in the Dād-Baraṇḍi inscription, l. 15; śrīmad-Ādityavarman-priharavallabha-mahārājā-paramāyovara, applied to the Western Chalukya king Ādityavarman in his Karkūl grant (Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 234, l. 12 f.); paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-ḥāṁśadēva-paramāyovara-śrīmad-Dhāravadjadēva, applied to the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruva, in the Wañi grant of Gōvinda III. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 33 f.); śrīmad-Amoghavarsha-Nripatunga, used of king Amoghavarsha I. of the same dynasty, in his Sīrīr inscription (id. Vol. XII. p. 240, l. 16); śrīmad-Vikramaditya-śrīmat-Tribhuvanamaladēva, used of the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya V., in his Kauṭhāṅ grant (id. Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 73); and many other examples of the same usage.

As regards the termination gupta, the Vīshnupurāṇa, Book iii. Chap. 10, verse 9, says—"(The termination) sṛman is prescribed for a Brāhmaṇ; vṛman belongs to a Kṣatriya; (and) a name characterised by gupta or dāsa is approved of in the case of (respectively) a Vaiśya and a Śūdra." The commentary in the Bombay edition, as examples, Sōmaśarmaṇa, Indravarman, Chandragupta, and Śivadēva. (See also F. E. Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. III. p. 99 f.)—So also in the Mānasavardhamistara, ii. 3 (Burnell's Translation, p. 20), a rule of the same tendency is laid down, though without specifying any particular terminations.—On this authority, it has been suggested that the Early Guptas were not of high rank, being at the best of the Vaiśya caste; and that this is the reason why they felt such pride in their alliance with the Lichchhavīs, as shown by the record of the name of Kumāradēva and of her family on some of the gold coins of Chandragupta I., and by the epithet, "daughter's son of Lichchhavi (or of a Lichchhavi king)," that is always applied to Samudragupta in the genealogical passages.—No doubt some such rules as those prescribed by the Vīshnupurāṇa and Mānasavardhamistara, were followed more or less in early times. But, as instances of deviation from them, we have the name of the well-known astronomer Brahmagupta, who it can hardly be doubted was a Brāhmaṇ; and Dāsavarman occurs, as the name of a Brāhmaṇ, in line 5 of the Nārīr grant of Viśaya, dated Śaka-Samvat 627 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 131; Indian Inscriptions, No. 20); and doubtless numerous similar instances might be found, if proper indexes were available.
round and round in affection, (and) laden with tears (of joy), (and) perceptive of (his noble) nature,—[to govern of a surety] the whole world!—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 With this expression, compare the legend on some of Samudragupta's gold coins, —Samaraśata-vitā-tā-va-vijñā-gita ...... dbhō jayati; see, for instance, Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 3. 4. 5.

3 With this expression and the preceding, compare the word padyāramah, 'prowess,' (and reverse of the coins referred to in the preceding note.

4 This word is not explained in the dictionaries. It must be a derivative from vitasti, 'a long span, measured by the extended thumb and little finger.'
Kósala, Vyághrarája of Mahákántára, Maṇṭarája of Kérála,¹ Mahéndra of Písāṭapura,² Svámidatta of Kótúra on the hill,³ Damana of Érandapalla, Víshnugópta of Káñchi, Nílárája of Avamukta, Hástivarman of Veṅgi, Ugráséna of Pálakkà,⁴ Kubéra of Dévaráśtra, Dhanamjaya of Kusthalapura, and all the other kings of the region of the south;⁴

(L. 21.)—Who abounded in majesty that had been increased by violently exterminating Rudradéva, Matila, Nágadatta, Chandravarman, Gaṇapatinága, Nágaséna, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman, and many other kings of (the land of) Aryávarta;⁵—who made all the kings of the forest countries to become (his) servants;⁵

¹ See page 7, above, note 1.
² See page 7 above, note 2.—As regards the introduction of the mountain Mahéndragiri in this passage; Gen. Cunninghara (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 10) accepted it, and identified the mountain with the conical hill close to Mahiyar (the ‘Mahár, Meyar, Meyere, Myhere, and Myhir,’ of maps, &c.; Lat. 24° 16' N.; Long. 80° 47' E.), the chief town of the Mahiyar State, a little to the south of Uchahára, in the Baghélkhán division of Central India. Mahiyar may perhaps be derived from Mahéndragiri; but, under any circumstances, this identification cannot be upheld.
³ Or perhaps Pálakkà, with the long vowel a in the first syllable.
⁴ dakshindpátha, lit. ‘the path or road of the south; the southern road,’ was the technical expression for Southern India. The analogous technical expression for Northern India was uttardátha, lit. ‘the path or road of the north; the northern road.’ It does not occur in the present series. But it is of constant use in connection with the great king Harshavardhána of Kanaúji, e.g. samárasa-sáhíta-sákal-uttardpáthi-sára-śrá-Harshavardhána, “the glorious Harshavardhána, the warlike lord of all the region of the north,” in line 8 of the Nerúr grant of the Western Chalukya king Vijayaditya, dated Saka-Sáhívat 622 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 127); and, in line 20 f. of the same grant, it is contrasted with the dakshindpátha, which is there mentioned under the synonym of dakshindádī, ‘the southern quarter or region.’—A perhaps better known name of Northern India is Áryávarta, ‘the abode of the Áryas, or excellent or noble people,’ which occurs in line 21 of the present inscription.—In the Áñhavádharmádstra, ii. 22 (Burnell’s Translation, p. 18) Áryávarta is defined as the land between the Himálaya and Vindhyá mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western sea. But a more precise division between the uttardátha and the dakshindpátha is given by the poet Rájasékhara, who, in the Báñjaráðya, Act 6 (see V. Sh. Apte’s Rájasékhara: his Life and Writings, p. 21), speaks of the river Narmádá (the ‘Nerudda,’), which rises in, and runs along close to the south of, the Vindhyá range, as “the dividing-line of Áryávarta and the dakshindpátha.”
⁵ i.e. “of northern India;” see the preceding note.
⁶ Compare the passage in line 8 f. of the Khóh grant of the Mahárája Saṁkhshógha, No. 25 below, ll. xv B., describing his ancestor Hástin as ruling over his hereditary kingdom of Dábhaḷá, together with the eighteen forest-kings. I have not been able to trace any definition of the terms dhánika-rañjá, ‘forest-kings’ or ‘kings of forest countries,’ and gañjá-rañjá, ‘forest-kings,’ much less to obtain any enumeration of the eighteen forest-kings referred to in connection with the Mahárája Hástin. But Hástin’s territories lay in the direction of Bundélkhánd, Baghélkhánd, Rívá, and other neighbouring parts of the Vindhyá range. And I notice that the term Vindhyá-dáv, the ‘forests of the Vindhyá mountains’ (which are so often referred to in one of the customary imprecatory verses used in inscriptions), is given by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as seeming to have denoted originally the whole extent of country from near Mathurá to the Narmádá. This area corresponds pretty closely with the modern term Central India; and the separate divisions of it would be very suitably represented by the general term ‘forest-countries’ or ‘forest-kings.’ Somewhat similar terms, vana-rañjá, ‘forest-countries,’ and vana-rájya, ‘forest-kings,’ occur in the Brihat-Samhitá, xiv. vv. 29, 30. But the countries there spoken of, lay in the north-east division of India, as mapped out by Varáhamihira; and they are, at any rate, not the countries referred to in connection with the Mahárája Hástin.
(L. 22.)—Whose imperious commands were fully gratified, by giving all (kinds of) 
taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance, by the frontier 
kings\(^1\) of Samatāta, Davāka, Kāmarūpa, Nēpāla, Kartripura, and other (countries) 
and by the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Vaudhēyas, Mādrikas, Abhīras, Prājūnas 
Sanākāṇikas, Kākas, Kharaparikas, and other (tribes);—

(L. 23.)—Whose tranquil fame, pervading the whole world, was generated by 
establishing (again) many royal families, fallen and deprived of sovereignty;—whose 
bounding together of the (whole) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (his) 
arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves a 
sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa-tokens,\(^8\) (surrendering) the 
enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his) commands, &c., (rendered) by the 
Daivaputras, Shāhis, Shāhānushāhis, Śakas, and Murundas, and by the people of 
Śiṅhaja and all (other) dwellers in islands;—who had no antagonist (of equal power) 
in the world;—who, by the overflow of the multitude of (his) various virtues adorned 
by a hundred good actions, rubbed out the fame of other kings with the soles of (his) 
feet;—who, being incomprehensible, was the spirit that was the cause of the production 
of good and the destruction of evil;—who, being full of compassion, had a tender heart 
that could be won over simply by devotion and obeisance;—who was the giver of many 
hundreds of thousands of cows;—

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

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

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

\(^8\) See page 8 above, note 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

* The English terms 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' are applicable to female as well as male descent, and are therefore not suitable for use in translations from the Sanskrit. The Hindus were almost always most careful about using properly discriminating terms, e.g. pautra for a grandson through a son, and dauniktra for a grandson through a daughter; the status of the two lines of descent differed even more than in European countries; and, in translating, it is necessary to preserve the distinction accurately.—I will quote an instance in proof. In translating line 12 f. of No. 15 of his Nēpāl inscriptions, Dr. Bhagwanlāl Indraji (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 181) spoke of 'Vatsadaṇḍa ... the daughter of illustrious Bhūgavarna ...'; ... and the grand-daughter of great Ādityasena, the illustrious lord of Magadha.' From this, Gen. Cunningham (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 163) naturally enough, treated Bhūgavarna, who belonged really to the Mākhand family, as a son, instead of a son-in-law, of Ādityasena. This mistake could not have occurred, if dauniktra had been properly rendered by 'daughter's daughter,' instead of vaguely 'grand-daughter.'

* The words that are fairly translatable by 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' are nāpīṭr and transāpīṭr. They both occur in the grants of the Mahārāja Hastin and Satkhābāha, Nos. 21 to 23 and 25 below; and nāpīṭr occurs in line 5 of the Bhumāra pillar inscription, No. 24 below, Pl. xviA. But the use of them is rare.

* Mahārāja, lit. 'great king,' appears to have been, in somewhat earlier times, one of the titles of paramount sovereignty. Thus, it is used, by itself, by Kāṇishka, Huvishka, and Vajradēva, who, here is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 9, 30, and 83 (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 31, Pl. xii. No. 4; p. 32, Pl. xiv. No. 9; and p. 34, Pl. xx. No. 16); and, in conjunction with the higher title of Rājadrīṣṭa, 'superior king of kings,' by the same three kings, in their inscriptions of the years 11, 47, and 87 (*Ind. Ant. Vol. X.* p. 326; *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 33, Pl. xiv. No. 12, and p. 35, Pl. xv. No. 18). So also, in conjunction sometimes with the same word and sometimes with Rājadrīṣṭa, 'king of kings,' the two together representing the Greek basileus basileon, it was used, in Prākrit, on the bilingual coins of earlier date, e.g. in conjunction with Rājadrīṣṭa, on the coins of Bactria and in the coins of the Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, p. 124 ff.), and, in conjunction with Rājarāja, on the coins of Agra (id. p. 73 f.) And, before then, it was used by itself, to represent the Greek basileus, at a time when apparently the fuller title of basileus basileon had not been introduced; e.g. on the coins of Hermaeus (id. p. 62 ff.)—But, in the Early Gupta and subsequent periods, Mahārāja was habitually used simply as a technical official title, indicative no doubt of considerable rank and power, but applied only to feudatories, not to paramount sovereigns.—From the way in which the two titles are applied uniformly to Samudraśēna and his ancestors in the Nirand grant, No. 80 below, Plate xlv., the title Mahāsāmantha, lit. 'great chief of a district,' appears to have been exactly co-ordinate with that of Mahārāja.—A third title, Mahāsāmantha, lit. 'great lord of the army,' seems to have denoted equal rank with these two; since it is coupled with Mahārāja in the fragmentary Bijayāgad inscription of the Yaudhāyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxviB, and also in the Walkāyana seal of Pushyāga (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XII.* p. 274 f.)—And three other offices, viz. those of Mahāpaurātragahara, Mahāpandavāraṇavāka, and Mahākārikakritika, would seem to have been sometimes held by Mahārājās and Mahāsāmanthas; since we find all five titles applied to Dhrusasena I. of Valabhi, in line 13 f. of the Walk grant of Gupta-Saṃvat 216 (*Ind. Ant. Vol. IV.* p. 104).

* As regards this name, see page 8 above, note 3.
Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghatottkacha;—who was the son of the Mahārājadhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta I., (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhavī, begotten on the Mahādevī Kumārādevī;—

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

(L. 31.)—And this poetical composition,—(the work) of the Khādayatapākika, the son of the Mahādāndandāyaka Dhruvabhūti, the Sādhgīvīrakha and Kumārdāmīya, the Mahādāndandāyaka Harishēna, who is the slave of these same feet of the

1 Or "of a Lichchhavi (king)."—The present is the more usual form of the name. But the variant Lichchhivī, with the vowel e instead of a in the second syllable, occurs in line 3 of the Bhitatī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.; in line 5 of the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; and in the Mānasładhāmadīśatra, x. 22 (Burnell's Translation, p. 308), where a Lichchhavi, with others, is defined as the offspring of a degraded member of the Kshatriya caste.

Mahādevī, lit. 'great goddess,' appears to have been always a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns; though, in somewhat later times than that of the present inscription, it was also sometimes applied to the wives of Mahārājas, e.g. throughout the Kāratālī grant of Jayānātha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.—As applied to the wives of paramount sovereigns, we have it again in the present volume, in conjunction with Parama-bhagatīrākha and Rājīrī, in the Mandār Hill inscriptions of Adityāsena, No. 44 and 45 below, and throughout the Dēb-Baraṇārī inscription of Jīvā-gupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxiiiB. In other series it occurs, for instance, as part of the name of Lōkāmahādevī, the queen-consort of the Western Chālukya king Vikramādītya II., in some of his Pāṭadakāl inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 164 ff.); and as the title of Gāmudāmīya, the wife of the Rāṣṭrākūta king Gūvīnda III., in line 5 of the grant of Sāka-Sāvat 726 (id. Vol. XI. p. 127).

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

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

Mahādāndandāyaka, lit. 'great leader of the forces,' is a technical military title.—The officer who held this rank was the superior of the Daṇḍandāyaka, or 'leaders of the forces.' This latter title occurs, for instance, with that of Pārīvārāndandāyaka, which is the Old-Kanarese translation of the Sanskrit Mahādāndandāyaka, in line 17 ff. of the Balagāvha inscription of Saṅkāmādeva (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 46).—We constantly meet with Daṇḍandātha, Daṇḍākāmī, Daṇḍākāra, and Daṇḍākāra, as synonyms of Daṇḍandāyaka.—Prinsep translated Mahādāndandāyaka in the present inscription by 'administrator of punishments (magistrate) and 'criminal magistrate;' and this rendering has sometimes been adopted by other translators. As daṇḍa means 'fine' and 'rod (of chastisement),' as well as 'army, forces,' the titles in which it occurs are capable of being explained as either judicial or military. But, that they are employed in the inscriptions as military titles, is shown (1) by the way in which the words Čhamādātha, Čhamāpa, Čhamāpa, &c., in which Čhamā means only 'army,' are occasionally used as synonyms for Daṇḍandāyaka, &c., e.g. in line 33 ff. of the Kārghudari inscription of Vikramādītya VI. and Taila-pra II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 252), where the Daṇḍākārī and Daṇḍākāra lāvarasya is also called Čhamāpā; and (2) by the definition of the Daṇḍāyaka Kavaṇyaya as samasta-sēn-pratīṣṭha, or 'leader of the whole army,' in line 19 of the Balagāvha inscription referred to above.

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

Kumārdāmīya, lit. 'counselor of the prince,' is another technical official title.—The next grade above it was that of the Mahākumārdāmīya, who is mentioned, for instance, in line 33 of the Bhāgalpur grant of Nāryānapālī (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 306.)
Bhāṣṭraka, (and) whose mind is expanded by the favour of constantly walking about in (his) presence,—let it be for the welfare and happiness of all existing beings!

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

bhāṣṭraka.

It is somewhat doubtful whether this title here denotes Samudragupta, or his successor; but on the whole, ēkām, 'these,' being used, not tēkām, 'those,' the passage seems to have a strictly present sense, and to refer to Chandragupta II.; contrast tasya, 'of him, of that one,' which is used to denote Samudragupta in line 17 above, but which I have had, for convenience, to render in the translation by the relative pronoun,—Bhāṣṭraka, lit. 'one who is entitled to reverence or homage,' is another technical kingly title. In somewhat later times, it seems to have belonged properly to feudatory Mahāśājas; thus, it is coupled with the name of the Mahāśaja Śivādevā I. in two of the Nēpāḷ inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 168, No. 5, line 2, and Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 2), and with the name of the Mahāśaja Dhruvādevā in the same series (ibid. Vol. IX. p. 173, No. 10, line 4, where the syllables mahā, at the end of the line, are omitted in the published text).

So also, we find the feminine form, Bhāṣṭrakī, used as the termination of the name of wives of Mahāśājas; e.g. in line 3 ff. of the Aśkara seal of Šarvāvarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxix., and in line 4 of the Nīrmanda grant of the Mahāśaja and Mahādānaka Samudraśāna, No. 80 below, Plate xliv.—As applied to paramount sovereigns, the fuller and more usual title is Paramabhāṣṭraka, as in line 33 of this inscription (see also page 10 above, note 3). But other instances occur in which the shorter title is used; e.g. in line 6 of No. 9 of the Nēpāḷ inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 172), Amāśvarman has the titles of Bhāṣṭraka and Mahāśājādhirāja; in line 17 ff. of the Wokkālēri grant of Kṛtīvarman II. (ibid. Vol. VIII. p. 26 f.), the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I. and his successors, down to Kṛtīvarman II., all have the titles of Mahāśājādhirāja, Paramāśavara, and Bhāṣṭraka. And we have the same title in Old-Kanarese inscriptions, in the abbreviated, or perhaps original, forms of Bhāṣṭara and Bhāṣṭra; e.g. in line 1 f. of the Mahāśāja inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vijayāditya (ibid. Vol. X. p. 103), in which he has the titles of Mahāśājādhirāja, Paramāsvvara, and Bhāṣṭra; and in line 2 of the Paṭṭēdakal inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Dhruva (ibid. Vol. XI. p. 124), in which he has the titles of Mahāśājādhirāja, Paramāsvvara, and Bhāṣṭra. In the sense of 'reverend,' bhāṣṭra was also a priestly title; e.g. it is applied to the Jain priest Kumārdachandra, in line 2 of the Nēsarga inscription (ibid. Vol. X. p. 109, note 16).—And, in the sense of 'worthy of worship; sacred,' it was also applied to gods; e.g. to Paṇḍapati (Śiva), in line 1 of No. 6 of the Nēpāḷ inscriptions (ibid. Vol. IX. p. 169); to the Sun, in line 15 of the Khrā grant of the Mahāśaja Šarvanātha, No. 28 below, Plate xvii.; and to Varuṇa (Varuṇa), in the Sun, in line 15 of the Dēl-Baraṇārā inscription of Jīvitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxix.B.

Aśū-dvädhyāta.—This is a customary technical term, used of the relations between a paramount sovereign and his feudatory chieftains, officials, &c.; e.g. in the Udayagiri cave inscription No. 3 below, Plate ii.B, the Mahāśāja, who makes the gift, is described as meditating on the feet of Chandragupta II.—It is also applied to the relations between parents and their children; e.g. in line 18 of the Rājim grant, No. 81 below, Plate xliv., the Rājā Ṭivanādevā is described as meditating on the feet of his mother and father. It is also used in connection with kingly succcessors, whether the natural relationship is that of fathers and sons, or of older and younger brothers; e.g. throughout the Kṛtāvatī grant of the Mahāśaja Jayanātha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.; and in lines 6 and 8 of the grant of the Mahāśaja Vināyakapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. pp. 140, 141), who is described as meditating on the feet of his father, Mahādhupāla, and of his elder brother, Bhīma I. And it is also used in respect of the worship of gods; e.g. in line 3 of the grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 249), the Chalukyas are described as meditating on the feet of the god Śvāmi-Mahā-

śāna. —In one solitary instance, line 33 f. of the Khrāgrant of Śāka-Sanvat 930 (Jour. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. I. p. 218), anudhyāta occurs without pāda preceding it, and the Śilāhāra chieftain Raṭtarāja is described as śrī-Satyaśrayadeva-anudhyāta, 'meditating on the glorious (king) Satyāraya.' But the omission of pāda here is probably due only to carelessness on the part of the drafter of the record.

i.e. Chandragupta II.—Paramabhāṣṭraka, lit. 'one who is supremely entitled to reverence or homage,' is one of the technical titles indicative of supreme sovereignty (see page 10 above, note 3).—I have found one instance in which it is also used as a priestly title, in line 43 of an inscription of Śāka-Sanvat 1112 at Māmāpur in the Belgum District (Indian Inscriptions, No. 1), where it is applied to a Śaiva priest named Vimalāśiva or Vimalāśambu.—The feminine form, Parama-

bhāṣṭrakī, was one of the titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns; e.g. in the Mandār Hill inscriptions of Adityaśāna, Nos. 44 and 45 below.
No. 2; PLATE II A.

ERAN STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRA GUPTA.

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

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

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 9½" broad by 3' 1½" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; but it does not give a very clear lithograph, in consequence of the whole surface of the stone being full of holes more or less large. It is only a fragment; six entire lines, as shewn by the numbering of the verses, have been broken away and lost at the top of the stone, and an indefinite number at the bottom; and also an entire pada of each successive verse, has been broken away and lost at the commencement of lines 25 ff. In addition to this, from one to three letters have been destroyed at the commencement of each extant line, as far as line 24, by whetting tools on the edge of the stone. As far as line 24, each line contains one pada of a verse; but the following lines contained originally two padas each; this shews that the inscription was of an irregular shape, with probably some sculptures on the proper right side of the stone above the first halves of lines 24 ff.—The average size of the letters is about ¾".

As is indicated especially by the form of m, the characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; and I should be inclined to name them a variety, with southern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of the period. The particular type used in this inscription is further represented in the present volume by the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB.; the Aśaṅ plates of Mahā-Jayatāja, No.

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1 The ‘AIRAN, EHRIN, Eran, and ERUN,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 52. Lat. 24° 5' N.; Long. 78° 15' E.—The name is now written and pronounced both Eran and Eran; but, as is shewn by the ancient name, Airikina, the first form, with the lingual n, is the correct one.—The name is not unique; for the maps shew another ‘Eran’ seven miles almost due west of Bhelá, and another thirteen miles to the north-east of Bhelā.

2 So far as the passage in line 25 of the present inscription goes, we might take this name as either Airikina or Airikina, in consequence of the euphonic absorption of the final a of vishaya. But the real form of the name is shewn by line 7 of the Boar inscription of Tóramãna, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiA, where we have vishayam=smiina=Airikina, without any saudhi or joining of vowels.—The autonomous copper coins of the Aśoka period, found at Eran, give us an earlier Pali or Prákrit form of the name, which is either Erakaña or Erakaña; but the last syllable is not very distinct in the specimens available for examination (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XIV. p. 149, and Plate xxxi Nos. 17 and 18.)

3 The ‘Khorwe, Khurai, Korai, Kuroi, and Kurñi,’ of maps, &c.

4 The ‘Ságar and Saugar,’ of maps, &c.

40. Plate xxvi.; the Rāypur plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, No. 41, Plate xxvii.; the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, Nos. 53 to 56, Plates xxxiii. xxxiv. and xxxv.; and the Rājim plates of Tīvarā dēva, No. 81, Plate xlv. The chief characteristic of it is the peculiar ‘box-headed’ tops of the letters, formed by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and leaving a block of stone or copper in the centre of them. We have a variation of this characteristic, represented in this volume by the Majhgawān plates of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23, Plate xiv., in which the tops of the letters, instead of being ‘box-headed’ or square, are ‘nail-headed’ or triangular, with the apex of the triangle downwards. And the present inscription contains a mixture of both types; the ‘nail-headed’ tops can be seen in, for instance, priku-rāghav-ādyah, line 8, and samudraguptah, line 10; and the ‘box-headed’ tops in, for instance, bahu-putra-pautra, line 19, and samara-karma parākram-
uddham, line 21. Owing to the nature of the substance worked on, in the case of inscriptions on stone, except those on a large scale, these centre blocks would obviously be very liable to injury; in the actual process of engraving, as well as from the wear and tear of time. The result is that, though these two characteristics of this alphabet are usually very well preserved and are very recognisable in the copper-plates, in the stone inscriptions they are preserved, so as to be clearly recognised in this series of Plates, only in the large-scale Nachnē-kī-talāṭ inscriptions of the Mahārāja Prithivishēna, Nos. 53 and 54, Plate xxxiiiA. and B. In the present inscription I cannot find a single instance in which there is enough left of the triangular or the square centres of the tops of the letters, to shew distinctly in the lithograph. It is, in fact, quite possible that, in inscriptions of this scale on stone, the engraver was not very particular about leaving the centre-blocks at all; an indifference about this is certainly observable even in the Chammak plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasēna II., No. 55, Plate xxxiv., through nearly the whole of which the tops of the letters were scooped out hollow, without any centre-blocks at all.

The characters include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the numerical symbols for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before h, in paribrinama, line 26; and (2) the doubling of k and dh, in conjunction with a following r, in vikrama, line 1, and parākrama, lines 17 and 21; and in dhārutilam, line 12.

The inscription is one of the Early Gupta king Samudragupta, whose name is recorded in line 10. From the occurrence of the word bābhūva in line 9, the first part of the inscription probably mentioned some of his ancestors. But, that the inscription did not extend to the time of any of his successors, is shewn by the fact that none of their names can be fitted into any of the places where letters are illegible in lines 11 to 24; consequently, the prowess, &c., described in these lines are those of Samudragupta; and this description is immediately followed by the mention of the erection, at the city of Airkikāna, i.e. Ēraṅ, of something or other of which the stone was either a portion or the separate record. The lacune here leave us without any clue as to what was erected, and in connection with what form of religion. But, judging from its shape and appearance,
the stone is part of a temple. And General Cunningham has suggested that, if it was attached to any of the existing ruins, it belonged most probably to the temple with a colossal figure of Vishnu, immediately on the north of the temple of the Boar. The date of the inscription, if any was recorded, is broken away and lost.

**TEXT.**

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

7  [-----]sva-patya-dânê  
8  [---]ritâ  
9  [---] babhâva  
10  [---]ma-nayêna  
11  [---]pya  
12  [---]sta(?)sva-râjya-vibhava-ddhutam-âsthitâ-bhût [1[*]  
13  [---]na  
14  [yô]  
15  [---]nitañ  
16  [---]vô  
17  [---]sya  
18  [---]hasty - a]sva - ratna - dhana - dhânya - samriddhi - yuktâ [1[*]  
19  [---]jû-grihêshu  
20  [---]sahârâmiñt  
21  [---]yaśâ⁵  
22  [---]ni  
23  [---]sva-pa[]-āryâ  
24  [---]vô  

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

**TRANSLATION.**

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

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

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1 *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 89, and Plates xxvB. and xxviB.
2 From the original stone.
3 Metre, *Vasantatilaka*, throughout.
4 With this exception, the lines of this inscription, as far as line 24, contain exactly ṭīṭṭâ of each verse. Lines 25 ff. contained exactly two ṭīṭṭas of each verse.
5 Or perhaps ḍrjñitâ."
there was Samudragupta, equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Antaka in (respectively) pleasure and anger; \(^1\) by policy; (and) [by whom] the whole tribe of kings upon the earth was [overthrown] and reduced to the loss of the wealth of their sovereignty;

(L. 13)—[Who], by \(\ldots\) satisfied by devotion and policy and valour,—by the glories, consisting of the consecration by besprinkling, &c., that belong to the title of 'king,'—(and) by \(\ldots\) combined with supreme satisfaction,—\(\ldots\)

(was) a king whose vigour could not be resisted;

(L. 17.)—[By whom] there was married a virtuous and faithful wife;\(^8\) whose dower was provided by (his) manliness and prowess; who was possessed of an abundance of [elephants] and horses and money and grain; who delighted in the houses of \(\ldots\); (and) who went about in the company of many sons and sons' sons;

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

(L. 25.)—\(\ldots\) in a place in Airikina,\(^6\) the city of his own enjoyment \(\ldots\) has been set up, for the sake of augmenting his own fame.

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

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

No. 3; PLATE II B.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE, INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 82.

This inscription appears to have been first brought to notice in 1854 by General Cunningham, in his Bhilsa Topes, p. 150 f., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxi. No. 200).—In 1858, in his edition of Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I. p. 246 f. note 4, Mr. Thomas published his own reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph by Professor H. H. Wilson.—And, finally, in 1880, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 50, General Cunningham published his revised reading of the text, and a revised translation of it, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (id. Plate xix.)

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\(^1\) Compare the customary expression, "equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka," in line 26 of No. 1 above, page 8. See also page 14 above, note 4.

\(^8\) Samudragupta's wife was Dattadėvī; but the metre prevents her having been mentioned by name in this verse.

\(^6\) See page 18 above, note 2.

\(^8\) The lacuna in this verse render it impossible to say whether here, and below, ṛṣṇa, 'his own,' refers to Samudragupta, or to some feudatory of his, who may have been mentioned here.
Udayagiri\(^1\) is a well-known hill, with a small village of the same name on the eastern side of it, about two miles to the north-west of Bhêlêśa,\(^2\) the chief town of the Bhêlêśa Tahsil or Sub-Division of the İśâgadh\(^3\) District in the dominions of Scindia (properly Śīndê) in Central Índia. On the eastern side of the hill, a little to the south of the village, and almost on the level of the ground, there is a cave-temple, which, from its containing this inscription, General Cunningham has named "the Chandragupta Cave."\(^4\) The inscription is on the upper part of a smoothed and countersunk panel, about 2' 44" broad by 1' 6" high, over two figures,—one of the four-armed god Vishnu, attended by his two wives; and one of a twelve-armed goddess, who must be some form of Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu, rather than, as suggested by General Cunningham, Mahishāsurī, i.e. Durgā, the consort of Śiva,—which are sculptured on the face of the rock, outside the cave and a few feet to the north of the entrance to it.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 3½" broad by 4½" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; the surface of the rock has peeled off in some places; but no letters are entirely destroyed, except the g of chandragupta in line 1, and, in line 2, the first akshara of the name of the Mahârāja whose gift is recorded.—The average size of the letters is about 5½". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety, peculiar to Central India, which I have commented on at page 18 f. above; but in this inscription, again, there are no instances in which enough remains of the square centre of the tops of the letters to show distinctly in the lithograph. In dshdhâ, line 1, they include an adaptation from the northern alphabets; viz. the separate sign for the lingual dh, which, in the early southern alphabets, was represented, together with its unaspirated form d, by the same character as the dental d. They also include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 2 and 80.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice, is the doubling of dh in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyāta, line 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II. It is dated, partly in numerical symbols and partly in words, in the year\(^5\)

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\(^1\) The 'Udaygiri and Udēgiri' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 32' N.; Long. 77° 50' E.

\(^2\) The 'Bhêlsa and Bhêlêśa' of maps, &c.

\(^3\) The 'İśâgadh' of maps.


\(^5\) Whether "current" or "expired," is not specifically stated. But the locative case is used; and, there being no word signifying "expired" in apposition with it, the natural sense of it is "in the year eighty-two," i.e., "while the year eighty-two is current."—It is often asserted that the ancient Hindus always expressed their dates in expired years. And, according to this, we should understand aktit, 'having gone by, having passed by,' or any similar word, in apposition with samvatsaré in the present passage, and translate accordingly.—No doubt, in making calculations, the Hindus worked, as Europeans must work, with the number of expired years as a basis. But this is quite a different question from that of their method of expressing the dates; as, also, is the question whether they did not sometimes by mistake quote years as current which were really expired, and the reverse, and even occasionally quote, as current, or even as expired, years that were still to come. Aud, as a very clear and pointed instance of the record of a date in current years, we have the Gadhior Śâbhâ temple inscription of Mahâpàla, dated Vikrama-Samvat 1150, which gives (Ind. A.) Vol. XV. p. 41; vv. 107, 108; l. 40) first, in words, the number of years expired, and then, \(\text{\textit{p}}}\)
eighty-two (A.D. 401-2), and on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashādha (June-July). The cave appears to be a Vaishnava cave; and this must, therefore, be a Vaishnava inscription. And the object of it is to record the gift or dedi-

in words and fully in the current year,—Ekādāśa = aṣṭakṣu samvatsara-śatākṣu cha 48-laṇa-pachāṭāsti cha gatiha = adhāku Vikramaḥ || Panchādi = Āśvinī māsaḥ kṛishna-paśchāti mṛg-dīnyadhī rachita Maikaṇṭhāḥ praśastir = iyam = ujjvalaḥ || Ankāṭaḥ = pī 1150 || Āśvina-bahula-pachāṭāmiyām,— and when eleven centuries of years had passed by, and (in addition) fifty years, less by one, had gone, from (the time of) Vikrama; and in the fiftieth (year); in the month Āśvina; in the dark fortnight; by order of the king, this brilliant eulogy was composed by Maikaṇṭhā; or, in figures, (in the year) 1150, on the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina.—Excluding special and capricious instances, the inscriptions disclose the following general and systematic constructions in the expression of dates.—1) The use of the nominative singular or plural, unaccompanied by any verb or participle. Instances of this are somewhat rare. But I can quote (a) the Mathūra image inscription (No. 70 below, Pl. xID. l. 2), samvat-saraḥ 200 30; (b) the Goa grant of Satyākṣaṇa-Dhruvaṇja-Indravarman (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365, l. 17 ff.), pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsaram visṣuṭtalam Śaka-kalāḥ = pachcha varṣaḥ-śatāni dodhriṃśaḥ; (c) the Dīghā-Kabagli grant of the Mahādīya Mahendrapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 113, l. 4), samvatsar (i.e. samvat-saraḥ) 100 ṭhū 5 Māgha śi ṣ i ṭ i 10; (d) the Bengal Asiatic Society’s grant of the Mahādīya Viniyakapāla (id. Vol. XV. p. 141, l. 17), samvat-saraḥ (i.e samvat-saraḥ) for either samvat-saraḥ or samvat-saraḥ 100 ṭhū 8 Pāguṇa ba ṣ i ṭ i 9; and (e) the second date in the ‘Deogarh’ inscription of Bhoja-deva of Gwalior, dated Vikrama-Sāvii 919 and Śaka-Sāvii 784 (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 101, and Pl. xxxii, No. 2, l. 19), Śaka-kalāḥ-saṇṭa-śatāni chatur-āṣṭya-ādhikāri 284. And, for early times, we may compare, though they relate to years of government, instead of eras, (f) the nominative in the Banawasi Prākṛit inscription of Harīputra-Śītakarni (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV, p. 333, l. 1), rathā Harīpitāna . . . . . . Śītakarni . . . . . . savachharam 10 2 Heṃmāṭhāna pākṣo ṭ diva ṣ i ; (g) the nominative in the Rājim grant of the Rāja Tiyaṇḍāvēva (No. 81 below, Pl. xl. l. 35 f.), pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsaraḥ 9 Kārtika divaṣu ashamu 8: and the crude form in (h) the Arāja grant of the Rāja Mahā-Jayārāja (No. 40 below, Pl. xxvi. l. 24), pravardhamāna-vijaya-samvatsaraḥ 5 Māghaśi ṭ ṭ i 2 5: and (i) the Rāypur grant of the Rāja Mahā-Sudāvērīja (No. 41 below, Pl. xxvii. l. 27), pravardhamāna-vijaya-samvatsaraḥ 10 Māgha 9. Compare also, for later times, the crude form in (j) the ‘Dewal’ inscription of Lalla of the Chhinda family (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. Pl. li. l. 24), samvatsara-saharaḥ 1049 Māgha ba ṣ i ṭ i 3 Gurudīṇe; in (k) a Kūlāpur inscription of Śīrghaṇa II. (Indian Inscriptions, No. 47, l. 1 f.), Śīr-Śaka 1157 Maṃmatadh- samvatsaraḥ Śrīvāna baḥula 30 Guraḥ; and in numerous other instances.—2) The use of the nominative singular or plural, in apposition with an ordinal adjective, which, again, usually qualifies the name of the samvatsara, of the sixty-years cycle, in the genitive case. This is a Dīghākara method, in constant use in Southern India. As typical and leading instances, I will quote, in respect of the nominative singular, (a) a Balagāṁe inscription of Bijjala (Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 183, l. 62), Śaka-varṣaṁ 1080 yeṇa Bahudeṇya-samvatsarāda Pūṣyadā puṣyamā Sāmavṛdaṇa-vat-tāraṇaṇa-sukrānti-vyatiḥṣaṇa-sāmavṛdaṇa-anduḥ; and, to illustrate a numerous class of instances in which the crude form is used to represent the nominative singular, (b) a Balagāṁe inscription of Sāmēvāra II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 30 f.), Śaka-varṣaṁ 997 yeṇa Rākṣasa-samvatsaratā Puṣyadā andhaḥ Sāmavṛdaṇa-andin = tratvāyaṇa-sukrānti-parvaṇa-nimittādīn; and, in respect of the nominative plural, (c) the grant of Gvinda III. (id. Vol. XI. p. 125, l. 1 f.), Śaka-nripa-kalāda-samvatsara-saṇṭa-ga = kēś-yād-irput-trāṇey Subhāṇu emb vadhavā Subhāṇu-khanda-kriṣṇapakṣha-paṇchamī Śrīvāṇa-śatāmiyadā yamyaṇaḥ; and (d) the Adaragāni inscription of Koṭīta or Kokotīta (id. Vol. XII. p. 256, l. 7 f.), Śaka-nripa-kalāda-samvatsara-saṇṭa-ga = rājya-ṛya-maṇya Pradeśa pravesā-samvatsarāda samvat-samvat-samvatsaraṁ salutam-ḥe tad-varṣaḥ-dhayanantaraḥ Aśvayuddaḥ-aṃkārā Śaṭyaśastra-śrīvaṇaḥ. (g) The use of the locative singular or plural, with the corresponding locative, in apposition, of atitvānta, atita, gata, nirvṛtti, prayaṭta, samāṭta, atitā, etc., or any sigular word, signifying ‘elapsd, or gone by.’ Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (a) theurpose date of the Mandsār inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (No. 18 below, Pl. xi. l. 1), Maṭhābdām gana-sthāyaḥ yadī iṣa-chaṭhakṣuṣaḥ || tri-nāyati-adhikād-dvānmaṃ śīvaṁ || Śahasra-māsa-suklaṇya praśastah-hi trayādītaḥ; and (b) the Śāmṛugād grant of
cations,—by a Mahârâja of the Sanakânîka tribe or family, who was a feudatory to Chandragupta II, but whose name, in line 2, is now illegible,—of, evidently, the groups of sculptures above which it is engraved.


(4) The use, as in the present instance, of the simple locative single or plural, without any participle signifying ‘elapsed or gone by,’ in apposition. Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (a) the Gûndâ inscription of the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha (Indr. Ant. Vol. X. p. 157, l. 3), varsha-dvay-uttarâtâ-sam 200 2 Vaiśkha-suddha-paścham-Hânâya-tithâya Shraṇa-nakalatva-mahârâja; (b) the Mathurâ inscription of Vâsudèva (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20, l. 1), samvatsarâh 90 8 Varsha-mât 4 Divas 10; (c) the Mahâgâvâ grant of the Mahârâja Hantin (No. 23 below, Pl. xiv. l. 1 f.), âkâ-nâtâyuttarâtâ-bda-satâ Gupta-nripa-rjyâ-bhukta-pratimâ-pravartamâna-MahâChaitra-samvatsarâgh Mâghâma-bahulâphkha-triitydyâm; and (d) the Alâhâ grant of Śâliâtiâ VII, (No. 39 below, Pl. xxv. l. 77 f.), samvatsara-satâ-catuhr+dâ-saptâ-satâ-chátushfayâ sâpta-chátudâ-sadikshu Jîyêshha-sudhâ-paśchamâyâm ankatah samvat 400 40 7 Jîyêshha sva 5. And, in respect of the locative plural, (e) the Wani grant of Gûndâma III (Indr. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 46 f.), Sakâ-nripa-kâ-dîtâ-samvatsara-satikâhna-sapatasuvv prîmâ-sadikshu Vaiśkha-sita-paurânamdyâm sâmagrahâna-mahâ-puruṣa-vâpi; and (f) the Pâta-ân grant of Bhma II. (id. Vol. XI. p. 71, l. 17 ff.), sîmândyâmîdîta-samvatsara-satikshu dovdrâdâsvu sat-sa-kha-sadikshu-uttarâtâ-suvv Bhadrâpadamsa-kriyâ-paksham-âmsatydyâm BhauravârâWAIT-da-skâdî-pi samvat 1256 laukika Bhadrâpadâ bā di 15 Bhaumâ.—And (g) the use of the abbreviations sam and samvat, standing alone, and not explained by a full record in words as they are in instances (3, d) and (4, a, d, f) above. This method, however, throws no light on the question now under discussion, and the use of these abbreviations will form the subject of a separate note. Now, in the cases illustrated by the examples given under (a) above, it can hardly be disputed that current years are intended; the very construction,—e.g., in (a, a) “Monday, the full-moon day of the month Pushya of the Bahdhânya samvatsara, (which is) the 1080th Śaka year”—prevents any other interpretation. And, in the examples given under (1), it is difficult to see how, without imagining an elliptical construction for which no actual example can be quoted as an authority, the nominative case could be used to denote any but the current year. With these examples, and the plain record of the Gwâllor inscription, before us, when we find that in a certain class of instances (3, a to e) the locative case is uniformly coupled with a word distinctly meaning ‘expired or gone by’ in apposition, whereas in another class of instances (4, a to f) any such word is as uniformly omitted, there is nothing to prevent our giving, but on the contrary every reason to induce us to give, to the simple locative, in the last class of instances, its natural and ordinary meaning of “in such and such a year,” i.e. “while such and such a year is current.” This is the meaning that is always given to the simple locative in a regnal date; thus, in a Nâšik inscription (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. pp. 108, l. 1, 109),—sir-putumâyita sabavacharâ bhavataši 10, “in the nineteenth (19) year of the illustrious Pulumâyî.” It has never been attempted to maintain that, in such a record as this, the text means “the nineteenth year having expired.” And there is no reason why any such forced interpretation should be put on the simple locative expressing the number of years of an era; especially when we bear in mind that almost every era owes its origin to only an extension of regnal dates, and that the system of expired years can only have been devised when a considerable advance had been made in astronomical science.
TEXT.

1 Siddham II Sāṇḍvatsarē 80 Āśādha-māsā-sukkē-ë(ai)kādāsyaṁ I
paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhiḥ-srī-Chandra[ṛ]upta-pād-ānuddyātasya I
2 mahārāja-Chhagalaga-pautrasya mahārāja-Vishnudāsa-pautrasya Sanakā- nikasya mahārāja-... dha(?lasy-ayāṁ déya-dharmmah II

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained¹ in the year 80 (and) 2, on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āśādha,—this (is) the appropriate religious gift² of the Sanakānika,³ the Mahārāja...dha (7),—the son’s son of the Mahārāja Chhagalaga; (and) the son of the Mahārāja Vishnudāsa,—who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II).

MATHURA STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

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

¹ From the original stone.
² Read mahārājādhirāja.—With the reading of this inscription, which may perhaps be, not an omission by the engraver, but a conventional abbreviation of the full title, we may compare marājadaka, i. e. mahārājādhi, for mahārājādhirāja, on one of the silver coins of Skandagupta (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 66 f.)
³ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
⁴ siddham.—On the analogy of an inscription (Archæol. Surn. Ind. Vol. V. Plate xlII.), which commences Siddhiḥ Śrīth Samvat, &c.,—to which we may add another inscription (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXIX. p. 18, and Vol. XXX. p. 13) commencing Siddhiḥ Samvat, &c.,—Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 273) takes siddham, at the commencement of inscriptions, as a nominative case standing by itself, and translates it by ‘success’. But it seems to me to be clearly the remnant of some such phrase as siddham bhagavata, “perfection or success has been attained by the Divine One,” analogous to the jītām bhagavatā, “victory has been achieved by the Divine One,” of, for instance, the Gaṇḍhāra inscription of Kumrakupta, No. 8 below, Plate ivC, and the grant of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Vishnugopalavarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 51). We may also compare jītām . . . . . . . Vishnudāsa in the Tsām inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xlA. And we have the remnant of another analogous expression, in dṛṣṭham, “sight (i.e. clearness of perception in religious matters) has been attained (by the Divine One),” at the commencement of, for instance, the Channakap and Siwan plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plates xxxiv. and xxxv.—In his remarks referred to above, Dr. Bühler tells us that, in the Mahābhāṣya (Kielhorn’s edition, pp. 5, 6) siddham is quoted as a mangala or ‘auspicious invocation;’ and refers us to some remarks, supporting this, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarker in Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 346.—As helping to illustrate the meaning, ‘perfection,’ by which I render siddham, I would refer to the use of siddha by the Jains to denote their saints who have attained siddha or ‘perfection or final beatitude,’ and who are invoked, under this epithet, in, for instance, the Udayagiri inscription of the year 106, No. 61 below, Plate xxxviiiA. line 1.
⁵ déya-dharma; lit. ‘a gift of’ religion, which is proper to be given.’—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, renders it by ‘the duty of giving, charity, beneficence;’ Dowson, by ‘votive offering’ (e.g. Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 84); and Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji, by ‘meritorious gift, or benefaction’ (e. g. Archæol. Surn. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 83).
⁶ See page 8 above, note 1.
logical Report, which, originally printed in 1863 as a supplement to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXII. pp. iii. to cix, was in 1871 reprinted, with the addition of Plates, as Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I., in which the inscription is noticed on p. 237.—Subsequently, in 1873, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 37, and Plate xvi. No. 24, he published a reduced lithograph of it, shewing the completion of the lines as arranged by him.

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

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 10" broad by 11½" high, is in a state of very fair preservation. It is only a fragment; the first line has been almost entirely destroyed, and an indefinite number of lines have been entirely broken away and lost at the bottom of the stone; and, in addition to this, from one to nine akṣharas have been broken away and lost at the commencement of the lines, and from one to five at the ends of the lines, except in lines 8 and 9.—The size of the letters varies from ½" to ¾". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They are of radically the same stock with those of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, but with several essential differences in details; the most noticeable of these are (1) the very marked curve in the left downward stroke of m, which I have noticed, at page 3 above, as belonging originally to an earlier form of this letter than that which occurs in the Allahābād inscription; (2) a slanting straight stroke, instead of a circular loop, at the bottom of the left downward stroke of s; and (3) the formation of the lower part of h entirely to the right, instead of its sloping downwards only slightly to the right and then turning up very markedly to the left.—The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is in prose throughout.—The orthography does not present anything calling for remark.

The inscription is one of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II. His name does not occur in the portion that is extant. But the instrumental case evanśa in line 91 immediately after the mention, in the genitive case, of Samudragupta, shews that the genealogy was continued down to, and ended with, his son and chosen successor, whose name came in line 11 or 12, and who is known from the subsequent records to have been Chandragupta II.; and that the subject of the inscription was an act of the latter. The date of the inscription, if any was recorded, and the subject of it, were in the portion that has been broken away and lost.

TEXT:

1. . . . . [Sarva-vāj-āchāttuḥ prithivijyām apratiratha-]
2. [sya chatur-udadhi-sai]-āsvādita-ya[yaśo Dha]-
3. [nada-Varun-Endr-Āntaka-sa]masya Kriyātanta-[parasōkh]
4. [nyāy-āgat-anēka-gō]-hiranya-koti-prada[sya chir-d]-

kātra is the common word used in that part of the country for 'an enclosed market-place.'

*The 'Matra, Muthra, and Muttra,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 50. Lat. 27° 30' N.; Long. 77° 43' E.

†From the original stone.—The passages that have been broken away are supplied from the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from lines 1 to 4 of the Bhitarī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.
The rest of the inscription is entirely broken away and lost.

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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1 I add these two lines in order to shew the continuation of the construction of this record.
2 See page 12 above, note 1.
3 i.e. Samudragupta.
4 sarva-rājō-vachchhrātri.—In the nominative case, sarva-rājō-vachchhrātri, this epithet occurs on the reverse of some gold coins, hitherto always classed in the Early Gupta series (see Joir. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 169 i, and Pl. ii. No. 1; also Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 36, and Pl. vii. No. 1), which have on the obverse the name of Kāchā, in the place where the king’s name usually stands on coins, with the marginal legend kāchā gām-avajitya karmabhīr-uttamair-jayati, “Kāchā, having conquered the earth, is victorious by (his) most excellent deeds,” which have always been attributed to the Mahárajá Ghatotkacha, the grandfather of Samudragupta.—But, in the first place, the name on these coins is distinctly Kāchā, and nothing more; and Kāchā, which means ‘glass, crystal; the string of the scale of a balance; alkaline salt, black salt; wax; &c.,’ is a totally different word from uktakācha, ‘having the hairs (of the body) standing erect (through pleasure),’ which is the second component of the name of Ghatotkacha. Secondly, Ghatotkacha, being only a feudatory Mahárajá, was not entitled to issue a coinage in his own name. And thirdly, the epithet sarva-rājō-vachchhrātri on the reverse, is, in the inscriptions, always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. Therefore there is nothing distinctive in this epithet, sufficient to show that it belonged only to the Early Gupta dynasty (and, in that dynasty, to Samudragupta). Nor, I think, is it absolutely certain that these coins belong to the Early Gupta series. But the general appearance of them, with the legends on them, justifies such an opinion. And, if they are Early Gupta coins, then they must be attributed to Samudragupta, not to Ghatotkacha; and Kāchā must, in that case, be a personal and less formal name of Samudragupta; and with it we may compare such instances as Sāsā, ‘cadaverous, of a dark yellowish colour, tawny; the young of any animal,’ used as a second name of Vṛṣaṇā, a minister of Chandragupta II. (No. 6 below, Plate ivA. line 4); Vyāghra, ‘a tiger,’ applied to a Jain named Rudrasōma (No. 15 below, Plate ixA.); and Permanjō (also Parmāṇjō, Parmāṇdōji and Paramāndōd), a name of the Western Chālukya king Vikramadītiya VI. (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. pp. 225, 235, 253, 14; Bühler’s Vikramadītakosharile, Intro. p. 30, note 2; and Rājastarāmiṇi, vii. 1122, 1124).—The only other instances, known to me, in which the name Kāchā occurs, are in the case of two rulers or chieftains, Kāchā I. and Kāchā II., mentioned in one of the inscriptions in the Ajanta caves (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 139, lines 4, 5), belonging to a period that is at any rate appreciably later than that of the Early Guptas.
5 i.e. “whose fame extended up to the shores of the four oceans.” — Jambudīpī, or the central division of the known world, including India, was supposed to be surrounded on all sides by the ocean.
who was equal to (the gods) [Dhanāda and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka]; who was [the very axe] of (the god) Kriśānta; who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows] and gold; [who was the restorer of the avamādhya-sacrifice,] that had been long in abeyance;—

(L. 5)—Who was the son of the son’s son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Gupta; the son’s son of [the Mahārāja, the illustrious] Ghaṭottkacha; (and) the son of the Mahārājadhīrāja [the glorious Chandragupta (I)], (and) the daughter’s son of Lichchhāvī, begotten on the Mahādevī Kumārādevī;—

(L. 11.)—[By him, the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājadhīrāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II).]

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

1 Kriśānta-parāsu.—This is another of the formal epithets which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. In the nominative case, Kriśānta-parāsu, it occurs on the reverse of some of his gold coins; see, for instance, Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. III. Part I. p. 177 f., and Pl. ii. No. 11.

2 A ceremony which centred in a horse, and was concluded after the selected steed had been turned loose for a year to roam about at will, guarded by armed men. The ceremony appears to have ended sometimes in the actual immolation of the horse, but sometimes only in keeping it bound during the celebration of the final rites. The successful celebration of a hundred avamādhyas was supposed to raise the sacrificer to a level with the god Indra.—The present epithet, avamādhya-kārtṛi, is another of those which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. With it we have to compare the legend avamādhya-parākramah, “he who has displayed prowess by a horse-sacrifice,” on some of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudragupta; see, for instance, Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 175 ff., and Pl. ii. No. 9; and Arch. Jour. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 37 f., and Pl. vii. No. 4.

3 i.e. Samudragupta.

4 paramahāgavata; lit. ‘a most devout worshipper of (the god) Bhagavat.’—This epithet is supplied from the subsequent inscriptions, and the coins of Chandragupta II. himself.—It is a technical sectarian title, analogous to paramādmahābuddha (e.g. No. 38 below, line 2), paramādāpātira (e.g. No. 52 below, line 8), paramavātāniva (e.g. lines a and 1 of the Dīgha-Dubautī grant of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāla; Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 112), paramādāpātira (e.g. line 8 of the Verāwal inscription of Arjunadeva; id. Vol. XI. p. 242), and paramādāvātā (e.g. line 1 of the Nāpāl inscription of Vasantaśēna; id. Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3). Other similar epithets, but not formed in quite the same way, are paramakramanī (e.g. line 39 of the grant of Amma II.; id. Vol. VII. p. 16); paramādātirābhāka (e.g. No. 38 below, line 10); and paramābhagavatībhāka (e.g. lines c, i, k, 3, 6, and 7 of the Dīgha-Dubautī grant referred to above); also atyantarātmakārava and atyantaravāmimahābhātavābhāka, e.g. No. 55 below, lines 9 and 4; and atyantaravāmimahābhātavābhāka, in No. 19 below, line 6, and No. 36, line 4. Bhagavat, ‘ venerable, revered, sacred, divine, holy,’ was used as a title of priests, e.g. lines 5 and 6 of a Paṭjadakal inscription of Viṣṇuvēṣā and Viṣṇumādhiyē (Weil. 5), vi. 5; Hall’s edition of H. H. Wilson’s Translation, Vol. V. p. 211 ff., and to denote him whenever there is nothing in the context to give it any other application; and, as well-known instances of its use in this way, we may quote Bhagavat’ī: the name of an episode of the Mahābhārata devoted entirely to the subject of devotion to Viṣṇu as Viṣṇu; Bhagavatā-
No. 5; PLATE III B.

AANCHI STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 93.

The inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. I. pp. 488 ff., where a lithograph of it was published (id. Plate xxviii.), reduced by Mr. G. P. Prinsep from a copy by Mr. B. H. Hodgson. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it is a very imperfect one; especially in shewing no traces whatever of the first six or seven letters of each line, all the others being in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., Mr. Prinsep published the reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers (id. Plate xxv.)

Sâachi, or Sâchi, is a village about twelve miles to the north-east of Diwângâji, the chief town of the Diwângâji Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Native State of Bhôpâl or Bhûpâl in Central India. It is sometimes called Sâachi-Kânâkhêl, through its name being coupled with that of another small village immediately on the north of it.

The writing, which covers a space of about 3' 6½'' broad by 1' 9'' high, is on the outer side of the top rail in the second row, outside and on the south side of the eastern

Purânas, the title of one of the Purânas, dedicated especially to the glorification of Vishnu; and Bhâgavata, which occurs in line 7 of the Khôh plates of the Mahârâja Jaya-ñatha of the year 177, No. 27 below, Plate xvii., and is, to the present time, the name of one of the Vaishnava sects.

-It may be taken, therefore, that Paramabhâgavata is exclusively a Vaishesava title.


2 Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 28'' N.; Long. 73° 48'' E.—The 'Sachi, Sacha Kana Kheyra, and Sacha Kanakera,' of maps, &c.—The name is pronounced both Sâachi and Sâchi; but with a preference, as far as my observation went, for the nasalised form. The alternative forms have already been pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in *Bhûlsa Topes*, p. 181, where he suggests that the name is most probably only the spoken form of the Sanskrit śânti, 'tranquillity, calmness,' &c.,—since the term śânti-samgha, 'the community of tranquillity,' occurs in the Asoka inscription at Sâachi (*Bhûlsa Topes*, p. 259 ff. and Plate xix. No. 171); and since the Chinese transcribed śânti by sâ-chi. But the ancient name of Sâachi, at least from the Asoka to the Gupta period, was Kâkânâda (see page 31 below, para. 5); and this seems to indicate that the name Sâachi is of comparatively modern introduction. Also, though I could not find the places on the map, I was informed that there are at least two other villages in the neighbourhood, named Mâchi or Sâchi, with no Buddhist remains at them. And this,—with the analogous names of Kâchi-Kânâkhêl, a village about one and a half miles to the south-west of Sâachi (in which kâchi is either an Urdu, or a Râhaqal or local vernacular word, meaning 'gardener'), and of Mâchi, a village somewhere in the same neighbourhood, which I noticed in a local topographical map, but cannot now find again in the Indian Atlas,—suggests that Sâachi or Sâchi is probably a vernacular name, connected in no way with the Sanskrit.

3 This name is written and pronounced Bhûpâl by Musalmans, and Bhûpâl by Hindus. It has been suggested that it is a corruption of Bhûj-pâh, 'the tank or embankment of king Bhoja.' But I think it is far more likely that the original and correct name is Bhûpâl, from the Sanskrit bhûpâla, 'a king, or the king.' The State, however, is a Musalmân State, and Bhûpâl is the form of the name that has been established by long official usage.
gateway of the Great Stūpa.\(^1\) The inscription is very well preserved, with the exception that two or three letters are destroyed and quite illegible near the commencement of each line as far as line 8.—The average size of the letters is \(\frac{1}{8}\). The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and approximate most closely to, in the present volume, those of the Mandāśrī inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xi., and, elsewhere, those of the Aihole Mēguṭ inscription\(^*\) of the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II. of Śaka-Saṅvat 556 (A.D. 634-35). They include, in line 11, forms of the numerical symbols for 3, 4, and 90.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the dental \(z\), instead of the visarga or the updhamña, in conjunction with \(p\), in yata-paṭa, line 4.

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

\(^1\) Stūpa, ‘a heap or pile of earth; any heap or pile or mound,’ is the technical name of a certain kind of Buddhist monument, consisting of a mound, more or less elaborate, and with or without masonry work, erected over sacred relics of Buddha and his followers.—The English corruption, Top, is from the Prākṛti form thūpa.—In the country round Śāñcī, I found the popular term for a Stūpa to be bijā (Hindi, bijaṇtra), which means literally ‘a heap of dried cow dung-cakes to be used as fuel.’ The great Stūpa at Śāñcī is known as Śaśa-bhādi kā bijā, ‘the heap of dried cow dung-cakes of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law.’ And with this name we may compare Śaśa-bhādi kā dēhrā, ‘the temple of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law,’ which is the popular name of the temple at Gāvālar in which there is the long Sanskrit inscription of the Kachchhapagṛha prince Mahāpāla, dated Vikrama-Saṅvat 1150 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 33 ff.)


\(^*\) The text has the abbreviation sam, which may stand either for the crude form saṁvat, a year, or for any decennial case that can be used in expressing a date (see page 22 above, note 5). The same remark applies to the form saṁvat, which occurs, for instance, in saṁvat 100 90 1 Sṛsvaṇa 1a di 7, in line 2 of the Ērāṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gōpālā, No. 20 below, Plate xiiB.—It was formerly thought that the word saṁvat was used only in connection with the Vikrama era, commencing B.C. 57. But fuller experience has shown that both the forms are used freely in respect of the years of any era whatsoever. They are used sometimes by themselves, as in the present passage, and in the instance quoted above for saṁvat; and sometimes in composition with the name of the era; as, for instance, in the Ambarānṭ inscription of the chieftain Māṅvaṇi (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329, l. 1), Śaka-saṁvat 782 Ṣṭīkhaṇḍa ṣuddha 3 Śukrā, and in the Sōnānāṭ-Pāṭhā inscription of Arjunadēva of Aḍhīvad (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI p. 243, l. 2 ff.), Mahamadā prasāda 1062 tathā sṛl-nripa-Vikrama-saṁ 1230 tathā sṛlam-Mahāvīra-saṁ 945 tathā sṛl-Simha-saṁ 151 varīhā Ashākā na di 13 Ramaus.—The form saṁvat represents the genitive plural, saṁvatsarāṇām, in such passages as Saṅkha-nṛpa-ḥdi-ṭīla-saṁvatsara-tāṭhāyai-akṣaraḥ chatur-nāvaya-adhikāḥ kṣaṇaḥ saṁvatsa 894 Ṣr., in the Kadga grant of the Rāhtrākūṭa king Kakka III. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 266, l. 47 f.), as contrasted with Saṅkha-nṛpa-ḥdi-ṭīla-saṁvatsara-tāṭhāyai-akṣaraḥ paṇḍhādi-adhikāḥ-kṣaṇaḥ paṇḍhādi-pi saṁvatsaraṇām 835 Ṣr., in the Śāṅgīt grant of Gōvinda V. of the same dynasty (id. Vol. XII. p. 251, l. 44 f.); the latter is the only passage that I know of, in which the full genitive case occurs in connection with the numerals. And it evidently stands for the full locative singular and plural respectively, in such passages as Saṁvat paṇḍha-saptātya-adhikā dvēddā-tāṭhā 1375 Ṣr., in the Chāṛvā inscription of Dēvāppāla of Dḥhrā (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India, p. 111, l. 4), and in Śaka-saṁvat aha-nāvaya-adhikāna-tāṭhāyai-śaṁvatsa 991 Ṣr., in the Bassein grant of Śeṣugāhanda II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 120, l. 24 f.).—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives saṁvat as an indeclinable; and of course it properly is so. I am able, however, to quote two epigraphical instances, of modern date, in which it is used as a declinable; (1) in verse 30 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji’s Nēpāl Inscription, No. 19, of Pratāpamalla, dated Nēpāl-Saṅvat 778 (A.D. 1658-59); Nēpāl śaṁvatē-smin-haya-giri-muṇiḥkiḥ
It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the grant, by Amrakārādaya, the son of Undāna, and apparently an officer of Chandragupta, of a village, or an allotment of land, called Īśvaravāsaka, and a sum of money, to the Ārya-Saṅgha, or community of the faithful, at the great vihāra or Buddhist convent of Kākanadabota, for the purpose of feeding mendicants and maintaining lamps.

The Kākanadabota convent is, of course, the Great Stāpa itself. The name is partially destroyed in the present inscription; but it is legible in full in line 2 of the other Śāṅchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB. It is not quite certain what meaning is to be allotted to bōta in this name; but it is probably another form of pōta, 'the foundation of a house.'¹ The rest of the name, Kākanāda, lit. 'the noise of the crow,' is the ancient name of Śāṅchi itself. This is shown by its occurring in at least two of the inscriptions of the Aśoka period in the neighbourhood, to which my attention was directed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajì; thus, (1) an inscription on the outside of the east gate of the great Stāpa at Śāṅchi (Bhûsa Topes, p. 241, and Plate xvi. No. 39) should evidently be read Kākanāyē bhagavati pandara-laṭhi, 'the measuring-staff (?) of (Buddha), the Divine One, at Kākanāda;' and (2) the inscription on the top of the lid of the steatite casket found in Stāpa No. 2 at 'Andher' (id. p. 347, and Plate xxix. No. 7) should plainly be read Sapurisasa Gōtiputsa Kākanāda-Pabhāsana Kēśiha-gōta, 'the relics of the virtuous Prabhāsana of Kākanāda, the Gōtiputra, of the Kaunḍinya gōtra.'

TEXT:

1 Siddham² [ll*] Kā[kanā]dbota-śrī-mahā-vihārē śīla-samādhi-prajñā-guṇa-bhāvit-śendriyāya parama-punya-
2 kṛi .... tāya chatur-dīg-abhyāgātāya śramaṇa-puṅgav-āvasathāy-āryya-
3 saṅghāya mahārañjādhi-
4 vṛi[tthin(?)] jagati prakhyaapayan anēka-samar-āvāpta-vijaya-yāsas-patākaḥ Sukulī-dēṣa-Na-
5 aḥti .... vāstavya Undāna-putr-Āmrakārddavō Maja-Śarabhaṅg-
6 tam(?). . . . ya . . Īśvaravāsakaḥ pañcā-maṇḍalyā[r*] pranipatya dadati pañcha-vimśati(h)-cha dīnā-

ⁱ In the present series of inscriptions, bōta or vōta occurs again (1) as part of a proper name in Rasakabota, in line 8 of No. 27, Plate xvii. below; and (2) as a territorial name, in the Vōta saniktī in line 6f. of No. 29, Plate xixA. below. — Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives bōta, bōṣa, and vōsā, in the sense of 'a woman with a beard; a hermaphrodite; a female servant or slave.' — And we have Bōtsa, as a proper name, in line 25 of No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.

² From the original stone.

⁳ These two aksaras are supplied from line 2 of the Śāṅchi inscription of the year 131, No. 63 below, Plate xxxviiiB., in which they are quite distinct.
PERFECTION has been attained! To the community of the faithful⁴ in the holy great vihāra of Kākanā dabā, in which the organs of sense (of the members of it) have been subdued by the virtues of (good) character, religious meditation, and wisdom; which deeds of the very highest religious merit; which has come together from the four quarters of the world; (and) which is the abode of most excellent Śramaṇas, having prostrated himself in an assembly of five persons,⁵ Amarakārāvaka, the son of Undāna, whose means of subsistence have been made comfortable by the favour of the feet of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II.); who is publishing in the world the amiable behaviour of the virtuous people who are the dependents (of the king); who has acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles; (and) who is an inhabitant of (the town of) Nashṭi, in the Sukuli dēta, gives (the village or

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¹We might very suitably supply the lacunae by reading Dēvarājā iti priya-nām-=[āṃḍātyō bhavaṭy]=[d]tasya.
²See page 30 above, note 3.
³I.e., dina, dinē, dīvasa, or divast. And the word properly denotes the solar day, from sunrise to sunrise, with which a week-day name would be coupled; not the lunar tīthi, which may coincide with, or more or less may differ from, the solar day and week-day.
⁴Ārya-Saṅgha.
⁵Pāṭha-mandalī is evidently the same as the Pañcāṭi, Pañcāyaṭi, or Pāṭha, of modern times, the village-jury of five (or more) persons, convened to settle a dispute by arbitration, to witness and sanction any art of importance, &c.—Compare pañcāṭi (perhaps a mistake of the engraver for pañcāṭi), which seems to be used in the same sense, in line 16 of Bhagwanali Indrajit’s Nēpāl Inscriptions, No. 10 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 173).—So also pañcāṭika, in No. 4 of the same series, line 11 (id. p. 168), No. 7, lines 13 and 15 (p. 170), and No. 13, line 20 (p. 177), seems to mean the members of certain Pañcāyaṭis which are in each instance specified by name.
⁶Or Amarakārāvaka.
⁷dēta, a region, country, province, &c., is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning and bearing of which have not yet been determined. So, also, khanda, a section; mandala, a circle, district, arrondissement, province, &c.; rāṣṭra, a kingdom, district, country, region, &c.; and vishaya, a country, region, district, province, &c.—Dēta is sometimes used as a synonym of mandala. Thus, in line 7 of a grant of Amma II. of about Śaka-Saṅcita 867 or A.D. 945-46 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 16), and in line 6 of another grant of the same (id. Vol. VIII. p. 74), the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas is called the Vēṅgī dēta. While, in line 17 of a grant of Amma I. (id. Vol. VIII. p. 79), and in line 8 of another of Bhīma II. (id. Vol. XIII. p. 213), it is called the Vēṅgī man- dala. These charters record grants made in the Punnattavādi, Gudragāha, and Pāgonevara vīṣhayas, which would point to vīṣhayas being a subdivision of a dēta or mandala, and this is in accordance with line 5 of the Kāpāḷāvar grant of Mahā-Bhavagutta (id. Vol. XII. p. 219), where the correct reading is vīṣhayya-Rāṇagṛmaṇī, recording a gift of the village vīṣhayas belonging to the Pāva or Yōvā vīṣhayā in the Kōsala dēta. On the other hand, the 32nd of the Tērdāj inscription of Śaka-
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 5, PLATE III.B.

allotment of śvaravāsaka, purchased with the endowment of Maja and Śarbhāṅga and Amrārātā of the royal household, and (also gave) twenty-five dīndras.

(Line 7)—From [the interest of the dīndras] given by him,—with half, as long as the moon and the sun (endure), let five Bhikṣus be fed, and let a lamp burn in the jewel-house, for the perfection of all the virtues of the familiar name of Devarāja, of the Mahārājadhārāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II.); and with the other

Saṅvat 1046 or A.D. 1124-25 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 16), the terms dīla and viṣaya are both applied to the division of India that is best known as Bharatākhaṇḍa or Bharatākhētra, and also to the Kāṇḍi Three-thousand District in the Kanarase country; which would point to dīla and viṣaya being synonymous.—Khaṇḍa occurs in another grant (unpublished) of Mahâ-Bhavagupta, recording a gift of the village of Arigrama belonging to the Tulumba khaṇḍa in the Kōsaḷa dīla; which points to khaṇḍa being a subdivision of a dīla, and perhaps synonymous with viṣaya.—Mandala occurs also in line 8 of the grant of Mahendrapāla of Harsha-Saṅvat 155 or A.D. 761-62 (id. Vol. XV. p. 112), recording the gift of a village belonging to the Vālāyikā viṣaya, which lay in the Srāvasti mandala. And this, again, points to a mandala being subdivided into viṣayas.—As regards rādхrā and viṣaya, there were two classes of officials called Rādhrapati and Viṣhayapati, lit. ‘lords’ or ‘chiefs’ of rādha and viṣaya. And, on the one hand, such passages as those in line 8 f. of the Kātra grant of Vijayārjha of the year 394 (id. Vol. VII. p. 248), and in line 8 of the Kāvī grant of Jayabhāṭa of the year 486 (id. Vol. V. p. 114), which mention first the Viṣhayapati, then the Rādhrapati, and then the Grāmamahātāra or ‘village-headman,’ point, as indicated by Dr. Bühler in editing the Kāvī grant, to the viṣaya being a larger division than the rādhra; as also such expressions as “the cultivators, headed by the Rādhrakūta (‘headman of the rādha’), dwelling in the Penattadvāḍi viṣaya,” in line 39 f. of the grant of Amma II. of about Śaka-Saṅvat 867, referred to above. But, on the other hand, exactly the opposite of this is indicated by such passages as those in line 38 f. of the Śamāṇag grant of Dantidurga of Śaka-Saṅvat 675 or A.D. 753-54 (id. Vol. XI. p. 115), in line 33 f. of the Wani grant of Gōvinda III. of Śaka-Saṅvat 730 (id. Vol. XI. p. 159), and in line 60 of the Kauṭhēśa grant of Vikramāditya V. of Śaka-Saṅvat 930 (id. Vol. XVI. p. 24), in which first the Rādhpāpati is mentioned, then the Viṣhayapati, and then the Grāmathtāra or ‘village-headman.’ While finally, such expressions as “the Karmarfśa viṣaya,” in line 12 of the grant of the second year of Viṣhṇupardhana II. (id. Vol. VII. p. 187), and “the Goparshśa viṣaya,” in line 17 of the Nirpa grant of Nāgarpardhana (id. Vol. IX. p. 124), point to rādha and viṣaya being synonymous terms.—The subject requires further elucidation. And, as in the case of regal and official titles, it is much better to use the original Sanskrit words, than to render them by such terms as Zillā, Tālūkā, &c., which are of modern invention, and which cannot possibly be satisfactory equivalents, even if they should happen to approach to the relative meanings.

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

2 Or Āmrārātā.

3 rājakula.

4 Or Amrara.

5 I supply these words, where the original has been effaced, on the analogy of line 3 f. of the Śāfchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB.

6 This is the literal meaning of rāṇa-griha. It seems to denote the Stūpa itself, as the abode of the three rātas or ‘jewels or precious things;’ viz. (1) Buddha; (2) Dharma, the Law or Truth; and (3) Sema, the community or congregation.

7 Prinsep translated this passage so as to make Devarāja another name of Chandragupta II. This may be correct. But we have no other authority for giving him this second name. And the lacunae in the line render it impossible to say with any certainty whether it denotes him, or some other of his.—If the suggestion that I have made above (page 32, note 1) for filling up the lacunae, should be accepted, the translation would be—“for the perfection of all the virtues of him who, having the familiar name of Devarāja, is a minister of the Mahārājadhārāja, the glorious Chandragupta.”
half, which is mine, let the same number of five Bhikkhus be fed, and (let) a lamp (burn) in the jewel-house.

(L. 10.)—Whosoever shall interfere with this his arrangement,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the slaughter of a cow or of a Brāhmaṇa, and with (the guilt of) the five sins that entail immediate retribution.

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

No. 6; PLATE IVA.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vpl. X. p. 51 f., where he published his own version of the text, and a translation of it by Rāja Siva Prasad; accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xix.).—This rendering of the inscription has remained the standard version up to the present time, except that in 1883, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 312, Dr. E. Hultzsch pointed out some errors in the last line as published.

The inscription is on the back wall, a little to the left as one enters, inside a cave at Udayagiri, in Scindia’s Dominions in Central India, which is known as the “Tāvām Cave,” from the resemblance of the large flat stone, on the top of the rock in which it is excavated, to a gigantic tawd, or ‘griddle for baking cakes.’

The writing, which covers a space of about 3’ 7” by 1’ 2”, has suffered a good deal from the peeling off of the surface of the rock on which it is engraved; but the general purport of it remains complete, and nothing of a historical nature appears to have been lost.—The size of the letters varies from ½” to 1¼”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of radically the same type with those of the Allahbād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include in the numbering of the verses, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddhāmi, the inscription is in verse throughout, and the verses are numbered.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the jihvāmālyiya and upadhāmāniya in jihvā=kavih= pātali, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the time of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II., whose name is recorded in line 1. As no date is given, there might be some doubt as to whether the Chandragupta mentioned here is the first or the second of the name. But the standard of the characters, as compared with those of the Allahbād inscription, which was engraved in the time of Chandragupta II.,—and the fact that the inscription records that the Chandragupta mentioned in it came in person to Udayagiri, coupled with the existence at Udayagiri of the inscription of the year 82, No. 3, p. 21 ff. above, which

---

1 It is not quite apparent who is speaking here; but probably Amarakārda is intended.
2 brāhmaṇa; see Childers’ Pāli Dictionary, s.v. brahmaṇa.
3 viś. matricide, parricide, killing an Arhat, shedding the blood of a Buddha, and causing division among the priesthood (see Childers’ Pāli Dictionary, s.v. paṭcbaṃantarīyakammā and abhikākhaṃ.)
4 See page 23 above, and note 1.
is proved by its date to be one of Chandra Gupta I.,—shew that the king mentioned here is Chandragupta II., not his grandfather, Chandra Gupta I. It is a Shaiva inscription; and the object of it is to record the excavation of the cave as a temple of the god Siva, under the name of Sambhu, by the order of a certain Virasena, otherwise called Saba, who was one of the ministers of Chandra Gupta II.

TEXT:

1. Siddham* [II*] Yad+a[r]tarjyotisark-dharmam-dvaram-yapā Chandragupta-akhyam=adibhutam* [II*] 1

2. Vikramāyakraya-kṛttā dāsya-nyagbhōta-pārthivyā [- - - - - - - -]māna-sahākṣa

dharmma[- - - - - - - -] [II*] 2

3. Tasya-rajaṁ-bhāṣē-achintya-β[- - - -]mrmanāḥ anvaya-prāpta-sāchivyā

vyā-[prita-sah] dhīll-1-grahā [II*] 3

4. Kaustabha-Sabha iti khyāto Virasena kulākhyaya sabdārththa-nyaya-lōka-

jñāh-kavī-Pātaliputra[ka] [II*] 4

5. Kṛṣṇa-prīthvījaya-dī̄rīthena rāṇī-avēha saahāgataḥ bhaktyā bhagavatās-

Sambhūr-grhām-ētam-akṣaram [II*] 5

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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1See page 27 above, note 4, for some similar instances of second names.
2From the original stone.
3In the original this word stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.
4Metre, Ślokā (Anushṭubh) throughout.
5From the use, in line 5, of the imperfect past tense akṣaram, 'he caused to be made,'—and from the natural length of time required for the completion of the cave, before the inscription could be engraved inside it,—a considerable time must have elapsed between the visit of the king and his minister, and the engraving of the inscription. But there seems no special reason for supposing that the work was not all finished during the lives of Chandragupta II. and Virasena. Accordingly, in translating, I have given a present sense to the contents of lines 1 to 4.
6There seems to be intended a play on the words 'sun' and 'moon,' the latter of which (chandra) forms part of the king's name.

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

(L. 5.)—He came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world; and, through devotion towards the divine (god) Śambhu, he caused this cave to be made.

No. 7; PLATE IV B.

GADHWĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 88.

This inscription, and the following two inscriptions of Kumāragupta, Nos. 8 and 9, are on a stone that was discovered in 1871-72 by Rājā Siva Prasad, and were first brought to notice by General Cunningham in his Archaeological Reports.

Gadhwā,1 which means literally 'a fort,' is the name of several villages in the Arail and Bārā Parganās in the Karchhān Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. The particular Gadhwā, where these inscriptions were found, is in the Bārā Parganā, eight miles to the west by south from Bārā, and one and a half miles south of the village of Bhatgadh.2 It is entered in the map simply as a "Fort."* The stone containing the inscriptions was found built into the wall of one of the rooms of a modern dwelling-house inside the enclosure of the fort; and is a rectangular sandstone fragment, measuring about 9½" broad by 4" thick and 2½" high. It is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

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

1 The 'Garhwa' and 'Gurhwa' of maps, &c.
2 The 'Barah' of maps.
3 The 'Badgarb, Bhatgarb, and Budgudh' of maps, &c.
4 Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88., Lat. 23° 13' N.; Long. 81° 38' E.
On the front of the stone, towards the top, traces are visible of eleven lines of writing, each of about thirteen letters, in characters of the same period with those of the inscriptions that I now publish. But no part of this inscription, which seems to have been quite distinct from those on the sides, can be read; and the traces of it that remain are not worth being lithographed.

The inscription of Chandragupta II. now published, is on the upper part of the present proper left side of the stone, and the writing covers a space of about 4" broad by 1' 4½" high. It was originally brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text of lines 10 to 17 in the *Archaol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 55, with a lithograph of the whole (id. Pl. xx. No. 1). The first two entire lines, and the last half of each of the remaining lines, have been broken away and lost. The remnant of the inscription, however, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The average size of the letters is ⅛".

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the *Allahábád* posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include, in lines 7, 11, and 16, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 10, and 80.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point requiring notice is the doubling of y and v after the anusvāra, in *samvatsarā*, line 9, and *samvatsarē*, line 11.

In the first part of the inscription, lines 1 to 9, the date and the name of the king are entirely broken away and lost. So also the name in the second part. But, in the latter part, lines 10 to 17, we have the date, in numerical symbols, of the year eighty-eight (A.D. 407-8). And this, coupled with the epithet *paramabhagavaṇa* in line 10, followed by the beginning of the title *Mahārāja dāhāraja*, shows that the inscription, in this part, certainly belongs to the time of the *Early Gupta* king Chandragupta II. And the first part is so plainly engraved by the same hand,—and is, moreover, not separated by any dividing line,—that it must certainly be allotted to the same reign. So little remains of the two parts of this inscription, that the form of religion to which they belong cannot be determined; nor can the object of them; except that each part records a gift of ten *dīnāras*, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *sattrā*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

In line 12 we have a mention of the city of *Pātāliputra*, the modern *Pāṭaṇa* in Bihār; but there is nothing to indicate, of necessity, that it is mentioned as a capital of Chandragupta II.

**TEXT.**

First Part.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[Paramabhagavata-mahārāja dāhāraja - śrī-Chandragupta - rājya].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[samvatsarē]*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>divasa-pūrvvāyāṃ*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 From the original stone.
2 This first line is entirely broken away and lost; but, from the date in line 11, there can be no doubt that the name and titles of Chandragupta II. have to be filled in here, as also in line 10.—In the second line, remnants are visible of the first four or five *akṣaras*, including one or two numerical symbols; but not enough of them remains to shew with any certainty what the latter are.
3 To be corrected into rājya *samvatsarā*; see page 38 below, note 5.
4 Supply *tīthau*. 

[In the reign of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the \textit{Mahārājādhīrāja} the glorious Chandragupta (II.) ; in the year……………………………
(on this) (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (\&c.) :—

(Line 3.)—………………. headed by Mātridāsa………………. for the purpose of increasing [the religious merit] ……………… the Brāhmans of the community of a perpetual almshouse………………. by ten dīndras, (or in figures) 10.

(L. 8.)—And whosoever [shall interfere with] this branch of religion,—[he] shall become invested [with (the guilt of)] the five great sins\(^4\).]

\textit{Second Part.}

(L. 10.)—In the reign\(^a\) of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the \textit{Mahārājādhīrāja}, [the glorious Chandragupta (II. ) ]; in the year 80 (and) 8; …………
………………. [on this] (lunar day), (specified) as above [by the day, (\&c.)] :—

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

\(^2\)Read rīṣyā sāṅvatīrṣaṁ; see note 5 below.

\(^3\)Supply tīkha.

\(^4\)The \textit{paṭcha mahāpātakam}, or ‘five great crimes,’ are:—slaying a Brāhman; drinking intoxicating liquor; theft (of the gold belonging to a Brāhman); adultery with the wife of a spiritual preceptor; and associating with any one guilty of these crimes; see the \textit{Mānavadharmākṣātra}, ix. 333, and xi. 55 to 59; Burnell’s Translation, pp. 287, 331.

\(^5\)The original, if accepted as it stands, would have to be translated “in the year eighty-eighth of the reign of Chandragupta.” But the numerals, both here and in the still more pointed instances given below, show that the expression cannot possibly refer to regnal years.—This method of expres-
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 8, PLATE IV.C.

(L. 12.) — ...... Pātaliputra ........................................ the wife of the householder ................................ [for the purpose] of adding to (her) own religious merit ........................ the Brāhmaṇs of the community of a perpetual almshouse .................... ten dīndras, (or in figures) 10.

(L. 16.) — [And whosoever] shall interfere with [this] branch of religion,—[he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins].

No. 8; PLATE IV.C.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

This is another of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Ṛjā Siva Prasad, in 1871-72, at Gadhwā,1 in the Allahābāḍ District in the North-West Provinces. It was first brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 55, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xx. No. 1).

This inscription is on the lower part of the proper left side of the stone, immediately below the preceding inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 7 above, from which it is separated only by a line across the stone.

The last half of each line has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the writing, however, covering a space of about 4" broad by 10" high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The average size of the letters is about 3". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding inscription, No. 8, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in lines 3 and 6, forms of the numerical symbol for 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Kumāragupta. The date, however, except in respect of the day, is broken away and lost. So little remains of the inscription that the form of religion to which it belongs cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it seems to record two gifts,—one of ten dīndras, and

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

TEXT.¹

1 Jītāṁ bhagavatā l Pa[rāmahāgovatā-mahārājādhirājā].
2 śrī-Kumāragupta-rājya-[saṁvatsarā].
3 divase 10 [asyaṁ divasa-pūrvvāyāṁ].
4 ————
5 ... sadā-sat[†]ra-sα[mānya].
6 [da]tā dīnārāḥ 10 ta(?).
7 ti sattrē cha dīnārās-trayā [Yaš-ch-ainām dharma-skandham vyuchchhi].
8 ndyāt-sa pañcha-mahāpā[takaiḥ saṁyuktāḥ syād-iti [it].
9 Gōyindā Lakṣhmā .........

TRANSLATION.

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

(Line 3)———— [the community of] a perpetual almshouse ........

........ there were given ten dīnāras ................................ and in the almshouse ........... three dīnāras.

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

(L. 9.)—Gōyindā, Lakṣhmā .............

No. 9; PLATE IVD.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 98.

This is the last of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Rājā Siva Prasad, in 1871-72, at Gadhwā* in the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was not noticed when the stone was first discovered; but was afterwards found, on clearing away the lime under which it was hidden, by General Cunningham, who then, in 1880, published his reading of the text in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 9, with a lithograph (id. Plate v. No. 1.)

¹ From the original stone.
² This epithet is completed from line 5 of the Bilsād pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 below, and line 5 f. of the Bhitarī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below.
³ Read ṛājye [saṁvatsarā]; see page 38 above, note 5.
⁴ This may be completed into either trayāḥ, trayōdasa, trayōtimati, or any other numeral commencing with trayas.
⁵ See page 38 above, note 5.
⁶ See page 36 above, and note 1.
This inscription is on the upper part of the proper right side of the stone. Almost the whole of the first line, and the first half of each of the remaining lines, has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the writing, however, covering a space of about 4½" broad by 9½" high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The size of the letters varies from ½" to ¾". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding two inscriptions, Nos. 7 and 8, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in the date, forms of the numerical symbols for 8 and 90.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The name of the king is broken away and lost in the first half of line 2. But the inscription is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year ninety-eight (A.D. 417-18); and this shows that the record must belong to the time of the Early Gupta king Kumāragupta. So little remains of it, that the form of religion to which it belonged, cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it records a gift of twelve dīnāras, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a sattva, a charitable hall or almshouse.

TEXT.1

1 [Jitāṁ bhagavatā II] Para[mah]b[ā]gvata-[mahārajādhi]-
3 [asyāṁ divasa]-pārvvāyāṁ[8] patta 
4 nē(?)-nātmā-sūrya-opa[cha]-
5 [y-arttham] kāllyāṁ saukṣa-sat[t]ra-
6 kasya tralakṣīnās (?) 
7 tya(?)m dīnāḥ dvādaśa 
8 sy=āṅkur-ḍṛbbha(?) stha-chchha 
9 [saṁ]yukt[Sam] syād-iti l(II) 

TRANSLATION

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

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

a perpetual almshouse. 

(L. 9)— shall become associated with .

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

BILSAD STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 96.

This inscription was discovered in 1877-78 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in his reading of the text, and translation of it, published in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XI.* p. 19 f., accompanied by a lithograph (*ibid.* Plate viii.)

Bilsad or Bilsand is a village,—consisting of three parts, called respectively Bilsad-Puvayam, or Eastern Bilsad; Bilsad-Pachhayam, or Western Bilsad; and Bilsad-Patt, or Bilsad Suburb,—about four miles towards the north-east of Allgañ, the chief town of the Aligañ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Etah District in the North-West Provinces. At the south-west corner of Bilsad-Puvayam, or the eastern division of the town, there are four broken red-sandstone monolith columns,—two of them, towards the west, round; and two of them, towards the east, square. Each pair of columns stands almost due north and south; and the two western columns are both inscribed. The inscription now published is on the eastern side of the northern column of the west pair.

On the eastern side of the southern column of the west pair, there is also an inscription, which, as shown by the remains of it, was a duplicate copy of that on the northern column; but it was arranged somewhat differently, being, as counted by General Cunningham, in sixteen somewhat shorter lines, instead of thirteen. From General Cunningham's ink-impression, hardly any appreciable portion of this second inscription remains, except the second and third lines, and lines 12 to 16; and these are not in sufficiently good order to be lithographed, though they are of use in supplying more clearly a few letters which are doubtful in the two verses at the end of the inscription on the northern column. In this second inscription, line 2 begins with the *svadita-yatasa* of line 1 of the one now published;—line 3, with the *gat-antha* of line 2;—line 12, with about the *parsadda* of line 9;—line 13, with the *kaubrachchanda* of line 10;—line 14, with the *sastra* of line 11;—line 15, with the *subdh* of line 12;—and line 16, with the *yam-apurva* of line 13.

With this pair of duplicate inscriptions, we may compare the duplicate inscriptions of Yaśodharman on the two columns at Mandasor, Nos. 33 and 34 below. But Yaśodharman's pillars were *jayastambhas* or 'columns of victory,' not connected with any building; whereas the two inscribed Bilsad pillars seem to have had a direct connection with a temple, now ruined, the remains of which must be hidden under the rubbish that has accumulated over the site,—viz. the temple of the god *Svami-Maháśeṇa,* or Kárttikéya, referred to in the inscription.

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

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1 The 'Beesur and Bilsar' of many Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 68. Lat. 27° 33' N.; Long. 79° 16' E.—The name is written and pronounced optionally with or without a nasal in the second syllable; compare Apasá, and Apasá, and the use of the inscription of Adityaséna, No. 42 below.

2 The 'Beesurpowa, Beesurpuch, Beesurpata, Beesurputte,' of maps.

3 The 'Aliganj and Ulegeunge,' etc.

4 The 'Etah, Etah, and Etyuh,' of.
damage has been done to the rest; but nothing of a historical nature seems to have been lost.—The average size of the letters is about 3". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; but they present a very pointed difference from the characters of the same class in the preceding inscriptions, in respect of the very marked mātrās or prolonged horizontal top-strokes of the letters.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the end of line 9, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of ṭ, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in puttrasya, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Kumāragupta. It is dated, in words, in the year ninety-six (A.D. 415-16); but without any specification of the month and day. It belongs to the Śaiva form of worship; and the object of it is to record the accomplishment by a certain Dhrusasarmaṇa, at a temple of the god Kar-ttikāyā under the name of Śvamī-Mahāśēna, of certain works, viz. (1) the building of a pratīṭī, or gateway with a "flight of steps;" (2), the establishment, apparently, of a sattrā or charitable hall or almshouse; and (3) the erection of the column with the inscription on it, to record the above acts.

TEXT.

[1-2] [Sarvva-rāj-ōcchhētutuḥ prithivyām-a-pratirathasya chatur-uda]dhisaili-śavādīta-yaśasō

2 [Dhanada-Varun-ōnātaka-samasya Kṛitānta-paraśoḥ nyāy-গাত-এক-গো-]

3 [mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-praputrasya mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭotkacha-pauruṣasya mahārāja-śrī-Chandragupta-putrasya]

4 Lichchhavi-daub[b][t][r][a]sasya mahādevyāṃ Kumāradēvyāṃ-utpannasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudragupta-putrasya

5 mahādevyāṃ Dattadēvyāṃ-utpannasya svaya[m-a-pratirathasya] [parama]-


1 As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham, pratīṭī, according to the Dictionaries, means "a broad way; a high street; a principal road through a town." But the meaning of "gateway" was given to him by a Paṇḍit. And that the word has the meaning in the present inscription of "a gateway with a flight of steps," seems to be shewn by the comparison of the pratīṭī with a svarga-sūpāna or "flight of steps, or ladder, leading to heaven," and by its being described as "white with the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems (in the stones of which it was constructed)."

* From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression; so also the lithograph. The passages that are illegible in lines 1 to 3 are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from the Bhitār pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii., lines 1 to 3.

* Probably siddham stood here.

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

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

(Line 6.)—In the ninety-sixth year, (and) in the augmenting victorious reign\(^1\) of the Mahāraja-dhīrdāja, the glorious Kumāragupta,—

(L. 1.)—[Who\(^8\) was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world]; whose fame was tasted by the waters [of the four oceans]; [who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Aniaka; who was the very axe of (the god) Kṛitānta]; who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows and] gold; who was the restorer of the avamādha-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; (and)

(L. 7.)—On this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (etc.),\(^{11}\) at this temple of the divine (god) Svāmi-Mahāsēna, whose wondrous form is covered over with the accu-

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\(^1\) Supply *titkau.*

\(^2\) Read *kritam-idam.*

\(^3\) Metre, Sragdhārā.

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

\(^5\) The reading is *gaurdām,* instead of the usual form *gaurtam,* also in the original duplicate of this inscription on the other column.

\(^6\) Metre, Śārdalavikṛṭdāta.

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

\(^8\) We should expect *sthiratras,* but the duplicate inscription also reads *sthira-varas,*

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

\(^10\) *i.e.* Chandragupta II.

\(^11\) *i.e.* Samudragupta.

\(^12\) *i.e.* Samudragupta.
mulation of the lustre of the three worlds; who is the god Brahma; (and) who resides at ---------------,—this great work has been accomplished by Dhruvaśārman, who follows the path of the customs of the Krita age, and of the true religion, (and) who is honoured by the assembly. 

(L. 10.)—Having made a gateway, charming, (and) ........ the abode of saints, (and) having the form of a staircase leading to heaven, (and) resembling a (pearl)-necklace of the kind kaubhraphochchanda, (and) white with the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems;—(and having made), in a very proper manner, a [religious] almshouse(?), the abode of those who are eminent in respect of virtuous qualities; resembling in form the top part of a temple;—he, the virtuous-minded one, roams in a charming manner among the items of religious merit (that he has thus accumulated); may the venerable Ṣaṁman endure for a long time!

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

No. II; PLATE VIA.

MANKUWAR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 129.

This inscription was discovered in 1879 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and appears to have been first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1880, in the Archæol., Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 7, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate IV. No. 2.).—And, in 1885, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 354.

Mankūwar is a small village near the right bank of the Jamna, about nine miles in a south-westerly direction from Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Parganā in the Karchhan Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahabad District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the front of the pedestal of a seated image of Buddha, which, when it came to the notice of General Cunningham, was in a garden at Mankūwar, belonging to the Gosāl of Deoriya or Dwarwariya; and it appears to be still there. But it was said to have been originally discovered in a brick mound between the five rocky hillocks called Pañch-Pahād, a short distance to the north-east of Mankūwar. The image represents Buddha, seated; wearing a plain cap, fitting close to the head, with

1 prasthit; see page 43 above, note 1.
2 This is a play on the meaning of the first part of his name, dhruva, ‘immovable, stable, enduring.’—For the use of the second part, to represent the whole name, see page 8 above, note 3.
3 ‘This loftiness of a pillar.’
4 The ‘Mankūwar and Munhowar’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88 (Lat. 23° 19’ N.; Long. 81° 52’ E.).
5 The ‘Deoriya and Deorya’ of maps, &c.; about a mile to the north-west of Mankūwar.
6 Bhagwanlal Indraji writes the name ‘Devala.’
long lappets on each side; and naked to the waist, and clad below in a waist-cloth, reaching to the ankles. The first line of the inscription is at the top of the pedestal, immediately below the image. Then comes a compartment of sculptures, containing in the centre, a Buddhist wheel; on each side of the wheel, a man seated in meditation, and facing full-front; and, at each corner, a lion. Then follows the second line of the inscription, at the bottom of the pedestal.

The writing, each line of which covers a space of about 1' 7" broad, by 4" high in the first line, and 1" in the second, is in a state of excellent preservation. The size of the letters varies from 1' to 1½'. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate very closely to those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate 1. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 9, 10, 20, and 100. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose. The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Kumâragupta. For some reason or other, it gives him the subordinate feudatory title of Mahârdâja, instead of the paramount title of Mahârâjâdhirâja. But we know of no feudatory chieftain of the name of Kumâragupta; and the date fits exactly into the period of Kumâragupta, of the Early Gupta dynasty; and there can be no doubt that he is the person referred to. The use of the subordinate title may perhaps be due to carelessness or ignorance on the part of the drafter of the inscription. Or possibly it may indicate an actual historical fact, the reduction of Kumâragupta, towards the end of his life, to feudal rank by the Pushyamitrâs and the Hûnas, whose attacks on the Gupta power are so pointedly alluded to in the Bhitâri inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below. The date of the inscription, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and twenty-nine (A.D. 448-49), and the eighteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Jyêṣṭha (May-June). It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.

1 Om^ Nāmō Buddhâna\textsuperscript{a} Bhagavat\textsuperscript{b} samyak-sambuddhasya sva-mat-\textsuperscript{c} āvirodhasya iyaṁ praśītā pratishtāhāpya bhikṣu-Buddhamûtrēṇa

\footnote{We may compare the rather doubtful legend on one of Skandagupta's coins, \textit{Mahârâjâ-Kumâraputra-paramamahâditya-mahârâjâ-Skanda}; \textit{see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 67.}}

\footnote{From the ink-impression.}

\footnote{As was usual throughout the whole of the period covered by this volume, this word is represented by a symbol, not by actual letters. \textit{Om} is not of very frequent occurrence at the commencement of Buddhist inscriptions. But another instance is afforded by line 1 of the Shêrgadh (Kôtâ) inscription of the Šûmanṭa Dêvadatta \textit{(Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 45.)}}

\footnote{Read \textit{bhagavân}, unless \textit{buddhâna}, as also the following \textit{bhagavatâ}, is to be regarded as a Prakrit form, used through carelessness.—This use of the genitive after \textit{namā} is not usual. But we have other instances; e.g., in the Khandagiri rock inscription, which commences \textit{Namā arahamiharm namā savas-sidhânam} (\textit{Corp. Inscr. Ind. Vol. I. p. 98, and Pl. xvii.}); in the two early inscriptions quoted by Bühler in \textit{Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 273}, the first of which, from Amâravâtī (Fergusson's \textit{Tree and Serpent Worship}, Pl. xciv. No. 3), commences \textit{Sidhâm Namā bhagavatâ}; and the second, from Mathurâ (\textit{Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20}) \textit{Siddhām Namā arahatî Mahârâjâya}; and in the Amâravâtī \textit{Stôpa} inscription, which commences \textit{Sidhâm Namā bhagavatâ savasastutamasa Buddhâsa} (\textit{Archaeol. Surv. South. Ind. Vol. 3. p. 12, No. 12B, and Plate iii.; see also other instances on pp. 8, 18, 45, 47, 54, 53, 54, of the same volume.).}

\footnote{Read \textit{bhagavatâ}.}
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 12, PLATE VI.B.

Samvat 100 20 9 mahārāja ari Kumāraguptasya rājya Jyēṣṭha-rāṣṭra
di 10 8 sarva-duḥkha-prāhān(ṇ)-ārtham [II*]

TRANSLATION.

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

No. 12; PLATE VI.B.

BIHAR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Ravenshaw, and to have been first brought to notice by him in 1839, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 347 ff.; from his remarks it appears that the column was originally found in front of the northern gate of the old fort of Bihār, but had been subsequently removed and set up "in a reversed position, with its base in the air, and its summit in the ground," a little to the west of the same gate, where it was afterwards found, fallen, by General Cunningham.—In 1866, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXV. pp. 269 ff. and 277 f., Dr. Rajendralal Mitra published his reading of the text, with a lithograph, from a baked clay impression made by Major C. Hollings, and sent to the Society in 1861.—And in 1871, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 37 f. and Plate xviii., General Cunningham published his own lithograph of the inscription.

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

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1 See page 30 above, note 3.  
2 Read duḥkha.  
3 Īm is an auspicious exclamation, used at the beginning of books, &c. It is made up of the three letters a, ū, and m; and in later times it was looked upon as a mystic name for the Hindu triad, and as representing the union of the three gods, Vishṇu (a), Śiva (ū), and Brahma (m).—The efficacy of the exclamation is detailed in the Mānavadharmāstṛa, ii. 74-85 (Burnell's Transl. p. 25 ff.).

*With this plural, compare the mention of four Buddhás in the Sātāchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB.; and also Bhagavatī samyaksambhūnam Buddhānam, "of the divine Buddhás, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge," in line 22 of the Walk grant of Dhrūvadēva I. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 105).

* See page 46 above, para. 4.

* The "Behar and Bihar" of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 11' N.; Long. 85° 33' E.—The proper form of the name, which is by no means an uncommon one for villages in Northern and Central India, is of course Bihār, with the vowel ū in the first syllable, from the Sanskrit vihāra, 'a Buddhist (and Jain) temple or convent;' and this is the form that is used by the people of the Patna District. The Sanskrit name, Vihāra, occurs in line 9-10 of the 'Pesserau' inscription, now stored in the collection at Bihār, where the place is called "Vihāra, the city of the glorious Yasōvarman" (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XVII. p. 492 ff.).

the inverted position of the column, upside down; and also disfigured it with an English inscription, printed in full by General Cunningham, a few letters of which appear in the lithograph now published. Also, the column, as placed by Mr. Broadley, stands now in the middle of a house, the roof of which is supported by it; and the last eight lines of the inscription, shown in Dr. Rajendralala Mitra and General Cunningham’s lithographs, are now completely hidden, and rendered quite inaccessible, by a wooden structure placed on the top, i.e. the proper bottom, of the pillar, in order to connect it with the roof.

The writing originally extended, in the First Part, lines 1 to 13, over four of the faces of the column, as is shown by the metres of the extant portion; and in the Second Part, line 14 ff., over three faces, as is shown by the number of letters lost in each line. The extant portion, now lithographed, covers a space of about 1’ 4" broad by 3’ 5" high, and is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The size of the letters varies from ¼ to ½.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate closely to those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudraguptâ, No. 1, p. i ff., above, Plate i. They include, in lines 3 and 11, forms of the numerical symbols for 3, 5, and 30.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 10, and the rest in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are

(1) the use of the dental consonant, instead of the anusvâra, before t, in ante, lines 11 and 13;
(2) the doubling of k and t, i.e. conjunction with a following r, e.g. in chakrâ, line 10 (but not in vikrebhna, line 3), and paurâsa, line 17; and (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in amudhyâta, line 22.

The first part of the inscription, which is not dated, mentions the Early Gupta king Kumâragupta, and seems to have recorded the name of his wife, which is not given in any of the other inscriptions; her name, however, is lost in the part that has peeled off. But this part of the inscription seems to belong, like the second, to the time of his son and successor Skandagupta, from the mention of apparently a village named Skandaguptabata, in line 11. This part of the inscription records the erection of the column, which in line 10 is called a yâpa or ‘sacrificial post,’ apparently by some minister whose sister had become Kumâragupta’s wife. And the inscription further recorded certain shares in the village of Skandaguptabata (?), and in another agrahâra, the name of which is lost. From the mention of Skanda, or Kârttikâya, and the divine Mothers, in line 9, this part of the inscription seems to have belonged to the Śaiva form of worship, in its Śâkta or Tântrika development.

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

1 Compare the undoubted instance of this, in the same period, in the Gaṇapâta inscription of Visvaravarman, No. 17 below.—The mûroha or mûtrigana, ‘the divine Mothers,’ are ‘the personified energies (śaktis) of the principal deities.’ They are closely connected with the worship of the god Siva. Originally they were seven in number,—Brâhma or Brahmâ, Vînânavî, Mahêśvarî, Kaumârî, Vârāhî, Indîrî or Indra or Mahêndrî, and Châmûndî,—as representing the Pleiades, the seven mothers or nurses of Kârttikâya, the son of Śiva. Afterwards the number was increased to eight, nine, sixteen, and various other figures. The chief object of the Śâkta or Tântrika worship now is Pârvatî, Durgâ, or Mahêśvarî, the wife and female energy of Siva; especially under the name of Jagadambî, ‘the mother of the universe.’—Not long after this period, Svâmi-Mahâlaîna, or Kârttikâya, and the divine Mothers, ‘the seven mothers of mankind,’ appear as special objects of worship, and tutelary deities, of the Early Kadambas (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 27), and of the Early Chalukyas (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 162; Vol. VI. p. 74; and Vol. XIII. p. 137 f.)
TEXT.¹

First Part.

1 [− − ]t³ nṛśa-chandra Indránuja-tulya-ñīryyō guṇair-a-tulyaḥ
  [− − − − − − − − ] [ii]

2 [− − ] tṛṣyä-āpi sūnur-bhuvā svāmi-nēyaḥ khyātah sva-
kṛttyā [− − − − − − − − ] [ii]

3 [− − ] svālaśa-aiva yasy-ātula-vikramēṇa Kumāragupt[ī'][ēṇa]
  [− − − − − − − − − − ] [i]

4 [− − ] p[i]̐tri(ṛ)nas-cha dēvāṁs-cha hi havya-kavyaiḥ sadā
  nṛśaṁsy-ādi[− − − − − − − − ] [ii]

5 [− − − − ] a[ ]chkarad' dēvaniṅketa-mañḍalam kṣhitāv-an-aupamya-
  [− − − − − − − − − − ] [ii]

6 ................ ba(?)tē(?)⁴ kila . stambha-var-ōchchhri(chchhra)ya-prabhāsē
tu maṇḍa . .................. [ii]

7 ................ bhira-ārakshāṇa kusuma-bhar-ānat-āgra-śuṁ (?)ga (?)-vyālamba-
  stavak ......

8 [− − ] Bhadrāryayāö bhāti griham navābhra-nirmmōka-
nirmu[kta − − − − − − ] [ii] .

9 [− − ] Skanda-pradhānair-bhuvā māṭribhīṣ-cha lōkān-sa
  su (?)shya (?)[− − − − − − − − − − ] [ii]

10 [− − − − ] yūp-ōchchhrayam-ēva chakkrē [ii*] Bhadrāryy-ādi-

...................

11 ................ [Ska(?)]ndaguptatabatē anśāni 30 5 tā (?)mrakaṭkutu (?)h
  kala......

12 ................ pituḥ sva-mātur-yyady-asti hi dushkritam bhajatu
  tanē .

13 ................ k-āgrahārē anśāni 3 Anantasēnēn-ōpa ..............

Second Part.

14 ................ [Sarvva-ṛāj-ōchchhē]ttuḥ" pri(pri)ḥivyAṃ-a-pratirathasya

15 [chatur-udadh-salil-Āsvādita-yaśasō Dhanada-Varuṇ-É]ndr-Āntaka-
samasya Kritānta-

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¹ As far as line 25, from the ink-impression; the rest, partly from Gen. Cunningham's litho-
graph, and partly from the lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's reading.

² The first two entire pādas, and parts of the third pādas of most of the verses, have peeled
off and are lost all the way down.

³ Metre, Upēṇdravajrā.

⁴ Metre, Indravajrā.

⁵ The metre is faulty here; since the vi of bhuvī, which should remain short, is lengthened by
the following sv.

⁶ Metre, Upēṇdravajrā; and in the next verse.

⁷ Metre, Varṇāstha.

⁸ Metre, apparently Ghti; and in the next verse.

⁹ Metre, Indravajrā; and in the following two verses.

¹⁰ The passages that are lost in lines 14 to 22, are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29,
page 8, above, and from the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15 below, Plate vii.,
lines 1 to 6. The sectarian epithet of Skandagupta, in line 23, is supplied from line 24, and from
his silver coins (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 66 f.)
a very moon of a man; equal in prowess to (the god Vishnu) the younger brother of Indra; unequalled in respect of virtuous qualities;

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

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

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

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

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

(L. 8.)— by (the presence of) Bhadrārya, the house shines the sky laden with fresh clouds.

(L. 9.)— headed by (the god) Skanda, and by the divine Mothers, on the earth, mankind

(L. 10.)— he made, indeed, the erection of (this) sacrificial post Bhadrārya and others in (the village (?) called) Skandaguptabata (?), 30 (and) 5 shares

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

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

Second Part.

(L. 14.)— The son of the Mahārajadhīrṣya, the glorious Samudragupta, who was the exterminator [of all kings]; who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world; [whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans]; who was equal to (the gods) [Dhanada and Varuṇa] and Indra and Antaka; [who was the very axe] of (the god) Kṛitanta; [who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold]; who was the restorer of the atvamāttha-sacrifice, that had been [long] in abeyance; [who was the son of the son's son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Gupta]; who was the son's son of [the Mahārāja, the illustrious] Ghaṭotkacha; (and) who was the son of the Mahārajadhīrṣya, [the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhavi], begotten on the Mahārajadhīrṣya Kumārādevi,—

(L. 19.)—(was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārajadhīrṣya, [the glorious Chandragupta (II.)],—who was accepted by him; [who was begotten on] the Mahādevī Dattadevi; (and) [who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power).]

(L. 21.)— [His son], who meditated on [his feet], (and) [who was begotten] on the Mahādevī Dhruvādevi, (was) [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One], [the Mahārajadhīrṣya, the glorious Kumāragupta].

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

1 i.e. "with the kāarya (the oblation to the gods) and the kāarya (the oblation to deceased ancestors)."

2 i.e. by Samudragupta; see page 12 above, note 1.
(L. 24.)—[1], the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the Mahārāja Mahārāja, the glorious Skanda Gupta, issue a command] ......................... of the town of Ajapura in the ............... a perpetual endowment ...................... a village-field ................................ the Uparika, the Kumārdālyā; ................................ acquired by the merchant ....................... in the seat of office (?) of the Agrahāra, the Saulyika, and the Gaulika ............ and others who subsist on Our favour;—

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

No. 13; PLATE VII.

BHITARI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

The column containing this inscription appears to have been discovered in 1834 by Mr. Tregear; but the inscription itself was not observed till a short time afterwards, when General Cunningham found it, on clearing away the earth from the lower part of the shaft. The discovery was announced in 1836, by Mr. James Pinse, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 661. And the inscription was first brought to notice in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 1 ff., where the Rev. W. H. Mill published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (marked *id.* Vol. V. Plate xxxii.), reduced by Mr. Pinse from a copy made by General Cunningham. —In 1871, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 98 and Plate xxx., General Cunningham published another lithograph of the inscription.—In 1875, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 59 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published a revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, from a hand-copy made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.—And finally, in 1885, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 349 ff., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has given his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, with another lithograph reduced from his hand-copy.

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

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1 *Uparika* is a technical official title, the exact purport of which is not known, and a suitable rendering of which cannot be offered at present.

2 *Agrahāra* is a technical official title, denoting probably 'an officer in special charge of an agrahāra.'

3 *Saulyika* is a technical official title, which might be rendered by some such term as 'superintendent of tolls or customs (salīka).'

4 *Gaulika* is a technical official title, which might be rendered by 'superintendent of woods and forests (gulma).'


6 This paper was not published till 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 13th April 1871.

7 The 'Bhitari, Bhitree, Bhitref, and Bhitref,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 35' N.; Long. 83° 17' E.

8 The 'Saidpur and Sydpoo' of maps, &c.

9 The ' Ghareepoor' of maps.
village, on the south side. The inscription is on the eastern face of the square base of the column; and the bottom line is only a few inches above the level of the ground.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 4½" high by 2' 2½" broad, has suffered very much from the effects of the weather; also the stone has peeled off in a few places; and there is a crack running vertically down the inscription, near the left side. With care, however, nearly the whole of the inscription is legible, on the original stone, with certainty; and nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost.—The size of the letters varies from 1" to ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though more squarely cut, are of the same type with those of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iii.A.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the middle of line 6, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1), the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anuvṛtra, before t, in vaśita, lines 7, 13, and 14; (2) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in vikrāmēṇa and kkrāmēṇa, line 3; (3) the doubling of ṭ, under the same circumstances, in pautṛtrasya, line 3 (but not in āprātṛtrasya, line 2; putras, line 4; and other places); and (4) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyāta, line 5.

The inscription is one of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta. It is not dated. It belongs to the Vaishnavism form of religion; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Viṣṇu, under the name of Śāṅkara, and the allotment, to the idol, of the village, not mentioned by name, in which the column stands.

**TEXT.**


3 mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pautṛsya mahārājāḥhiraja-śrī-Chandragupta-putṛsya Līchchhi-vaihitrasya mahādēvyāṁ Kumāra[ṛ]dēvyā-

4 m-uppanasya mahārājāḥhiraja-śrī-Samudraguptasya putras-tat-parigrihīto mahādēvyāṁ-Dattadēvyāṁ-uppannaḥ svayana-ma-pratirathsyah

5 paramabhāgavatō mahārājāḥhiraja-śrī-Chandraguptas-tasyā putras-tat-pād-anuddhyāto mahādēvyāṁ Dṛhyadēvyāṁ-uppannaḥ parama-

6 bhāgavato mahārājāḥhir[ā]-śrī-Kumāraguptas-ṛasya [I*] Prathita-prithumatici-svabhāva-śaktēḥ pṛthu-yaśasah pṛthivyapatiḥ pṛthu-srīth


8 dhāmā nāmataḥ Skandaguptaḥ sucharita-charitānāṁ yēna vṛttēna vṛttām na viḥām-adām-ātmā tāna-dhīdayā(?)-vinītaḥ [I*] Vinaya-

9 bala-guntār-vikrāmēṇa kkramēṇa pratidinam-abhivyād-lpsītam yēna la[ō]dhvā svabhāmata-vijayēśa-prādyatānam paresnaḥ prani-

10 hita iva lēkhe saṁjñīdhan-opadesah [I*] Vichalita-kula-lakṣmī-stambhanavāyādyatāna kshśitāla-śayantē yēna niṣā triyāmā samu-

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1 From the original column.
2 There are some faint marks above the sarava, which seem to be remnants of this word; but it is not quite certain.
3 Metre, Pushpita-grā.
4 Metre, Mālini; and in the next four verses.
TRANSLATION.

[Perfection has been attained]! The son of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Samudragupta,—who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuna and Indra and Antaka; who was the very axe of (the god) Kriṣṇa; who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who was the restorer of the āsramēdhā-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; who was the son of the son's son of the Mahārājā, the illustrious Gupta; who was the son's son of the Mahārājā, the illustrious Chatōtakraka; (and) who was the son of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (I), (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhivi,† begged on the Mahādevī Kumāradēvi.—

(Line 4.)—(was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II.), who was accepted by him.‡ who was begged on the Mahādevī Dattadēvi; (and) who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power).

† Metre, Śārdūlavikṛṣṇa; and in the next verse.
‡ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following three verses.
§ The usual form of this name is Lichchhavi, with the vowel  $ in the second syllable. As regards the present variant, see page 16 above, note 1.
* i.e. by Samudragupta; see page 12 above, note 1.
(L. 5.)—His son (was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārajadhīr̥jya, the glorious Kumāragupta, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the Mahādevi Dhruvadēvi.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 This expression is very analogous in its purport to the tat-pād-anudhyāta of line 5 above. Compare Amoghavarsadēva-pādapanakā-bhrāmara, "a bee at the waterlilies which are the feet of Amoghavarsadēva," in line 17 f. of the Śīrṇ inscription of Śaka-Saṅvat 788 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 219.)

2 The second syllable of this name, like the rest of the inscription, is damaged. But, as regards the lower component,—comparing it with the subscript y of this inscription, e.g. in pradasya, line 2, and daunikraya, line 3; and contrasting it with the subscript p, e.g. in tat-parirghita, line 4, and tat-pād, line 5—it is plainly y. This passage, therefore, shows that the correct form of the first part of this name is pūṣya, not pūṣha; a point which Dēvanāgarī manuscripts have not sufficed, and cannot suffice, to settle. And it bears out the Prākrit form, Pūsamitta, of the name of the early king Pushyamitra, the contemporary of Patasījī, in the passages given by Dr. Bühler from the Prākrit Gāthās according to Māruttāja, Dharmāsāgara, and Jayavijayagaṇi (Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 362 f.)—Pushyamitra is the correct form according to Prof. Weber also (Sanskrit Literature, p. 223, note 237).
though his glory is increasing day by day; (and) whom the bards raise to distinction with (their) songs and praises:

(L. 15.)—By whose two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a terrible whirlpool, joined in close conflict with the Hūnas; ...... among enemies ...... arrows ...... proclaimed ...... just as if it were the roaring of (the river) Ganges, making itself noticed in (their) ears.

(L. 17.)— ...... the fame of his father

(Saying to himself that) an image of some kind or other [should be made], he, the very celebrated one, made this image of that (famous) god Śaṅkug, [to endure as long as the moon and stars may last]. And, having here installed this (god), he, whose commands are well-established, has allotted this village (to the idol), in order to increase the religious merit of (his) father.

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

No. 14; PLATE VIII.

JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEARS 136, 137, AND 138.

The discovery of this inscription appears to have been first announced in 1838, by Mr. James Prinsep, in the Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 347 f.—In 1844, in the Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. I. p. 148, there was published a lithograph of it, reduced from a copy, made by General Sir George LeGrand Jacob, Mr. N. L. Westergaard, and a Brahman assistant, which had been submitted to the Society two years previously.—In 1862, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 121 ff., Dr. Bhu Daji published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph reduced from a cloth tracing made in 1861 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit.—And in 1876, Dr. Bhu Daji's text and translation, the latter revised by Professor Eggeling, were reprinted in the Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 134 ff., accompanied by a slightly reduced reproduction of the original lithograph from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit's copy (id. Plate xv.)

Junagadh is the chief town of the Junagadh Native State in the Kathiawar Penins.

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

2 It was through reading mahāṣṭā-prata-gupta, "the Gupta attached to, or beloved of, Śiva," instead of śam sa vidādhā bhūtah, line 18,—and through failing to see that pilarī dimunā-upūṣṭ, "when (his) father had attained the skies," line 12, for the death of Kumragupta,—that Dr. Mill came to speak of "a young prince, a minor at the date of this inscription," and to suggest that he was probably Mahendragupta (sic; but in reality Mahendrakitya, a title of Kumragupta), whose name occurs on some of the coins of the dynasty. This double mistake in Dr. Mill's genealogy was repeated by Mr. Thomas in his Gupta genealogy (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. II. p. 19). And Mahendragupta's name is also given in Mr. Ferguson's last list (Cave-Temples of Western India, p. 191).

3 Or perhaps, "and (this column) which stands here."

4 The 'Joonagur, Junagad, Junagarh, and Junagurh,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 13. Lat. 21° 31' N.; Long. 70° 36' E.

5 The 'Kathiawar and Kattywar,' of maps, &c.
sula in the Bombay Presidency. The city itself, or its ancient representative, is spoken of in this inscription; but its ancient name is not given. The name occurs, however, in line 1 of Rudrādāman’s inscription, as Girisagaras, or the city of, or on, the hill. This name subsequently passed over to the mountain itself, Gīrār, which in the inscriptions is called Uṛjaye; and this fact rather tends to indicate that the ancient city stood, not where the modern town stands, but closer up to the mountain, and perhaps on the rising ground at the foot of it. The inscription is on the north-west face of a large granite boulder containing also fourteen Aśoka edicts and a long inscription, of the Mahākshatrapa Rudrādāman, now under a shed specially built to protect it, about a mile to the east of the town, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Gīrār.

The writing, which covers a space of about 10’ o’ broad by 7’ 5” high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; and it is only in line 22 that the rock has actually peeled off, that there are any extensive lacunae in the inscription. It is, however, not very easy to read; owing partly to the irregular, and occasionally rather shallow, nature of the engraving; partly to the roughness of the rock, and the way in which the natural marks of it mix themselves up a good deal with the letters; and partly to the fact that at several places the engraver, in consequence of unusual irregularities of the surface, passed over considerable portions of the rock and left them blank. The size of the letters varies from about ¾” to 1¾”. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but the type is a later development of that which was used in the inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rudrādāman on the same rock; it may be called the Saurāshtra or Kāṭhīwād alphabet of the fifth century A.D. One of its most marked characteristics is the way in which the subscript y is represented by the full form of the letter, not, as in other alphabets, by a curtailment of it; e.g., in buddhyā, line 5; yasanta, line 6; and nyāyā, line 8.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddham, and a few words in line 23, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography we have to notice (1) the use of the natural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in vanta, line 24; (2) the doubling of dh in conjunction with a following y, in buddhyā, line 5; and (3) the indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding r; e.g., the consonant is doubled in artham, line 1, arthir, line 2, and darppā, line 3; but not in viryā, line 2, paryanta, line 3, sarvāṃ, line 5, arjavan, line 7, and ārjanē-rithaya, line 8.

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

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2 These blank spaces lie especially on each side of the large natural fissure running almost down the centre of the inscription.
4 As it is quite clear even in the lithograph with which Bhau Daji worked, the correct reading here (line 19) is Guptā-prahālī ganāṇām vidhyā; not Guptāsya kālā[ā] = ganāṇām vidhyā, “counting from the era of Gupta,” as it was taken to be by Bhau Daji and was afterwards specifically confirmed.
at night, on the sixth day of the month Prāshṭāyapa (August-September), the lake Sudārśana (formed in the valley round the foot of Girnār, by an ancient embankment across the gorge, near where the inscription is) burst in consequence of excessive rain. The date, here, and in the two passages further on, is expressed fully in words, not in numerical symbols. The restoration of the breach, by renewing the embankment, was effected under the orders of Chakrapālita, after two months' work, in the year one hundred and thirty-seven (A.D. 456-57).

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

TEXT.

First Part.

Siddham [II*] Śriyam*-abhimata-bhōgyaṁ naikā-kāl-āpanāṁ tridaśapati-
sukhārthāṁ yō Balēr-ājahāra ṭ kamala-nilayanāyāṁ sāsvatāṁ dhāma
Lakṣmīyaṁ

by Thomas (Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 538).—In the present series of inscriptions, this passage, and the genitive plural Guptān,m, governed apparently by kālā, in line 27 below, are the only ones that tend in any way to connect the name of the Guptas with the era used by them. But not either of them suffices to show that the era was established by the Guptas themselves; or even that it had, at this time, received the accepted name of "the Gupta era." And, what the wording of the first of them really shows, is simply that the date was being recorded in an era which was not the one in customary use in that part of the country.—The only other passage of a similar tendency is the date in line 16 f. of the Mārā copper-plate grant of Jāṅka, as it has always been accepted up to now in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's reading and translation,—Pāhch-dītyā yathāvītā samānām āta-pāmchakā I Gauptā daddwād nriṇah s-pardhār-vṛkha-maṇḍitā II,—"five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed, the king granted this, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed." (Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 258.)—But this rendering takes no notice of the fact that the real reading, in line 17, is Gauptā at all, but gopītā. It is only by the correction of b into ṣ in that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into this passage. But we may with just as much reason correct gopītā into gopītre, 'to the protector, i.e. the local governor' (compare this word in line 6, of the present inscription); and this is even more sustainable; for the word is entirely separated from the date in the preceding half of the verse, and it stands immediately before the word daddav, 'he gave,' in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative (or some other) case. Or, again, without any correction at all, we may translate "the king gave this (chapter) at (the village of) Gopīta;" and thus obtain a village-name that may quite reasonably be taken as the ancient form of the modern Gōp, which occurs, for instance, in Kāthiāwad, about seventy-five miles south-west of Mārā, twenty-five miles south of Nāwānagar or Jāmνagar, and fifty miles east of Bhāndāliki, where was found the copper-plate grant (genuine or spurious, as may be settled hereafter) of a king Jāmν, dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 794 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 151 ff.).—I must not be understood as saying in this note, that the Mārā date is recorded in the era that had been used by the Guptas, but only to shew that there is nothing in the passage containing the date, that connects the name of the Guptas with it. The difficulty in disposing finally of the whole Mārā inscription, is, that the first plate was lost sight of before it was procured for examination at all; and now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid and is not forthcoming.

1 From the original stone. 2 Metre, Mālini; and in the next two verses.
2 sa jayati vijjit-ārttir-Vrishnârya-atyanta-jishuph II Tad-anu jayati śaśvat śri-
parikshipta-vakshāḥ sva-bhuja-janita-viryo rājarājadhirājaḥ II narahat-
3 bhujagadānāḥ mānā-darp-pitāhanām pratikriti-Garud-ājñā[r][m] nirvishit[.m]
ēkān eva kartā II Nihiṣṭi-guna-niketāḥ Skandaguptaḥ prithu-śrīḥ chatur-
uddadhi-ja(?) (7) āntām spāhita-paryanta-dēsām I u u x v
4 avanim-avam-ārīr-yāḥ chakār-ātma-samsthāṃ pitari suera-sakhitvam
pratavaty-ātma-sakhityā II Api cha jītam-[ē]vā tēna prathayamtī
yāśămī yasya ripavo-pi āmala-bhagna-darpā niva . . . . .}
Mīchchha-deśeshu II
5 Krameṇa buddhyā nīpaṇaḥ pradhārya dhīyātvā cha kriṣṇaṁ-guna-dōṣha-
bētūn I vyapetā sarvām-mañjendra-purām-lākṣaṁ śvāyan yam
varayām-chakāra II Tasminu-nripē śasati n-aiva kaśchid-dharmmad-
apetō manujaḥ prajāsu I
6 ārttō dāriṣṭa vyaśanā kadayō dand[yō] na va yō bhṛśa-pīditaḥ syāt II
Evam sa jītvā prithvīn śagrāmaṁ bhag-āgra-darpā[n] divihataḥ cha
kritvā I sarvāvśaḥu deśēsu . vidhāya gopūrī[ptṛ]ṁ sarvchintayā[m-ā]sa
bahu-prakārayām II Syat-kōtūrō pūvī
7 matimān-vini(ṅ)ō mēdhaṁ-smṛitiśhyām-anapetā-bhāvaḥ I saty-ārjav-audaryā-
ny-ōpapanḍō mādhurya-gāśkshīnyā-yasō-nvitaḥ = cha II Bhaktō-nurkō śri-
[li][l]ēcha-yuktā sarvāvpādābhūś = cha viśuddha-bhūtiḥ I anṛnyā-
bhāvā-opagat-āntaratmāḥ ś sarvavasya lōkasya hitē prayvīttaḥ II
8 Nyāy-ārjanē-rthasya cha kaḥ samarthaḥ syād-arjītasyā-āpy-atha rakṣanē
taḥ cha gopāyītasyā-api [cha] vṛddhi-hētau vṛddhasya pātra-pratipādaṁ II
Sarvavābla bhṛtyēśv = api samhatēsu yō mē prāśiḥyān-ṇikhilān-
Surāśṭrān cāṁ jītām-ekāḥ khalu Pārṇadattō bhārasya tasy-
dōvāhanē samarthaṁ II
9 ēham vinischiṭyā nṛp-ādhipēna naikān-ahō-rātra-gaṇān-sva-maṭyā I yaḥ
samanīyuktō-rthasyaś cānyatāṃ samyat-Surāśṭrāvani-pālanaṁ II
Niuyjyā deva Varunaṁ pratichyāṁ svastāḥ yathā n-ōmonaścō
bhbhūvā[b] I I pūrvvētarasāṁ diśi Pārṇadattāṁ niuyjya rājā
dhrītimāṁs-tath-abhūt II
īśay-ātmajō hy-ātmaja-bhāva-yuktō dvidh-ēva cha =ātm-ēva-vaśena nitaṁ I
sarvatam-ātm-ēva cha rakṣanēyō nītyātmavān-ātmaja-kānty-
ṛpaḥ II Rēō-amūrūpār-lalitār-viṣhitrāiḥ niya-pramōd-ānvita-sarva-
bhāvāḥ I prabuddha-padmākāra-padmavāktrō nīpāṅ śrānyāḥ śrān-
āgatāṁ II (I)
10 āvadē-bhuvi Chakrapālitō sab-iti nāṃmā prathitaḥ priyō janasya I
sva-gunair-an-upakrītair-uḍāt[ai]b pitaram yaś-cha vishēshyām-chakāra II
Kahmaṭ prabhuṭvam vinayō nayeś cha sauryaṁ vinā saurya-
mah[ā] rchchanāṁ cha I v(?)kya(?)ṁ damō dānām-adinātā cha

tre, Árya

tre, Upājīti of Indravañjra and Upendraśvājra.

d, Indravañjra; and in the next six verses.
ś Read ātmā.

d, Upājīti of Indravañjra and Upendraśvājra; and in the next two verses.

d, Vaitāliya-aupachchhandasika.

d, Upājīti of Indravañjra and Upendraśvājra; and in the next three verses.
dākshinyām-ānīnyām-as[ī]nyatā cha l(l) Saun.āryām-āryētara-
nigrahāḥ cha a-vismayō dhārīyam-udṛpata cha l

12 ity-vēm-ētē-tiśayēna yasminn-a-vipāvasēna gunā vasantil l(l) Na vidyatē-sau
sakāle-pi lōkē yatr-opamā tasya gunaḥ kriyēta l sa ēva
kārtṣnyēna gun-ānvinānaṁ bābhūva nī(ort)ōm-umamāna-ḥūtah l(l)
ITY-ēvam-ēttān-adhiṅkār-enōt-nyān-gunān-par[ī]kṣhyā svayam-ēva piṭrā l
yah saṁniyuktō nagarasya ṛaksēnā viśishtya pūrvān-praḥkāra
samvyāk l(l)

13 Aśrita1 vi(vi)ryam-an[?]-bhu(2)ja(2)-dvayah svasya-aiva n-anasya narasya
darpām l n-dvējāyam-āsā cha karuḥ-chid-ēvam-asmin-puruḥ ch-aiva saśāsa
duṣṭēḥ(n) l(l) Visrambhām-alpe na saśāma yō-smin kāle na lōkēshu
sa-nāgarēshu l yō lālayām-āsā cha paurā-vargān [ ]puṭrān-sū-
parikṣhayā dōshānā l(l) Saṁrājīyāṁ cha prakṛitra-bābhūva
puṟvasmitābhāṣanā-māna-dānaī l

14 niryastrān-āṇyorāva-griha-pravēśā[ihn]2 saṁvarddhiha-priti-grih-ōpachārāī l(l)
Brahmanyā-bhāvēna pariṁa yuktāṁ sakalāṁ suchir-dāna-paro yathāvatā l
prāpyan-sa kāle vishayān-sishēvē dharm-ārthayōḥ ch-[ā]py-a]-
virōḍhanēna l(l) Yō [- - - - - - - - ] Pāranadattāḥ sa nyāyavanātra
kim-asti chitrām l mukta-kalē-āmbuja-padma-śtēch-chandrāt-kim-ūṣhṇam
bhavītā kādāchī t(l)

15 Athā3 kramēn-āmbud-kāla āgatē[n] l(l) ṅaṅga-kālam praviṇārya tōyadāi l
vavarsa tōyam bahu saṁtaṭāṁ chitrām Sudarsanānān yēṇā
bibhēda ch-āvratā l(l) Samvatsarēpāṁ-adhiṅe satē tu
trinēsadbhīr-anyair-api śadbhēr-ēva l rātrau dinē Praushṭhapadasya
shashṭē Gaupt-prakālē gaṇanēm vidhiyā4 l(l)

16 Imēs5 cha yā Raivatakāyad-vinirgata[h][n] Palāsin-līyam sikatē-vilāsinī l samudra-
kāntāṁ chira-bandhan-ōśhitāṁ punaḥ patrīm śastra-yāṭhočitāṁ yāyā l(l)
Avēkṣayā varṣ-āgama-yām mah-ōdbhrāmaṁ mah-ōdbhēr-
Ūryayāt priy-ēpūnā l anēka-trānta j-propu-pōbhēdo l

17 nadimavyo hāsta īva prasāriṇā l(l) Vishāyām-[mānāḥ] khalu sarvāt jañāb
kathān-kathāṁ kāryam-itī pravādinaḥ l mithō hi pārvāpara-
rātram-utthitāṁ vichintayam ch-api babhūvur-utsukāh l(l) Ap-īha
lōkē sakalē Sudarsanānān puṃānā(n) hi dūrdarśanatāṁ gataḥ
kaṇātā l

18 bhavēn-nu s-āmbēḥ niḍhi-tūlya-darśanāṁ su-darśanāṁ [ ]-

[ - - - - - - ] [ ] l(l)
[ - - - - - - ] āvēṇe sa bhūtvā pūṭhā parāṁ bhaktiv-apī prādaraṁ-

l dharmām puruḥ-dhāya subh-anubandham rājō hit-ārthām

nagāraya ch-aiva l(l) Samvatsarēpām-adhiṅe satē tu

19 trinēsadbhīr-anyair-api saptabhīs-cha l pra [ - - - - - - ] śastra-chēttā

vi(ʔ)ēvō(ʔ)-py-anu jātā-mahā-prabhāvāḥ l(l) Ājya-pranāmaṁ vibudhān-

athē-ēshyā dhanair-dvijāṁ-api tarpayivā l paurāntā-tathābhāryachya

yathārā-mānaṁ bhīrityāṁ-ḥ cha pōyān-sūhrīdaṁ-ḥ cha āmānā l(l)

1 Metre, Indravajrā; and in the next four verses.
2 Metre, Varāśasta.
3 Metre, Indravajrā.
4 As regards the reading here, see page 57 above, note 4.
5 Metre, Varāśasta; in the next three verses.
6 Metre, Upājāti of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā; and in the next five verses.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS;

Graishmasya-māsasya tu pūrva-pa[ksha]ḥ brahmaḥ-hni
samyak śāṃsa-dvayān-ādāravān-saḥ [----] śahasraya kṛtvā
vyayam-a-pramēyam (I)(II) Ayāmatō hūṣa-śatam samagram vistārataḥ
shahśīr-ātih-āpy cha-āśātwa II
utsēdhatō-nyat purushāni sa(?)pta(?) [----] ha]sta-śata-dvayasya I(II)
Babandha yatnān-mahatā nīrdevan-[abhāryachya(?)] śāmyag-gaśit-tālānēa I
a-jāti-dushtaḥ-prathitah tatākam Sudarśanam
śāṃsata-kalpa-kālama I(II)

Apī[ ] cha sudrīḍha-sētu-prānta(?)-vinyasta-sōbha-rathacharaṇa-samāhva-kraumchah-
ham-sa-dhōtam I vimala-salīla[----] bhuvī ta-
[----] da[ ] aja[r]kaḥ śaśi cha I(II)
Nagaram-api cha bhūyād-vṛddhidham-pauru-jaśṭām dvijā-bahu-śata-gīta-
brahma-nirnāśita-pāpam I śatam-api cha samānām-līti-durbhiksha[----]
[----] [I(II) [I[II] Suda]rēvana-taṭāka-
saṃskāra-gaṃbhṛtha-rāchanā[sa]māptā II

SECOND PART.

kiṣṭa-dīrgha-pranudāḥ prithu-śrīyaḥ sva-vanśa-kētōḥ sakal-āvani-patēḥ I
rajādhiraśy-abhūta-pūnya-[karmanāḥ] [----] [I(II) dvipaśya
gūpta mahatāḥ cha nētā daṇḍa-dvi(?)[-]nām
vishatām damāya I(II) Tasya-ātmajēn-ātma-guṇ-āṇvitēnā Govinda-pāḍārpa-
jaśṭēnā I [----] [I(II) [----] [I(II) ēdham Vīśṇōṣ-cha pāḍa-kaṃkalē
samavāpya tatra I artha-vyayēna
mahatā mahatā cha kālēn-ātma-prabhāva-nata-paurajēnēa tēna I(II)
Chakrāṃ bibharti ripu[----] [I(II) tasya sva-taṃtra-viđhi-
kārapa-maṇushasya I(II)
7 Kārītamo-avakra-matīnā Chakrabhritaḥ Chakrapālitēna grihaṃ I varsha-
śatē-sḥē-triśēte Gukrānaṃ kāla[.....] [I(II) [----] [I(II)
[----]
7 ājṛham-utthitam-iv=Ōrjayatō-chalasya
28 kurvat-prabhutvam-iva bhēti purasya mūrdhā II Anyach-cha mūrddhāni
su [----] [I(II) [----] [I(II)
9 ruddha-vihārīga-mārgam vibhrājātē [----] [I(II)

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

Pesar has been attained ! Victorious is he, (the god) Vīśnu,—the perpetual
goddess)—Lakṣhmī, whose dwelling is the waterlily; the conqueror of distress;

Mālinī; and in the next verse.

Vrahastha.—The metre is faulty in the first akṣaras of the first and third pādas, which
tort, not long.

Indravajrī; and in the next verse. 4 Metre, Vasatatiśka; and in the next verse.

Aīrā; or of this class. 5 Metre, Vasatatiśka; and in the following verse.
the completely victorious one,—who, for the sake of the happiness of (Indra) the lord of the gods, seized back from (the demon) Bali the goddess of wealth and splendour, who is admitted to be worthy of enjoyment, (and) who had been kept away from him for a very long time.\footnote{The legend is that the demon Bali, or Mahābali, by his austerities acquired the dominion over the three worlds, and caused annoyance and anxiety to the gods. Vishnu then became incarnate as a dwarf, appeared before Bali, and asked for as much land as he could cover with three strides, assented to his request, and Vishnu with two strides recovered the heavens and the earth, but commiseration for Bali, who then humbled himself, left him the dominion over the lower realm below the earth.}

(Line 2.)—And next, victorious for ever is the supreme king of kings over kings, whose breast is embraced by the goddess of wealth and splendour; who has developed heroism by (the strength of his) arms; and who plucked (and utilised) the authority of (his local) representatives, who were so many Garuḍas, (and used it as) an antidote against the (hostile) kings, who were so many serpents, lifting up their hoods in pride and arrogance;—Śrīśrī, of great glory, the abode of kingly qualities, who, when (his) father by his own power had attained the position of being a friend of the gods,\footnote{Garuḍa, the servant and vehicle of Vishnu, half man and half bird, was the special en and destroyer of the serpent-race.—There is possibly a secondary allusion to Skandagupta having overthrown some kings of the well-known Nagā or serpent-lineage.} bowed down his enemies, and made subject to himself the (whole) earth, bounded by the waters of the four oceans, (and) full of thriving countries round the borders of it;—whose fame, moreover, even (his) enemies, in the countries of the Mlecchhas \ldots \ldots \ldots having (their) pride broken down to the very root, announce with the words—"verily the victory has been achieved by him;"—(and) whom the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord selected as her husband, having in succession (and) with judgment skillfully taken into consideration and thought over all the causes of virtues and faults, (and) having discarded all (the other) sons of kings (as not coming up to her standard.)

(L. 5.)—While he, the king, is reigning, verily no man among his subjects falls away from religion; (and) there is no one who is distressed, (or) in poverty, (or) in misery, (or) avaricious, or who, worthy of punishment, is over-much put to torture.

(L. 6.)—Thus having conquered the whole earth, (and) having destroyed the height of the pride of (his) enemies, (and) having appointed protectors in all the countries, he cogitated in many ways,—"Among all my servants put together, who is there, who is suitable; endowed with intellect; modest; possessed of a disposition that is not destitute of wisdom and memory; endowed with truth, straightforwardness, nobility, and prudent behaviour; and possessed of sweetness, civility, and fame;—loyal; affectionate; endowed with many characteristics; and possessed of a mind that (has been tried and) is (found to be) pure by all the tests of honesty; possessed of an inner soul pervaded by (the inclination for) the acquittance of debts and obligations; occupied with the welfare of mankind;—capable both in the lawful acquisition of wealth, and also in the preservation of it, when acquired, and further in causing the increase of it, when protected, (and also) to dispense it worthily objects, when it has been increased,—shall govern all (countries of the) Surasabhas? I have it; (there is) just one man, Parnāda, competent to bear this burden."\footnote{i.e. "had died."}
L. 9.—(And it was this same Parnadatta) who, with pressing (and) with difficulty, was appointed by the lord of kings, who had thus deliberated in his mind for many days and nights, to protect in a proper manner the land of the Surāshtras. (And) just as the gods became comfortable, (and) not disturbed in mind, when they had appointed Varuṇa to the western point of the compass, so the king was easy at heart, when he had appointed Parnadatta over the region of the west.

L. 10.—His son, possessed of a filial disposition; his own self, as it were, re-duplicated; well trained by self-control; worthy to be protected, as if it were his own self, by the all-pervading spirit; always self-possessed; endowed with a naturally beautiful form; having a disposition the whole of which was always pervaded with joy through a variety of charming actions that were in accordance with (his) beauty; having a water-lily of a face that resembled a bed of water-lilies in full bloom; the refuge of men who came to him for protection,—was this same one who is renowned on the earth under the name of Chakrapālita; who is beloved of the people; and who confers distinction upon (his) father by his own noble qualities which are everything except unpolished:

L. 11.—In whom all these qualities dwell to a marked degree, (and) without ever wandering away (from him),—vis. patience; lordship; modesty; and good behaviour; and heroism without (too) great an estimation of prowess; eloquence (?); self-control; liberality; and high-spirtedness; civility; the acquittance of debts and obligations; and freedom from empty-headedness; beauty; and reprobation of things that are not right; absence of astonishment; firmness; and generosity. Even in the whole world there is no one to be found, in whom a comparison with his virtues may be made; verily he has become, in all entireness, the standard of comparison for men who are endowed with virtuous qualities.

L. 12.—(And it was he) who was appointed by (his) father, after testing in person (the existence in him of) these same qualities mentioned above, and higher ones even than them; and who then accomplished the protection of (this) city in a way that quite distinguished him above his predecessors. Relying upon the process of his own two excellent arms (?), not on the pride of any other man, he subjected no one in this city to any anxiety; and he punished wicked people. Even in this time which† is a mean one, he failed not to maintain confidence in the people, together with the inhabitants of the city; and, by carefully inquiring into faults, he has charmed all the citizens, together with ....... and children. And he has made (his) subjects happy by conversations addressed with smiles, and marks of honour, and presents; by free and reciprocal entering into (each other’s) houses; (and) by carefully nourishing the family ceremonies of affection. Endowed with the highest piety, affable, pure, (and) in a suitable manner devoted to charity, he has, even without any conflict between religion and wealth, applied himself to such pleasures as may be attained at the proper time. What wonder is there in the fact that he, [born] from Parnadatta, is possessed of such proper behaviour ?; can heat ever be produced from the moon, which is cold like a string of pearls or like a water-lily?

L. 15.—Then, in due course of time, there came the season of clouds, bursting asunder with (its) clouds the season of heat, when much water rained down unceasingly for a long time; by reason of which (the lake) Sudarśana suddenly burst,—making the calculation in the reckoning of the G-up-tas, in a century of years, increased by thirty and

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1 See page 57 above, note 4.
also six more, at night, on the sixth day of (the month) Praushṭhapada. And these (other rivers) which take their source from (the mountain) Raivataka, (and also) this Palāsini, beautiful with (its) sandy stretches,—(all of them) the mistresses of the ocean,—having dwelt so long in captivity, went again, in due accordance with the scriptures, to their lord (the sea). (And) having noticed the great bewildernent, caused by the excess of rain, (the mountain) Ūrjayat, desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, stretched forth as it were a hand, consisting of the river (Palāsini), decorated with the numerous flowers that grew on the edges of (its) banks.

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

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

(L. 23.)—And the city become prosperous; full of inhabitants; cleansed from sin by prayers sung by many hundreds of Brāhmans; [and free from] drought and famine for a hundred years .................. [Thus] ends the composition of the description of the restoration of (the lake) Sudarśana.

Second Part.

(L. 24.)— ............... of him (Skandagupta), who destroyed the pride of (his) haughty enemies; who is of great glory; who is the banner of his lineage; who is the lord

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*Raivataka is the hill opposite Ūrjayat or Gīrṇār.
*There is a play on the words su-darśana 'having a good appearance,' and ādur-darśana, 'having a bad appearance.'
*ī. e. Chakrāpalita.
*Gṛṣṭham, the hot season, consists of the two months Jyēṣṭha (May-June) and Āṣāḍha (June-July). The name of one or the other of them is now illegible in this line.
of the whole earth; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings; ........................................................

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

(L. 25.)—By his son, who is endowed with his own good qualities, (and) whose life is devoted to (the worship of) the feet of (the god) Gōvinda, ......................;—by him, who causes the citizens to bow down by his own prowess, having there attained ...................... and the feet, which are like waterlilies, of (the god) Vishṇu, with a great expenditure of wealth and time [there was built a temple] of that famous (god Vishṇu) who carries the discus, ................... enemies, (and) who became (incarnate and) human by the exercise of his own free will. (Thus) by Chakrapālita, who is of a straightforward mind, there has been caused to be built a temple of (the god) Chakrabhṛt, in a century of years, together with the thirty-eighth (year), ................... the time of the Guptas.¹

(L. 27.)— ...................... uprisen, as it were, of the mountain Ūrjavat, shines as if displaying (its) lordship on the forehead of the city.

(L. 28.)—And another ...................... on the forehead

obstructing the path of the birds, is resplendent.²

[No. 15.; PLATE IXA.

KAHAUM STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 141.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton),—whose Survey of the Provinces, subject to the Presidency of Bengal, was commenced in 1807 and was continued during seven years, and whose manuscript results were transmitted in 1816 to the Court of Directors of the East India Company,—and to have been first brought to notice in his reports, from which Mr. Montgomery Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled Eastern India, in which the inscription is noticed in Vol. II. p. 366 f., with a reduced lithograph (id. Plate v. No. 2).—In the same year, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 37 f., Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,³ accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate i.) reduced from a copy made by Mr. D. Liston.—In 1860, in the Jour. Amer. Or. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 530, Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his reading of the first verse of the inscription, and a translation, which was subsequently revised and reprinted in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. p. 3, note.—In 1871, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 93 f. and Plate xxx., General Cunningham published another lithograph, reduced from his own ink-impression.—And finally, in 1881, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 125 f., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji published his revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph reduced from an impression made by him when he visited Kahāum in 1873.

¹ See page 57 above, note 4.
Kahâun or Kahâwân, the ancient Sūdbha or Kakubbhagrâma of this inscription, is a village about five miles to the west by south of Salumpur-Majhault, the chief town of the Salumpur-Majhault Pargana in the Dêoriyâ or Dêwariyâ Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Gorakhpur District in the North-West Provinces. The grey-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands a short distance on the north of the village.

Of the sculptures on the column, the most important are five standing naked figures,—one in a niche on the western face of the square base; and one in a niche on each side of the square block immediately below the circular stone with an iron spike in it, which, the original pinnacle having been lost, now forms the top of the column. As appears to have been first fully recognised by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, these are distinctly Jain images. He suggested that they represent the five favourite Tirthamkaras,—Adinâtha, Sêntinâtha, Nêminâtha, Pârâva, and Mahâvîra. And they are in all probability the five images of Adîkâtrîs, or Jain Tirthamkaras, referred to in the inscription itself.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 2½" broad by 1' 8" high, is on the three northern faces of the octagonal portion of the column; and the bottom line appears to be about 7' 6" above the level of the ground. It is evidently in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ⁹⁄₁₀" to ⁷⁄₁₀". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddham, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvâra, before ṳ, in vansa, line 2, and ittintat, line 4; and (2) the usual doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in chakkât, line 9 (but not in takrî, line 3), and putrî, line 6.—My lithograph has been prepared from a lithograph of the same kind, handed to me by Dr. Burgess, from which was prepared the opposite lithograph, with the letters in black on a white ground, published with Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's paper. One or two letters, imperfect in that lithograph, have been cleared out on the authority of General Cunningham's ink-impressions, which, though not adapted for complete reproduction, sufficed for this purpose.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-one (A.D. 460-61); and in the month Jyâshtha (May-June); but without any specification of the day of the month or fortnight. As is shown by the images in the niches of the column, as well as by the tenour of the record itself, this is distinctly a Jain inscription. And the object of it is, to record that a certain Madra set up five stone images of Adîkâtrîs or Tirthamkaras,—i.e. apparently the five images in the niches of the column,—and the column itself, at the village of Kakubha or Kakubbhagrâma, i.e. Kahâun.

1 The 'Kahaon, Kanhong, Kangho, and Kuhaon,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 26° 16' N.; Long. 83° 55' E.
2 The 'Sullempoor-Mujhowlee' of maps.
3 The 'Deorya' of maps.
4 For a full description, with drawings, of the column and other remains at Kahâun, see Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. p. 91 ff. and Plate xxix., and id. Vol. XVI. p. 129 f. and Plate xxix.
TEXT.

1 Siddham[11*] Yasya-opastha - bhūmir-nripatisa - śata - sirah - pāta - vāt - Avadhūtā
2 Guptānām vaṃsa-jasya pravisrita - yaśasas-tasya - sarvā - ottam - arddheh
3 rājye Ṣakr-opamasya kṣhitipa - śata-patēha Skandaguptasya Ṣantē
5 Khyāte-smin-grāma-ratnē Kakubha iti janaise-sādu-sāmsarga-pūtē I
6 puttrō yas-Sōmilasya prachura-guṇa-nidhēr-Bhāṭṭisōmē mahā[m]ā
7 tat-sūnū Rudrasōma[h*] prithula-mati-yaśā Vyāghra ity-anya-sanjñē hū
9 Pūnya-skandhaḥ sa chakṛre jagad-idam-akhilaḥ sāmsaraṇa-vikṣhya bhīto
10 śvēyo-ṛṭhāṃ bhūta-bhūtayai pathi niyamavatām-arhatām-ādikartīrin
11 paṇch-ṛdrāṃ(n) sthāpayitvā dhāranidharamayan-sannikhātā-satō-yam
12 śaila-stambhaḥ su-chāurur-giri-vara-sīkhar-āgr-ōpamaḥ kīrtti-kartā [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! In the tranquil reign of Skandagupta, whose hall of audience is shaken by the wind caused by the falling down (in the act of performing obeisance) of the heads of a hundred kings; who is born in the lineage of the Guptas; whose fame is spread far and wide; who excels all others in prosperity; who resembles (the god) Śakra; (and) who is the lord of a hundred kings;—in the one hundredth year, increased by thirty and ten and one; the month Jyēśhṭha having arrived;—

(Line 5.)—In this jewel of a village, which is known by people under the name of Kakubha, (and) which is pure from association with holy men,—(there was) the high-minded Bhāṭṭisōma, who (was) the son of Sōmila, that receptacle of many good qualities. His son (was) Rudrasōma, of great intellect and fame, who had the other appellation of Vyāghra. His son was Madra, who (was) especially full of affection for Brahmans and religious preceptors and ascetics.

1 From Gen. Cunningham’s ink-impression, together with the lithograph from which my lithograph is reduced.
2 In the original, this word is in the margin; the ri opposite the commencement of line 2, and the ddham opposite, and partly above, the commencement of line 3.
3 Metre, Sragdhār, throughout.
4 The mark in the original after this visarga would seem to be an accidental slip of the engraver’s tool, rather than intended for a mark of punctuation, which is not required here.
5 and 6. In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
7 śāntē. — It is unnecessary to explain in detail the interpretation of this word. The difficulty is,—not the correct rendering of it, which is perfectly obvious,—but to comprehend how it ever came to be read śāntē, and to be interpreted by “of the repose, i.e. death,” i.e. “after the decease (of Skandagupta)” or, being read śāntē correctly, to comprehend how it ever came to be interpreted as meaning “(the empire of Skandagupta) being quiescent,” or “(the empire of Skandagupta) being extinct (for the hundred and forty-first year).”—The correct interpretation appears to have been first pointed out by Bhaṭ Daji; “in the year one hundred and forty-one, in the peaceful reign of Skandagupta” (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 246.)
8 The proper context is “(there was) Madra;” who is mentioned in line 8. The intervening genealogical matter is by way of a parenthesis.
9 For some similar instances of second names, see page 27 above, note 4.
(L. 9.)—He, being alarmed when he observed the whole of this world (to be ever) passing through a succession of changes, acquired for himself a large mass of religious merit. (And by him),—having set up, for the sake of final beatitude (and) for the welfare of (all) existing beings, five excellent (images), made of stone, (of) those who led the way in the path of the Arhats who practise religious observances,—there was then planted in the ground this most beautiful pillar of stone, which resembles the tip of the summit of the best of mountains, (and) which confers fame (upon him).

No. 16; PLATE IX.B.

INDOR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 146. (४५६-६५५)

This inscription was discovered in 1874 by Mr. A. C. L. Cardyle, First Assistant to the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India; and was first brought to notice, in the same year, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 369 ff., where a lithograph of it was published, prepared by General Cunningham (id. Plate xix.), accompanied by a version of the text, and a translation of it, by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra.

The inscription is on a copper-plate which was found in a small stream at Indor, the ancient Indrapura and Indrāpura of the inscription, a large and lofty mound about five miles to the northwest of Dhibhāl, the chief town of the Dibbāl Pargāna in the Anupshahar Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bulandshahar District in the North-West Provinces. Until recent years, Indör was a small inhabited village; but it is now only a khud, or deserted mound, and is not shown in maps. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plate is a single one, inscribed on one side only, measuring about 8½" by 5½" at the ends and 5½" in the middle. The edges of it are here and there slightly thicker than the surface of the plate, with small depressions inside them at the same places; but there does not seem to have been any intention of purposely fashioning the edges thicker all round, so as to serve as a rim to protect the writing. The surface of the plate is in some places

1 indrā.—Bhagwanlal Indraj, in his published version, first pointed out the kind of meaning to be given to this word here.
2 lit. 'made of (the substance of) mountains.'
3 dhārārīn; lit. 'originators.'—Bhagwanlal Indraj first pointed out the correct meaning of this word, as referring here to five of the Tirthamākara or sanctified teachers of the Jains.
4 The 'Dabhai, Dhubhai, Dibai, and Dubhhaee,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 67. Lat. 28° 12' N.; Long. 78° 18' E.—The position of Indör, with reference to Dibbāl, is shown in the sketch map given in Archxol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XII. Plate i.
5 The 'Anoopshuhur and Anupshahr' of maps, &c.
6 Dr. Burnell allotted the earliest instances of arranging for the preservation of the writing on copper-plates, by beating up the margins round the plates and then flattening the edges, to the ninth or tenth century A.D. (South-Indian Palaeography, p. 92). But there are plenty of earlier instances, in the south, as well as in the north of India. These raised rims were obtained, at first, by thickening the plates at the edges, in the process of fashioning them. Afterwards, it became customary to beat the plates out quite smooth, and then to turn them up at the edges and fuse them together at the corners; and some of the Eastern Chalukya plates, made in this way, have raised rims a good quarter of an inch high.
a good deal corroded by rust; the inscription, however, with care, is legible with certainty throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters, being rather deeply engraved, show through distinctly on a great part of the back of it. The engraving is clean and well executed; the majority of the letters, however, show, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver’s tool.—There is no hole in the plate for a ring with a seal on it; nor are there any indications of a seal having been soldered on to it, as—from the instance of the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; illustrated also, in the present series by the Ashāgādhī seal of Śarvarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxiA., and the Śānapat seal of Harshavarman, No. 32 below, Plate xxxiIB.; and, elsewhere, by the Dīghā Dunkulick grant of the Maharājā Mahendrapāla and the Bengal Asiatic Society’s grant of the Maharājā Vinayakapāla,—seems to have been the early custom in the north of India.—The weight of the plate is 1 lb. 2 oz.—The average size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{6}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and in essential details are of the same type with those of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iiiA. The initial $i$ has an entirely different form from that of the other northern type; contrast it in indrapura and iti, line 8, with ita in Plate i. page 9 above, line 30, and iti in Plate ixA. page 67, line 7. In line 10, we have a form of the numerical symbol for 2.—The language is Sanskrit; and all the formal part of the inscription, from paramabhadra, line 3, to samakālīyam, line 10, is in prose. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice the suffix $ka$, in chandrapura, line 5, indrapura, line 6, and especially pratishṭāpita, line 7. It is a weaker form, without $ādhi$ of the vowel in the first syllable, of the $ka$ with which the adjectives of locality, used in lines 19 and 20 of the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, page 7 above, are formed; and it is the origin of the modern Hindi genitive terminations $kt$, $kt$, and $kt$, and of similar declensional forms. Other instances of it are given by No. 25 below, Plate xvii. line 13, kārtīkā; No. 26, Plate xvi. line 10, utpadyāmadakā; No. 27, Plate xvii. line 9, pratishṭāpita, and line 12, utpadyāmadakā; No. 28, Plate xviii. line 13, anumāditakā, line 14, uparlikhatakā and pratishṭāpita, and line 18, utpadyāmadakā; No. 29, Plate xixA. line 10, uparlikhatakā, and line 15, utpadyāmadakā; No. 31, Plate xx. line 9, utpanakā, lines 9 and 16, utpadyāmadakā, and line 11, kārtīkā; No. 41, Plate xxvii. line 11, atisirijitakā; and No. 62, Plate xxxviiiB. line 4, pratishṭātakā.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before $k$ and $h$, in chatvāriśad, line 3 f., and sinha, line 6; (2) the doubling of $k$, and usually of $t$, in conjunction with a following $r$, e.g. in apakramana, line 8 f., and pastraka, line 5, (but not in purā in the same line); and (3) the doubling of $u$ after the anusvāra, in samvatsara, line 3.

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

2 id. p. 138 ff.
3 As regards these two words, Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives puraka as another form of pura, ‘a city,’ but refers only to ‘Argāhaṭapuρaka’ as an authority for the word. This city, however, only owes its existence to one of the early misreadings of Mantarāja-Patishṭāpaka in line 19 of the Allahabad inscription, No. 1, page 7 above.
4 Vishayapati is a technical official title, meaning ‘the lord, or governor, of a vishaya.’—See p. 32 above, note 7.
5 Antarvedi may perhaps also denote any Doab or region between two rivers of repute and sanctity.—It also means, as an adjective, ‘belonging to the inside of the sacrificial ground.’—It occurs,
lying between the Ganges and the Jamna. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-six (A.D. 465-66); and in the month Phalgun (February-March), but without any specification of the day of the month or fortnight. It is an inscription of solar worship; and the object of it is to record a perpetual endowment, by a Brahman named Dēvavishnu, for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the Sun at Indrapura or Indor, i.e. the modern Indor. This mention of the place, under its ancient name, connects the record satisfactorily with the locality in which the plate was found.

TEXT.

Sole Plate.

1 Siddham [11*] Yan* vipra vidhi-vat-prabuddha-manasō dhyāna-ākā-tānē(ṇa)-stuvah* yasya-Āntāṁ trīdaś-āśūrā na vividur-nn-ordhvam na tiyā-√

2 g-gatih(ṁ) yaṃ lōkō bahu-rōga-vēga-vivasah samāśritaḥ chētô-labhah* pāyād-vaḥ sa jagat-pidha na-puṭa-bhid-raśmy-a-

3 karoḥ bhāskaraḥ 1 Para-mabhāttāra-ka-mahārājādhirāja-shri Shandaguptasya-abhi-√

4 vrāmādhavamā-vijaya-rājya-sanyavatsara-sāte* shach(ṛ)-chhatvā-√

5 [ṛ]*jeśad-uttaratanē Phalgunā-māṣe tae-[p*]da-parigṛihṣṭasya* vishayapati-

6 Śarvanāgasy-Āntārvēṭhāṁ bhūg-ābhivvidhanaye vartā-

7 māñē [11*] Chandra-puraka Padma-chāturvīḍyā-saṁanya-brāhmaṇa-Dēvav-√

8 vishpur-Deśava-pūtṛ Haritrā-pauṭtraḥ Dvīpika-prapauṭtraḥ satat-agniho-

9 tra-[ch*]chhandōro Rāṇāyaṁ(ṛi)Yo Varshagama-sagotra Indrapuraka-varīg-

10 bhvam kṣaṭṭiyā Āchala-varma-Bhrī (bhrī) kuṭhasājāhābhīyam-adhishtāḥ(ṣṭḥā)-

[7] nasya prāchyaṁ dis-Indrapur-ādhishtāṇa-maṇḍayāta-lagnā eva prati-

[8] rāhptāka-bhagavatē savitē dip-ōpavīyām-ātma-yaśō-

[9] bhividdhyē mūlyāṁ prayachchhatiḥ [11*] Indrapura-nivāsinsāyā-

[10] tailika-sṛṇeyā Jivanta-pravārayā itō-dhishtānād-apakrama-

tu sṛṇeyā yad-abhagā-yogam 2

[12] prattha(tham)-ār-thāvyāva*] chchhinna-saṁsthām dēyāṁ tailasya tulyēna pala-


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

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

Read rājya sāmvatsara-sātē; see p. 38 above, note 5.—Gen. Cunningham (Archvol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XII. p. 40) considered that there is a faint trace of the vowel ś of rājya; but the vowel was not engraved.

Read prayachchhati.—That the marks after ti are the visarga, and not marks of punctuation, is shown by the form of the visarga throughout this inscription, and, contrasted with it, the marks of punctuation after bhāskaraḥ, l. 3, and at the end of the inscription.

Tulyēna seems to be a mistake for taulōṇa. I.e. taulōṇa (taulōṇa).
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 16, PLATE IX B.

11 Yó¹ vyakkraméd²-dáyam-imarah nibaddham gō-ghnō guru-ghanō dvijaghatakāh sah³ tātā pātakai[h*]

12 paññhābhir-anvītā-dhār-gachchhēn⁴-narah s-ōpanipātakaiś-ch-ēti II

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! May that Sun, the rich source of rays that pierce (the darkness which is) the envelope of the earth, protect you,—whom Brāhmaṇs, of enlightened minds, (have recourse to)⁵ according to due rite, (and thus become) the utterers of praises in meditation, which are directed solely to him; whose limit, either vertically or from side to side, neither the gods nor the demons could ascertain; (and) by having recourse to whom, mankind, when they have lost control of themselves through much disease and agitation of the mind, acquire consciousness (again)!

(Line 3.)—In the augmenting victorious reign⁶ of the Paramabhairadraka and Mahāyuddhārja, the glorious Skandagupta; in the year one hundred, increased by forty-six; (and) while the month Phālguna is current for the increase of the enjoyment, in (the land of) Antanrādī, of the Vīshyapati Śarvanāga, who has been accepted (with favour) by his feet—

(L. 5.)—The Brāhmaṇ Dēvavishṇu, who belongs to the community of Čaturvēdins of Pādā of the town of Čandrapura,—who is the son of Dēva, (and) the son’s son of Haritrāta, (and) the son of the son’s son of Dūdika; who always recites the hymns of the agnihūtra-sacrifice,⁷ who belongs to the Rāṇayānīya (śīkhā); (and) who is of the Varshagana gōtera,—for the increase of his own fame gives an endowment, (of which the interest is) to be applied to (the maintenance of) a lamp for the divine Sun, which has been established (in a temple) by the Kāśatriyas Achaḷavarman and Bhrukunṭhasinha, merchants of the town of Indrapura,⁸ on the east of the settlement, (and) actually touching . . . . . . ¹⁰ of the settlement of the town of Indrapura.

(L. 8.)—This gift of a Brāhmaṇ’s endowment of (the temple of) the Sun, (is) the perpetual property of the guild of oil-men, of which Jivanta is the head, residing at the town of Indrapura, as long as it continues in complete unity, (even) in moving away from this settlement. But there should be given by this guild, for the same time as the moon and the sun endure, two pala of oil by weight, (or in figures) by weight 2, uninterrupted in use, (and) continuing without any diminution from the original value.

(L. 11.)—Whosoever shall transgress this grant that has been assigned,—that man, (becoming as guilty as) the slayer of a cow, (or) the slayer of a spiritual preceptor, (or)

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1 Metro, Indravarjad.
2 Read yo vyakkramed; or, better, yo=tikkramed.
3 Read dh gachchhen.
4 Supply saṅkṛitya, from the third pada of the verse.
5 See page 38 above, note 3.
6 i.e. Skandagupta’s.
7 agnihūtra, an oblation to the god Agni, consisting chiefly of milk, oil, and sour gruel, offered every morning and evening: the maintenance of the sacred fire.
8 Here, line 5, the vowel of the second syllable is long; in lines 7 and 8 below, it is short.
9 The meaning of ṁadyadāta is not apparent.
10 pala, a particular weight, = 4 swarnas (gold-pieces), or 64 māshas (beans); see the Mānadvaharmalāstra, viii. 135, Burnell’s Translation, p. 200.
the slayer of a Brāhman, shall go down (into hell), invested with (the guilt of) those (well-known) five sins, together with the minor sins.  

No. 17; PLATE X.

GANGDHAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF VISVAVARMAN.

THE YEAR 480. N. E.

This inscription, which is now published for the first time, was brought to my notice in 1883, through a photograph sent to me by Colonel W. Muir, then Political Agent at Kōtā in Central India.

Gangdhār is a village about fifty-two miles south-west of Jhālaḍāṭan, the chief town of the Jhālahāḍ State in the Western Mālwa division of Central India. The inscription is on a stone-tablet standing under a tamarind-tree about a mile to the north of the village; evidently on the site of an old ruined temple.

At the top of the stone, there is some sculpture, which I cannot quite make out in the rough drawing of it that was brought to me with the ink-impression; but it is probably a sixteen-leaved waterlily.—The writing covers the entire front of the stone, about 2' of high by 3' 8" broad. Twelve letters are broken away and lost in the first part of line 1; eleven in line 2; three in line 3; and two or three all the way down from there as far as line 36. In lines 4 to 36, however, it is in most cases easy to supply what has been lost. In lines 37 to 40, again, from three to six letters are broken away at the beginning, and from two to four at the end of each line. The inscription was thus of a somewhat irregular shape, lines 1 to 6 and 37 to 41 being rather longer than lines 7 to 36; which looks as if the stone on which it was engraved was a panel in the wall of a temple.—The size of the letters varies from about 8" to 16". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; and give a specimen of what may be called the Western Mālwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D. They include, however, in khāḍga, line 5, and in several other places, not merely a separate form of the lingual d, as distinct from the dental d, in accordance with the custom of the northern alphabets, but a quite unique form of it, which does not occur in any other early inscription that I know of, and which is the clear prototype of the modern Devānāgarī form of this letter. They also include the very rare initial au, in aupamya, line 6.—The language is Sanskrit; and except for the words siddhir-āstau at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jīkhudmālya, e.g. in chakṣataś-krīyāt,  

1 i.e. the paśča mahāpāṭākāṇi; see page 38 above, note 4.
2 The upaniṣṭākāṇi,—or more usually upapiśṭākāṇi; the longer form being used in this verse for the sake of the metre,—are sins of the second degree, such as killing a cow, sacrificing for those for whom sacrifices ought not to be made, &c., &c.; see the Mānavadharmaśāstra, xi, 60 to 67, Burnell’s Translation, p. 332 f.
3 The ‘Gangrār, Gungra, and Gungur,’ of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 23° 50' N.; Long. 75° 41' E.—The modern name must be connected with Gargar, the ancient name, according to line 33 of this inscription, of the small river, now called ‘Kalisiand,’ on which it stands. But it is not apparent how the dental dh came to be introduced into it; nor why it appears as r in the corrupt English forms.
4 The ‘Jhalawar, Jhallawar, and Jhallowa,’ of maps, &c.
The Guptâ Inscriptions; No. 17, Plate X.

The passage containing the date, line 19 f., is not an easy one to deal with. — The date of four hundred and ninety-three, given in the next inscription, for Vâsavarman's son Bandhuvarman, shows that the number of the centuries in the present passage must be four. And the reading that I give is exactly in accordance with the appearance of the original. But there are the objections, (1) that it is a violation of the metre, since it gives us, in chatursha, an amphibrach, where a dactyl is required; and (2) that it leaves krâthu, 'made, done, performed,' as a superfluous and rather unmeaning word, unless we somewhat strain its meaning by giving it the sense of 'fully completed (years).' — In the sense of 'years accomplished, i.e. expired,' krâthu occurs in line 1 of the Byânâ inscription of Vishnuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59 below, Plate xxviiC. But, though this use of it is unusual, it is justifiable there, as it is not accompanied by yâdê, 'having gone by,' or any similar word.—My first inclination about the present passage was, that krâthu was used in the sense of 'made, effected, established by;' and that the three aksharas preceding it contained the name of the founder of the era. But Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with whom I discussed the passage, was of opinion that kräta could not be used in such a sense; and I am not able to quote anything opposed to his opinion. Moreover, that interpretation would have left us without any word to specify the centuries of the date. — My next inclination was to read cha Isupâ krâthu, which would satisfy the metrical requirements, and may be justified by the appearance of the original; and to look upon Isupâ as intended for a vocalisation of the numerical symbol for four hundred; 'made by (the utterance) of Isupâ.' The very peculiar expression, stiitrâgadâthu, which follows, seemed to point to something of this kind being intended. And Dr. Bühler has given an instance of a pronunciative value being certainly allotted to the symbol for four (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 47 f.) But to this interpretation there are the objections, (1) that the word cha would be rather superfluous and unmeaning; and (2) that the symbol for four hundred does not resemble the syllables Isupâ. — Dr. Bhandarkar also suggested that the word 'four' is expressed by krâta (in krâthu). But this would leave the preceding two or three aksharas altogether unexplained. And, though Krita as the name of the first of the four ages, is capable, on the numerical-word system, of being used to represent the number four, this system was not in use in inscriptions in India at this early time. The period of the invention of the system in question still remains to be determined. That the use of it was known to Vakhamihira (died A.D. 487; Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. I. p. 407), is shown by his employing, in the Brihat-Samihât, viii. 20, 21, the words Rudra for 'eleven,' Râma for 'three,' aga (mountain) for 'seven,' and tara (arrow) and vishaya (object of sense) for 'five.' And it has been supposed that it was used by Āryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476; id. p. 403); but Dr. Bhau Daji (id. p. 404) has pointed out, from his own MS., that the half-verse in question, the only apparent instance, giving the number of the revolutions of the planet Jupiter in numerical words, is not really Āryabhaṭa's (a point that is supported also by the metre; for the two lines together make up a verse in the Upagāti metre; whereas Āryabhaṭa used the Ārya metre, and the first line is the second half of a verse in that metre), but is an addition, in all probability by Utpala or Bhâṭṭotpâla (about A.D. 966; id. p. 410). The earliest epigraphical instances, at present available, are, in Cambodia, the Bayan inscription, dated Saka-Saṅvat 526 (A.D. 604-5) and 546 (Bart's Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge, p. 36, line 11), where the dates are expressed by the (five) arrows (of Kâmadêva), Dasra (one of the two Aśvinas), and the (six) flavours, and by the (five) senses, the (four) oceans, and the (six) seasons; and, in India
has to be referred to the era, dating from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, that is mentioned specifically in the next inscription, which gives us the year four hundred and ninety-three for Viśvarman's son, Bandhuvarman, the feudatory of Kumāragupta. This Mālava era is the Vikrama era,\(^1\) commencing B.C. 57; and the result for the present inscription is A.D. 425-24 expired, or 424-25 current; which shows that Viśvarman, also, was a contemporary of Kumāragupta. The inscription belongs partly to the Vaishnava, and partly to the Śaṅkta or Tāntrika form of religion; the object of it being to record how a certain Mayūrākshaṇa, a minister of Viśvarman, built a temple of Viṣṇu,—also a temple of the divine Mothers,—and also a large drinking-well.

TEXT.\(^2\)

1 [\(\cdots\)\] masya Viṣṇur-bhujas-surapati-dvipa-hasta-
\(\text{[sa]}\text{ppa}\) [\(\cdots\)\] \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\)

2 [\(\cdots\)\] \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) - \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) - \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\)
\(\text{[II]}\) Prakṣhaṭa-vrṣya-yaśas[ānḥ] kṣ[i]ila-
\(\text{[adhipāṇāḥ]}\) varṣ-ōdbhavo \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\)
\(\text{[gativi]}\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\)

3 [\(\cdots\)\] kānta-śrīman-babhūva Naravarmanma-ṇipaḥ prakṣaḥ II
\(\text{[Yajñai[ś]}\text{surāṇ-muni-gaṇ[ā]}[\text{[n]}[\text{[n]}[\text{[y][a]}]\text{mair-udārai[h]} \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\)

4 [\(\cdots\)] bhṛtiya-janam-a-prapātimēna lōkē yō-tōshayat-su-charitaś-cha
\(\text{[Hasty-āśa-sādhana]}\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\)

5 [\(\text{[khaṭga-]marṣe[ī]}\) matsu II(I) saṅgrāma-mūrdhhasu mukhaṃ samudākṣhya
\(\text{[yaśaṃ]}\) nāṣam-prayāṇy-ari-gaṇa bhaya-nāṣṭa-chēśthāḥ [II\(\text{[*]}\)] [Tasya-āṭmajah]\(\text{[\(\cdots\)]}\)

6 [\(\cdots\)] \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\text{[Bṛhaspati-samas-sakalendu-vaktraḥ]} II(I)
\(\text{[aupamayabhūta]}\) iva Rāma-Bhagratbhabhyāṃ rā[\(\cdots\) \(\cdots\) \(\cdots\)

7 [\(\cdots\)] \(\text{[bhuvī Viśvarmanma]} II Dhairyaṇa Mērum-abhijāti-guṇēṇa
\(\text{[Vainyam-indum]}\) prabhā-samudayēṇa balēna Viṣṇum [II] \(\text{[sam]}\).

8 [\(\text{[va]ṛṭaḥ-āśaṃ-a-sahya-tamah-cha diptāḥ yō viṇkramēṇa cha sur-}
\(\text{[a]dhipatiṇaḥ vijyēṃ II}}\) \(\text{[Vyaṛṣita-mārgga]}\) iva bhā-

9 [\(\text{[nur-asa]}\) ha-mūṛttir-vaayabhr-oday-adhikatar-ô[\(\text{[i]}\)] vala-gbhra-diptih II(I)
yāṣ-\(\text{[sakyatē na riṣubhih-bhaya-viḥval-akṣhair-udvīl-}

10 [\(\text{[kṣhitum kṣaṃam-]pṛṛgraḥnita-śastrah II Nirbhhāṣanair-agivat-āśra-
\(\text{[jal-ārdra-gaṇdair-vīchchhinā-maṇḍanatay-ô[\(\text{[i]}\)]vala-nāṣhta-}

\(^{1}\text{itself, the record of Śaka-Saṃvat 867 (A.D. 945-46) for the accession of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 16, line 31), in which the date is expressed by the (eight) demi-gods called Vasu, the (six) flavours, and the (seven) mountains.—The supposition that the present passage contains one of these numerical words, is certainly not tenable. And, after full consideration, I can see nothing to be done, save to take the reading chaturṣku; to accept the violation of the metre; and, as we also have yāṭkṣhu, to translate kṛtikṣhu by 'fully-complete.'—In the same verse, there is also a violation of the metre (or some other mistake) in the words saṃyakṣhavaita; and, in line 11, the final long i of kāminī is shortened for metrical purposes.}

\(^{2}\text{See the Preface.}

\(^{3}\text{From the ink-impression and a paper estampage.}

\(^{4}\text{Metre, Vasantarīlaka; and in the next seventeen verses.}

\(^{4}\text{Also tasyānujās, "his younger brother," will suit the metre.}
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 17, PLATE X.

11 [sōbhaiḥ] II(1) yassya-āri-kāmini⁴-mukhāmburuhair-bbalasya pārvatām pratyaphalāh II Rātmōdagnā-dyutī.


15 [ma]ri-rāsmi-nakkrā-prabhā-andhair-abhhyudyaṭ-ānjalitayā ssālā-gragandaih II(1)

16 [ddhair-yya]ssy-adarād-divi yaśā[ṁ]si namahkriyantē II Agrē-pi yā(yō)


18 [āsa]ntā mahān-mūptis-pravrē śvarggaṁ yathā suraśāpāv-amita-prabhāvē II(1) nāabhōd adharmma-nirātṛt vyaśān-ānvitō


20 [srī-ṛe]nu-arun-bhau-ktro[U]tā bandhūka-bāna-kusum-oji[♭]vala-kānān-āntō II(1) nīdrō-vyāpaya-samayē Madhūsūdanasya kā-

21 [ī le prabu]ddha-kumud-āgarā-sūdhā-tāre II Vāpl-tādāga-sūrasadmadhbōdpūnā-

22 [bhīh] II(1) kṣetra-nirvāna sākṣa(mal)aj-chakāra II Rājjas-trītyam-iva chakshur-udā-

23 [ra-vṛtti]r'ūdeva-dvijātī-guru-ba[ā]nāhava-sādhu(?)-bhaktaḥ II(1) sāstr[ai]k[♭] stutō

24 [sva-chintām]ām II Sarvasya jītītma-a-nityam-a-sāravach-cha dōḷa-chalān-ān-


26 [r-anki]lāh II(1) karṇa-āntā-pratisarppamāṇa(na) nayana[♭] gyā(śye)mād-vadātā-

27 [chchhaiḥ] II(1) darpp-āvishkṛ(śkṛ)ta-sō(sā)ra-sattru-mathanō dushṭ[sha]-

28 []-[ ] II(1) bhaktyāc ch[āsuhridān]-cha bāndha-samā dharmma-ārtht-

29 [diṣ] prakhyāṭa-vṛtyō vaś[ī]l(1) puttrō Vishnuḥbhaṭṭā tathā Harībhaṭṭe

sambaddha-vānāsā-kriyāh II(1) ēta-

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1 The final long I of kāmini is shortened for the sake of the metre.
2 Read saīnya.
3 See page 73 above, note 1.
4 Read saumyakṣvāntita; which, however, entails another violation of the metre, since aśita, 'the eightieth,' gives us an amphiblach where an antibach is required. We might satisfy the requirements of the metre by reading saumyā-skt-dīta, which would give the 'eighty-eighth (year)'. But this would also give us a locative singular, saumyā, where the locative plural, saumyēshu, is required in apposition with aśītēu.
5 Read ēdpāna, or ēdpūnā.
6 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdatā; and in the next verse.

L2


Translation.

the arm of (the god) Vishnu;
the serpentine movements of the trunk of (Airavata) the elephant of (Indra) the lord of the gods.

(Line 3)—Born in a lineage of rulers of the earth who were possessed of renowned prowess and fame beautiful
there was the illustrious king Naravarman, the famous one;—
who pleased the gods with sacrifices, the saints with observances of a noble nature.

(Line 4)—(his) servants with honourable treatment that was unequalled in the world, and the whole earth with excellent achievements;—[who]...

in [battle-fields] which were full of the rays of (his) sword; (and whose) enemies, losing the power of motion through fear, are destroyed (by simply) seeing his face in the van of war.

(L. 5.)—[His son]...
magnanimous; equal to Bṛhaspati in intellect; possessed of a countenance like the full-moon; the standard of comparison, as it

1 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
2 Read zuṇakuchey=ṛṣajali-kujalamn.
3 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛṣṭīta.
4 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛṣṭīta.
5 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛṣṭīta.
6 Or possibly "[his younger brother]"; see page 74 above, note 4.
were, for (even) Rāma and Bhagratra; ................... on the earth, (was) Visvavāman; —who surpassed (the mountain) Mēru in firmess, Vainya in hereditary virtue, the moon in development of lustre, (the god) Viṣṇu in strength, and the most unendurable fire of universal destruction in brilliance, and (Indra) the lord of the gods in prowess—who, when he grasps (his) weapon, cannot be gazed upon even for a moment by (his) enemies, whose eyes are blinded by fear, just like a sun, which, turning back upon (its) course, has an unendurable form and a brilliant and terrible lustre that is heightened by rising in a cloudless sky; —to whom obeisance is performed by the waterlilies which are the faces of the lovely women of (his) enemies, frightened beforehand by (hearing of) the prowess of (his) strength, (and now) destitute of ornaments, moist on the cheeks with the water of the tears that cling there, (and) deprived of beauty by having their wearing of adornments stopped; —whose forces, moreover, have reverence done to them by [the oceans], the palmyra-trees on the shores of which are beautified by the lustre of the production of jewels (from the waters); the rows of the foam on which are broken through by the terrified sharks and marine monsters; (and) all of whose hands, which are their waves, are shaken about by a fierce wind; —at the time of the journeying forth of whose army, the earth has (its) thickets emptied of the beasts and birds which flee away from fear of the lances that uproot the trees and make the mountains tremble, and, having (its) highways made uneven by protuberances, sinks down as it were (under the tread of his troops); —whose reputation has respect paid to it in a reverential manner in the sky by the Vidyādharas, bound in the fetters of the arms of (their) mistresses, who are blinded, by the radiance, directed towards (them), of the rays of the jewels in (his) diadem, (and) the upper parts of whose cheeks are shaded by the lifting up of (their) joined hands in the act of respectful salutation; —and who, even when he was still in early youth, nourished (his) pure intellect by following the sacred writings, and now effects the protection of the world like Bharata, pointing out, as it were, the path of the true religion among kings. While he, the king, the bravest among kings, is governing the earth, just as (Indra) the lord of the gods, of unmeasured majesty, (governs) the heavens, there is never any one [among mankind] who delights in wickedness, [or] is beset by misfortune, or is destitute of happiness.

(L. 19.)—And when four hundred fully-complete auspicious years,¹ together with the eightieth (year), had here gone by; on the bright thirteenth day of the month Kṛ̤̃ttika which brings happiness to the thoughts of all mankind; —in the season² which abounds with waters that are of a reddish-brown colour with the pollen that is discharged from the blue waterlilies; when the skirts of the groves are radiant with the flowers of the bandhāka³ and bādua-trees; when there is the time of the awakening from sleep of (the god) Madhusūdana;⁴ (and) when the stars are as pure as a bed of waterlilies in full bloom; —

(L. 22.)—He who has adorned (this) city on the banks of the Gargāra with irrigation wells, tanks, and temples and halls of the gods, drinking-wells, and pleasure-gardens of

¹See page 73 above, note 1; and page 75, note 4.
²I.e. Sarad, the autumn, consisting of the two months Āśāyuja (September-October) and Kṛ̤̃ttika (October-November).
³bandhāka: 'a shrub bearing a red flower; Pentapetes Phœnica; Terminalia Tomentosa.'
⁴bādua: 'the blue-flowering Barleria.'
⁵Viṣṇu, who sleeps during the four months of the rainy season. His slumber commences on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Āśāṭha (June-July), and ends on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Kṛ̤̃ttika (October-November).
various kinds, and causeways, and long pools, just as if (he were adorning his own) beloved wife with different sorts of ornaments; he who is, as it were, the third eye of the king; who is of noble behaviour; who is devoted to gods, Brāhmaṇas, spiritual preceptors, relations, and holy men; and who, by nature) not free from partiality (for this particular virtue), has (always) applied (his) thoughts to courteous behaviour, destitute of litigation, which is applauded by the sacred writings;—he who, having reflected that the life of every man lasts not for ever and is full of feebleness, and that prosperity is as unstable as a swing, is displaying, by means of (his) lawfully acquired riches, the most extreme devotion towards (the god Vishnu) who bears the discus and the club;—he who has two handsome arms that are muscular and long and round and pendulous; who is [marked] with the wounds of swords; whose eyes stretch to the tips of (his) ears; who is possessed of a clear skin like that of a young woman of tender age; who destroys (his) enemies when they display energy through pride; who is powerful ......................; who through devotion behaves like a relation towards (his) enemies; who is experienced in (the combined pursuit, without mutual conflict, of) religion and wealth and pleasure;—

(L. 28.) He, the illustrious Mayūrākṣaka, who is sprung from a family possessed of wisdom and prowess; whose heroism is renowned in every region; who holds himself under control; (and) who has accomplished, in his son Viṣṇubhaṭa and also Haribhaṭa, the duty of (continuing his) lineage,—caused to be built by his sons, the favourites of great good fortune, this shrine of the divine (god) Viṣṇu, which blocks up the path of sin,—seeing the aspect of which, resembling the lofty peak of (the mountain) Kailāsa, the Vidyādhara, accompanied by his mistresses, come and gaze into it with happy faces that are like waterlilies, as if it were the very lustrous surface of a mirror;—(and) seeing which (aspect), at the moment when the surface (of the roof) has been polished by the palms of the hands of the lovely women of the gods, the sun, who in the sky is praised in chorus by the saints possessed of superhuman power of mind resulting from religious merit, reins in his chariot-horses with (their) tossing manes, which think (from the reflection) that they are returning towards (themselves), and, joining (his hands) together (so that they resemble) an expanding bud in respectful salutation, runs away in fear with bent-down head.

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

(L. 37.)—And the illustrious Mayūrākṣaka, the receptacle of virtuous qualities, caused to be made this well, which is protected by ......................... in the lower regions, resembling serpents; which possesses much water, cool, and sweet, and pure; (and) which rivals the ocean.

(L. 39.)—As long as the oceans ......................... are full of jewels; as long as the earth, with (its) mountains, abounds with many thickets and trees and woods; and as long as the moon lights up the sky that is inlaid with the host of the planets;—so long let the fame of the illustrious Mayūrākṣaka remain abundant! Let there be success!

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

MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA  and BANDHUVARMAN.

THE MALAVA YEARS 493 AND 529.

This inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 194 ff., was discovered through information given by the late Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who, in 1879, sent to General Cunningham, from Mandasor, a hand-copy of the fragmentary pillar inscription of Yasôdharman, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC. I saw this copy in 1883, and, recognising in it the name of Mihirakula, sent my copyists, in March 1884, to take impressions of this fragment and of any other inscriptions that they might find. In the search made by them, they discovered the present inscription, and also the entire duplicate copy of the pillar inscription of Yasôdharman, No. 33 below, Plate xxiB, which had escaped the notice of Mr. Sullivan.

Mandasor,  or more properly Dásör, the ancient Daśapura, on the north or left

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1 The 'Mandesar, Mandesor, Mandesur, Mandseore, Mandosar, Mandsaur, Mundesor, and Mundesore,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 24° 3’ N.; Long. 75° 8’ E.
2 Dásör is the name by which, in preference to Mandasor, the town is habitually spoken of by the villagers and agriculturists of the locality and neighbourhood, and even as far as Indir. And in some bilingual sanads or warrants, of about a century and a half ago, I found this form, Dásör, used in the vernacular passages, while the Persian passages of the same documents give the form Mandasor. So also, Paññits still habitually use the form Daśapura in their correspondence; a practice with which we may compare the use, also by Paññits, of Ahipura and Nakhapura for respectively Sampgaum and Ugartol in the Belgaum District; except that it is doubtful whether these are original Sanskrit names, or only pedantic Sanskrit translations of original vernacular names.—The local explanation of the name is, that the place was originally a city of the Purânic king Daśaratha. But, on this view, the modern name should be Dâsrathor. The true explanation evidently is that,—just as now the township includes from twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions: Khilchpur, Jankopur, Râmpuriyâ, Chandrapurâ, Bâlgañj, &c.,—so, when it was originally constituted, it included exactly ten (daia) such hamlets (pâsa).—As regards the fuller form of Mandasor, by which alone the town is known officially and is entered in maps, I cannot at present explain the origin of it. But Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji suggested to me that it may perhaps represent Manda-Daśapura, "the distressed or afflicted Daśapura," in commemoration of the overthrow of the town, and the destruction of the Hindu temples in it, by the Musalmân, in memory of which, even to the present day, the Nâgâr Brâhmans of the place will not drink the water there. And, as tending to support this suggestion, I would mention that one of the Paññits whom I questioned on the spot, gave me Mâmnadasor as another form of the name. Another suggestion, by Mr. F. S. Growse, is that the name combines the two names of Mand and Daśapura; the former of them (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 195) being the name of a village, also called Afsalpur, about eleven miles south-east of Mandasor, from which, it is said, were brought, from ruined Hindu temples, the stones that were used in the construction of the Musalmân fort at Mandasor. The true explanation, whatever it may be, would probably be found in the Daśapura-Mâhdîm–mya, which is extant, but which I did not succeed in obtaining for examination.—In addition to the present inscription, the ancient Sanskrit name, Daśapura, occurs also in line 2 of an early Nâšik inscription of Usâyadhâta (Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 99, and Plate lii. No. 5); and in another inscription at Mandasor itself, dated (Vikrama)-Sâmyat 1321 (A.D. 1264-65) Guru(vâra) or Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhâdrapada, which is on a white stone built into the wall on the left hand inside the inner gate of the eastern entrance of the Fort.—Under the same name, the place is also mentioned, in connection with Avanti (Ujjain), in the Brihat-Samhâla, xiv. vv. 11-16 (Kern's Translation, Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 83).
bank of the river Śiwaná,¹ is the chief town of the Mandasör District of Scindia’s Dominions in the Western Málwa division of Central India. The inscription is on a stone slab, apparently rather good and dark sand-stone, built into the wall on the right half-way down a small flight of steps leading to the river in front of a medieval temple of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādeva, at the Mahādeva-Ghāt, which is on the south bank of the river, just opposite the Fort, and, I think, in the limits of the hamlet of Chandrapurā.

The writing covers, except for a margin of about half an inch, the whole front of the stone, about 1½” broad by 1½” high. It has been a good deal worn away about the centre of the stone; and also the stone is chipped at several places round the edges; but only a few letters here and there are really illegible, and these can in each case be easily supplied.—The average size of the letters is about ½”. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include two letters borrowed from the northern alphabets; vis. the separate form of the lingual ē, as distinct from the dental ē, e.g. in tādīt, line 6, and cūḍīd, line 17; and also the rare lingual dh, e.g. in dīrīḍha, lines 9 and 11. They give a very good specimen of what may be called the Western Málwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D.—The language is Saṅskrit; and, with the exception of the opening siddham and the concluding words in line 24, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography we have to notice (1) the occasional use of the jihumāstäya and upadmāstäya; e.g. in jagatah-kshaya, line 1; ganath-kham, line 8; pravirīṭaiḥ-puṣhyati, line 2; and abhūdṛah-pḍydt, line 3; but not, for instance, in avabhugn AI kvačit, line 5; parah kripaṇd, line 14; rajah-piṇjaraitat, line 5; and pratīṁmadāt pramudītid, line 9; (2) the occasional doubling of t, dh, and hh, in conjunction with a following r; e.g. in chitrāṇa, line 12; rāddhra, line 18; and abhṛra, line 6; (3) the same of th and dh, with a following y; e.g. in pathya, line 9; and suddhyḍya, line 8; and (4) the same of dh, with a following v; e.g. in addhuddi, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king named Kumāragupta, who, from the description of him in line 13 as sovereign of the whole earth, can be no other than the well-known Kumāragupta of the Early Gupta dynasty. Under him, the governor at Daśapura was Bandhuvarman, the son of Viśvarman. The inscription belongs throughout to the solar form of worship. It narrates, in the first place, how a number of silk-weavers immigrated from the Lāṭa viṣhaya, or central and southern Gujarat, into the city of Daśapura; and how some of the band took up other occupations, while those who adhered to their original pursuit constituted themselves into a separate and flourishing guild. And it then proceeds to record that, while Bandhuvarman was governing at Daśapura, the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun, which was completed when, in words, four hundred and ninety-three years had elapsed, “by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas,”¹ and therefore when the four hundred and ninety-fourth year (A.D. 437-38) was current, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya (December-January). Afterwards, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair. And then it was restored by the same guild, when, in words, five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed, and therefore when the five hundred and thirtieth year (A.D. 473-74) was current, on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya (February-March). This second date is, of

¹ The ‘Sau, and Seu,’ of maps. 
² See the Preface.
course, the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved; since we are told at the end that it was all composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi, and the engraving throughout is obviously the work of one and the same hand.

TEXT.


2 yō-bhuyḍayatāḥ-kṛitisnam yās-cha gahastibhīḥ pravīṣītaiḥ-push[y]āti lōkā-

trayam I gandharva-siddha-kinnara-naraṁ-saṁstūyātē bhuyṣthīōt bhaktēbhyaś-cha ādātī yō-bhootashīṁ tasmāi savitē namah I(II) Yaḥ-pratyayānā prativībhāyā-udayāchalendra-vistīṛṇa-tūṅga-sikhara-skhalit-

ānumā-sājī jāhā kshib-āṅgana.

3 jana-kopōla-tāl-ābbhitāmaḥ-pāyat-sa vas-su-k[ī]raṃ-ābharanō vivasvān I(II) Kuśumā-bhar-ānata-taruvāra-dēvakulasabha-vibhāra-ramaṇī(ṇ)yaṁ I Lāṭa-

vihayan-nag-āvrita-sailajā-jyagati pratiha-śilpāḥ I(II) Tēś désa-pārtthiva-
gun-āpahītāḥ prakāśam-adhī-ādi-jāyā-vā-vīralaν-sukkha-

4 νy-apāya jāt-ādāra Daśapuruṇaṁ prathamaṁ manōbhīr-anvagataṁ sa-suta-bandhu-jānas-sameवa II Mattēbhā-ganda-tāta-vīchṛta-dāna-bindu-
sikt-āpaḷ-āchala-sahasra-vibhūṣhaḥ(sha)pāyāḥ [I*] pushp-āvanamatra-taru-manḍa-

vataṁsakāyā bhūmeḥ pari-tulaṃ-bhūtam-īdaṁ kramena II Tat[ī]-ōtttha-

vrikṣa-chyuta-

5 nikā-pushpa-vichitra-tīr-ānta-jalāṇī bhāntī I prahulta-padm-ābharanāṁ yatra, sarāṃsi kāraṇḍa-samkulāṇi II Viḷāla-vichāt-chalit-āṭavīḍa-patad-rajaḥ-

piṅjariśaiḥ-cha hamsaiḥ I sa-kēsār-ōḍara-bhar-avabhugaiḥ kvachit= sarāṃsy-amburuhaiḥ-cha bhāntī I(II) Sva-pushpa-bhār-āvanatāṁ-

naṅgarāṇau-mada-

6 pragalbh-āli-kula-svaṇaiḥ-cha i ajāṣra-gābhiḥ-cha pur-ānganābhīr-vpaṇī yasmin-

samalāmkṛitāno I Chalat[ī]-patikāṇy-abala-saṇāthāyṛ-atyaṛthta-suklāy-adhi-

aṇṇitati I taḍīl-lalit-chitra-sit-ābhiḥ-kōṭa-tuly-ōpamāṇāni grīhāṇi yatra II Kailāṣa-

uṅga-sikharā-prativāṇi cha-ānyāy-ābhānti āṛṛṣa-valabh-

7 ni sa-vēdikāni I gāṇḍhārya-vā-tāda-mukharāṇi(ṇ) nivishta-chitra-karmāṇi lōla-

kadasī-vana-sōbhāṇi I Prasāda-mālāḥbhīr-alimāṇktiḥ dharāni vidāryy-

aiva samuṭṭhitāni vāmā-saḷā-saṭāṣṭāni yattra grīhāṇi pūṛṇ-endu-

kar-āmalāni II Yādū-ḥītya-abhirama-vard–[d*]vayéna chapal-ōrmmiṇā

samupagāḥ

1 From the ink-impression. 2 Metre, Śārdūlavikṛṣṭa; and in the next verse.
3 Metre, Vasantatilaka. 4 Metre, Āryā.
5 Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.
6 Metre, Upendravajra; and in the next two verses.
7 Metre, Upajñāti of Indravajra and Upendravajra. 8 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
9 Metre, Upajñāti of Indravajra and Upendravajra. 10 Metre, Āryā.
8 rahasi kucha-sālinibhyāṁ Prāti-Ratibhyāṁ Smar-āṅgam-iva II Satya-
kshāma-dama-sama-vrata-sauca-dhairyā-svaddhyāya-vritta-vinaya-a sthiti-bud-
dhy-upetāḥ II vidyā-tapō-nidhibhir-asa-mayitäḥ-cha vipra-yayad-bhrājatē
graha-ganāḥ-īkhaṇa-iva pradīptaḥ II Atha satyasya nirantarā-saṅgatair-
aharaḥ-pravijīrmitāḥ.

ṣukham pūre II Śravāṇa-[s]ūbhaga[m] dh[ā]m-nurūvavīda[m] drīḍham,
parinisrītīḥaḥ sucharīta-ṣat-āśaṅgāḥ kēcchid-vichīrtra-kāthā-vīdaḥ II vinayā,
nibhrītāḥ samya-dharmma- prasaṅga - parāyataḥḥ - priyām a - pariṣṭham
pathyam ch-āntyē kshama bahu bhāshito II

10 Kēcchit-sva-karmmany-adikās-tath-ānayair-vvījāyate yojitām-ātmavadbhiḥ 1
adyāpi ch-āntyē samath-pragabhāḥ-kuruvanty-atnām-aṁ-hitam "pra-
sahya I(I) Prājñā manojñā-vadhavaḥ prathīt-oro-varaḥ vamṣ-ānurūpa-
charitāḥbharaṇāḥ tath-āntyē I satya-vratāḥ prapaṇyinām-upakāra-dakṣhā
virambha.

[puṛva]m aparā drīḍha-sauhṛiddās-cha II Vijita-vishaya-saṅgair-adharmma-
śaśa-tath-ānayair-m[r]idubhir-adhikār-sat[*]vair-llokayātr-āmaraś-cha I svā-
kula-tilaka-bhūtair-mukta-rāgair-uḍārair-adhikām-abhibhāti śrēṇī-evaṁ-
prakāraḥ II Tārūpya kāntya-upachito pi suvarṇaḥārā-tāmbūla-pushpa-
vīdhinā sama-
[
lamkar]tō-pi I nāt-janaḥ priyam-upaiti na tāvad-agryā(śryā)ḥ yāvan-a
pattamayā-vastra-yuļgāni dhattē II Sparās[va]tē varaṇātara-
viḥaṃ-čhiturēna nētra-subhagena I yais-sakalam-idaṁ kṣitītalam-alan-
kritam patta-vastrēna II Vidyādharē-ruchīra-pallava-karṇapūra-vat-ērit-
āsthitrāram praviṣṭānta.

13 [lō]kam I mānushyam-artha-nichayānś-cha tathā vīsālāṁ-hēśah śubhā
matir-abhūd-ačala tatas-tu II Chatus[s]mānam-ānop[ā]la-vātola-mēkhalam
Sumēru-Kailāsa-brihat-payōdharmām I van-ānta-vēnta-sphut-pushpa-hāsīnāṁ
Kumāraguptē prithivīṁ prāsaṣati II Samāna[11] dītiḥ-Sukra-Brihas-
patibhyāṁ laśāma-bhūto bhūvi

14 pāṛthivānāṁ I rāņēshu yāḥ Pāṛthasamāṇa-karmma babhūva gopā
nipa-Viśayaṃmā II Dhi-s[ā]nukmāpaṇa-parāṁ kripan-ārtta-vārgg-
sandhyā-[pradā]-dhi-kādayālūm-anātha-nāthāḥ I kalpa-drūmāḥ prapaṇyinām-
abhayam pradaś-cha bhūtasya yō janapadasya cha bandhur-āśīt II
Tasyā-ātmajōḥ sthārayyya-nay-āpapannā bandhu-priyō

15 bandhur-iva prājanāṁ I bandhurtvartti-hārtta nipa-Bandhuvamāmā dyi-
dripta-paksha-kṣaṇa-ālka-dakṣhāḥ II Kṛntō[12] yuva rana-pāṭur-vvīnay-
āvītās-cha rāj-apī sann-upaśrito na madaib smay-ādiyāḥ I śringāra-

1 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
2 Metre, Hariṣṭā.
3 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
4 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
5 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
6 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
7 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
8 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
9 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
10 Metre, Indravajrā.
11 Metre, Indravajrā.
12 Metre, Drutavilambita.
13 Metre, Indravajrā.
14 Metre, Māliṇī.
15 Metre, Āryā.
mūrtiḥ-abbhāty-analamkṛito-pi rūpēna yāḥ-kusumāchāpa iva dvitiyāḥ 1
Vaidhavya1-tvā-vyasana-kshatānām

16 smṛtī(tvā): yam-adhāpy-ari-sundarāṁ 1 bhāyād-bhavaty-āyata-lōchanānām
ghanā-stan-āyasa-karah-prakampāḥ 1 Tasmīnā2-eva kaṁtipati-vrī(vrī) 3
Bándhuvarmamasya-udārā samyak-sphāta 1 Daśapuram-idaṁ pālayaty-
unmat-ānśe 1 śilāvāptair-dhāna-samudayaśaḥ pattavāyair-udāraṁ
śeśhaṁbhūtār-bbhavanaṁ-atulamaṁ kārīnām

17 dhāptarāmṛṣe 2 Vistrīṣe-3-tunga-śikharaṁ sikhari-prakāsam-abhuydgat-ēnd-v
amala-rami-kalāpa-gauram 1 yad-bhāti paśchima-purasya nivishta-
kānta-chudāmaṇi-pratisaman-nayan-abhiramam 1 Rāmā-sanātha-[ra] chanē
dara-bhāskar-āṁśu-vahni-pratapā-subhagē jala-llna-minē 1 chandrānśu-
harmyatale-

18 chandana-tālāvinta-hār-ōpabhōdha 1 gaḥ-rahite hima-dagdha-padmē 1 Rōdhdhra-
priyamgū-tandakāla-vikōśa-pushpā 1 asava-pramud[1]-tī ali-kal-ābhīrāmē 1
tāle tushāra-kaṇa-karkkaśa-śtā-śāta-vēgā-pranṛtta-lavall-nagan-ākāsākhē 1
Smara 1 vaśaga-tarunajana-vallabhāṅgana-vipulā-kānta-pīrōnū

19 stana-jaghaṇa-ghan-āṅgana-nirbharta-sita-tuhina-hima-pāte 1 Mālayānām 1
ghan-sthityā yat[ē] satā-chatushtyā 1 tri-navaty-adhikē-bdānām-ri(i)tau
sṛyā-ghan-svane 1 Śahasya-maśa-sūkliśya prāśastīhni trīyōdaśe 1
maṅgāl-āchāra-viḥinaḥ prāśado-yaṁ nivēśitaḥ 1 Bahunā samatītēna

20 kālē-ānayaśa-cha pārthīvāya 1 yayaśryyat-aika-ādesa-sya bhavanasya tato-
dhunā 1 Sva-yaśo-[va]-[vr]ī(ṣ)(vrī) Ṛdhayē sarvam-aty-udāraṁ udārāya saṁskā-
ritam-idam bhūyāḥ śṛṇyāḥ bhūnmatā griham 1 "Aty-unnatam-
avadatarā nāba[h]aḥ-sprīsam iva manōharaṁ sikharaīḥ 1 saśi-bhānvēr-
abhyadayēśvam-amala-mayōkhaḥ-āyatana-

21 bhūtaṁ 1 Vatsara-śatēṣu pancharasu viśamty-ādhiḳeṣhu navasu ch-
ābādesaḥ 1 yatēśvabhiḥraṁ. Tapasya-maśa-sūkli-dvitiyāyām 8 Spashtair 9
asōkataru-ketak-sinduvāra-lōlātimuktakalata-madayantikānām 1 pushp-
ōdgamair-ābhīnivair-adhīgamyā nūnām āikyaṁ vijrhibha-sāre Ḥara-
pō(dhā)da-debhē 1 R

22 Madhu 9-paṇa-mudita-madhukara-kul-ōpaggata-nagan(ṇ) 1 aika-prithu-ākhe 1
tāle nava-kusumā-ōdghama-daṁṭura-kānte-prachura-rōdhdhē 1 Śaśin-eva nabho
vimalam kaus[ṛ]bhu-maṇiṇ-eva Śaṅgīnō vakṣhaḥ 1 bhavana-varēṇā
tathādaṁ 1 puram-akhlam-alamkritam-udāraṁ 1 Amalina 3 saśi-

23 lēkhā-daṁṭuraṁ pīṅgalāṇām pārjaḥati samabhāṁ yāvad-ūd 1 jatānāṁ 1
vīkaṭa-kamala-mālam-āṁśa-sāktāṁ cha Śaṅgīt bhavanām-iddam-udāraṁ

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1 Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā.
2 Metre, Mandakrāntā.
3 Metre, Vasantaṭilaka; and in the next two verses.
4 Metre, Áryā.
5 Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh); and in the next three verses.
6 Metre, Áryā; and in the next verse.
7 sprīsam is the nominative singular of the masculine; whereas the neuter sprīsati, in apposition with griham, is what is required. This, however, would not suit the metre. The only emendation that suits the metre, is to alter the construction and read nabhaḥ sprīsati-eva.
8 Read viṁsātya.
9 Metre, Vasantaṭilaka.
10 Metre, Áryā; and in the next verse.
11 Metre, Mālinī.
Svasti kartti-lekhakā-vāchakā-śrūtribhyāḥ II Siddhir-astu II

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! May that Sun protect you,—who is worshipped by the hosts of the gods for the sake of existence, and by the Siddhas¹ who wish for supernatural powers, (and) by ascetics, entirely given over to abstract meditation (and) having worldly attractions well under control, who wish for the final liberation of the soul, and, with devotion, by saints, practising strict penances, (who wish to become) able to counteract curses; (and) who is the cause of the destruction and the commencing (again) of the universe! Reverence to that Sun,—whom (even) the Brāhmanical sages, though they knew the knowledge of the truth (and) exerted themselves, failed to comprehend; and who nourishes the whole of the three worlds with (his) rays diffused in all directions; who, when he is risen, is praised by Gandharvas,² gods, Siddhas, Kinnaras,³ and Naras;⁴ and who grants (their) desires to those who worship (him)! May that Sun, decorated with glorious beams, protect you,—who shines, day after day, with the mass of (his) rays flowing down over the wide and lofty summit of the lordly mountain of dawn, (and) who is of a dark-red colour like the cheeks of intoxicated women!

(Line 3.)—From the district of Lāta, which is pleasing with choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (their) flowers, and with temples and assembly-halls of the gods, and with vihāras, (and) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation, to (this) city of Daśapura there came, full of respect,—first, in thought; and afterwards (in person) in a band, together with (their) children and kinsmen,—men who were renowned in the world for (skill in their) craft (of silk-weaving), and who, being manifestly attracted by the virtues of the kings of the country, gave no thought to the continuous discomforts produced by the journey and its accompaniments. And in course (of time) this (city) became the forehead-decoration of the earth, which is adorned with a thousand mountains whose rocks are besprinkled with the drops of rut that trickle down from the sides of the temples of rutting elephants, (and) which has for (its) decorative ear-ornaments the trees weighed down with flowers. Here the lakes, crowded with kārandava-ducks, are beautiful,—having the waters close to (their) shores made variegated with the many flowers that fall down from the trees growing on the banks, (and) being adorned with full-blown waterlilies. The lakes are beautiful (in some places) with the

¹ Metre, Śūkha (Anushṭubh).
² Supply praisiṭh.—See page 87 below, note 10.
³ Siddhas; semi-divine beings, supposed to be of great purity and holiness, and said to be specially characterised by the possession of the eight supernatural faculties. Their habitation is in the sky, or in the middle region between the earth and the sky.
⁴ Gandharvas; the celestial musicians.
⁵ Kinnaras; mythical beings, with a human figure and the head of a horse, reckoned among the Gandharvas, and celebrated as musicians.
⁶ Naras; mythical beings, allied to the Gandharvas and Kinnaras.
⁷ The original has, as far as line 8, the relative construction, which I have changed, for convenience of translation, into the absolute.
swans that are encaged in the pollen that falls from the waterlilies shaken by the tremulous waves; and, in other places with the waterlilies bent down by the great burden of their filaments. Here the woods are adorned with lordly trees, that are bowed down by the weight of their flowers and are full of the sounds of the flights of bees that hum loudly through intoxication (caused by the juices of the flowers that they suck), and with the women from the city who are perpetually singing. Here the houses have waving flags, (and) are full of tender women, (and) are very white (and) extremely lofty, resembling the peaks of white clouds lit up with forked lightning. And other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful,—being like the lofty summits of (the mountain) Kailâsa; being vocal with songs (like those) of the Gandharvas; having pictured representations arranged (in them); (and) being adorned with groves of waving plant-trees. Here, cleaving asunder the earth, there rise up houses which are decorated with successions of storeys; which are like rows of aerial chariots; (and) which are as pure as the rays of the full-moon. This (city) is beautiful (through) being embraced by two charming rivers, with tremulous waves, as if it were the body of (the god) Smara (embraced) in secrecy by (his wives) Priti and Rati, possessed of (heaving) breasts. Like the sky with the brilliant multitudes of planets, it shines with Brâhmans endowed with truth, patience, self-control, tranquillity, religious vows, purity, fortitude, private study, good conduct, refinement, and steadfastness, (and) abounding in learning and penances, and free from the excitement of surprise.

(L. 8.)—So assembling together, (and) day by day received into greater friendship by (their) constant associates, (and) honourably treated like sons by the kings, in joy and happiness they settled in (this) city. Some of them became excessively well acquainted with the science of archery, (in which the twanging of the bow is) pleasing to the ear; others, devoting themselves to hundreds of excellent achievements, became acquainted with wonderful tales; and others, unassuming in (their) modesty (and) devoted to discourses of the true religion, became able to say much that was free from harshness (and yet was) salutary. Some excelled in their own business (of silk-weaving); and by others, possessed of high aims, the science of astrology was mastered; and even to-day others of them, valorous in battle, effect by force the destruction of (their) enemies. So also others, wise, possessed of charming wives, (and) belonging to a famous and mighty lineage, are decorated with achievements that befit (their) birth; and others, true to (their) promises (and) firm in friendship with the accompaniment of confidence, are skilled in conferring favours upon (their) intimates. (And so) the guild shines gloriously all around through those who are of this sort, and through others who,—overcoming the attachment for worldly objects; being characterised by piety; (and) possessing most abundant goodness,—(are) very good in an earthly habitation.

(L. 11.)—(Just as) a woman, though endowed with youth and beauty (and) adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and betel-leaves and flowers, goes not to meet (her) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths,—so the whole of this region of the earth, is (almost superfluously) adorned through them, (as if) with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours, (and) pleasing to the eye.

1 Of these rivers, one, of course, is the Śivanâ, on the north bank of which the town stands. The other must be the 'Sumli,' which now flows into the Śivanâ about three miles to the north-east of the town.
(L. 12.)—Having reflected that the world is very unsteady, being blown about by the wind like the charming ear-ornaments, (made of) sprigs, of the women of the Vidyādharas; (and similarly) the estate of man; and also accumulations of wealth, large (though they may be),—they became possessed of a virtuous (and) stable understanding; and then:—

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

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

(L. 14.)—His son (was) king Bandhuvarman, possessed of firmness and statesmanship; beloved by (his) kinsmen; the relative, as it were, of (his) subjects; the remover of the afflictions of (his) connections; pre-eminently skilful in destroying the ranks of (his) proud enemies. Handsome, youthful, dexterous in war, and endowed with humility, king though he was, yet was he never carried away by passion, astonishment, and other (evil sentiments); being the very incarnation of erotic passion, he resembled in beauty, even though he was not adorned with ornaments, a second (Kāmadēva) armed with the bow that is made of flowers. Even to-day, when the long-eyed lovely women of (his) enemies, pained with the fierce pangs of widowhood, think of him, they stagger about through fear, in such a way as to fatigue (their) firm and compact breasts.

(L. 16.)—While he, the noble Bandhuvarman, the best of kings, the strong-shouldered one, was governing this city of Dasāpura, which had been brought to a state of great prosperity,—a noble (and) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun), was caused to be built by the silk-cloth weavers, as a guild, with the stores of wealth acquired by (the exercise of their) craft;—(a temple) which, having broad and lofty spires, (and) resembling a mountain, (and) white as the mass of the rays of the risen moon, shines, charming to the eye, having the similarity of (being) the lovely crest-jewel, fixed (in its proper place), of (this) city of the west.

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

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1 The context is "a noble (and) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun) was caused to be built" &c., in line 16; all that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.

2 Conf. Bṛihat-Samhitā, xiii. 35, where the earth is described as having the mountains of sunrise and sunset for lips, and the Himalaya and Vindhya for breasts.—Compare also line 34 of the Aśva grant of Śiladitya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv, where the Sahya and Vindhya mountains are called the breasts of the earth.—Similes of this kind doubtless varied in accordance with the extent of the kingdoms in which the inventors of them resided.

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

4 lit. 'high-shouldered.'

5 i.e. Hēmanta, the cold weather, consisting of the months Māgrṣaśraha (November-December) and Pausha or Sahasya (December-January).
which the fishes lie low down in the water; which (on account of the cold) is destitute of the enjoyment of the beams of the moon, and (sitting in the open air on) the flat roofs of houses, and sandal-wood perfumes, and palmleaf-fans, and necklaces;—in which the waterlilies are bitten by the frost; which is charming with the humming of the bees that are made happy by the juice of the full-blown flowers of the rādha and priyangu-plants and the jasmine-creepers; in which the lavali-trees and the solitary branches of the nagand-bushes are made to dance with the force of the wind that is harsh and cold with particles of frost;—(and) in which the cold induced by the falling of frost and snow is derided by the close embraces of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (their) mistresses, completely under the influence of love;—when, by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed; in that season when the low thunder of the muttering of clouds is to be welcomed (as indicating the approach of warmth again);—on the excellent thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya,—this temple was established, with the ceremony of auspicious benediction.

(L. 19)—And, in the course of a long time, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair; so now, in order to increase their own fame, the whole of this most noble house of the Sun has been repaired again by the munificent corporation;—(this temple) which is very lofty (and) pure; which touches the sky, as it were, with (its) charming spires; (and) which is the resting-place of the spotless rays of the moon and the sun at (their) times of rising. Thus, when five centuries of years, increased by twenty, and nine years had elapsed; on the charming second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya;—in the season when (Kamadeva), whose body was destroyed by Hara, develops (his number of five) arrows by attaining unity with the fresh bursting-forth of the flowers of the asoka and kītaba and síndurā-trees, and the pendulous atimuktaka-creepers, and the wild-jasmine;—when the solitary large branches of the nagand-bushes are full of the songs of the bees that are delighted by drinking the nectar; (and) when the beautiful and luxuriant rādha-trees swing to and fro with the fresh bursting forth of (their) flowers,—the whole of this noble city was decorated with (this) best of temples; just as the pure sky is decorated with the moon, and the breast of (the god) Śarīgin with the kaustubha-jewel. As long as (the god) Īśa wears a mass of tawny matted locks, undulating with the spotless rays of the moon (on his forehead); and (as long as) (the god) Śarīgin (carries) a garland of lovely waterlilies on his shoulder;—so long may this noble temple endure for ever!

(L. 23)—By the command of the guild, and from devotion, (this) temple of the Sun was caused to be built; and this (engraving) that precedes was, with particular care, compos-
ed by Vatsabhāṭti. Hail to the composer and the writer, and those who read or listen (to it)! Let there be success!

No. 19; PLATE XII.A.

ERAN STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA
THE YEAR 1851

This inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain J. S. Burt, one of the engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 633 f. when Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,1 accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxi.), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt.—In 1861, in the same Journal, Vol. XXX. p. 17 ff., Dr. FitzEdwin Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it.—And finally, in 1880, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 82, General Cunningham, in reprinting Dr. Hall’s translation, pointed out that the *aksharas* in line 3,—in which Mr. Prinsep had found a reference to the *Surāśṭras*; and which Dr. Hall read as *samsurābdha*, and translated by “chosen land of the gods,”—were in reality a repetition of the date in numerical symbols, as had, in fact, been suggested, though without particularisation, by Dr. Hall himself, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 127, note.

This is another inscription from *Eran* in the Khurāl Sub-Division of the Sāgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the west face towards the bottom of the lower and square part of a large monolith red-sandstone column, which stands near the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village, and which seems from its position to be specially connected with a small double temple that General Cunningham has named the “*Lakṣmann Temple,*” separated by the intervening “Vishṇu Temple” from the “Varāha Temple,” or temple of the Boar, at which there is the well-known inscription of Tōramāṇa, No. 36 below.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2½" broad by 1½" high, has suffered a good deal in places from the weather; but on the original column the whole inscription can be read with certainty, except a few letters at the proper left side that have been quite worn away by sharpening tools on the edge of the stone. The bottom line of the inscription is about 3½" above the plinth from which the column rises.—The size of the letters varies from ½" to 2½". The *characters* belong to the northern class of alphabets; they approximate in some respects to the type of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and in others to that of the Mathūrā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, Plate iiiA.; but they also present some developments and differences that must be attributed partly to their somewhat later age, and partly to the particular locality to which the inscription belongs. I should be inclined to name them a variety, with northern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of towards the end of the fifth

Ádiyaśena, No. 42 below, Plate xxviii.—The only instance that I can quote of its use to denote a copper-plate charter, is in line 20–21 of the ‘Chinacole’ grant of the *Mahārāja* Indravarman of the year 128 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 121).

2 See page 18 above, and note 1.
3 *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 87, and Plates xxv. and xxvi.
century A.D. The letter r, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed sometimes within the top line of the writing, e.g. in arṇ̄nava, line 1, and sometimes above it, e.g. in paryyaṁka, in the same line. The characters include, in line 3, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 60, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 4, and the rest in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the constant doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in maṇītrāṇyāṣya, line 5; pautṛṇa, line 6; and pitṛṭhī, line 8.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Budhagupta, whose feudatory, the Mahāraja Suraśīmchandra, was governing the country lying between the river Kālindī or the Jamā, and the Narmada. It is dated, completely in words, and partly in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and sixty-five (A.D. 484-85), on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āshādhā (June-July), and on Suraguruvāra or Thursday. It is a Vaishnava inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection of the column, which is called a dhvaja-stambha or "flag-staff"7 of the god Vishnu, under the name of Janardana, by a Mahāraja named Mātrivishṇu and his younger brother, Dhanyavishṇu.

TEXT:

1 Jayati\(^a\) vibhuḥ-chatur-bhujas-chatur-ārṇāva-vipula-salila-paryyaṅkaḥ jagataḥ
   shity-utpatti-ṇaya[ḥ]-[y-ādi]-

2 hētur-Ggaṇḍa-kēṭuḥ [II] Satē paṇcha-shashty-adhikē varṣhāṇām bhūpatu
   cha Budhagupte[ḥ]
   Āśādha-māsa-[ś][ukla]-
   C. F.

3 dvādaśyāṃ Suragurur-ādivasē [I[I]] Sam 100 60 5 [I[I*] Kālindī-
   Narmadāyāṃ-ṃmaṇḍāyanāṃ pālayati lōkapāla-guṇair-jījagati mahāraja]-
   F. C.

4 sūrya-anubhavati Suraśīmchandrē cha [I[I] Asyāṃ sanvatsara-māsa-
   divasa-pūrvam[ḥ]
   sva-karm-ābhiratasya kratu-yājñāḥ[ḥ] R. C. F.
   adhita-svādhvayasya vipū-taḥ[ḥ]-Mmaṇītrāṇyāṣya-vrishaḥ-bhāṣyav-Endravishṇoh
   paurṇaṇa pautṛṇa pitur-gum-anuktiṇo Varuṇa[ṇa]-[i]-ś[ḥ]nōb
   F. C. R.

5 pautṛṇa pitaram-anu-jātasya sva-vamśa-vṛddhi-hētār-Harivishṇoh
   putṛṇa=
   ātyanta-bhagavad-bhāktena Vidhāturi-icchāhāya svayāmvaray-eva [I[I]-
   lakṣmih-Abhiratena chaṭuḥ-samudra-paryyaṇa-prathita-yātāṣa akṣhīṇa-māna-
   dhānena-Anēka-sattu-samara-jīṣhṇūnā mahāraja-Mātrivishṇunā[ḥ]
   F. C. R.

6 tasya-siv-anuṣṇe tad-anuvahāyin[ḥ]
   tat-prasāda-parigrah[ḥ]tena C. Dhanyavishṇūnā cha [I malari(-t)]pitṛṭhī
   pūnu-apyāyan-ārtham-ēsha bhagavatah l*

7 pūnyajan-ārddanasya R[Janardanaṣya dhvaja-stambhō-bhuyechhritoḥ [I[I*]
   Svastya-asti gō-brahmana-puṣṭa-jogābhyaḥ sarvā-prajābhya iti [I[I]

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\(^a\) Compare dhvaja, 'standard,' as applied to the Mēharauṅ column, in line 6 of No. 32 below, Plate xxiA.

\(^b\) From the original stone.

\(^1\) Metre Āryā; and in the next verse.—In the first pāda of this, and of the second verse, we have the proper number of twelve syllabic instants; but they are not arranged in accordance with the usual rule for this metre.

\(^2\) I have adopted Dr. Hall's suggestion for supplying the effaced letters. In the last legible syllable, part of the subscript y is quite distinct, and the consonant above it seems to be a broken n; and the requirements of both the metre and the sense are properly met by supplying ydi for the effaced syllables.

\(^3\) This akṣara is somewhat damaged; but it is very distinctly dūd. Prinsep's reading of troydaśyāṃ is proved to be wrong by the metre, if by nothing else.

\(^4\) Metre, Āryā.  

\(^5\) Supply tīśau.  

\(^*\) This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
TRANSLATION.

Victorious is the lord, the four-armed (god Vishnu)—whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans; who is the cause of the continuance, the production, and the destruction, &c., of the universe; (and) whose ensign is Garuḍa!

(Line 3.)—In a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Pulagupta (is) a king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Asāḍha; on the day of Saraguru; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5—

(L. 3.)—And while Sarasmīchandra is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world, (the country that lies) between the rivers Kālindī and Narmadā, (and) is enjoying in the world the glory of (being) a Mahārāja;—

(L. 4.)—On this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the year and month and day; by the Mahārāja Mātrivishnu, who is excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vīdhātri, was approached (in marriage-choice) by the goddess of sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing (him) of her own accord (to be her husband); whose fame extends up to the borders of the four oceans; who is possessed of unimpaired honour and wealth; (and) who has been victorious in battle against many enemies;—who is the son of the son’s son of Indravishnu, who was attentive to his duties; who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (of the scriptures); who was a Brāhmaṇa saint; (and) who was the most excellent (of the followers) of the Mātrayāṇya (Īkāṭa);—who is the son’s son of Varunavishnu, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (his) father;—(and) who is the son of Harivishnu, who was the counterpart of (his) father in meritorious qualities; (and) was the cause of the advancement of his race;—

(L. 8.)—(By him) and by his younger brother Dhanyavishnu, who is obedient to him, (and) has been accepted with favour by him,—this flag-staff of the divine (god) Janārdana, the troubler of the demons, has been erected, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (their) parents.

(L. 9.)—Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇas!

1 i.e. "on Thursday."—Saraguru, ‘the preceptor of the gods,’ is another name of Bṛhaspati, from which latter name the day takes its customary appellation of Bṛhaspativarā.

2 lōkāḍās.—The lōkāḍās, or guardians of the points of the compass, are sometimes reckoned as eight, viz. 1. Indra, of the east; 2. Agni, of the south-east; 3. Yama, of the south; 4. Nirmi, or sometimes Śrīra, of the south-west; 5. Varuna, of the west; 6. Vāyu, of the north-west; 7. Kubera, of the north; and 8. Isana, or sometimes Chandra, and sometimes Pṛthivī, of the north-east;—and sometimes as four, viz. Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 7, above.

3 pitavam-anu-jātasya.—Dr. Hall explained this expression in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. p. 139, note, by a passage quoted in the St. Petersburg Dictionary from the Pāṇḍatantra; viz.—

Jātaḥ pūtraḥ-nuṇjataḥ cha atiṣṭaḥ tathāiva cha 1
apajātaḥ cha lōkā pāsmi mantavyaḥ āstra vēdibhibhi 2
Mātrī-tyāja-guṇaḥ jātaḥ tv anu-jātaḥ pūtra śamaḥ 1
atiṣṭoḥ dhikas tasmād apajātaḥ dham ṃāhamāḥ 2

"By those who know the scriptures, (sons) are to be understood among men as being a jāta son, or an anu-jāta, or an atiṣṭa, or an apajāta. A jāta (is) one whose virtues are equal to (those of his) mother; an anu-jāta (is) equal to (his) father (in virtues); an atiṣṭa surpasses that (father); and an apajāta (is) altogether inferior (to him)."

4 punyajana, lit. ‘a good, pious, or virtuous man,’ also denotes ‘a class of supernatural beings, a fiend, a goblin, a demon.'
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; NO. 20, PLATE XII B.

No. 20; PLATE XII B.

ERAN POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF GOPARAJA.

THE YEAR 191.

This inscription, which has not previously been published, was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 89 ff.

It is another inscription from Éran, in the Khurāl Sub-Division of the Sāgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on a small pillar, afterwards converted into a linga or phallic emblem of Śiva, which stands under some tall trees near the left bank of the Índ, about half a mile to the south-east of Éran, and half-way between it and the neighbouring village of Pēhēléjpūr. The original lower part of the pillar is now broken away and lost; the remnant of it is about 3' 11'' high and 1' 0'' in diameter. The bottom part is octagonal; and the inscription is at the top of this octagonal part, on three of the eight faces, each of which is about 7'' broad; the bottom line is about six inches above the level of the ground. Above this, the pillar is sixteen-sided. Above this, it is again octagonal; and the faces here have sculptures of men and women, who are probably intended for the Goparaja of the inscription, and his wife and friends; the compartment immediately above the centre of the inscription, represents a man and a woman, sitting, who must be Goparaja and his wife. Above this, the pillar is again sixteen-sided. Above this, it is once more octagonal; and on two of the faces here, there are the remains of a quite illegible inscription of four lines, in characters of the same type with those of the inscription now published. Above this, the pillar curves over in sixteen flutes or ribs, into a round top. The pillar was converted into a linga, by fitting an ablution-trough to it; this was attached over the part where the inscription lay; and it was only by the breaking of it, that the greater part of the inscription was disclosed to view.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 9'' broad by 11'' high, has suffered a good deal from the weather, and from the sharpening of tools on the edges of the stone; but, on the original pillar, it is fairly legible almost throughout; and the only historical items that have been lost are, in line 2, the name of Goparaja's grandfather, and of the family to which he belonged. — The size of the letters varies from 3'' to 5''. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though not quite so well formed, are of almost precisely the same type with those of the Êran pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19 above, Plate xiiA. The letter r, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed within the top line of the writing in pārthya, line 5, and bhrdya, line 7; but above it in sārdhām, line 5. The characters include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 7, 9, 90, and 100. — The language is Sanskrit; and, the inscription is in prose as far as the end of the date, in line 2, and the rest in verse. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ś, in rāhśa, lines 1 and 4; and (2) the doubling of k and ṭ in conjunction with a following r; e.g. in vikṛdāta and putra, line 3.

1 See page 18 above, and note 1.
The inscription, which does not refer itself to the reign of any particular king, is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight, and solar day of the month, of Śrāvana (July-August). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record that, in the company of a powerful king named Bhānugupta, a chieftain or noble named Goparāja came to the place where the pillar was set up, and fought a battle; that Goparāja was killed; and that his wife accompanied him, by cremating herself on his funeral pyre.  

TEXT.  

1. Ōṁ Samvatsara-saṭe ēka-navyat-uttarė Śrāvana-bahula-paksha-saky[my][āṁ] saṁvat 100 90 i Śrāvana baś di 7 Il [—]la(?)[ksha]-vaṁśād- uṭpadd — —  
2. rāj-śī-vaśrutāḥ tasya putrā-śi-vikrāntō nāṁnā rāj-ātha Mādhavaḥ Il Goparāja[b]  

The day is indicated as a solar day, as well as lunar, by the use, in the numerical-symbol record, of di, the abbreviation of diva, dinā, divasa, or divaḥ, in addition to, in the fuller record, sampatrī, which denotes the lunar titih.—The abbreviation di is preceded by ba, which stands for bahula-paksha or bahula-pakṣa. Sometimes, instead of ba, we have va; e.g. in line 17 of the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla, samvatsrī (sic) 100 80 8 Phālguṇa va di 9 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 141); in which case va may, according to the general orthography of the particular record, stand for ba; or it may be an abbreviation of vādya, which is a synonym of bahula, and is of common enough use in the present day, though it was not so in ancient times. The corresponding method of denoting the bright fortnight, is by the use of the abbreviation av, which represents āvula or āvuda, similarly in composition with pakṣa or pakṣaḥ; e.g. in line 14 of the Bādha-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, No. 71 below, Plate xiIA, samvat 200 60 9 Chattra av di 8. These abbreviations, va di and ba di or va di, are often quoted as if they were words in themselves (vadi, badi, vaḍi), meaning respectively 'the bright fortnight' and 'the dark fortnight.' And Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives vadi as an indeclinable word, meaning 'in the dark half of a month;' with the remark that, according to some, it stands for badi, and is a contraction of bahula-dina; but with an intimation of his own opinion that it represents vādya. But I doubt whether the Hindus themselves, even when using the abbreviations, look on them as words. And it is worth noting that Molesworth and Candy's Marathi Dictionary, which is very comprehensive, does not include these expressions, either as abbreviations, or as words. Even if a modern practice of treating these abbreviations as words, should be proved, it is an erroneous practice. By origin, the syllables are nothing but distinct and separate abbreviations, of which the first denotes the fortnight of the month, and the second, the day of the month or fortnight. And this is the point of view from which they have to be looked at, in dealing with any ancient records.

† i.e., according to the colloquial expression, she became Sati ('Sutter').—With this early instance of the cremation of widows, we may compare the indication of the same practice that is given in Bhagwanalal Indrajī's Nāpāli inscription No. 1, of Mānadeva (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 164, line 7 f., and p. 165), when Rājyavat, the widow of Dharmaśe, bids her son Mānadeva take up the government, in order that she may follow her deceased husband to the other world. This instance belongs to about A.D. 705 (see id. Vol. XIV. pp. 344, 350).—As noted by Gen. Cunningham, there are several other Sati-pillars, but of much later date, at Erān.

* From the original stone.
* Metre, Śloka (Anushthubh); and in the next verse.
* Metre, Indrawajrā; and in the following verse.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 21.

6 mittrān-va(?)(tyā(?)(ra(?)
   kil-Anyāyāṭah 11 Kriyā 1 [cha*]... y[ū]d dhām su-
   mahat-prak[ā]sām svarggam gata  āt divya-nārē(?)[ndra-kalpah]

7 bhakt-anurakta cha1 priyā cha kāntā bh[ā](v)ā[va]jāg[n]ānugat-
   āg[n]-r[ā]sām 11<

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

(L. 5)—(There is) the glorious Bhānugupta, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Pārtha, exceeding heroism; and, along with him, Gōparāja followed . . . . . . (his) friends (and came) here. [And*] having fought a very famous battle, he,† [who was but little short of being equal to] the celestial [king (Indra)], (died and) went to heaven; and (his) devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, in close companionship, accompanied (him) onto the funeral pyre.

No. 21; (No PLATE.)

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 158.

This inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1852, by Colonel Ellis, Political Agent at Nāgaudh, and was first brought to notice in 1858, in Mr. Thomas’ edition of Princeps’ Essays, Vol. I. p. 251 ff., by Professor H. H. Wilson's translation, combining both this and the next inscription of the year 163, from Mr. Thomas' reading of the texts.

—In 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 6 ff., Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from the original plates.—And in 1879, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11, No. 1, General Cunningham, in partially reprinting Dr. Hall’s translation, substituted a close approximation to the correct interpretation of the date, agreeing with Professor H. H. Wilson and differing from Dr. Hall; and also gave a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*ibid.* Plate iv. No. 1.)

The inscription is on some copper-plates that were found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khoi, about three miles south-west of Uchahāra, the present capital

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1 The metre is faulty here, as the cha, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following double consonant, pr.
2 Gōparāja.
3 The ‘Khoi’ of maps. It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, but is not shewn there. — khoi means literally ‘a cave.’
4 The ‘Oochaira, Uchahara, Uchara, Uchera, Ucheera, Uchearya, Uchehra, Unchehra, Unchera, Urchara, and Urcharah,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 23’ N.; Long. 80° 53’ E.
of the Native State of Nâgaundry or Nâgaundh 1 in the Baghêlkhand division of Central India. They were originally deposited in the Library of the Sanskrit College at Benares; but, with the ring and seal, were lost sight of in being transferred from there to the Allahâbâd Museum, and thence to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow (Lakhnau). I am informed that the second plate has been recently found at Lucknow. But I have not been able to obtain it, or an ink-impression of it, for examination. And I, therefore, edit the inscription here from a hand-copy made by General Cunningham, which, though not suitable for lithography, suffices admirably for reading the text.

The plates, two in number, and inscribed on one side only, appear to have been in a state of excellent preservation throughout. From the original accounts, they seem to have been connected as usual by a ring, the ends of which were secured in the lower part of a seal, the front of which had on it the legend, Šrī-mahârâja-Hastinâh, “of the illustrious Mahârâja Hastin,” as on the seal of his grant of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type as those of the following inscription of the same Mahârâja of the year 163, No. 22 below, Plate xiii. The letter r in conjunction with a following y, is formed in two ways; in kâryâh, line 14, and kuryât, line 14-15, the r is written within the top line of the writing, with only a single y below it, as in kuryât, line 12, and sàryadatta, line 19, of No. 23 below, Plate xiv.; while in sàryadatta, lines 10 and 21, and marryâddh, line 12, it is formed above the top line, as in the case of conjunction with other letters, and the y is doubled.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imperative verses in lines 16 to 20, the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvâra, before s, in vânsa, line 6; (2) the doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in vakrâ, line 20; and sagîtra and putra, line 9; (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in avaddhyânya, line 15; and (4) the occasional use of b for v, in sambatsâre, line 2; and barsha, line 19.

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

1 The ‘Nagode, Nagound, and Nágaund,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70. Lat. 26° 33′ N.; Long. 80° 37′ E.—On the badges of the Police Sepoys, I found the name written Nâgaund. But the correct form is undoubtedly Nâgaundh, which is sometimes nasalised and pronounced Nâgaundh.—The ‘Râja’ is officially called the ‘Râja of Nagode,’ and Nâgaund was formerly the capital of the State. The present capital is Uchahara. And the Political Agency is now at Satnâ, which, in reality the name of a river, has been adopted as the name of the station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The station and the Agency are really in the lands of the village of Bardâdh.—Gen. Cunningham has proposed (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 12) to identify Nâgaund with the Nagâdēya that is mentioned in line 5 of the Kârâhāli plates of the Mahârâja Jayânâtha of the year 174, No. 25 below. But the name would rather seem to be derived from nāga-vâdha or nāga-bandha, ‘the slaughter or the capture of the hooded-serpents or of the Nâga tribe;’ whereas Nagâdēya would mean ‘the gift to the hooded-serpents, or to the Nâga tribe.’
The inscription is one of the Parivṛṭakā Mahārāja Hastin. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings," in the year one hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 475-76), in the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṃvatatarā, and on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kṛttika (October-November). The inscription is non-sectarian, except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādeva. The object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Hastin, of the village of Vasundarabhaṇḍika to Gopasvāmin and other Brahmans.

**TEXT.**

1 Namō Mahādevāya II Saṃsthi Shataphaṭi-ottare-bha-śatē Gupta-nipāta-
2 rāya-bhuktau Mahā-Vaiśākha-saṃbhasarā tā Kṛttikā-maṣa-sūkla-paksha-trīṭīyā-
3 yām-asyān-divasa-pūrvvādath nripati-parivṛṭakā-jul-ōpanēna 10 mahā-
4 rāj-Dēvādhyaya-pranātṛā mā[n]ā-haṛā-Prabhanjana-napatranā mahāraja-
Dāmōdarasutēna

1 parivṛṭakā means literally 'a wandering religious mendicant, an ascetic in the fourth and last religious order or stage of life.'—The compound used in line 3 of the Text, nripati-parivṛṭakā, a kingly ascetic, is of the same class with rāj-ārshi, a royal saint. Compare also rājārshi-arshi, 'a saintly sovereign,' which is applied to Chandragupta II. in the Udāyagiri cave inscription, No. 6, page 35 above, line 3. The particular kingly ascetic, from whom Hastin's family derived its origin, was Subhran (see No. 25 below, Plate xvB, line 5 f.)—The word parivṛṭaka seems to have been adopted as the regular and habitual appellation of the family. At any rate, it furnishes, for distinctive purposes, a convenient and unobjectionable name for it.

2 Gupta-nipāta-rāja-bhuktau; line 11.—The same expression occurs in Nos. 22, 23, and 25. It indicates clearly that the Gupta dynasty and sway were still continuing; and of course the date refers to the era used by the Guptas. But there is nothing in the expression, tending to give the era the name of the "Gupta era."—Prof. H. H. Wilson's translation of this date, combined with that of the following inscription, No. 22, (Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I. p. 251) was "in the 163rd year of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta kings." And this was substantially correct. But he added a note that bhukti or bhukta might be read mukti or muktā, "from the end or cessation."—In publishing this translation, Mr. Thomas pointed out that the reading mukti or muktā could not possibly be admitted. And, following this, Dr. Hall (Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXX. pp. 3 f., note, and 5, 12) adopted the reading bhukta or bhukta; but laid down the dictum that bhukti, "if unqualified by a temporal particle, denotes 'possession,' or 'fruition, only as a thing of the past,' and he then proceeded to translate the passage by "in the year one hundred and fifty-six of the extinction of the sovereignty of the Gupta kings;" and again "one hundred and sixty-three years after the domination, of the Guptas had been laid to rest."—Gen. Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 11) gave "in the year one hundred and fifty-six of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." And this, again, was substantially correct, though not grammatically.—As in the case of śānti, in line 3 of the Kahun pillar inscription of Skanda-gupta (see page 67 above, note 7), it is impossible to imagine how bhukti, lit. 'the act of enjoying or eating; enjoyment, eating; fruition, possession, usṣūfruct,' ever came to be applied in the sense of 'extinction;' except under the influence of a pre-conceived bias, so strong as to prevent entirely the critical consideration which would at once have shewn the error.

3 saṃvatatarā, 'a year,' is used principally, if not entirely, to denote (as is indicated by the first component, sam, 'with, together with') years that have a close connection with those that precede and follow them; i.e. years of cycles, eras, and reigns.—In the present case, the twelve-year cycle of the planet Jupiter is referred to.

4 From Gen. Cunningham's hand-copy.
5 Read saṃvatatarā.
6 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
7 Supply tīthau.
8 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
9 Read nātra.
TRANSLATION.

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

1 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
2 Read ātata.
3 Read vājaśanēya.
4 Read bhūtekā—F. E. Hall read bhūktē. But the bhūttē (or bhūtekā) of Gen. Cunningham’s copy, seems preferable.
5 Read sandhyō.
6 Read either dhūnaptē, or dhūnāpitē.
7 Read nīrddahāhyam.
8 Read yudhishthirā.
9 For some various readings here, see page 99 below, note 1.
10 Read nṛpatē, or nṛpāpatē.
11 Supply āṣanēm, or tāmra-āṣanēm, in apposition with likhitam; and see page 99 below, note 2.
12 This ɡī is omitted in Gen. Cunningham’s copy.
13 svāta: lit. “it is well” (su asīt).—Like siddham (see page 25 above, note 4), this word of constant use as a mārga, or ‘auspicious invocation,’ at the commencement of inscriptions.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 21.

Vaiśākha samvatvāra; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Karttika,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (etc.)—

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

(L. 7.)—(By him),—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit, (and) in order to cause (himself) to ascend by the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—the village of Vasutaraśāndika is granted to the Brāhmaṇ Gopāsvāmin, of the Vaiśāsanīya-Mādhyaśānta (takha) and the Kautsa gōtra, and to Bhavasvāmin, Sandhyāputra, Divakaradatta, Bhāskaradatta, and Śūryadatta.

(L. 11.)—On all sides (there are) trenches (of demarcation); (and) on the north by the west, the boundaries are those that have been previously enjoyed. (This village is made the property) of Sandhyāputra and the others, with the udrañga and the upari-

It also occurs, governing a dative case, at the end of the Mandaśr inscription of Kumrāngupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 16, page 84 above, line 24; and as a neuter noun, signifying 'prosperity', in conjunction with asūn, 'let there be,' the two together governing a dative, at the end of the Erā pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19, page 89 above, line 9, and at the end of the Erā inscription of Toramāṇa, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiA. line 8.

The text (line 3) has asuddhā-divasā-purvordyām, in apposition with which siltau has to be supplied.—The same expression was used in the Gajhāvat inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 7, page 37 above, line 2 f.; and it occurs in other places also.—But the fuller and more formal expression is asuddhā samvatsāra-māsa-divasā-purvordyām, "on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the samvatsāra (or year) and month and day," which occurs, for instance, in the Majhgāvāṁ grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv. line 2 f.—Another variety of the expression is asuddhā-divasā-māsa-samvatsāra-dupurvordyām, in the Shāhpur image inscription of Adityaśāṅkha, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA. line 2.—In the Bilsaj pillar inscription of Kumrāngupta, No. 10, page 44 above, line 7, we have asuddhā-divasā-purvordyām, without the specification of any details except the year.

1 See page 95 above, note 1.

In this and the other three formal inscriptions of this family, Nos. 22, 23, and 25 below, pranaptri and nāptri are used, instead of the more customary and stricter terms, praputra, or 'son of a son's son,' and pautra, 'son's son;' see page 15 above, note 3. Pranaptri and nāptri may denote, at any rate in early times, descendents through a daughter, as well as through a son; and I therefore translate them by the less binding expressions of 'great-grandson' and 'grandson.'

We may, however, assume with safety that they are used here to denote descendents through sons.

E. E. Hall (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. p. 6, and p. 8, note) read this name as Devādhya, and rejected H. H. Wilson's reading of Davrīhya (which is evidently a misprint for Devādhya, i.e. Devādhya) with the remark—"In both inscriptions, the name is most legibly incised; and Mr. Thomas's decipherments bear out my lection unquestioningly." The fact remains, however, that in all the three inscriptions of Hastin, and in the inscription of Sanākhūḍha, the name is unmistakably Devādhya; as, indeed, would be recognised at once by any careful reader, acquainted with Sanskrit, since aurya or aurya is no real word or termination at all; and Prof. H. H. Wilson was right, and Dr. FitzEdward Hallwas wrong.

1 garta; lit. 'a hollow, a hole, a cave.'

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

(L. 13.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 15.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, the arranger of the

and udgrantha (? udgrāha), and thus seems to mean 'the share of the produce collected usually for the king.'—The only passage in which it occurs otherwise than among the technical conditions of a grant, is in connection with Kharagraha II.; e.g., in line 46 of the Alīnā grant of Śīlāditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv.—In this passage, as it is given in line 46 of the grant of Śīlāditya III. of the year 352 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 308), it appears to be spelt with a double d, udāranga; so also in line 10 of the grant of the Mahārāja Guhasena of the year 246 (id. Vol. IV. p. 175).

Upāriṣṭha is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which has not been made clear. But I would suggest that the first component is the Prākrit word upār or upi (see Molesworth and Candy's Marāthī Dictionary, and Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms; and that the term denotes 'a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary rights in the soil.'

a-chāṭha-bhāṣa-pravēśa; a technical term of constant occurrence.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 175, note 11) takes chāṭha-bhāṣa as meaning chāṭha-prati bhāṣa, 'soldiers against robbers,' and as denoting the royal police. But, that chāṭha is not governed by bhāṣa, seems to be made clear by the analogous but differently arranged expression, a-bhāṣa-chakradra-pravēśa, in line 26 of the Channak grant of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv., and in line 27-28 of his Siwāl grant, No. 56, Plate xxxv. And, in line 6 of the Goa grant of Satyārāja-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman of Saṅka-Sahvat 532 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365), we have the simple expression a-bhāṣa-pravēśa.—Lollow Dr. Bühler's interpretation (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 115 and note).—A slightly different expression, but of exactly the same purport, viz. pratiśiṣṭa-bhāṣa-chāṭha-bhāṣa-pravēśa occurs, for instance, in l. 11-11 of the Kapalēswar grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 56).—Other expressions, which help to indicate the bearing of the term, are saṃasta-rāja-kaṇānāma-pravēśa, "not to be entered by any of the king's people," e.g., in line 17 of the Ilā grant of Dādā II. of Saṅka-Sahvat 417 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 117); and rāja-svabhāvāna-praṇītāva-pradāna-adāna na stāb, in line 97 of the PaśaRāma grant of Rāmacandra of Saṅka-Sahvat 1193 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 318). The latter expression may refer to 'fees' imposed on the king's servants for halting at, or starting from, a village; or it may refer to 'fines,' i.e. 'forced contributions of money or supplies,' obligatory on the holders of villages on such occasions.

This elliptical expression, chāṭha-varjījam, lit. "with the exception of thieves," is explained by the fuller expression chāṭha-danda-varjījam, "with the exception of fines (imposed on) thieves," in line 14 of the Khādī grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 177, No. 2, Plate xxiii.

mat-pādayā-pājajīvin; lit. 'subsisting on the cakes which are my feet.' Compare tūpādayā-pājajīvin, 'subsisting (like a bee) on the waterlilies that are his feet,' which, in later times in the south, became the customary technical expression for the relation of feudatory princes and nobles, and other officials, to their paramount sovereigns; e.g. in line 8 of the Kādārīlī inscription of Saṅka-Sahvat 997 (Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Ant. Vol. III. p. 105).—Compare, also, an expression of very similar purport, tatu-pādayā-pājajīkā-sattāmānā, 'whose head is adorned with the fresh sprouts that are his feet,' in line 5 of the Balāghātī inscription of Saṅka-Sahvat 970 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 179).—See also page 55 above, and note 1.

Vādā; whose name, as well as his epithet of "arranger of the Vēdas," is usually inserted in this passage; e.g. in line 13 of the Majhagawāṃ grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—In line 13 of No. 26 below, Plate xvi., line 14 of No. 27, Plate xvi., line 22 of
Védas,—"O Yudhīṣṭhira, best of kings,1 carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!"

(L. 20)—And (this charter)2 has been written3 by Śūryaḍatta, the [great*]-grand.

No. 28, Plate xviii., and line 3 of No. 30, Plate xix.B., these verses are said to be from the Mahābhārata. And in line 19 of the Kōhōh grant of the Mahādēja Simkshēbha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx., it is also added that they are in the Satasadhari-Samhitā of the Mahābhārata.—These verses are nearly always attributed, in the inscriptions, to Vyāsa. But, in line 27-28 of the Kārṇā grant of the third year of Vikramaditya I. (Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 237), the verse commencing Bahubhir-vasuddh bhaktā, the second in the present inscription, with one other not in this inscription, is allotted to Manu; a point which may be of some interest in connection with Dr. Bühler's discovery (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 324) that about one-tenth of Manu's verses occur in the Mahābhārata.

1 mahimat, or mahimat, in the sense of a 'king' (lit. 'possessed of the earth') is not a dictionary word. But its meaning, based on its etymology, is obvious; and it is further borne out by the various reading kshitiḥprītim, which occurs in the same verse in line 32 of the Cihāṛī grant of a Rāṣṭrakūtā king Kakka of Śaka-Sanvat 679 (Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 109). Another various reading, in a slight variety of the same verse, is matimatām, 'wise, prudent,' in line 40 of the Nauśkarī grant of Jayabhata II. of the year 436 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 79).

2 īḍaṇa, 'a charter; or tāmra-īḍaṇa, 'a copper-charter.'—These were the technical terms for conveyances of this kind. The first word, īḍaṇa, occurs, for instance, in line 4 of the legend on the seals of the Chammak and Siwani grants of the Mahādēja Pravarsena II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plate xxxiii. C. and D. The second, tāmra-īḍaṇa, occurs, for instance, in line 10 of the Majhīgaṇā grant of the Mahādēja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—See also p. 87 above, note 10, where I have given an instance (the only one known to me) of a copper-plate charter being called praśasti, which word is properly the technical term for an inscription on stone.

3 iḷhitam.—This refers either to the manual drafting of the record, or to the writing of it on the plates, for the guidance of the engraver, who then had to follow the writing and impress it with his tools. And of course it is to be understood, in the case of a high official like Śūryaḍatta, who in No. 22 below, Plate xiii., line 29 f. has the title of Mahāsāmādhivigrāhika, that the writing was done by one of his clerks, not by himself.—The process of engraving is always denoted by utkṛṣṭā (praśasti), e.g. in line 25 of the Mandaśrā inscription of Yasodharman and Vishvavedhāna, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.; or utkṛṣṭaṁ (iḍaṇam), e.g. in line 23 of the Aṇava grant of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 below, Plate xxvi.—It might be thought that iḷhītim may refer to the composition or drawing up of the record. But this part of the process is always denoted by a derivative from the root kṛi, 'to make,' e.g. praśastik kartaḥ, in line 17 of the Aihoḷe Māguśi inscription of Pulikēṭṭa II. of Śaka-Sanvat 656 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 242); or rach, 'to compose,' e.g. rakṣitaḥ (praśasti), in line 23 of No. 18 above, page 84. And in line 37 of a grant of Álhaṇādeva of Vikrama-Sanvat 1218 (Indian Inscriptions, No. 10), we have the double expression rachayām-chakrā tilīkā cha śaḥdām maḥā-īḍaṇam.—Some of the functions connected with a copper-charter are very well indicated in line 46 of the Kapalikśvār grant of Mahā-BHAVAGUPTA (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. pp. 57, 58) where the proper translation (from my own reading of the original) runs,—"This triplicate copper-charter has been written by the illustrious Māhāka—"
son of the Amṛtya Vakra; the grandson of the Bhāgika and Amṛtya Naradatta; (and) the son of the Bhāgika Ravidatta. The Dātaka (is) Bhāgraṇa.

No. 22; PLATE XIII.

KHÔH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARĀJA HASTIN,

THE YEAR 163.

This inscription, again, appears to have been discovered about 1852, by Colonel Ellis, Political Agent at Nāgauḍh, and was first brought to notice in 1858, in Mr. Thomas’ edition of Prinsep’s Essays, Vol. I. p. 251 f., by Professor H. H. Wilson’s translation, combining both this and the preceding inscription of the year 156, from Mr. Thomas’

1 Amṛtya, lit. ‘an inmate of the same house; a cruscellor,’ is a technical official title.

2 Bhāgika, lit. ‘one who enjoys or possesses,’ is explained in Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary by ‘housekeeper, groom.’ In the inscriptions it is a technical official title, possibly connected with the territorial terms bhāga and bhākti.—If we may judge by the passage in line 8 of the Khōh grant of Jayabhāta II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 114), the Bhāgikas came in rank below the Sīmantas and above the Viśayapatis.

3 Dātaka, and occasionally Dāla, (e.g. in line 14 of the Nirmāṇ grant of the Mahāśāmanta and Mahārāja Samudrāśena, No. 80 below, Plate xliv.), lit. ‘a messenger,’ is the technical title of an officer employed in connection with formal grants. The term is most commonly used in connection with copper-charters. But there are a few instances in which it occurs in inscriptions on stūpas, e.g. Dr. Bhagwanal’s Indrajit’s Nāṭal inscriptions, No. 3, line 21 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 167), No. 4, line 17-18 (id. p. 168), No. 6, line 13 (id. p. 170), &c. And these are sufficient to show that the Dātaka’s office was to carry, not the actual charter itself, for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king’s sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty it then was to have the charter drawn up and delivered. And, in accordance with this, there is no mention of any Dātaka when we have such expressions as dāyā samvam, “the order (is) that of the grantor’s own self,” e.g. in line 19 of the ‘Chicarco’ grant of the Mahārāja Indravarman of the year 128 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 121); sme-mukh-dān ś, “the order (is) that of the grantor’s own mouth,” e.g. in line 24 of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Samakṣhobha, No. 25 below, Plate xvii; dākaptī sme-mukham, with the same meaning, e.g. in line 34 of the Gōdāvarī grant of the Rāja Yṛthivimūla (Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 178); and sme-mukh-dān ś akairam, “engraved at the order of (the grantor’s) own mouth,” e.g. in line 23 of the Arāṅg plates of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 below, Plate xxvii. — As pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 161; note 28), Diviṣadakṣa, lit. ‘conveyor of orders,’ in line 29 of the Ujjain grant of Varkatirika of Dharā (id. p. 160) seems to have been another regular title of the same officer; though this, I think, at present the only instance in which it occurs.—And it is now plain that it is the same office which is referred to in such expressions as dātaka mahāmahaṭṭ ā Gauṛiśārma, “the order (is) conveyed by the Mahāmahaṭṭā Gauriśārma,” in line 24 of the ‘Chicarco’ grant of the Mahārāja Indravarman of the year 146 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 133); dākaptī-sīyaśārm, in line 28 of the ‘Pedar-Maddali’ grant of Jayasinha I. (id. Vol. XIII, p. 138); and dākaptī Dāmakṣitiśājakaḥ &c., in line 12-13 of the Hals grant of the eighth year of Mrigavaran (id. Vol. VI. p. 24 f.)—Line 13 of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Śrīvahan of the year 197, No. 30 below, Plate xix, mentions, in addition to the ordinary Dātaka, another Dātaka, sent as a messenger to a second writer, who was ordered to insert certain additional privileges. And this again, is in favour of my position that the Dātaka carried the orders for the drawing up of a charter, not the charter itself.

4 In No. 22 below, Plate xiv. line 30, this name occurs with the short vowel a in the first syllable. It is impossible to decide which form is correct, as the first component may be either bhā, ‘light, splendour, lustre,’ or bhā, ‘a star, a planet.’
reading of the texts.—In 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 10 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from the original plates.—And in 1879, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11 ff., No. 2, General Cunningham, in partially reprinting Dr. Hall’s translation, substituted a close approximation to the correct interpretation of the date, agreeing with Professor Wilson and differing from Dr. Hall; and also gave a lithograph of the passage containing the ‘date (id. Plate iv. No. 2.)

The inscription is on another set of copper-plates that were found, with the plates containing the inscription of the same Mahārāja Hastin of the year 156, No. 21 above, somewhere in the valley near the village of Khāh, in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghēlānd division of Central India. They were originally deposited in the Library of the Sanskrit College at Benares, but were transferred, first to the Provincial Museum at Allahābād, and then to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow, where they now are; but without their ring and seal, which were lost during the transfers.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are three in number. The first two measure about 7 ½” by 5 ½”, and the third, which was evidently added as an afterthought, when it was found that the inscription could not be completed on the front of the second and that the back of it was not suitable for engraving, about 5 ½” by 2 ½”. They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. Except, however, for the small piece broken away at the beginning of the third plate, the writing is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are rather thin; and the letters, being rather deeply engraved, show through so plainly on the backs of them that even vowel-marks can be read there; and it is evidently owing to this, that the inscription was finished on a third and smaller plate, instead of on the back of the second. The engraving is well executed; but the interiors of the majority of the letters show, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver’s tool.—There is a hole in the upper part of each plate for a ring, with a seal attached to it; but the ring and seal are not now forthcoming. From the original accounts, the seal appears to have had on it the legend Śri-Mahārāja-Hastinah, “of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastin,” as on the seal of his grant of the year 197, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—The weight of the three plates is 1 lb. 1 ¼ oz.—The average size of the letters is between ½” and ⅛”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the present inscription, with the following, from No. 24, Plate xvA., to No. 31, Plate xx., illustrates what may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India, from towards the end of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century A.D. In sāryadatta, line 30, on the one hand, and, on the other, in kāryya, line 20, and kūrryod, line 21, we have further illustrations of the two methods of writing r in combination with a following y, on which I have commented at page 94 above. In brahmachīne and cha, line 8, chāla, line 16, and dāndak, line 23, we have a form of ch which belongs properly to a somewhat later period, and to the southern alphabets; but which is perhaps indicative of the current and non-official form of the letter in Central India in this period.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 22 to 28, the inscription is in prose throughout. It has been

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1 See page 93 above, and note 3.
2 When the rings are arranged as in these plates, it is customary to find the ring-hole in the bottom of the first plate and the top of the second. But all the grants of this family, and of the Mahārājas of Ucchakalpa, as far as Plate xx., have the ring-holes in the top of each plate as here.
engrossed with less care than is usual in epigraphical records of this early date.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusodra, before ś, in sotā, line 6; (2) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in vakkrī, line 28; (3) the doubling of t, under the same circumstances, in śtri, line 1; chattra, line 2; and other places; but not in putṛṇa, line 29; (4) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in madhydhyā, line 18; but not in avadhāna, line 21; and (5) the use of v for b, in lamobha, line 14.

The inscription is one of the Parivājaka Mahārāja Hastin. It is dated, in words, “in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings,” in the year one hundred and sixty-three1 (A.D. 482-83), in the Mahā-Aśvayuja samvatsara, and on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April). Except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādeva, the inscription is non-sectarian. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Hastin, of the agrahāra of Kārparika to certain Brāhmaṇs.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Namā Mahādevāya (ll) Svasti Ttri-shaṣṭhi-uttarā-bhaśa-śatā Gupta-nripa-

räya-bhuktau

2 Mahā-Aśvayuja-samvātyarā Chaitra-māsa-śukla-paksha-dvitīya[ā]*yaṁ-asy[ā]*n-
divasa-

3 pūrvv[ā]*ya[mn]*ā nripatiparivājaka-kul-otpānūna mahārāja-Dēvādhyā-

pranapt[ṛ]*ā ṛ

1 In respect of the date of this inscription, Gen. Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 9 and 11, and Vol. X. p. 116) has expressed the opinion that one hundred and sixty-three is a mistake for one hundred and seventy-three. And certainly the record in No. 21, page 95 above, that the year 156 was Mahā-Vaisākha, leads primum facie to the conclusion that 163 would be Mahā-Margasāhra, and that Mahā-Aśvayuja would be (either 161 or) 173; especially since the record of No. 25, page 112 below, that 209 was Mahā-Aśvayuja, points to the names of the samvatsaras running in regular succession, without any adjustment by expunction, through this period of fifty-four years. But Gen. Cunningham’s suggestion that the apparent error is “a mistake of the engraver, who has written saḥṣṭ” (sic.) “(60) instead of sapt” (sic.) “(70), which in Gupta characters might easily happen,” takes no account of an additional akṣara that must then have been omitted altogether. “Increased by seventy-three” would be, not ttri-sapta-uttarā, but ttri-saptatya-uttarā. And it would not be an easy matter for the engraver to turn this full and correct form into ttri-shaṣṭhi-uttarā. Gen. Cunningham’s present tables for the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 118 ff.; and Indian Eras, Table xxvii. Col. 10, p. 133 ff.) will have to be re-examined. In this process, with the possibility, which there always is, of the drafters of these epigraphical records making a mistake between current and expired years, it may turn out that this passage really does contain a mistake; which, if it does exist, is more likely to be in the direction of ttri, ‘three,’ having been engraved instead of dvi, ‘two,’ and perhaps of the drafter of the record having also written one hundred and sixty-two, instead of one hundred and sixty-one. Meanwhile, Dr. Thibaut, who is a competent authority, has recorded his opinion (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 322) that “observation has, as we know, never been the strong point of Hindu astronomers; and if, according to their system, a certain year was to be called Mahā-Chaitra, they would scarcely have hesitated to do so, even if they had found that the name was not justified by Jupiter’s actual position.” And, until the matter is definitely settled one way or the other, it is better to adhere to the distinct reading of the year one hundred and sixty-three.

*Read samvatsara.

*Supply tithau.
Second Plate.

14. Dévanága Kumárasána11 Rudrasarmma11 Dédvádat(?), hgará(?),13 Lamvó(mbo), shtha Dedamita16

15. Mahadéva Guňthaka ity-évam-ádibhyó bráhmánébhıyó-úttare15 patté Kórrapi-

16. K-ágrábhráh sódrángah s-óparikarăh ca-chaâta-bhata-právéryó-tisrishtah-

17. Tasy-ágháthā púrvéna Kórrparagártat16 uttare Ánimukta-kakónakah

18. Vângara-grámakasya dakshina-p[a] Irsvé Valaka-maddhyéma17 vrikh

19. amvrrata-samára-


Tad-asma-


évam=áñápta10 yó-nyáthyá kuryán(t)= tam-ahám déhántara-gató=pí mahat= 

Avadhyáne—

1 Read pájd-latparán.—The engraver omitted to cut the a of já; and to cancel the na, when he inserted, partly above the line and somewhat small, the ta for which na had been engraved by mistake.

2 Read chéri né.

3 First naí was engraved; and then it was corrected into né, by partial erasure of the upper stroke of the ai.

4 Read sarmmané.

5 Read dévya. 6 Read chéri né.

7 Read sarmma.—From here, down to ity-évam-ádibhyó in line 15, is properly a compound; but it is spoilt by the three nominative cases at the end of this line, and by the unnecessary mark of punctuation in the next line.

8, 9, and 10 Read déva.

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

12 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

13 Read dévadágiráh (t).

14 This is perhaps a mistake for dévamitra.

15 Read bráhmánébhya utaré.

16 Read tisrishtas.

17 Read maddhyem.

18 Read am André; and probably sambháraka.

19 First rına was engraved, and then it was corrected into rúdá.

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

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

(L. 7.)—(By him),—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit,—the agrāhāra of Kōrparika, in the northern pāṭa, is granted, with the udraṅga and the

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1 Read nirddahēyam.
2 Read yudhishthirā.
3 Read yasa;
4 Read yasa;
5 Read pitarbhih.
6 Read ūdnyam.
7 Read panaṭpra;—Mistakes of this kind would occur through the engraver not spacing the aksharas out as far as they were spaced in the painted arrangement on the copper. He would thus come to engrave napatra (for napatra) two aksharas before the place intended for it; and he then ignorantly, and also imperfectly, repeated the aksharas, by engraving the painted marks still remaining on the plate.
8 Read iṣyadattēna.
9 See page 102 above, note 1.
10 pāṭa, as used here, is apparently some technical territorial term. Compare pāṭa, for pāṭa, in line 8 of the Hāti grant of Bhātanagaman (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. pp. 14 and 29, note), which, both in Kāmarṣe and in Marahā, is used for "a strip of land, a division of a village." Compare also pāṭiḥ in line 16 of the Kāra grant of Viṣvārāja of the year 394 (id. Vol. VII. pp. 248 and 350, note 27), and in line 11 ff. of the cancelled grant on the same plates (id. p. 253).
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS: No. 22, PLATE XIII.

uparikara, and (with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops, to (certain) Brāhmans, commencing with Dévasvāmin, the son of Agnisvāmin, of the Bharadvāja gōtra (and) a student of the Vājasanēya (tākhda), and Śarvasvāmin, (and) Gōrisvāmin—Divākarasvāmin, of the Kautsa gōtra, a student of the Vājasanēya (tākhda), (and) Svātisvāmin—Varunāsarman, of the Bhargava gōtra, a student of the Vājasanēya (tākhda), (and) Bappasvāmin—Kumāradēva, of the Vāsula gōtra, a student of the Kātha (tākhda), (and) Mātrisorarman, a student of the Vājasanēya (tākhda), (and) Nāgarārman, Rukharadēva, Kaḍravadēva, Vīshṇudēva, Dēvanāga, Kumārasena, Rudraesarman, Dēvadāngiras (?), Lambiśtro, Dévamitra (?), Mahadeva, (and) Guṇthaka.

(L. 17.)—The boundaries of it (are)—on the east, (the boundary-trench or village called) Kōparagārā; on the north, Animukta kākōnaka, (and) a vrika-tree in the centre of Valaka on the south side of the village of Vaṅgara, (and) a clump of amrāta-trees; on the west, (the tank or village called) Nāgarā; (and) on the south, the parichchhēda of Balvarman.

(L. 19.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 22.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, the arranger of the Vēdas,—“O Yudhisṭhir, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! He becomes a worm in ordure, and is tormented together with his ancestors, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!”

(L. 28.)—And (this charter) has been written by the Mahādānīhīvigrapha, Sūryadatta; the great-grandson of the Amāya Vakra; the grandson of the Bhūgika Naradatta; (and) the son of the Bhūgika Ravidatta. Bhagrapa (is) the Dātaka.

1 vrika; the Sesbana Grandisflora.
2 Or,—if we keep the original reading of samādra.—‘the ferry (at the place) of the amrāta-trees.’
3 amrāta; the hog-plum, Spondias Mangifera.
4 parichchhēda; lit. ‘division, separation,’ is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which cannot be at present suggested.
5 Mahādānīhīvigraphaka, lit. ‘a great officer entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war,’ is a technical official title denoting an official superior to the Sāṃhīvigraphikas (see page 16 above, note 6). Another of his titles was Mahāsāṃhīvigraphadīkhaśāki; e.g. in line 18–19 of the grant of Gwinda III. of Śaka-Samyāt 726 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 127.)
No. 23. PLATE XIV.

MAJHGAWAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 191.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. IX. pp. 7 and 13 f., No. 5, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (id. Plate iv. No. 5),—is on some copper-plates that were discovered in 1870, in ploughing a field at the village of Majhgawam,¹ about three miles towards the south-west from Uchahara, the capital of the Nagaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rajá of Nagaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr, Political Agent, Satna.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 8 1/8 by 5 3/8. They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. Except, however, for the small piece broken away at the beginning of the second plate, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are not very thick; and the letters, which are rather deeply engraved, show through on the backs of them. The engraving is very good, but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver’s tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring, with a seal attached to it. The ring and seal are not now forthcoming; but fortunately General Cunningham had preserved a pencil-rubbing of the seal, from which I have been able to give a lithograph. It represents a pointed oval seal, about 2 3/4 by 1", with the legend *Śrī-mahādṛśī-Hastinā*, "of the illustrious Maharaja Hastin."—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 14 oz.—The average size of the letters is between 1/6 and 1/4. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the peculiar ‘nail-headed’ type, on which I have commented at page 19 above; thus giving another variety, with northern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of the period. They include the very rare initial *aū*, in *auṃpamanyava*, line 8. In *kurydt*, line 12, and *sūryadatta*, line 19, we have further illustrations of the first method of writing *r* in combination with a following *y*, on which I have commented at page 94 above. In *cḥhrēṇā*, line 14, *yē*, line 16, *apānīqēṣu*, line 17, and *yē*, line 18, we have a form of *y*, differing from the form used throughout the rest of this inscription, e.g. in *dēvdyā*, line 1, and *tītītīyām*, line 2. It belongs properly to a somewhat later development of the northern alphabet, as used in formal official records; and we find it, for instance, throughout the Bodh-Gaya inscription of Mahānāman, of the year 269, No. 71 below, Plate xiiA.; but it is perhaps indicative of the current form of the letter in this period.² The characters also include, in lines 20 and 21, forms of the numerical

¹This name, given in maps, &c., as ‘Majgama, Majgowa, Majhgawan, Mugjowan, Muggoah, Mugjowann, and Munjgowa,’ is a very common one in that part of the country. The present village should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89; but it is not entered there, unless ‘Moghan’ (Lat. 24° 22’ N.; Long. 80° 47’ E.) is intended for it.

²Read *śrī-mahādṛśā*.

¹To quote another early instance, the same form occurs also in *viśaya*, in line 1 of the ‘Kondakur’ grant of the Pallava prince Vijayabuddhavarman (*Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 101 and Plate*); but the cor-
symbols for 1, 3, 90, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benefactive and imprecatory verses in lines 13 to 18, the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before h, in sinha, line 20; (2) the doubling of k, g, and t, in conjunction with a following r, in vākkṛd, line 18; vīgvrhika, line 19; and chaśtra, line 2, and pīttrā, line 7; but not in other places, e.g. in sagātrēhyāt, line 8; (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in ṣvāddhyānēna, line 12; (4) the occasional use of b for v, in sambatsara, line 2 (twice), and sambat, line 20; and (5) the occasional use of v for b, in vrāhmaṇa, line 5, and vahubhir, line 14.

The inscription is one of the Parivṛājaka Mahārāja Hastin. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, “in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings,” in the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), in the Mahā-Chaitra samvat-sara, and on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight, and the third solar day of the whole month, of Māgha (January-February). Except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādeva, the inscription is non-sectarian. The object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Hastin, at the request of a certain person named Mahādevīdeva, of the village of Vālugarta to certain Brāhmaṇa.

TEXT:

First Plate.

1 Namō Mahādevāya II Svasty-eka-navaty-uttarē-bda-śatē Gupta-arina-
raiva-bhikṣau śrīmati pravarddhamānā.

2 Mahā-Chaittra-sambha(mva)tsarē Maģha-māsa-bahula-paksha-tritiyāyĀm-asyā[rā] sambha(mva)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrva-

3 yānā  (*[*] Nripatiparivṛājaka-kul-ōtpannēṇa mahārāja-Dēvādhyā-pranaptrā mahārāja-śrī-Prabhārjana-naptṛā mahā-

4 raja-śrī-Dāmādara-sutē gō-sahasra-hasty-āśva-hirany-anēka-bhūmi-pradēṇa guru-pitri-mātri-pujā PR R

5 tatparē-āyanta-dēva-vrā(brā)hmana-bhaktēn-anēka-samara-sata-vijayanā svā-

6 raja-śrī-Hastina Mahādevīdeva-sukha-vijnāpyā Vālugarṭā nāma grāmah

7 pūrva-āghātā-parichādēdē-ma-

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

1 The double record of this date is of considerable importance. In line 2, the day is distinctly specified as the third lunar day of the dark fortnight; while in line 21, in numerical symbols, it is shown as the third day of the month, without any specification of the fortnight. So, again, in No. 25 below, page 114 f., the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (line 2 f.), is shown in line 24 as the twenty-ninth solar day of the whole month. The four entries together prove that, as might be expected in the case of an era belonging to Northern India, the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year followed the northern custom, with the dark fortnight preceding the bright.

8 From the original plates.

* The vowel ē, of mē, appears to have been engraved and then cancelled here. In Plate xviB, l. 2, the reading is as I transcribe it here.

* Supply tiṣṭhau.
Reverence to (the god) Mahādeva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by ninety-nine; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the prosperous augmenting Mahā-Chaitra samvatsara; on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the samvatsara and month and day,

\[1\] Read mābhyaḍ.  
[3] Read ajñāpīṭa, or ajñāpīṭ.  
[4] Metre, Ślokā (Anushtubh); and in the following four verses.  
[6] This must be a mistake for either nāpīṛi-nāpitrā, or pranāpīṛi-purāṇa; since, as the text stands, it passes over the generation between Vakra and Naradatta.  
(Line 3.)—By the 

Mahâdva, the illustrious 

Hastin,—who is born in the family of a 

kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the 

Mahâdva Dévâdya;—who is the 

grandson of the 

Mahâdva, the illustrious 

Prabhâjanâ;—who is the son of the 

Mahâdva, the illustrious Dâmôdara;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and 

elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to 

(his) spiritual preceptor and (his) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the 

gods and Brâhmans;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(and) who 

causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 6.)—(By him), at the agreeable request of 

Mahâdva, the village named 

Vâlgarta, in accordance with the usage of the specification of (its) ancient boundaries, 

with the udra and the uparikara, (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered 

by the irregular or the regular troops, is granted as an 

agrâhâra, by a copper-charter,— 

for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself, and in 

order to erect the steps of a ladder leading to heaven, acceptable to 

Mahâdva, 

to these Brâhmans, of the Aupamanyava yâtra, students of the 

Chandôga-Kauhuma 

(tân), (viz.) Gövindasvâmin, Gömisvâmin, and Dëvasvâmin,—to be enjoyed by 

(their) sons and sons’ sons, with the exception of (the proceeds of fines imposed on) 

thieves.

(L. 10.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) 

is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This 

injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a 
great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 12.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, Vyâsa, the arranger of the Védas,—

O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (seriously) the preservation (of a grant) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with 

Sagara;—whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the 

reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys 

happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he 

who assists (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! 

He becomes a worm in ordure, and is tormented together with his ancestors, who 

confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! Those who 

confiscate a previous grant, are born (again) as black serpents, inhabiting the dried-up 

hollows of trees, in desert places destitute of water!"

(L. 18.)—And (this charter) has been written by the 

Mahâsadhvighrahika 

Vibhuvadatta, the son of the great-grandson of the 

Amâtya Vakra; the great-grandson of the 

Bhûgika Naradatta; the grandson of Ravidatta; (and) the son of Sûryadatta. 

The Mahâbaladhârikatâ 

Nârâsîhâ (is) the Dâtaka. 

The year 100 (and) 90 (and) 1; 

(them month) Mâgha; the day 3.

1 See page 108 above, note 6.

2 Mahâbaladhârikatâ, lit. ‘a great officer placed at the head of the forces,’ is a technical official 
title, denoting an officer superior to the 

Baladhïkritis.—The latter title, Baladhïkritis, occurs in line 2 
of the Shâhpur image inscription of 

Âdityasvâna, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA.—A synonym for Mahâbaldhârikatâ was Mahâbaladhâyaksha, which occurs in Mr. Bendall’s 

Népâl inscription of Harsha-

Sâvat 34 (Journey in Népâl, p. 75, line 17.)
No. 24; PLATE XVA.

BHUMARA STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJAS HASTIN AND SARVANATHA.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1879, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 8 f. and 16, No. 9, where he published his translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id*. Plate iv. No. 9.)

*Bhumara* is a village about nine miles to the north-west of Uchharâ, in the Nagaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. From line 3 of the inscription, the ancient name of the place seems to have been Ambloda. The inscription is on one of the faces of the bottom and rectangular part of a small red-sandstone pillar, popularly called thudd-patthar or "the standing stone," in the lands of this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about 10½" broad by 1' 6½" high, is in a state of very fair preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ½" to ¾". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 9, forms of the numerical symbols for 9 and 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in putra, line 5; (2) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following ỹ, in anuddhydta, line 2; and (3) the use of b for v, in sambhatarê, line 8.

The inscription is one of the two Maharajas Hastin, of the Parivrâjaka family, and Sarvanâtha, of Uchchakalpa. It is dated, in numerical symbols, on the nineteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Karttiika (October-

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1 The 'Bhomara and Bumra' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70. Lat. 24° 25' N.; Long. 80° 41' E.—Gen. Cunningham wrote the name 'Bhubbhara.' And, at Satnâ, it was given to me as 'Bhurbhurâ.' But my office-people brought back the name as either Bumara or Bhumara, and said that the villagers do not know of any other form of the name. Of these two forms, Bhumara agrees most closely with the names in the maps, and seems to be the correct one.

2 I am a little doubtful about the second symbol, which occurs again in line 24 of No. 25 below, Plate xvB, and line 14 of No. 71, Plate xliA. But it resembles most a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9. The other possibilities are 7 or 8.

3 For this Maharaja, see Nos. 28, 29, 30, and 31 below.

4 Other instances will be met with, in the present series, of the number of a day exceeding sixteen, which is the extreme number in a lunar fortnight, bright or dark. And such instances are still more common in other inscriptions.—In such cases, whether there is any mention of a lunar fortnight or not, and also in cases in which the number of the day does not exceed sixteen, and the lunar fortnight is not mentioned, it is sometimes thought that the reference is to the solar, not the luni-solar, months and year. But I do not consider that this necessarily follows. At Hulgâr, in the Bankâpur Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Dhârvâd District, there is an inscription of the Yâdava king Mahâdeva of Dëvagiri, in which the date (line 15 ff.) is Sahā-varshâda 1189yey Prabhâva-samvatsara Ñyâshtha ba 30 Buddhârâ śurya-grahana-danda, "(the month) Jyôshtha of the Prabhava samvatsara, which is the 1189th Saka year (A.D. 1267-68); the dark fortnight; (the solar day or lunar śitika) 30 (of the month); Wednesday; at the time of an eclipse of the sun." And we also have the Kâdi inscription of the Sâmanta Dëvadatta, in which the date (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 351 f.) runs Sâmanta 800 70 9 Mâgha in di 20, "the year 800 (and) 70 (and) 9 (A.D. 822-23); (the month) Mâgha; the bright fortnight; the day 20 (of the month)." Of these, the first is a southern date, according to the arrange-
November), in the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara, without any reference to an era. But the choice lies only between Gupta-Samvat 189 and 201; and, as we have for the Mahârâja Hastin the early date of the year 156, in No. 21 above, page 93, the preference is in favour of the year one hundred and eighty-nine (A.D. 508-9). The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being simply to record the erection, at Âmbolôda, of a boundary-pillar between the territories of the two Mahârâjas in question.

One point of importance in connection with this inscription is that its existence on stone furnishes definite evidence that the Parivârâja Mahârâjas and the Mahârâjas of Uchchakalpa really did belong to this part of the country. This is a point on which stone-inscriptions give testimony of a kind that can never be derived from the mere finding, in a certain locality, of copper-plates, which, being small and portable, are always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong, and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified.

TEXT.

1 Svasti Mahâdeva-pâd[â].
2 nuddhyát(â)-mahârâja-Hasti-
3 râjye Âmbolôdê mahârâja-
4 Śarvanâtha-bhûgê Indana-
5 naprà Vâsu-grâmika-puttra-
6 Śivadâsêna vala-ya-
7 shti uchchhriyâ[6] [1*] Mahâ-
8 Mâghê
9 samba(mva)tsarê Kârttika-
10 divasa 10 9 [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In (the boundary of) the kingdom of the Mahârâja Hastin, who meditates on the feet of (the god) Mahâdeva; at (the village of) Âmbolôda; (and) in (the boundary

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

2 From the ink-impression.

3 The engraver seems to have first engraved Âlô, or perhaps dhôlô, and then corrected it into mblô.

4 Read bala-ya-shāsti-uchchhriyâ. — As regards the correction of vala into valaya, vala-yashti or bala-yashti gives no meaning; whereas the appropriateness of vala-ya-shāsti, 'boundary-staff or pillar,' is apparent. The mistake arose from the omission to repeat, at the beginning of line 7, the ya at the end of line 6.
of) the bhūga of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha,—(this) boundary-pillar has been set up by Śivadāsa, the grandson of Indana, and the son of the Grammika Vasu,—in the Mahā-Mage samvatsara; the month Kārttika; the day 10 (and) 9.

No. 25: PLATE XV B.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SAMKSHOBA.

THE YEAR 209.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX, p. 15, No. 7, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (id. Pl. iv. No. 4),—is on another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Kōh, in the Nāgāudh State in the Baghēlkhānd division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgāudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 8\(\frac{8}{9}\)" by 4\(\frac{2}{3}\)" and the second about 8\(\frac{1}{16}\)" by 4\(\frac{2}{3}\)". They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. They have apparently been subjected to the action of fire; but the inscription is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters are deep, and show through very distinctly on the backs of them. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is about \(\frac{1}{2}\)" thick and \(\frac{2}{3}\)" in diameter. It had not been cut, when the grant came under my notice; but one end of it had been forced out of the socket of the seal, so that it could be separated from the plates. The seal, in the lower part of which the ends of the ring were originally fused and so secured, is rectangular, about \(1\frac{2}{3}\)" by \(\frac{2}{3}\). It must have had a legend, on a countersunk surface; but it is now perfectly illegible, and not worth reproducing by a lithograph. Also, from the shape of the seal, as contrasted with that of the Kōh grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv, and compared with the seal of the Kōh grant of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha of the year 193, No. 28 below, Plate xviii, it would seem to be a seal of one of the Mahārājjas of Uchchakalāra, rather than of one of the Parivrājaka Mahārājjas.—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) oz., and of the ring and seal, 6 oz.; total 1 lb. 14\(\frac{1}{4}\) oz.—The average size of the letters is about \(\frac{1}{8}\)". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare initial ḍ, in ḍōṇi, line 14. In kurydī, line 17, and in kāryayāḥ, line 16, we have further illustrations of the two methods of forming ṛ, in combination with a following ṭ, on which I have commented at page 94 above. The characters also include, in line 24, forms of the numerical symbols for 9 and 20.

1 bhūga, i.e. enjoyment, possession, government, is a technical territorial term, probably of much the same purport as the bhūṭi of other inscriptions.

2 Grammika, a villager, the headman of a village, is a technical official title corresponding to the modern Kanarese Gaṇḍa and Mahāṭa Pāṭil.

3 See page 93 above, and note 3.

4 As regards the symbol for 9, see page 110 above, note 2.
—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory in lines 18 to 23, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice in kārita, line 13, the affix kā, on which I have commented at page 69 above. — In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of b for v, in sambatsara, line 3; and (2) the occasional use of v for b, in avda, line 1; vrāhmaṇa, line 7; and vahubhiḥ, line 19.

The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Śikṣhobhā. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings," in the year two hundred and nine (A.D. 528-29), in the Mahā-Aśavayuja sambat-sara, on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April); and at the end, in numerical symbols, the date is given again as the twenty-ninth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the same month Chaitra.1 Judging by the opening invocation of the god Vishnu, under the name of Vāsudēva, it is a Vaishnava inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Śikṣhobhā, at the request of a certain person named Cundugōmī, of the village of Īpāni to a temple of the goddess Pītagūtpura, apparently some local form of Lakṣmī, the wife of Vishnu.2

One point of importance in this inscription is, that it mentions the Mahārāja Hastin as governing the kingdom of Dabhālā, or possibly Dabhālā, that had come to him by inheritance, together with all the country included in the eighteen forest kingdoms. I cannot identify these eighteen forest kingdoms.3 But, in Dabhālā or Dabhālā, we have

1 On the extreme importance of this double record, see page 107 above, note 1.
2 Through his identification of Pītagūtpura with the place that he writes 'Pithaora,' and which is entered in maps as 'Pataora' and 'Pitura,' nine miles north of Uchchahārā, Gen. Cunningham (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 10) identified this goddess Pītagūtpura with the local goddess Patainādevī of this Pithaora. But this identification will not hold good; if only for the reason that 'Pithaora' is in reality Paturā, probably from pītir-pura, the town of deceased ancestors.—Paturā and Pītagūtpura, in passing, are evidently common names in that part of the country; as the maps show 'Pataura,' 'Pitoura,' 'Pātora,' and 'Pithoura,' respectively 20 miles west by a little north, 18 miles west, 13 miles north-west, and 24 miles north-west, of Uchchahārā.—Of Pītagūtpura we have already had an earlier mention in line 19 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1, page 7 above, as the capital of a king named Mahēndra, who was conquered by Samudragupta, in the dakhshuddha or region of the south. And we have another later mention of it, as being conquered by the Western Chalukya king Pulakesin II., in line 13 of the Aihole Mēguti inscription of Šaka-Saṅgava 536 or A.D. 634-33 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. pp. 242, 243). It is the modern Pītagūtpuri, the 'Pītagūtpura and Pītaṇpura' of maps, &c. (Indian Atlas Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17°6' N., Long. 82°18' E.), twelve miles north by east of Coconada, in the Ĝodāvārī District in the Madras Presidency. It is the chief town of a Zamindār, or Estate of the same name; and the remains at it show that it is a place of considerable antiquity (see Sewell in Lists of Antiquities, Madras, Vol. I. p. 23 f.).—The Pītagūtpura of this inscription must be a local form of some more famous and original goddess at Pītagūtpura itself. She is mentioned again, under the slightly different name of Pītagūtpaurikādevī, in line 12 of No. 29 below, Plate xixA., and in line 11 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and the latter passage shows that her local shrine was at a place named Mānapura, which may perhaps be the modern 'Manpura, Manpura, and Mānapur,' of maps about forty-seven miles towards the south-east from Uchchahārā.

3 This seems to be shewn (1) by the general Vaishnava tendency of the present inscription; and (2) by the fact that,—whereas in the year 177 the village of Dvārasaṅkī was allotted by the Mahārājā Janarātha for the purposes of a temple of the god Vishnu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One (No. 27 below, Plate xvii.),—subsequently half of this same village was set apart, by a grant of the Mahārājā Sarvānātha, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pītagūtpaurikādevī (No. 29 below, Plate xixA.)

4 See page 13 above, note 7.
undoubtedly the older form of Dāhala, Dāhāla, Dāhāla, or Dāhalā, which seems to represent the modern Bundelkhand, and which was in later times a province of the Hālhayas or Kalachuris of Tripura near Jabalpur, whose original capital was Kālañjara in Bundelkhand. This, therefore, is another item of evidence connecting the Pārvatājaka Mahārājas with this part of the country.1

TEXT.2

First Plate.

1 Ōm Namō bhagavatē Vasudēvāya II Svasti Nav-ottare-vda(bda)-sata-dvaye Gupta-nripa[r[a*]ya-bhuktau
2 śṛmati pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē Mahā-Āsvayuja-sa[m*]vatsara Chaitra-māsa-
3 sūkla- paksha-trayōdaśy[a*]m-asyāṁ samba(va)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvāya[m*] [1*]
4 Chaturṛdaśa-vidyāsthāna-vidi-
ta-paramārthaśya Kapilasy-[a*]va mah-śrēḥ sarvva-tat[t*]va-jñasya
5 Bharadvāja-sagotrasya nripa-
6 pi-parivṛṭjaka-Susarmmanah kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-sīr-Dēvāḍhya-putra-
7 pranaprā mahārā-
8 ja-sīr-Prabhasjana-pranaptra mahārāja-sīr-Dāmōdara-pranaptra gō-sahasra-
9 hasty-aśva-hirany-ānēkā-
10 bhūmi-pradasya guru-piśri-āmṛti-pōjā-tatparasya-ātyanta-dēva-vrā(brā)hmana-
11 bhaktasy-ānēkā-samara-
12 sata-vijayinaḥ s-āstādā-āṣṭavi-rāja-ābhyanantarām Dabhāḥ(Phā)lā-rājya-
13 anvay-āgatara samādī
dhalā(Phā)lā-rājya-
14 pālayippō(ShnO)r-anēkā-guṇa-vikhyāta-yaśasō mahārāja-grīl(sīr)-Hastināḥ
15 suteṇa
16 yarṇ-āśrama-dharmma-sthāpanā-niratēna paramabhagateṇ-ātyanta-piśri-
17 bhaktēna sva-var-
18 s-āmōdakaśena mahārā-ja-sīr-Saṁkhoḥbhēna(pa) mātāpiśtṛ-ātmpana-cha
19 puny-ābhī-
20 vṛddhastā Chhōḍugōmi-vijātyā sa[m*]eva cha sva[1*]gga-sōpāna-pamānti-
21 ārōpaya-
22 Second Plate.
23 tā bhagavatyāḥ Pīṣṭapuryāḥ kāritaka-dēvakulē va(ba)li-charu-sat[t*]-
24 ṭōpayō-

1 It is perhaps worth mentioning, that there is in this neighbourhood a station on the Allāhābād-Jabalpur railway, called Ḍabhaurā (the ‘Dabhura’ and ‘Dabooora’ of maps), about fourteen miles east of Māḍikpur, and fifty miles east by north of Kālañjara.
2 Supply tīkau.
3 Read nripa.—In the second syllable, first tī was engraved, and then it was corrected into ṭē.
4 This ja was first omitted, and then inserted in the margin of the plate.
5 Some correction or other is required here; but it is not apparent what was intended; possibly, however, samyaḥ, sampāti, or sapāti. I do not suggest samadhipalīśayaḥ, because I cannot find any authority for the composition of sam and adhi with ṭē, ‘protect’.—In the third syllable, āṛ was certainly engraved; but the ā may perhaps be cancelled.
6 Read dhikrirddhayā.
7 The mark over this sa is only a fault or rust-hole in the copper. There are several other similar faults or rust-holes in these two plates; e.g. after sīr-drddhaḥ in line 15.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 25, PLATE XV B. 115

14 g-ārthaṃ(kh) khanda-sphuta-samskr-ārthaḥ-cha Mapināga-pēthē Opani-
15 sym-ārdham chōra-drōhaka-varjyaṃ(ch) tāmra-tāsanēṃ-ātisrīṣtaṃ [I*] tad-
asmat-kul-ōthāu(ith)hāḥ bhak-
16 t-pādapiṣṭ-āpajīvihir-vvā kālantārhya-api na vyāghataḥ kāryyaḥ [I*]
evam-ājāh-
17 pta1 yā-nyatā kuryāt-tam-ahah dehāntara-gatā-pi mahat-āvadhyānēṇa
nirdhāyāṃ [II*]
18 Uktam cha bhagavatā param-arshinā vēda-vyāsena Vyāsēnaḥ [I*]
Pār̥va-dattām dvijātibhyō
19 yatnād-raksha Yudhishtīrāḥ mahīṁ-mahimatt[ṃ*] śrestha dānāḥ=
chnēyō-nupālanah[ṃ*] [II*] Va(ba)hubhiḥ
20 vasudhā bhukta rājabhīṣa-Sagara-adibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-
tasya tasya tadā
21 phalam [II*] Shashṭiṃ varsha-sāhasrāni svarggē mōdati bhūmi-dah
ākēśhētā ch-anumantā cha tānē-ē.
22 va narākē vaśē [I*] Bhūmis-pradānān-nā[na] param pradānam dānād=
viśishtām paripālyā-chhaā
23 sarvē-śriśīṛṭ[ṃ*] paripālyā bhūmis[ṃ*] nripā Nirgr-ādyas-trīdiyaṃ
prapnāḥ II Lēkhitāmā cha-
24 Jīvita-nāptra Bhujagadāsa-prtr-Êśvaradvāsen-eti [I*] Sva-mukh-ājāh [I*]
Chaitra di so 9 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

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

(Line 3.)—By the Mahārāja, the illustrious Samkṣeṭṭha, the family of the kingly ascetic Susārman, who had learnt the whole truth of the various sections of science, who was a great sage, (being) indeed (in the opinion of all) Rāma, who knew all the four Vedas (and) who was of the Bharadvājas family,—who is the great-grandson of the illustrious Mātrēśa, the illustrious Dēvāhīya;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Prabhaśīṇa;—who is the grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dāmōḍara;—who is the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Hastīn, who was the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and

1 Read either ājāpāṭē, or ājāpāṭē.
2 Read nyāsēna.
3 Read yudhēśhīra.
4 Metre, Śūkha (Anuśtabh); and in the following two verses.
5 Read yudhēśhīra.
6 Metre, Upajīti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.
7 Read paripālanah-cha.
8 Read īkhiṣṭāḥ.—And supply śāsanam.
9 Saṁyuktatva-nivedīṣṭhēna; viz. the four Vedas, the six Vēdas, the Purāṇas, the Mimāṃśā system of philosophy, the Nyāya system, and Dharma, or law.
gold, and many lands; who was earnest in paying respect to (his) spiritual preceptor and (his) father and mother; who was extremely devoted to the gods and Brahmans; who was victorious in many hundreds of battles; who sought to govern properly the kingdom of Dabhāla, which had come to him by inheritance, together with (all the country) included in the eighteen forest kingdoms; (and) whose fame was renowned through many good qualities;—who is intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and the different periods of life;—who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One;—who is extremely devoted to (his) ancestors;—(and) who causes the happiness of his own race;—

(L. 11.)—(By him),—for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself, at the request of Chhadugomin, and with the object of causing him to ascend the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—half of the village of Ōpālī, in the Manināgā pāṭha, is granted by a copper-charter, with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves and mischief-doers, for the purpose of observing the bali, charu, and sattra, at the temple, which (he) has caused to be built, of the divine (goddess) Pishatapuri, and for the purpose of renewing whatever may become broken or torn.

(L. 15.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 18.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas,—"O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (merely) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who asserts to (an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! (There is) no gift better than a gift of land, and the preservation (of a grant) (is) better than making a grant; all kings, commencing with Nriga, have attained heaven, (by) preserving land that had been granted!"

(L. 23.)—And (this charter) has been written by Īśvaradāsa, the grandson of Jīvita, and the son of Bhujangadāsa. The order (is) that of his own mouth. (The month) Chaitra.

Possibly Dabhāla; but the second syllable, though rather badly formed, seems to be bēd, rather than bēḍa.

1 pāṭha; a technical territorial term, represented in modern Marāthī by phōḍ. Another form of it, vēṣṭha, occurs in line 30-31 of the Harīhar grant of Bukkārya of Śālivāhāna-Saṅkha 1276 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XII. p. 347); and we also have vēṣṭha or phēṭha in line 24 of the Harīhar inscription of Achayutārya of Śālivāhāna-Saṅkha 1460 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 331).

2 bali is the offering of ghee, grain, rice, &c., to the gods and all creatures of every description; charu, the oblation of rice, barley, and pulse boiled with butter and milk, for the deceased ancestors; and sattra, the giving of alms and refuge. They are three of the pācha-mahāyajña, or 'five great sacrifices,' which are usually (e.g. in line 27 f. of the Māliyā grant of the Mahārāja Dharasena II., No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.) enumerated as bali, charu, vaisavidva (the offering to all deities), agnihūtra (see page 71 above, note 8), and atithi (hospitality; the sattra of the present inscription).—The sattra-rite was the special object of the sattra, or 'charitable hall or almshouse,' which is mentioned for instance, in No. 7, line 6, page 38 above.

3 Sakhahobha's. These words imply that he employed no Dētaka to convey the orders to the local officials, but gave them in person; see page 100 above, note 5.
No. 26; PLATE XVI.

KARJITALAI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.

THE YEAR 174.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 12 f. No. 3, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (id. Plate iv. No. 5),—is from some copper-plates that were found about 1850, in a small receptacle inside a ruined temple of the god Vishnu, in his incarnation as the Boar, at Karitalai, a village about twenty-three miles north-east of Mudwar, the chief town of the Mudwar Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Jabalpur District in the Central Provinces. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 9\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{4}\), and the second 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 6\(\frac{3}{4}\). The edges of them are here and there fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters are deep, and shew through on the backs, so clearly that in many places they can be read there. The engraving is good; but the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring, and the seal attached to it, are not forthcoming.—The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs. 7 oz.—The average size of the letters is about \(\frac{1}{8}\). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the present inscription, with the five that follow, and with No. 22 above, Plate xiii., No. 24, Plate xvA., and No. 25, Plate xvB., illustrates what may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India, from towards the end of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century A.D. The characters include the rather rare initial \(\delta\), in \(\delta\)ghadewa, line 1, and \(\eta\) in \(\eta\)hitadewa, line 5, also, in lines 24 and 25, forms of the numerical \(\eta\)1, \(\eta\)2, \(\eta\)3, \(\eta\)4, \(\eta\)5, \(\eta\)6, \(\eta\)7, \(\eta\)8, \(\eta\)9, and \(\eta\)10. The language of the inscription is the same as that of the Mahārāja Jayanātha inscription, to which reference has already been made. A linguistic point to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before \(\eta\), in \(\eta\)anu, line 15; (2) the constant doubling of \(\tau\), in conjunction with a following \(\rho\), e.g. in \(\pi\)putra, line 4; \(\rho\)agotra, line 9; and \(\rho\)idrā, line 20; and (3) the occasional use of \(\eta\) for \(v\), in \(\eta\)ambatara, line 21, and \(\eta\)ambat, line 24.

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

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1 The 'Karitalai and Kareetullace' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 3' N.; Long. 80° 46' E.
2 The 'Moorwari, Moorwarra, and Mūrwarā,' of maps, &c. See page 101 above, note 2.
3 The literal meaning, 'that which is but little short of being a high place,' points perhaps rather to the name being properly that of a hill; but of course with a town on it.
charter is given, in both words and numerical symbols, as the year one hundred and seventy-four, and the fourteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Āśāḍha (June-July). There is no information given as to the era. But the Bhumarā pillar inscription of the Mahārāja Hastin and Śrayanātha, No. 94 above, page 110, shows that the Parivrājaka Mahārāja and the Mahārāja of Uchchakalpa were contemporaries; and, therefore, that the era of the latter must be the same with that of the former, which is distinctly indicated as being the Gupta era. And the result, accordingly, for the present date, is A.D. 493-94. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Jayanātha, to a Brāhmaṇ, of the village of Chhandāpallika in the Nāgaḍēya 1 sanṭaka.  

TEXT.  

First Plate.  

1 Ōm Svasti Uchchakalpān-mahārāja-Ōghadēvas-tasya putras-tat-pād- ānudhyātō mahā- 
2 déyām Kumāradēvyām-utpanno mahārāja-Kumāradēvas-tasya putras- tat-pād-[ā*]nudhyātē(ō) 
3 mahādēvyām Jayavāmīnyām-utpanno mah[ā*]rāja-Jayavāmī tasya putras-tat-pād-[ā*]nudhyātē(ō) 
4 mah[ā*]dēvyā[m*] Rāmadēvyām-utpanno mahārāja-Vy[ā*]ghras-tasya putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō mahā- 
5 déyām-Ajñhitadēvyām-utpanno mahārāja-Jayanāthāḥ kuśalt Nāgaḍēya- sanṭaka-Chha- 
6 ndāpallikāyām brāhmaṇ-ādin-kūṭambināḥ kāruṇāṁ-cha samājānapayati [1°] Vadatahām-bō*-stu 
7 yath-aisha grāmō mayā sva-puny-ābhivṛddhāyē Kaṇvāsagottra-Vāja- 
8 sanṭaka-Mādhya- 
9 nādi-brāhmaṇa-Mittravāmināḥ s-ōdraγaγa s-ōparikaraṇaḥ a-chāta-bhāta- 
10 prāvēṣyāḥ chōra-varjītō-tisrīṣhṭas=-Tē yūyaṃ-asya samuchita-bhāgabāhga-kara-prātyā- 
11 ña- 
12 nayām kaka(r)ahyatha ājñā-śravāṇa-vidhāyā-cha bhavishyatha [1°]. Ye ch-āsmad-vanś-ōtpadya- 
13 mānaka-rājānas-tair-iyām dattir-nna vilōpy-ānumātānāyā samuchita-rāj-ā- 

1 As regards Gen. Cunningham's desire to identify Nāgaḍēya with the modern Nāgaudh, see page 94 above, note 1.  

2 sanṭaka is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning of which is not apparent. It is perhaps identical in etymology with the Prākṛti sanṭaka, 'belonging to,' in asmat-sanṭaka, 'belonging to Us,' which occurs in the Vaiṣṇava inscriptions, No. 55 below, line 61; and No. 56, line 23.—In No. 29 below, line 7, we have the slightly different form, as a territorial term, of sanṭika. 

3 From the original plates.  
4 Read rāj-augha. 
Read vidīlaya vd.
Second Plate.

13 maháptakaśir-upapätakaśi cha samyuktaḥ syān(d)-uktam cha Mahā- bhāratē bhagavatā

14 Vyāsena [I*] Svā-dattaṁ para-dattaṁ vā yatnād-raksha Yudhishtihra mahām-mahatmām śreṣṭhīha

15 dañcē-cchhrēyō-nupālanaṁ [II*] Bahubhir-vasudhā bhukta rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya

16 yasa yaḍa bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [II*] Prāyēṇa hi narēndrānām vidyate nā-

17 śubhā gatiḥ páyantē tē tu satatāṁ prayachchhantō vasun-

dharāṁ [II*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrā-

18 ni svarggṛ mādhi bhūmi-daḥ āchchhēttā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-eva narakē vaset [II*]

19 Asphōṭala(ya)nī pitaraḥ prāvalganti pitamahāḥ bhūmi-dō-sma[t*]-kulē jātā sa nō(nāh)

20 trāttā bhavishyatī [II*] Sarvva-sasya-samriddhān-tu yō harēta vasun-

dharāṁ śva-viśhyām kṛmī-

21 r-bhūtvā pitribhis-saha majjati I(II) Samba(mva)tsara-ga(śa)tē chatuh-

22 sya chaturddāśamē divorē asyāṁ divasa-purvvayāṁ likhitamā mayā bhūgikā-Rājī-

23 l-āmayā-naptri-bhūgika-Dhruvadatta-puttra-bhūgika-Guṇjakirtiptā [I*] Dētak-

24 āparikā.4

24 dēkhīta-grihapati-sthapatīṣāpaṁ-chchha(chha)rvavadatta itī I Samba(mva)t 100 70 4 Āśā-

25 ḍha di 10 4 I(II)

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From (the city or hill of) Uchchakaṁa;—(There was) the Mahāṛāja Ḍghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahāṛāja Kumāradēva, begun on the Mahādēvī Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahāṛāja Jayaivāminē, begun on the Mahādēvī Jayavāminī. His son, who medi-

tated on his feet, (was) the Mahāṛāja Vyāghra, begun on the Mahādēvī Rāmadēvi.

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahāṛāja Jyanoṭha,—begotten

on the Mahādēvī Ajjhitadēvī,—being in good health,* issues a command to the

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1 Metre, ŚŚēka (Anushṭubh); and in the following five verses.
2 Supply titahū.
3 Supply ṛddanām.
4 Read dētakā upariha. Dētakā should be a word by itself, in the nominative singular; not in composition with upariha.
5 The context is in line 5 f.,—"the Mahāṛāja Jyanoṭha . . . . . issues a command." The genealogy that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.
6 See page 16 above, note 2.
7 The first part of this name, aijhitā, must be a Prākrit word. There might be some temptation to correct it into the Sanskrit aijhītā; but there is not the slightest approach to the vowel u below the final m of the preceding word dēvyām, in any of the passages in which it occurs.—Gen. Cunninghgam read the name as Majjhitadēvī; but this is incorrect, as there is no trace whatever of an anusvāra over the yd of dēvyām, in any of the passages.—We have another Prākrit name in ljjadēvī in line 5 of the Dēo-Basādīrk inscription of Ḍvītivatgupā II, No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.
8 katalin; a technical expression of constant use in charters.
cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmaṇs, and to the artisans, at (the village of) Chhandāpalikā in the Nāgadēya santaka:—

(L. 6.)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, this village is granted to me,—with the udraṅga and the uparikara, (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, (but) with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves,—to the Brāhmaṇ Mitrasvamin, of the Kātyā gōra and the Vajasaneya-Madhyandina (sthd).

(L. 9.)—"You yourselves shall render to him the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties and taxes, and shall be obedient to (his) commands.

(L. 10.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) should be assented to; (and) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(L. 12.)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 13.)—And it has been said in the Mahābhārata by the venerable Vyāsa,—"O Yudhishtīra, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Fathers (in the world of the dead) clap their hands upon their arms, (and) grandfathers leap (from joy), (saying)—A giver of land has been born in our family; he shall become our deliverer! He who confiscates land, rich in all (kinds of) grains, (that has been granted),—he becomes a worm in the orudence of a dog, and sinks (into hell), together with (his) ancestors!"

(L. 21.)—In a century of years, together with the seventy-fourth (year), on the fourteenth day of the month Āshādha,—on this (lunar day, specified) as above by the day (C.e.),—(this charter) has been written by me, the Bhūgika Guṇjakirtti, the grandson of the Bhūgika, the Amṛtya Rājyila, and the son of the Bhūgika Dhruvadatta. The Dēta (is) the Uparika, Dīkṣita,4 householder, and chief of architects, Śarvadatta.

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

1 bhāghaḥ; lit. 'enjoyment of shares.' My rendering is on the authority of Monier Williams' explanation of bhāga-bhay, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, by 'enjoying taxes; a king, sovereign.'
2 See page 97 above, note 1.
3 Dīkṣita; 'one who has received initiation, or by whom the preparatory ceremonies have been observed.'
4 grihapati; 'the master of a house, a householder; a man of the second class, who, having finished his studies, is married and settled.'
5 śayati; 'the meaning, however, is not quite certain. Perhaps it may mean 'superintendent of the attendants of the women's apartments.'
No. 27; PLATE XVII.

**KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.**

**THE YEAR 177.**

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 13, No. 4, where he published a partial translation of it, with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*ibid.* Pl. iv. No. 6),—is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khōh,¹ in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Raja of Nāgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 9½" by 6½", and the second 9½" by 6½". They are quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims; the inscription, however, is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters here and there shew through faintly on the backs of them. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring and seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 11 oz.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of the same Mahdrāja of the year 174, No. 26 above, Plate xvi. In rájñas, line 12, the vowel ả is attached, in a very unusual way, to the top stroke of the ḷ; instead of to the centre of it, as in ṛṣ (for ṛṣid), line 13; this occurs occasionally in other inscriptions also; and it is difficult to say whether it is an authorized variety of practice, or only a mistake on the part of the engraver. The letter ṛ, in combination with a following consonant, is formed uniformly above the top line of writing. The characters include the rather rare jh, in ajjhita, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose, except for the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prakrit word phuṭa, in line 10; and (2) in pratishtā-pitaka, line 9, and utpadyānānaka, line 12, the affix ka, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following ṛ, e.g. in kkramāṇa, putra, and prapautra, line 9; and (2) the use of ṣ for ṣ, in vaśi, line 10.

The inscription is one of the Mahdrāja Jayanātha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and seventy-seven (A.D. 496–97), and the twenty-second day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Chaitra (March–April). It is a Vaishnava inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the Mahdrāja Jayanātha, to some Brāhmans, of the village of Dhavaśandīkā, for the purposes of a temple of the god Vishnu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One, established by them there.

¹ See page 93 above, and note 3.
TEXT:

First Plate.

1. Svasty-UCHCHAKALPAN-mahārajā-AUHGADEVAS-tasya putras=tat-pād-dvānudhyātmaḥ-
2. devyaṁ Kumārad ējyāṁ utpannya mahārajā Kumāradēvas tasya putras=tat-p[ā*]d-dvānudhyātmaḥ-
3. mahādevyāṁ JAYAVAMINAM=utpannya mahārajā JAYAVAMI(mi) tasya puttras=tat-pād-dvānudhyātmaḥ-
4. mahādevyāṁ RADDHYĀM=utpannya mahārajā Vyāghras tasya puttras=tat-p[ā*]d-dvānudhyātmaḥ-
5. devy[ā*]m AjvitaČyāM=utpannya mahārajā JAYANATHAH kuśali(ī) Dhavashandikāyā[ā*] vrā(brā)hmaṇa-
6. n-ādin kutumvi(mbi)naḥ kārukāṁ-cha samājaṁ-pavyati [ī*] Viditaṁ vō-stu yath-aisha grāmō mayā-ā-
7. chandrārka-samakālikaḥ Śaśātaneya-Sarvavādā-diviṇa-tatputraḥ bhāgaavata-Ganag-ta[ā*]puttra-
8. Raṅkabota-AjaGaradāṁ[ā*]nāṁ sva-puny-ābhivṛddhayē bhagavat-pād[ē*]bhyāḥ dev-[ā*]grāhāro-tīrishti|h[ī*] [ī*] ēbhīṣ-ch-āttra pratishṭāpitaka bhagavat-pādānāṁ puttra-[pautra*]prapauttra-
9. tatputrātī(dī)kkramēga khandā-
11. karttavyā[ī*] Tē yōyam-ēśāṁ samuchita-śu[ī*]ka-bhagabhōga-kara-hiranyā-dī-pratyāya-āpanayamī
13. datti[*] nna vilōyā anumōdān[ī*]yā samuchita-rō(rāj)-ābhāvyā-kara-pratyāya na grāhyā[h*]

Second Plate.

14. chōra-danda-yātiṁān kāl-ānuкалāṁ cha pratipālanya [ī*] Yaś=ch-aimāṁ dattīṁ īopayeṣa pa[m*]cha-
15. bhir=mahāpatakaiūpapatakai-cha samyuktaḥ sy[ād*] [ī*] Uktam cha Mahābhāratē bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna
16. Vyāṣena [ī*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ-vā yatnād-rukṣha Yudhishṭhira mahī[m*] mahatmāṁ bhṛṣṭha dānāḥ=chhrēyō-nupāla-
17. nam [ī*] Prāyēpa hi narēndrāpaṁ vidyate n-ā-subhā gatiḥ pūytattēnte te tu satata[m*] prayačchhantō vasundha-
18. rā[m*] Il Shashṭih varsha-sahamsraṁ svargge mōdati bhūmi-dāh ś aitchhēttā cha-anumantā cha tāny=[ē*]ya narak[ē*] vasēt [ī*]

1 From the original plates.  3 Read bṛt-āja.
2 Read śpuṣita.—Phuṣṭa is a regular Prākrit formation; but is not admissible in a Śanākrit passage.
4 This Lannāra is so high above the ya, that it seems to have been omitted at first, and inserted subsequently, somewhat at random.
5 Metre, Ślokā (Anushtub); and in the following four verses.  6 Read sahasraṁ.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 27, PLATE XVII.

19 Bahubhīr-vvasudhā bhūktā rājabhis-Sagar-ādibhiṃ ṛya(aya)sya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [I*]

20 Sarvva-sasya-saṁriddhān-[t*]u yō harēta vasundhārā[ṃ*] m sa visñūhāyāṁ krimi[ṛ*]-bhūtvā pitribhiṃ saha majya(jja)tē [II*]

21 Sāvatsara-śatē sapta-saptaty-u[tta*]rē Chaittra-māsa-dvāsē dvā-viśāntiṃ likhitanti bhūgika-Phālgupātāmātya-

22 mātya-naptrā bhūgika-Vaśadindina-potra-saṁdhiyagaha-Gallanā dūtak-

23 pāt-sthapitamātra-Chaśuvvadattaḥ II Yatrā-āghāṭhā Dhānyavāhika-

24 Durggamāndala-pradēṣē pālī [I*] Suvarṇapakakshaka-pradēṣē gopathasaṛaḥ ardhena cha pāll [I*]

25 Âmuka-pradēṣē gartā [I*] Dāramāndala-pradēṣē(ṣe) pāll [I*] Vakrama-

26 grāmā yāvat-kūpan pravishtā iti [II*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārāja Īghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādēvi Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahādēvi Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādēvi Rāmadēvi.

(Line 4.)—His son, who mediates on his feet, the Mahārāja Jayanātha,—begotten on the Mahādēvi Ajjhitadēvi,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmaṇs, and to the artisans, at (the village of) Dhavashandīkā:—

(L. 6.)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, (and) for the benefit of the feet of the Divine One,* this village is granted by me, as an agrahāra of the god, to continue for the same time with the moon and the sun, to the Divīra Sarvavādha, of the Śaśāthāya (gōtra) (?), and his son the Bhāgavata Gaṅga, and his sons Raṅkabōta and Ajagaradāsa. And the increase of their own religious merit should be effected by the succession of (their) sons, [sons' sons*], sons of sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c., by repairing whatever may become broken or torn, and by attending to the

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*Supply ṭānam.
* Read phaḷu.—The name occurs again with the long vowel ā in the first syllable, in line 30 of No. 28 below, and line 11 of No. 30 below. But the correct form, with the short vowel ā, occurs in line 28 of No. 31 below, page 137.
* Read ādāṭya-nāpīrā. The syllables mātya are repeated by mistake.
* Read dūtaka uparīka; see page 119 above, note 4.
* I. e. "for the benefit of the Divine One."—Here, and in line 9 below, the words "the feet" are only used in accordance with the customary method of respectful mention. No reference is intended to any shrine containing 'foot-prints' of Viṣṇu, which would be denoted by the use of pada, not pada.
* Divīra is a technical official title, explained by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 10) as meaning 'a clerk, writer, or accountant,' on the authority of a passage in the Lākaprakāśa of Kāhāmendra, which explains the details of written documents for the benefit of the Divīras.

R 2
maintenance of the *bali, churn, sattra*, and other (*such rites*), of the feet of the Divine One, established here by these persons.

(L. 11.)—“You yourselves shall render to these persons the offering of the tribute of the customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (*their*) commands.

(L. 12.)—“And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) should be ascertained to; (*and*, with the exception of fines imposed on thieves, the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken; and (*this grant*) should be preserved from time to time.

(L. 14.)—“And whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins.”

(L. 15.)—And it has been said in the Mahâbhârata by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vedas,—“O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who ascerts (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! He who confiscates land, rich in all (*kinds of*) grains, (*that has been granted*),—he becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks (*into hell*), together with his ancestors!”

(L. 21.)—In a century of years, increased by seventy-seven, on the twenty-second day of the month Chaitra, (*this charter*) has been written by the *Sândhibivraghika Gallu*, the grandson of the Bhâgika, the Amâtya Phalgudatta, (*and*) the son of the Bhâgika Varahadinn. The Dûtaka (*is*) the Uparika, Dikshita, householder, and chief of architects, *Sârvadatta*.

(L. 23.)—The boundaries in this matter (*are*),—in the direction of Dhânya-vâhika, (*a boundary-trench and a bridge*),—in the direction of Durgamandala, a

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1 See page 123 above, note 2.

2 *dina* is rather a rare word. But it occurs again(1) as the second part of a proper name, in Indradinna, a Jain teacher (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. pp. 247, 251*), and perhaps in Vîkidina, in line 23 of the Mâlyâ grant of Dharaśena II., No. 38 below (where, however, it may be a name by itself); (2) as a proper name by itself, in line 9 of the Nimand grant of the Mahâshastra and Mahârâja Samudrâsha, No. 80 below, Plate xiv., and in the case of a Jain teacher (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. pp. 247, 252*); and (3) as the first component of the name of a village in Dinnâgrâma (Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, *s. v.*). Also, we have a village or town named Dinnaputra, either a mistake or a local variation for Dinnaputra, or more probably a mistake for Dinnaputra, in line 54 of one of the Dhâk grants of Ślâditya V. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 345*; and *Indian Inscriptions, No. 15*.)

3 *shakat-pamraj*; see page 120 above, note 5.

4 Dhânya-vâhika must have been a very common village-name in those parts, as the maps give ‘Danwai,’ ‘Dhanwahi’ (three times), ‘Dhunwahie,’ and ‘Dhunwai,’ all within a distance of thirty-two miles from Uchahâra, on the south-east, south, and south-west.

5 *âlti*; or ‘a raised bank, dike, or causeway.’—This, also, if it did not occur five times in this passage, and in five different directions, might be taken as a village-name; since the maps give ‘Pali,’ thirty-seven miles north-west, and again seventy miles south by east, from Uchahâra.
bridge;—in the direction of Suvarnakakshaka, (partly) the place where the reeds grow by the cattle-path, and partly a bridge;—in the direction of Amuka, a boundary-trench;—in the direction of Daramandala, a bridge;—(and) in the direction of the district at the entrance of Vakravana, a bridge;—(then the boundaries) enter the village (again) at the well.

No. 28; PLATE XVIII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 193.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khoh, in the Nagaudh State in the Baghôlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Râjâ of Nagaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which, so far as the inscription now published is concerned, are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 7½ by 6½, and the second, 7½ by 6¼. The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. The plates are rather thick, and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout. In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is about ¾ thick and 1½ in diameter. It had not been cut when the grant came under my notice; but one end of it had been forced out of the socket of the seal, so that it could be detached from the plates. It appears, however, to be the ring properly belonging to these plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is rectangular, about 1½ by 1½. With the plates, it has been subjected to the action of fire, and has received considerably more injury than the plates. It can be seen, however, that it contains, in relief, on a countersunk surface, at the top, Garuḍa, the bird-vehicle of Vishnu, with outstretched wings, just as on the copper-coins of Chandragupta II.; and below this, in two lines, the legend, very much damaged, Mahârâjâ Sa[r]va[n]dha. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs. 4 oz., and of the ring and seal, 2½ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 6½ oz. The average size of the letters is about ¼. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kârttalam grant of the Mahârâjâ Jayanâtha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117 ff., and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare jh, in ajjhita, line 5. The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 22 to 28, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prâkrit word phutta, in line 15; and (2) in anumôditaka, line 13; uparitikhitaka, line 14; pratishthopitaka, line 14 f.; and

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1 gopatha-taka, line 24; the meaning, however, is not quite certain.—taka, in one of its meanings, denotes the reed or grass called Saccharum Sara.

2 See page 93 above, and note 3.
utpadayamānaka, line 18 f., the affix ka, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—

In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmānaya, in sah-pañchabhūtir, line 21; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in kārtiṇi-cha, line 8; anta, in various forms, in lines 10 to 12; and vanta, line 18; (3) the constant doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g., in anukrama, line 13; kramā, line 14; putra, line 1; sattra, line 16; and kṣattriya, line 31; (4) the doubling of g, under the same circumstances, in vīggrahika, line 31; (5) the doubling of ḍh, in conjunction with a following y, in anudādyta, lines 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6; (6) the occasional use of b for v, in ṣa (for ṣa), line 8; ṣd (for ṣd) line 23; and sambatsara, line 29; and (7) the use of ṭ for b, in vāṭi, line 16; and vaddhikrita, line 31.

The first plate of this grant is a quasi-palimpsest. On the outer side of it there are traces of sixteen lines of writing, containing an inscription of the same Mahārāja Śarvanātha, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription. They have been so carefully beaten in that no impression of them is possible; and only detached words can be read here and there. But I could distinguish the names of Rāmadēvī, in line 4; Ajjhitadēvī, in line 5; Jayanātha, in line 6; and Śarvanātha in line 7. And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words Tamasā-nadyā utara-pārśv, between mahārāja-Śarvanāthaḥ kusalaḥ and brāhmaṇ-ādīn-kuṭumbināḥ, in line 7.

The extant inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and ninety-three (A. D. 512-13), and the tenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is partly Vaishnavī, and partly of solar worship; the object of it being to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Śarvanātha, of the village of Áramaka on the north bank of the river Tamasa, on the agreement between him and the grantees that it was to be applied to, amongst other things, the purposes of a shrine of Vishnu under the title of Bhagavat or the Divine One, and of a shrine of a god the name of which, as written, must be a mistake for Āditya, the Sun.

I have not been able to identify the village of Áramaka. But the river Tamasa is, of course, the modern Tamas and Tons of maps, &c., which rises in the Mahiyar State, on the south of Nāgaudh, and, running through the north part of Rewah (properly Rāvnāh, or sometimes Rāmān) flows into the Ganges about eighteen miles to the south-east of Allahābād. And the mention of it, under circumstances which show that Śarvanātha had territorial ownership over at any rate a certain village on its northern bank, is of importance, as giving evidence that the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa did belong to the part of the country in which their grants are found. The only other definite proof of this is, as noted above, page 111, the existence of the inscription mentioning both Hastin and Śarvanātha on the stone-pillar at Bhumarā.

**TEXT.**

**First Plate.**

Om Svasty-Uchchakalpaṭ(n)-mahārāj-Aughadēvas-tasya putraḥ-pāt-pād-

anuddhyātō mahādevyā[m*]

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1 From the original plates.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 28, PLATE XVIII.

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2 Kumáradévyáṃ = utpanno mahárája-Kumáradévas=tasya puttras=tat-pád-

3 ṛddhátyó mahádévyáṃ Jayasváminyáṃ = utpanno mahárája-Jayasvámi tasya

4 puttras=tat-pád-ánuuddhyátyó mahádévyáṃ Rámadévyáṃ = utpanno mahárája-

5 Vyághras = tasya

6 puttras=tat-pád-ánuuddhyátyó mahádévyáṃ = Ajjhitadévyáṃ = utpanno mahárája-

7 Jáyanáthaḥ kuśal Tamasá = nadya uttara-páre Áśramaké brähman-á-

8 dhán=kutumbinas=sarvva-kárúns=cha samájñápavati [1*] Viditam-bá(yó)-stu

9 yath=aisha

10 grámó may-Śachandrárkka=samákálīkas-s-[ţ*]drańgas=s-óparikaraḥ a-čháta-

11 bhága-právēśyaḥ=chóra-daṇḍa-varjíjñáḥ chatu[*]bhír=ánśōt pratipáditaḥ [1*]

12 ató=

13 náśa-dvayaḥ Vishñunandinaḥ aparó-py-anśaḥ Sváminága-puttra-vanija-

14 Śaktinágasya aparó-py-anśaḥ Kumáranága-Skandánagayôḥ [1*] état-pu-

15 tra-[pautra*]-prapauttra-tatputr-adý-anukraména³ támra-sásanén-áti-

16 sríshtha[h*] [1*] bhír=ap[*] may-[a*].

17 numóditakarn yath=óparilíkkita-kkraméṇa-iśa sva-púpy-ábhivṛddhayē sva

18 pratí-

19 shtápitakarn-bhagavat-pádánāṃ=áditsa* bhattáraka-pádánān=cha khaṇḍa-phuuṭa⁴

20 pratistar-\[a*]tisríshtha[²*] [1*]

21 Second Plate.

22 Taí(té) yóyam-ér̥ṣāṃ samuchita-bhágabhóga-kara-hirany-Śd-pratyáy-ópa-

23 naya[m*] karñíṣyaḥ-ájñá-Śraváṇa-vídhēyás=cha bhavishyatha [1*] Yé ch=-

24 áśmād-vánc-ótpadya-

25 mánakara-rajánas tair=iyán-dattir=na viłópy=ánumódanayā yathó(tha)-kálaṇ=cha

26 pratipálanýa samuchita-raj-ábhávyā-kara-pratyáyáś=cha na gráhyáḥ [1*] Yaḥ

27 imán-dattin-lōpayet=sah-paṅchabhir=mahápatkair=upapātakaiś=ca saññyukt[h*]

28 syád-Uktaḥ=cha Mahábhárata bhágavatá vedā-vyāsēna Vyásēna [1*]

Sva'-dattám=para-dattā-

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1 Read anśaḥ.
2 We have to supply upabhágayā, or some similar word, here.
3 Read álitya. — álitis is a regular formation, in the sense of ‘a desire to seize,’
   from the desiderative of ál, ‘give,’ in composition with the prefix ál. But it is not known
   as a proper name; and there can be no doubt that the engraver has written it by mistake
   for álitya, ‘the sun.’
4 Read śkṛta. See page 122 above, note 3.
5 This śtáḥ is inserted below the ch= [ţ*], from want of space at the end of the line.
6 Read ya imán-dattin lōpayet=sa paṅchabhir.
7 Metre, Śíkha (Anusūţyb); and in the following four verses.
TRANSLATION.

Óm! Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārāja Óghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādevī Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahādevī Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādevī Rāmadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayanātha, begotten on the Mahādevī Ajjhitadēvi.

(Line 6.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāja Sarvanātha,—begotten on the Mahādevī Muruṇḍadēvi,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmaṇs, and to all the artisans, at (the village of) Asramaka on the north bank of the river Tamasā;—

(L. 8.)—“Be it known to you that this village is allotted by me, in four shares, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; with the udṛaṅga and the upari-kara; (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops. Out of them, two shares belong to Vishṇunandin; and another share belongs to the merchant Śaktināga, the son of Svāmināga; and another share belongs to Kumārnāga and Skandaṅnāga. It is given by (this) copper-plate charter, [to be enjoyed*] by the succession of them and (their) sons, [sons' sons*], sons of sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c. Moreover, it is agreed by them (and) by me that it is given for the repairs, by the above-mentioned succession (of them and their descendants), in order to increase their own religious merit, of whatever may become broken or torn (in the shrines) of the feet† of the

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1 Read mahimatām śreśṭha.
2 Read vasēt [II*] Sarvaṇa.
3 Supply śasanam.
4 Read phāgu. See page 123 above, note 2.
5 This gw is very much bluurred in the original, but is quite legible.
6 In No. 29, line 6, and No. 31, line 6, she is called Muruṇḍasvāmin.
7 See page 123 above, note 5
Divine One, established by them, and of the feet of the sacred Sun, and for the maintenance of the bali, charnu, satira, perfumes, incense, garlands, and lamps.

"(L. 17.)—"You yourselves shall render to them the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (their) commands.

(L. 18.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) should be assented to, and should be preserved according to opportunity. (And) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(L. 20.)—"Whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 22.)—And it has been said in the Mahâbhârata by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas,—"O Yudhisthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) better than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land, rich in all (kinds of) grains, (that has been granted),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (into hell) together with (his) ancestors!"

(L. 29.)—(This charter) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-three, on the tenth day of the month Chaitra, by the Mahâsânâdhivigrahika Mandratha, the grandson of the Bhûgika, the Amâtya Phalgudatta, (and) the son of the Bhûgika Varahadinna. The Dátaka (is) the Mahâbalâdhikrita, the Kshatriya Śivagupta.

No. 29; PLATE XIX A.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 8, where he published a translation of it,—is on another copper-plate, the only one now forthcoming of an original set of two, that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh, in the Nâgâudh State in the Baghèlhând division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of the Râjâ of Nâgâudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

1 See page 123 above, note 5; and page 127, note 3.
2 See page 123 above, note 2.
3 But he wrongly took, as the continuation of it, the second plate of the grant of the same Vahârdraja Sarvanâtha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.
4 See page 132 below, note 3.
The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 7f by 6". The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of very fair preservation almost throughout. The plate is rather thin; but the letters are shallower than usual, and shew through only indistinctly on the back of it. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.

—In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect it with the other that belonged to it. But the ring and its seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the plate is 10½ oz.—The average size of the letters is about 5". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārtṭakā grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare jh, in ajjhita, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, the first plate only being extant, this portion of the inscription is in prose throughout. It has not been engrossed as carefully as usual in inscriptions of this early date. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prākrit word phutta in line 12; and (2) in uparilikhitaka, line 10, and upadayamānaka, line 15, the affix ka, that I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in kārāni=cha, line 7, and vānsa, line 15; (2) the doubling of k, g, and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g., in anukrama, line 10; gṛdama, line 8; and putra, line 1, and sattva, line 13; (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyāta, lines 1 to 5; and (4) the use of v for b, in vali, line 13.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa. The date is lost, in the second plate. The inscription is apparently Vaishnava; the object of it being to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Śarvanātha, of half of the village of Dvāravāndikā, on the agreement between him and the grantees that it should be applied to, amongst other things, the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pīthāpurikādevī.

This village of Dvāravāndikā seems to be the same one that was granted by the Mahārāja Jayanātha, in the year 177, as recorded in No. 27 above, page 111, for the purposes of a temple of the god Viṣṇu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One. And the present assignment of half of it specially for the purposes of a temple of Pīthāpurikādevī, furnishes one item of proof that this goddess was a form of Lākṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu.¹

**TEXT:¹**

**First Plate.**

1. Óm Svasty-Uchchakalpaṭ(n)=mahārāj-Aughadēvas-tasya puttras-tat-pād-
   anuddhyātō mahādevyāṁ

2. Kumāradēvyaṁ=utpannō mahārāja-Kumāradēvas-tasya puttras-tat-pād-
   anuddhyātō

3. mahādevyā[n*] Jayasvāminyāṁ=utpannō mahārāja-Jayasvāmi tasya
   puttras-tat-pād-ānu-

4. ddhyātō mahādevyā[n*] Rāmadēvya[ā*]m=utpann[6*] mahārāja-Vyāghras-
   tasya puttras-tat-p[ā*]d-ānuddhyātō

¹ See also page 113 above, note 2. ⁶ From the original plate.
mahāraja- Jayanātha-tasya
putras-tat-p[ā]d-ānudhāyā-

6 tō "mahādā(dv)vyā[ṃ*]" Mirūruṇḍavāminyām-uptannō mahāraja-
Śarvanāthāḥ kuśall Vōta-

7 saṃtika-Dhavasahandik-ārddhē brāhmaṇ-ādīn-kuṭumbinas-varva-kārūṇś-cha
saṃjñāpayati [1]

8 Viditaṁ vō-su yath-aishā ggrām-ārddhō maya-ā-chandr-ārka-sama-
kālikā(ka)s-s-[ō*]draṅgāh

9 s-ōparikaraḥ a-čh[ā]*ta-ḥata-prāvēṣya[ḥ*] sarvva-karś-tyagāḥ 

10 samētah Chhodugomikā etat-puttra-[pautra*]-praputtra-tatputtr-ādy-anu-
kramēṇa tāṁbura-

11 śasanēn-ātisirisṭhaḥ [1*] Anēn-āpi maya-ānumōditaṁ yath-ōpari-
likhitaka-

12 kkrāmēṇaiva bhagavatyāḥ, Pishtaprik[ā]*-dvvyāḥ khaṇḍa-phūṭṭa-
pratisahakāra-

13 karaṇyā va(ba)li-charu-saṭtra-prādharttanāya ch-ātisrisṭhas=Tē yūyam-
ēśaṁ

14 samuchita-bhāgabhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratṛtyāy-ōpanaya[ṃ*] karishyath-ājñā-
śrava-

15 na-vidhēyās-cha bhavishyatha [1*] Yē ch-āsmad-vans-ōtpadyamānaka-
rajas-tair-iya[ṃ*]

16 dattir-na vilōky(py)-ānumōdanīyā

(The second plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From Uucchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārāja Óghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādevī Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahādevī Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyâghra, begotten on the Mahādevī Râmadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, was the Mahārāja Jayañātha, begotten on the Mahādevī Ajjhitadēvi.

1 This anuvṛtra is omitted also in line 6 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and thus, as Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives Urunda as a proper name of a demon and of a man, as well as Murunda, we might have read mahādevyām-Urunḍavāminyām. In line 6; however, of the newly-discovered grant, No. 28 above, page 127, the reading is very distinctly mahādevyām Murundadēvām.

* Read sarva-kara-tyāgāḥ.

* Read gomikāyā.

* We have to supply upabhogyaḥ, or some similar word, here.

* Read āhuva.

* See line 11 of No. 32 below, page 137, and Plate xx., in which the long vowel ā was duly engraved, and is quite distinct.

* Read sāhuṣita. See page 122 above, note 3.

* Read pravaritanāya.
(Line 5.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāja Sarvanātha,—begotten on the Mahādeva Murundasvāmī,1—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmans, and to the artisans, in half of the village of Dhavashandikā in the Vṛṣṭa santika:—

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that this half village is, by (this) copper-plate charter, given to Chhodugömika, [to be enjoyed*] by the succession of him and (his) sons, sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c.,—to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; with the udraṅga and the uparihara; (with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; with remission of all the taxes; (and) with such tribute as may accrue. And it is agreed by him (and) by me, that it is granted for the purpose of the repairs, by the above-mentioned succession (of him and his descendants), of whatever may become broken or torn, belonging to the divine goddess Pīśṭapūrṇikādevī, and for the maintenance of the bali, charu, and sattra.

(L. 13.)—"You yourselves shall render to these persons the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (their) commands.

(L. 15.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) should be assented to."

(The rest of this inscription, on the second plate, is not forthcoming.)

No. 30; PLATE XIX B.

KHÖH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHĀRAJA SARVANĀTHA.

THE YEAR 197.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 14, No. 6, where he published a partial translation of it,2 with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (id. Pl. iv. No. 7),—is on another copper-plate, the only one forthcoming of an original set of two,3 that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khōh,4 in the Nāgāudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examin-

1In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called Murundadēvī. In No. 31 below, line 6, page 136, the termination of her name is svādīnī as here.

2But he wrongly treated it as the continuation of the first plate of the grant of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.

3The grant of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx., furnishes another instance, similar to that of the grant, the date of which is lost, No. 29 above, page 129, in which the last line of the first plate is left blank. And, so far as the context goes, this inscription might be taken as the continuation of No. 29. But the edges of this plate are rounded off more; the copper is of a totally different quality, thickness, and weight; and the characters, though of just the same period, differ very much in details of execution,—notably in the visarga, e.g. in grhydy, line 2, guptā, line 13, and ādiukha, line 14, as contrasted with nātha in line 6, 2[dev]drangā in line 8, and samāṭhā in line 10, of No. 29, Plate xixA. And there can, on the whole, be no doubt that in Plate xixA. and B. we have the first and second plates of two separate grants; not one entire grant.

4See page 93 above, and note 3.
The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about \( 7\frac{1}{2} \)" by \( 5\frac{2}{3} \)". The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters are rather deep, and shew through clearly on the back of it. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect it with the other that belonged to it. But the ring and its seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the plate is 13 oz.—The average size of the letters is between \( 3\frac{1}{8} \)" and \( 1\)".

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārītālī grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 4 to 10, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmāṇya, in saḥ-pañchabhir, line 2; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in vintati, line 11; (3) the doubling of g and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g., in vigrahika and putrēṇa, line 12; (4) the use of b for v, in bd, line 4, and sambatsara, line 10; and (5) the use of v for b, in valdhakīrīta, line 13.

The first plate, containing the name of the Mahārāja and the place whence the charter was issued, is lost; but the date, and other details at the end, show that the inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and ninety-seven (A.D. 516-17), and the twentieth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Aśvayuja (September-October.) The details of the grant are lost, in the first plate.

TEXT.¹

(The first plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

Second Plate.

1 Yathā-kālān-cha pratipālanīya [1*] samuchita-rāj-ābhāvyā-kara-pratyāyās-chaḥ

2 na grāhyāḥ [1*] Ya imān-dattin-lōpayēt-saḥ-pañchabhir=mahāpātakair-upapātā-

3 kaiś-cha samyuktas-syād-Uktaḥ-cha Mahābhāratē bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyaśēna [1*] .

4 Sva-dattām=para-dattām-bā(vā) yatnād-raksha Yudhishtīra mahīmb= mahmatān-chhrēshṭha[2*] dānā-

5 ch=chhrēyō-nupālana[m*] [1*] Prāyēna(ṇa) hi narendrāṇām vidyātē
n=[1*]-subhā gatiḥ phya-

¹ From the original plate.
² Read cha.
³ Read dattin lōpayēt=sa pañchabhir.
⁴ Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and in the following four verses.
⁵ Read mahmatām śrēṣṭha.
6. m[n] te tu satataṁ prayachchhati vasundharam [I1] Bahubhi- 
   vsvudhā bhukta rājabhīs-Sagar-ādi-
7. bhih[1] 'yasya ' yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tatā pha[a][n] [I1] 
   Shashti-vaf[1]sha-sahasra-
8. ni svargge mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhettā cha-anumantā cha tany-ēva, 
   narākē vaste-
9. [I1] [I1] Sarvva-sasya-samriddhan-tu yō harēta vasundharam śva-
   vishtāyaḥāṁ kṛimir-bhūtvā 
10. pitribhis-saha maįjate [I1] Likhitam1 samb(a)mva-tsara-satē sapta-navaty- 
   uttarē Aśva-
11. yuja-māsā-divasē vināstamē bhōgika-Pālgu-datt-amātya-naptrā bhō-
12. gika-Varāhadinna-puttrēṇa mahāsandhindťrgrahika-Manorathēna [I1] 
13. Dūtakah mahāvam(ba)ādhihikrite-Sīvaguptah [I1] Halir-ākara-kumbha-danda-
14. pratimē(m)bhan-āṭilēkhiṇē-pi dūtakah uparika-Mākri(tr̥i)śiva[h] [I1] 

TRANSLATION.

(The opening part of this inscription, on the first plate, is not forthcoming.)

"And, according to opportunity, it should be preserved. And the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(Line 2)—"Whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 3)—And it has been said in the Mahābhārata, by the venerable Vyaśa, the arranger of the Vēdas,—"O Yudhisṭhir, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) is more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagarā; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is not made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land, rich in all (kinds of) grains, (that has been granted),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (into hell) together with (his ancestors)!

(L. 10)—(This charter) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-seven, on the twentieth day of the month Aśvayuja, by the Mahāsandhindťrgrahika Manorathā, the grandson of the Bhōgika, the Amātya Phalgudatta, (and) the son of the Bhōgika Varāhadinna. The Dūtaka (is) the Mahābādhikrita Śīvagupt. Moreover, the Dūtaka to an additional writer4 for the remission of the fines on ......... and water-pots, (is) the Uparika Māṭrīśiva.

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1 Supply śāsanam.
2 We should perhaps correct this into vināstītame, as the base vināstima seems to be properly used only when in composition with another numeral, e.g. duṭ-vināstima, in No. 27 above, line 27, page 123. But vināstima, by itself, occurs again in line 18 of the Goa grant of Satyārāya-Dārvarja-Indravarman (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365.)
3 Read phalgu; see page 123 above, note 2.
4 See page 123 above, note 2.
5 See page 100 above, note 3.
6 The meaning of halir-ākara is not apparent.
No. 31; PLATE XX.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 214.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 14 and 16, Nos. 6 and 8, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (id. Pl. iv. No. 8),—is on another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khōh, in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 8\(\frac{9}{16}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{4}\), and the second 8\(\frac{3}{8}\) by 5\(\frac{3}{4}\). The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and, though the plates are here and there worn quite through by rust, the inscription is in a state of very good preservation almost throughout. The plates are rather thin; and the letters shew through on the backs of them so clearly that in many places they can be read there. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout. In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring, with the seal attached to it, is not now forthcoming; having been abstracted by slitting the plates from the ring-holes to the edges. The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 2 oz.—The average size of the letters is about 1\(\frac{9}{16}\). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārītalā grant of the Mahāraja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare jīh in ajjhtā, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 20 to 27, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in utpannaka, line 9; utpadyamānaka, lines 9 and 16; and kāritaka, line 11, the affix ka, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhānīya, in sah-paṅchabhir, line 18; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t and h, in vanta, line 16, and sanhitā, line 19; and (3) the doubling of g and t, in conjunction with a following r, in vigrahamika, line 29, and puttra, lines 1 to 5; but not in putra-paṅtra, line 12.

The inscription is one of the Mahāraja Śarvanātha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year two hundred and fourteen (A.D. 533-34), and the sixth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pausha (December-January). It is apparently a Vaishnava inscription; the object of it being to record the sanction of the

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1 But he wrongly attached No. 30 above, with the date of 197, to the first plate of this grant, and took the second plate of this grant as the continuation of No. 29 above.

2 See page 93 above, and note 3.
Maharaja Sarvanatha to the transfer, among private grantees, of two villages named Vyaghrapalliaka and Kacharapalliaka in the Maninaga pletha, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pishatapurikadevi at the town of Manapura.

This town of Manapura is possibly the modern Manpur, near the river Soo, about forty-seven miles in a south-easterly direction from Uchhahara, and thirty-two miles south-east of Karlatal. And, if this identification is accepted, we have here another item of evidence tending to connect the Maharajas of Uchchakalpa with the part of the country in which their grants are found. But it is obviously not of as much force as the two points to which I have previously drawn attention; viz. the existence of the inscription of Hastin and Sarvanatha on the pillar at Bhumara, No. 24 above, page 110; and the mention of the river Tamas, in Sarvanatha's grant of the year 193, No. 28 above, page 125, in such a way as to show that he had actual territorial ownership over at any rate a certain village on the northern bank of that river. As regards the present passage, it is not so conclusive, because a Maharaja might very well make a grant of land within his territory to a temple outside it. At the same time, that temple would not be far distant from his own domains.

**TEXT.**

First Plate.

1 Om Svasty-Uchchakalp[a*]in-maharak-Aughadévas=tasya puttras=tat-pád-
    anudhyáto mahádevyá[m*]

2 Kumáradévya[m]m=utpáno maháraja-Kumáradévas=tasya puttr[r*]as=tat-pád-
    anudhyáto

3 mahádevyá[m*] Jayasvaminyám=utpáno maháraja-Jayasvami tasya
    puttras=tat-pád-á-

4 nudhyáto mahádevyá[m]m Rámadévya[m]=utpáno maháraja-Vyághras=tasya
    puttr[r*]as=tat-pád-anudhyá-

5 tó mahádevyá[m]=Ajhítadévya[m]=utpan[n*]tó maháraja-Jayanátha[s]=tasya
    puttras=tat-pád-ánu-

6 dhyáto mahádevyá[m*] Murúpadsvaminyám=utpan[m]no maháraja-
    Sarvanáthah kušali Mani-

7 nága-péthhe Vyághrapalliaka-Kacharapalliaka-grámayó[r*]-bráhma-ádItt(n=)
    pratívásinaä

8 samájñápayati [It*] Vidita[m*] vó-stu yath-aisha(tau) grámau mayá
    s-ódrangau s-óparikarau

9 a-cháta-bhañja-právësyo(śyau) ráj-ábhàvya-sarva-kara-pratya-y-ë(ò)tpannák-ótpadya-
    mánaka-samó(më)-

10 tau A-chandrárka-samakálikau chóra-t(a=da)=d̄a-varjijitau Pulinda=baññasa
    pras[a*]dikritau

1 The 'Manpoo, Manpora, and Manpur,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat.
    23º 40' N.; Long. 81º 11' E.

2 From the original plates.

3 See page 131 above, note 1.

4 This víṣarga is imperfect, only the upper part of it having been engraved.

5 The stroke at the bottom of this nada, which gives it somewhat of the appearance of nára,
    seems to be due to a slip of the engraver's tool.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 31, PLATE XX.

11 tēn-āpi Mānapurē kāritaka-dēvakul[e*] bhagavatyāḥ Pashṭha'purikā- 
dēvyāḥ pūjā-nī-
12 mittam khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pratisaṅgskāraṇāya cha Kumārasvāminē putra- 
paurān-vānay-āpa- 
13 bhūjyo(jyau) pratipāditau [i*] may-āpi bhūmicchhidrā(dra)-nyāyēṇa tāmra- 
śasan[e*]n-anumōdītau [i*] 
14 Tē yūyam-etv-ōpalabhy-ājñā-śravaṇa-vidheṭyā bhūtvā samuchita-bhāgabhōga- 
kara-hirany-ā 
15 vāt-āy-[a*]di-pratyāyān-upanēshyatha [i*]

Second Plate.

16 Y[e*] ch-āsmad-vaṇḥ-ōtpadyamānaka-rā[j]anas-tair-iyam datt[i[r*]-nnā vilōpyā 
yathā-kāl[a[rh*] sa[rh*]vārdūha-
17 nly-anumōdanīya, paripālanīya, cha [s*] rāj-ābhāvyā-kara-pratyāyāl[h*] 
sarvve na grāhyā[h*] [i*] 
18 Yāṣ-cha-aṭām dattim lōpayēt-saḥ=paṃchabhir=a-mahāpātakair-upapātakaiś=cha 
saṃyuktō bhūyā- 
19 d-Uktaṇ=cha Mahābhāratē satasāhasṛ[a*]m saṃhitāyāṁ param-arshīnā 
Parāśara-sutēnā 
20 vēda-vyāsēṇa Vyāsēṇa [i*] Pūrva=dattām dvijāṭibhyō yatnād- raksha 
Yudhishṭhīra maha[mh*] mahi- 
21 vatā śrēṣṭha dānāḥ=chhreyō=nupālanam [i[l*] Prāyēṇa hi nareṇdrānām 
vidyatē n-[a*]-śubhā 
22 gatiḥ pōyaṭṭe(ntē) tē tta[tu] satataṁ prayachchhanto vasu[ndharm*] [i[l*] 
[Bahubhir=vvasu*]dha bhuktā rājabhis-Sagar-ādibhi[h*] 
23 yasa yasa yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [i[l*] Shashṭi- 
varsha-sahasrāṇi 
24 svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ ākshēpāt ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakē 
vaset [i[l*] Svā-da- 
25 tām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundhara[m*] Svā-viśṭhīyām 
kṛimir-bhūtvā pitribhis-saha 
26 majjati [i[l*] A-pānlyaśv-aranyēshu śushka-kōṭ[a*]-vāsinala krishn-āhāyō 
hi jā- 
27 yamte pūrva-dāyaṁ haranti yē [i[l*] Likhitam sa[rh*]vatsara-sata- 
dvayē chaturdaś-ōttare 
28 Pausha-māsa-dīvāse shaphthē(shthē) Phalgudatt-Āmātya-pranapt[ra*] Varāha- 
din[r*]aj-napt[r*]ā 
29 Manḍratha-sutēna sāndhivigrahika-Nāṭhēna [i*] Dūtakō Dhṛiti- 
svāmikāḥ [i[l*]  

Read pīṣṭa.  
*Read sa paṃchabhir. 
1 Metre, Śūkha (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following five verses.  
1 Read mahīmatām.  
1 Supply śāsunam.
TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From Uchchakalpa; — (there was) the Mahārāja Ōghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādēvi Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahādēvi Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādēvi Rāmadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayanātha, begotten on the Mahādēvi Ajjhitadēvi.

(Line 6)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāja Šarvanātha,—begotten on the Mahādēvi Murudāsamālini,—being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brāhmaṇs, at the villages of Vyāghrapallika and Kācharapallika in the Manināga pētha:—

(L. 8.)—“Be it known to you that these two villages were bestowed, as a mark of favour, upon Pulindabhāta,—with the udravga and the uparihara; (with the privilege that they were not to be) entered by the irregular or the regular troops; with whatever had (by custom) accured or might accrue in connection with the tribute of all the taxes which should not belong to the king; to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; (but) with the exception of (the right to) fines imposed on thieves. And now they are granted by him to Kumārasvāmin, to be enjoyed by the succession of (his) sons and sons’ sons, for the purpose of the worship of the divine goddess Pishaṇapātā at the temple which he has caused to be built at (the town of) Mānapura, and for the purpose of repairing whatever may become broken or torn. And, by (this) copper-plate charter, they have been assented to by me, according to the rule of bhāmichchhidra. ²

(L. 14.)—“You yourselves, understanding (this), (and) being obedient to (their) commands, shall render the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, drītā, revenue, &c.

(L. 16.)—“And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) according to opportunity should be increased (and) assented to and preserved. And none of the tribute of the taxes which should not belong to the king, should be taken.

(L. 18.)—“And whosoever may confiscate this grant, he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins.

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¹ In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called Murudāsamā. In No. 29 above, line 6, page 131, the termination of her name is svāminī, as here.
² bhāmichchhidra, lit. ‘a fissure (furrow) of the soil,’ is a technical fiscal expression of constant occurrence in inscriptions. Dr. Bühler has recently discovered the meaning of it, in Yādavapātalī’s Vaijyanātī, in the Vasiyādyādyā, verse 18, where it is explained by kriyā-yogad bhād, ‘land fit to be ploughed or cultivated.’
³ drītā is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not apparent. It is derived either from vā, ‘to blow,’ or vai, ‘to become dried or withered,’ in composition with the prefix drā. —The more usual expression is simply vādā; e.g. sa-vādā, bhādā-dhānya-hīranyā-dhānya, in line 26 of the Mālīyā grant of Dharasena II., No. 36 below, Plate xxiv.
⁴ dyā, lit. ‘that which comes in, income,’ is now a technical fiscal term for ‘the customary dues of the hereditary village-officers and servants.’ —It is, however, not quite certain that it had this special meaning in the early inscriptions.
(L. 19.)—And it has been said in the Mahābhārata, in the Satasahasra-Samhitā, by Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, the supreme sage, the son of Parāśara,—"O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by [many*] kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another,—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (into hell) together with his ancestors! Those who confiscate a previous grant, are born (again) as black serpents, inhabiting the dried-up hollows of trees, in desert places destitute of water!"

(L. 27.)—(This charter) has been written in two centuries of years, increased by fourteen, on the sixth day of the month Pausha, by the Sādhivigrahika Nātha, the great-grandson of the Amṛtya Phalgudatta; the grandson of Varāhadinna; (and) the son of Manoratha. The Dātaka (is) Dhritisvāmika.

No. 32; PLATE XXIA.

MEHARAULI POSTHUMOUS IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA.

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 494, where Mr. James Prinsep published a lithograph of it (id. Plate xxx.), reduced from a facsimile made in 1831 by Lieutenant William Elliot, 27th Regiment N. I. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it does not represent a single letter of the original correctly, and is quite unintelligible from beginning to end.—In 1838, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 629 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published a much improved lithograph (id. Plate xxxiii.), reduced from an impression made in the same year by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own reading of the text and a translation of it.1—And finally, in 1875, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 63 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published a revised version of the text and translation, including the correct reading of the king’s name as Chandra, with a lithograph which appears to have been reduced from a copy on cloth made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit.8

Mēharauli, or Mēnharauli,4—an evident corruption of Mihirapuri,—is a village

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2This paper was published in 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 13th April 1871.

3The “Mahārolī, Mahroli, and Muhroolu,” of maps. *Indian Atlas*, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 31’ N.; Long. 77° 14’ E.—The pillar has always been known as the “Dehli Pillar,” and I think the name of the village in which it really stands, so important because of its obvious derivation, *via* Mihirapuri, “the city of the sun, or of the Mihiras,” was not put on record, in connection with the inscription, until I noticed it (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 362.)
nine miles almost due south of Delhi, the chief town of the Dehli District in the Panjab. The inscription is on the west side of a tapering iron column, sixteen inches in diameter at the base and twelve at the top, and twenty-three feet eight inches high, standing near the well-known Kutb Minar in the ancient fort of Ray Pithorar within the limits of this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2/' 9½" broad by 10½" high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout, owing, of course, to the nature of the substance on which it is engraved. The bottom line of the inscription is about 7½ above the stone platform round the lower part of the column. The engraving is good; but, in the process of it, the metal closed up over some of the strokes, which gives a few of the letters a rather imperfect appearance in the lithograph; this is especially noticeable in the sy of the opening word yasya, and in the r of urasa in the same line. — The size of the letters varies from 1½ to 1½. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving in so hard a substance as the iron of this column, they approximate in many respects very closely to those of the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i. But, as a distinguishing feature, we have to notice the very marked matri, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, which we have already observed in the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 above, page 43, and Plate v. — The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout. — In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ę, in prāṇa, line 6; (2) the doubling of ı, in conjunction with a following ę, in saitra, line 1; and (3) the very unusual omission of the second ī, which is formative and not due to the preceding ę, in mārtā for mārta, and kirtē for kirtē, line 3.

The inscription is a posthumous eulogy of the conquests of a powerful king named Chandra, as to whose lineage no information is given. It is not dated.1 It is a Vaishnava inscription; and the object of it is to record the erection of the pillar, which is called a dhuaja, or ‘standard,’ of the god Vishnu, on a hill called Vishnupada, i.e. ‘the hill that is marked with’ footprints of Vishnu.’

As regards this hill named Vishnupada, and the question whether it should be identified with that part of the Dehli Ridge on which the column stands, — the actual position of the column is in a slight depression, with rising ground on both sides; a position

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1 Mr. Prinsep allotted this inscription to the third or fourth century A.D.; and Dr. Bhau Daji, to a period later than the time of the Guptas. Mr. Ferguson (Indian Architecture, p. 509), drawing special attention to the Persian form of the capital, expressed a conviction that the inscription is of one of the Chandraguptas of the Early Gupta dynasty, and consequently belongs to A.D. 353 or 400. — My own impression at first, on independent grounds, was to allot it to Chandragupta I., the first Mahārāja Mahiraka, of the family, of whose time we have as yet no inscriptions; and I should not be surprised to find at any time that it is proved to belong to him. The only objection that I can see, is that it contains no reference to the Indo-Scythians, by overthrowing whom the Early Guptas must have established themselves. But, having regard to the name of the village at which the pillar is, it is also possible that the inscription is one of the younger brother of Miharaka, whose name is not mentioned by Huien Tsang.

2 Compare dhuaja-stambha, ‘flag-staff,’ as applied to the Āra column in line 9 of No. 19 above. There is another iron column, at Dhar, the ancient Dharā, now the chief town of the Dhar State in Central India. But there is no ancient inscription on it; unless it is completely hidden under, and destroyed by, a Persian inscription that was engraved on it when the Musalmāns conquered that part of the country.
which hardly answers to the description of its being on a girî or 'hill.' And this, coupled with the tradition that the column was erected, in the early part of the eighth century A.D., by Anangapâla, the founder of the Tomara dynasty,¹ lays it quite open to argument whether this is the real original position of the column, or whether, like the Aśoka columns at Dehli, and possibly the Aśoka (and Gupta) column at Allahâbâd, it was brought to where it now stands from some other place. But the fact that the underground supports of the column include several small pieces of metal "like bits of bar-iron," is in favour of its being now in its original position; as they would probably have been overlooked, and left behind, in the process of a transfer.

TEXT.⁵

1 Yasyä-ōdvarttayath pratipam-urasâ śattrûn-samétâ-āgatân-Vângēshâvâ-havâ-varttinō-bhûlikhitâ khâdgēna kirttir-bhujê

2 tirtvâ sapta mukhâni yêna samarê Sîndhôr-jiitâ Vâhîlikâ⁴ yasya-ādyâpy-adhivasyate (jalândhiravitrty-anilair-ddakshinâḥ [ll*])

3 Khinnasê-yêva vîsējâya gâm nîrapater-ggâm-âsîtasya-êtarâm mûrî[t*]yâ karmâna-jit-avâmn̄ gatavâtaḥ kîrt[t*]yâ sthîtasya kshitaub

4 sântasyâ-yêva maha-vanê hutabhujô yasya pratâpô mahân-n-ādyâpy-utsrijâtâ prapâsita-ripôr-yaanâsya sêshâh kshitib [ll*]

5 Praptēna sva-bhûj-ârijitâcha suchirâ-bch àkâdhihîrâyaṃ kshitaub Chandre-hvâna samagra-chandra-sadripâna vaktra-sîryâna bhîrhatâ

6 têna-yam prâpâsita bhûmipatinâ dhâvâna Vîshno(shna) mātir prânsur-Vvishânpadâ girâu bhagavatô Vîshnôr-dvajâh sthâpitaub [ll*]

TRANSLATION.

He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in the Vânga countries, he kneaded (and turned) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (him);—he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sîndhu, the Vâhîlikas⁴ were conquered;—he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed:

(Line 3.)—He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (his) enemies, like (the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a burned-out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth; though he, the king, as if wearied, has quitted this earth, and has gone to the other world, moving in (bodily) form to the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions, (but) remaining on (this) earth by (the memory of his) fame;

² From the original pillar. ⁵ Metre, Śârâlavikrêtâ, throughout.
³ Prinsep also read vâhîkâ; but Bhai Daji, varying in also the first syllable, read âhîkâ. In the first akshara, the v is imperfect on the right side, through the closing up of the metal. In the second akshara, the h is turned in the opposite direction to that in which it is turned in dhâra, line 1 and mahâsaunâ and mahâ, line 4. But, that the akshara is hî, not hî, is certain; because l can only be formed to the left; whereas, at this period, h was formed sometimes to the left and sometimes to the right; and, in the present inscription, it is turned to the right, as here, again in hutabhujê, line 4, and dhâvâna, line 5.
⁴ See page 143 below, note 2.
⁵ See note 5 above.
(L. 5.)—By him, the king,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty\^1 in the world, acquired by his own arm and \(\text{enjoyed}\) for a very long time; \(\text{and}\) who, having the name of Chandra, carried a beauty of countenance like \(\text{the beauty of the}\) full-moon,—having in faith\^1 fixed his mind upon \(\text{the god}\) Vishnu, this lofty standard of the divine Vishnu, was set up on the hill \(\text{called}\) Vishnupada.

No. 33; PLATE XXI B.

MANDASOR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN.

This inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the \textit{Ind. Ant.} Vol. XV. p. 253 ff., is another record from Mandasör,\^2 or more properly Dasör, the chief town of the Mandasör District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Malwa division of Central India. With the inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 above, page 79, and Plate xi., it was discovered in 1884, in the search made under my direction, in consequence of my having seen the hand-copy of the next inscription, No. 34, that had been sent by Mr. Arthur Sullivan to General Cunningham in 1879; the present inscription had escaped Mr. Sullivan's notice. Like the next inscription, it is on one of a pair of magnificent monolith columns,\^4 apparently of very close-grained and good sandstone, lying in a field immediately on the south side of a small collection of huts, known by the name of Sōdāt or Sōndāt, but not shewn in the maps as a separate village, between two and three miles to the south-east of Mandasör.

\[\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright} aikiḍhīrājya; lit. \textquoteleft\textquoteright\ the condition of being the sole Adhirāja.\textquoteleft\—Adhirāja, lit. \textquoteleft\supreme king'; is a technical feudatory title, probably denoting the same rank as \textit{mahrājā}. \text{It occurs, for instance, in line 5 of the Byāna inscription of the \textit{Adhirāja Vijaya (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 10). Its derivative, dhīrāja, however, is here used in a general and non-technical sense, in accordance with its original etymological meaning.}\]

\[\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright} in line 6, dhāvēna, as read by Prinsep, is what is really engraved; not dhāvēna, as read by Bhu Daji. \text{But, as dhāva, 'cleansing, washing, making bright, polishing,' appears to be used only in composition, the word seems to be a mistake for dhāvēna, which is equivalent to the \textit{bhāvyā} of, for instance, line 5 of No. 6 above, page 35; and this is borne out by the position of the word in the text. The engraving of the rest of the inscription, however, is so very correct, that it is just possible that future researches may even yet shew that Dhāva is a proper name here, as it was interpreted by Prinsep. In that case, Dhāva, as another name of a king called Chandra, might be compared with Kācha, which I have intimated (page 27 above, note 4) may be a familiar and less formal name of Samudragupta.—In line 5 I have arranged my translation according to the order of the words in the text. But, assuming that the composer's arrangement of them was due to metrical exigencies, we might translate—\textquoteleft\(\text{and}\) who, carrying a beauty of countenance like \(\text{the beauty of the}\) full-moon, had (in consequence) the name of Chandra;\textquoteleft; and thus obtain a hint that the king's original name was not Chandra.\]

\[\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright} See page 79 above, and note 1.\]

\[\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright} About fifty yards away to the west of these two inscribed columns, in the next field, I turned up the lower part of another large sandstone column. The base is rectangular, about 3' 6" high by 3' 4" square. The shaft, of which only a length of about 2' 6" remains attached to the base, is circular, about 3' 4" in diameter; and, instead of being plain like the two inscribed columns, it is carved all over with cross-lines into diamond-shaped knobs. I had the field excavated all round this column, but could find no traces of the rest of the shaft, or of the other parts of. From its different pattern, it can have no connection with the two inscribed columns.\]
The column with the present inscription lies, partially buried, north and south, with the top to the north. The base of it is rectangular, about 3' 4" square by 4' 5" high; and, as this is no socket at the bottom to indicate that it was fitted into any masonry foundation, this part must have been buried when the column stood upright. From this base there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8'/0" broad where it starts from the base; partly of the shaft, about 17' 0" in length, is still connected with the base, making the length of this fragment about 21'/5"; and the present inscription, occupying five of the sixteen faces, is on this fragment, the bottom line being about 2'/2" above the top of the base. Immediately in continuation of this, there lies the remainder of the shaft, about 17' 10" long; at the upper end of this, the faces are each about 7" broad, shewing that the column tapers slightly from bottom to top. The upper end of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews these two fragments make up the entire shaft, the total length of which was thus about 39' 3", or 34' 10" above the base. This column appears to have broken naturally in falling, and not to have been deliberately divided, as the other was, in the manner described below. The next part of this column, the lower part of the capital, lies about forty yards away to the north, close up to the hedge of the hamlet, and is a fluted bell, about 2' 6" high and 3' 2" in diameter, almost identical in design with the corresponding part of a small pillar from an old Gupta temple at Sāñchi, drawn by General Cunningham in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. Plate xxii. No. 1. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11" in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. About twenty-five yards south of this, and fifteen yards north of the column, I found a flat stone buried in the ground, just level with the surface; and, on excavating it, it proved to be the next portion, the square upper part of the capital. It measures about 2' 8" high by 3' 10" square; the vertical corner edges are trimmed off. I could not get at the bottom of it; but there must be there a socket-hole, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came below it. I only exposed one side of it; but this was sufficient to shew that it is a lion-capital, exactly like the capital of the other column, noticed more fully below. On the top surface of it, there is in the centre a circular socket-hole about 11'/4" in diameter and 4" deep, with eight other rectangular socket-holes round it, one in the centre of each side, and one opposite each corner. The total length of this column, up to the top of the lion-capital, is about 44' 5"; or forty feet above the ground, if it stood with the entire base buried. The square lion-capital must have been surmounted by a statue or statues, of the same kind as that which stands on the summit of the column at Éran† which has on it Budhagupta's inscription, No. 19 above, page 88; but I cannot feel sure of having found it. I found, indeed, in the same field, towards the west side, in three pieces, a very well executed sandstone bas-relief slab, 9' 0" high, with a rectangular pedestal 3' 2" broad by 1' 8" deep and 8" high, of a male figure, standing, somewhat larger than life-size, wearing a kirtīśa or high head-dress, with necklace and armlets, and draped from the waist downwards, with a small figure standing by the right leg. And close by this there were, in two pieces, the kirtīśa and the head and shoulders of another figure of the same size, evidently a duplicate of the above. Unless, however, there were some intervening parts that

† See Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 81, and Plate xxvi.
have been altogether lost, these slabs cannot belong to the columns, since their pedestals have no sockets to fit into the socket-holes on the tops of the lion-capitals.¹

The other column, with the fragmentary duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxiiC., stood, as is shewn by the present position of its base, about twenty yards north of the column that I have just described. When overthrown, it fell east and west, with the top towards the west. The base is rectangular, about 3'3" square by 3'11" high. Differing from the first column, the base here is followed by a concave circular part, about 1'0" high. From this there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8" broad where it starts from the base. But the portion of the shaft that remains attached to the base is only about 1'1" long; and a row of chisel-marks all round the column here, shews that it was deliberately broken by the insertion of wedges. The next piece of the column,—or rather a remnant of it, as it is broken vertically, and part of it has been lost,—lies about three yards to the north of the base, and parallel with it, but in an inverted position, with the upper end to the east. This piece is about 9'0" long; and the remnant of the duplicate inscription is here, on two of the faces; the bottom line of it being about 2'9½" above the square base. The next piece of the shaft is missing altogether, and is supposed to be entirely buried somewhere in this field. The remainder of the shaft, about 6'9½" in length, lies, almost entirely buried, a few yards to the west of the portion including the base and the commencement of the shaft. Each face here is about 7" broad at the top; shewing that this column also tapers slightly from bottom to top. The top of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews that we have here the end of the shaft. Immediately west of this fragment, there lies the fluted bell part of the capital, about 3'0" high and 3'3" in diameter, similar in design to the same part of the capital of the other pillar. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 1½" in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. Just to the west of this there lies, upside down and partially buried, the next portion of the capital, the square upper part, measuring about 3'0" high and 3'10" square; the vertical corner edges are trimmed off. The bottom, and one entire side and parts of two others, are exposed; and enough is visible to shew that each side consists of a bas-relief sculpture of two lions, each sitting on its haunches and facing to the corner, where it merges into the corresponding corner lion on the next side;² with the head of a conventional simha or mythological lion in the centre, over the backs of the lions. In the bottom of this stone there is a socket-hole, about 10½" in diameter, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came just below it. And I dug under one of the corners of the top enough to find there a rectangular socket-hole, which justifies us in assuming that the top has one circular and eight rectangular socket-holes, just as in the top of the lion-capital of the first column. As in the case of the first column, I cannot feel sure of having found the statue or statues which must have stood on the top of it.

The two inscribed columns were evidently intended as a pair, though the full measure of the second cannot be taken. From the distance between them; from the difference in the detailed measures; and from the analogous instance of the Eran column, as shewing

¹ There are some similar bas-relief slabs set up in a group under some palm-trees in another field, about fifty yards away to the east from where the inscribed columns lie; but these, again, do not appear to belong to the columns.
² Compare the lions on the upper part of the square portion of the capital of the Eran column.
the way in which they must have been finished off at the top,—they can hardly have been connected by a beam, after the fashion of a torana or arched gateway; and there are no traces of any temple to which they can have belonged. They are evidently an actual instance of two ranastambhas or “columns of victory in war,” such as the Kauthësi grant of Vikramaditya V., dated Saka-Sarvat 930 (A.D. 1008-9) expired, speaks of as having been set up by the Rashtra-kûta king Karkara or Kakka III., and as having then been cut asunder in battle by the Western Chalukya king Taila II.

To return to the inscription on the first column,—the writing, which covers a space of about 3' 2" broad by 1' 4" high, has suffered a good deal from the weather; and, owing to the difficulty of obtaining lights and shades, partly in consequence of the letters being rather shallow, and partly because of the natural light colour of the stone, it is rather difficult to read on the original column; but, in the ink-impression and the lithograph, it can easily be read with certainty throughout. —The size of the letters varies from 1' to 3'. Differing from the Mandaśor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvnarman, No. 18 above, page 79, Plate xii., the characters here belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are a development, in some respects, of the type of the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and, in others, of that of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 above, Plate iiiB. They include the rather rare lingual dh, in upagadhika, line 4. In vira, line 4, and sambantir-yasya, line 5, the r is formed on the line of writing, with only a single y below it; in combination with other consonants, e.g. in sumbrv-vihihastis, line 1, and dharmasya, line 8, the r is formed above the top line of writing, and the consonant is doubled, in the usual way.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the two words at the end, recording the engraver’s name, the inscription is in verse throughout. —In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhyāmiya in tikhariq-patchimad, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvātra, before t, in āṇu, line 5, and vāṅsa, line 8; and before s, in tīḍās, line 1, and pāṅs, line 3; (3) the doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, in akhrānti, line 4; chakra, line 7; mītra and yattra, line 3; anvattrā, line 6; and nāyīttra, line 7; but not in kriyānti, line 5, and sātu, line 1; and (4) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in addhyāsini, line 4.

The inscription is one of a king named Yasodharman, whose dominions are described as including the whole of the northern part of India, from the river Laubitya, or the Brahmaputra, to the Western Ocean, and from the Himalayas to the mountain


2 Having regard to the frequency with which, in the period of this inscription, varman occurs as the termination of proper names, and to the rarity of dharma,—there might be some temptation to suggest that Yasodharman should be corrected into Yasovarman. But the dh is very distinct in line 7 here, and in the corresponding place in line 7 of the remnant of the original duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC.; and again in line 8 below; and again in the same place in line 4 of the inscription of Yasodharman and Vishnuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxi.—The form dharm is not of frequent occurrence. But we do meet with it in other proper names; e.g. Kritadharmān, Kshatrtradharmān, Kshemadharmān, Jayadharmān, and Sudharman. And it also occurs in ordinary composition; e.g. in Manu-adhi-pravita-viḍāṁ-vidhān-dharmān, in line 5 of the Mālīya grant of the Mahārāja Dharasena II. of the year 232, No. 38 below, Plate xiv.; and in tīḍāhīr-śādiya-sabdha-dharmān, in line 29 of the Kauthēsi grant of Vikramaditya V. of Saka-Sarvat 930 expired (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 22).
Māhendrā. We have an important allusion in the statement that he possessed countries which not even the Guptas and the Hīnas could subdue; and a still more important record, in connection with the general history of the period, to the effect that homage was done to him by even the famous king Mihirakula. It is not dated. But Yasodharman’s date is now known from the Mándasór inscription of Mālavar-Sahayat śād (A.D. 532-33) expired, No. 35 below, which mentions him and Vishvuvardhana; and the present inscription, having been engraved by the same person, Gòvinda, must fall within a few years on either side of that date. Also, the use of the present tense almost throughout, coupled with the record that Yasodharman himself erected the column, shows that the inscription is one of his own time, not posthumous. The opening verse contains a Śaiva invocation; which is in accordance with the boast, in line 6, that Yasodharman never bowed his head to any save the god Śiva. But the record itself is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to narrate the erection of the column, for the purpose of re-securing the king’s glory and power.

**TEXT**

Vēpantē yasya bhūma-stanita-bhaya-samudhrānta-dātīya digantah śrīngah āghathāh Sumērūr-vyaghatita-drishadāh kāndarāh yah kāroḥ 1

ukṣhānāṁ tad dādhanāḥ kṣhitidharatanayā-datta-paṅchā-āṅgulāṅkāṁ drāghishthāḥ Śūlapāṇeh kshapayatu bhavatāṁ satru-tejāṁ kētukh


6 Sthānōr-ānyatra yēna pranati-kripaṇatām prāpitāṁ n-ōttamāṁgam yasya-āsliṣṭō bhujābhyaṁ vahati himagirī-durgā-ṣābād-ābhīmānam 1

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

2 From the ink-impression.

3 Metre, Sragdhāra; and in the next seven verses.
nīchais-tēn-api yasya praṇati-bhuja-bal-āvarjana-kliśta-mūrdhṇā
ehūdā-pushp-ōpahārārīr-Mnihiřakula-nīpēṇ-ārčchitaṁ pāda-yugman ī

7 [Ga]m-ēv-ōṃmatum-ōṛddhvam vigaṇayitum-īva jyōtishāṁ chakkravālaṁ
nirdēśaṁ mārggam-uchchāria-diva iva sukrit-ōpārijitayeś svā-
kṛttēṁ ī tēn-a-kalpāntaka-kāl-avādhih-avanihūjā śrī-Yaśōdharmman-
āyaṁ stambhaṁ stambh-ābhīrāma-sthira-bhuja-parighen-ōchchhritim
nāyīdō-ṭtra ī

8 Ś[ṛ]ghyē janm-āsayā vanise charitam-agha-haraṁ drīṣyatē kānta-
asmin-dharmmasya-āyaṁ niκētaṁ-chalati niyamitaṁ n-āmunā lōka-
vṛttam ś-iṭy-utkarṣham guṇānam likhitum iva Yaśōdharmmanā
candra-bimbē rāgād-utkṣhipta uchchāria-bhuja iva ruchimān-yāh
prithiyā vibhitā ī

9 Iṭi tushṭaśya tasya nripateḥ puṇya-kṛmaṁ śh Śāscuāś
sūnunā ī. Utkrīṇa ś Govindēna ī

TRANSLATION.

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

(Line 2.)—He, to whose arm, as if (to the arm) of (the god) Śāṇigapāṇi,—the
fore-arm of which is marked with callous parts caused by the hard string of (his) bow,
(and) which is steadfast in the successful carrying out of vows for the benefit of man-
kind,—the earth betook itself (for succour), when it was afflicted by kings of the present
age, who manifested pride; who were cruel through want of proper training; who, from
delusion, transgressed the path of good conduct; (and) who were destitute of virtuous
delights:—

(L. 3.)—He who, in this age which is the ravisher of good behaviour, through the
action simply of (his good) intentions shone gloriously, not associating with other kings
who adopted a reprehensible course of conduct,—just as an offering of flowers (is beau-
tiful when it is not laid down) in the dust;—he in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue,
(and so) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Māndhātri, the
title of “universal sovereign” shines more (than in any other), like a resplendent jewel
(set) in good gold:—

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

Loća (Anuṣṭubh).

8 Supply praśastiḥ.

sovereign who rules over kings and has performed the rājasṛṣya-sacrifice.—For a
description of rājasṛṣya, which is a great sacrifice or religious ceremony performed, at the
coronation of a supeme sovereign or universal monarch, by the king himself and his tributary
princes, see the Rājasṛṣya-Pāraśu in the Sabhā-Parva of the Mahābhārata; Protap Chandra Roy’s Translation,
page 95 ff.
prowess,—which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (remainder of the) land, (and) which the command of the chiefs of the Hūnas, that established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings, failed to penetrate:—

(L. 5.)—He before whose feet chieftains, having (their) arrogance removed by the strength of (his) arm, bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) Lambītya up to (the mountain) Mabēdra, the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (and) from (Himālaya) the mountain of snow, the tablelands of which are embraced by the (river) Gāgā, up to the Western Ocean,—by which (all) the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (their) heads:—

(L. 6.)—He by whom (his) head has never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthāṇu;—he, through the embraces of whose arms (Himālaya) the mountain of snow carries no longer* the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult of access;—he to whose feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head, even that (famous) king Mihirakula, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance:—

(L. 7.)—By him, the king, the glorious Yasōdharman, the firm beams of whose arms are as charming as pillars, this column, which shall endure to the time of the destruction of the world, has been erected here,—as if to measure out the earth; as if to enumerate on high the multitude of the heavenly lights; (and) as if to point out the path of his own fame to the skies above, acquired by good actions;—(this column) which shines resplendent, as if it were a lofty arm of the earth, raised up in joy to write upon the surface of the moon the excellence of the virtues of Yasōdharman, to the effect that—“His birth (is) in a lineage that is worthy to be eulogised; there is seen in him a charming behaviour that is destructive of sin; he is the abode of religion; (and) the (good) customs of mankind continue current, unimpeded (in any way) by him.”

(L. 9.)—From a desire thus to praise this king, of meritorious actions, (these) verses have been composed by Vāsula, the son of Kakka. (This eulogy) has been engraved by Gōvinda.

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1 Sāmanta, lit. “bordering, neighbouring; a neighbour, a feudatory prince, the chief of a tributary district,” is a technical official title, denoting a rank next below that of the Mahādīmanta, which title occurs, for instance, in several places in the Nirṇaṇa grant of the Mahādīmanta and Mahādīsī Samudrāśeṇa, No. 80 below, Plate xlii.—Sāmanta is of constant occurrence, in other inscriptions, in its technical sense; but it is here used only in a general way, and is translated accordingly.

2 See page 146 above, note 1.

3 Chidā is a single lock or tuft of hair left on the crown of the head after the ceremony of tonsure, which is performed in early childhood.

4 To complete the sense, we must apparently supply, in connection with sakati, the negative particle na from the first pada of the verse.

5 See page 145 above, note 2.
No. 34; PLATE XXIC.

MANDASOR DUPLICATE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION
OF YASODHARMAN.

This inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 257 f., is the remnant, mentioned above, of the original duplicate copy of the inscription of Yaśodharman on the second inscribed column, described at page 144 above, at MANDASOR, or more properly DASOR, the chief town of the Mandasör District of Scindia's Dominions, in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India. It was discovered by Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who forwarded his hand-copy of it to General Cunningham in 1879. And it was this that led to the search which was made under my direction in 1884, and which resulted in the discovery of the entire copy of this inscription No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxiiB and of the inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvamar of the Mâlava years 493 and 539, No. 18 above, page 79, and Plate xi.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 1" broad by 1' 2" high, is in some respects in a state of rather better preservation than the entire copy; but nearly three-quarters of the full inscription is lost here, through the column having cracked vertically and part of it being now not forthcoming.—The size of the letters varies from \( \frac{1}{4} \) to \( \frac{3}{4} \).

The characters belong, as before, to the northern class of alphabets, and were engraved by the same person, Govinda, who engraved the entire copy, No. 33 above; and this record appears to have been in all essential details an exact reproduction of the copy that has been preserved entire. We have the lingual ḍh in upagāḍha, line 4. And the two methods of forming r in combination with a following consonant, are very well illustrated by vrīya, line 4, and ṛphaiva≈mukirakula, line 6.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1), as before, the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in anśū, line 5; and before t, in tējānsi, line 1; and (2) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in yattra; line 3, and nāvītā-ṭtra, line 7; and also in ṣattra, line 1, where it is not doubled in the entire copy.

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

TEXT.³

1 . . . . . . . . . [da]tta, pañch-āṅgul-āṅkam drāghishṭha śūlapāṇē kshapatam. sattu-tējānsi kētuḥ II
2 . . . . jy[₄]-āṅkā-prakōṣṭham bāhurn lōk-śapāra-vrata-saphala-parispanda-dharmam prapannā II
3 . . . . [Ā]larka-Māndhāṭi-kalpē kalyāṇē hēmni bhāsvān=maṇîr-iva sutarām bhrājate yattra śabdāh II
4 . . . . [v]rā-bāh-āpagūḍhān-vṛyā-avaskanna-rājataḥ sva-griha-parisar-avajñayā yo bhunakti II

³ See page 79 above, and note 1.
⁴ From the ink-impression.
⁵ Metre, Sragdharā; and in the next seven verses.
5. ... pádayār-ānamabhīṣa-chudārataṇa-anśu-rāja-vyatikara-sabala bhūmi-bhāgah
criyante II
6. ... [Avār]jana-kliśta-mūrddhna chudā-pushp-ōpahārai Mihirakula-
nripa-archchitar pawda-yugma II
7. ... [Srl]-Yaśodharman-āyaṁ stambhaḥ stambh-ābhirama-sthira-bhuja-
parighena-ōchchhritiṁ nāyita-ttra II
8. ... [Yaśodha]mmanas- chandra-bimbē rāgāṇ-uktshipta uchchhair-bhuja
iva ruchimān-yāṣi prithivyā vibhati II
9. ... [Kaj]kkasa 1 sūnunā II Uttrāṇa 2 Gōvindēna II

TRANSLATION.

[It is unnecessary to offer a translation of this fragment, as the contents of it are fully explained by the translation of the entire copy, at page 147 above. It is sufficient to note that we have the name of Yaśodharman, complete in line 7, and partially preserved in line 8; the name of Mihirakula, very clearly legible, in line 6; and, in line 9, the name of Gōvinda, the engraver of the record.]

No. 35; PLATE XXII.

MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF YAŚODHARMAN AND VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE MALAVA YEAR 589.

This inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 222 ff., is from a stone-tablet, which, when shewn to me in 1885, was in the possession of Sir Michael Filose, K.C.S.I., at Ujjain, but which had come originally from an old well, somewhere in the lands of Mandasor, or more properly Dasör, the chief town of the Mandasor District of Scindia’s Dominions in the Western Mālwa division of Central India, where it was found, in the course of repairs, built up with the inscribed surface inside. I could obtain no accurate information on the point; but possibly this is a large and ancient well, which immediately attracts attention, just inside the eastern entrance of the Fort.

The stone is a smooth and beautifully engraved tablet, apparently of slate-stone, measuring about 1' 11" broad by 1' 6\(\frac{1}{2}\)" high and 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)" thick. There are no sculptures on it, connected with the inscription. But, on the back, which is divided into two compartments by what seems to be either a spear with a curved handle, or a shepherd's crook, there are engraved in outline, very roughly,—at the upper corners, the sun on the proper right, and the moon on the proper left; and, lower down, on each side, a man on horseback, facing towards the central dividing sculpture; the horseman on the proper right side carries in his left hand either a chauri or fly-flap made from the bushy tail of the Bos Grumniens, or a tānka or conch-shell; the other horseman carries something in his right hand, but I could not distinguish the object. These sculptures were engraved, of course, when the tablet was fixed in the position in which it was discovered, with the inscribed

1 Metre, Śālka (Anushtubh).
2 Supply praśastī.
3 See page 145 above, note 2.
4 See page 79 above, and note 1.
surface inwards; and it is owing to this position, that the inscription has remained in so perfect a state of preservation.—The writing covers the entire surface of the stone, with a margin of from 1 to 1½; and is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout, though there are just a few letters from which it was impossible to clear out the hard incrustation of lime; with which the writing was blocked up from beginning to end, sufficiently for them to come out quite perfectly in the ink-impression, and so in the lithograph. At the ends of lines 1, 2, and 3, a few letters have been lost by the edges of the stone being chipped here; and at some other places a few letters have been damaged in the same way. But the only place where the missing letters cannot be supplied, is at the commencement of line 16.—The average size of the letters is about ½. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type, being in fact engraved by the same hand, with those of the Mandasor duplicate pillar inscriptions of Yasodharman, No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxxB., and No. 34, page 149, and Plate xxxC. They include the very rare initial au, in aulikāra, line 5; and the lingual dh, in uddāha and gādha, line 7; rādha, line 11; and ṛdha, line 18.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddham, and the two words at the end recording the name of the engraver, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before t, in vanśa, lines 6 and 9; anśa, line 9; anśa, line 11; and abhranśi, line 12; (2) the use of the dental nasal, before s, in bhṛṇāsi, line 2, and yatānsi, line 4; though we have the more usual anusvāra in mandānsi, line 22; (3) the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in tattru, line 4; kalattra, line 11; and pāryattra, line 16; and (4), the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y and v, in addhyāsita, line 16-17, and addhānati, line 18, though not in other places.

The inscription refers itself, in the first instance, to the time of Yasodharman, here called a tribal ruler, whose name is already on record from his duplicate pillar inscriptions at Mandasor, No. 33 above, page 142, and No. 34, page 149. It then mentions a king named Vishnuvardhana, who, though he had the titles of Rājādhirāja and Paramēśvara, would appear to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yasodharman. Vishnuvardhana’s family is mentioned as the lineage that had the aulikāra-crest. The inscription is dated, in words, when the year five hundred and

For notes 1, 2, 3, see page 145 above, note 2.
eighty-nine had expired from the tribal constitution of Alavas, and, therefore, when the year five hundred and ninety (A.D. 533-34) was coming, but no further details of the date are given. The opening invocations are addressed to the god Śiva. But the record itself is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the construction of a large well by a person named Daksha, the younger brother of Dharmadāsa, who was a minister of Vishnukardāpa, in memory of their deceased uncle Abhayadatta, who had formerly held the same office for the tract of country bounded by the Vindhyas and the Pāryātra mountain, and the (Western) Ocean.

The genealogy of this family of ministers is given; and it includes a somewhat noticeable name in that of Bhānu guptā, the wife of Daksha's grandfather, Ravi kṛttī. Her date would be just about one generation before that of the king Bhānu gupta, for whom we have the date of Guptā-Samvat 191 (A.D. 510-11) from the Ėrāṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Goparāja, No. 20 above, page 91, and Plate xiiB.; and the coincidence of name and time is such, that it is almost impossible not to imagine some family connection between him and her. Bhānuguptā, of course, must have been a Kshatriya; and Bhānuguptā’s husband, Ravi kṛttī, was evidently a Brāhmaṇa. But the ancient Hindu law authorised the marrying of Kshatriya wives by Brāhmaṇas. And we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Ghaṭātka cave inscription of Hastibhāja, a minister of the Vākātaka Mahārāja Dēvasēṇa; it tells us that Hastibhāja’s ancestor, the Brāhmaṇa Sōma, “in accordance with the precepts of revelation and of tradition” married a Kshatriya wife, through whom Hastibhāja was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brāhmaṇa caste, whose sons, and their descendants, applied themselves to the study of the Vēdas.1

TEXT.2

1 Siddham [ll*] Sa jayati jagatam patiḥ Pīnākī smita-rava-gtishu yasya danta-kāntīḥ i dyutir-iva taṇḍitāṁ mīr sphuranṭi tirāyati cha sphuṭatayati-adāś-cha viśvam II Sva yaṃ bhūḥ-bhūtanāṁ sthitilaya-[samu]-
2 tpatti-vidhiṣu pravuktā yēn-ajñān vahati bhuvanānāṁ vidhiṣayē i
- pitrivam ch-anāt jagati garimānāṁ gamati sa Śambhūr-bhūyāṇi pratidīṣatū bhadraṇaḥ bhava[taṁ] II Phaṇa-marī-guru-bhār-[ākṣirā]-
3 nti-dūr-āvanamānas aśāgajati rucham-indor-mmaṇḍalam yasya mūrdhnam [10]
- sa śirasi vinibhānān-randhirilm-asthi-mālāṁ srijatū bhava-srijō vah klēśa-bhaṇgan bhūjanāḥ II Shaṣṭīśa sahasravi Sagar-ātmanānāṁ khāṭa[h]

1 ‘boar-crest,’ which appears on the seals of all their charters, and on their coins; and the special connection of the śākhana with the  śrāna or ‘charter,’ is shown by a passage in lines 73 ff. of the Korunelli grant of Rājarāja II., “on whose charter the mighty form, that of the first boar, of (the god) Viṣṇu, which lifted up the entire circle of the earth on the tip of (its right-hand) tusk, became in a pleasing way the crest” (id. Vol. XIV. p. 85).
2 From the original stone.
3 Metre, Pushpitāgrā.
4 Metre, Śīkharīṇī.
5 Metre, Mālinī.
6 Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 35. PLATE XXII.

1. kha-tulyáṃ rucham-ādādhānaḥ I asy-ōdapan-ādhipatēś-chirāya yaśāṇi pāyati-payaśam vidhātā II Atha jayati janēndraḥ sṛt-Yaśōdharmamānāmā pāmada-varanām-iv-āntāḥ śatru-sainyaṃ vigāhāya vrpa-

2. kisalaya-bhaṅgair-yy-ō-hagha-bhūṣham vidhātē tarupu-taru-latā-vad-vrka-kṛttir- vvināmā II Ajau jīt vijayatē jagatir-puṇah-cha sṛt-Vīśhuvardhdhanna-narādhīparī sa eva I prakhyāta auliaka-lāṃchhana ātma-

3. vānāḥ yem-ōdi-ōritā-padanā gamotī garyāḥ II Prāchō: nrpāṇ-su-bhrihatasā cha bahūn-ūdchāh śāṃnas yudhā cha vaṣa-gāṇ pravidiha yaṇa [1*]

4. 7 nām-aparam jagati kāntam-adā durāparā caādhipra-paraṃ-

5. svara ity-uddāham II Snigdha-śyām-ambud-ābhaḥ sthagita-dinakritō rajaśvanāṃ-ājya-dhumair-ambho-mēghyaṃ Mahāhān-ōvadhisuh vidhadhātā gādha-sampanna-sasyāḥ I samharśhād-vānānīṃ kara-rabhāna-hrit-ō-


7. ya-čchvāhī-dhumēṃrajasā mand-āṇstī samlakshyatē paryvīrtta-sīkhandī-chandraṃ iva dhyāmāṃ raver-maṃḍalam II Tasya prabhor-vyānā-kriṭām nrīpānāṃ (pādāsrayā-viśruta-punya-kṛttīḥ I āṣīrīyaṃ eva-naiḥbhiyā-jit-ā?,

8. ri-shāka āstī-vaṣṭīyāni-kiśa Shashthidattāḥ II Himavatā iva Gāṅgas- tūṅga-namraḥ pravahāḥ sāsabhrīta iva Révā-vāri-rāṣīḥ prathyān [1*] param-abhigamanayāḥ suddhimān-anvavāyō yātā udita-gari-

9. 11 mnaś-tāyātē Naigamānām I Tasya-ānukālā kulajāt-kalattat-sutaḥ prasūtō yaśāṃ prasūtiḥ I Harēr-iv-ānśatī vaśīnām var-arhaṃ Varāhadasāṃ yam-udāharanti II Sukriti-vishayi-tūṅgaḥ rōḍha-mūlaṃ


11. 13 dītā yēna Kalāv--api kulamatā II Dhuta-dhi-dhilheti-dhvāntān havirbhujē iev-ādāvān. [1*] (Bhānugupta) tataḥ sādhvi tanayāṁ-trīn-ājjanat II Bhagavaddāṃ iya-āstī-prathamaḥ kāryya-vartamasū ṣāla-

12. mbanam bāndhavānāṃ-Andhakānāṃ-iv-ōddhavaḥ II Bahu-naya-viḍhī-Vēdhā gahvare-py-arthā-mārggē Vidura iva vidhumā prēksayā prēkshamānaḥ I vachana-rachana-bandhē samārśita-prākritē yaḥ kavibhir-udi-

13. ta-rāgāṃ gīyate gīr-abhiṃjñāḥ II Prāgṛti-dṛg-anugantarā yasya bauddhēna ch-ākṣhāna niśī tanu davāyē v-āṣtā-drishtāṃ dharitryāṃ [1*] padam-udaiyā dādhanā-nantaram tasya ch-ādbhūtā bhayaṃ(Ābhaya-dattā) nāma

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1. Metre, Mālinī.
2. Metre, Sragdhāra.
3. Metre, Tragedy.
5. Metre, Indravajra.
6. Metre, Upājñi of Indravajra and Upendra-vajra.
7. Metre, Mālinī.
8. Metre, Śākṣa (Anushtup); and in the next two verses.
9. Metre, Vasanta-lākā; and in the next verse.
10. Metre, Vēndravajra; and in the next two verses.
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Pindākin, the lord of (all) the worlds,—in whose songs, hummed with smiles, the splendour of (his) teeth, like the lustre of lightning sparkling in the night, envelops and brings into full view all this
universe! May be, (the god) Śambhu, confer many auspicious gifts upon you,—employed by whom in the rites of (effecting the) continuance and the destruction and the production of (all) things that exist, (the god) Svayambhū, is obedient to (his) commands, for the sake of the maintenance of (all) the worlds; and by whom, leading (him) to dignity in the world, he has been brought to the condition of being the father (of the universe)! May the serpent of the creator of existence accomplish the allayment of your distress,—(that serpent) the multitude of whose foreheads, bowed down afar by the pressure of the heavy weight of the jewels in (their) hoods, obscures the radiance of the moon (on his master’s forehead); (and) who (with the folds of his body) binds securely on (his master’s) head the chaplet of bones which is full of holes (for stringing them)! May the creator of waters, which was dug out by the sixty thousand sons of Sagara, (and) which possesses a lustre equal to (that of) the sky, preserve for a long time the glories of this best of wells!

(Line 4.)—Now, victorious is that tribal ruler, having the name of the glorious Yaśodharman, who, having plunged into the army of (his) enemies, as if into a grove of thornapple-trees, (and) having bent down the reputations of heroes like the tender creepers of trees, effects the adornment of (his) body with the fragments of young sprouts which are the wounds (injected on him).

(Line 5.)—And, again, victorious over the earth is this same king of men, the glorious Vishnuvardhana, the conqueror in war; by whom his own famous lineage, which has the aquikara-crest, has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and

1 bhava-riṣṭ—Originally, Brahman was the creator; Vishnu, the preserver; and Śiva, the destroyer. But of course the Vaishñavas and the Śaivas invested their own special gods with all three attributes. As regards Śiva, we may also refer to line 51 of the Ālana grant of Śiladitya VII. of the year 447, No. 39, below, Plate xxv, where, under the name of Paramēvara, he is again clearly referred to as the creator. While, as regards Vishnu, in the Vishnu-Purāṇa, book I, chap. ii. (Hall’s edition of Wilson’s Translation, Vol. I, p. 41), he is described as himself becoming Brahman, and so engaging in the creation of the universe.—That bhava-riṣṭ here denotes Śiva, is shown by the general purport of the preceding two verses, and especially by the mention of the chaplet of bones in this verse. He is always represented with a necklace of skulls, a serpent hanging round his neck, and the crescent moon on his forehead.

2 The ocean. The allusion in this verse is to the legend that the bed of the ocean was excavated by the sons of Sagara in their search for their father’s truṣunda-horse, which was stolen from their custody by the sage Kapila, and was only found by them when they had dug down through the earth into the lower regions. Kapila, in his anger, reduced them to ashes; but subsequently restored the horse on the intercession of Aśūmat, the grandson of Sagara. The obsequies, however, of the sons of Sagara remained unperformed, and their transfer to heaven was barred, until Bhagrattha, the grandson of Aśūmat, brought the river Ganges down from heaven, and led it over the earth to the chasm made by the sons of Sagara. Flowing down through this, it washed their bones and ashes; by which they were raised to heaven. And, as such of its waters as remained in the chasm constituted the ocean, the latter was called sgarā in commemoration of Sagara and his descendants.

3 jauṇḍra; see page 151 above, note 2.

4 See page 145 above, note 2.

5 This expression looks at first sight as if Yaśodharman and Vishnuvardhana were one and the same person. But the general structure of this verse, as well as the use of the two distinct titles jauṇḍra and nārdākapi, and of the expression durvāśa, shows that this is not the case. “This same” simply means “this reigning king,” in whose time and territory the inscription is written.

6 nārdākapi; see page 151 above, note 3.

7 acquikara-ākākhana; see page 151 above, note 4.
higher. By him, having brought into subjection, with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many (kings) of the north, this second name of 1 supreme king of kings1 and supreme lord,2 pleasing in the world (but) difficult of attainment, is carried on high. Through him, having conquered the earth with (his own) arm, many countries,—in which the sun is obscured by the smoke, resembling dark blue clouds, of the oblations of the sacrifices; (and) which abound with thick and thriving crops through (the god) Maghavan pouring cloudfuls of rain upon (their) boundaries; (and) in which the ends of the fresh sprouts of the mango-trees in the parks are eagerly plucked in joy by the hands of wanton women,—enjoy the happiness of being possessed of a good king. Through the dust, grey like the hide of an ass,—stirred up by his armies, which have (their) banners lifted on high; (and) which have the lôdhra-trees3 tossed about in all directions by the tusks of (their) infuriated elephants; (and) which have the crevices of the Vindhya mountains made resonant with the noise of (their) journeying through the forests,—the orb of the sun appears dark (and) dull-rayed, as if it were an eye in a peacock's tail reversed.4

(L. 9.)—The servant of the kings who founded the family of that lord, was Sash­thidatta,—the fame of whose religious merit was known far and wide through the protection of (their) feet; who by his resoluteness conquered the six enemies (of religion); (and) who was indeed very excellent. As the torrent, flowing high and low, of (the river) Gaṅgâ (spreads abroad) from (the mountain) Himavat, (and) the extensive mass of the waters of (the river) Rêva from the moon,—(so) from him, whose dignity was manifested, there spreads a pure race of Naigamâs, most worthy to be sought in fellowship.

(L. 11.)—Of him, from a wife of good family, there was born a son, resembling him (in good qualities), the source of fame,—whom, (being named) Varadhâsa, (and) being full of self-control (and) of great worth, people speak of as if he were an (incarnate) portion of (the god) Hari.

(L. 11.)—As if it were the sun (illumining) the mighty summit of a mountain, Ravikrîti with the wealth of his character illumined that family, which was made eminent by men who combined good actions with worldly occupations; which had its foundations well established in the earth; (and) which maintained a very firm position of endurance that was free from (any risk of) being broken;—(Ravikrîti), by whom, sustaining the pure (and) undeviating path of traditional law that is acceptable to good people, nobility of birth was not made a thing of false assertion (even) in the Kali age. From him, (his) chaste wife Bhânu-guptâ gave birth to three sons, who dispelled the darkness (of ignorance) with the rays of (their) intellects,—as if (she had produced three) sacrifices from a fire.

(L. 13.)—The first was Bhagavaddôsa, the prop of his relatives in the paths of religious actions, just as Uddhava (was) of the Andhakas,—who was a very Vêdhás in displaying much prudence in the hard-to-be-traversed path of the meaning (of words); who, like Vidura,5 always looked far ahead with deliberation; (and) who is with great

1 Râjâkhîrda; see page 35 above, note 7.  
2 Paramâsvara; see page 10 above, note 3.  
3 lôdhra, also rôdhra; the tree Symploca Racemos.  
4 i.e. "looked at from the wrong side of the feathers."  
5 The ari-shaṭka or ari-shad-varga, 'the aggregate of six hostile things,' viz. desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride, and envy, which impede the practice of religion.  
6 An epic hero, the younger brother of Dhîtarâkṣatra and Pâṇḍu, described as the wisest of all prudent and sagacious people.
pleasure sung of the poets, in Sanskrit and Prakrit construction of the arrangement of sentences, as they were well versed in speech.

(L. 15.)—After him there came that (well-known) Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position on the earth, (and) collecting (in order to dispel it) the fear of (his) subjects (?);—by the eye of intellect, which served him like the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remoter, remained undetected, (even) at night;—(Abhayadatta), of fruitful actions, who like (Bhrispati) the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the (four recognized) castes, with the functions of a Rājāsthanīya protected the region, containing many countries presided over by his own upright counsellors, which lies between the Vindhya (mountains), from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of (the river) Reva, and the mountain Paryātra, on which the trees are bent down in (their) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys, (and stretches) up to the (western) Ocean.

(L. 17.)—Now he, Dharmatōsha, the son of Dōshakumbha,—by whom this kingdom has been made, as if (it were still) in the Kṛta-age, free from any intermixture of all the castes, (and peaceable through) having hostilities allayed, (and) undisturbed by care,—in accordance with justice proudly supports the burden (of government) that had (previously) been borne by him;—(Dharmatōsha), who,—not being too eager about his own comfort, (and) bearing, for the sake of his lord, in the difficult path (of administration), the burden (of government), very heavily weighted and not shared by another,—wears royal apparel only as mark of distinction (and not for his own pleasure), just as a bull carries a wrinkled pendulous dew-lap.

(L. 19.)—His younger brother, Daksha,—invested with the decoration of the protection of friends, as if he were (his) broad-shouldered (right) arm (decorated) with choice jewels; (and) bearing the name of "the faultless one," which causes great joy to the ear and heart,—caused to be excavated this great well. This great (and) skilful work was achieved here by him, who is of great intellect, for the sake of his paternal uncle, the beloved Abhayadatta, who was cut off (before his time) by the mighty (god) Kṛiṭāna, just as if he were a tree, the shade of which is pleasant to resort to (and) which yields fruits that are salutary and sweet through ripeness, (wantonly) destroyed by a lordly elephant.

1 Rājāsthanīya, lit. 'one who belongs to a Rājāsthan or king's abode,' or perhaps 'one who occupies the position of a Rāja,' is a technical official title, the exact grade of which remains to be determined. The explanation of the word in Kāśmīra's Lāhaprabhāsī, iv., as given by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 207) is prajā-palā-driham-udvahati rakhayatis ca rājasthanīyaḥ, "he who carries out the object of protecting subjects, and shelters them, is called a Rājasthanīya, i.e. 'a viceroy.'" But, though 'vicerey' is a fair enough rendering of the word on etymological grounds, it seems to be in reality too exalted a title to be a suitable equivalent. In line 21 of the Māliyā grant of the Mahārāja Dharasena II. of the year 352, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv., and in line 9 of the Deś. Baraśārpā inscription of Śvītāgupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxix.B. (where Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrāji proposed to render it by 'political agent, or regent'), the Rājāsthanīya is mentioned rather low down in the list of officials; so also in line 33 of the Bhagálpur grant of Nārāyanapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 300), and in the passage in connection with which it was explained by Dr. Bühler.

2 i.e. Abhayadatta.—Dōshakumbha, the father of Dharmatōsha, must be the younger brother of Abhayadatta, and the third and youngest of the sons of Raviśārti and Bhānuguptā.

3 bhūtīya; this meaning is not given in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary; and I owe it, and the explanation of one or two other passages in this inscription, to Pandit Durga Prasad, of Jaypur.
(L. 21.)—Five hundred autumns, together with ninety less by one, having elapsed from the establishment of the supremacy of the Mālavas, (and) being written down in order to determine the present time,—in the season in which the songs, resembling the arrows of (the god) Smara, of the nectarous, whose utterances are low and tender, cleave open, as it were, the minds of those who are far away from home; and in which the humming of the flights of bees, sounding low on account of the burden (that they carry), is heard through the woods, like the resounding bow of (the god Kāmadēva) who has the banner of flowers, when its string is caused to vibrate;—in the season in which there is the month of the coming on of flowers, when the wind, soothing the affectionate (but) perverted thoughts of disdainful women who are angry with their lovers, as if they were charming fresh sprouts arrayed in colours, devotes itself to breaking down their pride,—in that season this well was caused to be constructed.

(L. 24.)—As long as the ocean, embracing with (its) lofty waves, as if with long arms, the orb of the moon, which has its full assemblage of rays (and is more) lovely (than ever) from contact (with the waters), maintains friendship (with it),—so long let this excellent well endure, possessing a surrounding enclosure of lines at the edge of the masonry-work, as if it were a garland worn round a shaven head, (and) discharging pure waters the flavour of which is equal to nectar!

(L. 25.)—May this intelligent Dāraśa for a long time protect this act of piety,—(he who is) skilful, true to (his) promises, modest, brave, attentive to old people, grateful, full of energy, unwearied in the business-matters of (his) lord, (and) faultless. (This eulogy) has been engraved by Gōvinda.

No. 36; PLATE XXIII A.

ERAN STONE BOAR INSCRIPTION OF TORAMANA.

This inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 631 ff., where Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxx.), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt. And in 1861, in the same Journal, Vol. XXX. p. 20 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it.

This is another inscription from Eran in the Khurā ś Sub-Division of the Sāgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the chest of a colossal red-sandstone statue of a Boar, about eleven feet high, representing the god Vishnu in his incarnation as such, that stands, facing east, in the portico of a ruined temple at the south end of the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village.

The Boar is covered all over with elaborate sculptures, chiefly of Rishis or saints.

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1 *said*; but it is very difficult to find a really satisfactory meaning for this word in this passage.
2 *i.e.* the spring.
4 See page 18 above, and note 1.
5 *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. page 82 ff., and Plates xxv. and xxvi.
clinging to its mane and bristles. It has the earth, represented as a woman, hanging on, in accordance with the legend, to its right-hand rusk; and over its shoulders there is a small four-sided shrine, with a sitting figure in each face of it. There are several very serious cracks in the Boar; one of which, right through the centre of it from front to back, shows in the lithograph published herewith. The surface on which the inscription is, is slightly concave. — The writing, which covers a space of about 2’9” broad by 10’8” high, has in one or two places suffered a good deal from the weather; but, except where a few letters have been entirely destroyed through the stone breaking away at the edges of the crack mentioned above, it can be read with certainty throughout. The bottom line is about 6’8” above the level of the ground. — The average size of the letters is about 3”.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are very similar in type to those of the Āraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19 above, Plate xiiA. The two methods of forming the letter r, in combination with a following consonant, are illustrated, on the one hand, by paryanta, line 5, and, on the other, by ghūrnnita, line 1, pūrvvāyām, line 3, and artha, line 7. — The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as the end of the date in line 3, and the rest in prose. — In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of k, t, and dh, in conjunction with a following r; e.g. in kṛīvyā, line 6; maitrdṛyāṇya, line 3; pauttrasya, line 4; (but not in bhrātra, line 6); and mahāddhara, line 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Tōramāṇa. It is dated, in words, in the first year of his reign, without any reference to an era; and on the tenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Phālguna (February-March). It is a Vaishnava inscription. And the object of it is to record the building of the temple, in which the Boar stands, by Dhanyavishnu, the younger brother of the deceased Mahārāja Mātrivishnu.

The mention of Mātrivishnu in this inscription as deceased, is of importance, as showing that Tōramāṇa comes, so far as his possession of Eastern Mālwa is concerned, shortly after Budhagupta, in whose time Mātrivishnu, then alive, in conjunction with Dhanyavishnu set up the column that bears Budhagupta’s inscription of the year 165, No. 19 above, page 88.

**TEXT.**

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1 Om [II*] Jayati1 dharany-uddharanē ghanā-ghōn-āghāta-ghūrnnita-mahāddharaḥ
dēvo varāha-mūrttis-trailōkya-mahā-grīha-stambhāḥ [II*] Varshē1 prathamē
prithvīm
2 prithu-kṛttā prithu-dyuntau mahārājādhirāja-ār-Tōramāṇe praśāsati I(I)
Phālguna-divasādaśamē ity-evam rājyavarsha-māsa-dinaḥ [I*] ētasyām
3 pūrvvāyām I sva-lakṣana-purva-pūrvvāyām8 I(II) Svā-karmm-Abhiratasya
krau-yājīna-dhata-svādhya-yasya vipr-ārṣher-Mmaitrāyanaṇya-vrīshabha-sya

Endravishṇoh prapauttrasya I

1 I noticed a similar boar, almost entirely buried, by the roadside, about half way between Sātchi and Udayagiri; but I had no means of raising it to ascertain whether there is any inscription on it.

8 From the original stone.

2 Metre, Āryā.

3 This sentence is in prose, though it commences like a verse in the Āryā metre.

6 Metre, Āryā.

6 Supply tithau.
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4 pitur-guṇ-ānukārinā Varuṇavishṇōh pauttrasya pitaram-anu-jātasya 
sva-vāṁśa-vṛiddhi-ḥātṛ-Harivishṇōh putrasya-ātyanta-bhagavad-bhaktasya 
Vidhātṛ-ichchhāyā
t
5 svayamvaray-eva rāja-lakshmy-ādhistasasya chatuḥ-samudra-paryanta-prathita- 
y-śatāh akṣhita-māna-dhanasy-anēka-sattu-samara-jishōh mahār[a]ja- 
Mātrivishṇōh
6 svar-gatasya bhārata-ānujāna I tad-anuvidhāya tat-prāśada-parigrihyānā
dhanyavishṇunā tēn-aiva [sa]h-āvibhakta-punya-kkriyēna mātāpittrōh
7 puṇy-āpyāyaṃ-ārthāṃ-eśha bhagavatō varāha-mūrttēr-jagat-parāyapaṣya 
nārāyaṇasya śīlā-prāśādāh] sva-vishay[ē]-sminn-Airikinē kāritāh I(II)
8 Svasty-asti gō-brāhmaṇo-purūrābhyāh sarvva-prajābhya [u]th Ⅱ

TRANSLATION.

Om! Victorious is the god (Vishnu), who has the form of a Boar, who, in the act 
of lifting up the earth (out of the waters), caused the mountains to tremble with the blows 
of (his) hard snout; (and) who is the pillar (for the support) of the great house which is 
the three worlds!*

(Line 1.)—In the first year; while the Mahārāja Ḍāvira, the glorious Toramāna, of 
great fame (and) of great lustre, is governing the earth;—

(L. 2.)—On the tenth day of (the month) Phālguna;—on this (lunar day), (specified) 
as above by the regnal year and month and day, (and) invested as above with its own 
characteristics;—

(L. 3.)—By Dhanyavishnu,—the younger brother, obedient to him (and) accepted 
with favour by him, of the Mahārāja Mātrivishnu, who has gone to heaven; who was 
excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vidhātṛ, was approach-
ed (in marriage-choice) by the goddess of sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing (him) 
of her own accord (to be her husband); whose fame extended up to the borders of the four 
oceans; who was possessed of unimpaired honour and wealth; (and) who was victorious 
in battle against many enemies;—who was the son of the son's son of Indravishnu, who was 
attentive to his duties; who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (of the 
scriptures); who was a Brāhmaṇ saint; (and) who was the most excellent (of the follow-
ers) of the Maitrāyaṇya (śākhā);—who was the son's son of Varuṇavishnu, who 
imitated the virtuous qualities of (his) father;—(and) who was the son of Harivishnu, who 
was the counterpart of (his) father in meritorious qualities;* (and) was the cause of the 
advancement of his race;—

1This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
2This word is followed by a cross-mark, which indicates that tēn-aiva [sa]h-āvibhakta- 
punya-kkriyēna should have stood here, before dhanyavishṇund.
3Prinsep read nārāyaṇay-dīrma; and Hall, nārāyaṇay-ddīrma. They were led into this 
by the engraver having run the right stroke of the l in śīlā too high up, probably through his tool 
slipping.
4The allusion is to his incarnation as a boar, when he plunged into the great ocean and rescued 
the earth, which had been carried off and hidden there by the demon Hiranyakaśha.
5Compare the similar invocation of Siva, in Śaiva inscriptions, as "the foundation-pillar for the 
erection of the city which is the three worlds," e.g. in line 1 f. of the Aihoḷe inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 
1091 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 97),
6pitaram-anu-jātasya; see page 90 above, note 3.
(L. 6.)—(By this Dhanyavishṇu), accomplishing, in unison with (the previously expressed wishes of) him,¹ a joint deed of religious merit, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents, this stone temple of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa, who has the form of a Boar (and) who is entirely devoted to (the welfare of) the universe, has been caused to be made in this his own vishaya of AIRIKINA.

(L. 8.)—Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇas!

No. 37; PLATE XXIII B.

GWALIOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF MIHIRAKULA.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1861, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX. p. 267 ff., where Dr. Rajendralal Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from an ink-impression taken by General Cunningham, of which, in the following year,—as an accompaniment to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra’s paper on “Vestiges of the kings of Gwalior,” in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 391 ff.,—a reduced lithograph was published (id. Plate i. No. 1).

The inscription is on a broken red-sandstone slab, now measuring about 2′ 8½″ broad by 5⅝″ high, that was found built into the wall in the porch of a temple of the sun in the fortress at GWALIOR (properly Gwalhēr), the capital of the dominions of Scindia in Central India; it is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. When the stone was first found, two or three letters had already been broken away and lost at the beginning of each line; and, since then, it has suffered a still more serious injury, in part of line 7, and the whole of lines 8 and 9, being cut away and destroyed in trimming the stone and fixing it, I suppose, in some other building, after the time when it was first found and before its rescue and transfer to the Museum.

The writing, which covers the entire face of the stone, except for a margin of about an inch at the top and on the right side, is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout.—The average size of the letters is about ⅛″. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, though differing a little in actual execution, are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of Tōramāṇa. The two methods of forming r, in combination with a following consonant, are illustrated, on the one hand, by tauryydd, line 3, and, on the other, by chakrō-ṛtti-hartṭa, line 2, and abhivarddhamāṇa, line 4.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, all that calls for special notice is the use of the upadhmāṇya once, in antubhī-panmahāndam, line 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of MIHIRAKULA. It is dated, in words, in the fifteenth year of his reign, without any reference to an era; and in the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November), but without any specification of the day of the fortnight or month. It is an inscription of solar worship. And the object of it is to

¹ i.e. the deceased Mātrivishṇu.
² The ‘Gwalior’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 51. Lat. 26° 13′ N.; Long. 78° 12′ E.—For the ancient names of the place see the next note.
record the building of a temple of the Sun, by a person named Mātrīchēṭa, on the mountain called Gōpa, i.e. the hill on which the fortress of Gwalior stands.¹

TEXT:

1 [Ōm] [II*] ja[yati]² jalada-vāla-dhvāntam-utsārayan-svaiḥ kiraṇa-nivaha-jālair-vyōma vidyōtayadhiḥ u[daya-g]ri[i]-tat-āgra[m] maṇḍayan⁴ yaśata[r]a[m]gaiḥ chakita-gamana-khēda-bhrānta-charhchat-sat-ānta[ih] l(ii) Udaya-gri[i]-[II*]

2 [Jarast-a]chakṛ-ṛti-harṭṭa bhuvana-bhavana-dlapa śarvar-śāsa-hētuh tapita-kanaka-varṇaṁ-arṇṭubhiḥ paṇka-jān[a*]m abhinava-ramaṇyam yo vidhatte sa vō-vyān l(ii) Śrī Śīrōmaṇa yaḥ prathitō


5 [patau?] ni[rm]malē bhāti l(ii) Dvijaga-mukhyārya-abhīsarṣṭute cha puny-āḥa-nāda-gloṣṭheṇa tithi-nakṣatra-muḥūrtte sarpraptē supraṣaṣṭa-dinē l(ii) Māṭritulasya tu pautraḥ putraḥ ca tathāvai Māṭridāsasya nāmir cha Māṭrīchēṭaḥ parva-


7 .......... pā[?]dēna [II*] Yē kārayanti bhānōs-chandr-āruṣu-san-ṣprabhām griha-pravaram tēṣhām vāsaḥ svargē vāvat-kalpa-kshayō bhavati II Bhaktṛyā ravaṃ-ṛvirchitaṃ sad-dharmma-khyāpanaṃ su-kṛttimayaṁ nāmā cha Kēśav-ṛti-prathitēna cha l⁴

¹ Dr. R. Mitra read the name here (line 6) as Giripa; but quite wrongly.—Other forms of the ancient Sanskrit name of the hill, and of the fortress on it, are (1) Gāparī; e.g. in line 1 of the Gwalior inscription of Bhūjadēva of Vikrama-Saṅvat 933 (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 407); (2) Gōparādalurga, e.g. in an inscription of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1497 on the pedestal of a colossal figure of Ādinātha at Gwalior (id. p. 422); (3) Gōparī, and Gōpadurīra; e.g. in lines 4 and 14 of the Gwalior inscription of Mahāpāla of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1150 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. pp. 36, 37); and (4) Gōplikēra; in line 2 of a Gwalior inscription of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1161 (id. p. 202).—Dr. Hultsch (id. p. 202, note 5) has pointed out that the last form, Gōplikēra, seems to be the one that is the immediate source of the modern name Gwalhēr.

² Lines 1 to 6, and the last part of line 7, from the original stone; and, the lower part of the stone being now broken off and lost, the rest from Gen. Cunningham's lithograph published with the rest from Dr. Rajendrala Mitra's paper in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 391 ff.

³ Metre, Mālīnī; and in the next verse.

⁴ This n was omitted in its proper place, and was then inserted below the line.

⁵ Metre, Ārā; and in the next nine verses.

⁶ We require here a verb, supplying the antithesis to (a)bhāṅgō, 'without breaking; unbroken.' But the akṣaras are much damaged by a crack in the stone; and I am unable to supply them.

⁷ This mark of punctuation appears to have been inserted unnecessarily, to fill up the space at the end of the line.
TRANSLATION

[Om!] May he (the Sun) protect you, who is victorious, — dispelling the darkness of the banks of clouds with the masses of the multitude of his rays that light up the sky; (and) decorating the top of the side of the mountain of dawn with (his) horses, which have the tossing ends of (their) manes dishevelled through the fatigue (induced) by (their) startled gait; (and) who, — having (his) chariot-wheels (?) swallowed (?) the mountain of dawn; dispelling distress; (being) the light of the house which is the world; (and) effecting the destruction of night, — creates the fresh beauty of the water-lilies by (his) rays which are of the colour of molten gold!

(Line 2.) — (There was) a ruler of [the earth], of great merit, who was renowned by the name of the glorious Tòramàna; by whom, through (his) heroism that was specially characterised by truthfulness, the earth was governed with justice.

(L. 3.) — Of him, the fame of whose family has risen high, the son (is) he, of unequalled prowess, the lord of the earth, who is renowned under the name of Mihirakula, who, (himself) unbroken, [broke the power of?] Pasúpati.

(L. 4.) — While [he], the king, the remover of distress, possessed of large and pellucid eyes, is governing the earth; in the augmenting reign, (and) in the fifteenth year, of (him) the best of kings; the month Kàrttika, cool and fragrant with the perfume of the red and blue water-lilies that are caused to blossom by the smiles of the rays of the moon, having come; while the spotless moon is shining; and a very auspicious day, — heralded by the chiefs of the classes of the twice-born with the noise of the proclamation of a holy day, (and) possessed of the (proper) tithi and nakshatrá and muháara, — having arrived:—

(L. 5.) — The son’s son of Matriúla, and the son of Mátripásà, by name Mátrichêta, an inhabitant of . . . . . . . . . . on the hill, has caused to be made, on the delightful mountain which is speckled with various metals and has the appellation of Gòpa, a stone-temple, the chief among the best of temples, of the Sun, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself, and of those who, by the . . . . . . . . . of the king, dwell on this best of mountains.

(L. 7.) — Those who cause to be made an excellent house of the Sun, like in lustre to the rays of the moon, — their abode is in heaven, until the destruction of all things!

(L. 7.) — (This) very famous proclamation of the true religion’ has been composed through devotion to the Sun, by him who is renowned by the name of Këśava and by Dítya.

(L. 8.) — As long as the moon shines on the thicket that is the knot of the braided hair of (the god) Sarva; and as long as the mountain Mëru continues to have (its) slopes

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1 Metre, Sàrdhàvikaúdita.
2 See page 162 above, note 6.
3 i.e. by the Bráhmaú.
4 See page 162 above, note 1.
5 Read śrìm tòvad.
6 i.e. in the bright fortnight of the month.
7 i.e. this inscription.
No. 38; PLATE XXIV.

MALIYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA DHARASENA II.

THE YEAR 252.

This inscription, which was originally brought to notice by me in 1884, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 160 ff., is from some copper-plates that were found at Maliya, the chief town of the Maliya Mahal or Sub-Division of the Junagadh State in the Kathiawad Peninsula in the Bombay Presidency. The original plates are, I understand, in the possession of the Junagadh Darbar. I obtained them, for examination, through the kindness of the Diwan, Mr. Haridas Viharidas.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 11 3/4" by 7 3/4". The edges of them were raised into rims, to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; but the letters are deep, and shew through very distinctly on the backs of them. The engraving is well executed; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—The plates are composed of rings, passing through holes in the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second. Both of the rings had already been cut, when the plates were united. One of them is a plain copper ring, roughly circular in shape, about 0.5 inch in diameter. The other is of the same thickness, but of an irregular oval shape, and customary with the rings of the Valabhi style. The face of these rings bears, on the front, a bull, recumbent to the right, with a monogram on the Valabhi style, and below it, separate on the Valabhi style, and below it, separate

The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 1 oz., and of the rings, 3 oz. and 1 lb. 13 1/2 oz.—The size of the letters varies from 0.05 to 0.08. The alphabet is similar to the southern class of alphabets; but they include, e.g., in chudd, line 24, in R. and dombhi, line 24, a separate form of the lingual d, as distinct from the dental d, borrowed from the northern alphabet. They furnish a very good specimen of

1 The inscriptions of this family that have already been discovered, are too numerous to be all included in the present volume; and they will, it is hoped, be some day disposed of by themselves in a separate collection. Meanwhile, the family is concerned so closely in the history of the period with which the present volume deals, that my book would be incomplete without a specimen or two of the Valabhi grants, as an accompaniment to the necessary historical chapter. I therefore give two of the inscriptions of this family; the present one, to illustrate the standard form according to which most of the earlier charters were drafted; and the next, partly as an illustration of the form of the later charters, and partly because it is the latest inscription of the family at present known of, and introduces the well-known and important name of Dhruvabha or Dhruvabha, as a title of Sāhārya VII.

2 The 'Maliya and Maliya' of maps, &c.; about twenty-three miles south by west of Junagadh. It is also called 'Maliya-Hatti,' to distinguish it from another Maliya, called 'Maliya-Mihana,' in the north of Kathiawad.
The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Dharasena I., of the family of the Kings of Valabhi; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city of Valabhi, the modern Walā, the chief town of the Vala State in the Gohilwād Prānt or Division of Kathiawād. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 571-72); and the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Vaisākha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Dharasena II., to a Brāhmaṇ, for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites, of some lands at the villages of Antaratrā, Dombhigrāma, and Vajragrāma.

TEXT.

First Plate.


2. Bhatārakā (110) Tasya sutas-tat-pāda-rajō-run-avanta-pavitri-kriya-sūrya无忧

3. Dharasenas-Tasya-anujas-tat-pāda-praṇāma-prasatātāra-vimala-śrīnāma

4. mani-kMmanu apy-prajna-vihitāḥ

5. bala-parākramēpa para-gaja-ghaṭ-āṁlagāṁ-ekā-vijayā sarāṇa-nishīpāṁ

6. sarāṇa-pravābādhā śaśtri-ārtha-tatvānāṁ kalpataru-iva suhrit-pra-

7. nayināṁ yathābhiṣhitā kāma-phal-āpabhōga-daḥ paramabhāgavatāḥ śrī-

8. mahārāja-Dharusēnās-Tasya-anujas-tach-charapārabinda-praṇāma-pra-

9. vidhaut-āśeṣa-kalmashāh suviṣudha-bhya(svava)-charit-ōdaka-prakshālitā-sakala-

10. Kali-kalanāḥ prasabha-nirjīt-ārati-pakṣa-prathita-mahimā

11. paramādityabhaktāḥ śrī-mahārāja-Dharapattas-Tasya-ātmajas-tat-pāda-saparvya-


1. The 'Vala, Wala, Waleh, and Wulleh,' of maps, &c.; eighteen miles west by north from Bhavnagar. Lat. 21° 55' N.; Long. 71° 57' E.

2. From the original plates.

3. The Jhar grant of the same Mahārāja (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 187 f.), drawn up from the same standard draft, gives here the fuller and better reading of prasatātāra-vimala-mañjī-śarīr.

4. Read avabdādāh.
va samada-para-gaja-ghat-śphōtana-prakāśita-sat[ tense]ya-inā 
praṇat-ārati-chuḍāratana-prabhā-samsakta-sakhya(vya)-pā- 
da-nakha-raśmi-saṁhati[h*] sakala-smrīti-praṇīta-mārggga-saṁyak-paripālana-prajā- 
hridayā-rafiṣṭānā-anvartha-rāja-sabdō rūpa-kānti-sthairya- 
gāmbhiṛyya-buddhi-saṁpadbhīḥ Smara-śaṁśān-ārdri(dṛ)raj-ōdāḍhi-trīṭaśaguru- 
Dhanē[ā]na-atīśayāṇa(nō)-bhaya-pradāna*-paratāya triṇa-va- 
vad-apāś-[a*]śēsha-sva-kārya-phalaḥ pādachār-lva sakala-bhuvanamanapāl- 
ābhoga-pramōḍhā paramamāheśvaraḥ śrī-mahāra- 
ja-Guhasēna[II*] Tasya sutas-tat-pāda-nakha-maṭkha-saṁrūta- 
Jāhnva-va-jal-bau(ga)ghā-vikshālit-āśēsha-kalmashah praṇayi-ṣata- 
sahasa-ōpajīvya-bhōga-saṁpat rūpa-lohōdiv-iv-āśri(ṣi)tas-as rasam-ābhigāmikair- 
gupa[h*] sahaja-sakti-sīkṣā-śiśēsha-visma- 
piṭ-ākhiṇa-dhanurdharāḥ prathama-narapati-samatisrīṣṭānām-anupālayita 
adharmya(rrma)-dāyānam-apākarītā 
praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām-upaplavānāṁ dasayītā śrī-sarasvatyar-ek-adhīvāsasya, 
saṁhata-ārati-

Second Plate.
paksha-lakṣmti-parikshōbha*-dakṣa-śivikramaḥ kram-ōpasaṁprāpta-vimala- 
pārththiva-śvīḥ paramamāheśvaraḥ mahāraja-
śri(ṣi)-Dhārasēnaḥ kusāll sarvān-ēv-ayuktaka-viniyuktaka-drāṅgika- 
maṭhata-śaṭa-bhājta-dhruvādhihkarupaka-dāṇḍapāsika- 
rājaṭhāṇya-kumārāmāty-ādi śrīyās-cha yathā-sambhadhyānanākānām samā- 
ājāpayati-Astu vah samvīditaṁ yathā mayā mātā-
pitṛb* pūṇy-āpīyaṇāya-ātmanaḥ-ch-aikh-āmshmīka-yathābhilashaḥ-phal-āvāptayē 
Antaratrāyaṁ Śivaka-padrēke Vratēna- 
dantika-pratyaya-pādāvatīta-śatāṁ etasmād-aparataḥ pādāvarttāḥ paṁchadhā- 
tathā aparā-sūnī Skambhasēna-pratīya-pādāvatīta-śatāṁ vinś-ādikannā- 
prṛva-sūnī pādāvatītā daśa Dombhīgrāmē, prṛva-sūnī vṝṇdā- 
pratīyā-pādāvatīta navati[h*] Vajragrāmē, prṛva-sūnī vṝṇdā- 
pādāvatīta-śatāṁ 
Vṛ(?)ki(?) dinā-mahātara-pratīyā yaśaśvāniti-pāḥ vāpi Bhumbhusa-padrēke kuṭumvī(ṛ)-Bṛtaka-pratīyā(ya)-pādāvatīta-śatāṁ 
vāpi cha tēta-s-ōdraṁgam s-ōprikaram sa-vāta-bhūtā-dhāna-hiranyā 
adēyaṁ s-ōtpadyānam-viṣṭiḥ(shā)kam samasta-rājakrīyānām-a-
hasta-prakhepanīyam bhūmichchhyā-nyāyēna Unnātanivās(ai)-Vaṣa- 
sanēyi(yi) Kaṇja-Vatsasāgōtra-brāhmaṇa-Rudrabhūtayē bali-charu-vaiśva- 

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1 This t was at first omitted, and was then inserted rather above its proper position.
2 The Jhar grant, mentioned above, gives here the better reading of atīṣayāṇaḥ sarvajñat-ahārya- 
pradāna; so also in No. 39 below, Plate xxv. line 5.
3 The Jhar grant gives here the better reading of paribhōga; so also in No. 39 below, line 10.
4 This visarga was forced rather low down by the size of the ṣṭāh above it.
5 These ten akṣaras are engraved over something else that had been previously engraved.
6 The vowels of these two akṣaras are quite distinct; but the consonants are very doubtful. 
There seems to be some fault in the copper here, which prevented the engraver from forming the 
two akṣaras properly, and left them to leave a blank space before the next line.
THE GUPTA INScriptions; No. 38, PLATE XXIV.

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...dev-agnihotr-tathti-pamchamahayajnikanam kriyanaṁ samutsarpam-ārtham-
...ā-chandrapakārāṇava-sarit-kshiti-sthiti-samakāllinam putra-pau-
...tr-ānvaya-bhodgaram udaka-sarggeṇa nisṛśthaṁ [I*] Yatō-sy-ōcchitāya
...brahmadeva-sthityā bhunjataḥ kriṣhtataḥ karshayataḥ pradīṣato vā
...na kaiścit-pratisṛdhe vartitavayam [I*] [Ă*]gāmi-bhadra-nīpatibhiṣ-taṁ=
...āmassad-varṣa-jāir-a-nityāṇya-aśtvaryāṇya-a-sthiram mānushyaṁ tāmānyam
...cha bhūmiṁ.

...dāna-phalam-avagachchhadbhir-ayam-āmsad-dāyō-numantavyaḥ paripālayitavyaṁ=
...cha [I*] Yāśa-charaṅam-āchchhirindyaṅ-āchchhidyāmaṅaṁ v-anu-
...mōdēta sa pamchabhir-mmahāpataka[b*] II s-oppapataka[b*] II sa[m*]-
...yuktas-syād-ity-Uktaṁ cha bhagavata vēda-vyāsena Vyāsena II(I)

...Shashtiṁ varsha-sahasraṁ svargge tīṣhṭhaṁ bhōmi-daṁ āchchhēttā
ccha-anumantā cha tāṁ-ēva narakē vaśet II Purvva-dattāṁ

...dvijātibhyo yatnād-raksha Yudhishtīra II(I) mahā[m*] mahimāṁ
...śrēṣṭhaṁ II danāc-čhṛṣṭeō-nupślanam II Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktaḥ

...rājabhis-Sagar-ādibhiṣ-taṁ II yaśa yaśa yadd bhūmīṁ tasya tasya tada
cpharam-ītīh I(I). Likhitaṁ s[Ă*]ndhivigrāhi-śakandabhatēṇa II

...Sva-hastō mama mahārāja-śrī-Dharaśēnasaṇa II Dū Chirbbira[h*] II Saṁ
...300 50 2 Vaiśākha ba 10 5 [II*].

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From (the city of) Valabhi:*—(There was) the illustrious Sēndpati**
Bhatērka, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—who was possessed of
glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled
strength, of the Maitrakas, who had by force bowed down (their) enemies;† (and) who

1 and 2 In each case, the engraver seems to have formed the mark of punctuation by mistake
for a visarga.

3 Metre, Śīkha (Anushṭabb); and in the following two verses.
4 and 5 In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

6 Read āti.

7 Supply āsanaṁ.

8 i.e. ātakaḥ.

9 The proper context is the Mahāvīra, the illustrious Dharasēna, being in good health, issues
command, &c., in line 19 ff. The intervening genealogy is by way of a parenthesis.

10 Sēndpati, āti, 'lord or chief of the army; a general,' is a technical military title.—The next
grade above this was that of the Mahādēṇapati, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the
Śiṇjaśagāth inscription of the Yaudhēyas, No. 38 below, Plate xxxviB.

11 The correct interpretation of this important passage was first conclusively pointed out by
Professor Kielhorn, in re-editing the Walā grant of Śīlāditya I. of the year 286 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV.
328 f.) Dr. Bhau Daji, however, evidently had an idea as to the proper meaning; since he wrote
(Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 244 f.)—'A sentence in the copper-plate, which has hitherto
not been translated correctly, shows that they' (the rulers of Valabhi) 'triumphed over a sun-wor-
shipping people (Maitrakas).' Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's translation (Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 14) was—
(Bhatērka), who obtained greatness by a hundred wounds received in the midst of a circle of
kinds of matchless might, who with main force had subjugated their enemies.' Dr. Bühler's (int.
IV. p. 106) was—'Bhatērka, who obtained an empire through the matchless power of his friends
humbled his enemies by main force;—who gained glory in a hundred battles fought at close
ters.' Mr. V. N. Mandlik, following Dr. Bhau Daji, translated (Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.
XI. n. 361)—'Bhatērka, who had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the'
acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends, who had been brought under subjection by (his) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (to him) by affection.

(Line 3.)—His son, whose head was purified by being bowed down in the red dust of his feet, (was) the illustrious Śendapati Dharaśēna (I.), a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—the rays of the lines of the nails of whose feet diffused themselves among the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (his) enemies when they bowed down with (their) heads (before him); (and) whose wealth was the sustenance of the poor, the helpless, and the feeble.

(Line 4.)—His younger brother, whose spotless jewel [in the lock of hair on the top of (his) head1] was made more lustrous (than before) by the performance of obeisance to (his) feet, (was) the Mahārāja Drōpaisima, like unto a lion, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—who had as (his) law the rules and ordinances instituted by Manu and other (sages); who, like (Yudhishthira) the king of justice, adhered to the path of the maintenance of good behaviour; whose installation in the royalty by besprinkling was performed by the paramount master in person, the sole lord of the circumference of the territory of the whole earth; (and) the glory of whose royalty was purified by (his) great liberality.

(Line 6.)—His younger brother (was) the illustrious Mahārāja Dhruvasēna (I.), a most devout worshipper of the Divine One,—who was victorious, by himself alone, through the prowess of his own arm, over the troops of the array of the elephants of (his) enemies; who was the asylum of those who sought for protection; who was the teacher of the real meaning of the sacred writings; (and) who, like the kalpa-tree,1 granted the enjoyment of fruits which were the desires, in accordance with (their) wishes, of (his) friends and favourites.

(Line 8.)—His younger brother, whose sins were all washed away by doing obeisance to the waterlilies that were his feet, (was) the illustrious Mahārāja Dharapatta, a most devout worshipper of the Sun,—by the water of whose very pure actions all the stains of the Kali age were washed away; (and) who forcibly conquered the renowned greatness of the ranks of (his) enemies.

(Line 10.)—His son, who acquired an increase of religious merit by doing service to his feet, was the illustrious Mahārāja Gubasēna, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēšvara,—whose sword was verily a second arm (to him) from childhood;2 the test of whose strength was manifested by clapping (his) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (his) foes; who had the collection of the rays of the nails of (his) left foot interspersed with the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (his) enemies who were made to bow down by his prowess; whose title of 'king' was obvious and suit-

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1 Kalpa-tree; one of the trees in Indra's paradise, which granted all desires.
2 Or, perhaps, "who even from childhood carried a sword with his second arm;" i.e. "who could wield a sword with both arms at the same time."
able, because he pleased the hearts of (his) subjects by properly preserving the path prescribed by all the traditionary laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and wealth, surpassed (respectively) (the god) Smara, the moon, (Himālaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Bṛhaspati) the preceptor of the gods, and (the god) Dhanēṣa; who, through being intent upon giving freedom from fear [to those who came for protection*], was indifferent to all the (other) results of his actions, as if they were (of as little value as) straw; (and) who was, as it were, the personified* happiness of the circumference of the whole earth.

(L. 15.)—His son, whose sins have been all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jāhnavi that was constituted by the diffusion of the rays of the nails of his feet,—whose wealth and riches are the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who is with appreciation, as if from a desire for (his) beauty, resorted to by (all) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind; who astonishes all archers by the speciality of (his) innate strength and (skill acquired by) practice; who is the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averts calamities that would afflict (his) subjects; who is the exponent of (the condition of being) the one (joint) habitation of wealth and learning; whose prowess is skilful in causing annoyance to* the goddess of the fortunes of the compact ranks of (his) enemies; (and) who possesses a spotless princely glory, acquired by inheritance,—is the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dharasēṇa (II.), a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, who, being in good health, issues a command to all the Āyuṭakas,* Viniyuktakes,† Drāṅgikes,§ Mahattaras,¶ irregular and regular troops, Dhruvadāhika—

\[\text{1} pāḍa-chārdī, \text{lit.} \text{‘moving on feet or legs’; \text{see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar’s translation of line 7 of the grant of Dharasēṇa IV. of the year 326 (\textit{J. A. S. I. Vol. I. p. 14).}}\]

\[\text{2} \text{The dōhi-gāmiṭa gūndē are explained by Kāmanda in the \textit{Nitamināra, iv. vv. 6 to 8 (Calcutta edition, p. 78), as quoted by V. N. Mandlik in the \textit{Four. Be. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 348, note; they are—good birth, steadfastness in misfortune and prosperity, youth, a good disposition, civility, absence of dilatoriness, speech that is not contradictory, truthfulness, reverence for the aged, gratitude, the state of being favoured by destiny, wisdom, being independent of trifles, capability of subduing hostile neighbouring chiefs, firmness in attachment, far-sightedness, energy, purity, having great aims, modesty, and firm devotion to religion and justice.}}\]

\[\text{3} \text{parikṣaḥbha; other grants, drafted from the same form, and also No. 39 below, line 10, give paribhāga, \text{‘skilful in} enjoyment (of); \text{‘ which is a better reading.}}\]

\[\text{4} \text{This, and the following, are technical official terms, for which suitable translations have not yet been fixed.—With the present term, Āyuṭaka, we may compare the expression āyuṭa-puruṣa in line 26 of the Allahabad pillar inscription, No. 1, page 8 above.}\]

\[\text{5} \text{Viniyuktakes; compare the use of niyuj, \text{‘to appoint; to commission,’ in line 9 of the Junagadh rock inscription, No. 14 above, page 59; also compare tan-niyukta in line 76 of No. 39 below, Plate xxv.}}\]

\[\text{6} \text{Drāṅgikes; other forms are drāṅgika (\textit{Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 305, line 14; where, however, it may be a mistake for drāṅgika), and drāṅgin (id. Vol. IV. p. 105, line 15). The present form, drāṅgika, occurs again in id. Vol. IV. p. 175, line 6; and, in line 10 of the same grant, we have drāṅg, which is the origin of these forms, in Maṇḍaldraṅga. Dr. Bühler, in the places quoted, proposed to render drāṅga by \text{‘township,’ and drāṅgika, &c., by \text{‘heads of towns;’ and Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives drāṅga as meaning ‘a town, a city.’}}\]

\[\text{7} \text{Mahattara is the comparative formation of mahat, ‘great,’ and is given by Monier Williams in the special sense of \text{‘the head or oldest man of a village.’—In other inscriptions we have the superlative formation, Mahattama, used in the same technical way.}}\]
ranikas; Dāṇḍapādfikas, Rājasthāṇityas, Kumārdmātyas, and others, according as they are concerned;—

(L. 21.)—"Be it known to you, that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents, and in order that I myself may obtain the reward that is wished for both in this world and in the next, there is given by me, with libations of water, in accordance with the rule of bhūmichchhidra, to the Brāhmaṇ Rudrabhūti, an inhabitant of Unnata, (a student) of the Vājasanāṇi-Kaṇva (dākhā), and a member of the Vatsa gotra,—for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites of the bali, charu, vaisvādava, agnīhūtra, and atithi; to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth; (and) to be enjoyed by the succession of (his) sons and sons' sons,—at (the village of) Antaratrā, in the common-land called Śivakapadraka, one hundred padavartast (of land), (known as) the holding of Vṛṣenadantikā; (and) fifteen padavartas on the west of this; also, in the western boundary, one hundred padavartas, increased by the twentieth, (known as) the holding of Skambhaśena, (and) ten padavartas in the eastern boundary; in the village of Domghirāma, in the eastern boundary, ninety padavartas, (known as) the holding of Vardhaki; in the village of Vajragrāma, in the western boundary, one hundred padavartas in the highest part of the village, (and) an irrigation-well, with an area of twenty-eight padavartas, (known as) the holding of the Mahattara Vikidinna; (and) in the common-land called Bhumbhupadaraka, one hundred padavartas, (known as) the holding of the cultivator Bōtaka, and an irrigation-well;—(the whole of) this (being given) together with the udraṅga and the uparikara; with the vāda, bhāta, grain, gold, and dādya; with (the right to) forced labour as the occasion for

1 Dhruvādhikaranyika; ‘one who has the superintendence of the Dhrunas.’—Dhruna has been explained by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 205) as being still used in Kāthiawār and Kachch to denote ‘a person who, on the part of a Rāja, superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue.’

9 Dāṇḍapādfika, or dāṇḍapādfika, is explained by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning ‘one who holds the fetters or noose of punishment; a policeman.’

5 padraka seems to be a fuller form of padra, which is given in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'a village; the entrance into a village; the earth; a particular district.' Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 337) has explained it as being the modern pdar, 'a grazing-place.' I do not know what authority he has for this meaning. But, in H. H. Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms, pdar (i.e. pdar) is explained by 'common-land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated.' And this seems more likely to be the correct meaning.

6 padavarta, lit. 'the turning round of a foot,' is given by Monier-Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'a square foot.' But it seems more likely that such an expression as 'a hundred padavartas' means 'a plot of ground measuring a hundred feet square each way, i.e. ten thousand square feet,' rather than only 'one hundred square feet,' which would measure only ten feet each way, and would be rather a small area for a grant; to say nothing of the still smaller areas mentioned further on.

1 pratyaya; in other passages, the form pratyāya occurs.

2 i.e. 'one hundred and twenty padavartas.'

3 sikhara; lit. 'peak, top, summit.'

1 See page 166 above, note 6.

7 The meaning of vāda, bhāta, and dādya, is not apparent.—vāda is derived either from va, 'to blow,' or from vai, 'to become dried or withered;' compare dēśa in line 14 f. of No. 31 above, page 137.—bhāta is the past participle of bhā, 'to be, to become;' but no suitable meaning suggests itself.—dādya seems to mean either 'that which is to be given,' from and in composition with dhā, 'to give;' or 'that which is to be cut, reaped, or mown;' from dā with dhā. But it is possible that, instead of the prefix and, we have the negative particle an, and that the word means 'that which is not to be given,
it occurs; (and with the privilege that it is) not to be (even) pointed at with the hand (of undue appropriation) by any of the king's people.\(^1\)

(L. 29.)—"Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (it) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brāhmaṇ, (and) cultivating (it), (or) causing (it) to be cultivated, or assigning (it to another).

(L. 30.)—"And this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future pious kings, born of Our lineage, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (both to him who makes it and to him who continues it). And he, shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins, together with the minor sin, who may confiscate this (grant), or assent to its confiscation."

(L. 32.)—And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—

The giver of land abides for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! O Yudhisṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)!

(L. 33.)—(This charter) has been written by the Śāntāviṇigrahika Skandabhāṣa. (This is) the sign-manual\(^8\) of me, the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dharasēṇa. The Dātaka (is) Chitrā. The year 200 (and) 50 (and) 2; (the month) Vaiśākha; the dark fortnight; (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

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No. 39; PLATE XXV.

ALINA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SILADITYA VII.

THE YEAR 447.\(^{\text{\textcopyright}}\)

This inscription was discovered by Mr. Harivallabh, Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector, Kaira and Broach; and was first brought to notice in 1898, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 79 ff., where Dr. Bühler published his reading of the text, with remarks. It is on some copper-plates that were found either at, or in the neighbourhood of, Alinā or Alīnā, a village about fourteen miles north-east of Naṭiād,\(^8\) the chief town of the Naṭiād Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Kaira (Khēḍā) District in Gujarāt in the Bombay Presidency.

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\(^1\) samasta-raja̱kīyānām-a-hasta-prakāshānyā. This is the customary expression in the Valabhi grants. From the south, we have (1) the almost identical expression ra国安gula-prakāshānyā, e.g. in line 45 of the Goa grant of Shashṭhadeva II. of Kaliyuga-Saṅvat 4348, (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 291); and (2) the variant ra国安gula-prakāshānyā, in line 61 of the Paṭhan grant of Rāmachandra of Saṅka-Saṅvat 1193 (Id. Vol. XIV. p. 317).

\(^8\) uva-hasta; lit. 'the own hand.'—Occasionally an actual representation of a sign-manual is given; e.g. at the end of the grant of Śiladitya VII., No. 39, below, Plate xxv., and at the end of the Barhā grant of Dhrūva II. of Saṅka-Saṅvat 757 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 198 f. and Plate).

\(^{\text{\textcopyright}}\) The 'Naṭiād, Nariād, and Neria' of maps, &c.
When they first came to light, they had been lying for some time in a merchant’s shop at Alinâ. They are now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, to which they were presented by Dr. Bühler.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 1' 2½" by 1' 1½", and the second, which is rather irregular in shape, about 1' 3½" by 1' 6½". The edges of them were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surfaces; with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. The surfaces of the plates, however, have suffered very much from corrosion; and in some places the letters, though not destroyed, are so choked up with a hard deposit of rust, which I found it impossible to remove, that they fail to appear in the lithograph. But the inscription is for the most part legible enough on the original plates; the only part that has really suffered being at the top, especially towards the right corner, of the second plate. The plates are thick, and very substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the backs of them. The engraving, as displayed where the plates have not suffered much injury, is fairly well executed; but the interiors of the letters show, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver’s tool throughout.—There are holes for two rings, in the bottom of the first plate and the top of the second; but the rings, with the seal on one of them, are not forthcoming.—The weight of the two plates is 17 lbs. 3½ oz.—The size of the letters varies from 1/8" to 1/4". The characters belong to the southern class of â£-pets; they are a later development of the type of those of the preceding grant of the Mañjûraja Dharasena II. of the year 252, No. 38 above, page 164, and Plate xxiv., and illustrate what may be called the Saurâshtra or Kâthïawârâ alphabet of the eighth century A.D. They include, from northern sources, a separate form of the lingual d, as distinct from the dental d, e.g. in châddha, line 4; also the rather rare lingual dh in uddhâra, line 11, and samâpopâra, line 56. They also include, in line 78, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 7, 40, and 400. The language is Sanskrit; and, except for four stanzas in lines 48 to 63, and for some of the usual declarative and imperative verses in lines 72 to 75, the inscription is in prose throughout. As is the case with all the later grants of this family, the inscription was engrossed with great carelessness and inaccuracy; and there are a few passages, the proper reading of which can hardly yet be determined with certainty.

—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (i) the occasional use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvâra, before s, in vânta, lines 45 and 62, and nisthâra, line 51; (2) the use of singha for simha, in line 56; (3) the use, once, of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvâra, before s, in anâsa, line 11; (4) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, once, in vikkrama, line 11; and once in conjunction with a following ri, a very exceptional occurrence, in prakriti, line 26-27; and (5) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyâta, lines 10, 14, 19, 23, 50, 53, 54-55, and 58.

The inscription is one of Śilâditya VII., who also had the title of Drûvabhâta, i.e. Drîvâvabhâta,1 of the family of the Kings of Valabhi; and the charter recorded

1 As pointed out by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 80), Drîvâvabhâta is the full and correct form of the name; and the first two syllables have been contracted in this inscription, partly because the metre required one long syllable, not two short ones, and partly because Drîvâ was no doubt at that time, just as now, the vernacular Gujarâti form of Dhrwâ, especially in its meaning, in Kâthïawârâ and Kûch (ibid. Vol. V. p. 205), as a technical official title denoting “persons who, on the part of the Râja, superintend the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue; their duty is to see that he” (? the Râja, or a farmer) “does not collect more than his proper share.”
in it is issued from his camp at the town of Anandapura. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year four hundred and forty-seven (A.D. 766-67), on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyestha (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by Silāditya VII himself, to a Brahman, for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and other rites, of the village of Mahilabali or Mahilabali in the Uppalabhāta pathaka in the Khētaka dhāra.

Of the places mentioned in this grant, Khētaka is of course the modern Khētā or Kairā itself. Uppalabhāta is evidently the modern Uplēt or Uplētā, in the Thāsra Tālukā, about thirty-five miles almost due east of Kairā. And Anandapura must be the modern Ānand, the chief town of the Anand Tālukā, about twenty-one miles southeast of Kairā.

TEXT.

First Plate.


1 pathaka is a technical territorial term, a suitable translation for which has not yet been determined. It is evidently connected with pathin, patha, 'a path, a road.'

2 dhāra is another technical territorial term, a suitable rendering of which has not yet been determined. In line 25 f. of the Alñā grant of Dharasena II. of the year 270 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 72), we have the expression Khētak-dhāra-viśaya; which seems to show that the term dhāra is synonymous with viśaya. There is another term, dharaṇī, which is evidently a synonym of dhāra, since the Hastavapra dharaṇī is mentioned in line 21 of the Wāl grant of Dharasena II. of the year 269 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 19); while the Hastavapra dhāra is spoken of in a grant of Dharasena IV. of the year 256 (Id. Vol. I. p. 45).

3 Lat. 29° 44' N.; Long. 73° 44' E.

4 From the original plates.

5 Read skandhā-columns. In ndhā, the engraver first formed dhd, and then corrected it into ndhā.

6 Read ānurāg-ānurāktā. 7 Read bhūriya.

8 Read māhēsvara.

9 Read dvitīya.

10 Read mārgga.

11 Read pālana.
māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Guhasēnaḥ [18] Tasya sutah tat-pāda-nakha-[maydkha]. 

saṁśāna-visṛja(ta) Jáhnavi-jal-augha-prakshāliṅ-āśēsha-kalmaśaḥ pranayi- 

śata-sa- 

hasr-ōpajyāmāgṝ̥ṣ̄ya-sampād-rūpa-lōbhād-[v-vā]śrī(śrī)taḥ sarabbaḥ(bha)sam-abhi- 

tikākāi guṇaḥ sahaja-saṅktiḥ-sīkha-viśeṣa-vismāpita-labdhaḥ-dhanur. 

uddhāraḥ prathama-[na]- 

rapati-samatisrishtānām-anupaḷāyitā dharmma[dāya]nām-apisā(rā) kartā praj- 

āphāta-karīṣaṁ uppalavānām śaṃayitaś śrī-sarasvatīr-ek-ādhihitāvasaśa 

śahoparita-paripā 

kṣa-lakshmi-parībhoga-daksha-vikramaḥ vikram-āpama-sampalāpta-āpimāparthiṅa-śriḥ 

paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-Dharaṅgīnāh [18] Tasya sūtaḥ 

tat-pād-anuddhyātaḥ sakala-jagad-ānandā-ātyāya(tyā)dbhu- 

ta-guna-samudrāśrīhād-saṃagama-dīgamandalaḥ 

samāra-sāta-vijaya-sōbhā 

sanāthō-mandāḷagāryu[ū]ṛi-bhasur-ānsa-pīth-ōvyu(ō)[chha] guru - manoratha- 

mahābhāva(ra)ḥ sarvva-vidyā-pāra-parama-[yā]śrīvīvaha-svavya(chha)rit-ātisaya-suvaṇkta-parama-[ya] 

bhag-ādhiṅgama-vimala-matir-apisarvaṇaḥ subhāshita-lavēn-apisvā 

ōpaṆpādanīya-pari*[t]tōṣah saṃagra-lōk-ādādha-gāmbhīrīya-hridayāyopi 

savya(chcha)rit-ātisaya-suvaṇkta-parama- 

kalyāṇa-svabhāvāh kha*[v]llabha-kṛitayuga-nripatipathava-vihādaṇ-hādīgat-ōdga- 

kṛttriḥ dharmmu-anugā(ṛ)dvā-ā(ō)][v]*alatarkrit-ārttham-suhkha-s[a][m]pad-ulpa[*] 

sēvā-nirahādaḥśrī-Varjmaḍitya[tvi(dv)]ltīyā-nāma 


tat-pād-anuddhyātaḥ svayaṃ(m)ūpēndra-guruṇ-ēpa(va) guruṇ[18] 

ātryādaravāta samabhīṭhasanayānām[14]-apisāraja-lakṣmī[*] 

skandh-āsakt electronically typed as sanskrit. 


khepa-sukharatibhaya[18] sannāta-sattva[*] 

sampaṭṭi[ḥ]* prabhava-sa(sa)māmpad-vavo akṛitipripatipīsata-sīro. 

ratna(tma)vīna(chcha)y-ōpapaghā(ha)padaapāṭṭhī pariṇāvajāt[ā]bhāmānā- 

saḥas[18]-ānāli ng[ś]itamāṇoṛvṛtiḥ prapāṭhākānāriṇya jyā prakāśyata- 

purush-abhimānāra-āpy-ā(ā)raṭṭīhīr-anāsa[d]- 

ta-prakṛitay[90]-ōpāyaḥ kritānikha[ḥ]*la-bhuvaṇ-amā(mō)dvā-vimalaguna-s[a][m]hadhitīrah 

prasabha-vighatita-sakala-Kali-vilas[i}*ta-gatir-mattra[8] jan-ahbhidr(ṛ)bhīr- 


1 Read śakti. 

8 Read vismāpita-sarvva, or vismāpita-ākha. 

9 Here, and after śaṃayita in this line, and in other places, there follows a mark which may perhaps be intended for a mark of punctuation. It is the same as the antuṣṭa (except that it is not in the proper place for the antuṣṭa), or half a visarga. 

* Read daravajī. 

8 Read vismāpita-sarvva, or vismāpita-ākha. 

9 Read vismāpita-sarvva, or vismāpita-ākha. 

10 Read samudraḥ. 

11 Read nīrdhā. 

12 This visarga is imperfect, only the lower part being engraved. 

13 Read tasya-anujāḥ; on the authority of line 15-16 of the next granth of certain date after this generation; that of Dhrusena II. of the year 310 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 14); and of later grants also (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 149, line 17, and Vol. VII. p. 74, line 18.) 

14 Omit this word. 

15 Read saṃbhīṭhasanayānāṃ. 

16 Read pararambhādhra iva. 

17 Read dvāhana. 

18 Read par-dvajā. 

19 Read ras. 

20 Read prāṇatil-śādī. 

21 Read pratikrīya. 

22 Read nīchā. 

23 Read aīśhāśā.
18 [sht-ā]tyunnata-hridaya[h*] prakhyāta-paurushaḥ śāstra-kōtaḥ-atiśay[ō*] guṇa* - gāpatītha - vipaksha - kṣhitipati - lakṣhaml - svayamsvayam grāhē (ha) - prakāśita-pravāi(v)ā-purusha-prathamaḥ[*-saṁkhya-ā].


20 sa[m*]pat-tyāgaḥ sauryyena cha vigat-ānusa[m*]dhāna-samāhit-ārati-paksha-manoratha-rathāksha-bhangaḥ samyag-upalakshīt-anēka śāstra-kalā lokacharit-gahṛava-vi-

21 bhagō-pi parama-bhadra-praḥ(kra)kriti=akriṣtri(tri)m(a)-praṣrayō-pi vibha(na)ya-sōbhā-vibhūsanah* samara-śata-jayapatāk-āharaṇa-pratay-ōḍagra-bāhu-dandā-viḥvarṣita-pra[tipa]ksa-

22 darpp-ōdayāḥ svā-dhanu[h*]-praḥ(bha)-bhava-[parī*]bhūt-āstrakausāl-ābhimāna-sakalā-nirpatai-mpa[na[ā*]bhinnandita-śāsanā(na)b para[mamah]heśvarah grit[śrī]-Dharasā(sē)nah [iii*] Tasya-ānujah ta[1*]-p[ād-ānu]-

23 ddhyātah saccchārīt[ā*]tiru[śa]ya-sakāla-pō[r*]vā-narapatih dus-sādhanā[ā*]m-āpi prasādhiyitā vishāy[ā*]nām mō[r*]ti[i*]m[ā*]n-īva puruṣakāraḥ* parivṛddha-gu[a-ā]nurāga-[nirbhā]-


25 prabhavamśita-dhvanta-rājāḥ satat-ōdita-savīta prakṛtibhuh[ā*] par[a[m*]prātyayam arthavantam -ātipa[ba]huṭha-prayojanāubhamdhamām* [ā*]gama- pārībhū(p)īma[n*] vidadhāma(na)b sandhī-vigraha-


28 ta-jan-anurāga-parvīri[ṃ]*bhīva-hvāna-saptadhīta-prakṛti-bīdāitya(tya)-dvitiyānam[ā*] paramanāhghavyanā grit[śrī]-Dharasanah [i*] Tasya sutaḥ tat-pāradēlā praṇā-

29 ma-dharapī-kasana-di(ja)nita-kiña-lāṁchhana-lalāṭa-chandra-sa[śa]kala[h*] śisu-bhāva ēva śravana-nihiita-maṁkākāra-vibhrām-āmala-śruta-viśō(sē)-sha[h*] pradāna-sa-

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1 Read kauṣal.
2 Omit this word.
3 Read this second svayam.
4 Read prathama.
5 This visarga is imperfect, only the upper part being engraved.
6 Read addhāga-viśita.
7 Read pratiṣṭh.
8 Read viḥvarṣita.
9 Read salāchhanka.
10 Read ṣānubhamdham.
11 Read aṅu-nurūpaṃ-āṭāṣam dadānāṃ.
12 Read vidhāna-janita.
13 Omit this second dōṣa.
14 Read mādītara.
15 Read darmasaṇaḥ, on the authority of line 9 to of his own grant of the year 310 (Ind. Ant. VI. p. 13), and of subsequent inscriptions.
16 Read āṅgikālamā.

ṇata - samasta - sāmantaka - maṇḍal - āpamānibhrita - chūḍāmaṇaniyamāna - āśāsanaḥ parama[mahē]śvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahār(a) jādhīrājā-paraṃ[ā]śvara-

chakravarti-śrī[=]aṁ. Dha-

rasēṇaḥ [ṛ] iva Tat-pitamahā-bhraṭri-śrī-Ṣilāḍityasya Va(ṛ)gopānēḥ iv-aṅgrajananmanā bhakti-bandhur-avayava-[kalpita-prapate]r-ati-dhavalayā tat-
pādārvinda-paraṇi(vṛi)ttayā charaṇa-nakha-maṇi-

[r]chā Mandākīnī-evā nityā(iva)ṃ-amalit-ōttamāṃva(ga)dēasya-Āva(ga)-
stasya[=ē]iva rājājīm(rṣe)h d[ā]khshyam-ānanatanvānasya[prabala-

dhavalinō(mn) yaga(śa)sām valay[ē]ṇa ma-

[ṛ]ḏiṭa]-kakubha nāvayāthropalitāśepihkhadāgaparivaṃ[maṇḍalasya payē(yo)da-

śyama-sīkharā-chūḍhura-kachi-sama-vinyasta-stana-yugayāḥ kṣihit[ē]ḥ paty[u]ḥ śrī[=]Dṛbrabaṭ-

sy[aṅgrahāḥ] kṣhitip[ṛ]sa[ṛ]ḥ hatēḥ charu vibhāgasya gu[ṛu]ḥchir-yaγγo-


kṛita-par[ī]ḥgrahah[ḥ sauryyam-apraṭhīa]

ta-pratāp-anamita[ṛ]-pracchāṇḍa-rupu-mandalam maṇḍalāgaram-apālaṇḍapadhuṇāḥ[ṛ]

śaradi prasabham-[a]ṛṣṭra-śilālka-pā(ba)ṭāsan-āpādita-prasādha[nām]

par-bhuvāṃ vidhivad-ācharita-kara-grahaṇah pūrvaṃ-[a]ṛṣa vividha-vair(ṛ)-
o[j]j[ṛ]valena gru(ṛu)ḥ-tātiṣay[ē][n]ō(dhāḥ)sita śravana-yugalaḥ punah[punar-

uktēn-evā ratn-[a]-

[la]ṛ[k]āṛṇaḥ-ālakṛkita-grōtrā[ṛṇa] pariṣphurat-kā(kā)ṣaṇa-vikāṣa-kṛta-paksha-ratna-

kiraṇam-īpačcchhinna[ṛṇa]-pradāna-salila-nivahāvanasya[ka]ṭ-vaśan-na(va)-śaival-dāṁ-

kurama-arp[ṛ]-āgrapaṃm-udvaha[ṇ]aḥ dhṛita-viṣ[ā]ṭa-ratna-pa(va)-laya-jaladhi-vṛ̣l[ā]ṇa-

tatāyaṃ[ā]na-bhūja-parishvaṃ-viṣvam[bha]raḥ paramaṇ[ā]ḥhēśvaraḥ śrī-

Dhruvasēnas-[Ṭasya-āgra-

1 Read kanyād.  8 Read saṃbhāvit-dīkṣaḥ.

9 Read maṇḍal-ōttamāṅga-dhrita-ōḍhāsamāṇyaṃ.  10 Read samāhārya-sāham.

4 In line 39 of the grant of Dharasena IV. himself, of the year 326, Ṛṣabhadeva śukla 10, the reading is chakravartiti śrī-ajjaka-pād-āṇūdhyaḥ śrī (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 79, and Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 16); also in his grant of the same year, Māgha bhahula 5, of which we have only the translation of the second plate (Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 43).—In all the subsequent grants, the epithet śrī-ajjaka-pād-āṇūdhyaḥ was, for some reason or other, omitted, as here; even in his own grants of the year 330 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 73, line 41, and Vol. XV. p. 340, line 40).

6 Read dāgajanaṃ, in accordance with line 29 of the next available grant of the generation after this, that of Kharagraha II. of the year 337 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 98).

7 Read dānvanasaḥ.

8 Read nakhari yāminīpālaka-śviraḥhit-ākhaṇḍa-parivitkiḥ.

9 Read cāḍhuka-ruchira-saḥya-viśāla-māṇaṇaḥ.

10 Read dāgajah, on the authority of line 32 of the grant of Kharagraha II., quoted above, note 5; and of most of the subsequent grants.

11 Read nivah-dvāsaḥ.  12 Read yāh-ṇaka.

13 Read apratihata-vyādram-ānamitā.  15 Read śrīraḥ.

14 Read avichchinna.  16 Read śrīraḥ.
Second Plate.

40 [jō]-para]-ma[hpaji-sparddha-(rśa)-dōsha-nāga{(sa)na-dh[i]y]-[ē]ya lakṣmyā
svavam-atispaštā-chēṣṭam-āśisht-āṅgayash[tir]-ātur-bhratara-charita-garima-
parikalita-sakala-narapa[tir]-ati-

41 prakriṣṭa - Anurāga - [sa*]-rabhasa - vaśkrita - prapata - sāmaśta - sāmanta - chakra-
chūḍaṁapin-mayūkha [-khchita-charapamakama-yugalah] prōddām-[ōdāra]-
dō-[rddanda]-dalia-vishd-va-

42 ṛgga-darppaḥ prasarpatt-paṭtyah-pratāpa-plōshit-dēśeṣa-satru-va[m*]ṣaḥ pranayi-
pakṣha-ni[kshipta-lakshmikāh prērīta-gad-ōtksī][pta-su[darsana-chakra]ḥ
parihrīta-

43 [bāla-kṛ]dō-anadhahkṛita-dvijātir-ēka-vikrama - prasadhitā - dharitritalō - namakkrīta-
jaḷasayy-[ō]pūrva-purushottamah [sākṣhād-dharmanma iva samyag-
vyavaśtaḥ-

44 pita-varṇa-āśram-āchārāḥ pūrvvai-apy-urvvi(rvvi)patibhiḥ trishṇā-lava-lubhāhiḥ
yānay-a-pahritā[ni deva-brahma]-d[ē]ya[ni tē]śaṁ-apy-[atisara]lā-manaḥ-
prā-

45 [sā]ra-mut-[sa]kā lā[n-anū]mādānabhyāṁ parimudita-tri(tri)bhuvan-ābhinandit-
d[ē]ya-dvija-gurū[nn-prati]pūjya yathārka[m an]anavarata-

46 pravartita - mah - ēdrahe [ā]di - dāna - vyavasaṇ - ānapajataṃ - satōṣha - Ṛṭā - Ṛdā-
yā]-ḥ-artha[m ] Dharmamāditya(ṭya)-

47 [dvij]yā-nāmā para [ma*]māhēśvarah śrī-Kharagrahāḥ II Tasyā-grajanmanah⁴
kumuda-shaṃḍa-śrī-[vīkasīnya kalavataḥ-chandarikay-ēva kirttya
dhavala-sa][kala-digampaṇa-


49 pratidina-samvardhāmanā-hriyāḥ-kaḷa-chandara(kra)vaḥāḥ [kēsa[nd]ra-[g]jīṣur-iva
ra[jā]-lakṣhmyān sakalā-vān[stham-ī]-yālaṁkurvatvāpaḥ [ṣīkaḥ]dikētana
iva ruchi[mach-chūḍā]-ma[punāḥ]

50 prachande śakti-prabhāvās cha śarad-āγama iva⁵ dvishatāṁ parama-

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1 It is rather peculiar that the elder brother should be mentioned after the younger. The reading, agrajē, however, is the same in line 37 of Kharagrahā's own grant of the year 332 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VII, p. 38), which seems to put the correctness of it beyond doubt; and the same reading is repeated in all the later grants without exception.—See also note 4 below.

2 Read vyavasthān-dōpjīta, or vyavasāny-dōpjīta.

3 Read kiriti.

4 Here we have another instance of the elder brother being mentioned after the younger (see note 1 above). But, except that agrajē is written by mistake for agrajanmanah, the reading is the same in line 47 of the next grant after this generation, that of Śīlāditya III. of the year 352, the son of Śīlāditya II. who is now under notice (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, p. 308); and this seems to put the correctness of it beyond doubt. Also, the same reading that we have here, agrajanmanah, is repeated in all the later grants.

5 Read pūda.

6 Omit this word hridaya.

7 Read lakṣakām[ī]-saḷaḷa.

8 A considerable amount of matter is omitted here. The full passage should run — sarad-āγama iva pratidīpān-ūlaśat-padāh shanayē vidhalayann-ambhōḍhaṁ-iva para-gajōn-udaya-
śikṣapān-śīlīpāṇa-śāmikāh iva sāmṛtēṃśu muṣṭann-ahimukhānām-ān̄śikē dhishatām.
māhēsvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-jādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bappa-1-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ paramabhaṭṭa[i]āraka-[mahārā]-


54 pratā-ānurāgā prapata samasta-sāmanta- chudāmāri-nakha-mayūkha*-unihita-rāh(j)ita-pādāravindaḥ para[mā*]heśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja- jādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-[bappa]-pād-ā-

55 nuddhyātaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārāja-jādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Śilāditya[deva]a [1*] Tasya-ātmajaḥ prasamita-ri(?)pu(?)-bala-darppah vipula-jaya-mahśinga-āśrayaḥ śrī-samāčāra gana-lālita-


58 [d-ā]nuddhyātaḥ paramabhaṭṭārāṁ mahāraladhirāja*-paramēśvara-śrī-Śilāditya[deva]a [1*] Tasya*-ātmajaḥ pratitha-duṣsahā-vṛtyā- chakro lakṣmīv-alay[ō-


60 [w-ma-]sukha sukha-dāḥ sad-āiva jāṁ-ālaya[1*] sakalavandita-lōkapālō vidyādharair-anugataḥ prathitaḥ pri(pr)thivyam [1*] Raka[n-b(j)*]valō vara-teenu-

1 Read bōva, in accordance with line 46 of the grant of the next generation after this, that of Śilāditya IV. of the year 372 (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 212; and Arch. Surya. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 99); with lines 45 and 46 of the two grants of Śilāditya V. of the year 403 (Jour. B. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 343; and Indian Inscriptions, Nos. 15 and 16); and with the explanation that I give below, on the translation of this passage. In line 51 of the grant of Śilāditya VI. of the year 441 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 20), the reading is bappa, as here, wrongly. In line 51 of the grant of Śilāditya III. himself of the year 352 (Id. Vol. XI. p. 300), the whole passage between paramamahēśvarah and śrī-Śilādityadēvaḥ, including both the reference to bōva and his own regal titles, is omitted.

2 Several words are omitted before this. The full reading is tasya susū-parītih-viśyak-sudha-praśāśa-sadāṃvya-rāja-vara-nanaṃ.

3 Read chādāmani-mayūkha.

4 Read pranata-prabhāla.

5 Read dīṣkā.

6 Read paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja.

7 This epithet is repeated unnecessarily, as we have already had it in the preceding line.

8 Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the following three verses.
61 [р*-ггн]-на-ратна-рāḍiḥ aiśvaryā-vikrama-gunaḥ paramaṁ-upetah sat[ɪ]y-
  ṭapaḥ-karaṇaḥ satataṁ pravrittaḥ s[ɪ]*kṣaṭ-[ɪ]nāraddhaḥ(na) vi-
  ārdita-duṣṭa-darpah [ɪ]*

62 Yuddhāḥ śakrd-ga(ga)a-ghaṭa-ghaṭan-aika-dakṣhāḥ punyālāyāḥ jagati gita-
mahā-पrāṭaḥā ṇājādihāya-paraṁ[lā]*ś vara-vāna-janma śṛ-THR̥ubhaṭā
Jayati jā.

63 ta-mahā-pramādoḥ [ɪ]* [Sa cha] paramāśvāraḥ paramabhūṭaṁ-mahārataṁ-
dhīrā-jā-paramēsyaṁ śṛ-ṭa-pa(ba)ppa-pāḍ-(d)-anudhyatāḥ para(rā)mabhūṭaṁ-
na(ka)-mahārataṁ.

dhīrā-ja-paramēsvaraḥ śṛ-Śilādityadēvah śavvān-ēva samājā-papatyay-astu
vah saṁvidita[mā]* yathā mayā m[ā]*tāpiṛō-ātmanas-cha punya-yaśō-
bhivṛ.

65 ddhayē aihik-amushmika-phal-āvyāpy-arthan śūrdmad Anandapura vyāśvya-
tachchatu-vrddhī-samānāya Ś[ɪ]*kkarākhisagönra(tra)-bahvrichasabrahmachāri-
ṛha-śikṣatā-lamale(ya) bhaṭṭa-Vishnuputra bhāṣa-Vishnuputra-dev-
āglihótra-kratu-kri(kri)y-ādy-utsarpṇā-ätthē gṛt(śṛt)-Khēṭak-ahārē
Uppalāhēta.

67 pathakē Mahīl(a)śīl(a)bhāli-n[lā]*ma-grāmaḥ s-ōdāṅga[h]* s-[ā]*parikā(k)raḥ
s-ōtpadyā(āya)maṇa-viśīṭikaḥ s-hūṭaḥ-pā(v)∅ta-pratīyāyāḥ s-dās-
āparādhāṁ sa-

68 bhōga-bhāgaḥ sa-dhānya-hirany-ād[ā]*yaḥ sarvā-ṛājakṛdāṇaḥ a-hasta-
prakshōpaśyāḥ pūrva-pradatta-dōpāda-āryāyā-vaṛjā bhūḥ(bhū)mi-
chhirdra-ñyāyā[ā]n-ā-chan[dr]-ā[ɪ]*kk-ā-

69 ropava-kshi-parvavata-samakālīnāḥ putra-praur-ānvāya-bhōgya udāya(k)-
atīsargēṇa brahmāyāvēnō pratīpādītaḥ [ɪ]* yatō-bhy(sy)-očitayā
brahmāya[ya-sti]-

70 tyā bhunijataḥ kriṣṭaḥ aṣṭarṣaṁ-karshāpayatāḥ pratidīśatāḥ vā na kaiṣchid-
vyaśēḥ vartiṣṭaya[mā]* II āgāmi-bhadra-ṛṣi(ṛṣi)patibhiṣ ā-

71 smad-vatnā-sa-jair-anān-m-vv-ā-nityānītyān-aiśvāryāḥ-a-s-thīra[mā]*
mānuṣya-
(shya)kaṁ śaṁyāṁ cha bhūmi-dānamā phalaṁ a-vagachchhadbhiḥ
ayam-a-

72 smad-dāyā-nunamantayvah pālayitavyas-cha [ɪ]* Uktā-cha pē(ve)∫da-
vyaśō(śe)nā Vya[ɪ]śena [ɪ]* Bahubhi[r*[ɪ]*]vvvāsunadāḥ bhūtkā rājabhiḥ
Sagar-āhībhāḥ

Read yuddhā.
6 Read pramādaḥ.
7 Read paramāśvāraḥ.
8 Read paramēsvaraḥ.
9 Read śṛ-ṭa-pa(ba)ppa-pāḍ-(d)-anudhyatāḥ para(rā)mabhūṭaṁ-
na(ka)-mahārataṁ.
10 Read vṛddhi-jā-
11 The engraver first formed apparently gṛt, and then corrected it into gṛt.
12 Metre, Śūkla (Anubhūb).
13 Read vṛddhi.
73 yasya yasya yadda bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phala[ṁṣ] I(II) Yān'-thā dattāmi purā nna(na)ṛṇendraiḥ dhanāni dharmāyatanākriśāthām nirmālyā-vāntaḥ.


75 [kē va]Ẑēt ī Bhuśv-āṭavāshv-ā-a-tē(tē)yāsu sushu-kōṣara-vāsinaḥ krishn-
[ā]hayō hi jāyantō(nē) bhūmi-d[ā]yām harante y[ē] ī Duta ko-astra mahāpratīh-

76 [ra].... h[ā]kshāpatālikā-tra-rājakula[ā]-ār-Siddhasē[n|h] gri[ā]-Sarvaṣa-
sutaḥ [I] tava(thā) tanniyukta-pratinātaka-kulaputra-dāsā(ma)

77 tya-Gu[ñ]hēna Hembāta-putrēṇa likhitam-[itī] ī Sāhva[t]sara-saṭa-
chatuṣṭhayē sapta-chatvāriṇśad-adhikē Dyēpīha[ā]-suddha-paṃchamyāṁ
anāka-

mama[ā] [II]

TRANSLATION.

Ōṁ! Hail! From the victorious camp located at the famous town of Ānandapura:—In unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Bhātārka,—who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who had by force bowed down (their) enemies; (and) who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants, who had been brought under subjection by (his) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (to him) by affection,—(there was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Guhasēna, —whose sins were all removed by doing obeisance to the waterlilies that were the feet of (his) parents; whose sword was verily a second arm (to him) from childhood; the test

1 Metre, Upājīti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.
2 Read dyatānkriđāni.
3 Read vānta.
4 Read punar-ādātā.
5 Metre, Śloka (Anuśūṭubh) ; and in the following verse.
6 Read vindhy-āṭavāshv.
7 Read śushka.
8 Read dūtakā.
9 Two very doubtful aksharas, or perhaps three, are engraved here. Dr. Bühler read them as śrl-
dēta, giving the proper name of Dētāha. But we ought to have simply the ma of mahākīr-
patālika.
10 Read patālika-rājakula. The tra is meaningless ; and it is not easy to see how it came to be introduced.
11 Supply īśamam.
12 Read Ṣuṣṭha.
13 Read saṃvata.
14 In the original, these two words, with a representation of the sign-manual underneath them, stand in an enclosure at the end of lines 70-78.
15 The proper context is in line 64,—"The glorious Śīlādityadēva (VII.) issues a command to all people."
16 See page 168 above, note 2.
of whose strength was manifested by clapping (his) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (his) foes; who had the collection of the rays of the nails of (his) feet interspersed with the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (his) enemies who were made to bow down by his prowess; whose title of 'king' was obvious and suitable, because he pleased the hearts of (his) subjects by preserving the proper rites of the path prescribed by all the traditionary laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and wealth, surpassed (respectively) (the god) Smara, the moon, (Himālaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Brihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, and (the god) Dhanēśa; who, through being intent upon giving freedom from fear to those who came for protection, was indifferent to all the (other) results of his vigour, as if they were (of as little value as) straw; who delighted the hearts of learned people and (his) friends and favourites, by giving (them) wealth greater (even) than their requests; (and) who was, as it were, the personified happiness of the circumference of the whole earth.

(Line 7.)—His son, whose sins were all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jāhanvī spread out by the diffusion (of the rays*) of the nails of his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Dharasēna (II),—whose riches were the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who was with eagerness, as if from a desire for (his) beauty, resorted to by (all) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind; who astonished all archers by the speciality of (his) innate strength and (skill acquired by) practice; who was the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averted calamities that would have afflicted (his) subjects; who was the exponent of (the condition of being) the one (joint) habitation of wealth and learning; whose prowess was skilful in enjoying the god of the fortunes of the compact ranks of (his) enemies; (and) who possessed a spotless princely glory, acquired by (his) prowess.

(Line 10.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Śilāditya (I), who acquired the second name of Dharmaiditya by the pursuit of wealth, happiness, and riches, illumined by conformity with religion,—who pervaded all the regions with the excess of (his) wonderful good qualities that gladdened all mankind; who supported the great burden of weighty desires on a cushion that was (his) shoulder, radiant with the lustre of (his) scimitar that was possessed of the brilliance of victory in a hundred battles; who, though (his) intellect was pure through mastering the endmost divisions of the limits of all the sciences, was easily to be gratified with even a small amount of good conversation; who, though (his) heart possessed a profundity that could be fathomed by no people, yet had a most agreeable disposition that was displayed by the excess of (his) good actions; (and) who acquired an eminent reputation by clearing out the blocked-up path (of the good behaviour) of the kings of the Krita age.

(Line 14.)—His younger brother,* who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Kharagraha (I),—who possessed a wealth (of vigour*) that was not worn out, either with fatigue or with pleasurable enjoyment, when, bearing the yoke as if he were a most choice bullock, he was carrying on (his) shoulders, with the sole object of fulfilling his commands,* the goddess of sovereignty, even while she was still an object to be longed for by (his) elder (brother) who, excessively full

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1 See page 169 above, note 3.  
2 See page 177 above, note 1.  
* i.e., the commands of Śilāditya I.
of respect (for him), (behaved) as if he were (the god Indra) the elder (brother) of Upendra;¹ who, though (his) footstool was covered over with the lustre of the jewels on the heads of a hundred kings subdued by (his) wealth of power, had a disposition that was not imbued with the sentiment of haughtiness (induced) by contempt for other people; by (whose) enemies, even though renowned for manliness and pride, no remedy, except the performance of obeisance alone, could be successfully employed; the collection of whose pure virtues effected the happiness of the whole world; who forcibly destroyed all the specious procedure of (this wicked) Kali age; whose very noble heart was not tainted by any of the faults that assert an ascendency over inferior people; who was renowned for manliness; who excelled in knowledge of the sacred writings; (and) who manifested (his) attainment of being accounted the first among heroes, by being spontaneously chosen (as her lord and husband) by the goddess of the fortunes of the assembled hostile kings.

(L. 19.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahesvara, the illustrious Dharasena (III.),—who, by mastering all the sciences, produced an excess of joy in the minds of all learned people; who, with (his) goodness and wealth and liberality, and with (his) heroism, broke the chariot-axles that were the thoughts of (his) enemies who, occupied in intense reflection (upon his might), lost the power of acting in concert (against him); who, though thoroughly well conversant with the devious divisions of the many sacred writings and the arts and sciences and the proceedings of mankind, still had a nature that was of the most gracious kind; who, though possessed of innate affability, was (still further) decorated with the grace of modesty; who destroyed the display of pride of (his) opponents by the staff of (his) arm that was uplifted in the act of capturing banners of victory in a hundred battles; (and) whose commands were hailed with joy by the whole array of kings whose pride, induced by (their) skill in the use of weapons, was subdued by the power of his own bow.

(L. 22.)—His younger brother, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahesvara, the illustrious Dhruvasena (II.),² whose famous second name of Baladitya was established as one of appropriate meaning, through the (whole) world being pervaded by the affection of mankind that was produced by (his) rising;—who surpassed all previous kings in excellent achievements; who was the accomplisher of objects, even such as were hard to be attained;³ who was, as it were, the very personification of manhood; who, as if he were Manu, was spontaneously resorted to by (his) subjects, the action of whose thoughts excelled in affection for (his) great good qualities; who mastered all the arts and sciences; who, in beauty, put to shame the moon, which (lustreous as it is, still) is marked with spots; who pervaded with (his) great brilliance all the intermediate spaces between the points of the compass; who destroyed

¹ Upendra, the younger brother of Indra, is Vishnu. The allusion seems to be to the contest between Vishnu (in his incarnation as Krishna) and Indra concerning the tree of Indra’s paradise, in which Vishnu was victorious and had homage done to him by Indra (see the Vishnu-Purana, book V. chap. xxx.; Hall’s edition of Wilson’s Translation, Vol. V. p. 97 ff.).—On this analogy, it would seem that the two brothers, Siiddivya I. and Kharaehara I., had some dispute about the leadership of their family; and that eventually Siddivya I. conceded the question to his younger brother.

² See page 175 above, note 15.

³ The play on words is on the meaning of bala-ditya, ‘the young sun, the rising sun.’

⁴ Or “who was the conqueror of territories, even such as were hard to be subdued.”
the mass of darkness; who, being a sun that was always risen, was (ever) conferring upon (his) subjects confidence of the highest kind, that was fully justified, (and) was the result of the very various objects with which he busied himself (for their welfare), (and) was filled out with (constant) augmentation; who, being clever (on the one side) in determining peace and war and reconciliation (and on the other) in settling the euphonic joining of letters and the analysis of words and composition, was thoroughly well versed even in both the rituals of sovereignty and of Śālāṭūra,¹ (the text-books on the one side) of those who give commands suitable to the rank (of their subordinates) (and on the other side) of those who apply substituted grammatical forms suitable to the places (that they are to fill), (and on the one side) of those who are eminent in refinement effected by the employment of an increase of virtue, (and on the other side) of those who excel in the perfection of language effected by the employment of the guna² and vṛiddhi³ changes of vowels; who, though naturally valorous, possessed a heart that was tender through compassion; who, though well acquainted with sacred learning, was free from pride; who, though beautiful, was full of tranquillity; (and) who, though firm in friendship, repudiated people pervaded with faults.

(L. 28.)—His son, whose forehead, resembling a portion of the moon, had on it a spot that was the mark caused by rubbing against the earth in performing obeisance to the waterlilies that were his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the Paramābhajīḍhara, Mahādēśādhva, Paramēśvara, and Chakravartin,⁴ the glorious Dharasēna (IV.),—who, in very childhood, had a speciality of sacred learning that was as pure as the beauty of the pearl ornaments worn in (his) ears; who had the waterlilies that were (his) fingers besprinkled with the stream of (constant) liberality; who intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes, as if he were intensifying the happiness of a maiden by tenderly taking (her) hand (in marriage); who, as if he were (the very personification of) the science of archery of bowmen, perceived at once all objects that should be aimed at; (and) whose commands were like the jewels in the locks of hair worn on the heads of all the chieftains who bowed down before (him).

(L. 32.)—Of the son⁵ of the illustrious Śilāditya (I.),⁶ who was the (elder) brother of his father's father⁷ (Kharagraha I.), (and) who was, as it were, (the god) Śārīgā-

¹ The grammarian Pāṇini, as having been born in the town of Śālāṭūra. The play on words here rests on the ordinary and grammatical meanings of saṃdhi, vṛgra, and the other terms employed.
² The formative change of i, and ì, u and á, ri and rī, and lri, into ì, ì, ar or ra and al.
³ The formative change of a, i and ì, u and á, ri and lri, into ì, ai, au, dr or rd, and dl.
⁴ Chakravartin is explained by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as meaning “a ruler, the wheels (chakra) of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction;” or “the ruler of a chakra or country described as extending from sea to sea.” Another explanation is given in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, book I. chap. xiii. verse 46 (see Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. I. p. 183, and note 1), viz. “a discus (chakra), the sign of (the god) Viṣṇu, (is to be found among the marks) on the hands of all Chakravartins; (and such a ruler is one) whose prowess cannot be withstood even by the gods.” The word Chakravartin denotes “an universal ruler;” and is one of the typical titles of paramount sovereignty, though it is not of such frequent occurrence as the others are (see above, note 3).—This Dharasēna's own grant of the year 326, inserts, after Chakravartin, the epithet “who meditated on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather” (see page 176 above, note 4).
⁵ See page 176 above, note 5.
⁶ Mentioned in line 14 above.
⁷ i.e. of the father's father of the last-mentioned king, Dharasēna IV.
pápi,—(*vī.) of the illustrious Dhrábhaṭa, who performed obeisance with (*his) limbs bow'd down through attachment; whose head was always rendered pure, as if by (*the river) Mandakini, by the very dazzling lustre, proceeding from the waterlilies that were his feet,³ of the jewels that were the nails of (*his) feet; who, as if by Agastya, was a royal saint, displaying courtesy on all sides; who with the exquisitely white circle of (*his) fame, that adorned the points of the compass, formed an entire halo round the moon in the sky; (and) who was the lord of the earth which has (the mountains) Sahya and Vindhyā for (*its) lovely breasts,⁴ the nipples of which are (*their) summits that are made of a dark-blue colour by the clouds (resting upon them),—the son⁵ (*was) the most devout worshipper of (*the god) Mahéśvara, the illustrious Dhrūvasēna (*III.),—who accepted in marriage the goddess of royalty, just as if she were longing to choose (*him) of her own accord, from the assemblage of kings, full of affection (*for him) (and) wearing fine garments that were (*their) resplendent reputations, which offered (*her to him); who relied upon (*his) heroism, which was never exerted in vain, as if upon a scimitar which bowed down the array of (*his) fierce enemies; who, in the autumn season,⁶ according to proper custom levied taxes from (*his) enemies' lands, the quiet state of which was upset by (*his) bow, the arrows of which were forcibly drawn out to the full; who, having (*his) ears already decorated with an excess of sacred learnings, radiant with a variety of topics, had them (*still further) adorned with the embellishment of jewels, as if it were (*with that sacred learning) repeated again and again: who,—holding up a fore-arm which, (*covered) with gleaming bracelets and beautiful insects and rays of jewels, was as it were a fresh sprout of a *śāvuṣa-plant looking charming in the waters that were (*his) ceaseless gifts,—embraced the (whole) earth with (*his) arms which, wearing great jewelled bands, behaved as if they were the banks of the shores of the ocean.

(L. 39.)—His elder⁶ brother (*was) the most devout worshipper of (*the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious Kharagraha (*II.), who, in a very clear and suitable manner, had the second name of Dharmaiditya—whose slender body was embraced in a very public fashion by the goddess of fortune herself, who was minded, as it were, to destroy the pollution of the toches of other kings; who surpassed all (*other) kings by the greatness of (*his) exceedingly brilliant achievements; who had the waterlilies that were (*his) feet studded with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (*their) heads of the whole assemblage of chieftains who bowed down when they had been subdued by the violence of (*mci.:) excessive affection (*for him); who broke the pride of the multitude of (*his) enemies with the large and lofty staff of (*his) arm; who scorched the whole race of (*his) foes with (*his) very hot brillance that spread itself abroad; who delivered over (*all his) wealth to the ranks of (*his) favourites;⁷ who had a mace that he hurled, and a nice-looking discus that he threw; who discarded childish sports; who never treated the twice-born with contempt; who ac-

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¹ i.e., the feet of Dharasēna IV.
² See page 86 above, note 2.
³ See page 176 above, note 9.
⁴ As being suitable for campaigns, and also for marriages, as indicated by the meaning of this sentence, in which *para-bhūvāṁ means "his enemies' daughters."
⁵ The aquatic plant, Vallisneria Octandra.
⁶ See page 177 above, note 1.
⁷ In this and some of the following sentences, he is, through their secondary meanings, compared and contrasted with the god Vishṇu.
quired the (whole) surface of the earth by (his) prowess alone; who approved not of making his couch among stupid people; who was one of the best of men of a kind that was unprecedented; who, as if he were the personification of religion, properly regulated the practices of the different castes and stages of life; whose lofty and excellent white banner of religion was hailed by the three worlds that were gladdened by (his) collecting together, in the joy of (his) very upright disposition, and then assenting to (the continuance of the enjoyment of), even those grants to gods and Brahmans that had been confiscated by previous kings, who were made avaricious by a little greed; who glorified his own lineage; (and) who, having done worship to the gods and Brahmans and spiritual preceptors, filled all the circuit of the regions with the continuity of (his) excellent reputation acquired by (their) satisfaction produced by (his) settlement of liberal grants of the udāṅga¹ and other (rights) which were ceaselessly made (by him) according to the merits of the recipients.

(L. 47.)—Of his elder brother, the illustrious Śilāditya (II.),—who made all the regions white with (his) fame, as if with the light of the full-moon that makes the beauty of the waterlilies to develop itself; (and) who was the lord of the earth, the bulky breasts of which are the Vindhya mountains of a dark-blue colour like cakes of ointment made of pounded aloe-bark,—the son (was) the Paramabhūṣṭa, Mahāradjādhīrāja, and Paramēṣvara, the glorious Śilādityadēva (III.),—who day by day increased (his) circle of accomplishments, like the new cold-rayed (moon) day by day increasing (its) digits; who adorned the goddess of sovereignty, like a young lordly lion adorning a forest on a mountain; who, like (the god) Kārttikēya who has the banner of a peacock, was adorned with a beautiful lock of hair on the top of the head, and was possessed of excessively great energy and majesty; who was [full of glory (and) possessed ample treasures*], like the approach of autumn, [which is full of warmth (and) causes the waterlilies to bloom *]; [who used to part asunder in battle the elephants of (his) enemies, just as the young sun, hot (even) in (its) rising, parts asunder the clouds*]; [who used to steal in war the lives* of (his) enemies; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhūṣṭa, Mahāradjādhīrāja, and Paramēṣvara, (his) glorious uncle.*

(L. 51.)—His son (was) the Paramabhūṣṭa, Mahāradjādhīrāja, and Paramēṣvara, the glorious Śilādityadēva (IV.),—[who achieved*] supreme lordship* [by engaging in the creation of another world]; the diffused fire of whose great prowess played about on the temples of (his) enemies' elephants, which were split open by the blows of (his) sword that was drawn in anger; who acquired a firm position on the earth by encircling it about

¹ See page 97 above, note 6.
² See page 177 above, note 4.
³ In Dr. Böhler's genealogical table (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 208; and Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 26), this Śilāditya, because he did not actually reign, is passed over without being numbered; with the result that the last of the family, the maker of the present grant, is called Śilāditya VI., instead of Śilāditya VII. But this arrangement, if endorsed, would place us under the inconvenience of having to refer to him in a very roundabout way, by specifying his father, son, or brother, in any discussion of the history of the family. He belongs to the direct line of descent; and all considerations of expediency require that he should be duly numbered, quite as much as his grandfather and descendants of the same name.
⁴ See page 177 above, note 8.
⁵ See page 178 above, note 1, and page 186 below, note 1.
⁶ See page 178 above, note 2.—In this passage, Śilāditya IV. is likened to the god Śiva, under the name of Paramēṣvara or the supreme lord, and as the creator (see page 155 above, note 1.)
with a rampart; whose umbrella was constituted by the canopy of (his) fame, white as the clusters of foam of the ocean of milk when it was stirred about by the shaking of the churning-stick, which hung out from a mighty staff that was his own arm; (and) which enveloped the whole circumference of the earth; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhāṣṭaraka, Mahārāja Ādīhṛīra, and Paramēśvara, (his) glorious father.¹

¹ happa.—This word has already occurred in line 50 above, where, however, it is a mistake for ḍvīva, 'uncle.'—The word ḍvīva, qualified by the paramount titles, in the epithet Paramabhāṣṭaraka-mahārāja Ādīhṛīra, paramēśvara-īśa-bhūva-pādānudhyāya, actually occurs (1) only in respect of the Paramabhāṣṭaraka, Mahārāja Ādīhṛīra, and Paramēśvara Śālādīya III, a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva), in line 46 of the grant of his son Śālādīya IV. of the year 372 (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 212; and Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 99); and in lines 45 and 46 respectively of the two grants of Śālādīya V. of the year 403 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 343). No other instance of the use of bhūva is known to me.—The word happa is of far more frequent use. In the Valabhi grants it occurs, qualified by the same paramount titles, in paramabhāṣṭaraka-mahārāja Ādīhṛīra, paramēśvara-īśa-bhūpa-pādānudhyāya, an epithet that is applied (2) here and in lines 54-55, 57-58, and 63 below, and in other grants as far as they go, to Śālādīya IV. V. VI. and VII., each of whom came in direct succession after his father, and each of whom had the paramount titles of Paramabhāṣṭaraka, Mahārāja Ādīhṛīra, and Paramēśvara, and was also a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara. Among the inscriptions of other families, the same expression, bhūpa-pādānudhyāya, without any qualifying titles of bhūpa, is used as an epithet (3) of the Bhāṣṭaraka and Mahārāja Śālādīya I of Nāpāl (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 1-2); (4) of the Mahādīrmaṇa Amūsvarman of Nāpāl, who was also favoured by the feet of the god Pasupati, i.e. Śiva (id. Vol. IX. p. 169, No. 5, line 2, and p. 170, No. 7, line 4-5); (5) of Jīśhagupta of Nāpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Pasupati (id. Vol. IX. p. 171, No. 9, line 4, and p. 173, No. 10, line 6-7); and (6) of the Paramabhāṣṭaraka and Mahārāja Ādīhṛīra Śālādīya II. of Nāpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Pasupati, and was a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (id. Vol. IX. p. 174, No. 12, line 2, and p. 176, No. 13, line 2).—The same expression bhūpa-pādānudhyāya, with the feudatory titles of Mahārāja and Bhāṣṭaraka qualifying bhūpa, occurs in paramadīvata-bhūpa-bhāṣṭaraka-mahārāja-īśa-pādānudhyāya, an epithet (7) of the Bhāṣṭaraka and Mahārāja Vasaṁaṇa of Nāpāl (id. Vol. IX. p. 265, No. 3, line 1-2).—And finally, a compound of almost identical import, viz. bhūpa-pādā-bhākta, 'devoted to the feet of bhūpa,' occurs, with the title Bhāṣṭaraka qualifying bhūpa, in the epithet bhūpa-bhāṣṭaraka-pādā-bhākta, which is applied (8) to the Pallava Mahārāja Sinhaivarman II., who was a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat, i.e. the Divine One, or Viṣṇu (id. Vol. V. p. 155, line 13); (9) to the Vēṇgi Mahārāja Viyānanivarman, also a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. V. p. 176, line 1); and (10) to the Pallava Mahārāja Nandivarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. VIII. p. 168, line 14-15); and, with the further qualifying title of Mahārāja, in the epithet bhūpa-bhāṣṭaraka-mahārāja-pādā-bhākta, which is applied (11) to the Pallava Yuvarāja Vīshuṇṭṇapavarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (id. Vol. V. p. 51, line 14).—In publishing the two grants of Śālādīya V. of the year 403, Mr. V. N. Mandalik (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 355, note 3) treated the words bhūpa and bhūpu quite unnecessarily, as identical, and considered that they denoted "some great teacher of the Śaiva faith, or some remarkable great king of that name; but more probably the former, from the adjectives used;" or, again, some "sage, venerated equally in all parts of Hindūstān." So, also, Dr. Bhagwanlal Ṛṣi (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 167, note 17) has recorded his opinion that bhūpa is "a general title used by chief priests." And I myself (id. Vol. X. p. 57 f., note 4), have suggested that the name is that of "some king or pontiff of very early times, whose authority was recognised universally in his own day, and was afterwards preserved in the tradition of several distinct regal families."—These suggested explanations, however, cannot be upheld.—In the first place, the epithet in which bhūpa occurs belongs undoubtedly to persons of the Śaiva faith in instances 1 to 6 above. But Nos. 8 to 11 show that it was applicable just as much to followers of the Viṣṇuva faith. In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler (id. Vol. V. p. 208 f.) the feudatory title Mahārāja which qualifies bhūpa in Nos. 7 and 11 above, and, still more, the paramount sovereign titles of Paramabhāṣṭaraka, Mahārāja Ādīhṛīra, and Paramēśvara, which qualify it in the instances grouped under No. 2, show that the word must refer to some one of noble or regal birth, and cannot denote a priest, no matter how high
his rank in the hierarchy might be.—As regards the question of *bappa* being a proper name, the word does occur in this way, as the name of an official, the *Balāḍhikrīta* and *Bhēgika* Bappa (id. Vol. V. p. 212, and *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99, line 59); as the name of someone after whom was named the *Bappa-pādya-vihāra*, or "Buddhist monastery of the feet of Bappa," at Valabhi (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 12, line 19); in *Bappavāmin*, one of the grantees in the Khōb grant of the Parivārījaka *Mahārāja* Hastin, of the year 163 (No. 22 above, p. 103, line 11); in *Bappārya*, one of the grantees in line 53 of the Channak grant of the Vākkitaka *Mahārāja* Pravarasena II. (No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv. line 53); and in *Babbātti*, a Jain teacher, allotted to Vikrama-Sāvat 800 to 895 (*Ind. Ant., Vol. XI.* p. 253). The same word is probably a component of *Bappudā*, the name of the family to which, as recorded in an unpublished inscription of Maṅgallā (Gymnastic of the Kanarese Districts, pp. 19, 22), Durālabbādēvī, the wife of the Early Chalukya king Pulikēśin I., belonged. A similar word *bappog*, probably derived from it, occurs in Bṛmapādeva, the name of a Sēnāpati in the Siwati grant of Pravarasena II. (No. 56 below, Plate xxxiv. line 35). And, finally, *Bappo* has been preserved by tradition, in *Mēwar,* as the more familiar appellation of an early Gohila chief, who is said to have established the power of that tribe on the overthrow of the Bhīlas or Bhīls (see Tod's *Annals of Rāja-
sthāna*, chapter II., Calcutta Reprint, Vol. I. p. 238 ff.; also pp. 121, 253, 258 f.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 275, note 26).—But the idea that, in the technical expression under discussion, *bappa* denotes some particular priest, whether of the Śaiva or Viśnu faith, whose memory had been preserved in different parts of India from very early times, has been disposed of above. And, this being so, it remains difficult, on the supposition that the word is a proper name, to imagine how it should have cropped up again from time to time, under precisely similar circumstances, in such different parts of the country, and such varying periods, as are indicated by instances 2 to 11 above.—The true explanation of the word first occurred to me from noticing the way in which the titles that qualify *bappa* vary in accordance with the titles of the persons to whom the epithet *bappa-pād-dunudhyāta* is applied; and it is fully borne out by the epithet *irā-ajjaka-pād-dunudhyāta,* which is applied only to Dharasena IV. in his complete grant of the year 326 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 79, line 38; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 165), and in his grant of the same year of which only the translation of the second plate has been published (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 45). This expression, if it had not been so completely overlooked, would probably have made the matter clear long ago, dropped out in all the subsequent Valabhi grants, even in those of Dharasena IV. himself of the year 330; probably on account of something in the official relations between Śrīditya I. and Kharagroha I. which remains to be cleared up. But it occurs in these two instances; and, in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's rendering (id. Vol. I. p. 16), it undoubtedly means "meditating on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather." *Ajja* in Kanarese, and *ājir* and *ājī* in Marāthi, are the ordinary words for 'a grandfather' in the present day. And it is evident that *ajjaka* is the older Prākrit word, from which these have been derived.—On this analogy, *bappa* suggests itself at once as the old Prākrit form of the modern bāp, 'a father.' And now it becomes clear why the word is qualified by the paramount titles in its connection with the paramount sovereign Śrīditya IV. and his successors, the reason being that the father of each of them was himself a paramount sovereign; and, on the other hand, why, in its connection with feudatories, it has either no qualificatory title at all, or only the feudatory titles Mahārāja and Bhaṭṭāraka, as in the case of Vasantasena, Sinhavarman, Vijaya-nandivarman, Nandivarman, and Vishnu-gopāvarman. The rule thus disclosed also shows why, in the case of Śivadeva II., himself a paramount sovereign, *bappa* has no qualifying term; for, the way in which he is introduced in lines 11-12 of the Nēpāl inscription No. 15 (id. Vol. IX. p. 178; see also Vol. XIV. p. 348) shows that he brought in a new branch of the Thākurī family, and that his father Narendradēva, even if he held the rank of Mahārāja, was at least not a paramount sovereign. And the same rule explains why, in connection with the paramount sovereign Dharasena IV., *ajjaka* is qualified by nothing more than the ordinary title *irā*; for, he himself was the first paramount sovereign in the family; and his grandfather, Kharagroha I., was at the best only a Mahārāja.—The analogy of *ajjaka* and *bappa* now suffices fully to clear up the meaning of the word *bāva.* It suggests at once that it is nothing but the older Prākrit word from which have been derived, with somewhat differing significations in Marāthi, bāddā, 'a term of respect-
splendour; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Praหมaবhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, (his) glorious [father].

(L. 55.)—His son (was) the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Śilāḍīṭya Deva (VI.),—who alyed the pride of the strength of (his) enemies; who was the auspicious asylum of great victory; whose breast dallied with the embraces of the goddess of fortune; whose unrestrained energy exceeded (even) that of (the god Vishnu) who assumed the form of the man-lion; who effected the protection of the whole earth by eradicating the hostile kings; who was the best of men; who tinted the faces of all the women that are the distant regions with the rays of the nails of (his) feet shining with the rubies in the tiaras of the powerful princes who bowed down before (him); who was a 'most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the Praหมaবhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, (his) glorious father.

ful mention for a father or an elderly person; bhava, a term of respectful mention for a Gōvālī, Guru, father, or elderly person, and bhava, a husband's brother, especially an elder brother;' and in Kanarese, bhavya, the son of a mother's brother, or father's sister, a man or woman's brother-in-law (in every case, if older than one's self), and bhava, a husband or wife's elder brother, a maternal uncle's son (similarly, in every case, if older than one's self). Looking for its application in connection with Śilāḍīṭya III., we note, in the first place, that the grants show very clearly that his father Śilāḍīṭya II. did not reign at all, which explains why the epithet bhava-pāḍ-anudhyāta is not used in respect of him; and, in the second place, that the only paramount sovereign before him was his father's distant cousin Dharasena IV., who, so far as paramount sovereignty is concerned, was his immediate predecessor. This shews us that bhava was used, here at least, to denote 'a male relative, of the same generation with a father,' or roughly 'an uncle;' and explains why bhava is qualified here with the paramount titles. And the fact that, after the first adoption of this technical expression, the Vālakhī succession was in each instance direct from father to son, explains why the expression bhava-pāḍ-anudhyāta does not occur again.—In Kanarese, bhava appears in the form of boppa (marked in Sanderson's edition of Reeve's Kanarese Dictionary as a word common to most Hindu languages), in boppa-singa, 'the lion of (his) father;' an epithet applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Lakṣmiṇidsiva II., the son and successor of Kāṭavrya IV. (Archeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 113, line 63-64). In confirmation of this I may quote, with the analogous introduction of terms of relationship, ayana-singa, 'the lion of (his) father,' a title of the Śāhāra chieftain Gaṇḍakṣīḍītya of Kōḷapura (Jour. Br. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XII. p. 3, line 2), and also of his son Vijayāḍītya (Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 105); māṇana-singa, 'the lion of (his) father-in-law,' applied to the Daṇḍaṇaṇa Kāṭavṛtya Deva (Archeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 106, line 17-18); aṇṇana-gandaṭṭhara, the choice elephant (of (his) elder brother, applied to the Daṇḍaṇaṇa Śiṅāvarbhaṭṭa in the same inscription (id. line 11-12); aṇṇana-anākaḍra, 'the warrior or champion of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Sinda chieftain Āchugī II. (Jour. Br. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 247, line 5); and bhava-anākaḍra, 'the warrior or champion of (his) uncle or other relation of the same generation with his father,' applied to a Śāhāra chieftain named Gōṅkīḍe (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 16, line 46). Other similar titles, which help to explain the preceding, through the introduction of proper names instead of words of relationship, are Śaṇa-singa, 'the lion of Śaṇa,' applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Kāṭavṛtya II., the son and successor of Śaṇa I. (Jour. Br. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 213, line 7); Taḷḷaṣa-singa, 'the lion of Taḷḷa,' applied to the Kāḍamba chieftain Kiṭṭhivarman II. of Banawāki, the son and successor of Taḷḷa I. (Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 83); Taḷḷa-man-anākaḍra, 'the warrior or champion of Taḷḷa,' applied to Kāḍēva of the same family, the son and successor of Taḷḷa (id. p. 86); and Gosṇka-anākaḍra, 'the warrior or champion of Gōṅka,' and Gāhēya-singa, 'the lion of Gāhēya,' applied to the Śāhāra chieftain Mārasimha, the son and successor of Gōṅka, and the nephew of Gōhala or Gōvala I. (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archeological Survey of Western India, p. 103, line 28.)

1 When he became incarnate, in a form that was half that of a man, and half that of a lion, in order to destroy the demon Hiranyakaśipu, who had obtained a boon from Brahman that he should not be destroyed by either god or man or animal.
(L. 58.)—Victorious is his son, the glorious Dhrubhata, born in a lineage of supreme kings of kings and supreme lords, (and) possessed of great happiness,—who is renowned for an abundance of heroism that is hard to be resisted; who is the abode of the goddess of fortune; who has striven to destroy hell; who has made it (his) sole resolve to save the earth; whose fame is as pure as the rays of the full-moon;—who is full of virtue through his knowledge of the three (Vedas); who has conquered the ranks of (his) enemies; who is possessed of happiness ——; who always confers happiness; who is the abode of knowledge; who is a protector of the world whom all people applaud; who is attended by learned men; who is praised far and wide on the earth;—who is resplendent with jewels; who has a beautiful person; who is a very pile of jewels that are virtuous qualities; who is endowed with the choice virtues of lordship and prowess; who is always employed in conferring benefits on living creatures; who, as if he were (the god) Janardana incarnate, humbles the pride of wicked people;—who is always most skillful in disposing the array of elephants in war; who is the abode of religious merit; (and) whose great prowess is sung over the (whole) earth.

(L. 63.)—[And he*, the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājaḍhīrīja, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Śilādiṭyadēva (VII),] who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājaḍhīrīja, and Paramēśvara, (his) glorious father, issues a command to all people:

(L. 64.)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents and of myself, (and) in order to obtain a reward both in this world and in the next, the village named Mahīlabali,* in the Uppalabhēta pathaka in the famous Khētaka ākara,—with the udraṅga (and) the upariṅa; with (the right to) forced labour as the occasion arises; with the revenue of the bhūta and vāta;* with (the fines for) the ten offences;* with (its) enjoyments and shares; with the grain, and gold, and adīya;

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* See page 172 above, note 1.
* Or perhaps Mahālāha, with the long vowel d in the third syllable.
* See page 170 above, note 9.
* ya-daśāparādāka.—This is a technical fiscal expression, of constant use in charters, for which I have not been able to obtain any absolutely certain explanation. But Mr. S. Ch. Chintis has brought to my notice, in the Dharmasindhuśāstra of Kāśyapa-pādhīya, chapter ii. verse 19 ff., that we have—Adattānaṃ udādānam himsa cāivā-vidhanatah II Parāddar-āparśvā cha kāyikām tri-viḍham smritam I pārusyam-anrātam ch-aiva paśunyam ch-āpi sarvasaḥ I Asambuddha-prā̂lāpa-ca vaṁma-yam syah-chatur-vidham I parādavyāśvā abhidhyānem manasā-dānīkṣa-chintanam II Vitah dāhīnāvāsī-ca maṇasām tri-viḍham smritam I čāni daśa pāpān kara voṁ maa Jāhnavi II Daśāparā-hārā yasmā tasmāḥ Daśāharāc smṛitā,—"the appropriation (theft) of things that are not given, and killing in a manner that is not in accordance with precept, and the pursuit of the wives of other men, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the body; harshness of language, and untruthfulness, and slander in all directions, and incoherent conversation, are the (four) sins of speech; coveting the property of others, (and) thinking with the mind about things which are wrong, and taciturnity of that which is not true, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the mind; do thou, O Jāhnavi (Gangā), take away these my ten sins; because thou takest away (these) ten sins, therefore art thou called "Daśaharā."—These verses occur in connection with the Daśaḥarā (popularly DASA or Dusrah) a festival in honour of the river Ganges, held on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyeshta.—So, also, in the Ashfāṅgahridaya of Vagbhata, Sāruṣṭrīdhāna, chapter i. verse 21 f. (Bombay edition of 1880, p. 38) we have, in only slightly different language,—Hims-stā-āryahādānam pāśiṇyam paruś-am-nūritaḥ I sambhīdāda-pāṇa-vyārodayam II obhādhyā drīptayāyam II Pāṇām karmāti daśadā kāya-uṭā-mānasān-sīyajit; which shows that the classification was a well-established and well-known one.—These ten sins are probably the
(with the privilege that it is) not to be (even) pointed at with the hand (of undue appropriation) by any of the king's people; (and) with the exception of previously-given grants to gods and Brâhmanas,—is given by me, with copious libations of water, on the terms of a grant to a Brâhman, in accordance with the rule of bhâmicokhaïdra,—to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, and the mountains; (and) to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons,—to the Bhâtta Ākhandalamitra, the son of the Bhatta Vishnu, an inhabitant of the famous town of Anandapura, belonging to the community of Chaituvedinis of that (place), a member of the Sîkarâkshi gôra, and a student of the Bahvricha (tâkha),—for the maintenance of the rites of the bali, charu, vaisvadávat, agnîhôtra, and aitihya sacrifices, and other (ceremonies).

(L. 69.)—"Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (it) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brâhman (and) cultivating (it), (or) causing it to be cultivated, or assigning (it to another).

(L. 70.)—"(And) this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future pious kings, whether born of Our lineage or others, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (both to him who makes it and to him who continues it)."

(L. 72.)—And it has been said by Vyâsa, the arranger of the Védas:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! These chattels, made into altars of religion, which have been formerly given here (on earth) by (previous) kings, (are) like the remains of offerings to gods, and like food that is vomited up; verily, what good man would take them back again? The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in the hollows of dried-up trees in the Vindhya mountains, destitute of water!

(L. 75.)—The Dátaka in this matter (is) the Mahápratikhára;... the Mahákshapatailika, a member of the king's household, the illustrious Siddhasëna, the son of the illustrious Savata; and (this charter) has been written by his deputy, the Pratinartaká, the high-born Amatya Guha, the son of Hembata, who was deputed by him (to write it).
(L. 77.)—In four centuries of years, increased by forty-seven; on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Jyēṣṭha; (or) in figures, the year 400 (and) 40 (and) 7; (the month) Jyēṣṭha; the bright fortnight; (the lunar day) 5. (This is) my sign-manual.

**No. 40; PLATE XXVI.**

**ARANG COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA MAHA-JAYARAJA.**

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55 ff. and Plates xxiv. and xxv.; and is now published in full for the first time,—is on some copper-plates that were obtained by Colonel Bloomfield, and were found at Áraṅg, a village about twenty miles almost due east of Rāypur, the chief town of the Rāypur District in the Central Provinces. The original plates are now in the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur.

The plates, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 5½" by 2½" at the ends and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. A few of the letters have been damaged by rust; but the inscription is for the most part in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good, but shews here and there, as usual, in the interiors of the letters, marks of the working of the engraver’s tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about 1½" thick, and 3" in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about 3½" in diameter; and, like the seal of the Rāypur grant of Māhā-Sudēvarāja, No. 41, below, Plate xxvii., it has a strong yellow glint in it, which gives it the appearance of being made of a kind of brass, rather than of copper. It has, in relief, on a countersunk and slightly concave surface,—across the centre, a legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below,—in the upper part, a standing figure of the goddess Lākṣmī facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant standing on a water-lily, with its trunk lifted up to pour water over her head; in the proper right corner, an expanded water-lily on its stalk; and in the proper left corner, a śaṅkha or conch-shell;—and in the lower part, there seems to have been a floral device. The seal has, at some time or other, been subjected to the action of fire, but not enough to do any very serious damage to the legend and devices on it.—The weight of the three plates is about 1 lb. 3 oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 1 oz.; total 2 lbs. 4 oz.—The average size of the letters is about ½".

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3 *sau-hasta.* In the original these words have some wavy lines under them, which are intended for an actual representation of the sign-manual. See also page 171 above, note 2.

4 The ‘Áraṅg and Arang’ of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21° 12’ N.; Long. 82° 1’ E.—Gen. Cunningham was first informed (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55) that the plates were found at Árvi (see page 192 below, and note 4); then (*id.* p. 59), that they were actually obtained at Rāypur, but were most probably found at Áraṅg; and finally (*id.* Preface, p. iii.), that they were found at Áraṅg.

5 The ‘Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor,’ of maps.
The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another very good specimen of the ‘box-headed’ variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 19 above. They include, however, in chadda, line 1, the separate form of the lingual $d$, as distinct from the dental $d$. The superscript long vowel $i$ is denoted in rather a peculiar way, by a mark just like an anusvara inside the circle which, by itself, represents the superscript short $i$; see, for instance, sthamati, line 2, and daksinijinga, line 4; the burr of the copper, raised in the process of engraving, gives in a few places, in the impression and consequently in the lithograph, a faint mark, very similar to this, inside the short $i$ proper, e.g. in bhdepin, line 13; but the difference can, of course, be detected at once in the original plates. The characters also include, in line 24, forms of the numerical symbols for 5 and 20.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedicitive and imprecatory verses in lines 13 to 23, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihmnatiya and upadhmaniya, in yah-kdamnam, line 18; and prada $h$-parama, line 3, and dhiya-pravadamnti, line 14; (2) a constant use of the anusvara, instead of the dental $n$, and the doubling of $t$ after it, e.g. in sramma, line 1; udhahamnti, line 17; and bhaavaniti, line 18; (3) the doubling of $v$ after the anusvara, in samvatsara, line 24; (4) the insertion of a superfluous anusvara, in prasannma, line a of the seal; dmbubhir, line 1-2; kutunmbinah, line 5; and pravadamnti, line 14; (5) the doubling of $k$, in conjunction with a following $r$, in vikram-dkdrntta, line a of the seal, and vikrama, line 1; (6) the doubling of $dh$, in conjunction with a following $y$, in anuddhydta, line 4; (7) the introduction of a superfluous sibilant, in prada $h$-parama, line 3; anuddhydta $h$-sr, line 4; and kutunmbinah $s$-samajdpaya, line 5; and (8) the use of sinnga for simha, line 24, and of tambra for tamra, line 11.

The inscription is one of the Rāja Jayarāja or Mahā-Jayarāja; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the town of Sarabhapura. The date of the engraving of it is recorded, in numerical symbols, as the year five of increasing victory, and the twenty-fifth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Margaśira (November-December). No era is referred to; and, as we have a similar small date of the year ten in the next inscription of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, the fifth year must be simply that of the power or government of Jayarāja. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record the grant, by Jayarāja himself, to a Brāhmaṇa, of the village of Pamvā in the Pūrvraśhtra or Eastern Country.1

As regards the town of Sarabhapura, whence the charter was issued, General Cunningham has suggested—in the first place, that, by elision of the initial $s$, it may, through the forms of ‘Arabhpura’ and ‘Arbhi,’ be represented by the modern Ārvi,2 the chief town of the Ārvi Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Wardhā District in the Central Provinces;—and in the second place, that it may be represented by the modern ‘Sambal-

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1 So called, perhaps, from ‘ts lying on the east of the range of mountains, identified by Gen. Cunningham with the Mekala mountains, which commences near ‘Amarkantak,’ rūna to the south, passing about half-way between Nagpur and Rāypur, and then, near ‘Wairagarh,’ takes a sharp turn to the east, and comes to an end about sixty miles south-east of Rājim.

2 The ‘Arooe, Arvi, and Arwee,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 72. Lat. 20° 59’ N.; Long. 78° 16’ E.—It is thirty miles north-west of Wardhā, and about two hundred and thirty miles west by south from Rāypur.
pur' or 'Sambhalpur,' the chief town of the 'Sambalpur' District in the Central Provinces, where, or in which neighbourhood, another copper-plate inscription of Mahā-Sudēvarāja was obtained. But neither of these proposed derivations can be upheld. And, if Sarabhapura is represented by any place now existing, we have to look in the maps for some such name as Sarbhör or Sābhör.

**TEXT.**

**The Seal.**

\[ a \] Prasaṁmaṁha[r[i]yasa[a]viva vikram-ākra[m]ta-

\[ b \] śramaṁ Jaya[r]yaśa śasa[n]m ripu-sāsanam [II*]

**First Plate.**

1 Svasti Sarabhapurāt d-vikram-ōpanata-sāmarheta-chuḍāmaṇi]-prabhā-prasēk-

2 mbubhir=dhō(duha)ta-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsinī-sīmarag-ōddharaṇa-hētu-

3 rvasu-vasudhā-gocraḍaḥ h-pramaṁbhāgaṇatō māṭāpiḍrī-pa-

4 d-anuddhyātaḥ ś=sṛt-Mahā-Jayaṛājḥ Pūrvvāraṇṛtiya-Pamvāṁ]-prati-

5 vāsi-kutumbariṇ[n]mah s=samājaśāpayati i Vīditam-astu vō yathā-

**Second Plate; First Side.**

6 smabhāḥ=aγha grāma 1 straś-sapati-sadana-sukha-praṣṭihatākaro yava-

7 d-raś-tāra-kiraṇa-krathata-gār-ānḍakāraṁ jagade[a]vatiśhatatē

8 tāvad = upabhōgyas = sa = nīdhis = s = ōpanidhir = a = chāta = bhata = prāvēṣyas = sa =

9 rvva-kara-visarjitaḥ Vājji(ja)šanēya-Kauṇḍinyasaṅgōraḥ Brahma[da]dēva-

10 svāminē II(t)y māṭāpiḍrōr-ātmanaḥ=chas puny-ē(ā)bhivṛ[d]abhayē II(t)) udaka-

pārvva[r][II*]

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1Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 106. Lat. 21° 27' N.; Long. 84° 1' E.—It is about one hundred and forty-five miles almost due east of Rāypur.

2It has been published by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, in 1866, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXV. p. 155 ff. But the original plates, which were presented to the Society by the finder of them, Col. G. Bowie, are not now forthcoming; and the published version is not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced. I have, therefore, not been able to include this inscription in the present volume.

3From the original plates.—Read prasanna.

4Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

5Read purda-vikkrama.—The t of purāt is so small and shallow, that it plainly was only inserted as an afterthought. It is quite superfluous; since its representative by samadhī, viz. d, had already been duly engraved in conjunction with the following vi.

6Read mbubhir, or mbubhir.

7Read pрадaḥ-parama, or pрадaḥ parama.

8Read anuddhyāta=rī, or anuddhyāta=rī.

9From a comparison of the corresponding passage in line 4-5 of No. 41, page 198 below, the reading that was intended is probably pāmvṛdām pratiśrddi.

10Read kusumbi, or kutumbi.

11Read nas=sam, or nah sam.

12Read grāmas, expunging the mark of punctuation.

13Read sagdṛa-bhrma.

14This mark of punctuation is exactly like the visarga, as the latter is written in this inscription. But, that the sign may be interpreted as either a mark of punctuation or the visarga, is shown by the regularity with which it occurs where a mark of punctuation is appropriate, and a visarga is not; and also by the occurrence of the half mark of punctuation, formed in the same way, impossible to be mistaken for anything else, in lines 5 and 6 above, and 22 below, and in lines 5, 15, 16, and 17, of No. 41, page 198 below.
Second Plate; Second Side.

11 tambra(mra)-śāsanēn-ātisra(sri)shṭah [lI*] Tē yūyam-ēvam-upalabhē-āsy-ājñā-
śravāna-
12 vi(vi)dēyā bhūtvā yath-ōchitaṁ bhōga-bhāgam-upanayāmṭa(ttah) sukhaṁ-
pratīva[*]syā-
13 tha II Bhāvishyataś-cha bhūmipān-anudarsayati II(l) Dānāḥ[vm]iśīṣtaṁ-
14 nupālana-jāṁ purāṇe(nā) II(l) dharmmēshu niśchita-dhiyāḥ-pravadānmi[
15 tasmād-[d]viṣāya-; suviśuddha-kula-śrutayā II(l) dattā[m*] bhuvām bhavatū
vō ma[ti*]r=ō.

Third Plate; First Side.

16 va gōpt[u*]m II Tad-bhavadbhir-apy-ēshā dattir-anupālayitavyā II 'Vyāsa-
gītāṁś-cha-ātra
17 ślokān-udāharanti II(l) Agnē[ṃ]-apatyam prathamam suvarṇa[m*] bhūr-
Vvaiśnapātī sû-
18 ryya-sut[ā*]s=cha gāvah [l*] dattās-trayas-tēna bhavaṁttī lōkāh yāḥ-
kāñchanam gā[m*]
19 cha mahī[m*] cha dadyā[*] II Shashṭhitā[ṃ] varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē
vasati bhūmi-dāḥ [l*]
20 ācchhēttā cā-anūma[m*]ttā cha tāṁ-evi narakē cā vasē[*] II Sva-
dattā[m*] para-dattā[m*] vā ya-

Third Plate; Second Side.

21 tnā[d-]ra]jksa Yudhishthīra II(l) mahī(m)-mahimatām chchhrēṣṭha[ṃ] dānāḥ-
chhrēyō-nupālaṁ [lI*]
22 Bhahubhir-vasudhā dattā rājabhīs-Sagar-ddibhi[ṃ] l yasya [yasya*] yadā
bhūmis-ta-
23 sya tasya tadā phalamiti[li*] Sva-mukh-ājñāyā ukā[t]ṛṇam[ṃ]
Acha-
24 lasēṅghēna pravarddhamāna-vijaya-saṁvatsara 5 Mārgaśīra 20 5 [lI*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of the illustrious Jayarāja,—who
verily has a gracious heart; (and) who has
overcome (his) enemies by (his) prowess,—
(is) a charter for (the observance of even his)
enemies!

The Plates.

Hail! From the town of Sarahapura, the illustrious Mahā-Jayarāja,—whose
two feet are purified by the waters which are the flowing forth of the radiance of the
jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the chieftains, (bowing down before

1 Metre, Vasantatilaka. 8 Read pravadānti; or pravadānti.
2 Metre, Indravajrā. 4 Metre, Śīlka (Anushṭabh); and in the following two verses.
* Read iśīṣṭha. 5 Metre, Śūktaka (Anushṭabh); and in the following two verses.
* Read phalam. 6 Supply śasanam.
him), who have been subjugated by (his) prowess; who is the cause of the tearing out of the parted hair of the women of (his) enemies; who is the giver of treasure and land and cows; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One; (and) who mediates on the feet of (his) parents,—issues a command to the cultivators residing at (the village of) Pānvā in the Eastern Country:

(Line 5.)—"Be it known to you, that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of (Our) ensuring the happiness of (attaining) the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods, is by (this) copper-charter conveyed by Us, with libations of water, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourselves, to Brāhmādevavāmin, of the Vājasaṇēya (tākhā) and the Kauṇḍînayā gōtra,—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (its) hidden treasures and deposits; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; (and) exempted from all taxes.

(Line 11.)—"Being aware of this, you should be obedient to his commands, and should dwell in happiness, rendering in proper manner (his) share of the enjoyment."

(Line 13.)—And he enjoins upon future kings,—"The ancients, whose minds are fixed upon religion, say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from) making a grant; therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brāhman of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also."

(Line 16.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa:—Gold (is) the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Viṣṇu; and cows (are) the daughters of the sun. Therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! O Yudhisṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Saṅgara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)!

(Line 23.)—At the command of (Mahā-Jayārāja’s) own mouth, (this charter) has been engraved by Achalaśingha, (in) the year 5 of increasing victory, (in) (the month) Mārgaśīra, (on the day) 20 (and) 5.

1. Dr. Hultsch (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 333, note 46) has explained this, by saying that, "according to the Naiyāyikas" or followers of the Nyāya philosophy, "gold consists of fire (tētāra)."
2. This is the customary reading.—In line 39 of the Khatrā grant of the Śīlāhāra chieftain Rāja Rāja of Śāka-Saṃvat 930 (Jour. Be. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. I. p. 218) the reading is dyauh, 'the sky,' instead of bhīh, 'the earth;' but I know of no other instance of this variation.
3. Or, perhaps, "the earth (is) Vaishāvī (the personification of the tākti or female energy of Viṣṇu)."
4. This seems to be explained by the Rig-Vēda, vii. 101, 6, in which the sun is described as "the bull that impregnates all the cows" (Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, Vol. IV. p. 112 f.)
5. The three worlds are sometimes reckoned as heaven, earth, and the lower region; sometimes as the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth. The latter arrangement seems to be the one referred to in this verse; the sky being represented by cows, as the daughters of the Sun or the god Śrīrya, the lord of the sky; and the atmosphere by gold, as the offspring of fire or the god Agni, who is the lord of the Pitṛs or spirits of deceased ancestors, whose abode is in the region of the air.
No. 41; PLATE XXVII.

RAYPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA
MAHA-SUDEVARAJA.

This inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 55 ff., and Plates xxvi. and xxvii.; and is now published in full for the first time,—is from some copper-plates that were obtained by Colonel Bloomfield at Raypur, the chief town of the Raypur District in the Central Provinces. The original plates are now in the Provincial Museum at Nagpur.

The plates, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 6" by 3½" at the ends and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver’s tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about ¼" thick and 3½" in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about 3½" in diameter; and, like the seal of the Araṅg grant of Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi., it has the appearance of being made of a kind of brass, rather than of copper. It has plainly, at some time or other, been subjected to the action of fire, which, with the effects of wear and tear, has almost completely destroyed the upper surface of it. But there are visible, in relief on a slightly countersunk and concave surface, faint traces of—across the centre, a legend, in two lines, of which, as restored, the text and translation are given below;—in the upper part, a standing figure of the goddess Lakṣmī, facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant, standing on a water-lily, with its trunk lifted up over her head, to pour water over her; in the proper right corner, an expanded water-lily, on its stalk; and, in the proper left corner, a śankha or conch-shell;—and, in the lower part, there seems to have been a floral device.—The weight of the three plates is about 1 lb. 5½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 7½ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 13 oz.—The average size of the letters is about 1¼". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; and give another specimen of the ‘box-headed’ variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 19 above. They are of almost exactly the same type as those of the preceding inscription of Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi. The most noticeable difference is in the formation of the superscript long vowel ī; the stroke, similar to an anusvāra, which distinguishes it from the short ē, being placed, not in the centre of the circle, but on the right side of it, as part of the down stroke of the circle; see, for instance, vīrā̤n, line 2, and vādhisṭica, line 4. The separate sign for the lingual ĥ, as distinct from the dental ē, occurs in cādha, line 1.

1The ‘Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21°. 15’ N.; Long. 81° 41’ E.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 41, PLATE XXVII.

We have the very rare initial au, in aupamanyava, line 10. And forms of the numerical symbols for 9 and 10 occur in line 27.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 15 to 24, is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in aśīrśiṣṭaka, line 11-12, the affix ka that I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihoodmāliya and upadhmanya, in yah-kālīchanam, line 20; visarjita-kōndinya, line 9; pradaḥ-parama, line 3; and dhiyāḥ-pravadamkṣa, line 16; (2) the doubling of v, after the anusvāra, in samuccaiśana, line 24; (3) the insertion of a superfluous anusvāra, once only, in pravadamkṣa, line 16; (4) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in vikrama, line 1; (5) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anusvāra, line 4; and (6) the use of singha for sinha, line 28, and of tāmbrā for tāmra, line 11.

The inscription is one of the Rāja Sudēvarāja or Mahā-Sudēvarāja; and the charter recorded in it is issued, as in the case of the preceding inscription of Mahā-Jayarāja, from the town of Śarabhapura. The occasion of its issue was the utharāyana, or the sun's commencement of his progress to the north. The date of the engraving of it is recorded, in numerical symbols, as the year ten of increasing victory, and the ninth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Māgha (January-February). No era is referred to; and the tenth year must be simply that of the power or government of Sudēvarāja. It is a non-sectārian inscription; the object of it being only to record the assent of Sudēvarāja to the grant, to two Brāhmans, of the village of Śrisāhikā, in the Pūrvarāṣṭra or Eastern Country.

TEXT.¹

The Seal.²

a Prasannaḥ-bridadasya-aiva vikram-ākkrānta-vidvishāḥ
b śrīmat-Sudēvarājāsya śāsanaṁ ripu-śāsanaṁ [11*]

First Plate.

1 Ōm Svasti Śarabhapuruḍa-vikram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuṭa-chūḍā-mani-
2 prabhā-prasek-āmbu-dhō(duh)ta-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsini-slumant-ōḍāha-
3 ṛaṇa-hētur-vvasu-vasudhā-gō-pradhā-paramabhāgavatō mātāpitrī-

¹ The symbol for the day might perhaps be interpreted as 30. But it seems, on the whole, to be a transitional form of the symbol for 9, from which the modern Śevanāgar decimal figure 9 was developed.—Gen. Cunningham read the symbol for the year as 80, not 10; but I do not think this can be upheld. It is evidently a square and upright variety of the second form of 10 given in col. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajil's Table in the Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 44 f.

² From the original plates.

³ With the exception of the word prasanna at the beginning of the first line, the legend is almost entirely obliterated. But there are faint indications here and there, which, with the help of the legend on the seal of No. 40, page 193 above, and Plate xxvi., enable us to restore it as above.

⁴ Metre, Śīka (Anushāṭhī).

⁵ The lithograph in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. Plate xxvi. shews śrī-Mahā-Sudēra. But this reading is not legible on the seal; and, as it does not suit the metre, it cannot have been so engraved.

⁶ Here, and in line 16 below, the jihoodmāliya, instead of being clearly formed as in lines 3 and 14 of No. 40. Plate xxvi., is indicated, hardly perceptibly, by little more than a vertical division of the square top of the pu.
Pârśvarâṣṭriya-Śrīśāhīni

kâyân pratibhâ-samâjâpayati
yathâśâh bhûmâh-ayâna
grâmas-tri[tri]daśapati-sadana-sukha-pratishth-akâ-

Second Plate; First Side.

rû yavâd=ravi-saśâ-târa-kirapa-prathîtha-ghôr-ândhakâram, jagad-avâ-

tishthatâ tâvâd-upabhôgas-sa-nidhis-s-ôpanâdhir-a-châta-bhaṭa-prâvēśya[h]
sarvva - kara - visarjitah = Kô(ku)pôînasagôtra - Vâjasanêya - Savi[t][ti]-
svâmîna [â]îmlyâ-kanyâ-prâdânî[na] Aupamanyava-[Va]îtsasagôtra yâ-mâ-
trô[rô][h]
[Nâgavatsasvâmi-Bandhuvatsasvâmin-s-tâmbra(mra)-âsanân-âti-
stri[tri]shâtakô bhûtvâ-âsâbhî-apy-uttarâyânô mâtâpitrô-râtmanaś-cha

Second Plate; Second Side.

puny-è(â)bhîvîddhayê-numôdîta[h] [II*] Tê yûyam-èvam-upalabhy-âsy-ajñâs-ra-
vâna-vidhêyâ bhûtvâ yath-ôchitaṁ bhôga-bhâgam-upamapanayantas[su-
khâm pratiyayatha [II*] Bhavishyata[s]cha bhûmipâ[n-a]*]nudarsayati [III*]
Dânâd=vîsîshṭa-

m-anupâlana-jam purân[ê] ddha[ddha]rmmešhu nîsîchita-dhiyaḥ-pravadamantîv
dharmmaṁ [I] tasmâ-

d=[d]*vijûya su=visuddha-kula-krutâya dattâṁ bhuvah bhavatu vî matir-
eva gôptum [II*] Ta-

d=bhavaddhir-apy-èshâ dattir-anupâlayitavyâ [II*] Vyâsa-gîtâ[m]*]d=ch-âtra
slôkân-udâharantî [I*]

Third Plate; First Side.

Agnè[r]=apatyam prathamam suvarṇa[m*] bhûr=vvaishnavît sûryya-
sûtâs-cha gâva[h*] dattâ-
s-trayas-téna bhavanti lôkâ yah-kânchanaṁ gâ-î cha mahâ[ma] cha

dadyât [II*] Shashaṭi10-vâ-

rsha-sahasraṇi svarggê mødâti bhûmi-dâh âchhêttâ ch-ânumantâ
cha tâny-è-

va na[ra*]kê vásêt [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ rájabhi[h*] Sagar-
adibhiḥ yasya

yasya yadâ bhûmis-tasya tasya tadâ phalâṁ [II*] Sva-dattâ[m*] para-
dattâ[m] [vâ*] ya-

tnad=raksha Yudhishtîrâ ahî[11] mahimatâ[m*] śreṣhtâ dânâc-chhreyô-
nupalâ[12].

1 Before this word, yâmâtre, there is a cross, to indicate that this is not the place to which it properly belongs. It is plain that the reading intended in lines 9 to 11 was Savîtrîvohma dîmhythm-kanyâ-prâdânena yâmâtre=Aupamanyava-Vatsasagôtra-Nâgavatsasvâmi &c.

2 Before this trô, mi was engraved, and then cancelled; and bs seems to have been engraved and cancelled in the place where the trô stands.

3 Over this vîsarga, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here; viz. the passage commencing with asmiṇâ=eva grênd, in lines 25 and 26 below.

4 Read upalabhy=ātayôr=ājñâ.

5 Read bhâgam=upanayanatas.

6 Metre, Vasantatilaka.

7 Read pravadantî, or pravadamitî.

8 First si was engraved, and then u was added, without the i being sufficiently cancelled.

9 Metre, Indravajra.

10 Metre, Slôka (Anushhtubh) ; and in the following two verses.

11 Read mahîm.

12 The proper context is lanam=iti, in line 27.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 41, PLATE XXVII.

Third Plate; Second Side.

25 Asmin[*n*]-ēva grāmē pūrva-tatākasya paryyatta(nta)-bhūmi-vapra-baddhā Śrī-
26 vālpīkā, panthānam yāvaj-ja(jy)ṣṭha iti kṛitvā Nāga[va*]tsasvāminē grām-
       ārdhāṣy-ādhiṃkā dattā
27 laṃa*-iti II Sva-mukh-ājñayā pravardhamāṇa-vijaya-samvatsara
       Māgha' 9

ukt[tl](t)ma[m*]* Drōṇasinghā(ṅghē)na [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of the illustrious Sudēvarāja,
—who verily has a gracious heart; (and)
who has overcome (his) enemies by (his)
prowess,—(is) a charter for (the observance
of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

Om! Hail! From the town of Sarabhapura, the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja,—
whose two feet are purified by the waters which are the flowing forth of the radiance
of the jewels in the locks of hair (wound in the tiaras of the chieftains, (bowing down
before him), who have been subjugated by (his) prowess; who is the cause of the tearing
out of the parted hair of the women of (his) enemies; who is the giver of treasure and
land and cows; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One, (and) who meditates
on the feet of (his) parents,—issues a command to the cultivators residing at (the village
of Śrīṣāhikā in the Eastern Country:—

(Line 5.)—“Be it known to you, that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of
(Our) ensuring the happiness of (attaining) the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,—
which has been conveyed by a copper-charter to Nāgavatsasvāmin and Bandhuvatsa-
vāmin, of the Aupamanyava (tākha) and the Vatsa gōtra, who, by the gift in marriage of
his daughters, are the sons-in-law of Savitrisvāmin of the Kaṇḍinya gōtra and the Vājasan-
ēya (tākha); to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dis-
pelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (its) hidden treasures
and deposits; not to be taken by the irregular or the regular troops; (and) exempted from
all taxes,—has, at the time of the sun’s commencement of his progress to the north,

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1 Before this vā, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here,
or, more properly, before the śrī; viz. grāmārdhāṣyādhiṃkā, from the end of the line.—
The reading intended in these two lines was—Asmin-ēva grāmē pūrva-tatākasya paryyanta-
bhūmi-vapra-baddhā grāmārdhāṣyādhiṃkā Śrīdhipikā panthānam yāvaj-ja(jṣṭha iti kṛitvā Nāga-
vatsasvāminē dattā. And this passage should properly have been inserted after anumāṇditaḥ, in line
13 (see page 98 above, note 3.)

2 Over this dhi there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here; viz. the
syllables kā dattā, which are placed between the lines, below minē.

3 This is the proper context of nupd, at the end of line 24.

4 Supply śāsanam.

5 As restored, with the help of the few letters that remain, on the analogy of the legend on the
seal of the Āraha grant of Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 194.
been assented to by Us indeed, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourself.

(L. 13.)—"Being aware of this, you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness, rendering in proper manner (their) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 15.)—And he enjoins upon future kings,—"The ancients, whose minds are fixed upon religion, say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from) making a grant; therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brähman of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also."

(L. 18.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa.—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Vishṇu; and cows are the daughters of the sun: therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! O Yuddhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant!

(L. 25.)—In this same village, the irrigation-well called Śṛtvāpika, constructed within the mound on the land that skirts the eastern tank, (and) extending up to the road, is given to Nāgavatsasvāmin, in excess of (his exact) half of the village, because he is the elder.

(L. 27.)—At the command of (Mahā-Sudēvarāja's) own mouth, (in) the year 10 of increasing victory, (in) the month Māgha, (on the day) 9, (this charter) has been engraved by Drōṇaśīṅgha.

No. 42; PLATE XXVIII.

APHSAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF ADITYASENA.

This inscription was discovered by Major Markham Kittoe, some time anterior to 1850; but the first notice of it, that I have been able to trace, is General Cunningham's mention of it in 1863, in his report for the year 1861-62, which was issued as a supplement to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXII. p. iii ff., and was in 1871 reprinted in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I., where this inscription is referred to on page 40.—In 1866, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXV. p. 267 ff., Dr. Rajendra-lala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from a transcript of the original, in modern Devanāgarī characters, which Major Kittoe had given to General Cunningham in 1850.—In 1882, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XV. p. 11, General Cunningham supplemented this translation, by notifying, from his own examination of a rubbing of the original inscription made by Major Kittoe, which had meanwhile been discovered by Mr. J. D. M. Beglar in a box of inscriptions in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library, that the name of the second king was Harşagupta; not Hashkagupta, as read by Major Kittoe.—And in 1883, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI. p. 79, he further notified that Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit, apparently in a letter to him, had indicated that
the name of Śāntavarman should be substituted, in line 7, for the Śāntavarman of Major Kittoe's transcript.

Aρsαδ  or  Aρsαντ, also called Ḡafarpur, is a village near the right bank of the Sakari river, about fifteen miles towards the north-east of Nawāḍa, the chief town of the Nawāḍa Sub-Division of the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on a stone-slab, that was found here, and was afterwards removed by Major Kittoe, in order "to re-examine it, and to restore it as much as possible, before having it fixed in a pedestal near the Varāha" in Aρsαδ. According to the local statement, Major Kittoe removed the stone to Nawāḍa; but General Gunningham failed to find it, or to hear anything more of it, either there, or at Gayā and Benares. The loss of the original stone, however, is as well compensated for as is possible by the existence, in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta, of an exceptionally good red-chalk rubbing, made by Major Kittoe himself, from which I now edit the inscription, and from which my lithograph has been prepared.

The writing, with its margin, covers the entire front of the stone; and is apparently on a slightly countersunk surface about 2′ 9″ broad by 1′ 5½″ high, with a corresponding rim from ¾″ to 1″ broad. It has suffered a great deal from the effects of the weather, about the centre of the stone; but, even here, nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost, except perhaps, in line 15, a completion of the hint as to the relations between Madhavagupta and Harshadeva, i.e. Harshavardhana of Kanauj. The rest of the inscription is very legible. The impression indicates that the stone has been broken at the lower proper right corner; but, as shown in the note to line 25 of the Text, the stone seems to have been originally imperfect here; and not so much of the writing has been lost, as would be expected at first sight. The size of the letters varies from about 1¾″ to 2″. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and present a very marked development as contrasted with the preceding plates of this volume. They belong to a particular type, to which the special name of Kutila has come to be attached, in consequence of the upright strokes having at the bottom a small tail which is 'crooked, curved, or bent' (kutīla) to the right. The term Kutila actually occurs in the 'Dewal' inscription of (Vikrama) Sānsvat 1049; in the last line of which it is recorded that "this (eulogy) has been written by the scribe Takshādiya, (a native of) the (country of) Gauḍa; and the son of Vishnuhari,—who is well acquainted with the curved letters." The term used here for "curved letters" is kutira-dhāshānu. It does not seem to be employed with the specific object of recording a standing name of this style of writing; any more than the expression vikal-dhāshā, "(an eulogy) in beautiful letters," is used in that way in line 27 of the present inscription; and ruchir-dhāshā-panktibhik, "(this eulogy has been engraved) in lines of pleasing letters," in line 27 of an inscription in the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur; and sad-varṇa, "(an eulogy) in excellent letters," in line 41 of the Sāsahā temple inscription of Mahāpāla. But the term Kutila fits this type of letters so well, that, as the name has been

1 The 'Aparsa, Ufsund, and Ufsund-Jafarpoo, ' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 22° 4′ N.; Long. 89° 44′ E.
2 The 'Nawāḍa, Nawadeeh, Nowāda, and Nowāda,' of maps, &c.
applied to the alphabet for so long a time, there seems no objection to continuing it. The alphabet of the present inscription might be called the Kuśa or variety of the Magadha alphabet of the seventh century A.D. It really differs but little from the modern Devanāgarī. The form of the lingual ḍ, which occurs in gāḍha, line 1, and apṛthā, line 2, is almost quite identical with the modern Devanāgarī form. The form of the lingual ḍ, which occurs in chudda, lines 3 and 16, in khadga, line 18, and ḍaḍa, line 21, is still rather transitional, differing but little from the form of the dental ḍ. And the most antient remnant in the whole inscription is the form of ṛ, in conjunction with a following consonant, e.g., in harsha, lines 2 and 15, dhanur-bhṭma, line 2, śindhu-lakṣmī, line 7, and ārtha, line 12; following the custom noted at several places above, but practised in the earlier inscriptions in respect only of ṛ in combination with a following y, it is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it; and in the rya of saurya, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before, e.g., in kuryādi in line 12 of the Majghawām plates of the Mahārāja Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout. It offers about the earliest instance of the hyperbolical expressions and mythological allusions with which the later inscriptions abound, distinguishing them so completely from the artistic, concise, dignified, and frequently really poetical, style of the more ancient records.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of ṛ, in conjunction with a following r, once, in dīrapatīra, line 21; where, however, it may possibly be due to a mistaken idea as to the etymology of the word; and (2) the use throughout of ṛ for b, e.g., in virodha, lines 9 and 11; valinda, line 14-15; vabhka, line 15; and viśvraṭṭa, line 17.

The inscription is one of Ādityasēna, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha. It is not dated. It is a Vaishnavya inscription; the principal object of it being to record the building, by Ādityasēna, of a temple of the god Viṣṇu. But it also records the building of a religious college or monastery by his mother Śrīmati, and the excavation of a tank by his wife Kopađēvi.

TEXT.


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* From Major Kittoe's impression; so, also, the lithograph.
* Metre, Śārdūlāvākṛti.
* Metre, Āryā.
* Metre, Śraddharā.
* Metre, Āryā.
* Read śīrē.
4 Muktaumka²-pahy-pravaha-jisirs-atunga-tallvana-bhramay-danti-kar-avalna-
kadal-kandasu velay-api i schidat-spahra-tushra-nirjhar-payah-sit-pe 
aille sititam-yasy-oorchair-dvishat umochha
5 na mahah-gora pratap-jvara II Yasy³-atimusharma karmma driyatr 
vismayaj-jan-aughena I adyapi Kosavardhana-tatat-plutam Pavanajaya 
eva II Prakhyata-sakti-jishu purasharam sr-Kumára
6 raguptam-itii ajanaye-ekam sa nipö Hara iva sikhivahanam 
tanayam II Utsarpadat-vata-hela-chalita-kadalika-vtchi-mala-vitana prodyad- 
dhul-jalaugha-brhamita-mahat-matta-
7 matanga-sailah I bhiph sa srtyanvarma²-kshtipatsaishanah 
sainyah-
dugadhoda-sindur-laksham-samprapti-hetuah sapadi vimathito 
Mandari-
bhnya yena II sauры-satyavarta-dharo yah Prayah-gato dha-
8 ne ambhasiva karsa-daghau magnah sa pushpa-pujita II Srí-
Dambadargaugata bhuta-tanaya-tasaya bhipateh yena Dambodarëva 
Diva iva hatata divshah II /Yö Maukhara samitisishuddha-
9 tahupapaiyayal valag-chata vighatayan-amuru-varanam I sahmurchchhita 
sura-vadhuh(th)ò-varayam(n) mam-eti tat-pani[i]pankhaja-sukha-sparshade 
10 vathnha II parinayitan-san nipaath samirishit-aghraraanam II Sr[i]- 
Mehasragugata bhuta-tasmaa-vrta-agranbh²-sufah I sarva-vrta-samajeshu 
labhe, yoh dhih vratam II Sr[i]mat² Susebitvarma-yuddha-vijaya-
11 slaghapad-anham muhur-yasy-adyapi vivu(bu)ddha-kundama-kumuda-kshuoun² 
yah givata II Vasudevā.
12 dhaiva tasmach-Chhr[s]eyanai[s] bh[i]dita charapa-yugah I sr-Madha-
dhun ravi[er] slaghavatam-agnan[ar] jibha(n) jiyansya nihamnam-
arthai-nidha(ha)-
dharmaiva setur-drishah puth(i)yo² n-as[i]ji sa bh[u]ta[le] [---] 
--- --- --- sadgu[aih] II Chakra[rh] pani-talena sobha-yudvahat- 
tasy-api sargaha[rh] dhanu-
14 raanaay-asaahrid[rh] sukhaya suhridam tasya-apy-asir-nandakah I prapt 
vishvishatam vadhe pratihat[---] ten-apah[---] --- --- --- --- --- 
--- dha(ri)ma[ar]---[---]nyaah pranemur-jianah II Ajau" maya 
vinihata va(ba).

1 Metre, Sardulavikridita. 2 Metre, Arya; and in the following verse. 3 Metre, Sragdhar. 
4 The lower part of the L and all except the extreme end of the r, either were left unfinished or 
have been broken away. But en dh remains to show clearly what the akṣāra really is.
5 Metre, Shiuka (Anushthubh); and in the next verse. 6 Metre, Vasantatilaka.
7 The metre is faulty here; in a pair of two long syllables, we ought to have two short and one 
long.
8 Metre, Arya. 9 Metre, Shiuka (Anushthubh). 10 Metre, Sardulavikridita.
11 Metre, Arya. 12 Metre, Srdulavikridita; and in the next verse.
13 Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.
linō kriyā[m] na m[as]sty-aparam-ity-avadhāraya virah [1]
Q Sūri-Harsahade-vijja-sa[m]gama-vāschehāyā cha(?)
[-- -- -- -- -- -- -- --] [11] Śrī:jiman-va(ha)hūva dalit-āri-kartindrā-kumbha-muktā-
rajah-

paṭala-pāṃsula-mandalagrahā
M: Adityasena iti tat-tanayaḥ kshitiṣa-
chudāman[ī]r-dā[la]-- [--- -- -- -- -- --] [11] [--- -- -- -- --]m-
agam-ari-dharmas-ottaham-āptaṃ yasaḥ ślaḥyam

sarvva-dhanummatāṁ pūra iti ślaṅgam param
vi(hi)bhrat I āśīrvāda-
parampāra cī(7)ra-sakri(7)d[--- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --]

ja-pata-sīkhāyā mārjatō dāna-paṅkham khadgaṃ kshuppanaḥ muktā-sakala-
-sikati[λ(λ)]kri(7)tya(?)
[--- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --]mat(7)ja-mātā[λ]ja-gaḥtam tad-gandha-ākrishta-sa caractère-
parāja

hala-parimala-bhrattat(at)ma-ātī-jālam Āva(ha)dha-isāma-viśāma-bhruti-
kaṭhōra-sa[m]ja[r]āma[--- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --]ya-
vallabha-bhritya-varga-goshtyṣiṣu pēsā

latāya parīhāsa-sīlah Āṣata-bhārtṛti-vratā yasya mukh-ōpadh[ma-
jah, sakala-ripu-(va(ha)la)dhyamsa-hētur-ggar-

yān-nistīrīna-kēkhāta-gāhā-srama-janita-jaḍō-py-ūrjīta-sva-pratāpah I yuddhe
matt-ēbha-kumbhaḥst[la]--- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --]
śv(ē)ṭ-

āṭapatra-sīthāgita-vasumati-mandalo lō-

kapalāh Ājau māta-gajendra-kumbha-dalana-sphita-sphurad-dor-yugō
dhavast-anē(7)ka(7)-rīpu-prabhāva-v[--- -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --] yāsō-mandaloḥ nyast

āṛṣṇa-narendra-jaḥvara-sphāra-pratāp-āna-

lo̱ lakshmi-van samar-ābhimāna-vimala-prakhyāta-krttir-nripaḥ II Yën-ēyaṃ
śara-dhā-vaḥ āva[la] prakhyāta-bhūmanḍalā lakshmi-samgama-

kāṃkṣhayā su mahatī kṛttir-īcchām kōpita I yētā sā-

vara-pāram-adhbutamāma śapatyān-vairād-ahō tēn-ēdām bhavat-ōttamām

kṣitiṣhūja Vishaṇu kṛiti kārītam II Taṭ-jananyā mahādevyā

Srīmatā kanto mātāh I dharmikēśyā svayam-dattaḥ sura-lō-

ka-grih-ōpamaḥ II Saṃkh-ēdu-sphātiṣa-prabhā-pratisama-sphāra-sphurach-
chikaram nakra-krānti-chalat-taranga-vilasat-pakshi-pranirṇaya-timī I rājīyā
khāṇitam-adhbutam su-tapasaḥ pīlayamānam

loha-janais-tasya-pīja-pījāvāyār narapatē hāna-topamām

svarā-mṛkṣita; end in the next verse.

7 Metre, Śrīkṛṣṇa (Anushṭubh).

The stone appears to be broken away at this corner. But there seems also to have been
some fault here when the inscription was engraved; since, through nine aksaras are entirely lost,
and two more are partly destroyed, at the beginning of line 27, which commenced at the edge of the
stone,—the metres shew that nothing is lost at the beginning of line 26, which was commenced
at the distance of about nine aksaras from the edge of the stone, and that only four aksaras are
lost at the beginning of line 26, which was commenced at the distance of about sixteen aksaras
from the edge of the stone.

8 Metre, Śrādālavikṛṣita; and in the next verse.
27 [远景-远景-远景-远景-远景-远景] [bhogē] bhūr-bhujag-ādhipasya cha tādām-
yāvad-ghanasyādaro tāvat-ksrtim-ha-ātānātī dhavalām-Adityasēnō
nirāb-ṁ Sōkhamśāivēṁ Gaudēna prāsastir-vikat-ākharā II(1)
28 [远景-远景-远景-远景-远景-远景] mā(?)mitā samya-g-dharmmikēna sudhimatā II

TRANSLATION.

Om! There was a king, the illustrious Krishnagupta, who was like a mountain, in
that (his) cities, like the slopes of a mountain, were crowded with thousands of elephants;
in that he was attended by men of learning, as a mountain is inhabited by Vidyādhāras; in
that he was of good descent, as a mountain is possessed of excellent bamboos; (and) in
that he was firm (and) lofty; (and) whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the
foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (his) haughty enemies, (and) in being
victorious by (its) prowess over countless foes.

(Line 1.)—Just as the full-moon, destitute of spots, the destroyer of the darkness, was
produced from the ocean, so from him there was born a son, the majestic one, named the
illustrious Harshagupta, who,—raining down a terrible flight of arrows from (his) firm
bow that was bent with ease at the befitting proper time, (and) being gazed upon with
copious tears by (his enemies) who, averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being
with (him, her) own lord, were stupefied (at being unable to prevent it),—was (always)
displaying a glorious triumph, the written record as it were of terrible contests, in the guise
of the rows of the knots of hard callous places, caused by wounds from many weapons, on
(his) chest.

(Line 3.)—His son was the illustrious Jivitagupta (I.), the best among kings, who
was a very cold-rayed (moon) to (with) the waterlilies that were the countenances of the
women of (his) proud enemies. The very terrible scorching fever (of fear) left not (his)
haughty foes, even though they stood on seaside shores that were cool with the
flowing and ebbing currents of water, (and) were covered with the branches of plantain-
trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmv-
palms; (or) even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himalaya) which is cold with
the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow. Even still his superhuman
deeds are regarded with astonishment by all mankind, like the leap of (the monkey
Hanumat) the son of the Wind8 from the side of (the mountain) Kāśavardhana,9

1 Metre, Śūkka (Anushṭubh).
2 Hanumat was one of the most celebrated of a host of semi-divine apes, who were created
to become the allies of Rāmachandra in his war with Rāvaṇa. The leaders of this army of monkeys
were supposed to be the offspring of various gods; and Hanumat was the son of Pāvana or Māruta,
the Wind. One famous leap taken by Hanumat was from the mainland, over the sea, onto
Ceylon, in order to discover the whereabouts of Sītā. Another was his leap back from Ceylon to
the mainland, after setting Rāvaṇa’s city on fire, on which occasion he sprang from a mountain
which sank into the ground under the shock. A third leap, or flight through the air, was when he
went to the mountain Gandhamādana, to procure a medicinal herb to cure the wounded Lakṣmaṇa.
Which of these leaps is alluded to here, is difficult to say, as Kāśavardhana does not seem to be given
in the epic as the name of a mountain at all; and I cannot find the names of the mountains from
which his leaps were taken.
3 The only other mention that we have of a mountain Kāśavardhana, is in line 17 of the Shēr-
gadhă (Kōdi) Buddhist inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV, p. 46), where it seems to denote the hill on
which the Fort of Shērghadh now stands. This may, or may not, be one of the mountains from which
Hanumat took one of his flights through the air.
(L. 5.)—That king begat one son, by name the illustrious Kumāragupta, of renowned strength, a leader in battle; just as (the god) Ḥara begat a son, (Kārtti- 
kiṣa) who rides upon the peacock; 1—by whom, playing the part of (the mountain) 
Mandara, there was quickly churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the 
attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Isānavarman, a very moon 
among kings, (and) which had for (its) spreading rows of waves the plantain-trees 
that were wantonly shaken to and fro by the roaring wind (caused by the marching of the 
troops), (and) had (its) rocks, that were the ponderous and mighty rutting elephants (of 
the forces), whirled round and round by the masses of water that were the rising dust 
(stirred up by the soldiers). Cherishing heroism and adherence to the truth, (even) in 
the possession of) wealth, he went to Prayāga; (and there), honourably decorated 
with flowers, plunged into a fire (kindled) with dry cow-dung cakes, as if (simply 
plunging to bathe) in water. 2

(L. 8.)—The son of that king was the illustrious Dāmōdaragupta, by whom (his) 
enemies were slain, just like the demons by (the god) Dāmöda. Breaking up the 
proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukhari, which had 
thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūnas (in order to trample them to death), he 
became unconscious (and expired in the fight); (and then, waking again in heaven, 
and) making a choice among the women of the gods, saying "(this one or that) belongs 
to me," he was revived by the pleasing touch of the waterlilies that were their hands. 
He, (while he was) king, gave away in marriage a hundred daughters of virtuous Brāhmaṇs 
edowed with many ornaments and with youth, (and) dowered with agrahāra-grants.

(L. 10.)—From him there was a son, the illustrious Mahāsēnagupta, the leader, 
among brave men; who in all the assemblages of heroes acquired a (reputation for) 
valour (that stood) in the foremost rank;—whose mighty fame, marked with the honour 
of victory in war over the illustrious Sushtivarman, (and) [white] as a fall-blown 
jasmine-flower or waterlily, or as a pure necklace of pearls pounded into little bits (?), is 
still constantly sung on the banks of (the river) Lōhiya, the surfaces of which are (so) 
cool, by the Siddhas in pairs, when they wake up after sleeping in the shade of the 
betel-plants that are in full bloom.

(L. 11.)—As (the god) Mādhava, whose feet are graced by the attentions of (the 
goddess) Śrī, (was born) from Vasudēva, so from him there was (a son), the illustrious 
Mādhavagupta, finding pleasure only in prowess, whose feet were graced by the 
attentions of the goddess of fortune. He being remembered in the foremost rank 
............. ; being the leader of those who acquire renown in war; (and) being a 
very store-house of goodness, the best of those who excel in the collection and bestowal 
of riches, the natural home of wealth, truth, and learning; (and) a firm bridge of religion, 
—there is no one on the earth ............... who is (as) worthy to be praised by vir-

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1 One of the names of Kārttikeya was Kumāra; hence the comparison between him and 
Kumāragupta.

2 The allusion in this verse is to the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, for the 
recovery of the nectar and other precious things that had been lost. The mountain Mandara 
was utilised as the churning stick. And, during the process, Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune and wealth, 
spangled from the froth of the sea.

3 This verse seems to indicate that Kumāragupta's funeral rites took place at Allahbad; but 
not necessarily that he placed himself on the funeral pyre while still alive.
uous people, (as he was). He also, (like the god), carried a discus in the palm of (his) hand; to him also belonged a bow made of horn, and a pleasing sword (which was employed) for the destruction of (his) enemies (and) the happiness of his friends; (and), when the slaughter of (his) foes had been achieved, .......... was averted by him; ...... people did obeisance .......... "(My) mighty enemies have been slain by me in battle; there remains nothing more for me to do."—thus he, the hero, determined in his mind; (and then) with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harshadēva

(L. 15.)—His son was the illustrious one, named Ādityasena, the best among kings, whose scimitar was sullied with a thick coating of dust in the shape of the pearls from the temples of the lordly elephants* of (his) enemies that were split open (by it), .......... Maintaining the supreme renown, that (his) perfect praise, coming from .......... (and) rising from the destruction of (his) enemies, is worthy to be lauded in the presence of all wielders of the bow,—a continuous line of blessings .......... Cleaning with the edge of the silken cloth of a banner, (used) under the excuse of (wiping away) sweat in battle, (his) sword that was stained with the rut (of the elephants slain by him), and was covered with sand in the shape of the minute fragments of the pearls (from their foreheads) through .......... that was broken to pieces, .......... the destruction of rutting elephants, in the course of which many swarms of bees, led into a mistake by the copious fragrant juice that trickled forth, were attracted by their perfume. .......... in battle which is full of terrible and repulsive frownings .......... .......... (he) is accustomed to laugh in a charming manner in the gatherings of (his) favourites and servants. His [wife], truthfully constant to (her) lord; performing penance with the excellent qualities of (her) mouth (?); .......... laughter .......... Being .......... (and) being the greatest cause of the destruction of the power of all (his) enemies, (and) being possessed of his own mighty prowess, even when he is full of weariness produced by the fatigue of drawing (his) sword forth (from its scabbard) and (dealing) blows (with it),— .......... the foreheads of rutting elephants in battle, [he is verily] a guardian of the world, by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered. He, the king, has had both (his) gleaming arms increased in bulk by splitting open the temples of rutting elephants in war; he

1 The god carries an actual discus; the king had the mark of a discus (see page 183 above, note 4).

8 The allusions here are to the discus of Vishnu (Mādhava), to his bow of horn named Sārāṅga, and to his sword called Nandaka.

Harshavardhana of Kanauj.—The present form of his name occurs also in the Harshacharita (Kāśmir edition), p. 119, line 5. I notice that he is often called Sṛharsha, and Sṛharshavardhana; as if sṛ were a component part of his name, instead of being only the honorific prefix. But I cannot find any authority whatever for this. I cannot trace a single instance in which the reading of any inscription or book is sṛ- Sṛharsha (see page 8 above, note 3); while, in line 26 of the Kauthā grant of Vikramaditya V. (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 29), he is distinctly called Harsha-mahāniripa, "the great king Harsha." So also, Bhaṭṭa’s book about him and his history is always called simply Harshacharita, not Sṛharshacharita, in the colophon of each division of it; and the sṛ, which is prefixed on the title-page of the Kāśmir edition, only qualifies Harshacharita, as the name of the book, in the sense of “the famous history of Harsha.”

4 The belief, to which there are constant allusions in Sanskrit poetry, was, that there are pearls to be found inside the foreheads of elephants.
has a halo of fame, [acquired] by destroying the power of many enemies; the darting fire of the prowess of (his) feet has had thrown into it (to feed it) the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all (other) kings; he is possessed of fortune; (and) he has a pure and celebrated reputation (acquired) by honourable behaviour in war.

(L. 23.)—This best of temples has been caused to be made, on account of (the god) Vishnu, by him, the king, very great fame, (of) this (kind that has been described), white as the orb of the autumn moon (and) conferring renown on the (whole) circle of the world, was for a long time made angry by him through (his) desire for (her) association with (his) wealth, and then, becoming more wonderful than ever, went, forsooth, through the enmity natural to the condition of rival wives, to the other side of the ocean (in order to dwell there far away).¹

(L. 24.)—By his mother, the Mahādevī Śrīmatī, a religious college has been caused to be built, resembling a house in the world of the gods, (and) has been given by herself in person to religious people.

(L. 25.)—By the queen, the illustrious Kōṇadevi, the dear wife of that same king; in the performance of an excellent penance, there has been caused to be excavated a wonderful tank, the waters of which are eagerly drunk by people; which is full of drifting and glistening spray, resembling in lustre a tankha-shell, or the moon, or crystal; (and) in the waves of which, driven to and fro by the motion of the alligators, the birds disport themselves and the large fishes play about.

(L. 26.)—As long as a digit of the moon [remains] on the head of (the god) Hara, (and) (the goddess) Śrī on the breast of Vishnu, (and) (the goddess) Sarasvatī . . . . . . . in the mouth of Brahma; as long as the earth [remains] on a hood of (Śiva) the king of serpents; and as long as there is lightning in the interior of a cloud,—so long shall the king Adityasena display here (in these works) (his) dazzling fame!

(L. 27.)—(This) eulogy, (written in) beautiful letters, . . . . . . . . . . [has been composed, or engraved] by Śukṣmaśīva, (a native of) the Gauḍa (country), who is thoroughly religious (and) very intelligent.

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SHAHPUR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF ADITYASENA.

This inscription was discovered, apparently in 1879-80, by Mr. J. D. M. Beglar, Assistant to the Director General of Archaeological Surveys; and was first brought to notice, in 1882, in the Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. XV. p. 12, where General Cunningham published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xi. No. 1).

Shāhpur, also known as Shāhpur-Tītarāwā, is a village on the right bank of

¹ Kṛttī, 'fame,' and Lakṣmī, 'fortune or wealth,' are here regarded as the two co-wives of the king. The idea is that his fame became at length so great as to extend to the uttermost ends of the world, beyond even the oceans; and this is indicated by Kṛttī becoming at length jealous of Lakṣmī, and leaving her husband's house in order to dwell far away from her rival wife.

² The 'Shāhpur, Shāhpur, Shāhpur-Tītarāwā, and Shāhpur-Tītarāwā, of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 6' N.; Long. 85° 43' E.
the Sakari river, about nine miles to the south-east of Bihar, the chief town of the Bihar Sub-Division of the Patna District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on the pedestal of a standing image of the sun, represented as a man, 2'10" high, holding a water-pot in each hand; and with, on each side, a small standing figure, that on the right being armed with a club—which was found on a mound in the lands of this village. When I sent my copyists to Shāhpur in 1884, they could not find the image, and could obtain no information as to what had become of it; my lithograph, therefore, has been prepared from Mr. Beglar's pencil-rubbing, which suffices for practical purposes, though perhaps the date is not quite as clear as it might be.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1'4" broad by 4" high, has suffered a good deal of injury towards the proper right side of the stone; the rest, however, is very well preserved. The average size of the letters is about 1/8". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kutāla type as those of the preceding Ahpada inscription of Adityasāna, No. 42, Plate xxviii. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 6, 7 (?), and 60.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of v for b in vaddhikrita, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the time of Adityasāna, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year sixty-six, on the

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1 The symbol for the day is a little doubtful; but it seems to be 7.—Gen. Cunningham interpreted these symbols as decimal figures, and read the year as 55, and the day as 1. At the same time he notified Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit, interpreting them in the same way, read the year as 88. And the date certainly has the appearance, in Gen. Cunningham's published lithograph, of either 55 or 88. But this is too early a period for the occurrence of decimal figures; and, though the symbols are rather damaged, I think quite enough of them remains to show very clearly a 60, followed by a 6. So far as definite dates are available, the system of numerical symbols was preserved in this part of the country as late as Harsha-Sāvat 188 (A.D. 794-95), as shown by the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahādāra Vinkakapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 123 ff.), and in the neighboring country of Nēpāl, as late as Harsha-Sāvat 153 (A.D. 659-60), as shown by the inscription of Jayadeva II. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 178 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345), and Gupta-Sāvat 553 (A.D. 854-55), as shown by another Nēpāl inscription (id. Vol. IX. p. 168 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345). In the west of India, it continued, in Gugarāt, as late as Śaka-Sāvat 679 (A.D. 757-58), as shown by the Kārrī grant of Kakka of Gugarāt (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVII. p. 105 ff.). In Central India, as late as Vīkrma-Sāvat 879 (A.D. 822-23), as shown by the Śṛngask (Kūṭa) inscription of the Śrīnuka Devadatta (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. pp. 45 ff.), (351). And in the South, as late as Śaka-Sāvat 549 (A.D. 627-28), as shown by the Vīzagapatam grant of the Eastern Chalukya Mahādāra Vihāpurvarthana I. (Burnell's South-Indian Palaeography, p. 137 ff., and Pl. xxvii.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 168, where I gave the date as the sixteenth year, instead of the eighteenth, which it really appears to be.)—As regards the introduction of decimal figures (setting aside the question of the first invention of them, which was probably by the astronomers of Ujjain in the fifth or sixth century A.D.), the earliest epigraphical instances of the use of them that I can quote, are, in the north, the Gwalior inscription of Bhājadeva dated Vikrama-Sāvat 933 or A.D. 875-76 (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 407 ff.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 108, note 25); and the 'Pehwa' inscription of the same king, dated Harsha-Sāvat 276 or A.D. 882-83 (Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXII. p. 673 ff., and Vol. XXXIII. p. 227 ff.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 109, note 27); in Central India, the 'Deogar' inscription of the same king, dated Vikrama-Sāvat 919 and Śaka-Sāvat 784 or A.D. 852-53 (Archv. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 100 ff.; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 110, note 33); in Gugarāt, the 'Bagavma' grant of the Bhāhrakta chieftain Dhruva III., dated Śaka-Sāvat 789 or A.D. 732-33 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 185); in Kāthiāwa the Mōrbī grant of Ḫalika, dated irrespectively of the actual reading in line 17, Gupta-Sāvat 535 (A.D. 804-5); and in the Dekkan, the Sāmāṇgad grant of Danditūra, dated Śaka-Sāvat 675 or A.D. 753-54 (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 108 ff.).
seventh (?) day of the bright fortnight of the month Marga, i.e. Margaśīra or Margaśīrṣa (November-December). The era is not specified; but, from the known facts of Āditya-sena’s history, it is that of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing 1 A.D. 606 or 607; and the result for this date, therefore, is A.D. 672-73. The inscription is one of solar worship; and the object of it is to record, in the first place, some grant, the details of which are illegible in line 1; and, in the second place, the installation of the image by the Balādhikrita Sālapaksha, in, apparently, the agrahāra of Nālanda.

The name of Nālanda is rather doubtful in this inscription; but there is no special objection to reading it, since Nālanda was a famous place, originally Buddhist, in the neighbourhood of Shāhpur, being in fact identified by General Cunningham 2 with the modern Baragaon, 3 seven miles due north of Rājghir, and about fifteen miles nearly due west of Shāhpur. The image, being fairly small and portable, may easily have been originally set up at Nālanda, and then removed at some time or other to Shāhpur.

TEXT. 5

1 ........... kh. 1. dh. g... chandra-kshiti-kālam yāvat-p[r]atipāditam [I1]*
2 Ṫm Samvat 60 6 Mārgga śu di 7(? ) asyān-divasa-māsa- samvatsar-ānupūravyātim Āditya’sena-
3 [dēva]-rāj[y]e Nā[? ]landa[mah-āgrahāre sādha[un]a va(ba)lādhikrita-
Sālapakṣhēṇa dē[y]a*-dharmmō-yām pratishthitam(b)
4 [mātāpirtrōr-ā]tmānaṁ cha puny-ābhivṛiddhayē [I1]*

TRANSLATION.

............... has been granted, to endure for the same time with
............ and the moon and the earth.

(Line 2.)—Om! The year 60 (and 6) 6; (the month) Marga; the bright fortnight, 6 the day 7 (?),—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day and month and year, 8—in the reign of the illustrious Ādityasena-deva, this appropriate religious gift has been installed by the virtuous Sālapakṣha, the Balādhikrita, in the great agrahāra of Nālanda (?), for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself.

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Balādhikrita is a technical military title, meaning literally ‘one who is appointed to (a command of) the troops.’ The superior of the Balādhikritas was the Mahābalādhikrita; see page 103 above, note 2.


3 Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 8' N.; Long. 85° 26' E.—In the map, the name is written ‘Burgan.’ The correct form of the name would therefore seem to be Badgaum.

4 From Mr. Beglar’s pencil-rubbing; so also the lithograph.

5 Supply titkau.

6 Read śrī-Āditya.

7 The text here has the abbreviation ś, which represents uddha, or iukha, in composition with pahā or pakṣā; see page 92 above, note 1.

8 See page 97 above, note t.
Nos. 44 and 45; (No PLATE.)

MANDAR HILL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ADITYASENA.

These two inscriptions were discovered by Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton), and were first brought to notice in his reports, from which Mr. Montgomery Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled Eastern India, where the inscriptions are mentioned in Vol. II. p. 58, with reduced lithographs (id. Plate iv. Nos. 3 and 4).—I cannot find that any fuller notice of them has ever been published.

Mandár or Mandágiri is a famous hill about seven miles south-east of Bánká, the chief town of the Bánká Sub-Division of the Bhāgalpur District in the Bengal Presidency. When I was on tour in the north of India, I could not succeed in acquiring any accurate information as to the position of the inscriptions, and was thus unable to obtain impressions and publish lithographs of them. But Dr. Buchanan's facsimiles, though not good enough to reproduce, are intelligible throughout, with the exception of the three letters immediately following the name of Adityasēnadeva. And quite recently Mr. Beglar has sent me a rubbing and a hand-copy of No. 44, which, though not suitable for lithography, fully endorse Dr. Buchanan's rendering of this record, and enable me also to read with certainty some of the letters that are doubtful in his lithograph. From Mr. Beglar's remarks, I learn that this inscription, No. 44, is on the rock to the right of the steps rising from a corner of the lower tank, now called Pāgarahārī, and at the base of a flight leading to the upper tank. The position of the other inscription, No. 45, seems to be not now known at all.

The two inscriptions are identical in substance; but are arranged, one in two lines, and the other in four. The writing of No. 44 covers a space of about 6' 2" broad by 2' 11" high; and is in a state of fairly good preservation; but the surface of the rock seems to be so rough that it is doubtful whether an ink-impression could be obtained, sufficiently good for lithography.—The average size of the letters is about 5". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kutāla type as those of the Apsad inscription of Adityasena, No. 42 above, Plate xxviii. page 200.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscriptions are in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscriptions refer themselves to the time of Adityasena, of the family of the Gupta of Magadha. They are not dated. But the paramount titles of Parama-khaṭṭraka and Mahārājāgīdhārīja applied here to Adityasena, shew that they belong to the period of confusion and anarchy that attended the death of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, when Adityasena established the independence of his family in Magadha; and that they are slightly later than his Apsad and Shāhpur inscriptions, in the latter of which,—as it is in prose,—the paramount titles would certainly have been introduced, if he had assumed them by that date. They are non-sectarian; the record being simply that Adityasena's wife, Kōpadēvi, caused a tank to be made.

1 The 'Mandar, Mandargiri, Mundar Hill, and Mundar H. Temple,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 24° 50' N.; Long. 87° 4' E.
2 The 'Bānkā' of maps.
3 The 'Bhāgalpur and Bhaugulpoor' of maps, &c.
TEXT.

No. 44.

1. Ōm Paramahāṭāra-rah-mah[ā]r[āj]ākā[ā]dajit[īr]āja-
2. śrī-Aditya'sēnamā-śrī-parama-
4. pushkariṇī-klīttim-im[ā]n=k[ā]r[i]tava[ti] [II*]

No. 45.

1. Ōm Paramahāṭāra-rah-mah[ā]r[āj]ādhirāja-śrī-Ād[i]tya'sēnamā-
   day[i]r[tā]
   pu[shkariṇī-
   klīt[i]m-im[ā]n=kāritavat[ī] [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm The Paramahāṭāra, the queen, the Mahādevī, the glorious Kōpadēvi,—the dear wife of the Paramahāṭāra and Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Aditya-

sēnamā,—caused to be made this famous work of a tank.

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1 From Mr. Beglar's rubbing of No. 44, and Dr. Buchanan's published lithograph of No. 45.
2 Read śrī-Aditya.
3 Here, again, read śrī-Aditya.
4 Paramahāṭāra, lit. 'she who is supremely entitled to respect or veneration,' is the feminine of paramahāṭāra (see page 17 above, note 3), and was one of the customary technical titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns.
5 rājā; also in line 2 ff. of the following Dēb-Baraṇārāk inscription of Jñātagupta II.—The word is only the feminine form of rājā; but it does not seem to have been so exclusively and technically used as a subordinate feudal title, in the way in which rājā was used. In the present day also Rājā, which is the Prākrit form of rājā, is the proper title of a wife of a Rājā; but is also used, equally with Mahārājā, as a title of the Queen-Empress of England and India.
6 Mṛtti.—Mr. K. T. Telang (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 36, note 13) first brought to notice, on the authority of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajy, that in certain connections Mṛtāna has the meaning of 'a temple;' e.g. in line 18 of the Khāḍēpāṭa grant of Anantādevī, dated Śaka-Saṅvat 1016 (id. p. 34), which he was then editing.—This was supported by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (id. Vol. XII. p. 228 f.); who, in pointing out the error into which, from not being aware of this meaning of the word, I had fallen in translating the passage in lines 14 f. of the Baroda grant of Kakka II., dated Śaka-Saṅvat 734 (id. Vol. XII. p. 159), was able to quote three passages from the Agni-Purāṇa (in the Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. I. p. 111), Bāna's Kādambarī, and Sāmēvāra's Mṛttikamudrā, in which the word evidently has the same meaning.—And to these instances I have since been able to add the 'Dudahl' inscriptions of Dēvalādbhi (id. Vol. XII. p. 289), and the Udayagiri inscription, dated Vikrama-Saṅvat 1093 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 185).—On the analogy of these authorities, there is every reason for allotting the same meaning, when required, to Mṛtti, which is a derivative from the same root. Dr. Bhandarkar has, however, recently suggested to me that Mṛtti and Mṛtāna are hardly to be actually translated by the word 'temple,' or by any other specific term; but denote generally 'any work, of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it.' This is in accordance with the etymology of the words, from the root kṛt, 'to mention, commemorate, praise.' And the particular work referred to may be a temple, as in the instances quoted above; or a tank, as in the present inscriptions; or anything else of a suitable nature.

Another passage in which Mṛtti has the same meaning, though we have no information now as to the specific nature of the work referred to, is in line 4 f. of an inscription on the right-hand side in the porch of the temple of Vajyānātha at 'Deoghar' in the 'Santāli' Pargalas in the Bengal Presidency, edited by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LII. Part I.
No. 46; PLATE XXIX B.

DEO-BARANARK INSCRIPTION OF JIVITAGUPTA II.

This inscription was discovered in 1880-81 by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1883, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. pp. 68 and 73 ff., where he published a reading of the text, and a partial translation of it, supplied to him by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, with a lithograph (id. Plates xxv. and xxvi.) from a photograph by his Assistant, Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

p. 190f., No. 3. It is a Vaiṣṇava inscription; and, therefore, as pointed out by Dr. R. Mitra, it does not belong properly to the temple of Vaidyanātha, which is a Śaiva shrine; and, from the concluding words, it seems to have been brought away from some building on the Mandāla Hill. I had no opportunity of obtaining a proper impression of the inscription. But the one in the Society's library suffices to shew that Dr. R. Mitra's version of the text, which I now give, with my own translation of it, is correct:

TEXT.

1 Šāstā samudr-ānta-vasundharyāḥ yasyaḥ-āsvamedhādyā-mahā-kratūnām 1 Ādityasēnaḥ prathita-prabhā-
2 vō babhāva rāj-amara-tulya-tējāḥ 2 Māghyām Viśākhā-pada-sannyutāyāṁ Kṛiti yugā Chōla-purāṇa-
3 pētya mahā-maṇḍnām ayuta-trayēṇa trilaksha-chāmilaka-śaṅkakēna 1 Īśvyā-āsvamedhā-trīta–
4 yeṇa dattvā tulā-sahasraṁ haya-kōṭi-yuktam 1 ēṛt-Kūṭahadēvyā sahitō mahiṣāya aṣṭikaḥ 1
5 ṛttim-imām sa sarvām 2 Kṛitvā pratishṭhām vidhi-vad- dvijendrāṁ svayaṁ yathā vēda-pathāṁ narendraṁ 1 kalyāṇa-hē-
6 tōr-bhuvana-trayasya chakāra saṁsthām Nṛiḥareḥ sa 2 Ī Śūhāpito Balabhadrēga varhō bhakti-mukti–
7 daḥ 1 svarg-āṛīthē pīṭa-māṭiyāṁ jagataḥ sukha-hētāvē 2 Iti Mandāragiri-prakaraṇam 1

TRANSLATION.

There was a king, Ādityasēna, of renowned prowess, equal in glory to the gods; the ruler of the (whole) earth up to the shores of the oceans; the performer of the āsvamedhā and other great sacrifices. On the full-moon day of (the month) Māgha, coupled with the sign of (the lunar asterism) Viṣākhā, in the Kṛita age, —having arrived from the Chōla city,—having sacrificed with three āsvamedhā-sacrifices, (and) having given away his own weight a thousand times over, together with a creepe of horses,—he, with (āśī) consort, the glorious Kūṭahadēva, caused to be made the whole of this famous work (kṛiti), with three myriads of large jewels (and) three lakhs of gold (coins of the kind called) tūṅkakās. Having consecrated (it) according to due rite (through the ceremonies performed) by Brahmaṇa, just as if he, the king, himself (was laying out) the path of the Vēdas, he made an establishment of (the god) Nṛiḥari, who is the cause of the prosperity of the three worlds. A boar (i.e., the god Viṣṇu in that form), the giver of enjoyment and final emancipation, has been set up by Balabhaddra, in order that (āśī) parents may attain heaven, (and) for the happiness of the (whole) world. Thus runs the chapter on the Mandāragiri.
Deo-Baranārāk, or Deo-Baranārk, the ancient Vārunikā of this inscription, is a village about twenty-five miles south-west of Arrah (properly Arā), the chief town of the Shāhābād District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on two contiguous faces of a pillar in the entrance-hall of a temple on the west side of the village, which has apparently been adapted in modern times as a temple of the god Vishnu.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 3½" broad by 1' 4" high, has suffered a great deal of injury from the weather, especially down the proper right side, where many passages are hopelessly illegible; but fortunately the whole of the genealogy of the Guptas of Magadha given in this inscription is intact, with the exception of the first three syllables of the name of Madhavagupta, in line 2, which can easily be supplied. In lines 7 ff., however, there was a good deal of historical information that is not now quite perfect. — The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost the same Kutāla type as those of the Apsaḍ inscription of Adityasena, No. 43 above, Plate xxvii.; but they do not show the bent tails of the letters quite so markedly. — The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In style, it follows the customary form of a copper-plate charter; not of a stone-inscription. — In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of śh instead of the jihāmdālya or the visarga, in antāskhadī, line 7; (2) the use of the dental n, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in hansa, line 14; (3) the doubling throughout of t in conjunction with a following ṛ; e.g. in śravaṇa, line 1; pūtra, line 5; and mitra, line 16; and (4) the use of v for b, in vadditya, line 13.

The inscription is one of Jivitagupta II., of the family of the Guptas of Magadha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the fort of Gomatiottaka. It is not dated. It is an inscription of solar worship; its object being to record the continuance of the grant of a village, either Vārunikā or Kiśoravātaka, to the Sun, under the title of Varunāvasin, a name which is of some interest, as apparently preserving the ancient belief, in accordance with which varuna, lit. 'that which envelopes,' meant 'the all-encompassing sky,' before it became the name of the ocean-god Varuna, who himself was ori-

The characters, called Maithila by Dr. R. Mitra, shew that this inscription is quite modern, — certainly not earlier than the sixteenth century A.D.; and it must have been engraved when the brah-statue of Vishnu, spoken of in line 6, was set up by Balabhada. I have thought it worth while, however, to give the record in full, because, in my opinion, it so plainly contains a memorial of the great Adityasena of Magadha. The antiquity of the allusion is indicated by its being referred to the Kṛita age. And though the name of Adityasena's wife is here given as Kōnadēvi, instead of Kōnadavi, this is to be explained by the usual inability of the people, then as now, to read correctly the ancient characters of the inscription or other record from which the composer of these verses obtained his information; and it is a mistake of the kind that corroborates, not invalidates, the identification.

1 The 'Deo-Baranārāk, Deo-Barnārāk, Deo-Barunārāk, and Deonar Naroo.,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 15' N.; Long. 84° 31' E.
3 id. p. 69.
4 Gen. Cunningham read in it the date of 152, which he referred to the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. But this arose only from a misunderstanding of the words sa-dātparādha-pakṣa, in line 19.
5 It appears that two special festivals in honour of the sun still take place at Deo-Baranārāk, on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of the months Chaitra and Kārttika (see Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVI. p. 72).
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 46, PLATE XXIX B. 215

Originally looked upon as one of the twelve Adityas, or forms of the sun, the offspring of Aditi. The importance of this inscription consists, first, in its continuation, for three more generations, of the genealogy of the Gupta of Magadha, including the name of Devagupta, which, as will be seen hereafter, gives the clue to the date of the Vakataka Mahârâjas; and secondly, in its recording the names of certain previous kings, who each in succession had confirmed the grant. The names that are now legible are those of Bâladitya, who, as is known from the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang, played so important a part in connection with Mihrakula; Saravarman, who is evidently the Maukhari king Saravarman, whose copper-seal we have in No. 47 below, Plate xxA; and Avantivarman, who is probably the Maukhari Avantivarman, mentioned in Bana's Harshacharita as the father of Grahavarman who became the husband of Rajyaśrî, the sister of Harshvardhana of Kanauj.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Gomatikottaka, the fort whence the charter was issued, must evidently be looked for somewhere along the river Gomati, the modern Gomti or Gumti, which, rising in the Shâhjahânpur District of the North-West Provinces, passes Lucknow and Jaunpur, and flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Ghâzipur, and about eighty-five miles to the west of Dêd-Baranârk. And Varunikâ is plainly the modern Dêd-Baranârk itself. In the modern name, the first component is dêd, 'a god,' and the second, a corruption of Varunârka, evidently gives the name of a later conception of the original god, embodying the attributes of the Sun (arha) with those of Varuṇa.

TEXT:

...... *SVASTI ŚAKTI-ŚRAY-DPÂTTA-JAYAŚABDAM MAHÂ-NAU-*

hâ(ha)sty-asva-patī-sambhâra-durnivârâj-jaya-skandhâvarât Gomatikottaka-

sampla-vâsa- Á†

2 [kât] 2 [sri-Mâdhavagupta tasya] puttras-tat-pād-anudhyâtaḥ

paramabhattârâkhyåm râjyåm mâtadévyaṁ sri-Srimatyām utpannâḥ

paramabhattârâkhyåm sri-Adityåsê]

3 [nadévas tasya] put[tras]-tatt-pād-anudhyâtaḥ paramabhattârâkhyåm râjyåm

mahâdevyaṁ sri-Känadîjryâm utpannâḥ paramamâhèsvara-

4 [dhirâj-paramèsva] sri-D[ê]vaguptad[ê]vas tasya puttras-tat-pād-anu-

1 See, for instance, Monier Williams' Indian Wisdom, pp. 12 f. and 68; and Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I. p. 37, note 42.

2 See FitzEdward Hall's preface to the Vâsavadattâ, p. 52; and the Harshacharita, Kâsmîr edition, p. 311 ff.

3 From the ink-impression.

4 Bhagwanlal Indrajj supplied varavaudsi-bhattârakâya here. But only about five aksharas, or at the most six, appear to have been destroyed.

5 Some sectarian title of Mâdhavagupta must have been destroyed here; but there seems hardly room enough for paramabhadgavaḥ or paramamâhèsvaḥ.

6 Read śrt-Aditya.

7 This name of Dêvaguptadéva—which is of considerable importancethe date of the Mâkâlaka Mahârâjas—is very indistinct; but I agree with Bhagwanlal Indrajj that it can be read with sufficient certainty.
dhyātaḥ paramabhāttārakārikāyaḥ[ṃ*] rājyaḥ[ṃ*] mahādevyā[ṃ*] sūrt-
Kamala-devyām-utpannah paramamahā-ṛ.

[vāra-paramabhāttāra-kamahārājādhīraja-paramēśvara-sūr-
virūpuptadēvān-
tasya] putras-tat-pd-anudhītaḥ paramabhāttārakārikāyaḥ[ṃ*] rājyaḥ[ṃ*]
mahādevyā[ṃ*] sūrt-lijā-devyām].

[m-utpannah] paramā-pramahātāraka-mahārājādhīraja-paramēśvara-
sūrt-Jīvīta-guptadēvā[ṃ*] kusālā Nagara-bhūṛaktu g Vālavi-viśayika (=
sūrt-Vā[ṛvō]).

[prasāh?prātāh] ka... padra(?)lik(?)pti-aptaspāti-vāra[ṃ*] grāma- 
gōshthi[ṃ*] kula-talāvataka-duś-ṣmakarmakara-madhyā(?)....

kṣatrika-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-mahāprathārā-mahā[ṃ*]sā-

pra(?)mātasā .... k[ṃ*]rāmya-rājasthāny-

bhrākri-

dhika-chaurādharaṇā-kāṇḍi-dakṣāṇā[ṃ*]nā-

[pāsāk(?)]

...ka... rashpi(?)vala- vyāyata-

Kīśāc[ṛvā]ta(?)[ka(?)]g[ṛ]ama-h. d... τ... yanika... pati-
karma(?).

...rasa... tāḷam... (ṛ)da-pratād-pratīvina-sa-cha 

prātivā[ṃ*]sinas-cha vrī[ṛ]brahmanottarā[ṃ*] mahattara-ka(ṛ)kṣā[ṃ*] pura-

viṣṇāti-sūrt-Vaṁravās-

bhrākri-pratīva[ṛ]ddha-bhrāka-Sūryamitrēpa upari-likhi-

[ṛta] 

gromādi-samya-sūrt-paramēśvara-
sūrt-Vā[ṛvō]lādityādevēṇa sva-sasanaṇē 

bhagavā-sūrt-Vaṁravās-

bhrākri-

...ka... va-parīva(?)haka... bhrāka-Hansa-
mītrāsa samapati[ṛ]ya yathākāra-kāra-yāsībhīsa-cha evāḥ 

paramēśvara-
sūrt-Saṁvavārma
g...... bhrāka-Riṣhīmitra... yatakām 

evāḥ paramēśvara-sūrt[ṃ*]d-Avāntvariṃmanā pūrva-dattakam-avala-

[mbya] 

... evāḥ mahā[ṛ]ājādēvī[ṛ]ja-paramēśvara-

... sasana-dānēna bhūraka-Durddha[ṛ]ra(?)mitrasay- 

ānūmō-

[dīta] 

tē(?)[na(?)] bhu(?)jyat(?) [i*] tad-aham 

kimapi(?)... evāḥ ... matimā... ānupā(mō)dītam-īti 

sa(?)[rrva(?)-samajñāpa(?)[na(?)] [i*] ēta...

... payu 

Varunavāsī-āyatanāν tad-anu dattam...

1 Bhagwanlal Indrajii read kumdr; but the three aksharas are distinctly kamala.
2 Read sr-fjīd. Either bhāgavata or māhēśvara is illegible here.
3 Bhagwanlal Indrajii read savīrī; but the three aksharas are distinctly jīvīta, as, in fact, was 
4 Read rājāmātya. 6 Read bhagavaca-chhīr.
5 Read bhūjaka-riṣhī; or, according to the more usual custom, bhūjaka-arshī.—In the case of a 
final a, followed by an initial r, it is usual to join the vowels in regular saṃdhī. But Dr. Hultsch 
has drawn my attention to the fact that the commentary on Pāṇini, vi, 1, 18, triyā-ahā, states 
that the saṃdhī here is in accordance with the opinion of Śākalya, and thus seems to intimate that, 
according to other grammarians, the saṃdhī is optional, and a hiatus is equally permissible.
TRANSLATION.

Reverence to . Hail! From the victorious camp, possessed of shouts of victory acquired by the three constituents of power, (and) invincible through (its) equipment of great ships and elephants and horses and foot-soldiers, (and) situated near the fort of Gomati-kotakap—

(Line 2)—(There was) the illustrious Madhavagupta. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the glorious Adityasena-deva, begotten on the Paramabhatarika, the queen, the Mahadev, the glorious Srimatidevi.

(Line 3)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahesvara, the Paramabhataraka, Mahardajdhira, and [Paramesvara], the glorious Devaguptadewa, begotten on the Paramabhatarika, the queen, the Mahadev, the glorious Kopaidevi.

(Line 4)—His son, who meditated on his feet, was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahesvara, the [Paramabhataraka], Mahardajdhira, and Paramesvara, the glorious Vishnuguptadew, begotten on the Paramabhatarika, the queen, the Mahadev, the glorious Kamaladevi.

(Line 5)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the most devout worshipper of ..., the Paramabhataraka, Mahardajdhira, and Paramesvara, the glorious Jivitaguptadewa (II.), [begotten] on the Paramabhatarika, the queen, the Mahadev, the glorious Ilijadevi,—being in good health, [issues a command] to the herdsmen, Talabdakas, messengers, makers of boundaries, .....

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1. The three taktis, or 'constituents of regal power,' are prabhuta, 'majesty,' mantra, 'good counsel,' and udsaha, 'energy.'

2. The omission, in the case of Adityasena, of the paramount titles,—which are duly attached to his name in the Mandar Hill inscriptions, Nos. 44 and 45 above, page 211, and to the names of his mother and wife, and all his successors, in the present inscription,—is rather peculiar.

3. See page 212 above, note 5.


5. See page 216 above, note 1.


7. This is a Prakrit name, in which ijjad represents the Sanskrit iyad, 'a sacrifice.'—We have had another Prakrit name of a female, in Ajjhitdew, e.g. in line 5 of the Kirttalat grant of the Mahardaja Jayanatha of the year 174, No. 36 above, page 177.

8. Talabdakas is an official title, the etymology and meaning of which are not apparent.—Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indrij, in his treatment of this inscription, read the word with the short vowel a in the second syllable, and explained it as meaning the modern Talajit or Talajit, 'the village accountant; but of course some authority requires to be cited, before this explanation can be accepted.

9. Deepa; the word seems to denote here simply ordinary message-carriers or postmen; not the special officers called Deita, employed in connection with copper-plate charters (see page 100 above, note 3).

10. Smakarmakara.
1 Rajaputra, lit. 'a king's son, a prince,' but, as used in such passages as the present, it evidently has some technical official meaning, differing from this. In the modern Prakrits we have, in Marathi, rao or raja, and in Gujarati, raja, in the sense of 'a horse-soldier, a trooper.' And these words would seem to be derived from rajaputra, and so to indicate its technical meaning; rather than, as given by Molesworth and Candy in their Marathi Dictionary, from rāvā-da, 'a king's messenger.'

2 Mahaprathara, lit. 'a great door-keeper,' was the technical title of the officer next in grade above the Pratikhas (see page 190 above, note 1).

3 Chauroddharani, lit. 'one who is entrusted with the extermination of thieves,' is evidently the technical title of a certain class of police officers.

4 Dāndika, lit. 'a chastiser, a punisher,' may denote either a judicial functionary, from danda in the sense of 'a rod (of punishment),'

5 bhukti, 'the enjoyment,' is a technical territorial term.—From the arrangement of the text here, as also from the mention of the "village of Pānlyaka, in the Śravasti bhukti, and belonging to the Vālāyika viṣayā which lay in the Śravasti mandala," in the Digāvī-Dubail grant of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāla (Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 112, line 7 f.), and the mention of the "village of Tikkarak, in the Pratishthāna bhukti, and attached to the Kaśaparā pathaka which belonged to the Vālāyika viṣayā," in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārāja Vinkyanapāla (id. Vol. XV. p. 141, line 9 f.), the term bhukti seems to have denoted a larger extent of territory than a viṣayā.

6 Bhōjaka is explained by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as denoting 'a class of priests, or sun-worshippers, supposed to be descended from the Magas by intermarriage with women of the Bhōja race.—Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary, gives the same word as meaning 'a village-headman.'

7 The construction of the original is Bālādityadēva, pārva-dattakam-sāvalambya, 'having relied on (i.e. having adapted himself to) the former grant that was made by Bālāditya (and the others mentioned). I have broken up the construction for convenience of translation.
No. 47; PLATE XXXA.

ASIRGADH COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF SARVAVARMAN.

This inscription was first brought to notice, through two independent channels, in 1866. In the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 482 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published the Rev. W. H. Mill’s reading of the text, and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxvi.) reduced from a drawing, forwarded to him by Dr. J. Swiney, which had been made in 1805 from a wax-impression of the original seal, and had been in the possession of Dr. Mellish from then; the lithograph is a fairly good one, but the rendering of the inscription was erroneous almost throughout. And in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* F. S. Vol. III. p. 377 ff., Professor H. H. Wilson published Sir Charles Wilkins’ reading of the text and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, apparently full-size, prepared from an impression which was found in 1805 or 1806 by Captain Colebrooke at Asirgarh, in a box containing property of the Mahārājā Scindia, and was forwarded by him to Sir Charles Wilkins.

Asirgarh is a hill-fort, which formerly belonged to Scindia, about eleven miles to the north-east of Burhanpur, the chief town of the Burhanpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Nimār District in the Central Provinces. As is shewn by the Sôngat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxiiB, and the seal attached to the spurious Gayā plate of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii., the original of the inscription is evidently the seal, presumably of copper, of a copper-plate grant. The grant itself appears never to have been found. As regards the seal, it is not quite clear from the published accounts whether the original was ever found, or only impressions of it. But, at any rate, I have not been able to find out what became either of the seal, or of the impressions of it. My lithograph is a full-size reproduction of the lithograph published with Professor H. H. Wilson’s paper.

In the absence of the original seal and impressions, I am unable to give any details as to its measurements, weight, state of preservation, &c. But, if the original lithograph is full-size, it represents a seal, roughly oval in shape, measuring about 4¾” by 5¼”. The upper part is occupied by emblems, which are—in the centre, a bull, walking to the proper right, decorated with a garland; beyond it, or perhaps attached to its off-side, there is an umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers; on the proper right side, in front of the bull, there is a man, walking, who carries in his right hand a curved double axe on a short transverse handle, and in his left hand, either a standard, with a wheel or sun-emblem on the top of it, or perhaps an abddger or ‘sunshade;’ and on the proper left, behind the bull, there follows another man, who carries in his left hand an ordinary long-handled double axe, and in his right either a chauredi or a stick, with which he is driving the bullock. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, though rather florid, especially in respect of the representation of the superscript vowels, they are of a perceptibly older type than those of the inscriptions of the Guptas of

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1The ‘Asirgarh and Asseer Gurch’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 21° 28' N.; Long. 76° 30' E.

2The ‘Burhanpur and Boorhanpoor’ of maps, &c.

3The ‘Nimār’ of maps, &c.
Magadha, Nos. 42, 43, and 46, Plates xxviii. and xxixA. and B.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhamśya, in utpannaḥ-parama, line 7; (a) the doubling throughout of k and t, in conjunction with a following r; e.g. in atikkrāṇi, line 1, and putra, line 3; and (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following f, in anudhādña, lines 3, 4, 5, and 6.

The seal is one of the Maukhari king Sarvavarman, whose approximate date is fixed very closely by the mention of his father Iśānavarman, as the contemporary of Kumāragupta of Magadha, in line 7 of the Aphaśā inscription of Ādityasena, No. 42 above, page 300. The mere finding of the inscription at Aśīrgaḍ of course does not suffice in any way to connect the members of this family of Maukhari with that locality. Their territory probably lay some hundreds of miles more to the east. Its real position, however, is a point that, with the definite date of Sarvavarman, can only be cleared up by the discovery, if it is still in existence, of the plate itself, to which the seal belongs.

TEXT.¹

1 Chatus-samudr-ātikkrāṇa-krttiḥ ṭrṭāśṛṣ-aṇurāg-bpanat-ānaya-rāja(tā)ḥ varṇa-ātama-vyavasthaḥ ²
2 pana-pravṛttā-chakkaḥ-chakradhara iva prajānam-artti-hara[h]
3 putras-tat-pād-ānudhyā[a]ṭo Jayaśvāmini-bhattachā-bhṛtyāḥ = utpannah
4 mā[ri]mā[ri] Tasya putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātā Harṣaguptā-bhattachā-
5 j-Śivarvarmaḥ[ri] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyātā Upaguptā
6 mā[a]ṛaśādhirāj-śri(mā)-Iśānavarmā[ri] Tasya putras-tat-pād-
7 La(a)ś[i]mā[ri] Tā hāraśādhirāj-śri Sarvavarmanā Maukhariḥ[ri]

¹From the lithograph published with Sir Charles Wilkins and Prof. Wilson's paper; so also the present lithograph.

²In the absence of the original seal, which possibly was not properly cleaned before it was copied, I can only treat this, and a few other instances, as mistakes of the original, though they may be only defects in the lithograph.

³Sir Charles Wilkins read uṣmāguptā. As regards the second syllable, m and ṣ are very much alike in the lithograph. But the letter here seems to be ṣ, rather than m; and there is certainly no d over it.—In support of my reading, the name Upagupta occurs in the masculine form, Upagupta, as the name of the fourth or fifth Buddhist Patriarch (e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. pp. 149, 315; Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. I. p. 182, and Vol. II. pp. 88, 93, 273).

⁴Read iṣāṇa.}

⁵Sir Charles Wilkins read harṣīṇa; but there are four aksharas to be accounted for, not three. The first akṣara is very doubtful; the second is certainly not rahi, but seems to be akṣ[ṛ]a, rather imperfectly copied; the third is aw; in the fourth, the superscript f is distinctly visible, and the consonant, which is almost entirely illegible, naturally suggests itself as t.
TRANSLATION.

(There was) the illustrious Mahārāja Harivarman, whose fame stretched out beyond the four oceans; who had other kings brought into subjection by (his) prowess and by affection (for him); who was like (the god) Chakradhara, in employing (his) sovereignty for regulating the different castes and stages of religious life; (and) who was the remover of the afflictions of (his) subjects. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious Mahārāja Ādityavarman, begotten on the Bhāṣṭārikā and Dēva Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious Mahārāja Īśvaravarman, begotten on the Bhāṣṭārikā and Dēva Harṣāguptā. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Īśānavarman, begotten on the Bhāṣṭārikā and Dēva Upaguptā. His son, who meditates on his feet, (is) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the Mahārājādhirāja Śarvavarman, the Maukhari, begotten on the Bhāṣṭārikā and Mahādeva Lakshmivati.

No. 48; PLATE XXX.B.

BARABAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

This inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice, in 1790, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 167 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington. In 1837, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 674 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id., Plate xxxvi. Nos. 15, 16, and 17) reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Hathorne. And in 1884, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 428, note 55, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has incidentally published his own reading of the text.

The Barābar Hill, the ancient Pravaraṇagiri of this inscription, stands about a mile and a half away on the north side of the village of Panārī, which is about fourteen miles to the north by east of Gayā, the chief town of the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency. In the south part of the hill there is a cave-temple, which it has become the custom to call the “Lomāśa Rishi Cave,” and the original construction of which is allotted by

1 Typified by the chakra, or ‘wheel (of his chariot).’—chakra means also the discus of Vishnu; and hence the point of the comparison.

2 Bhāṣṭārikā, lit. ‘she who is entitled to reverence or homage,’ is the feminine form of bhaṣṭrakā [see page 17 above, note 1]. It is used here as a technical title of a wife of a Mahārāja; but, in line 7 below, it occurs also as the title of a wife of a Mahārajaḍhirāja.

3 Dēva, lit. ‘goddess,’ is another technical title of a wife of a Mahārāja.

4 See page 220 above, note 3.

5 See page 220 above, note 5.

6 See also the Calcutta reprint of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 128.

7 The ‘Panarée-Ferozpoor’ of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 24° 55’ N.; Long. 85° 3’ E. The hill itself is entered under the name of ‘Baraber Hill,’ and is a Trigonometrical Survey Station.

8 The ‘Gya’ of maps, &c.

General Cunningham to the Asoka period, though the entrance-porch was enlarged and
decorated with a sculptured façade at a later time, probably when the present inscrip-
tion was engraved. The inscription is on a smooth polished surface of the granite rock,
over the entrance to the cave.1

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 3' 9½" broad by 1' 3½" high, is in a state
of excellent preservation throughout.—The **size** of the letters varies from ½" to 1¼". The
**characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and exhibit very markedly the fully
developed *mátrás*, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, that have already been noticed
at pages 43 and 140 above.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening
symbol representing the word *dm*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of
**orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling throughout of *t*, in
conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *putra*, line 1, and *yāttra*, line 5; and (2) the use
of *v* for *b*, in *vabhava*, line 4.

The **inscription** is one of a Maukhari chieftain named **Anantavarman**; but, from
the way in which his father Śardula or Śardulavarman is mentioned in line 5, it seems to
have been engraved while the latter was still **alive**. It is **not dated**. It is a Vaishnava
inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by **Anantavarman**,
of an image of the god Vishnu, in his incarnation as **Krishna**.

The hill itself is mentioned in line 2, under the name of **Pravaragiri**. The word, of
course, is capable of being taken simply as an epithet, to be rendered by "(this) excellent
hill." But, on the analogy of the town of Pravarapura, which is mentioned in the first
line of the Champak grant of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv.,
it seems to me to be clearly intended as the actual name of the hill. And we have possibly
a reminiscence of it in the modern name Barabar, for which, at any rate, General
Cunningham's proposed etymology of **bārdāvara**, 'the great enclosure,' a does not suffice
to account.

1. Ōm [I*] Bhūpaṇā[rn*] Maukharinām kulam-ātānm-guṇo-labh-ḥat-ātmat-
jātyaṁ *Śrī Śardulaya ya ṭhājana-hṛidayo-hāro- *Nantavarmanā
su-puttarāḥ [I*]

2. Krīshnasya-akṛṣṇa-kṛtiḥ Pravaragiri-guha-saṁsitam vinīap-ētat mūrttaṁ
loke yaśaḥ [I*] svāṁ rācitaṁ-iva mud-āchkarat-kāntimat-saṁ II

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the upper one, of two lines, being somewhat later in date than the lower one, of four lines, in rather
larger characters." But the six lines are all one and the same inscription; and the rather smaller size
of the letters in the first two lines is simply due to the lateral space available being less, in conse-
quince of the turning over of the upper part of the façade, within the limits of which the inscription
is engraved.

2. From the original stone.

3. Id. p. 43.

4. In the original, the symbol for this word, *dm*, stands in the margin, opposite the commen-
tment of line 3.

5. Metre, Sragdhāra.

6. This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

7. The engraver first formed *ṛiti*, and then partially cancelled the *i*.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 49, PLATE XXXII A.

3 Kālahā śatī-mahābujāṁ pranayināṁ ichchhā-Phalaṁ padapō ṛī dipāḥ
4 jāntā-bhitī-Phalaḥ Smara-pratisamahā pātā va(b)a)bhuva kshiteḥ śrī-Śardula
    iti 'pratishtīta-yaśā[4∗] śamāyikchudāmanīh
5 Utpakshām-āntavilohi-ōru-taraśa-spahi-śeṣta-tārāṁ rūṣā ṛī śrī-Śardula-ṇripāḥ
    karoti vishāmāṇ yatra sva-driśṭim ripō(pau) 1
6 tattra-ākāraṇa-vikriṣṭhā Śaṅkga-śaṅkhaḥ-śaṅkhāḥ vyastaḥ-śardō tt(nt)-avahāḥ
    tat-puttrasya
    pataty-ananta-sukha-dasya-Śarvavarmanamā śruteḥ

TRANSLATION.

Om! He, Anantavarman, who was the excellent soh, captivating the hearts of mankind, of the illustrious Śardula, (and) who, possessed of very great virtues, adorned by his own (high) birth the family of the Maukhari kings—he, of unsullied fame, with joy caused to be made, as if it were his own fame represented in bodily form in the world, this beautiful image, placed in (this) cave of the mountain Pravaraigiri, of (the god) Kṛishṇa.

(Line 3.)—The illustrious Śardula, of firmly established fame, the best among chieftains, became the ruler of the earth;—he who was a very Death to hostile kings; who was a tree, the fruits of which were the (fulfilled) wishes of (his) favourites; who was the torch of the family of the warrior castē, that is glorious through waging many battles; (and) who, charming the thoughts of lovely women, resembled (the god) Śmarā.

(Line 5.)—On whatsoever enemy the illustrious king Śardula casts in anger his scowling eye, the expanded and tremulous and clear and beloved pupil of which is red at the corners between the up-lifted brows,—on him there falls the death-dealing arrow, discharged from the bowstring drawn up to (his) ear, of his son, the giver of endless pleasure, who has the name of Anantavarman.

No. 49; PLATE XXXII A.

NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

This inscription, again, appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice, in 1790, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 168 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington. In 1847, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 401 ff., Major Markham Kittoe published a lithograph of it.

3 Metre, Śardulaviraktī; and in the following verse.
4 and 5 These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.
6 As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note 3.
7 Sūmantā; see page 148 above, note 1. The use of the word here perhaps indicates the exact status of these Maukhari chiefs.
8 śaradhi, lit. 'the arrow-holder,' is usually explained by 'quiver.' But here it plainly denotes the string of the bow.
9 lit. 'the hearing, the sound.'
10 See also the Calcutta reprint of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 129.
The Nágárjuni Hill, which, in line 8 of the following inscription of the same chieftain, No. 50 below, is spoken of as (a part of) the Vindhya range, is about a mile away on the north side of the village of Jāphra, which is about fifteen miles to the north by east of Gayā, the chief town of the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency. It is the most eastern part of the group of hills that includes the Barābar Hill, mentioned in connection with the preceding inscription, page 221 above. On the north side of the hill, there is a cave-temple, which is shown to belong to the Aśoka period by an inscription, in four lines, of Dasalatha-Dēvānapīya on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has been named the "Vadathi Cave." The present inscription is on the smooth and polished surface of the granite rock, on the right hand in the entrance to the cave.

The writing, which covers a space of about 4' 2½" broad by 1' 5½" high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is about 1½.
The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding inscription of the same chieftain, No. 48 above, Plate xxxiii., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed mātrās. The language is Sāskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word ṇm, the inscription is in verse throughout. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in anusvāra, line 5; and (2) the customary doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in kṣattra, line 1, and nātra, line 2.

The inscription is another record of the Māukhari chieftain Anantarvarman. It is not dated. It is a Śāiva inscription, the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by Anantarvarman, of an image representing Śiva, in the form of Bhūtāpati or "the lord of beings," and his wife Pārvati, under the name of Dēvi. The image was probably of the kind called Ardhanārīśvara, combining Śiva and Pārvati in one body; the right half being the male god, and the left the female.

TEXT.

1 Ṣm[1+1] Aslt=sarvva-mahākshītām-Agnu-siva kṣattra-āthitēr-ddēśikā
    śrīmān-matta-gajendra-khēla-gamanaḥ śrī-Yajñavarmanā mūrpah [1*]
2 yasya-sahā-sahrasanāta-virāha-kṣhāma sad-aiv-ačhāraṁ Paulōṁi chiram-
    aṣru-pāta-malināṁ dhā(dhā)ttē kapōla-briyāṁ II

1. The "Kootbunpoor-Jafra" of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 23° 0' N.; Long. 83° 8' E.—The name of the hill is not shown in the map.
3. From the original stone.
4. In the original, the symbol for this word, ṇm, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.
5. Metre, Śändālavikṛtī; and in the following verse.
6. Sir Charles Wilkins and Dr. R. Mitra both read mahākshītām Manuṁ-siva; but there is no anusvāra over the ōd.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 49, PLATE XXXI A. 225

3 Śrī-Śārdūla-ṇrip-Ātmajaḥ para-hitāḥ śrī-pauruṣhaḥ śruta-yatē 1 lōkē chandra-
marichi-nirmalana-guṇo yo-Nantavarmm-ābhidhā(ḍha)ḥ [1*]

drishta-ādrishta-vibhūti karta-variḍaṁ tēn-ādbhutaṁ kāritaṁ 11 víravāṇi
Bhūpatake-guḥ-śrīrām-idaṁ Devyeṣa-chha pāyāj-jagat 11

5 An̄a-ant-akṛishṭa-śāṛgga-pravītata-saśara-jyā-sphāran-mandala-ānta 1
vyakta-1 bhṛbhāṛga-lakṣmaṇa-vṛkṣa-kāra-sāvalākṣhaṇa-vaktṛṇdu-vimva[h*] 1

6 Antāy-Ānantaśmā Smara-sadriṣa-vapūr-jīvīte ni[h*]spṛhiḥbhīḥ drishta[h*]
sthitaṁ mrgībhīḥ sūcharam-animisha-snigdha-mugdha-ekshanabhīḥ 11

7 Atyākṛishṭaṁ kurura-vīrata-sparddhinaḥ śāṛaṇga-yantrā-1 d[=]vēg-āvidhāḥ
pravītata-guṇād-brītāh saushṭhavēna 1

8 dūra-prāpti vimathita-gaj-ōdbhānta-vāj pravīrō 1 ṣvāṅ-gā-ṛiṣṭi-vyasana-pādavi-
dēśīkā-Nanta-nāma[mna]ḥ 11

TRANSLATION.

Om! There was a glorious king, the illustrious Yajñavarman,—who, as if he were
Anu,10 instructed all rulers of the earth in the duty of those who belong to the warrior
caste,—whose gait was like the play of a rutting elephant;—(and) through whose sacri-
fices (the goddess) Paulomi, always emaciated by separation from (the god Indra) who
has a thousand eyes, invoked (by this king so constantly as to be perpetually absent from
her), has had the beauty of (her) cheeks for a long time sullied by the falling of tears.

(Line 3.)—He, the son of the illustrious king Śārdūla, who has the name of
Anantavarman; who is reputed in the world to be benevolent to others, (and) to be
possessed of fortune and manliness, (and) to be full of virtues that are as spotless as the
rays of the moon,—by him was caused to be made this wondrous image, placed in (this)
cave, of (the god) Bhūpati and (the goddess) Dēvī, which is possessed of excellences
(of workmanship) some of them (previously) beheld (in other images) but others not so;
(and) which confers boon upon the maker (of it). May it protect the world!

(L. 5.)—Having the surface of the full-moon that is (his) face made grey through
being scattered over with spots that are (his) frowns displayed at the ends of the bent
arc, glistening with (its) string pulled tight and fitted with an arrow, of the bow drawn
up to the extremities of (his) shoulders, Anantavarman, whose body is like (that of)
(the god) Smara,—having stood, gazed upon for a very long time by the doe, indifferent
to life, whose moist and tender eyes omit to blink (through the intentness with

1 and 4 These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.
* Read ṅita-vyakta, omitting the mark of punctuation.
* Metre, Mandākranṭā.
* Read yantrād, omitting the mark of punctuation.
* This akṣara is partly mixed up with the ṝ of ṝe in vidēsvasu, which was subsequently
engraved below this inscription, but has no connection with it.
* This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
* This viśṛgga was at first omitted, and then was inserted partially on the first stroke of the
following mark of punctuation, when the text was altered from nāṁnā to nāṁnāḥ.
* See page 224 above, note 6.—Anu, one of the sons of Yāyāti, was the progenitor of the Ānayas
who are identified by Gen. Cunningham (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. II. p. 14 ff.) with the ‘Janjūhas,’
who now occupy “Makhyāla” and other places in the Salt Range, in the Panjāb.
which they regard him),—(lives only) for (the purpose of dealing out) death. The far-reaching (and) powerful arrow, scattering the elephants and driving horses wild with fear, of him who has the name of Ananta,—impelled with speed (and) skillfully discharged from the machine of (his) bow, fitted with a well-stretched string, that is drawn very tight (and) rivals the screams of an osprey (with the noise of its twanging),—teaches to the wives of (his) enemies the condition of the sorrows (of widowhood):

No. 50; PLATE XXXI B.

NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

This inscription, again, appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice in 1788, in the Asiatic Researches Vol. I. p. 276 ff., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington, and, with it, a lithograph from the same materials. —And in 1837, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VI. p. 672 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published another reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxiv.), reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Hathorne.

This is another inscription from the Nagarjuni Hill in the lands of Japhra, in the Gaya District of the Bengal Presidency. On the south side of the hill, there is another cave-temple, which also is shown to belong to the Asoka period by another inscription, in four lines, of Dasalatha-Devanapitua on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has come to be called the "Gopi Cave." The inscription now published is on the smooth and polished surface of the granite rock, on the left hand in the entrance to the cave.

The writing, which covers a space of about 4' 11" broad by 1' 11½" high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout; except that, in the last line, the name of the village that was granted has been intentionally obliterated.—The average size of the letters is about 1". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding two inscriptions of the same chieftain, Nos. 48 and 49 above, Plates xxxB. and xxxI A., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed madras.

The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word om, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before i, in ākṣu, line 2, and before h, in ānkha, line 9; (2) the customary doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following v, e.g. in vikrama, line 4, and putrēṇa, line 7; and (3) the use throughout of v for b, in lāvaham, line 5; vandhu, line 6; and annubhiḥ, line 9.

The inscription is another record of the Maukharī chieftain Anantavarmān. It is not dated. It is either a Śaiva, or a Śākta, inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by Anantavarmān, of an image of the goddess Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva, under the name of Kātyāyanī, and also the grant to the same goddess, under the name of Bhavānī, of a village, the name of which has been destroyed.

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1 As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note 3.
2 See also the Calcutta reprint of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 236 ff.
3 See page 224 above, and note 1.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 50, PLATE XXXI B.

In line 8 of this inscription, the Nāgarjuna Hill is spoken of as (a part of) the Vindhya range. This is in accordance with facts; since the Vindhya mountains, though most conspicuous in Western and Central India, do extend right across the peninsula, until, passing through the neighbourhood of Gayā, their easternmost spurs reach and disappear in the valley of the Ganges at Rājmahāl.

**TEXT.**

1 Om [II] Unnidrasya saruhrasya sakalām-ākshipya sōbhām ruchā tā s-āvaiṣṭam Mahish-āsurasya śirasi nyastāḥ kvaṇan-nūpuraḥ i5
2 Deiva vah sthira-bhakti-vāda-sadrisīṁ yuṣjām-phaṭen-ārthītām i dūṣyad-achchha-nakh-ānṣu-jāla-jatīlaḥ pādaḥ padam sampadam II
3 Aśi-ishta-samṛiddha-vaiṣṇa-mahāmā śrī-Vaijñavarmanā nripah I prakhyātā (tō) vimalāndu-nirmālā-yāṣaḥ[n] kṣhāttṛasya dhāmaṁ padam I
dam II
6 śṛman-va(ba)ndhu-suhrij-jana-pranayinām-āsāḥ phalaḥ pūrva[n] I putraḥ kalpa-tarot-iy-āpta-mahimāḥ śādulavarmā nripah II
7 Tasy-ānantam-ananta-krti-yaśasō Nant-Adi-varmám-ākhyāya I khyātēn-āhita-bhakti-bhāvita-dhiyā puttrēna pūt-āṭmanā [ⁿ]
8 a-sūrya-kshti-chandra-tārakam-iyarā puny-āspadhām vānchchha (nchha)ta VI vinyast-ād bhuta-Vindhya-bhūdhatā-guhām-āśritya Kātyāyani II
9 Dhaut-ānāḥ mala-panka-dōṣham-amalair-mahānādair-amyu(mbu)bhī I vyadhūt-ōpavana-priyāṅgu-vakulaṁ-āmōdītām vāyubhi[ʰ] I
10 kalpant-āvadhībhāgama-uchchha-śikhari-chchhāvyav-ārākka-dyutiṁ I [— —] grāmaṁ-analpa-bhōga-vibhavaṁ ramyaṁ Bhavānaya I dadau II

**TRANSLATION.**

Om I May the foot of (the goddess) Dēvi, fringed with the rays of (its) pure nails, point out the way to fortune, endowing with a (suitable) reward your state of supplication which is such as befits the expression of firm devotion; (that foot) which, surpassing in radiance all the beauty of a full-blown waterlily, was disdainfully placed, with its tinkling anklet, on the head of the demon Mahishāsura.

(Line 3.)—There was a king, the illustrious Vaijñavarman, possessed of greatness by celebrating copious sacrifices; renowned; possessed of fame as pure as the spotless moon; the abode of (all) the divinity of one of the warrior castes;—who, though he was the foremost of all kings in respect of wisdom, (high) descent, liberality, and prowess, yet, through modesty, was (like) an ocean which adheres to the natural state (of tranquillity), (and) the calmness of which is never to be disturbed.

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1 From the original stone.  
2 Metre, Śārdulavikṛtīta, throughout.  
3 It is not customary to punctuate the first and third pādas of a verse; but it was done almost uniformly throughout this inscription.  
4 Read mahimā.  
5 A demon who assumed various forms, but principally that of a buffalo, and was slain by Pārvatī, who, in the form of Dēvi or Durgā, attacked him, on a lion, and cut off his head.
(L. 5.)—His son (was) the king Śārdūlavarmān, who stretched out over the faces of the points of the compass, (as) an emblem of sovereignty, the renown that he had acquired in the occupation of war resembling (in its extensiveness) the great swollen ocean; who conquered (the stains of) this present age with (his) fame; who was illustrious; (and) who acquired, as it were, the glory of the kalpa-tree, by satisfying with rewards the wishes of (his) relatives and friends.

(L. 7.)—Of him, who was always possessed of infinite fame and renown, the son (is) he, pure of soul, (and) possessed of intellect animated with innate piety, who is known by the appellation of Varman commencing with Ananta;—by whom, desiring a shrine of religious merit that should endure as long as the sun, the earth, the moon, and the stars, this (image of) (the goddess) Kātyāyāni has been placed in (this) wonderful cave of the Vindhya mountains.

(L. 9.)—He has given to (the goddess) Bhavānl, to be enjoyed up to the time of the destruction of all things, the charming village of . . . . . . , possessed of a great wealth of enjoyment,—the sin, impurity, mud, and blemishes of which are washed away by the pure waters of a great river;—which is filled with perfume by the breezes that agitate the priyāṅgu and vakula-trees in (its) groves;—(and) from which the radiance of the sun is screened off by (this) lofty mountain.

No. 51; PLATE XXXIIA.

JAUNPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARAVARMAN.

This inscription,—which was discovered by General Cunningham in 1875-76 or 1877-78, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XI. p. 124 f., where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxvii. No. 1),—is from a stone built in as one of the lower voussoirs of the outer arch of the south gate of the Jami Masjid at Jaunpur, the chief town of the Jaunpur District in the North-West Provinces.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 3½" broad by 1' 1½" high, is, so far as it goes, in a state of very good preservation, except for the marks by which it has been disfigured a little above the centre of the stone. But it is only a fragment of a very much larger inscription. Nothing has been lost at the top, and at the ends of the lines. But from thirty-eight to seventy-two aksharas,—probably the larger number,—are lost at the beginning of each line; and also an indefinite number of lines below the last line that is extant. The average size of the letters is about ½. The characters belong to the

1 i.e. Anantavarman.

2 We might find in this verse a reference to "the pure waters of (the river) Mahānātād." But the Mahānātād, which rises in the Rāypur District, flows into the Bay of Bengal, without coming anywhere within two hundred and fifty miles of the Nāgārjuna hill. The small river that runs past this hill, is named the Phalgu; and it flows into the Ganges, not into the Mahānātād. Under the name of Phalgu, it is mentioned in an inscription, belonging to about the twelfth century A.D., of a prince named Yakshapāla, at the Satī Ghāṭ at GAYA (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 64, line 3).

3 priyāṅgu; the Panicium Italicum; a medicinal plant, and perfume.

4 vakula; the Mimusops Elengi.

5 The 'Jounpoor' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 41' N.; Long. 83° 43' E.
northern class of alphabets, and are radically of much the same type as those of the Aśīrgaḍh seal of Sarvavarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxA.; but the execution is, in some details, still more florid. In dūrbyām, line 1, kṛttēr, line 4, karair-γναίν-γναβον-founder, line 5, and other places, we have to note that the superscript r is formed on the top line of the writing, instead of above it. — The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is in verse throughout. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of k, t, and d, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in khrdrā, line 5; kṣatrtrēna, line 1; and upadravair, line 5; and (2) the use of v for b, in ladvā, line 1.

The inscription mentions, in line 4, a 'king' named Iśvararman, of the Maukharī, or as it is here called the Mukhara family, who is evidently the Mahāraja Iśvararman, the grandfather of Sarvavarman, who is mentioned in line 5 of the Aśīrgaḍh seal, No. 47 above, page 219. But the lacunae in the following lines are so extensive, that it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Iśvararman, or to one of his descendants. It is much to be wished that the first half of the stone could be recovered; since, in addition to clearing up this point, it would probably give the name of a king in connection with the city of Dhārā that is mentioned in line 6, and also the name of a king in connection with the Andhras who are spoken of in lines 7 and 8, and the latter information might afford the much-wanted starting-point for settling the chronology of the Andhra family. It would probably give us also the name of a king of Saurāshtra or Kāthiawād, in connection with the mountain Raivataka that is mentioned in line 7. The extant portion of the inscription contains no date, and nothing to indicate a sectarian character.

TEXT:

1. r(?) ksh(?) l(?) gam II Dūrbyāmr-[Ā]tmabhuvō dhanuḥ
   saha-bhuvā kṣatrēna lavdh(bdh)-ātmanā vistār-

2. [udayini Mukharanām bhābhujam-anvāyē l sakala-
   purusha-sakti-vyakta-sārgha-pratāpō

3. karmmanē yājñām dh[ō]ma-vitāna-mēgha-nivahāḥ
   puryaṁ
   vitēnē divi II

4. lakaś-rast-alakārama kulaiḥ II Tasyaṁ dikshu [v]itāt-
   āmala-kṛttēr-ātmajā nipatir-Iśvaravarmanā I

1 From the ink-impression.
2 If (since we have a half-mark of punctuation after anvāyē in line 2) we accept the double mark of punctuation after the fourth extant akihara of this line as marking properly the end of a verse, seventy-two akihara have been cut away and lost here. If, however, it marks only the end of the second padā of a verse, then only thirty-eight akihara are lost. — I have tried several ways of arranging the verses, in order to determine exactly how many akiharas are lost at the commencement of each line, but without being able to satisfy myself. The probability is, however, that the larger number (seventy-two) has been lost at the beginning of this line, and in proportion all the way down. *Metre, Śūdruṣuṣa.
3 Metre, Śūdruṣuṣa.
4 Metre, Mālinī.
5 Metre, Śūdruṣuṣa.
6 This mark of punctuation is followed by some scroll-work, to fill up the line.
7 Metre, Śūdruṣuṣa.
CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM, VOL. III.

5. [kri]pūnātāma-samita-kkrūr-āgama(?)-paddaravir-lok-ananda-karair-
gunatāma-kōmārama
6. [a]dhish-hitām kshiti-bhujaśāṃ sīnhēna sīnhāsāṃ sūrā. Dhāra-
mārga-vinirat-agni-kaṃpikā
7. dāmñ Vindhyā-ādṛśa prati-randhrām-Andhra-patīnā saṃkā,
parē-āsītām yātē Raivatāka-āchāraṁ
8. sām-. vāraṇānām khatāsa vyaśteśa-dūkhāt-āhāra-dviti-
khacita-bhujēśha-Andhra-gēna-bhatēśa u
9. rāṇ-āpratā-sailiāīī snātām śilā-gandhibhīṣ prālē-addri-
bhuva-scha śīta-payasaḥ prakāsa-
10. rēnubhir-giri-sarit-pūr-śrūmm-bhāṅg-ākulair-utsarpadbhir-anuprag-
pi divāsō yasya-ap.

TRANSLATION.

[With (his) arms the bow of (the god) Amabhaś, by means of (his) innate warriors’ skill that pervaded (his) soul] in the flourishing lineage of the Mukhara kings; whose prowess with the bow was displayed with all the energy of a man; by the rite; (and his) religious merit, arising from sacrifices, spread out over the sky (in the form of) the mass of the clouds of the canopy of the smoke (of his obligations) having the ends of (their) curls fallen down by the families.

(Line 4.)—Of him, whose spotless fame spread far and wide over the regions, the son (was) king Íśvaravarman, with virtues which by means of compassion and affection allayed the troubles (caused) by the approach of cruel people, and which effected the happiness of mankind; who, indeed, of virtuous people; by him, a very lion to (hostile) kings, the throne was occupied. A spark of fire that had come by the road from (the city of) Dhārā the lord of the Andhras, wholly given over to fear, took up (his) abode in the crevices of the Vindhyā mountains; went to the Raivatāka mountain among the warriors of the Andhra army, who were spread out among the troops of elephants (and) whose arms were studded with the lustre of (their) swords drawn out (from the scabbards), bathed with the waters, fragrant with benzoin, of the torrents of and cleansing the lands, full of cool waters, of (Himālāya) the mountain of snow with the pollen disordered by the breaking of the waves of the swollen mountain-streams, (and) flowing onwards, whose day, even in the hours that come next after daybreak

1. Metre, śārdūlavikṛdita, and in the next three lines.
2. Metre, śragdhāra.
3. Metre, śārdūlavikṛdita, and in the next line.
4. lit. 'the self-existent one;' an epithet of Brahma, Vīṣṇu, and Śiva. From the mention of a bow, it must here denote Vīṣṇu; who carries the bow of horn named Śārga.
No. 52; PLATE XXXII B.

SOṆIṆAT/COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF HARSHAVIDHANA.

This inscription, which is now brought to notice for the first time, is from a copper seal in the possession of Moharsingh Ramratan Mahajan, a merchant at Sōṇipat1 or Sōṇipat,2 the chief town of the Sonpat Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Dehli District in the Pāñjab. I obtained the seal for examination through the kindness of Mr. J. D. Tremlett, B.C.S., who, in fact, had the first information of it, and brought it to my notice.

The seal is oval, measuring about 5½" by 6½". All round it there runs a rim, about ½" broad; and inside this there are, in rather shallow relief on a slightly countersunk surface,—at the top, a bull, recumbent to the proper right; and below this, the inscription that is given below. That it is only a seal, belonging to a copper-plate from which it has been detached, is shown by plain indications of soldering on the back of it, and also by the spurious Gayā plate of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii., which has a similar seal attached to it. The letters of the inscription are worn down so much, that in many places they can only be read by getting the light to fall on the surface at different angles; and in some places they are entirely illegible. The only historical information, however, that seems to be lost, is the completion of the name of Prabhākaraśārdhana’s father, in line 4. I have to acknowledge some assistance from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in reading this inscription; but, of course, without binding him to any of the details of it, as here published.—The weight of the seal is 3 lbs. 6 oz.—The average size of the letters is about 1½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of much the same type as those of the Asrīgāḍh seal of Śrīvarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxix.; but the forms are rather more conservative in details.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of ṭ, in conjunction with a following r, in puttra, lines 2 and 7.

The seal is one of Harshavardhana, king of Kanauj, who began to reign3 A.D. 606 or 607; and it is of peculiar interest, as being the first of his own epigraphical records that has ever come to light. I have made every effort to discover the plate to which it belongs; as the inscription on the plate would make the genealogy perfect, and also, if belonging to the early years of Harshavardhana’s reign, would probably shew what era was used by him prior to the establishment of his own. But I have not succeeded in obtaining any information about it; and it seems to have been hopelessly lost sight of. The present owner of the seal states that there is no record of the plate itself having ever been in the possession of his family; so it is very doubtful whether it is now in existence.

1 The ‘Sonipat, Soonput, and Sunput,’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 59’ N.; Long. 77° 3’ E.
2 Other forms of the name are Śnēpat, and Sunpat.
TEXT.

1. paramādityabhāṣa mahārāja-srī Rājyavardhanabh[ll*]
   Tasya puttras-tat-p[dā]-
   paramādityabhaktō-
   sēnaguptā-dvēyām-utpanna
4. [itah] y...va[?] prava[r]ddh...
5. sarv[ya]-varṇa-āśrama-vyavasthāpana-
6. [paramabhadattāraka]...prabhākaravardhanabh[ll*] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-
7. ānudhyāt[ta]...
9. [paramabhadattāraka]-mahārāja-dhī[raja] srī Rājyavardhanabh
10. [Tasy-ānajas-tat-pād-ānu]dhyātō mahādēvā[m]
11. Yāsōmatyā-
12. [m-utpannah]...[pa]-
13. [rāmahadattāraka-ma]hārājā-dhī[r]ājā-srī Harsha-
   vardhanabh[ll*]

TRANSLATION.

(There was) the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the Mahārāja, the illustrious Rājyavardhana (I). His son, [who meditated on] his feet, (was) the [most devout] worshipper of the Sun, the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ādityavardhana,* [begotten] on the illustrious Mahādevi(?). His [son, who meditated on his feet], (was) the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the Paramabhadattāraka and Mahārājadhīrāja, the glorious Prabhākaravardhana, begotten on the Uṛvit, [the illustrious] Mahāsēnaguptā, (and) who was employed in regulating all the castes and stages of religious life. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout follower of Sugata,* the Paramabhadattāraka and Mahārājadhīrāja, the glorious Rājyavardhana (II), begotten on the glorious Yāsōmati. [His younger brother], who meditated on [his feet], (is) the glorious Harshavardhana, [begotten] on the Mahādevit, Yāsōmati.

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* From the original seal.
* This part of the name is quite illegible; but the analogy of the other names seems to indicate that the termination here was the same, viz. vārdhāna.
* These two akṣaras, mahā, are very indistinct; but I think they may be accepted as certain.
* These three akṣaras, vārdhānā, are rather small and cramped, in the centre of the bottom of the seal.
* See note 2 above.
* paramasagesa is a Buddhist sectarian title. Sugata, lit. 'well-gone; well-bestowed; one who has attained a good state,' was one of the names or titles of Buddha.
Nos. 53 & 54; PLATE XXXIII A & B.

NÁCHNE-KI-TALÁI STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAHARAJA PRITHIVISHENA.

These two inscriptions were discovered by General Cunningham in 1883-84, and were brought to notice by him in 1885, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XXI. p. 97 f., where he published his reading of the text of the complete one, No. 54, accompanied by lithographs of both of them (*id.* Plate xxvii.)

Nachné-ki-talái, meaning literally the "tank of Nachna," is a small village or collection of huts, about seven miles south-west of Jaso,8 the chief town of the Jasó State in the Bundelkhand division of Central India. When I drafted the title of the Plate, I understood that the inscriptions were on a boulder lying in the jungle; whereas it now appears, from General Cunningham's published account, that they are on a loose slab which was found lying at 'Lakhura, Lakhuría, or Lakhawara,' which is the name of the ground outside the fort of 'Kúthará or Kútharagarh,' which again is given as an older name of the site on part of which the village of Nachna or Nachné-ki-talái now stands. The inscription of four lines, No. 54, is on the face of the slab; and the incomplete inscription, No. 53, on the side or edge of it. The explanation of No. 53 probably is, that this side was intended to be the front of the stone; but that the stone was then found to be too rough, and this face was made the side of it, and the inscription was commenced again and finished on what is now the front of it. And I am extremely doubtful whether the inscription on the side, No. 53, really consists of more than one line. Some signs resembling the syllables vyāghra are pencilled in on the impressions that were sent to me; but I was unable to depute my own copyists to Nachné-ki-talái for the purpose of taking fresh impressions to settle this point, or to go there myself.

The writing of No. 53 covers a space of about 1' 9\(\frac{3}{4}\)" broad by 7\(\frac{1}{4}\)" high; and of No. 54, about 1' 9" broad by 1' 1" high. The imperfections of some of the letters appear to be due to incomplete engraving, owing to irregularities of the stone, rather than to subsequent injury. In the centre of No. 54 there is a sculpture which may be either a Buddhist wheel, or the sun-symbol.—The size of the letters varies from 6" to 14". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, which I have noticed at page 18 f. above.—The language is Sanskrit; and both the inscriptions are in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point calling for remark is the doubling of dh, before y, in anuddhyáta, in line 2 of No. 54.

As regards the contents of the inscriptions, No. 53 gives simply the name of the Maháraja Prithivishena of the Vákáśaka tribe or dynasty. No. 54 repeats this, and adds the name of a feudatory of his, Vyághradéva. No date is given; and nothing to show any sectarian purpose. And the record simply refers to Vyághradéva having made something or other, which must have been either a temple, or a well or tank, of which this slab evidently formed a part.

1The 'Nachna, Nachna, and Narhua,' of maps, &c. It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70, but is not entered there. Lat. 24° 24' N.; Long. 80° 30' E.

8The 'Jasso, Jusso, and Jussoo,' of maps, &c.
As regards the name of this family, Vākāṭaka, General Cunningham has proposed its identification with the modern Bhāndak, a place evidently of considerable antiquity, the chief town of the Bhāndak Prāgrāṇā in the Chāndā District in the Central Provinces, fifteen miles north-west of Chāndā, and eleven miles south-east of Warōḍā. It is possible that Bhāndak may have been the Vākāṭaka capital. But the identity of the two names cannot be upheld. In the first place, there is the difficulty of accounting for the disappearance of the k in the second syllable of Vākāṭaka, and for the change of the lingual i into the dental d, with a nasal before it. In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler, there is an insuperable obstacle, in the suggested change of v into bh. And, in the third place, I have to point out that the name Vākāṭaka must be derived from an original vakāṭa; like, for instance, Māhākāntāraka from Māhākāntāra, Kausalaka from Kōsala, Kairāla from Kēraḷa, and Paishṭapuraka from Pishṭapura, in line 19, of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above; and like Traikūṭa from Trikūṭa, in line 1 of the 'Pardi' grant of the Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Daharsēna of the year 207. If any trace of the name is to be found in the maps of the present day, we must look for such a place as Wakāṭ, Bakāṭ, Bakaṭ, Baktār, or Baktāuli; and it might be possibly be found in 'Waktapur,' in the Rēwā-Kānṭhā Agency.

TEXT."

* No. 53.

1 Vākāṭakānāṁ māhā-traja-śri(srt)-Prīthivishēṇa .
2 Vyā(p)ghra(?) *

* No. 54.

1 Vākāṭakānā[rm*] māhā-traja-śri(srt)-
2 Prīthivishēṇa - pād - ānuddhyātō
3 Vyāghrādevō mātāpitro[h*] puny-[ā]*ṛthāṁ
4 kritam11-iti [H*]*

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1 Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 121 f.
2 The 'Bhanduk' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 73. Lat. 20° 6' N.; Long. 79° 9' E.
3 The 'Warorā and Warroda' of maps, &c.
4 Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 117 f.; and Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 239 f.—Dr. Bühler speaks of Vākāṭaka as being the name of a country, as well as of the tribe governing it. It probably did, in the usual way, denote the country, as well as the tribe or dynasty. But it does not occur in the compound quoted by him, 'Pavarajā-Vākāṭaka,' which exists only in the original misreading, for Pavarajavāṭaka, in line 22 of the Sivant grant, No. 56 below, page 246.—Vākāṭaka has also been supposed to occur as the name of a place or country in line 161 of the Anamkōṇḍ inscription of the Kākatiya chieftain Rudradēva; but this, again, is only due to the original misreading (Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. pp. 903, 908); the place that is really mentioned is Kaṭaka, as is shown by the lithograph published with my own reading of this inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. pp. 11, 16, 20).
6 From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impressions; so also the lithographs.
7 This ād was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.
8 These two aksaras are very doubtful; they are pencilled-in on the ink-impression, and there may be some traces of them; but the impression is not deep enough for them to show in relief on the back of it.
9 This dā was at first omitted and then inserted below the line. 11 Read kritavān.
TRANSLATION.

Vyāghradēva, who meditates on the feet of the Mahārāja of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Pṛthivishēna, has made (this) for the sake of the religious merit of (his) parents.

No. 55; PLATE XXXIV.

CHAMMAK COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARĀJA PRAVARASENA II.

This inscription was discovered about 1868, and,—the original plates having been obtained by Major H. Szczepanski, and forwarded by him to Dr. John Wilson, of Bombay,—was first brought to notice in 1879, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī’s reading of the text, published in Notes on the Baudhā Rock-Temples of Ajanta,1 p. 54 ff.—And in 1883, Dr. G. Bühler, C.I.E., published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 116 ff., and also, accompanied by a lithograph of the plates, but not of the seal, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 239 ff.

The inscription is on some copper-plates that were found in ploughing a field at Chammak,2 the ancient Charmānka of the inscription, a village about four miles south-west of Illichpur,3 the chief town of the Illichpur District in the Commissionership of East Berar, in the Haidarābād Assigned Districts. The original plates, which I obtained for examination from Dr. Burgess, are now, I understand, again in the possession of Major Szczepanski.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are seven in number, each measuring from 7½" to 7¾" by from 3½" to 3¾". They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. A few of the letters on the first and last plates have been damaged by rust; but the rest of the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The plates are fairly thick and substantial; and the letters, which are not very deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters show here and there marks of the working of the engraver’s tool.—Towards the top of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about ¼" thick and 3½" in diameter. It was not soldered into the socket of a seal; but the ends of it were flattened off, as if to overlap and fasten with a pin or bolt; there is, however, no hole in them to shew that they were ever actually secured in this way. The seal4 is a flat disc of copper, rising slightly towards the centre, about ½" thick and 2½" in diameter. To the centre of the back of it, there is soldered a small ring, by which it slides on the larger ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal, there is the legend, in four lines, of

1 No. 9 of the separate pamphlets of the Archeological Survey of Western India.

2 The ‘Chamuck’ of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 21° 12’ N.; Long. 77° 31’ E.—In Notes on the Baudhā Rock-Temples of Ajanta, p. 54, the plates are said to have been obtained from Sāgar in the Central Provinces. And in Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 234, they are called the Illichpur grant. But in Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 116, it is stated explicitly that they were found in a ploughed field at Chammak.

3 The ‘Ellichpur’ of maps, &c.

4 See Plate xxxiiic.
which the text and translation are given below.—The **weight** of the seven plates is about 6 lbs. 14 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, about 14½ oz.; total 7 lbs. 12½ oz.—The **average size** of the letters is about 7/8". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the ‘box-headed’ variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 181. above. But, whether intentionally or accidentally, the heads of the letters were-scooped out hollow through nearly the whole of this inscription; and the true box-shaped tops are discernible in only a few places; e.g. in lines 58 and 59.

The characters include forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8 and 10, in line 60, and for 8,000, in line 19.—The **language** is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 36 to 39, is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhamśya*, in *rājāḥ-pravara*, line 1; *pāṇḍh-prasāda*, line 13; *sambhōḥ-prasāda*, line 16; and *rakshitavyāḥ-parī*, line 32; but not in *kālyāḥ putra*, line 30; (2) the occasional doubling of *k* and *d*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *krama*, line 6; *kriyābhis*, line 31; and *ddrōha*, line 4; (3) the doubling of *th* and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *bhāgratīthya-amala*, line 6, and *sarvāddhyyaksha*, line 21; and (4) the doubling of *v* after the anusvāra, in *anuvatsarṇ*, line 60.

The **inscription** is one of the *Mahārāja Pravarasena II.* of the *Vākātaka* tribe or dynasty; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the town of *Pravarapurā*. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the eighteenth year (of his government), on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyesṭha (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by *Pravarasena II.*, to a thousand Brāhmaṇs, of the village of *Charmāṇika*, i.e. the modern *Chammak* itself, in the *Bhōjakata* kingdom.

**TEXT.**

The **Seal.**

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**First Plate.**

1. Drīṣṭam* [II*] Svasti Pravarapurād-agniśṭomāptoryyām-okthya-
   śhodāsy-ātirātra.4
2. vajapya - bhrihaspatisava - sādyask - chaturāsyaṁdha - vājinah
3. Kṛi(vi)śāhupriyddha-sagotrasya - samrād Vākātakānām
   mahārāja-śrī(śrī). Pravarasēnasya.
4. sūnōḍh sūnōḍh atyanta-[S]vāmi-Mahābhairava-bhaktasya
   bhāra-santi(ni)vēśi-
5. ta-Śiva-liṅg-[o]dvahana-Śiva-uparitushṭa-samupādi[ta]-rājāva[m*]śā-

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1. From the original plates.  
2. See page 240 below, note 2.  
3. Metre, Ślokā (Anuṣṭābha).  
5. Read samrād-Vākātakkātan, in composition.—The final *t* of samrāṭ (or possibly *f* of samrāf), rather small and faint, stands below the line, and just above the *mi* of svāmi in the next line.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 55, PLATE XXXIV.

Second Plate; First Side.

6. nam-parakram-adhigata-Bhagirathya-(a)mala-jala-murddh(rddh)-abhi-
shikthanan-da-g-

7. svamad-dhavabhrita-samadhram-Bhara-sivanan-maharat-sri-Bhava-
raja-

8. hitrasya Gautami-puratasya putrasya Vaka-takanan-mahar-
raj-sri-Rudras.

9. nasya sunor-ataatna(mta)maheshvarasya satya-arjivaka-karunya-
saurya-vikrama-na.

10. ya-vinaya-mahatyam-adhima-(ka)tvah-patr-agata-bhakti(kti)tv-
dharmavali(vi)jayat(iti)tvah.

Second Plate; Second Side.

11. manonairrma(ri)(ma)ly-adiguhais-samupetasya varsha-satam-abhi-
vardhamana-kosa-

12. daanasa-dhana-sannata-na-putra-pautripah Yudhishthira-vriitner(tte)tv-
Vaka-taka.

13. nam maharat-sri-Pritivishena-maha sunor-bbhagavata-s-Chakra-
paez-pras-

14. d-oparjita-sri-samudayasya Vaka-takanan-maharat-sri-Rudra-
se-

15. [syax] sunor-mmaharat-adhiraja-sri-Deva-gupta-suta-yam Prabha-

Third Plate; First Side.

16. tiguptayam-utpannasya Sambho-prasadadhritikarattayagasya

17. Vaka-takanan-paraman-mahesvara-maharat-sri-Fravarasenasya-
vichanait-

18. Bhujakatata-raiy Madhunadid-ta Chandrama-nama-
gratma mah raajamaika-bhutml-

19. sahasraya-ashtabhah 8000 Satriu-ignaraja-putra-Kondaraj-
vihaapyata nanaga-

20. tra-charanepbhya brhmanebhyah sahasraya dattha [llx]

Third Plate; Second Side.

21. Yato-smat-santakajr sarvadhiraksh-adhiyoga-niyukta ajna-
saanchajri-kulaputra-adhikritah

1 The form of superscript i that we have here, is somewhat different from that which occurs throughout the rest of this inscription.—In line 7 of the next inscription, page 245 below, this syllable has the short vowel i, as is optionally allowable.

2 The engraver first formed hi, and then partially cancelled the i. Probably the man who wrote the copy from which he engraved, had hesitated between hit-agata and padt-agata.—The form of superscript i used here, was not of general use till somewhat later times. But, in the present inscription, it occurs again distinctly twice in if, in line 16, in n'i, line 21, and twice in vr, line 23; and in other places; and in many other instances throughout the inscription, there is a tendency to form it in the same way.

3 The engraver first formed jji, and then corrected it into raji.

4 The engraver first formed akk, and then partially cancelled the a.

4 We have to supply parimita", or some similar word, after this instrumental case.
bhaṭañc(ś)-cchhātrāc-ca viśruta-pūrvvay=ājñāy-ājñāpayitavyā Viditam-astu vō yath-ē.

h=āsmākam=manōḥ dharmm-āyur-bva(bba)la-vijay-aiśvarya-vivriddhāyē,
ih-āmutra-hit-ā-

ṛṛtham-ātm-ānumagaṇya vaisaikeḥ dharmmasthānē apūrvvayaḍat[st]ya<br>udaka-purvvva-

m=atisrishtaḥ [1] ath-āṣy-ōchitām pūrvva-rāj-ānumatām chātur-
vaiyāda-grāma-ma-

ryyādān(m)=vitarāmas=tad-yathā a-karadāyaḥ a-bhaṭa-çchhāha-
(chcḥāḥ)trā-prāvēśya[h*]

Fourth Plate; First Side.

a-pārampara-gō-balivarddha[h*] a-pushpa-kshtra-satdō(ṅdō)ha[h*] a-
ch[st]* rā-

sana-charmm-āṅgāra[h*] a-lavagn-klina-ākrēni-khanaka[h*] sarvva-
vē(vi)ṣhi-paṛi-

hāra-pariśrītakuḥ sa-nidhis-s-ōpanidhiḥ sa-kli(klī)p-ōpakli(klī)pṭaḥ

ā-chandra-āditya-kālīyaḥ putra-pautr-[ā*]nugamakaḥ [h*] bhū[r*]jatām
na kē-

naci[d*]=vyāghatām(h) kafttayvas=sarvva-kkriyābhīs-sā[r*]rakshi-
tayah-par[st*]vaidhīyai-

tav[st]*aṣ=cha [h*] yaṣ=ch-āyamś śāsanam=a-gaṇayamanō(naḥ)
svalp[st]*m=api [pa*]ribadhām-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

n[ṅ*]=kuryyāt=kārayitā vā tasya brāhmaṇair-वvēditasya sa-
va(da)ṅḍa-nigrham kuryyā-

ma II Asmi[ṛ*]=ṣ=cha dharmm-āvara-karanē ati(ṭt)ānēkā-rāja-
datna(tta)-saṅchitna(tna)nā-

paripālanaṁ kṛita-puṇy-ānuklīttana-parthār-āṛtham na

krityyamāḥ [h*]

Vyāsa-gītau cha-ātra ślokau praṃnī(ṇ)karitavyau [h*] Svaa-
datna(tta)m=par-datna(tta)m

vvā(vā), yo harēta vasundharam gavāṁ śata-sahasrasaya

Fifth Plate; First Side.

r-harāti dushkṛitām [h*] Shasṭhiro varsha-sahasrāni(ni) svṛggē

mōdati bhū-

1 Read yath=āīsḥa āṭmanōḥ.
2 Read vañjayīkē.
3 The engraver first formed yai, and then corrected it into yf.
4 Read parīkritaḥ.
5 Read yaṣ=ch=ēdāmu. The cha of ścha closed up again, almost entirely, after the engraving.
6 After this word, kuryyēd was engraved and then cancelled.—The anuṣṭhra is not required;
since, in the next line, we have n, by mistake for n, connecting parībdhām in Sanāṭhi with kuryyēd.
7 The engraver first formed b=pra, and then cancelled the b.
8 Metre, Ślokā (Anuṣṭhūbha); and in the following verse.
39 mi-daḥ ṛachhēṭṭā ch-ānumantā chaḥ tāny-eva narākē vasēd-iti [II*] Śtā(sā) sana-

40 sthitis-ch-ēyām brāhmaṇair-īśvaraḥ-ch-ānumāṇyā tad-yathā rājñāṁ sa-

41 ptāṅgē rājyā a-ddhrōha-pravṛntā(ṛṭā)nām [a*]-brahmaghna-chaurā-
pāradārīka-rājā-

42 pathyākāri-prabhṛiti(ti)nām [a*]-saṅgrā[ā]*ma-kurvvaṭāṁ anya-
grāmēśhva-an-a II

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

43 par[a*]ddhānāṁ a-chandr-āditya-kāllyāḥ [I*] atō-ṅyathā kurvvaṭāṁ-
anumōdatāṁ vā

44 rājñāḥ bhu(bhū)mi-čchhēdaṁ kurvvaṭāḥ a-stēyam-iti [II*] Prā(pra)tigrā[hiṇa]ḥ-ch-ātra

45 vāra-niyuktāḥ [I*] Śātyāyanaḥ Gaṅāryyaḥ Vātasya-Dēvāryyaḥ Bhāradvāja-

Kumāraśārmāmāryya[h*] Pārāśaryya-Guhaśārmā Kāśyapa-

Dēv[a*]ryyyāḥ Mahēśvarāryya[h*]

46 Mātrāryya[h*] Kaundinya-Rudrāryya[h*] Sōmāryya[h*]

Hariśārmāmāryya[h*]

Sixth Plate; First Side.

48 Bhāradvāja-Kumāraśa[r]māryya[h*] Kaundinya(nya)-Mātrār(ya)-

śārmā Varaśārmān[a*]

49 Gopaśārmāmā Nāgaśārmāmā Bhāradvāja[ṛa*]-Śaṃśārmāmā Rudra-

śārmā Vātasya

50 Bhōjakadh[e*]vāryya[h*] Maghaśārmāmā Dēvār(ya)-Mākṣaśārmān[a*]

51 [Na]gaśārmāmā Rēvaśārmāmā Dharmmāryya[h*] Bhāradvāja-

Śārmār(ya)[h*]

52 Nandār(yyā)[h*] Mūlaśārmāmā Īśvaraśārmāmā Varaśārmāmā

Sixth Plate; Second Side.

53 Chānṣya*-Skandār(yyy)ya[h*] Bhāradvāja-Bappār(yyy)ya[h*] Dharm-

māryya[h*] Ātreyā-Skandār(yyy)ya[h*]

54 Gautama-Sōmaśārmāmāryya[h*] Bha[r*]ṛaśārmāmā Rudraśa[rmm*]-

r(yyy)[h*] Maghaṛ(yy)ya[h*] Mātrī-

55 śārmāmāryya[h*] Īśvaraśārmāmāryya[h*] Gautama-sagōtra-Mātrī-

śārmāmā-

56 r(yyy)[h*] Kaundinya(nya)-Dēvār(yyy)maṇ[yya][h*] Varaśārmāmāryya[h*]

Rōhār(yyy)[h*]

1 The engraver first formed chha or chhka, and then cancelled the lower ch, or the chh.
2 The engraver first formed rā, and then cancelled the a.
3 Read an-appear[a*]ddhānāṁ, omitting the mark of punctuation.
4 The engraver first formed vṛdd, and then cancelled the lower v.
5 The engraver first formed ġṛā, and then corrected it into ġṛā.
6 This ryya stands at the end of the line, below the rā of mahēśvarā; but this is evidently to place it to which it properly belongs.
7 Read vātasya.
Seventh Plate.

57 Gautama-sagātra-Svāmidē[vā]*jyya[h*] Rēvatiśarmāryya[h*]
58 Jyēṣṭhāśarmaṁryya[h*] Śaṇḍilya-Kumāraśarmāryya[h*] Śvātīśarmāṁ.
59 ryya[h*] Śī[sa*]jyāyaṇa(na)-Kānd[A*]jyya-prabhritayah [I][II*] Śenāpatau.
60 Chitravarmmaṇi saṁvatsarē-shṭādaśa[mē*] 10 8 Jyēṣṭhāmaṁśa; Śukla.
61 paksha-trayaḍaśya[m*] Śāsanaṁ likhitam-iti[II*]

TRANSLATION.

Thē Seal.

A charter of king Pravarasēna, the ornament of the Vākāṭakas, who has attained royal dignity by inheritance, (is)
a charter for (the observance of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

Sight has been attained! Hail! From the town of Pravarapura;—(Line 17.)—
At the command of the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna (II.), who was begotten on Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the Mahārājadhirāja, the glorious Devagupta; who, through possessing the favour of (the god) Śambhu, is (as virtuous as) one belonging to the Kṛita age;—

(Line 13.)—(And) who is the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Rudrasēna (II.), who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapāṇi;—

(I. 9.)—Who* was the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Prithivishēna, who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; who was endowed with an excess of truthfulness, straightforwardness, tenderness, heroism, prowess, political wisdom, modesty, and high-mindedness, and with devotion to worthy people and guests, and with the condition of being victorious through religion, and with

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1 Read iti.—Two forms of the double mark of punctuation are used in this inscription; the upright form, after anyagrāmādhva-ama in line 42; and the horizontal form, after kuryāma in line 33-34. The latter rather resembles the visarga. And thus the engraver came to form a visarga, instead of a double mark of punctuation, after the word iti.

* As regards the Text and my Translation here, Dr. Bühler, while admitting that the opening aksaras looked like drishtam or dritiṃ, interpreted them as ṣūn ṣām.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrād read them as drishtam.—The mark over the ā on the word anauṣṭrā, but only a rust-mark. And the reading ḍ as indisputably dṛṣṭaṁ here, as it is dṛṣṭaṁ at the commencement of the next inscription.—The same word occurs, if possible more clearly, in the margin of the first plate of the Goa grant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 348 ff.), where Mr. K. T. Telang (id. p. 360, note) suggested that it might mean ‘sanctioned.’ But it is of course the remnant of some such expression as dṛṣṭaṁ bhagavatā, “sight (i.e. clearness of perception in religious matters; a thorough insight into the nature of the universe and everything connected with it) has been attained by the Divine One;” see my remarks on siddham, page 25 above, note 4.

* The context is “the village named Charmāṅka” &c., in line 18 ff. below.

* i.e. Rudrasēna II.
purity of mind, and with other meritorious qualities; who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons, whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years; who behaved like Yudhisthīra;—

(L. 4)—Who was the son of the Mahdrāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Rudrasēna (P.), who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Sva-Mahā-bhairava; who was the daughter's son of the illustrious Bhavanāga, the Mahdrāja of the Bhārāśivas, whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of (the god) Śiva, (caused) by (their) carrying a ūnga of Śiva placed as a load upon (their) shoulders, (and) who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgirathī that had been obtained by (their) valour, (and) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten aṣvasāmānasacrifices;—who was the son of Gautamiputra;—

(L. 1.)—(And) who was the son of the son of the Mahdrāja of the sovereign Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna (L.), who celebrated the agnissōma, aptir-yāma, ukṭhyā, shōḍaśin, diṭirdra, vājapēya, bijhaspatīsava, and sādyaksra sacrifices and four aṣvasāma-sacrifices, (and) was of the Vishnuvṛddha gōra;—

(L. 18.)—The village named Chārmatā, on the bank of the river Madhunadi, in the Bhōjakatā kingdom, measured by eight thousand bhumis, (or in figures) 8000, according to the royal measure, is, at the request of Kondarāja, the son of Śatruṅga-raja, given to one thousand Brāhmaṇs of various gōras and chāruṇas.

(L. 21.)—Wherefore Our obedient and high-born officers, employed in the office of general superintendents, (and Our) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be (thus) directed with a command preceded by (the words) 'O illustrious one':—"Be it known to you, that, in order to increase Our religion and life and strength and victory and dominion, (and) for the sake of (Our) welfare in this world and in the next, (and

\[\text{i.e. Prithivishēna.}\]
\[\text{i.e. Rudrasēna I.}\]
\[\text{See page 237 above, note 1.}\]
\[\text{i.e. Rudrasēna I.}\]
\[\text{The agnissōma, lit. 'praise of the god Agni, or fire,' was a protracted sacrifice, extending over five days in spring, and forming one of the parts of the Jyotisūma, which was one of the principal sacrifices connected with the sacred Śōma plant and juice. Other parts of the Jyotisūma sacrifice were the aptir-yāma, ukṭhyā, shōḍaśin, diṭirdra, and vājapēya ceremonies, which are mentioned in the text here; the seventh, and last, part being the atyagnissōma, which is not here mentioned.}\]
\[\text{Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives only the form atirātra, with the short vowel a in the first syllable; so also Max Müller in his Sanskrit Literature, p. 177, note. But the Text here distinctly gives the long vowel ā. And, though in line 1 of the next inscription, page 245 below, the vowel is rather imperfectly formed, yet a comparison with bhāgrratī-rāmalā, in line 5 of the same, shows that there also the vowel ā is intended.}\]
\[\text{The bijhaspatīsava was another sacrifice, lasting a day, apparently connected with Bhṛhaspati, the priest and preceptor of the gods.}\]
\[\text{The sādyaksra was another sacrifice, of which I have not been able to find any explanation in the books of reference available.}\]
\[\text{bhūmī, lit. 'land, the earth,' is evidently used here as some technical land-measure, the value of which is not known.}\]
\[\text{aṃsat-santaka, lit. 'belonging to Us;' see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s. v. santaka.}\]
\[\text{kula-putra.}\]
\[\text{Savādhyaksha.}\]
generally) for Our benefit, this (village) is granted, in (Our) victorious office of justice, as a grant not previously made, with libations of water.

(L. 25.)—"Now We grant the fixed usage, such as befits this (village), (and) such as has been approved of by former kings, of a village which belongs to a community of Chāturvedins; namely, it is not to pay taxes; it is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers; it does not carry with it (the right to) cows and bulls in succession of production,1 or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state; it is entirely free from (all obligation of) forced labour; it carries with it the hidden treasures and deposits, and the kṛipta and uṇakṛipta;2 it is (to be enjoyed) for the same time with the moon and the sun; (and) it is to follow (the succession of) sons and sons' sons. No hindrance should be caused by any one to those who enjoy it. It should be protected and increased by all (possible) means. And whosoever, disregarding this charter, shall give, or cause to be given, even slight vexation, We will inflict on him punishment, together with a fine, when he is denounced by the Brāhmaṇs."

(L. 34.)—And in this document, which has at least (the merit of) religion,3 in order to avoid boasting of (other) meritorious actions performed (by Us),—We do not recite (Our) care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone.

(L. 36.)—And two verses, sung by Vyāsa, are to be cited as an authority on this point,—Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another, he incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who asssents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

(L. 39.)—And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmaṇs and by (future) lords; namely (the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brāhmaṇs) for the same time with the moon and the sun, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of seven constituent parts,4 of (successive) kings; that they are not slayers of Brāhmaṇs, and are not thieves, adulterers, poisoners of kings, &c.; that they do not wage war; (and) that they do no wrong to other villages. But, if they act otherwise, or asssent (to such acts), the king will commit no theft in taking the land away.

(L. 44.)—And the recipients, appointed for the occasion in this matter, (are) Gaṇḍāra, of the Śātyāyana (gōtra). Dēvārya, of the Vātsyya (gōtra). Kumāraśarmārya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra). Guhaśarman, of the Pārāśarya (gōtra). Dēvārya, of the

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1 The interpretation here is not quite certain. But this and the next three expressions seem to reserve certain rights for the villagers against the grantees.

2 These are technical fiscal expressions, the meaning of which is not known.

3 This is in accordance with Dr. Bühler's rendering (Archv. Surv. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 123, note 8).—As regards karaṇa in the sense of 'a document;' it is borne out by Kāraṇika, which is of constant occurrence in evidently the meaning of 'one who has to do with documents, a writer, a scribe;' e.g. in the passage from the 'Dewāl' inscription of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1049, referred to at page 201 above.

—Dr. Bhogwanalal Indrajhal proposed to correct the text into Ṛṣvam-ḍāra, probably meaning 'in this act of respect for religion.'

4 The saptāga, or 'aggregate of the seven constituent elements (of a kingdom),' consists of the king, and his ministers, ally, territory, fortress, army, and treasury.
Kāśyapa (gōtra); Mahēśvarāya, (and) Mātrāya. Rudrāya, of the Kauṇḍinya (gōtra); (and) Sōmāya, (and) Hariśārmāya. Kumāraśārmāya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra). Mātriśārmāya, of the Kauṇḍinya (gōtra); (and) Varaśārmāya, Gōndāśārmāya, (and) Nāgaśārmāya. Śāntiśārmāya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Rudraśārmāya. Bhōjakadēvāya. of the Vātsya (gōtra); (and) Maghaśārmāya, (and) Dēvaśārmāya. Mōkhaśārmāya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Nāgaśārmāya, Rēvatiśārmāya, (and) Dharmaśārmāya. Sārmāya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Nandaśārmāya, Mōhaśārmāya, Īśvaraśārmāya, (and) Varaśārmāya. Skandāya, of the Vātsya (gōtra). Bappāya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra); (and) Dharmaśārmāya. Skandāya, of the Ātrāya (gōtra). Sōmaśārmāya, of the Gautama (gōtra); (and) Bhartṛiśārmāya, Rudrasārmāya, Maghāya, Mātriśārmāya, (and) Īśvaraśārmāya. Mātriśārmāya, of the Gautama gōtra. Dēvaśārmāya, of the Kauṇḍinya (gōtra); (and) Varaśārmāya, (and) Rōhāya. Svāmidevāya, of the Gautama gōtra; (and) Rēvatiśārmāya, (and) Jyēsthāśārmāya. Kumāraśārmāya, of the Śāṇḍilya (gōtra); (and) Svātīśārmāya. (And) Kauṇḍāya, of the Śātyāyana (gōtra); and so forth.

(L. 59.—(This) charter has been written, while Chitravārman is the Śeṇāpati, in the eighteenth year, (or in figures) 10 (and) 8, on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēštha.

No. 56; PLATE XXXV.

SIWANI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA PRAVARASENA II.

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1836, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. V. p. 726 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. D. M. McLeod, Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxxiii. Nos. 1 and 2).

The inscription is on some copper-plates which were obtained by me for examination from the possession of a Zamindār or land-holder named Hazari Gond Malguzar, living at the village of Pīndarātā, in the Siwani Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Siwani-Chhapārā District1 in the Central Provinces. I have no information as to where the plates were originally found; and, as they have always been known as the Siwani grant, it seems desirable to continue that name; though, of course, in the absence of any local identification of the places mentioned in the inscription, this name indicates only in a general way the part of the country to which the grant belongs.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about 8½" by 4½" at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are rather thin, and the letters show through on the reverse sides, so clearly that many of them can be read there; in a very exceptional manner, this is noticeable even on the intermediate plates; though, of course, not to such an extent as to make the letters of one side of a plate legible on the other in the lithograph. The engraving is very

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1 The chief town is Siwani; the 'Seoni and Seonee' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 79. Lat. 22° 5' N.; Long. 79° 33' E.
good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew in a few places marks of the working of the engraver’s tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{3}{8}$ thick and $\frac{3}{8}$“ in diameter. The ends of it were flattened off, so as to overlap, and were fastened with a pin or bolt; they were still secured in this manner, when the grant came into my hands. The seal is a thin flat disc of copper, about $\frac{3}{8}$“ in diameter. A bolt in the centre of it secures it to a thin band of copper, about $\frac{1}{2}$“ broad and $\frac{3}{4}$“ in circumference, by which it slides on the ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal, there is the legend, in four lines, of which the text and translation are given below.—The weight of the five plates is about 3 lbs. 4½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 5½ oz.; total 3 lbs. 9½ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}$“; except on the seal and on the last plate, where they are rather larger. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give a very perfect and beautiful illustration of the ‘box-headed’ variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 18 f. above. They include two forms of $b$; one, the customary form of this alphabet, occurs in byhaspati, line 1, and in other places in this and the preceding inscription; the other, a square and more antique form, occurs only in bennänd, line 17; in the lower $b$ in dyur-bbala, line 26; and in boppa, line 36.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 39 to 42, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the upadhmanya, once, in ṛṇāk-prasara, line 6; (2) the use of the dental $n$, instead of the anusvāra, before $s$ and $s$, in vana, lines 5 and 17, and ansa, line 4; (3) the doubling of $th$ and $dh$, in conjunction with a following $y$, in asythya, line 1, and bhagtrathy-amala, line 5, and in sarvadddhyaksha, line 44; (4) the doubling of $dh$, in conjunction with a following $v$, in addhuryavat, line 19-20; and (5) the doubling of $v$ after the anusvāra (which, however, was omitted in the actual engraving), in samadhara, line 18.

The inscription is another record of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II., of the Vākṣṭaka tribe or dynasty. The place whence the charter was issued, is not recorded. It is dated, in words, in the eighteenth year of his government, on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phālgun (February-March). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant to a Brāhmaṇa, by Pravarasena II., of the village of Brahmapūraka, in the Bennkārpara bhōga.8

Of the villages mentioned in defining the position and boundaries of the village that was granted, Kollapūraka is possibly the modern ‘Kolapoor’ of the map;9 twenty-one miles south of Ilichpur.

1 See Plate xxxiiiD.  
8 bhōga, lit. ‘a part, share, division, allotment,’ is a technical territorial term, of rare occurrence, the exact purport of which is not apparent.  
9 Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. 26° 56’ N.; Long. 77° 34’ E.—The same name, in a slightly different form, occurs in the Kollāpur of the southern inscriptions (eg. line 48 of the Tērēdā inscription; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 18; see also id. p. 23, note 2), as the ancient name of the modern Kollāpur, the chief town of the Kollāpur State in the Bombay Presidency.
TEXT.

The Seal.

a Vākāṭaka-lalāmasya
b krama-prāpta-nripa-śriyah
c rājñāh-Pravārasēnasya
d sāsana[ṛ]* ripu-sāsanam [ṁ*]

First Plate.

1 Drishtam Siddham II Agnishaṭom-aptoryydh-īktīhyah-shoḍasya-
atiratra-[v]ayē(pē)yabrhihasatisava-
2 sādyaskra-valcha[turaśvamēdha-yājinaḥ Vishuvṛiddha-sagōtrasya
sashrat Vākāṭakānā-
3 m=mahāraja-srīr-Pravārasēnasya sūnōḥ sūnōḥ atyanta-
Śvāmi-Mahā-
4 bhairava-bhaktasya ansa-bhāra-sanniv[ṛ]*ṣita-Śiva-ling-ōdvahana-Śiva-
purānisita-
5 samupśaḍita-vājavanasām parākram-ādhigata-Bhacratth-y(ā)malaa-
jalā-mūrdh-Abhi-

Second Plate; First Side.

6 shiktānām daś-āśvamēdh-avabhṛtha-saṅnānam=Bhārasivānām=mahā-
rāja-srīr-Bhavanā-
7 ga-dauḥitrasya I* Gautami’putrasya putrasya I Vākāṭakānām-
-mahāraja-srīr-
8 Rudrasēnasya sūnōḥ atyantamāḥēśvarasya I saty-ārijjava-
-kārṇya-sau-
9 ryya - vikrama - naya - vinaya - māḥatmya-[Ā*]dhima(ka)tva-pātr-[Ā*]gata-
bhaktītva-dharmanāvijaiy-
10 tvā-manōnairmāly-ādi-guṇa-samuditasya I varsha-śatam=abhivardhā-
māna-kōsa-
11 daṇḍasādhana-saṅtāna-putra-pautriṇāh Yudhishtihara-vrittēr=Vvākātā-
kāṇām-mahāraja-

Second Plate; Second Side.

12 śrīr-Prithivishēnasya sūnō[ḥ]* bhagavataś-Chakrapānēḥ prasād-
opārijita-
13 śrīr-samudayasya I Vākāṭakānām=mahāraja-śrī(śrī)-Rudrasēnasya
sūnōḥ

1 From the original plates.
2 Metre, Śīka (Anushṭubh).
3 In the original, this word, siddham, stands between the lines, below drishtam.—As regards
drishtam, see page 240 above, note 2.
4 See page 241 above, note 6.
5 Read samrdd-vaḥkānām.
6 This and the following marks of punctuation, down to line 23, are unnecessary.
7 See page 237 above, note 1.
8 In this compound, the t is formed very anomalously; but the character cannot stand for any-
thing else.
pūrvvā-rāj-ānvṛitta-mārgg-ānusārīṇaḥ sunaya-bala-parākkram-ō-
chchhinna-sarvva-dvishah mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Devagupta-sutāvām-
Prabhāvatī-
guptāyām-utpannasya Śambhō[h*] prasāda-dhṛiti-kārttayugāsyah
Vākaṭaka-

Third Plate; First Side.
vanś-ālāṅkāra-bhūtasya 1 mahārājā-śrī-Pravaraśenaṣasya vachanāt
Beṇā-
kārpara-bhāgē pravardhamāna-rājya-sa[m*]vatsarē 1 ashtā-
daśamē 1 Phālgu-
īk(a)-suṅk-a-dvādaśyām Maudgalya-sagotrāya 1 Taittiri(r)īyā-
ādībhavya-
vē Dēvaśarmm-āchāryyyāy-ōdaka-pūrvvam sa-korāṭaḥ sa-
pānčaśaṭaḥ
Brahmapūrakaṇa-śāma grāmō-tisrīṣṭaḥ Vatapūrakasya-
ōttareṇā 1 Kiniḥikhaḥ-
ṭakasy-śāparṇa 1 Pavarajavatākasya dakhinēta-na 1 Kollapūrakasya

Third Plate; Second Side.
pūrvvēṇa 1 sva-simā-par[r*]chchh[č*]dēna Karanajav(pchi)raka-
tāte 1(II) Atī-ṃsasmat-santakāḥ
sarvāddhyaksha-n[i*]yogu-na[n*]yuktāḥ ājñāsaṅchāri-kulaputra-ādhi-
kritāḥ bhaṭāḥ-
śa-chhātraśa cha viṣruta-pūrvvaya ājñāya ājñāpayitavyaḥ 1[
Vidita-
m-aṣṭu tā-(va)ḥ yath-āishe śmabhīḥ atmano dharmma-ayur-
bbalai-vyai-śāvaryya-vi[v[r*]d*]dhaśāḥ
ih-[A*]mutra-hitārttham-ātv(tm)-ānugrahāya 1 vaijayikē dharmma-
sthāne 5 a-bhaṭa-
Fourth Plate; First Side.
chchh[A*]tra-prāvēśyāḥ a-pārampara-gō-baliwarddhaḥ a-pushpā-
ksamśrā-sandōḥa[h*] a-chā-
rāsana-śārm-āṅgāraḥ a-la[vana-tlinva-krēṇi-khanaka]h 1 sarvva-
vishiṭ-paraḥa-
parīṛṭitaḥ sa-nīdhiḥ s-śaṇḍiḥ sa-kli(kli)pt-ōpaki(kli)ptah
ā-chandra-āditya-

1 Read kārttayugasya.
2 Read bhafās.
3 First vi was engraved here, and then, it was corrected into vi, by adding the i and parti-
erasing the ri.
4 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
5 After this word, we require atisrīṣṭaḥ, or some similar word, as in line 24 f., of the preced-
ing page 238 above.
6 First tī was engraved, and then it was corrected into ta by partial erasure of the tī.
7 Read klinna.
8 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 56, PLATE XXXV.

31 kāli(II)yaḥ putra-pauṭrānugāmi I bhujaṃ-manō na kēnchida-
vyaṅghatayi- 
32 taśvaḥ sarvva-kriyābhīḥ samrakshitavyaḥ parivardhayitavyaḥ(vya)ṣ- 
cha [I*] yas-cha-āsma- 
33 ch-chhāsanam-a-gaṇayamāṇah svalpām-api paribādhān(n)=-k[u*]rṣyaṭ-
kārayita' vā I* 

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

34 taśya brāhmaṇa-pair-āvēditasya I sadaṇḍa-nigrahaṁ kurvyāma 
kārayēma v-eti [II*] 
35 Sēnapatau Bāppadēvē likhitam āchāryyaḥṇa II 'Asmiṁ[n*]ṣ-cha 
dharmma-ādhikara- 
36 ne I* ati(tI)-ānēka-rāja-dattāḥ-samchintana-paripālana[n*] krita-
pu- 
37 ny-ānukṛtāyamahā[ I*] ēṣhyantakāla-prabhāvishnunāṁ gauravād-
bhāvishyaṁ-vi- 
38 jñāpayāmah II Vyāsa-gītāu ch-ātra sōkau pramāṇi(nI). 
karttayāu I(I) 

Fifth Plate.

39 Shasṛtī-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggōḥ maṇḍati bhūmi-dah āchchhēttā 
ch-ānumattā(ntā) 
40 cha tāny-ēva narakē vasēta(t) II Sva-dattām-paradattāv(m) vā yō harē-
41 ta vasundhārāma(m) gavām sata-sahasrasya hantar-harati 
dushkrītam-iti II 

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of king Pravarasēna, the ornament of the Vākātakas, who has attained royal dignity by inheritance, (is) a charter for (the observance of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

Sight has been attained! Perfection has been attained!—(Line 17.)—At the command of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Pravarasēna (II.), who follows the path of imitating the behaviour of previous kings; who has extirpated all enemies by (his) excellent policy and strength and prowess; who was begotten on Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the Mahārājadhirāja, the glorious Dēvagupta; who, through possessing the favour of (the

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1 Read kārayita, as in line 33 of No. 55 above, page 238; or kārayēta.
2 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary; also that in the next line.
3 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
4 Read datta.
5 Read kṛita-puṇy-ānukṛtīsana-parīkṣār-dṛtyaṁ na kṛttayamah, as in line 35 of the preceding inscription, page 238 above.
6 Read ēṣhyatkāla-prabhāvishunāṁ.
7 Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following verse.
god) Śambhu, is (as virtuous as) one belonging to the Kṛita age; who is the ornament of the lineage of the Vākātakas;—

(Line 12.—(And) who is the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Rudrasāna (I.), who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrāpani;—

(L. 8.)—Who¹ was the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Prithivishēna, who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; who was possessed of an excess of truthfulness, straightforwardness, tenderness, heroism, prowess, political wisdom, modesty, and high-mindedness, and with devotion to worthy people and guests, and with the condition of being victorious through religion, and with purity of mind, and with other meritorious qualities; who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons, whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years; who behaved like Ūdhishṭhira;—

(L. 3.)—Who² was the son of the Mahārāja of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Rudrasāna (I.), who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Svāmi-Mahābhairava, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious Bhavanāga, the Mahārāja of the Bhārasivas, whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of (the god) Śiva, (caused) by (their) carrying a linga of Śiva placed as a load upon (their) shoulders, (and) who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhaghrathī that had, been obtained by (their) valour, (and) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten avamādha-sacrifices;—who³ was the son of Gautamiputra;—

(L. 1.)—(And) who⁴ was the son of the Mahārāja of the sovereign Vākātakas, the illustrious Pravarasāna (I.), who celebrated the āgnishtoma, apōryāma, ukhya, śhākati, aḍīḍātra, vājapecya, bhṛṣpacisava, and sāyakra sacrifices, and four avamādha-sacrifices, (and) was of the Vishṇuvriddha gōtra;—

(L. 17.)—In the Bennakārpara bhedga,—in the eighteenth year of the augmenting reign; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Phālguna,—the village named Brahmapūraka,—(which), according to the specification of its boundaries (is) on the bank of the (river) Kāraṇjaviraka,⁵ on the north of (the village of) Vaṭapūraka, on the west of (the village of) Kiniḥkhetaka, on the south of (the village of) Pavarajavātaka, (and) on the east of (the village of) Kollapūraka,—is given, with liberations of water, together with the koraṭa and the fifty (hamlets?), to the Adhvariya, the Āchārya Dévaśarman, of the Maudgalya gōtra, (and) of the Taittiriyā (śkhd).

(L. 23.)—In this matter, Our obedient and high-born officers, employed in the office of general superintendents, and (Our) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be

¹ i.e. Rudrasāna II.
² i.e. Prithivishēna.
³ i.e. Rudrasāna I.
⁴ See page 237 above, note 1.
⁵ i.e. Rudrasāna I.
⁶ Or, perhaps, Kāraṇjaviraka.

'sa-koraṭa' is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not known. But koraṭa has a Dravīḍian appearance and sound, and is perhaps an old form of the Kanarese koraḍu, koraḍu.
korantu, 'a pollard, the trunk of a lopped tree; a log, stump, short stick.'—In Marāṇī we have, koraṭ, 'spun silk, while still raw or unboiled; koraṇḍu, koraṇḍu, 'Barleria or Amaranth; and koraḍu, 'dry, empty, yielding no returns of proft.'
(thus) directed with a command preceded by (the words) 'O illustrious one!—"Be it known to you, that, in order to increase Our own religion and life and strength and victory and dominion, (and) for the sake of (Our) welfare in this world and in the next, (and generally) for Our benefit, this (village) [is granted*] in (Our) victorious office of justice.

(L. 27.)—It is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers; it does not carry with it (the right to) cows and bulls in succession (of production), or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state; it is entirely free from all (obligation of) forced labour; it carries with it the hidden treasures and deposits, and the śīrāta and upakṛṣṭā; it is (to be enjoyed) for the same time with the moon and the sun; (and) it is to follow (the succession of) sons and sons' sons. The enjoyment of it should not be obstructed by any one. It should be protected and increased by all (possible) means. And whosoever, disregarding Our charter, shall give, or cause to be given, even slight vexation, We will inflict on him, or will cause to be inflicted, punishment, together with a fine, when he is denounced by the Brahmans."

(L. 35.)—(This charter) has been written by the Āchārya, while Bāppadēva is the Śrīpadā.

(L. 35.)—And in this subject-matter of religion,—in order to avoid boasting of (other) meritorious actions performed (by Us),—We do not recite the religious merit acquired by (Our) care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone. (But), out of respect for those who shall be pre-eminent in times to come, We make a request (for protection of the grant) to future (kings).

(L. 38.)—And two verses, sung by Vyāsa, are to be taken as an authority on this point:—The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another, he incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows!

No. 57; PLATE XXXVI A.

PAHLADPUR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in 1838, in the Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 1055, where Mr. James Prinsep published the text of it, as read by Pandit Kamalakanta from Captain Burt's facsimile, and, with the text, his own translation.

Pahladpur is a village near the right bank of the Ganges, six miles east by south of Dhānapur, the chief town of the Mahālch Pargāṇā in the Zamānlīā Tahsīl or Sub-division of the Ghāzpūr District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on a sandstone monolith column,—about three feet in diameter; polished and rounded for a

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1 The 'Pahladpur and Puhlapoor' of maps, &c. Lat. 25° 26' N.; Long. 85° 31' E.—It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103, almost opposite the village of 'Puharpoor' on the other side of the river; but it is not entered there.

2 The 'Zamania, Zaminea, Zeemaneea, and Zumeniah,' of maps. &c.
length of twenty-seven feet; with a rough base of nine feet; the total length being thirty-six feet,—which was found lying here, more than half buried in the ground, and was afterwards, in or about 1853, removed to Benares and set up in the grounds of the Sanskrit College there, on the north side, where it still stands. At the village of Lathiya, one and a half miles east of Zamânlyâ, there stands another sandstone column, rather smaller in its dimensions, which is supposed to be the sister-column of the Pâhâdpur pillar; but it is not inscribed.

The writing, which covers a space of about 4' 11" broad by 4' high, is about ten feet above the place where the column starts from its present pedestal; and, commencing on the north-west, it runs a little more than half-way round the column. The greater part of it is in a state of very good preservation; but a few letters in the third pada of the verse, containing the name of the king, if it was recorded, have unfortunately quite peeled off, and are entirely illegible. There are several inscriptions in the so-called "shell-characters" on this column; but, apparently, no sculptures connected with the inscription now published.—The size of the letters varies from 9' to 5'. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indo-Scythic form of m, which disappeared in Northern India very soon after the commencement of the Early Gupta period; and its appearance here is sufficient to stamp this record as being at least as early as any other inscription in this volume.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription consists only of one verse, preceded by the word iha, 'here.'—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription is not dated, and is non-sectarian. It only commemorates the fame of a king whose name, if it was recorded, is unfortunately peeled away and lost. Mr. Prinsep suggested, from the comparison in the last pada of the verse, that his name was Lôkapâla. From the rhyming ends of the four padas, it seems that his name must have ended in pada. But, in the third pada of the verse, we have certainly the well-known name of Śûlapâla; and,—whether the name as it stands here is that of the king himself, or is that of the Purânic king Śûlapâla of Chêdi, with whom he is compared,—the inference seems to be that the name of the king, whose inscription is on the pillar, was Śûlapâla. The chief interest of the inscription, however, is in the early date of it, as shown by the characters; and in there being the possibility that it is a record of the Pallavas in Northern India. The king is called pâthiv-anika-palâh. This might be rendered by simply "the protector of the armies of kings." But pâthiva has so much the appearance of standing as a proper name here,¹ that I think the correct translation is "the protector of the army of the Pârthivas." And, if Dr. Oldhauser's derivation of the name Pallava, through the form Pahlava, from Parthava, i.e. Parthian,² can be upheld, there will be no objection to considering that we have in this record a fuller and more completely Sanskritised form of the early name of this tribe.

TEXT:³


¹ As a Hindu name, it denotes one of the families of the Kauśikas, descended through Vîśvanîtra from Kûśika who was brought up among the Pahlavas (see Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I. p. 351 ff.).
² See Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 188, note 201.
³ From the original pillar. ⁴ Metro, Mālinī.
TRANSLATION.

Here, he— who is possessed of extensive victory and fame; who is the protector of the true religion of the warrior caste; who always cherishes princes; who is the protector of the army of the Pārthivas; who day after day Śisupāla— was created, as if he were a fifth Lōkapāla, by (the god) Vīdhātrī.

No. 58; PLATE XXXVI B.

BIJAYAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE VAUDHEYAS.

This inscription was first brought to notice by myself in 1885, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 8, and is now edited for the first time. It is from a stone that was found by my copyists, built into the inside of the Fort wall, near the pillar which has on it the following inscription of the Varika Vishnuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59, Plate xxxviiC., in the hill-fort of Bijayagad or Bejagad, about two miles to the south-west of Byānā, the chief town of the Byānā Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bharatpur State in Rajputāna.

The writing, which covers the whole front of the stone, about 1' 5½" broad by 2½' high, except for a margin of about an inch at the beginning of each line, is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment of the original inscription. An indefinite amount is lost at the end of each line; and also an indefinite number of lines below line 2. Every effort was made to discover the rest of the inscription, but without success. —The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters must be considered as belonging to the northern class of alphabets; and the so-called Indoscythic form of the m stamps them at once as of decidedly early date. But they are of such a peculiarly ornate type, that, having no inscription of known date with which to compare them, it is not possible at present to suggest any definite period for them. —The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is entirely in prose. —The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

All the historical contents of the inscription, including the name, except perhaps the first syllable and part of the second, of the Mahādīja and Mahāsena-pati whose titles occur in line 1, are lost. The interest of the inscription lies in its being a record of the tribe of the Vaudhyas, who are mentioned elsewhere in this volume only in line 22 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1 above, where they are included among the tribes subjugated by the Early Gupta king Samudragupta.

1 See the introductory remarks.

2 The four Lōkapālas, or regents of the quarters of the world, are—Indra, of the east; Yama, of the south; Varuṇa, of the west; and Kubera, of the north. —The number is sometimes increased to eight, by the addition of Agni at the south-east, Sūrya at the south-west, Vāyu at the north-west, and Chandra at the north-east.

3 The 'Byānā' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 50. Lat. 26° 57' N.; Long. 77° 20' E.—Other writers give the name as 'Bānā, Bayānā, Biāna, and Bānāh.' but this is wrong; the name, of which the mediëval form is said to have been Bēhayānā, is dissyllabic. —As regards Mr. A. C. L. Carleyle's utterly untenable derivation of Byānā from the name of the demon Bānāsura, see my remarks in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 9. —The ancient Sanskrit name of the place was Śrīpathā; see id. pp. 8 f., and 10; and Vol. XV. p. 239.

4 The 'Bhurtpoor' of maps, &c.
TEXT.

1 Siddham [1] Vaudheya-ganapura-puraskritasya mahârajâ-mahasenapatêh
pu ........................
2 brâhma-purogha ch-âdhishtânam sarîr-âdi-kusalam prihâtvâ likhâtya:
Asti Raśmâ ............
3 ...............................................................

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Of the Mahârâja and Mahäsênapati, who has been made the leader of the Vaudheya tribe, ................................................................. and having asked the settlement, headed by the Brâhmans, as to the health of (their) bodies &c., writes—

"There is ......................................................

No. 59; PLATE XXXVI C.

BIJAYAGADH STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE YEAR 428.

This inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlileye, and was first brought to notice by him in 1878, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. VI. p. 59 ff., where he published Dr. G. Bühler's reading of the text and translation, from an ink-impression supplied by himself, with a lithograph (id. Plate viii). IT is ON A MONOLITH RED SANDBSTONE PILLAR that stands in a conspicuous position, near the south wall of the Fort, inside the hill-fort of Bijayagadh or Béjagadh near Byânâ, the chief town of the Byânâ Sub-Division of the Bharatpur State in Râjputânâ. The pillar stands on a rubble masonry platform, which is about 13' 6" high and 9' 4" square at the top. The height of the pillar above the plinth is 26' 3". The base is square, to the height of 3' 8"; each face measuring 1' 6". Above this, the pillar is octagonal, for a length of 22' 7"; and it then tapers off to a point. The extreme top, however, is broken; and a metal spike, which projects from it, indicates that it was originally surmounted by a capital. The inscription is towards the south side of the pillar; it runs vertically down the pillar, and is read from the top downwards; and the lowest letter of line 3, the longest line, is about 7' 0" above the level of the plinth. The platform, on which the pillar stands, is plainly of much more recent construc-

1 From the ink-impression.
2 Several superscript vowels are legible along this line; but the consonants are all broken away and lost.
3 Both more or less mutilated in publication.
4 See page 251 above, and note 3.
5 On this point, Mr. Carliyle's account is exactly the opposite; but he is wrong; as is, in fact, shewn by his further statement that line 3 is on the left of line 1, and so on; this could not be the case, if the inscription ran from the bottom upwards.
tion than the pillar itself; and this suggests that possibly the present position of the pillar is not its original one. On the south side of the pillar, towards the top of the square base, there is engraving; in two lines of rather rough Devanāgarī characters of about the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., Śrī-yāga Vra(bra)hmāsāgara, “the holy ascetic, Brahmasāgara,” with perhaps an imperfect date below, of (Vikrama-Samvat) 1008 (A.D. 951-52). And this may possibly indicate the period when the pillar was placed in its present position.

The writing, which covers a space of about 9" 4" broad by 2" 6½" high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout. — The size of the letters varies from 1½" to 2". The characters must be regarded as belonging to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indu-Scythic form of m, quite in accordance with the date of the record. They also include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 20, and 400. — The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose. — In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jhūmdūśīya in yakha-kula, line 4; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, in vinkēsau, line 1, and vaṁśa, line 4; (3) the doubling throughout of ṭ, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in putṛṇa, line 2; (4) the doubling of ṛ, once, under the same circumstances, in suppratisṭhitā, line 2; (5) the very exceptional doubling of ṭ, in conjunction with a following ṭ and y, in sṛṣṭyā, line 4, and paṇchadāśyā, line 2; (6) the doubling of bh in conjunction with a following y, in abhyuyāyaya, line 4; and (7) the doubling of ṭ, in conjunction with a following ṭ, in putṛṭṭvau, line 4.

The inscription is one of a Rāja named Viṣṇuvardhana, of the Varika tribe. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, when the year four hundred and twenty-eight had expired; on the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Phālguna (February-March). The era is not stated; but the type of the characters indicates, with the locality of the inscription, that we must refer the date to the Mālava or Vikrama era, with the result of A.D. 371-72 expired, and A.D. 372-73 current. And this shows that the Varika Viṣṇuvardhana was in all probability a feudatory of the Early Gupta king Samudragupta. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it only being to record the erection, by Viṣṇuvardhana, of this pillar, which is called a yūpā or ‘sacrificial post,’ on the completion of a pūndarikā-sacrifice.

TEXT.

1 Siddham [1*] Kṛitēṣhuv chaturshuv varsha-satēshv=ashtāvīṃśēshu 400 20 8
2 Phālguna(na)-bahulaṣaya paṇchadāśyām=etasyām=pūrvvāyām [1*]
3 Kṛitau punḍarikē yūpā-yam=pratisṭhitāpitasu-suppratisṭhitā-rājya-nāmadhyēnā
   śrī-Viṣṇuvardhanēna Varikēṇa Yasōvardhana-sat-puṭtrēṇa
   Yasōbrāṭa-sat-puṭtrēṇa Vyāghrārāṭa-sat-prapaṭṭēṇa 4

1 If we refer the date to the Śaka era, the result, A.D. 506-7, might perhaps be used to identify this Viṣṇuvardhana with the king of the same name mentioned in the Mandsūr inscription of Mālava-Samvat 588 (A.D. 532-33). But there is nothing to justify us in assuming that the Śaka era was ever used in early times in this part of the country. Also, the form of m, as a northern letter, is too early for that period. And, as is shown by his titles of Rājākārāja and Paramāśvara, as well as by the general tenor of his inscription, the Viṣṇuvardhana of the Mandsūr record was a far greater person than this Viṣṇuvardhana, the Varika.
2 From the original stone.
3 Supply tithau.
4 The form of 88 that occurs here differs from the form used in the other instances throughout this inscription, in the distinct loop on the right hand of the bottom of the letter.
4 śrī-ya-jīta - dharmma - śrī-yeō - bbbhyudaya - ya-sah - kula - va-nśa - bhāga - bhōg - ābhivri-
ddhayē [II*] Siddhir-astu pushṭir-astu śāntir-astu jīvaputra-kṛtvam=
astv-īśhā-ka-m-avāptir-astu śrā(sra)dhhā-vittē syātām-itē [II*],

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Four centuries of years, together with the twenty-eighth
(year), (or in figures) 400 (ana) 20 (ana) 8, having been accomplished; on the fifteenth
lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Phālguna;—on this (lunar day), (specified)
as aforesaid:—

(Line 3)—On the ceremony of the puṇḍarika-sacrifice (having been performed),
this sacrificial post has been caused to be set up by the Varīka, the illustrious Vīshnū-
vardhana, whose royalty* and name are well established,—who is the excellent son of
Yāsōvardhana; (and) the excellent son’s son of Yāsōrātā; (and) the excellent son
of the son’s son of Vīyāghrārātā,—for the purpose of increasing (his) splendour, sacrifices,
religion, welfare (in the other world), prosperity, fame, family, lineage, good fortune, and
enjoyment.4

(L. 4.)—Let there be success! Let there be increase! Let there be tranquillity!
Let there be the condition of (his) having a son who shall live! Let there be the
attainment of desires that are wished for! May there be faith and wealth!

No. 60; PLATE XXXVII.

SPURIOUS GAYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF
SAMUDRAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 9.

This inscription, which is now published for the first time, is from a copper-plate that
was obtained a few years ago by General Cunningham at Gaya, the chief town of the
Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency, and was, I think, first brought to notice by him
in 1883, in his Book of Indian Eras, page 53, where it is entered as being dated in the
year 40. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from General Cunningham.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 8" by 7½". It is
quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims.
About half-way down the proper left side, the plate has laminated rather seriously; and
there is also a small crack just below this place, and another in the top of the plate, in the

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* As is seen in the lithograph, there is no foundation whatever for the additional letter yd which,
in Mr. Carleyle’s published lithograph, follows this ti; or, rather, the ad into which the ti was so gratuit-
tously converted by him. The result was naturally such as to puzzle Dr. Bühler as to the close of
the inscription.

* kritikhu; see page 73 above, note 1.

* Or, more technically, ‘condition of being a Rāja.’

* Or perhaps bhāgabhāga should be taken as one word, meaning ‘enjoyment of taxes; lordship,
royalty;’ see Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. bhāgabhūj, which is explained by ‘enjoying
taxes; a king, a sovereign.’

* The ‘Gya’ of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104 Lat. 24° 48' N.; Long. 85° 3’ E.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 60, PLATE XXXVII.

word tsakaṭ; but, except at these places, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plate is fairly thick and substantial; and the letters, which are shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver’s tool throughout.—Onto the proper right side of the plate, there is fused a seal, oval in shape, about 2½ by 3½. It has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—at the top, Garuda, represented as a bird, standing to the front, with outstretched wings; and, below this, a legend in five lines, which, being also in relief, is so worn, that nothing of it can be read except a few disconnected letters here and there, and Sāṃh[...], very faintly, at the end of line 5. It must have contained a succinct re tidal of the genealogy, after the fashion of the Asurqāḍha seal of Sarvavarman, No. 47 above, page 219, and the Sōnappa seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 above, page 231.—The weight of the plate, with the seal, is 2 lbs. 10 oz.—The average size of the letters is 3/8. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 14, forms of the numerical symbols for 9 and 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In line 3-4, we have, instead of the usual expression utsanna, the word uchchanna, which, as used here, is, according to Sir Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary, a Prākrit corruption of the Sanskrit utsanna.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of ॷ throughout, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in prapāttivrasya, line 4; ॷtrīr, line 8; and sāgōtrāya, line 9; (2) the doubling of ॷh, in conjunction with a following ॷ, in ayōḍhāya, line 1; (3) the occasional use of ॷ for ॷ, in bō, line 8, and sambat, line 14; and (4) the use of ॷ for ॷ, in vṛdhana, lines 7 and 10; vahrichāya, line 9; and sauvahmādcīrṇa, line 9-10.

The inscription purports to be one of the Early Gupta king Samudragupta, and to record a charter issued from his camp at the city of Ayōḍhyā.ι It purports to be dated, in numerical symbols, in the year nine (A.D. 328-29), on the tenth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it simply being to record the grant to a Brāhmaṇ, ostensibly by Samudragupta, of the village of Rēvatikā in the Gayā vishaya.

The legend on the seal of this grant is in characters which present a very different appearance to those of the body of the inscription; as also does the copper of the seal, as compared with the substance of the plate; and the seal is in all probability a genuine one of Samudragupta, detached from some other plate. The inscription itself, however, is undoubtedly spurious. This is shewn conclusively, if by nothing else, by the fact that from uchchattuk, line 1, to daus̄hitrāsya, line 5, the epithets of Samudragupta are uniformly in the genitive case; the drafter of the inscription was copying from a grant of Chandragupta II. or some other descendant of Samudragupta; only then recognised

ι The symbol which I take to be meant for 9, was interpreted by Gen. Cunningham as 40. But it certainly is not 40. It resembles most the decimal figure 2. But the day of the month is distinctly marked by a form of the numerical symbol for 10. This shows that the sign here also is intended for a numerical symbol; and the only symbol to which it approximates, is that for 9.

ι The modern Ajōḍhyā or Ajōdhia (the ‘Oudh or Ajoordia’ of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 87), Lat. 26° 48' N.; Long. 83° 14' E., on the south bank of the river ‘Ghagra or Ghagra,’ about four miles north-east of Faisābād, the chief town of the Faisābād Division of Oudh in the North-West Provinces.

ι See note 1 above.

ι Compare the construction in the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II. No. 4 above, page 25, and in the Bhīṣṭhē pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 above, page 52.
that this construction would not suit a supposed inscription of Samudragupta himself, which was required in accordance with the seal that was to be attached; and he promptly then adopted the nominative construction, utpannaḥ Samudraguptaḥ, without taking the trouble to correct the preceding passages. It is difficult to suggest any definite time for the fabrication of this grant; on the one side, some of the characters are antique, e.g. the forms of k, p, m, and r, and particularly h; on the other side, others are comparatively modern, especially the ch in valathasah vyām, line 2-8. But it has the general appearance of having been made somewhere about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Points which may hereafter serve to fix its date more definitely are (1) the use of the Prākṛt corruption uchchhanna, in line 3-4; and (2) the opening expression mahā-nau-hasty-aśva &c., in line 1; the only other instances of similar expressions being in line 1 of the Dēṇa-Barāṇārk inscription of Jīvagupta II., No. 46 above, page 215, and in line 1 of the Dighwā-Dubault grant of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāla, of A.D. 761-62, and of the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla, of A.D. 794-95.

TEXT.  

1. Öṁ Svasti Mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jayaskandhāvārājā(ā) yodhyaḥ vāsakat- 
   sarva-rājā-ōchchhēttu[h*] pri- 
   2 thivyāṃ-a-pratirathasya chatur-udādi-salil-āsvādita-yaśa[sō*] Dhanada-Varun-
   Ėndr-Ā. 
   3 ntaka-samasya Kiritānta-paraśor-nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hirapya-kōṭi-pradaṣya chir-
   ēchchha- 
   4 mnā-Āsvamēdh-āharttu[h*] mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapauttrasya Mahārāja-śrī-
   Ghātottṛcha-prapauttrasya 
   5 mahārājadhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-prapauttrasya Līchchhivi-dauhitrasya mahā-
   dēya[m*] Ku- 
   6 mā10-radēvyāṃ-utsanna[h*] paramabhāgavatō mahārājadhirāja-śrī-Samudra-
   guptaḥ Gayā-Śāsana-Śekhāra-Śṛvaṭkā-grāmē vrā(brā)hmana-purōga-grāma-vala-
   7 tkaushabhyāṃ-āha l Ėva ch-ārtha[m*] viditam-bō(vō) bhavatvēśa(sha) 
   8 grāma mayā māṭāpiitrār-ā. Ā  
   9 tmanā-cha punyābhipriddhayā Bhāradvāja-sagottreyā Va(h)hvīchāya 
   10 rinē vrā(brā)hmana-Gōpādēvasvāminē s-ōparīkar-ōddēśanē-aghrāhārēvēn-āti-

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1. *Ind. Ant.* VOl. XV. p. 112.  
2. *Id.* p. 140.  
3. From the original plate.  
4. There is a mark over the śa, which may be only a rust-mark, but which renders it a little doubtful whether yasō-dhanada was engraved, or yasa dhanada with an omission of śa. The other inscriptions, however, show that the correct reading is yasō dhanada &c.  
5. The other inscriptions all read utsanna.—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, suggests that uchchhanna,—which, in the sense of' uncovered,' is a regular derivative from ud + chhad,—is, in the sense of 'destroyed, fallen into disuse,' a Prākṛt corruption of utsanna, from ud + ud.  
6. In order to render the inscription capable of translation, read prapautraḥ. And, at the same time, correct all the preceding genitives into nominatives.  
7. Read pauntraḥ.  
8. Read puttraḥ.  
9. Read dvauntraḥ.  
10. This mā was first engraved closer to the margin of the plate, and then, being indistinct there, was repeated.
TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From the victorious camp, full of great ships and elephants and horses, situated at (the city of) Ayodhya,—the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārāja, the glorious Samudragupta,—who is the exterminator of all kings; who has no antagonist (of equal power) in the world; whose fame is tasted by the waters of the four oceans; who is equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka; who is the very axe of (the god) Kṛiṣṭa; who is the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who is the restorer of the aśvamedha-sacrifice, that has been long in abeyance; who is the son of the son’s son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Gupta; who is the son’s son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghaṭotkacha; (and) who is the son of the Mahārājadhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (and) the daughter’s son of Lichchhivi, begotten on the Mahādēvi Kumāradēvi,—says to the two village Valakushans, together with the Brāhmans, at the village of Rēvatīka, belonging to the Gayā viśaya:

(Line 8)—“Be it known to you! For the sake of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents and of myself, this village is granted by me, as an agrahāra, with the assignment of the uparikara, to the religious student, the Brāhman Gopasvāmin, of the Bhāradvaja gōtra (and) the Bahvricha (śākhā).

(Line 11)—“Therefore attention should be paid to him by you; and (his) commands should be obeyed; and all the customary tributes of the village, consisting of that which is to be measured, gold, &c., should be given. And, from this time forth, the tax-paying cultivators, artizans, &c., of other villages, &c., should not be introduced by the Agrahārika of this (village) (for the purpose of settling in it and carrying on their occupations); (for) otherwise there would certainly be a violation of (the privileges of) an agrahāra.”

The year 9; (the month) Vaiśākha; the day 10.

(Line 15)—(This deed) has been written by the order of Dyūta-Gopasvāmin, the Akṣhapalādādhikṛita of another village.

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1 sa was engraved here, and then corrected into cha. 
2 cha was engraved here, and then corrected into sa. 
3 Read anya. 
4 As regards the interpretation of the first symbol, see page 255 above, note 1. 
5 Supply slīthād = yam, or any similar words. 
6 Valakushan is evidently a technical official title; but it occurs nowhere else; and I am not able to suggest an explanation of its meaning. 
7 As regards the interpretation of the symbol, see page 255 above, note 1. 
8 Akṣhapalādādhikṛita, meaning lit. ‘he who is appointed to (the duties of) a depository of legal documents,’ is an official title that is evidently synonymous with Akṣhapalitaka (see page 190 above, note 2).
No. 61; PLATE XXXVIII A.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 108.

This inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X, p. 53 f., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it by Rāja Siva Prasad, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xix).—And in 1883, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, p. 309 f., Dr. E. Hultsch, working from General Cunningham’s facsimile, published his own revised reading of the text, and translation of it.

This is another inscription from Udayagiri, in the Bhēla Sub-Division of the Isāgaḍh District of Scindia’s Dominions in Central India. It is inside a cave-temple, which General Cunningham has named “No. 10, the Jain Cave.” The cave, which is about a hundred yards beyond “No. 9, the Amṛta Cave,” is readily discernible from the plain, by means of the rough stone wall which forms the front of the main part of it; it is high up in the north-western end of the hill, and is not very easy of access, in consequence of its having to be entered by a narrow and steep flight of steps on the very edge of the cliff. The inscription is on the smoothed face of the rock, on a partly natural and partly artificial low arch, leading from the principal room of the cave to the next room towards the east.

The writing, which covers an irregular space of about 1' 3½" broad by 7½" high, has suffered a little damage at the beginning and end of some of the lines, owing to the chipping of the angular edges of the rock; but the readings here can be completed without any doubt; and the rest of the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Below the last line, there is a row of five roughly cut modern numerals, reading 31245, the tops of which can be seen in the lithograph; but they have no connection with the inscription.—The average size of the letters is about 3/4". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening invocation of the saints or perfect ones, the inscription is in verse throughout.—The orthography presents nothing calling for special remark.

The inscription refers itself to the period of the Early Gupta kings; but not to the reign of any particular sovereign. The recorded date, however, shews that it belongs to the time of Kumāragupta. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and six (A.D. 425-26), on the fifth solar day of the dark fortnight of, the month Kārttika (October-November). It is a Jain inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the Tirthamkara Pārśva, or Pārśvanātha, at the mouth of the cave.

TEXT.¹

Namaḥ siddhebhyaḥ [II°] Śrī*-samyutānām gupa-tovadhānām Gupt- ānvayānām nirapi-sattamānām

¹ See page 22 above, and note 1. ² From the original stone. ³ Metre Indravajrā.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; NO. 61., PLATE XXXVIII A. 259

2 râjâ bâhlula-panchamé vala-vañâbhir-yuyute varsha-ṣatē-tha māse [11*]
3 guhâ-mukkheś sphaṭa-vikât-ṭoktâm-imâṁ jita-dvishā Jina-vara-Pārśva-
4 śaṁjñâkām jin-aṅkritam śaṁ-damavān-a-
5 llaṛat [11*] Āchâryya-Bhadr-anvâya-bhâshānasya sîṣhyâ hy-asâvâryya-
6 kula-ḍgatasya āchâryya-Goŝa-
7 rma-munēs-sutar-etu Pâdmatâtâv-yâsavaṭâ-bhaṭâsya [11*]. Parair-tâ-
8 jeyasya Ripugâna-mânas-sa Saṅghî-
9 lasy-ēty-abhivīrûto bhuvī sva-saṁjñâyā Śaṅkara-nâma-sabdîtâō vidhâna-
10 yuktâm yati-mâ-
12 prasûtaḥ
13 kshâyâya karmam-âri-gaṇâsya dhîmân yad-atra punyam tad=
14 apâsasarja [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to the Perfect Ones!* In the augmenting reign of the family of the best of kings, belonging to the Guptâ lineage, who are endowed with glory (and) are oceans of virtuous qualities; in a century of years, coupled with six; and in the excellent month of Kārttikeya; and on the fifth day of the dark fortnight;—

(6.)—He* who has conquered the enemies (of religion), (and) is possessed of tranquillity and self-command, caused to be made (and set up) in the mouth of (this) cave, this image of a Jina, richly endowed with (the embellishments of) the expanded hoods of a snake (and) an attendant female divinity, (and) having the name of Pārśva, the best of the Jinas.

(6.)—He is, indeed, the disciple of the saint, the Āchârya Goṣarman, who was the ornament of the lineage of the Āchârya Bhadra (and) sprang from a noble family; but he

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1 Metre, Ruchirâ.
2 Metre, Indravâjâ.
3 We have here the locative case of a base padmatâv, which, to suit the metre, is substituted for the proper base padmatâvā, which of which would be padmatâvâyâm.
4 Metre, Vânsastha.
5 Metre, Upendevarâjâ.
6 siddhâbhyaḥ. These Siddhas are not to be confused with the mythical semi-divine Siddhas who are mentioned, e.g., in line 1 of No. 18 above, page 81. They are saints, who by austere practices have attained siddhi or 'perfection or final beatitude' (see the remarks on siddham, page 25 above, note 4) in the shape of some or all of the five states of salabakâd, 'residence in the same heaven with any particular deity;' sârâpati, 'identity of form with the deity,' or assimilation to him;' sâparâya, 'nearness to the deity;' sâbyâya, 'absorption into the deity;' and sârâśhad or sambhânaśvârâya, 'equality with the supreme being in power and all the divine attributes.'—The Jain term siddha corresponds pretty closely to the Buddhist samyuk-sambuddha, which occurs in line 1 of No. 11 above, page 45.
7 i.e. Śaṅkara, whose name occurs in line 6 below.
8 The allusion is to the ari-shatkâ or ari-shad-varga; see page 156 above, note 5.
9 Dr. Hulsewâld wrongly read śphuta, and thus missed the meaning of this passage.—For vihâra, which I have translated by 'an attendant female divinity,' see Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s.v., where he explains it by 'a kind of female divinity, peculiar to Buddhists.'—The image referred to in this inscription, in not now in the cave. But, in support of my explanation of the passage, we may refer to a precisely similar image, in the Jain cave at Bâdâmi, described in Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. 1. p. 25. It represents the same Jina, Pârśvanâthâ, with a five-hooded snake over him as a kind of nimbus, and a female on the right side, with a serpent's hood, holding up the rod of the umbrella that shades him.
is more widely renowned on the earth (as being) the son, (begotten) on Padmavati, of the Arvapati, the soldier Saṅghila, who, unconquerable by (his) enemies, took himself to be a very Ripughna;—by his own appellation, he is spoken of under the name of Saṁkara;—(and) he has adhered to the path of ascetics, conformable to the sacred precepts.

(L. 7.)—Born in the region of the north, the best of countries, which resembles (in beatitude) the land of the Northern Kurus,—he, the wise one, has set aside whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), for the purpose of destroying the band of the enemies of religious actions.

No. 62; PLATE XXXVIII.B.

SANCHI STONE INSRIPTION.

THE YEAR 131.

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., where Mr. James Prinsep published a very fair lithograph of it (id. Plate xxvii.), reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers, and, with it, his own reading of the text, and a translation of it.

This is another inscription from Sāñchi, in the Diwānganj Sub-Division of the Bhōpāl State in Central India. It is on the outer side of the centre rail in the fourth row, outside and on the south side of the eastern gateway, and in a re-entering angle of the railing, of the Great Stūpa.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2 5' broad by 5' 0" high, is in a very fine state of preservation, every letter being, with care, legible from beginning to end; but, owing to the discoloration of the stone from lapse of time, it is much easier to read in the ink-impression and lithograph, than on the original stone.—The size of the letters varies from 1/2" to 1". As in the case of the Sāñchi inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 93, No. 5 above, page 29, Plate iiiB., the characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are not so carefully formed as the characters of that inscription; but,
allowing for this, the details shew no particular development. In line 11, they include forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 5, 30, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In pravishṭaka, line 4, we have to notice the affix ha which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for remark, is the doubling of v, after the anusvāra, in saṃvāra, line 11.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king; but the date recorded in it, allots it to the time of either Kumāragupta, of the Early Gupta dynasty, or his son and successor Skanda-gupta. It is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and thirty-one (A.D. 450-51), on the fifth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Asvayuj (September-October). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the Upāsika or lay-worshipper Hari-svāminī, the wife of the Upāsaka Sanasiddha, of certain sums of money to the Archaeological Survey: or community of the faithful, at the great vihāra or Buddhist convent of Kākanādabota—i.e. the great Stūpa at Stāchi—for the purpose of feeding one Bhikṣu day by day, and of maintaining lamps in the shrines of Buddha.

TEXT.

1 Sṛddhāṃ [Iī²] Upāsaka-Sanasiddha-bhāryyasyā upāsiṇa[ā³] Hārisvāminyā
dattā. R
2 pitarām-uddhiṣṭā Kākanādabota-sta-mahā-vihārā cāturddhiṣṭā-aryā-sam-
ghāya akshaṇa-ndvi dattā dīnārā dvādaśa [Iī²] eśāṁ dīnārānām
ya eśāṁ dīnārānām
3 rupajayati tayā divasē-divasē saṃgha-madhya-pravishṭaka-bhikṣhur-ekāḥ
bhòja.
4 R yitayāḥ [Iī²] Ratna-grihē-pi dīnāra-trayanā dattān [Iī²] [taj]-dīnāra-
trayasya vṛ[d]-ndhyā ratna-grihē
5 bhagavatō Buddhaya divasē-divasē dīpa-trayanā prajvalayitavyam [Iī²]
6 Chatur-Buddha-asa Eō R
7 nē-pi dattāh dīnāra-ekāh [Iī²] tasya vṛddhyā chatur-Buddha-asaṃe
bhagavatō Buddhaya
8 divasē-divasē dīpaḥ prajvalayitavyah [Iī²] Ėvam-ēśh-aḥkaṇhyā
9 a-chandrārka-gīla-ōkhyā Rāminī-Sanasiddha-bhāryyayā
10 upāsiṇa[ā³] Hārisvāminyā pravartitā
11 Saṃvāt 100 30 I Asvayuj-di 5 II

1 Gen. Cunningham (Bhilas Tapes, p. 193) read the first symbol as 300. But the two marks on the right side, required to convert 100 into 300, are entirely wanting, and he must have been misled by the natural marks of the stone becoming exaggerated in an imperfect ink-impression.
2 See page 31 above.
3 From the original stone.
4 This word is in the margin, before upāsaka. The traces that remain of it are very faint.
5 Read māṭapitarāv.
6 The initial a of this word is badly formed, and is partly run into the yā of saṃghāya. Perhaps saṃghāya-aḥkaṇhyā was being engraved, as required by saṃkhyā, and then the initial a was inserted.
7 As regards the reading of the first symbol, see note 1 above.
TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! By the Upāsikā Harisvāmini, the wife of the Upāsaka Sanasiddha, for the sake of (her) parents, twelve dinātras are given, (as) a permanent endowment, to the community of the faithful, collected from the four quarters of the world, at the holy great vihāra of Kākanādabōta. With the interest that accrues of these dinātras, day by day one Bhikṣu, who has been introduced into the community, should be fed.

(Line 5.)—Also three dinātras are given in the jewel-house.1 With the interest of these three dinātras, day by day three lamps of the divine Buddha should be lit in the jewel-house.

(L. 6.)—Also, one dinātra is given in the place where (the images of) the four Buddhas are seated.2 With the interest of this, day by day a lamp of the divine Buddha should be lit in the place where (the images of) the four Buddhas are seated.

(L. 8.)—Thus this permanent endowment,—written upon stone (so as to endure) for the same time with the moon and the sun,—has been accomplished by the Upāsikā Harisvāmini, the noble lady,3 the wife of Sanasiddha.

(L. 11.)—The year4 100 (and) 30 (and) 1; (the month) Aśvayuj; the day 5.

No. 63; PLATE XXXIX A.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 135.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the Journ. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 184 f., where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate ii. No. 8) reduced from General Cunningham's ink-impression.—And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 36 f., accompanied by a fresh lithograph (id. Plate xvi. No. 22).

The inscription is on the pedestal of a broken standing statue that was found in the Jail Mound at Mathura, the chief town of the Mathurā District in the North-West Pro-

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1 ratna-griha; see page 33 above, note 5.
2 chatur-Buddha-asana.—As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in his Bhilsa Topes, p. 191 f., this is explained by four statues of Buddha, seated, one opposite each entrance, which are in the circular enclosure that runs round the Stūpa, inside the railing. Owing, I suppose, to alterations made in the course of the restorations that have been carried out at Sāschi, the statue at the south entrance is now a seated statue, similar in general design to the statues at the north, east, and west entrances; it is evidently the original statue, which had somehow been shifted, now restored to its proper place; and the standing statue, which was opposite the southern entrance when Gen. Cunningham wrote his description, now stands a little to the west of it.
3 vādmin.—Or perhaps the word stands here for the fuller title, Vihra-vādmin, which occurs in
the next inscription; see page 263 below, note 7.
4 As regards the reading of the first symbol, see page 261 above, note 1.
5 See page 26 above, and note 2.
vinces. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahabad; but it has now, I understand, been transferred to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Of the statue itself, all that remains is the feet, with part of a small kneeling figure at each side; and there is thus nothing to shew its nature; but, from the tenour of the inscription, it must have been a standing image of Buddha.

At the commencement of the inscription, in the margin, there is engraved a Buddhist dharmachakra, or 'wheel of religion,' an emblem the object of which appears to be to denote the way in which religion encompasses and envelops everything.—The writing covers a space of about 1' 6½" broad by 2½" high; and is in a state of very good preservation, except in the last line, of which almost the whole of the last part is broken away and lost.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 20, 30, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit. The first two lines are in prose, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of व, after the anusvāra, in samsrātasara, line 1.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king; but, from its date, it appears to belong to the time of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta; since his father, Kumāragupta, having commenced to reign in at least the year 556, can hardly have continued on the throne up to the present date. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and thirty-five (A.D. 454-55), and on the twentieth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pushya (December-January). From the expressions used, as well as from the emblem on the margin of the stone, it is evidently a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.¹


4 a-stadbhā(?)ni bhavantī dānā-niratau chittam niyōjya-aikadā [—] l [— — — —] vichā(?)raṇa[— — — —]dhiyām [— — — —] yām [119°]

TRANSLATION.

In a century of years, increased by the thirty-fifth (year), (or in figures) 100 (and) 30 (and) 5; in the month Pushya; on the twentieth day, (or in figures) the day 20;—this is the appropriate religious gift of the Vighrāśaṃvī[7]ni Dēvatā. Whatever religious

¹From the original stone. ²Read trītī. ³Read dvētyāḥ. ⁴This is rather an anomalous one; but the character cannot stand for anything else. ⁵There is no objection to the present reading; but we usually have aúptayē. ⁶Metre, Śrīdālivikṛtē. ⁷Vighrāśaṃvī, lit. 'mistress (lady-superintendent) of a vighra,' seems, not to be a technical religious title denoting an office held by females, but to mean simply 'the wife of a Vighrāśaṃvī'; see page 279 below, note 5.—We may compare Daśandāyaḥ, in line 40-41 of the Kargudari in-
merit (there is) in this (act)—let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by (her) parents and by all sentient beings!

(Line 3.)—Good fortune; the condition of being a model (worthy of imitation), abounding in virtuous qualities; fame; the destruction of the enemies (of religion); riches abounding in prosperity, births that result in happiness; (and) finally, an auspicious nāivedyā;—(all these) are not permanent (7);* having once fixed the thoughts upon the happiness of making gifts, ........................................

No. 64; PLATE XXXIX B.

GADHWĀ INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham in 1874-75 or 1876-77, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 10 f., where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate v. Nos. 2 and 3).

It is another inscription from Gadhwa, in the Karchanā Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was found on pulling down a ruined wall; and is on two faces of a fragment of a square sandstone pillar which had been cut into four beams by splitting it down the middle of each face, in order to adapt it to some later building purposes. The other pieces were not found. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing includes the remains of two separate records, which, however, seem to refer to one and the same object of donation. On that face of the stone which is represented in the left part of the lithograph, we have the remains of fourteen lines, covering a space of about $3\frac{1}{2}$" broad by $1\frac{1}{2}$" high; and, on the other side, the remains of eight lines, covering a space of about $6\frac{1}{4}$" broad by $1\frac{1}{4}$" high. Such of the writing as remains, is fairly well preserved; but of course some of the letters are doubtful from want of the context to explain them.—The size of the letters varies from $1\frac{1}{2}$" to $3"$. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of Nos. 7, 8, and 9 above, Plate ivB. C. and D. They include, in lines 18 and 19, forms of the numerical symbols for 1 and 2.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ṭ, in viṣṭāṭi; line 16.

From the letters visible at the end of line 1, the inscription may belong to the time of the Early Gupta king Kumāragupta. The details of the date, however, have been

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scription of Śaka-Saṅvatsara 1030 (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 252, and note 20); it means, not 'a female Leader of the Forces,' but 'the wife of a Daudandyaka.' Modern instances of finding appellations for women in the official titles of their husbands, are afforded by the Kanarese Gaudasheni, and the Maṅghā Pāṭili, as used to designate the wife of the Gauḍa or Pāṭili, the village-headman.

*The allusion is to the ari-shad-varga or ari-shāṭha; see page 156 above, note 5.

According to the Buddhist doctrine, it would appear that even nīrāṇa, or the extinction of existence, is not a permanent state, and does not free the individual who attains it from the liability of future births, unless it is followed by parinīrāṇa, or absolute destruction of identity by complete absorption into the divine essence.

*See page 36 above, and note 1.
entirely destroyed. The remnant of the inscription does not display any sectarian character. The object of it was to record certain grants to a sattra, or charitable hall or almshouse:

TEXT.

First Part.

1 sr. ku-2 sattrā yā(?), 9(?)
2 ... r- sattrā yā(?), 9(?)
3 [di]vāsa-pūrvvāyām ma,
4 guptāy-aiya da' y.
5 [Anantaguptāya(?yā)]
6 puṇy-āpyāyan-ā-
7 [ṛtāh] sattrā-sā[ma*]nya-bhūja-
8 [na] [di]nāraiḥ...
9 vāsō-yugā-
10 parō di-
11 [nāra] dīnāraiḥ de(?)va-
12 [Yaś-ch-aināṁ] dharmma-skandham vyu-
13 [chchhindyaśt-sa pañchabhir-mahāpāτa]kaiḥ sa[n]jyu-
14 ktaḥ syād-iti [II]

Second Part.

15 ... sat[t*]ra-sāmānya-bhūjanē ..
16 prati suvām-pair-ekān-na-vinśatibhi[ḥ]
17 kārītaḥ [I*] Brāhma(?no) mayika
18 dvayaṁ a karōta 2 bra
19 yugāṁ t koṭṭayba sukun...
20 dakśiṇa-kūla-kaṇḍchaḍaṁ pakṣa...
21 Yaś-ch-aināṁ vyuchchhin[dy]ā[t=sa pañchabhir-mahā]-
22 [pā]takais-sa[n]*juktāḥ [s]y[Ad-iti II]

TRANSLATION.

It is impossible to give any connected rendering of the contents of this inscription. We can only note, that in the First Part, we may perhaps have remnants of the name of Kumāragupta in line 1-2; that there is the name of Anantagupta or Anantaguptā in line 5, evidently belonging to some private person; and that lines 7 to 12 appear to have recorded certain grants, fixed in dīndras, for the purpose of providing food in a sattra or ‘almshouse,’ and also to provide pairs of upper and lower garments. It ends with the usual imprecation against interfering with the continuance of the grant.

The Second Part, again, refers to food in an almshouse, recording something in connection with it at a cost of nineteen gold coins of the kind called suvāma. Other details follow, including two karōtas or ‘basins or cups,’ and one pair [of upper and lower garments]. Then follows apparently a grant of some land, on the south bank of a river. And the inscription winds up, as before, with the usual imprecation against interfering with the grants.

1 From the original stone.
2 Possibly the original bād śrī-Kumāraguptāya.
No. 65; PLATE XXXIX O.

KOSAM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA BHIMAVARMAN.

THE YEAR 139.

This inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 3, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate ii. No. 3).

Kosam, the ancient Kausambi, is a small village near the left bank of the Jamna, about eight miles to the south of Karart, the chief town of the Karart Pargana in the Manjhanpur or Manjhandpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahabad District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the broken base of a sculptured standing group of Siva and Parvati that was found buried in a field near the large monolith pillar inside the fort, which is described in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 309 ff.

The writing, which covers the whole face of the stone, measuring about 10½" broad by 4½" high, is in a state of very fair preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment, as at least one line is almost entirely destroyed below line 2; and it is also impossible to say how much has been lost at each side of the stone.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include forms of the numerical symbols for 7, 9, 30, and 100, and perhaps 2. The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is all in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription is one of a Mahardaja named Bhimavarman, who, judging by the date, must have been a feudatory of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and thirty-nine (A.D. 458-59), and the seventh solar day, perhaps of the second fortnight of a month, or perhaps of the second month of a season; but the details here are broken away and lost. It is evidently a Siva inscription; and the object of it must have been to record the gift or installation of the sculpture, on the base of which it is engraved.

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1 The 'Kosam and Kosim Kheraj' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 20' N.; Long. 81° 27' E.—Kheraj is a mistake for Khirdj; the village consisting of two parts, of which one is inam or 'rent-free,' and the other is khirdj or 'rent-paying.'

2 The 'Kuralee' of maps.

3 See note 4 below.

4 Before the word dīva there are two marks which seem to be the numerical symbol 3; and the passage might be completed either in accordance with the method of, for instance, the date of the Nasik inscription of Puljamivi, "in the year nineteen, 19; in the second fortnight, 2, of the hot season; on the thirteenth day, 19" (*Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV. p. 108, No. 18); or the date of the Mathura inscription of Vasudeva, "in the 44 (774); in the first month of the rainy season; on the thirtieth day, 30" (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 32, No. 8). But I know of no other instance of these ancient methods being continued as late as the period of the present inscription; and this makes it doubtful whether the signs in question really are the numerical symbol 3.
No. 66; PLATE XXXIX D.

GADHWÁ STONE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 148.

This inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 11, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate v. No. 4).—This rendering of the inscription has remained the only published version of it up to the present time. But in 1882, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. page 311, note 3, Dr. E. Hultsch pointed out that the correct interpretation of the date gave the year 148; not 140, as read by General Cunningham.

This is another inscription from Gadhwa, in the Karchhana Sub-Division of the Allahabad District in the North-West Provinces. It is on a sandstone fragment that was found in the pavements of the Dašavatāra temple of Vishnu, and is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

With the exception of a margin of about 1½" at the top and bottom, and at the end of the lines, the inscription covers the entire front of the stone, measuring about 4′.4″ broad by 1′7½″ high. The writing is a good deal damaged, but can be made out satisfactorily with a little trouble. It is, however, only a fragment; since the first part of each line, containing nearly as much as is now extant, has been cut away in adapting the stone to some later building purpose, and this part of the stone has not been found.—The average size of the letters is about 1′6″. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before s, in cchādriṣṭād and vistati, line 1; (2) the doubling of s, in conjunction with a following r, in chitra, line 3; and (3) the doubling of v, after the anusvāra, in sāmupatsara, line 1.

1 From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.
2 See page 266 above, note 1.
3 See page 266 above, note 4.
*i.e. divasa, or divaśa.
4 See page 36, above, and note 1.
The inscription refers itself to the reign of some particular king; but his name has been entirely broken away and lost in the first half of line 1. The recorded date, however, shews that it was either of the time of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta, or immediately after his reign. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-eight (A.D. 457-68), on the twenty-first solar day, without any specification of the fortnight of the month Māgha (January-February). It is a Vaishnavas inscription. And the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Vishnu, under the name of Anantāsvāmin; and, for the purpose of providing perfumes, incense, garlands, &c., and of executing repairs,—a grant, the details of which are lost, but which would seem to have consisted of some land at a village belonging to the same god under the name of Chitrakūtasvāmin, or the lord of Chitrakūta."

TEXT.

1 sya pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁhvatsara-satë-shtā
caturāṃśad-uttarā Māgha-māsa-divasā ēka-viṁśatimē [I*]

2 puny-abhivriddhy-arthaṁ vaḍahblīṁ-kārayayitvā Ananta-
svāmi-pādāṁ pratisthāpayya gandha-dhūpa-srag...

3 [phu]ta-pratisamskāra-karaṇ-arthaṁ bhaga[va]ch-Chitrtra-
[kt]asvāmi-pādiya-kōshṭhe (?)ta-prāveśya-mati...

syād-iti [I*]

TRANSLATION.

.... In the augmenting victorious reign of .................

in a century of years, increased by forty-eight, on the twenty-first day of the month Māgha;—

(Line 2)—Having caused (a temple having) a flat roof to be made, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of ................. (and) having installed the feet of (the god) Anantāsvāmin, ................., perfumes, incense, garlands ..............

for the purpose of repairing whatever may become .............. there have been given twelve ................. belonging to the entrance of ....

which belongs to the feet of the divine (god) Chitrakūtasvāmin.

1 The Chitrakūta referred to here is the modern 'Chatarkot,' 'Chitarkot,' and 'Chitrakote' Hill of maps, &c., in the 'Bānda' District of the North-West Provinces, forty-two miles south-east of Bānda, and seventy-one miles south-west of Allahābād; Lat. 25° 12' N.; Long. 80° 47' E. It is a great place of pilgrimage, and is especially sacred to Vishnu in his incarnation as Rama.

2 From the original stone.

3 Read rājya saṁhvatsara; see page 38 above, note 5.

4 Read vaḍahblīṁ kārayitvā, or vaḍahblīṁ kārayitvā. Read pādāṁ or pādau.

5 Read ya dhan, or yat=ch=ainaṁ. Read sa.

6 See page 38 above, note 5.

7 vaḍahblī (also vaḍahblī, which occurs in line 6 of No. 18 above, page 81) is explained as meaning 'the wooden frame of a roof; a flat roof, house-top, top-room, turret, top-floor, balcony; any temporary erection on the top of a palace; an awning, a tent;' but it seems to refer to a building here, and to denote 'a flat-roofed temple.'

8 i.e. "having installed an image;" see page 123 above, note 5. The use of the word pādā, not pāda, shews that the inscription does not refer to the foot-prints or impressions of the feet, which are so frequently objects of worship. So, also, just below this passage, "the feet of the divine (god) Chitrakūtasvāmin" means simply 'the divine (god) Chitrakūtasvāmin.'
(L. 4.)—Whosoever may interrupt this (grant), he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins!

No. 67; PLATE XL A.

TUSAM ROCK INSCRIPTION.

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Bird, and was first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1875, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. V. p. 138 ff., where he published a translation of it by Babu Pratap Chandra Ghosh, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xl. No. 5).

Tusam or Tusâm is a village about fourteen miles to the north-west of Bhawaní, the chief town of the Bhawaní Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Hisâr or Hisâr District in the Pâbîjâb. Immediately on the west of the village there is a steep isolated hill, that rises abruptly out of the plain to a height of some eight hundred feet. And the present inscription is on the surface of a rock, about half-way up the east side of this hill.

About a foot below the centre of the last line of the inscription, there is engraved on the rock an emblem, of which a complete restoration is given by General Cunningham in his published lithograph, and which may be either a Buddhist dharmaṇa or ‘wheel of religion,’ or a sun-symbol. But there is nothing to connect it of necessity with the inscription now published; and it may belong to one of the shorter records, e.g. the jītaṁ bhagavaţaḥ bhagavat-pāda-dēśa, “victory has been achieved by the Divine One, in (this) region belonging to the feet of the Divine One,” which is engraved just above the present inscription, in large and somewhat irregular characters of about the same period.—The writing covers an extreme space of about 4” 2” broad by 2” 2½” high; the lines being of unequal length to suit the irregularities of the rock. The engraving was rather shallow, and some of the letters are a good deal weather-worn; but, on the original rock, the inscription is quite legible throughout.—The size of the letters varies from 2” to 1½”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; but in the word ati, ‘a bee,’ in line 1, they include the southern /, which I have commented on at page 4 above.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in upaddhyeya, line 5; and (2), as noted above, the use of the southern / in ati, line 1, which is probably due to Somatrata, whose record this inscription is, being a Sâtvata from Central or Southern India.

1 The ‘Toosham and Tosham’ of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 51’ N.; Long. 76° 0’ E.—The name is written sometimes with the palatal sibilant, and sometimes with the dental; but with a preference for the former.—Gen. Cunningham wrote the name ‘Tushâm,’ and suggested that it is derived from Tushâr-drámâ, ‘the Tushâra monastery.’ But the sibilant is not the lingual sh; and the proposed etymology, due in the first instance to the supposition that the inscription mentioned a Tushâra king named Vishnu, cannot be upheld.

8 The ‘Bhewani and Bhevannae’ of maps.

9 See page 123 above, note 5.

4 See Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. V. Pl. xl. No. 1; which, however, is not quite an accurate representation of the original.

8 See page 271 below, note 1.
The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted to the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. It is a Vaishnava inscription; and the object of it is to record the making, by an Āchārya named Sōmatrāta, of two reservoirs and a house, for the use of the god Vishṇu under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One.

The manipulation of General Cunningham's ink-impression, as shewn by the published lithograph, led to the introduction of the name of the Early Gupta Māhārāja Ghaṭotkacha in line 2; and to the supposition that the name Vishṇu, in the same line, was that of a Tushāra king who conquered Ghaṭotkacha, and who might be identified with the third Kāśva or Kāṇvāyand prince Nārāyaṇa.1 As is to be seen, however, in my lithograph now published, there is no foundation whatever for this; the akṣaraś that were supposed to give the name of Ghaṭotkacha, being, in reality, nothing but dānava-āṅgand, "(the women) of the demons;" and tushāra here has no meaning but that of 'frost.'

TEXT.

1 litam saḥhikṣhām-eva Jambavatī-vadānāra-vind-orijit-Alinā
2 dānava-āṅgana-mukhāmbhāja-lakṣhmi-tushārēṇa Vishṇunā v(II)
3 Anēkapurushābhya-āgat-ārya-Satva-āgāchāryya-
4 bhagavad-bhaktā-Yaśasrāta-prapautrasya-Āchāryya-Vishṇutrāta-
5 pautrasya-Āchāryya-
6 Vasudatta-pratrya Rāvya-am-upannasya Gōtama-
7 sagotrasya-Āchāryya-पाद-pāddhyāya-
8 Yaśasrāta-āṇu-jay-e-vāhāyāvāhā Sōmatrātasya-ādaṁ bhagavat-

TRANSLATION.

Verily victory has been achieved again and again by (the god) Vishṇu, who is a mighty bee on the waterlily which is the face of Jambavati, (and) a very frost to (cause the withering of) the beauty of the waterlilies which are the faces of the women of the demons!

(Line 3.)—This reservoir, intended for the use of the feet of the Divine One, (and) the house above,(it), and the second reservoir, (are the work) of the Āchārya Sōmatrāta,—the son of the son's son of Yaśasrāta, who was the successor of many men (of

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2 From the original stone.

3 Over this m, there are the vowel-marks for o. But they are not connected in any way with the and it is not apparent why they were made, as they cannot possibly stand for the syllable 6m, and they are altogether superfluous and unmeaning.

4 This y is rather an anomalous one; but the character cannot stand for anything else.

5 See page 123 above, note 5.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 68, PLATE XL B.

No. 68; PLATE XL B.

DEORIYA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1873, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 48 f., where he published his reading of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xviii D).

**Deoriya or Dēwariyā** is a small village on the right bank of the Jamna, about eight miles towards the south-west of Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Araill Pargana in the Karchana Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the pedestal of a stone standing image of Buddha,—draped, and with small attendant figures, kneeling at his feet, one on the right side, and two on the left,—that was found at this village. When I examined the image, it was in the Government Museum at Allahâbâd; but it is now, I understand, in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The writing, which covers the whole front of the pedestal, about 1½ inches broad by 2½ inches high, is in a state of good preservation throughout. —The size of the letters varies from 1 inch to 1½ inches. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; it may be allotted, however, on palaeographical grounds, to about the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śākyan mendicant named Bōdhivarmaṇa, of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

**TEXT.**

1 Dēya-dharmma-yaṁ Śākya-bhikṣhō[r*]-Bōdhivarmmanah.[Ⅰ*] Yad-atra
   punya[r*]

2 tadbhava[ru*] mātāpirlo[h*] sarvva-sat[t*]vānām ch-anut[t*]ara-jñān-
   āvāptayē [Ⅱ*]

**1** Śātvata is explained in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary as being a name of Vishnu or Kṛishṇa, and also of a people, inhabiting a district in Central India, said to be the descendants of outcaste Vaśyās.—It seems to be, as used here, the name of some special sect of Vaśyavas or Bhāratas, probably from Central or Southern India.


**3** From the original stone.

**4** This 'd' was at first omitted, and was then inserted above the line.
TRANSLATION.
This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya Bhikṣu-Bōdhivarman. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by (his) parents and by all sentient beings.

No. 69; PLATE XLC.
KASIA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.
This inscription was discovered in 1875-76 or 1876-77 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlileyle, and was first brought to notice by him in 1883, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVIII. p. 59, where he published his reading of the text and proposed interpretation of it, followed (id. p. 60, note 1) by my own reading of the text (of course mutilated in publication), and my translation as it then suggested itself to me.

Kasiā1 or Kasyā is a village thirty-four miles due east of Gōrakhpur, in the Pāræuanā4 Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Gōrakhpur District in the North-West Provinces; and is the head-quarters of a Joint-Magistrate in charge of a Sub-Division of the District. The inscription is below the figure of a man, sitting in a squatting position, on the lower part of the western side of the pedestal of a colossal stone statue of Buddha, recumbent in the act of attaining nirūdāna, which was found by Mr. Carliyle in the course of excavations in a large mound of ruins at this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 3½" broad by 2½" high, is in a state of very good preservation, except that the name of the sculptor is partially illegible in line 2.—The average size of the letters is about 1½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; on palaeographical grounds, however, it may be allotted to about the end of the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Mahā-vihārasvatāminī named Haribala, of the figure below which it is engraved.

TEXT.4
1 Dēya-dharmām-yam mahāvihārasvāminī Haribalasya
2 Pratimā ch-eyam ghatitā Dinē ... mā(?)-evareṇa l(II)

1 The 'Kasia, Kassia, Kasya, Kesiya, and Kusya,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 102. Lat. 26° 45' N.; Long. 83° 58' E.
2 The 'Paraona, Patāuna, and Pudrownan,' of maps, &c.
3 Mahāvihārasvāminī, lit. 'a great master (superintendent) of a vihāra,' is evidently a technical religious title of office, denoting the officer who came, in the management of a vihāra, next above the Vihārasvāmins or 'masters (superintendents) of the vihāra.' The latter title occurs in the Śākchi pillar inscription No. 73 below, Plate xlii A.
4 From Mr. Carliyle's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 70, PLATE XLD.

TRANSLATION.

This (its) the appropriate religious gift of the Mahāvīrasaṃhāra Haribala. And this image has been fashioned by Dinē . . māśara (?)

No. 70; PLATE XLD.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 230.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 185, where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate ii. No. 9) reduced from General Cunningham’s ink-impression.—And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 37, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (id. Plate xvi. No. 23).

This is another inscription from Mathurā,¹ the chief town of the Mathurā District in the North-West Provinces; and is on the pedestal of a stone standing statue of Buddha, draped, and with a nimbus behind his head and shoulders, that was found in the Katrā² mound. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahābād; but it is now, I understand, in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The writing, which covers a space about 1' 4½” broad by 2½” high on the upper part of the face of the pedestal, is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The average size of the letters is about ½”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 30 and 200. In the rya of bhāṭṭāyāra-yad, line 1, we have to notice that the r is formed on the line of writing, with a single y below it. And the same method of forming the r is followed in dharmō and sṛjya, though not in sarvva, in the same line.—The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. But its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and thirty (A.D. 549-550), without any further details. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śākya female mendicant named Jayabhattā, to a monastery called the Vasāyīhāra, of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.³

1 Dēya-dharmō-yam Yaśā(śī)vihārē Śākya-bhikshunyar-Jayabhattāyāra-
   Yad-ra punyāṃ tad-bhavatu sarvva-sa-
2 tvenam-anuttara-jñān avāptaye I(II) Sārvatsarah 200 30 1(II)

¹See page 26 above, and note 2.
²From the original stone.
³Read sattvāndam.
TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift, at the (monastery called) Yadavihāra, of the Śākya Bhikṣuṇī Jayabhāṭṭā. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings! The year: 200 (and) 30.

No. 71; PLATE XLI A.

BODH-GAYA INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

THE YEAR 269.

This inscription, which was published by me, for the first time, quite recently, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 356 ff., is from a stone-tablet that was discovered in the course of the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. J. D. M. Beglar at Bódh-Gayā, the famous Buddhist site about five miles due south of Gayā, the chief town of the Gayā District, in the Bengal Presidency. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone has the appearance of having been originally set in a socket about three inches deep, and morticed at the sides into a building. The front surface measures about 1½’ broad by 1¼’ high. Below the inscription, towards the proper right side of the stone, there are engraved in outline a cow and a calf, standing towards, and nibbling at, a small tree or bush; the tips of the ears of the cow are discernible in the lithograph, below the commencement of line 14. —The writing, which is in the upper part of the stone, and covers a space of about 1½” broad by 1’ 6” high, including a margin of about an inch all round, is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout.—The average size of the letters is about ¼”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. The form of ॐ, throughout this inscription, is a slightly older variety of the fully developed Devanāgarī form exhibited throughout the Apsara inscription of Ādityasena, No. 42 above, page 200. In the conjunct letter ṛṇ, in yasir-yataḥ, line 7, we have to note that the ṛ is formed on the line, with a single ｙ below it. The characters include, in the last line, forms of the numerical symbols for 7, 9, 60, and 200.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing ॐ, and for the date at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points calling for notice are (1) the occasional doubling of ḷ and Ṛ, in conjunction with a following ṛ, e.g. in chakravīraḥ, line 13; tantraḥ, line 2; and chālitraḥ, line 14; and (2) the use of ॐ for ṛ throughout, e.g. in vandhuḥ, lines 2 and 8; vaṅkhavaḥ, line 6; and vādhiḥ, lines 10 and 12.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and sixty-nine (A.D. 583-84), on the seventh

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1The 'Bodh-Gya and Buddh-Gaya' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104. Lat. 24° 41’ N.; Long. 85° 2’ E.

2As regards the third symbol in the years, 9, it occurs as the second symbol, in the record of the šay, in line 9 of the Bhumār pillar inscription of the Mahārājas Hastinā and Śravanāthā, No. 24 above; in connection with which instance, I remarked (page 110, note 2) that, though it resembles most a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9, yet it might possibly be 7 or 8. 

I also
solar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection, by a certain Mahānāmaṇ—
the second of that name mentioned in this inscription,—of a mansion of Buddha, i.e., a Buddhist temple or monastery, at the Bōdhiṅgaṇḍa, or, rather, within the precincts of it; i.e. at the modern Bōdhi-Gaya.

With regard to the places mentioned in this inscription, Lanka is, of course, one of the most well-known names of Ceylon. And General Cunningham tells me that Amadavāda, 'the mango-island,' is another of its names, derived from its resemblance in shape to a mango. Bōdhiṅgaṇḍa is the name of the miraculous throne under the bōdhi-tree at Bōdhi-Gaya, also called the vajrāsana or 'diamond-throne,' on which Buddha and his predecessors sat, when attaining bōdhi or perfect wisdom. And Professor Childers, in his Pali Dictionary, added that he inferred that the term was also applied to the raised terrace built under the bōdhi-tree within the precincts of any Buddhist temple, in imitation, presumably, of Buddha's throne. This, rather than the throne itself, seems to be its meaning in the present inscription.

The chief interest of this inscription lies in the probability that the second Mahānāmaṇ mentioned in it, is the person of that name who composed the more ancient part of the Pali Mahāvaṃsa, or history of Ceylon. If this identification is accepted, it opens up a point of importance in the question of dates. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the date of the present inscription has to be referred to the Gupta era, with the result of A.D. 588-89. On the other hand, from the Ceylonese records, Mr. Turnour arrived at A.D. 459 to 477 as the period of the reign of Mahānāmaṇ's nephew (sister's son) Dhamusuṇa; and it was during his reign that Mahānāmaṇ compiled the history.

then considered that the same symbol occurs, in the record of the day, in the Khāḍh grant of the Mahārāja Saṅkṣhobha, No. 25, above; in line 24 of which (page 113) I accordingly read the solar day as 29. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, has found, by actual calculation, that the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, which is mentioned in line 2 f. of that record (page 114), was the twenty-seventh solar day in the month. Accordingly, the symbol which we have there, in line 24, must be interpreted as 7; not 9.—On fuller consideration of the whole matter, with the help of Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculation, I find that, in the three passages, we are concerned with two separate symbols; not one and the same.—One is the symbol which is the third in the years of the present inscription of Mahānāmaṇ, and the second in the record of the day in the Bhumarā pillar inscription; and I see no reason to alter my original opinion, that it is a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9. A sign extremely like it occurs, it is true, in the date of the Mārā grant (Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 258, and Plate, line 19), where the record in words compels us to interpret it as 8; but it is there a decimal figure, not a numerical symbol; and that record also comes from a far distant part of the country; so that we are not bound to adopt the same interpretation in the present instance.—The other symbol is the second in the record in the grant of Saṅkṣhobha. And an examination of the lithograph (Plate xv B.) will shew, that it really differs from the symbol which I interpret as 9, through a slight mark below it, which, being a little detached from it, I took originally to be a rust-mark, and not part of the symbol itself. Taking it now as part of the symbol itself, it makes the symbol identical with, though in execution somewhat inferior to, the symbol for the day in the present inscription of Mahānāmaṇ; and, accordingly, the symbol for the day here must now be interpreted as 7; not as 8, which I took it to be in my original version of this inscription.—The same symbol occurs also in lines 19 and 31 of the Nēpāl inscription of Jisnyugupta (Ind. Ant. Vol. IX. p. 173, and Plate); and it was Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's interpretation of it there as 8, which led me to read it originally as 8 in the present instance.

1 See, amongst other authorities, Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 116.
The recorded date of the present inscription, therefore, shews,—if the identification suggested above is accepted,—either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be; or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working them out, and that they now require considerable rectification.

**TEXT:**

1. Ōm [II*] Vyāpta Yah yēn-a-pramēyah sakala-saṣi-ruchā sarvavataḥ sat[t*]va-dhātuḥ kshunpah pāśhanda-yōdhās-sugati-patha-rudhas-tarkka-sastra-abhīyuktāḥ sampūrṇo
dhamma-kōsah prākriti-ripu-hrihāt sādhitō lōka-bhūtyai ī śāstuḥ Śāky-aikava(ba)ndhōr-jayati, chirataram tad-yaśas-sārā-tanttram ī Nairōdhīṇa
tubha-bhāvanā
m-anuṣrītaḥ, saṃśāra-samkēṣa-jīn-Maitrīyanasa karē vimukti-vasīta yasya-ādbhutā vyākritā ī nirvāṇ-āvasarē cha yēna charanau drīṣṭāṃ munēh
pāvānau ī pāyād-vārah sa munndra-saśana-dharaḥ stutyo Mahā-Kāśyaṇa Mahā-Kāśyaṇa II
Sanvyukt-āgaminō viśuddha-rajanāḥ sat[t*]v-anukamp-ōdyaṭāḥ sīṣyāḥ
yasa sakri-vichērur-amalāṃ Laṅkā-āchal-opatyaktam tēbhyaḥ śīla-guna-
ānvitāḥ ca saṭasaḥ sīṣya-praśīṣhyāḥ kramāj-jātās-tunga-narēndra-
vaṃśa-ilakāh prōtisriya rāja-srīvam ī Dhyān'-ōday-āhitah sūbhā-
āsubha-vivekakrit-vihata-mōhah sad-dharmm-ātula-vibhavō Bhavō
tubha(b)bhūva

2. śramaṇas-tataḥ II Rāhuḷ-ākhyās-cha tach-chhishya U'pasēṇo yatir-yataḥ Mahānāmā Mahānāmā kramād-ēvam-Upasēnas-tatō-parāh II Vātsalyana śaranā-ā
gatasya satatam dīnasya vaiśeshikam vyāpat-sāyaka-santatti-kshata-dhīrūt-
ārttasya ch-āpatyakam ī kūrasya-āhitā-kāriṇaḥ pravatataṃ va(b)ndhōr-
yathā-

3. bhāvataḥ ēvam sach-charit-ōdbhavēna yaśasā yasya-āchitam bhūtalām ī Ṡrīrādviś ādhivāsā prithu-kula-jaladhīs-tasya sīṣyō mahīyān


5. kāntāḥ prāsada ēsha Smara-va(ba)la-jayinaḥ kāriṭō lōka-śāstuḥ II Vyapagata-śrīṣṭya-senōha hata-timira-dasaḥ pradīpa-vad-a-saṅgaḥ
dvānt-ōpahār pravatita-kirāṇāḥ sarvatō bhāti bhāsvān-yāvat-ōpūrṇo-


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1. From the original stone.
2. Metre, Saṅgahārā.
3. This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
4. Metre, Śārūdāvīkṛtā; and in the following verse.
5. This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
6. My original reading was stutya. I owe the correction, as also that of amalām, for atulōh, in line 5, to the kind suggestion of Dr. Kielhorn.
7. Metre, Ārū.
8. From the vowel o being partially engraved over this u, the engraver seems to have begun to form the sī here.
10. Metre, Saṅgahārā.
11. This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
12. Metre, Ārū.
13 rāśīḥ phañi-phaññā-kuṭilārṇāmī-čakkrā-saṃsūndrā yāvach-ch-śeṇa-śeṇḍhīvāsō 
   vividha-maṇi-silā-charu-sringān Sumērūḥ śoḥ-ādhyām
14. tāvad-śeṇām-śeṇām-ūru-munēḥ śāsvatātvaṃ-prayaṭu II Samvat 200 60. 9
   Chaitra śu diś 7 II

TRANSLATION.

Om! Victorious for a very long time is that doctrine, replete with fame, of the Teacher, the chief kinsman of the Śākyas, by which, lustrous as the full-moon, the inscrutable primary substance of existence has been pervaded in all directions; by which the warriors, who are heretics, obstructive of the path of beatitude, have been broken to pieces, being assailed with the weapon of logic; (and) by which the whole treasure of religion, that had been stolen by the enemy which is original nature, has been recovered for the welfare of mankind!

(Line 2.)—May he, Mahā-Kāśyapa, who is worthy of praise, protect you,—he who observed the precepts of (Buddha) the chief of saints; who practised that auspicious habit of abstract meditation which is of the nature of a trance; who overcame the anguish of successive states of existence; whose wonderful subjugation of the passions in final emancipation (is to be) displayed in the hand of Maitreya; and by whom the two pure feet of (Buddha) the saint were beheld at the time of attaining nirvāṇa!

(L. 4.)—His disciples, endowed with a connected tradition of doctrine, purified as to (their) emotions, (and) active in compassion for existing beings, roamed at one time over the stainless country at the feet of the mountains of Lankā; and in succession from them there were born, in hundreds, disciples and disciples' disciples, possessed of the virtue of (good) character, who, without the glory of (actual) sovereignty, were the ornaments of a lofty race of kings.

(L. 6.)—Then there was the Śramana Bhava, whose welfare was effected by the development of abstract meditation; who discriminated between good and evil; who destroyed error; (and) who possessed an unequalled wealth of true religion.

(L. 7.)—And his disciple (was) he who had the name of Rāhula; after whom (there came) the ascetic Upasēṇa (I.); then in succession (there was) Mahānāman (I.); (and) after him another Upasēṇa (II.), whose special characteristic of affection, of the kind that is felt towards offspring,—for any distressed man who came to him for protection, and for any afflicted person whose fortune had been destroyed by the continuous flight of the arrows of adversity,—extended, in conformity with the disposition of a kinsman, (even) to any cruel man who might seek to do (him) harm; (and) by whose fame, arising from good actions, the whole world was thus completely filled.

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1 As regards the interpretation of the symbol for the day, see page 274 above, note 2.
2 Maitreya is a Bódhisattva, at present in the Tushita heaven, who is to be the next Buddha. And the present passage, which is rather obscure, is perhaps explained by the injunction which Buddha, when on the point of attaining nirvāṇa, gave to Mahā-Kāśyapa, to deliver over his kāchārya or yellow robe (and with it the transmission of the Buddhist doctrine) to Maitreya, when he should attain the condition of a Buddha (see Beat's Buddh. Rec. West. World, Vol. II. p. 142 ff.)
3 Mahā-Kāśyapa was seated in meditation, when suddenly a bright light burst forth, and he perceived the earth shaking. And then, exerting his divine sight in order to ascertain what wonder- ful event was indicated by this portent, he saw Buddha in the act of entering on nirvāṇa (see id. Vol. II. p. 161).
(L. 9.)—His disciple, greater (even than himself), (ix) he who has the excellent name of Mahánāman (II.); an inhabitant of Āmradvipa; a very ocean of a mighty family; born in the island of Laṅkā; delighting in the welfare of others;—by him this beautiful mansion of the Teacher of mankind, who overcame the power of (the god)Śmara,—dazzling white as the rays of the moon, with an open pavilion on all sides,—has been caused to be made at the exalted Bódhimaṇḍa.

(L. 11.)—By means of this appropriate (action), let mankind,—freed from attachment to worldly things; having the condition of (mental) darkness dispelled; (and), like (the flame of) a torch, having no adhesion to material objects,—enjoy the supreme happiness of perfect wisdom!

(L. 12.)—As long as the sun, the dispeller of darkness, shines in all directions with diffused rays; as long as the ocean (ix) full on all sides with its circles of waves that are curved like the hoods of hooded snakes; and as long as (the mountain) Sumēru, the abode of (the god) Indra, has its summits made beautiful by various jewelled slabs, in such a way as to be full of lustre,—so long let this temple of the great saint attain the condition of being everlasting!

(L. 14.)—The year 200 (and) 60 (and) 9; (the month) Chaitra; the bright fortnight; the day7.

No. 72; PLATE XLI B.

BODH-GAYA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

This inscription, which, also, was published by me quite recently, for the first time, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 359, is from the pedestal of a Buddhist image that was discovered in the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar at Bódh-Gayā, in the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1′ 8¼” broad by 1⅓” high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation.—The average size of the letters is about ⅛”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type with those of the preceding inscription of Mahánāman.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but the characters allot it to precisely the same time with the preceding Bódh-Gayā inscription of Mahánāman, of A. D. 588-89. It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the presentation of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, by a Sthavira named Mahánāman, who is obviously the second Mahánāman mentioned in the preceding inscription.

As pointed out to me by General Cunningham, this inscription shews that Mahánāman must have been at least thirty years old when he visited Bódh-Gayā; by the Buddhist rules, he could not receive the upasampad-ordination, before attaining the age

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1 This refers generally to the subjugation of the passions; but also specially to the temptation by Māra, or Love as the Destroyer, which is referred to in Buddh. Rev. West. World, Vol. II. p. 69 ff.
2 As regards the interpretation of the symbol for the day, see page 274 above, note 2.
3 See page 274 above, and note 1.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 73, PLATE XLII A.

of twenty years; and, after that, he would have to wait at least ten or twelve years, before he could be invested with the title of Sthavira or Thēra. A further point to be noted, is, that Mahānāman's visit to Bōdh-Gayā probably occurred before the time when Dhātusāna became king of Ceylon,—during the flight of the uncle and nephew to avoid the persecution of the usurper Pāṇḍu; according to Mr. Turnour's deductions, this was between A.D. 434 and 439.

TEXT.¹

1. Ōm Dēya-dharmmō-yaṁ Śākya-bhikshōḥ Amrabvīpa-vāsi-śthavira-Mahānāmasya² [II*] Yad-stra punyaṁ tat-bhavatu sarvva-sat[t*]vānām-anuttara-jñān-āvāptayē-stu³ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya Bhikṣu, the Sthavira Mahānāman, a resident of Āmraṇvīpa. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings!

No. 73; PLATE XLII A.

SANCHI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1854, in his Bhāsa Topes, p. 199, where he published his reading of it, accompanied by a lithograph (id. Plate xxi. No. 199).

This is another inscription from Sāñchi,⁴ in the Diwānganj Sub-Division of the Bhōpāl State in Central India. It is on the north side of part of a small monolith round pillar, broken, that stands a few yards to the north-east of the eastern gateway of the great Sīrpa.

The writing covers a space of about 10" broad by 2½" high. Except for the first three letters, which are very much damaged, it is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment; the concluding part of it being broken away and lost.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in putra.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is, not dated. But, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is evidently the remnant of a Buddhist inscription; and its object seems to have been to record the gift of the pillar, on which it is inscribed, by a Viḥdrasvāmin,⁵ the son of

¹ From Mr. J. D. M. Beglar's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.
² Read mahānāmanah.
³ This stu (astu) is redundant, as we have already had bhavatu. The same redundant astu occurs also in line 8 of the Bōdh-Gayā image inscription, No. 76 below, page 282.
⁴ See page 29 above, and note 2.
⁵ Viḥdrasvāmin, lit. 'master of a vikrā, is a technical religious title of office, applied to certain functionaries, who came next in rank below the Mahāvihārasvāmin; see page 272 above, note 3.
Gōśurasiṃhabala, whose name is partially destroyed, only the first two-syllables, Rudra, remaining.

TEXT:¹

1 A(?)/ka . . vihārasvāmi-Gōśurasiṃhabala-puttra-Rudra . . . .

TRANSLATION.

. . . . the Viḥārasvāmin Rudra . . . . the son of Gōśurasiṃhabala . . . .

No. 74; PLATE XLII B.

CALCUTTA MUSEUM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from the pedestal of a sandstone image that is in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. The image seems to have been originally a standing statue of Buddhā; but the whole of the upper part of it, above the ankles, is broken away and lost. I have no information as to where it was found.

The writing, which covers a space of about 9x" broad by 21/2" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes; but it is only a fragment; the conclusion of it, in the third line, having been cut away, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose.—The size of the letters varies from 1/4" to 1/8". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, in attra and pitṭhok, line 2.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śākyan mendicant named Dharmadāsa, of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT:²

1 Dēya-dhārmō-yām Śākya-bhikshō-Dharmāsasya [1"] ya-
2 d-attrā punyaṃ tan-mātāpittrō[h"] sarva-sat[1"]vānām chā-
3 [nuttara-jñān-āvāptaye-stu II]

TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākyan Bhikṣu Dharmadāsa. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), [let] it [be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge] by (his) parents and by all sentient beings.

¹ From the original pillar.

² From the original stone.

³ This n was at first omitted, and then inserted above its proper place.

⁴ This last line has been entirely cut away and lost, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose.
No. 75; PLATE XLIIC.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION.

This inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1871, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 123, and Plate xxxiv. No. 4.

Sārnāth is the modern name of a large collection of Buddhist ruins, about three and a half miles north of Benares (properly Banāras or Banāras), the chief town of the Benares District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is below a sandstone bas-relief representation of three scenes in the life of Buddha, that was found here in the course of excavations. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 1½" broad by 2½" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters are a peculiarly square variety of the northern alphabet.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated. But, on palæographical grounds, it may be ascribed roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record that the sculpture, below which it is engraved, was made by the order of a religious mendicant named Harigupta.

TEXT.¹

1 Guruḥ pūrvvamgamam krītā 1 mātaraṁ pitaraṁ tathā 1 kāritā
2 pratīmah āstutāḥ 1 Hariguptēṇa bhikṣhuṇaḥ 1

TRANSLATION.

Having placed first (in the order of those who are to acquire religious merit from this act) (his) spiritual preceptor and (his) mother (and) father, this image of the Teacher has been caused to be made by the Bhikṣhu Harigupta.

No. 76; PLATE XLII D.

BODH-GAYA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, which does not appear to have been previously brought to notice, is from the pedestal of a Buddhist stone statue that was found by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar in their excavations at Bōdh-Gayā,¹ in the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency. The original statue is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 1½" broad by 2½" high, towards the top of the pedestal, is in a state of very good preservation throughout.—The average

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¹ From the original stone.
² Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).
³ and ⁴ In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
⁴ See page 274 above, and note 1.
size of the letters is about 1⁄8". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Bōddh-Gayā image inscription of Mahānāman, No. 73 above, page 278, Plate xii B. But, as contrasted with the form in Mahānāman’s inscription of the year 569, No. 71 above, page 274, Plate xii A, we have to notice that, in conjunction with a following y, the r is here formed above the line, and the y is doubled. —The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose. —In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of ṭ, in conjunction with a following r, in atrā, line 1.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the sixth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the grant, by two Sākya mendicants named Dharmagupta and Daṁshtrasēṇa, natives of Tīshyāmratīrtha, of the statue on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.¹

1 Ὠṁ Dēya-dharmmō-yam Sākya-bhikṣvōs-Tīshyāmratīrtha-vāsika-
     Dharmagupta-Daṁshtrasēṇayōr-Yyad-attra punya[m] tad-bhavatu
     mātāp[i]ṛav-āchāryy-āpāṭhyāyau pūrvāṅgama[m] kṛtvā
     sarvya-satvanāṁ-anuttara-jñān-āvāpīyē-stu²

TRANSLATION.

Օṁ! This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the two Sākyas Bhikṣus, Dharmagupta and Daṁshtrasēṇa, residents of Tīshyāmratīrtha. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings, after (their) parents and (their) Āchārya and Upāṭhyāya.

No. 77; PLATE XLIII A.

LAHOR COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA MAHESVANAGA.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a copper seal that was obtained by General Cunningham from a native dealer at Lāhōr,¹ the chief town of the Lāhōr District in the Paṭjāb. It is not known where it was originally found. I obtained it, for examination, from General Cunningham.

The seal is on an exaggerated signet-ring, in shape closely resembling the ordinary English pattern, of the kind which may still be seen worn loosely on the thumbs of the ministers of Native States. From the flat surface of the seal, to the bottom of the ring, it is about 1 2/₃" high. The flat surface of the seal is about 1 1/₈" thick, and slightly oval in shape, about 1 1/₃" by 1 2/₃". At the top there is a bull, recumbent to the proper left, with a crescent moon in front of its face; below this, a straight line, turned up at each end; below

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¹ From the original stone.
² Read satvādān.
³ This stū (stū) is redundant, as we have bhavatu in line 1; see page 279 above, note 3.
⁴ The ‘Lahore’ of maps, &c., Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30. Lat. 31° 34' N.; Long. 74° 21' E.
The inscription simply records the name of the Mahārāja Mahēśvaranāga, the son of Nāgabhaṭṭa, belonging, it may be presumed, to a branch of the well-known Nāga family or tribe. On palaeographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the end of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT.

1 Mahārāja-Nāgabhaṭṭa-
2 putra-Mahēśvaranāga

TRANSLATION.

The Mahārāja Mahēśvaranāga, the son of Nāgabhaṭṭa.

No. 78; PLATE XLIII B.

ROHTASGADH STONE SEAL-MATRIX OF THE MAHASAMANTA SASANKADEVA.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, was discovered by Mr. Beglar cut in the rock at the hill-fort of Rōhtāsgadh or Rōhitāsgadh, thirty-four miles south by west of Sahasrām, the chief town of the Sahasrām Sub-Division of the Shāhābād (Ārā) District in the Bengal Presidency.

In the upper part, there is a somewhat damaged representation of a bull, recumbent to the proper right, and below this, separated by a line about \( \frac{1}{4} \) broad, the legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; the whole being enclosed in a circle about \( 4\frac{1}{4} \) in diameter, with a breadth of circumference varying from \( \frac{3}{4} \) to \( \frac{1}{2} \). I give a direct representation in the lithograph. But the original, on the rock, is in reverse; and, with the bull, the circular surrounding line, and the line across the surface, the legend, in countersunk, not in relief. It is plain that what we have here, is a mould or matrix, for casting copper-seals in relief, to be attached to copper-plate charters.—The average size of the letters is about \( \frac{1}{4} \). The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the legend is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

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1 From the original seal.

2 The 'Rhotasgur and Rohtasgarh' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104. Lat. 24° 37' N., Long. 89° 55' E.

3 The 'Sahasrām, Sahseram, and Sasseram' of maps.—The name is understood to be a corruption of the Sanskrit sahasra-grāmā, 'the (circle of a) thousand villages.'
The inscription simply records the name of the Mahāsāṃkhaśa śārāṇākdeva. The age of the characters would justify us in identifying him with the śārāṇākha (She-shang-kia), king of Karnasvarna (Kie-lo-na-su-la-na) in Eastern India,—the contemporary and murderer of Rājyavardhana II. of Kanauj,—who is mentioned by Huen Tsang as a persecutor of the Buddhists. And, if this identification is accepted, it will refer the inscription to just about the commencement of the seventh century A.D.

TEXT.

1 Śrī mahāsāṃkhaśa
2 śārāṇākdevasya

TRANSLATION.

Of the illustrious Mahāsāṃkha śārāṇākdeva.

No. 79; PLATE XLIII C.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRAKATADITYA.

This inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a stone that was discovered by General Cunningham at Sārnāth, close to Benares. It has now, I think, been sent to the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 4' of by 1' 6" high, has suffered a great deal of injury; especially towards the bottom, where the first halves of lines 12 to 16 are now quite illegible; and I have to acknowledge some very appreciable assistance from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in respect of some of the more pointedly damaged passages. In addition to its being so worn, the extant record is only a remnant of what was originally engraved. Nothing is lost at the top and bottom; but parts of the original stone have been cut away at the sides, evidently in order to adapt it to some building purpose; and the verse commencing in line 3 and ending in line 4, shews that at least eighteen letters have been destroyed in this way, between the last that is legible in line 3 and the first in line 4; the general run of the inscription seems to shew that nearly the whole of what was thus cut away, came at the ends of the lines. Also, as may be seen in the lithograph, two round holes were drilled in the stone for some purpose or other, about half-way down.—The average size of the letters is about 1/8". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, except that the Kutiša characteristic is only discernible in a few places, e.g. in nītārdh miskamāh, line 7, they are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena,

1 Mahāsāṃkhaśa, lit. 'a great chief of a district,' is a technical official title which, as noted above (page 15, note 4), seems to denote the same rank as Mahārāja.—Next below the Mahāsāṃkhaśa came the Sāṃkha. This latter title is of equally frequent use, in its technical value, in other inscriptions. In the present series, however, it is only used in a general way, to denote 'feudal chiefs;' e.g. in line 5 of No. 33 (see page 148 above, note t), and in line 1 of No. 80 below, page 288.
3 From Mr. Beglar's rubbing; so also the lithograph.
4 See page 281 above.
No. 43 above, page 200, Plate xxviii.—The language is Sanskrit. The last line seems to be in prose; and the rest of the inscription, in verse throughout; though the metres cannot in every instance be recognised.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of ṭ, in conjunction with a following r, once, in putrēna, line 12; and (2) the use of v for ḍ throughout; e.g. in vāldādīya, and lavdhā, line 3.

The inscription is one of a king named Prakaṭādīya, whose capital appears to have been Kāśi, i.e. Benarasa, which is mentioned in the first line. It is not dated; but, on palaeographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the end of the seventh century A.D. It is a Vaishnava inscription; and the object of it is to record the building of a temple of the god Vishnu, under the name of Muradvish, and some provision, the details of which are lost, for the repairs of it.

The chief interest attaching to this inscription, consists in its mentioning at least two kings of the name of Bāladīya. One of them was the father of Prakaṭādīya. The other was an ancestor of the same name; and, as he himself is called “another” Bāladīya, the presumption is that the name of the still earlier ancestor, who was mentioned in the passages that have been destroyed in lines 2 and 3, was also Bāladīya. And the probability is, that the first Bāladīya is the one who is so well known in connection with the history of Mibhirakula.

TEXT:

1. ........... ṭvō(?) ........... .......................... II ....... Kāśi-li-
    vikhyātam puram kā(?) mē(?) na bhūshitaṁ I ..........................

2. [[ ]] [Pura]māda i[va] ........................ pataty-ahō(?) II
    T[u]nga-rāṇa(?) va ... śāstra-vidō ... taṭānām I kari ....

3. ........... rūn-ādhyā-da ... mśam-āntāh I tad-varśā-sambavō-nyō Vā(bāl)
    dīdīyō nirpaḥ prṛtya II Tad-gōtra-lavdhā(bdha)-janma Vā(bāl)ādīdīyō
    ........................

4. ........... patī ṭ Tasya Dhaval-ēti jāyā pati-vratā Rōhiṇī-iva
    chandrasya I Gaur-iva Śūlapānēr-L[I]akshmir-iva Vāsu[devaya II]
    ........................

    dvaya-bhṛti(?) tam bhakti-dharmm-āika-śakti-satata-prathita ...

6. ........... nu(?) h suṭa-vatsala ... suṭaḥ sauryya-
    vinaya-sampannaḥ I śṛmān-Prakaṭādīdīyō ...

7. ........... [dvija]-vara-nikar-āsrayah pravṛti(?) ddha(?)-gunaḥ I kalpa-druma iva
    nitarām nishkampah prakahā-mulō-pi II ...

8. ........... [I] ........... dvija-gaṇa-svayaḥ sa[tata]ṁ vidvat-samudāya-viḥita-ruchiḥ II

9. ........... pū[?] vṛavaḥ Kārttikeya iva II Tasya ... va ... nirgata ...
    luvdhā(bdha)-brishta-bhrad-bhrama[ra] ... vi ......

10. .......... ta[?] dinam prithu-pushkarinyāḥ II Ye(?) na(?) 8 ripu-sundarrnām
    malināni kṛitaṁ v[I]pu[l]a, ................

1. From the ink-impression.
2. Metre, Śūka (Anushtubh).
3. Metre, Āryā; and probably in the next verse.
4. Metre, Āryā.
5. Metre, Āryā.
6. Metre, Āryā; and probably in the next verse.
7. Metre, probably Āryā.
8. Metre, probably Āryā.
TRANSLATION.

This inscription is too fragmentary for a connected translation to be offered. But we have to note the following points. Line 1 mentions the city of Kāśī; and line 2 apparently the god Purandara, in connection with it. The passage lost between the last legible letter in line 2 and the first in line 3, contained the name of a king, in connection with whom we perhaps have, at the commencement of line 3, a mention of the Madhyadēsa or Central Country. In his lineage, there was born "another" king Bālāditya (l. 3). In the family of the latter, there was born yet another Bālāditya (l. 3). His wife was Dhaivalā (l. 4), who is compared with Rūhi, the wife of the Moon, Gaut, the wife of Śūlapani, and Lakshmi, the wife of Vasūdeva. Their son was the glorious Prakata-ditya (l. 6), whose virtues and prowess, including a comparison of him with the god Kārttikēya (l. 9), are described in lines 7 to 10, apparently without the introduction of any further historical matter. Line 11 mentions the building of a temple of the god Muradvis. Line 14 contained some provision for the repairs of this temple. And line 16 gives us the name of Dēvaka, the son of Rāmachandra, apparently as the engraver of the inscription.

No. 80; PLATE XLIV.

NIRMAND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHAŚAMANTA AND MAHARAJA SAMUDRASEN. A.

This inscription has been known, to General Cunningham, since 1847 or 1868, but was not brought to notice till 1879, when Major W. R. M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction in the Pañjāb, having obtained and forwarded the plate on which it is engraved, Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XLVIII. Proceedings, p. 212 ff.

Nirmand is a village, near the right bank of the Satlaj, twenty-one miles north-east of Pālāch, the chief town of the Pālāch Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Kullu Division of the Kāṅgra District in the Pañjāb. The inscription is on a copper-plate, which belongs to a

1 Metre, probably Śloka (Anushūthābhi).
2 The 'Nirmand' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet N. 47. Lat. 31° 25' N.; Long. 77° 38' E.
3 The 'Pālāch' of maps. 4 The 'Kullu and Kulu' of maps.
temple of the god Paraśurāma at this village; and, in accordance with the custom of the country, it is kept nailed up on one of the walls of the temple. I obtained the original plate, for examination, through the kindness of Mr. L. W. Dane, B.C.S.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, is of rather irregular shape, the extreme measures being about 1' 6½" by 8½". The edges of it are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. Three of the four corners are more or less damaged; but nothing has been lost thereby; except in the upper proper right corner, where, unfortunately, the name of the family of the Mahārāja, whose grant is recorded, has been broken away at the commencement of line 1. The rest of the inscription is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plate is rather thin; and the letters, though not very deep, shew through on the reverse side throughout; they were also engraved with such force as to destroy entirely the original smoothness of the plate, and thus to give the majority of them a blurred appearance in the lithograph. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the majority of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—At the top of the plate, in the centre, there is a hole, which seems to have been made originally for a ring, with a seal attached to it; but it has been broken through to the edge, and the ring and seal are not forthcoming. There is another hole in the bottom of the plate; this was probably made later, in order to nail the plate up on to the wall of the temple. —The weight of the plate is about 1 lb. 12 oz. —The size of the letters varies from 1½" to 1¾". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. In the combination of r with a following y, the r in this inscription is written on the line, with only a single y below it; e.g. in paryantā, line 8, and huryāt, line 11. The characters include, in line 14, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 6, and 10. —The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imperative verses in lines 12 to 14, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the jihomālīya and upadhmaṇīya, in yugalak-kratu, line 2; dukkha, line 6; anudhyātaḥ-parama, lines 2, 3, and 4; utpannaḥ-piṝd, line 2; and dayāḷaḥ-parama, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anuṣṭhara, before r, in Vanessa, line 1; (3) the occasional doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, in samatikhr̥nta, line 1; and aṅtra and uḍḍīṭra, line 15; and (4) the use of v for b throughout, in ladv̥a, line 3; vvali, line 7; kutumvind, lines 8 and 9; and kutumva, line 9.

The inscription is one of a Mahāśānta and Mahārāja named Samudrasena. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year six, and the eleventh solar day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). There is nothing to indicate any particular era to which the date should be referred. On palaeographical grounds, we might very well refer it to the Harsha era, with the result of A.D. 612-13. But I feel rather doubtful as to the probability of the years of Harshavardhana's reign having been constituted an era, of general acceptance, quite so soon after his accession. And I am inclined to look upon the date of this inscription as referring only to the years of the authority of Samudrasena himself, as in the Arāṅg grant of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 191, the Rāyapur grant of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēvarāja, No. 41 above, page 196, and the Chammak and Siwani grants of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II., Nos. 55 and 56 above, pp. 235 and 243. And, in that case, all that can be said about the period of the present inscription, is, that it belongs roughly to about the seventh century A.D.¹ The object of

¹ Gen. Cunningham (Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XIV. p. 120 ff.) has referred this inscription to Vikrama-Sanhvat 1227 (A.D. 1160-61); but on grounds which will not stand for a moment. It is quite
the inscription is to record the allotment of the village of Sūlisagṛāma by Samudrasēna, to a body of Brāhmans who studied the Atharva-Veda at the agrahara of Nirmanḍa, for the purposes of the god Tripurāntaka or Śiva, who, under the name of Mihirāyana, had been installed by his mother Mihiralakshmi at a previously established temple of the same god under the name of Kapalēsvara. It is therefore a Śaiva inscription; but the occurrence of the word mihira, 'the sun,' as the first component of the god's name, seems to indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites.

**TEXT:**

1. bhikhyāta - narapati - vaṁśa - jas = sama bhavach = chatur - udadhi
   samatikrānta-kṛtrāñēka-sāmant-ottamān-avānata-mukuta - maṇi = mayukha
   vichchhurita-charapāravindā.

2. yugalaḥ = kratu-yaḷi mahāsāmant-mahārāja-ṣrī-Varṇasēnas-Tasya putras-tat-
   pād-anudhyātah = paramādevyaṁ(m) = Pravāḥ(bḥ)ikā-bḥat[1]*ārikāyām = utpannaḥ
   pītra-aim aiva tulyo guṇair-maṇa.

3. hāsāmant-mahārāja-ṣrī-Saṇjayaśēnas-Tasya putras-tat-pād-anudhyātah = parama-
   devyaṁ Śikharavasāmil-bḥat[1]*ārikāyām-utpannas-samara-ṣata-lavda(hbh)-jayaṁ
   yārd ma.

4. hāsāmant-mahārāja-ṣrī-Ravishēnas-tasya putras-tat-p[ā]*d-anudhyātah = parama-
   devyaṁ Śrī-Mihiralakshmi-bḥat[1]*ārikāyām = utpannaṁ-sarad-amala-sakala-
   rajanikara iva prāṇi.

true that the alphabetical characters of that part of the country are of an extremely conservative type; but no to alphabetical like such an extent as to enable us to refer the present record to within several centuries of so late a period. The more important point, however, is, that his reading of the date is completely wrong. Overlooking altogether the numerical symbol that stands after the word samvat, he has obtained his reading of the date by interpreting, among the words that precede samvat, arka as 'twelve,' and guṇa as 'twenty-seven.' According to the numerical-word system, arka certainly does stand for 'twelve,' and guṇa might possibly be used for 'twenty-seven,' though I can find no authority for it. But, in the present passage, arka is simply the second component of the name of the writer of the grant; and, whatever guṇa may mean here, it is most certainly not used as a numerical word. The date is recorded, in the usual way, in the numerical symbol that stands immediately after samvat; and that symbol is a 6.—Gen. Cunningham found some corroboration of his interpretation, in the fact that the accepted genealogy of the 'Mandi' and 'Suket' families contains a Samudrasēna, whose date, reckoning backwards at the rate of thirty years to the generation from A.D. 1500, would be about A.D. 1140 to 1166, and who might, therefore, on his interpretation of the date, be identified with the Samudrasēna of this inscription. But this identification cannot be accepted for a moment; it is wholly impossible to accept the names of Vṛṣṇēna, Savāhānāsēna, Kanavāhanasēna, and Naravāhanasēna, which precede him in the genealogy, as being identical with, or even intended to represent, the Raviśēna, Saṇjayaśēna, and Varṇasēna, of the inscription.

1 From the original plate.
2 Four letters, or perhaps five, are broken away and lost here. A small part of the last of them, immediately preceding the first legible syllable, bhr, is visible; but it is impossible to say what the entire letter may have been.
3 The mark over this ma is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.
4 The mark between the vi and the nda is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.
5 The upper parts of these three letters are broken away and lost; but enough remains to show distinctly what they were.
din-ānāth-ātura-dayāluḥ-paramamāhēśvaro-ti-yra(bra)hmasyaḥ-parārtthī(ṛthī).
alaka-rāṭu mahāsamanṭa.

6 mahārāja-śrī Samudraśeṣo janani-śrī Mihiralakṣmīḥ dharmaṁ-ārthathāṁ bhagavatas-Tripurāntakasāya loka-āloka-karasaya praṇāt-ānukampinas-sarvva-
dhukha-kṣaya-karoḥ Kapāle.

7 śvarē janani-pratishthasya śrī Mihireśvarasaya Kapālēśvara-va(va)li-charu-
sa[1]ra-srag-dhūpa-dlipa(pa)-dānaya satataṁ śrīnu-khaṇḍa-sphūṭita-
sadhanāya cha Ni-

8 rmṛṇḍ-āgrāhār-Āthavya-vṛ(ḥrā)hmana-stomāya Sūlasāgrāma-navavaidal-
karmam-ānta-Vakkhali-kutumvi(mbi)nā dvēsā-bhūmi-paryantā paribhūta-
nāmnā Phakkaś-cha Tālāpura-

9 ka-kutumvi(mbi)nā dvēsā-bhūmi s-ādraṅga sa-ślim-ānta-paryantā Sulabhaka-kutumva(mba)-Dinna-kutumva(mba)ṣ cha Kapāleśvara-dēvasya pūrvva-pratishthāyaṁ mahārāja-Śarvavarmmēṇa bhūmi dattā cha Sūlasāgrāsasya śrī Mihī-

10 ralakshmyā dattasya sam-audaka-jaṅgala-bhūmi-samētaṁ-āśeṣham sa-prativyā-
śa-samētaṁ s-ādraṅga[m] sva-silā-trīṇa-kāṣṭha-prasravana-yulṭ(ii) paryantān dvēgrāhāratvēn-ācha-

11 nṛ-ārka-tāra-samakāllam pratiśādayati sma [I] Viditya-aītadārābhis-
tad-ārī(śrī)tajan-anāhidratramhitam-ichchhāt pratiśādayat [I] yō-nyathā kuryāt paripariphanam apaha-

12 raṇa-pldh-ōpadravyam vā sa paṇḍhabhir-mahāpātakair-upapātakaiś-cha samyuktas-syāt II Uktān-cha [I] Va(ba)hubhir-vvasudhā bhukta rājabhīs-Sagarādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs-tasya tasya tadā
dhakāraṁ [II*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasraṁ svargge mōdati bhūmi-daḥ
ācchhṛtāḥ ch-anunanta cha tāṇy-ēva narakē vasēt [II*] Sva-
dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yo harēta vasundharāṁ shasṭi-varsha-

14 sahasraṁ viṣṭhāyaṁ jāyate kṛimir-iti II Dūṭostra Nihilapati-
Kuṣalaprabhāscha I lēkhaṁ-stra Udyōta-arkkeṣcha gana-
srotastā [II*] Sarvān Kāḥ śu di IO I [I*]

15 Rāṣṭra-samētasā-ā(e)yaṁ dattāḥ[II] paripālyā II Aiḥ(i?)pig(i?)k-ātra
udayā(?)na(?)stharā-vāditra-ka(?)vīśva-sa(?)hadap upalaya

16 kagalañcha(?)tika dva[ya(?) Mihī(hi)ralakṣhmi(kshmi)-pratiśād[i*]tā iti [I*]

TRANSLATION.

Born in the lineage of the famous kings ................. there was the Mahā-
sāmanta and Mahārāja, the illustrious Varunāśena, whose fame stretched out over the

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1 Read kārasya.
2 Read sarvavarmmēṇa.
3 Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) ; and in the following two verses.
4 Read udyōtārkkāś.
5 This seems to be intended for gana-ārāksaka.
6 This is what is engraved. But of course it is a mistake for vaś, i. e. vasīdkaḥ; and it is easy to see how the engraver made the mistake in copying from the draft before him.
7 The mark that follows this va is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.
8 The mark before this dū is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.
9 The mark before this dū is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.
four oceans; the water-lilies of whose feet were covered over with the rays of the jewels in the bowed-down tiaras on the heads of the feudals who celebrated the sacrifices.

(Line 2.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, who was very equal to father in virtuous qualities, was the Mahādāmanta and Mahārdāja, the illustrious Sānjayāsena, begotten on the Parmādetā, the Bhātārikā Prabalikā.

(L. 3.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, who attained victory in a hundred battles, who was full of liberality, was the Mahādāmanta and Mahārdāja, the illustrious Raviśēya, begotten on the Parmādetā Śikharasvāmīn.

(L. 4.)—His sōn, who meditates on his feet, the Mahādāmanta and Mahārdāja, the illustrious Samudrāsenā,—who was begotten on the Parmādetā, the Bhātārikā, the illustrious Mihirakothiḥ; who, like the spotless full-moon of autumn, causes the delight of all living creatures; who has uprooted all enemies; who confers upon the expectant rewards that are not even sought for by them; who is tender to the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted; who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; who is extremely friendly to Brahmā; and who is entirely upon the supreme good,—for the sake of the religious purposes of his mother, the illustrious Mihirakothiḥ, has allotted, as an agrahādra of the god, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun and the stars, to the body of Brahmā, who study the Atharva-Veda in the agrahādra of Nīrnāḍa,—for the purpose of giving, at the temple of the god Kapalēśvara, the bali, charu, sattara, garlands, incense, and lights, of the god Mahēśvara, who is the divine Triprāntaka, the maker of the visible and invisible world, compassionate to those who worship him, the destroyer of all sorrows, who was established by his mother at the temple of the god Kapalēśvara; and for the purpose of always repairing whatever may become worn-out and broken and torn,—the whole of the village of Śālīśagṛāma, that was granted by the illustrious Mihirakothiḥ, together with the level and high and forest lands; together with the inhabitants; with the udraṇga; and including all its boundaries, grass, timber, and springs,—(i.e.) the land including the udraṇga (that had been given) by the cultivator Vakkhilaka, whose holding was on the edge of the newly-constructed vaidīla of the village of Śūlīśagṛāma; and the udraṇga and the udraṇga (and) including the edges of its boundaries, (that had been given) by a cultivator of the town of Tālāpūra, who under a nick-name, was called Phakka; and the holding of Suṣabha and the holding of Dīna; (and) the land that had been given by the Mahārdāja Śājaviṣayana at the former installation of the god Kapalēśvara.

(L. 11.)—(This grant) should be preserved by (future) kings, becoming aware of it; and by the people, whether holding office or not holding office, dependent on them, who

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1 Parmādetā, lit. 'supreme goddess,' was a technical title of the wives of Mahārdājas. The more usual title, however, was Mahādetā (see page 16 above, note 2).

2 dveśa.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of this word, which is probably a local term. Dr. R. Mitra translated it by 'grazing-ground,' but quoted no authority for this. The purport of the passage from Śūlīśagṛāma-nava, line 8, down to bhūmi dātah, line 9, is not quite clear. But it seems to specify certain previous grants which make up the aśāshā or 'entirety' of Śūlīśagṛāma, as now bestowed by Samudrāsesāna.

3 vaidīla.—This is another word of which I have not been able to obtain any explanation.

4 Or perhaps Tālāpūra, with the short vowel a in the first syllable.

5 It. 'the cripple.'
are desirous of welfare! Whosoever (acting) otherwise, may cause obstruction or the annoyance of the pain caused by confiscation,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins!

(L. 12)—And it has been said:—"The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagar; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years.

(L. 14)—And the Dīta1 in this matter (is) the Nihilapati Kuśalaprakāśa; and the writer in this matter (is) Udyotāraka, the leader of the assemblage (?). The year 6; (the month) Vaisākha; the bright fortnight; the day 10 (and) 1.

(L. 15)—This grant; which is one of the whole assembly of (the people of) the country, should be preserved!

No. 81; PLATE XLV.

RAJIM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA TIVARADEVA.

(This inscription was discovered about 1785 by a Marāṭhā chief named Hanmantrao Maharik, and was first brought to notice in 1825, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. p. 499 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. R. Jenkins, a lithograph of it was published (id. Plate xiv.), accompanied by a version of the text by a Jain scholar named Śrīvarmasuri, and a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson.—Subsequently General Cunningham obtained the original plates again, and, in 1884, published a fresh lithograph in the Archaeol. Suru. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 17, and Plates vi. vii. and viii.)

Rajim1 is a town on the right bank of the Mahānadī river, about twenty-four miles to the south-east of Raipur,2 the chief town of the Raipur District in the Central

1 Dīta; see page 100 above, note 3.—An Ujjain grant of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1192 (Colebrooke’s Essays, Vol. II. p. 373.; and Indian Inscriptions, No. 51, line 13) gives an instance of more than one original Dīta or Dītaka being employed for one and the same grant,—viz. "the Purūkhita, the Thakkura, the illustrious Vamanasvāmin; the Thakkura, the illustrious Purushottama; the Mahā- pradhadana, the Rājakutra, the illustrious Dēvadhara; and others,"—without any such circumstances as those indicated in No. 30 above, page 134, which necessitated the despatch of a second Dītaka to authorise the insertion of additional privileges in the charter.

2 Nihilapati.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the first component of this official title.

3 gaṇa-treṣṭha (?).—If this is the proper intended reading, the word must have some technical meaning; but its exact purport is not apparent.

4 The passage commencing with au(?)aiv(?)kā-ditra, in line 15, is too corrupt to be capable of translation. But it appears to record two other grants made by Mihirlakshmī; and it mentions a park, some immovable property, and some musical instruments.

The ‘Rajam and Rajim’ of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 20° 58’ N.; Long. 81° 55’ E.

The ‘Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor’ of maps &c.; see page 196 above, and note 1.
Provinces. The plates containing the inscription were discovered in digging for stones to build a house in this town, and are now in the possession of the priests of the temple of the god Rājvalōchana. I obtained them, for examination, through the District Authorities.

The plates, of which the first and last are engraved on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 8½ by 5½. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are rust-eaten in a few places; but the inscription is for the most part in a state of perfect preservation. They are of fair thickness; but the letters shew through on the reverse sides of the first and last plates, so clearly that most of them can be read there. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver’s tool.—Towards the proper right side of each plate, about the centre, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring, which had not been cut when the grant came under my notice, is circular, about 1½ thick and 4½ in diameter. The ends of it are secured, in the usual way, in the lower part of a seal. The top of the seal is circular, about 3¼ in diameter. It has, in relief on a rather deep countersunk surface, across the centre, a legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; in the upper part, a figure of Garuḍa, facing full-front, depicted with the head of a man and the body of a bird, with his wings expanded, with, apparently, human arms hanging down between the wings and the feet, and with a serpent, with expanded hood, standing up in front of and on each shoulder; on the proper right of this, a chakra or discus, the emblem of Vishnu; and on the proper left, a sankha or conch-shell; in the lower part, a floral device.—The weight of the three plates is about 2 lbs. 15 oz., and of the ring and seal, about 2 lbs. 6½ oz.; total, 5 lbs. 5½ oz.—The average size of the letters is about 7/8. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include the separate form of the lingual ĩ, as distinct from the dental d, e.g. in vadhāvdnāla, line 6, and gṛḍḍ, for gṛḍhō, line 10. They give another specimen of the ‘box-headed’ variety, peculiar to Central India, on which I have commented at page 18 f. above. They include, in line 36, a form of the numerical symbol for 7, and also of the decimal figure for 8.—The language is Sanskrit, except for the three vernacular terminations in the record of the date in the last line. The legend on the seal is in verse. The inscription itself, except for one verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 25 to 35, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal instead of the anusvāra, before t, in nistriṇā, line 4; vanta, line 16.

1 This sign is, perhaps, rather an intermediate form between the numerical symbol and the decimal figure, as it differs a little from the symbol for 7 which we have in the Bōdhi-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, No. 71 (see page 274 above, note 2); but it approximates much more closely to the symbol, than to the figure.—Gen. Cunningham (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 17) interpreted it as 6; probably on account of its resemblance to the modern Bengali form of 6. This will not stand, because of the southern type of the characters of this inscription.—There might possibly be a doubt, whether it represents 7 or 9. But I think, on the whole, that it is intended for a 7.

2 Here we have a fully developed decimal figure, and of the southern type, as shown by the slight bend to the left in the vertical stroke; it is also explained by the ordinal adjective ashtamū, the eighth.'—This mixture of a numerical symbol and a decimal figure, is rather unusual. But a still more marked example occurs in the date of the Shērgādh Buddhist inscription of the Sāmakṣa Devadatta of Vikrama-Sahvat 879, where the 800 is expressed by the decimal figure 8 in combination with a form of the numerical symbol for 100 (see Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 35 f.)
and nrisāna, line 27; (a) the use of v for b, in vahala, line 5; and (3) the use of b for v, in byavasthā, line 8; bapuiki, line 9-10; abhibandināyā, line 22; pratibastavayam, line 35-26; byāśa, line 30; and ba, line 34.

The inscription is one of the Rāja Tivaradēva, of the Pânduvāmsa or lineage of Pându. In line 18, he has also the name of Mahāsīva-Tivararaja; and, according to the legend on the seal, he was the lord of the Kōsala country. The charter recorded in it is issued from the town of Śiripura, which is evidently the modern, Śirpur, about forty miles east by north from Rāyapur. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by Tivaradēva, to a Brāhmaṇa, on the twelfth lunar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Jyēṣṭha (May-June), of the village of Pimpapiraprakā in the Penthāma bhukti. The last two lines record, partly with a numerical symbol, and partly with a decimal figure coupled with the ordinal adjective, a second and fuller date; vis. the seventh year of the reign, and the eighth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Kārttika (October-November). This is evidently the date of the writing or assignment of the charter. And the ‘reign’ referred to, is probably the government of Tivaradēva.

Tivaradēva’s paramount sovereign is referred to in line 11. But his name, or lineage, is not mentioned. Nor does the inscription contain any distinct information as to the period to which it is to be referred. This latter point, however, appears capable of determination from other sources. Tivaradēva was the adopted son of Nannādēva, who was the son of Indrabala. Nannādēva and his father Indrabala are mentioned again in an inscription at Śirpur itself, discovered by Mr. Beglar, and brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 25 f. and Plate xviii A.; and from this we learn that Indrabala’s father was Udayana, of the Savara lineage. The Śirpur inscription contains no date; but, on palaeographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the eighth or ninth century A.D. And it seems extremely probable that this Savara king or chieftain, Udayana, is the one who was conquered, captured, and released again, by the Later Pallava king Pallavamalla-Nandivarman. Mr. Foulkes has allotted Nandivarman to the century from A.D. 800 to 900; his exact date still remaining to be fixed, in accordance, to a certain extent, with the date of the Chōla king Koppara-Kēsarivarman, whose name appears in a Tamil addition to Nandivarman’s grant. These points remain for further investigation. But they indicate the period to which the present inscription of Tivaradēva may be referred. And, though the archaic forms of the characters might lead us, at first sight, to allot it to an earlier period, such a conclusion is negatived by the vernacular terminations occurring in the last line, and by the use of a decimal figure in the record of the date. General Cunningham, indeed, has arrived at the specific date of A.D. 425 for Tivaradēva. But this is based upon his identification of Nannadēva’s great-grandson Śivagupta with a certain Śivagupta of the Sūdravamsa, a king of Ksat, who, according to the Orissa

1 bhukti, lit. ‘enjoyment,’ is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which remains to be determined.
2 See page 292 above, notes 1 and 2.
3 jāva-yā-prapta, line 16; lit. ‘acquired as a son.’—Nannadēva’s son by birth was Chandragupta, as recorded in line 5 of the Śirpur inscription referred to in this paragraph.
palm-leaf records, was reigning in the time of Yajñati or Yajñatikēsārī; and upon his acceptance of Stirling's date of A.D. 474 to 526 (or 473 to 520) for Yajñatikēsārī, as correct. I shall discuss the matter at length hereafter. It is sufficient to say, here, that the date of Yajñatikēsārī, derived from the Orissa records, is altogether unreliable, and is too early by at least about four centuries; and that, if the identification of the two Śīvaguptas is correct, it leaves no doubt whatever that Tīvraḍēva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800.

TEXT.¹

The Seal.

a Śrīmat-Tīvraḍēvasya Kōsal-ādhipater-idam
b śasanaṁ dharmma-vriddha-artthaṁ

sthiram-ā-chandra-tārakam [II*]

First Plate.

1 Ṭāṃ [II*] Jayati Jagat-[r*]raya-tilaka[h*] kṣitiḥbṛhit-kula-bhavana-

mangala-sūtra[h*] Śrīi(sṛ)mat-Tī(t)varādēvō dhaurēya[h*] sa-

2 kala-punyakritām [II*] Sta(vsa)sti Śrīi(sṛ)purāt-śamadhigatapaṇcha-

mahāśabd-anēka-nata-nripati-kīri(t)iṭa-

3 kōṭi-gṛhipta(shta)-charaṇa-nakha-darpaṇ-odbhāsitō-pi kaṇṭhad-unmukha-prakā-

riṇa-rāja-lakṣmi(kṣhmi)-

4 kēśapās-ākārṣhāṇa-durlalita-pāṇipalla[vō*] niśita-nistri(stri)nā-ghanha-ghanā-pāṭit-

āri-dvīrada-ku-

5 mbha-mandala-galad-va(ba)hala - śōnita - sad - āsikta - muktāphala - prakara - maṇḍita-

raṣṭāṅgana-

6 dvi(vi)vidha-ratna-sambhāra-lāhba-lōbha-vijrīmbhamāṇ-āri - kṣhārayāri - vāḍavanālaṁ-

chandr-ōdaya iv-ākrīta-

7 kar-ōdvēgaḥ ksh(i[ksh])rōda iv-ādv(i[vi])rbhūt-Ānek-Atiśāyi-ratna-sampat

Garutmnān-iva bhujang-ōodbhāra-chaturā[h*]

8 parāmśha-ta-ga(sa)tru-kalatra-nētr-āmjanā - kōmala - kapōla - kuṅkumapatra - bhaṇgat-

śisṭ-āchāraya(bya)vasthā-

9 paripālan-aika-datta-chittha[h*] [I*] api cha prāktanē tapasi yaṣasi

rahasi chētasī chaḥkshuḥi ba(va)p[u]-

Second Plate; First Side.

10 shi cha pūjitō janēn-aṅkṣhiṣṭatayā nītāntam-a-virāptītō gūḍō(ḍhō) gāḍa(ḍha)-svachchhaha-prasanna-ya(va)da-

¹ From the original plates.
² Metre, Śīlka (Anushṭabh).
³ The vowel is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to say whether i was engraved, or f. In lines 1 and 18, the short vowel is used in this name; and, in fact, i is used for f throughout the greater part of the inscription; but the metre of line 1 shews that, in this name, the long vowel is the correct one.
⁴ Metre, Ārṣa; but one short syllable is wanting in the second pāda.
⁵ The vowel d is partly destroyed by the ring-hole of the plate.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; No. 81, PLATE XLV.

11 nēna ch=ālaṅkṛita[h*] svAmi-bhavan[ē*]=py=a-bahu-lapanō=n-ujjhitah ku-trishno=. pi nitānta-tyā-.
12 gi(gl), ripujana-prachandō=pi sō(sau)mya-darṣanō bhūti-vibhūshaṇō=py=rā- parushah svabhāva[tah*] ki-
13 ṭāch=ā-santushṭō dharm-ārjanēna sampal-labhē svalpa-krōdhēṇa prabhāvē lubhō yāsasi na pa-
14 ra-viś-āpahāre sa(śa)k[ī]ṇaḥ subhāṣi(shi)ṭēṣu ṣa kāṃsini(nl)-krii(krī)dāsu . pratāp-ānala-dagdh-āśēṣha-
15 ripu-kula-tūlarāṣis-tubhinaśilāśaila-dhavala-yaśō-rāṣi-prakāśita-diganta[h*] kānta[h*] prakrītyā-
16 śrīi(sṛt)mad-Indraba-la-sūndor=ālaṅkṛita-Pāṇḍuvaṇāsya śrīi(sṛt)-Nannadevāsya ; tanaya-prāptaḥ sva-punya(ṇya)-
17 saṃbhāra-prasa(śa)mit-āśēṣa-jagad-upadrayāḥ sva-prajñā-sū(sū)chi-samuddhrīt-
ākha-kaptaḵaḥ para-
18 mavaisthavo mātāpitrī-pād-ānudhyātāḥ śrīi(sṛt)-Mahāśiva-Tirarājaḥ kuśallā IIª Penthāma-bhuktiyā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

19 Pimparipadrakē brāhmaṇāḥ(n) , saṁpurīya pratīvāsinaḥ samājāṭ-
20 bhavatām yathā̵asmābhīr=aayaṁ grāmō yāvad=ravi-ṇaśī-țāra-krīṇa-ṇaṭīhata-
21 gad=avatiṣṭhata tāvad=upabhdgyā[h*] sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhihr[a]=a-ĉhāta-bhaṭa-.
22 praveś[ō*] da-
23 radraṇaka-sarva-kar-ādāna-saṃśītō mātāpittrō=ātmanaḥ=cha puny-ābhī-
24 bhi(vṝ)dāhdvē Bhā-
25 radvājasagotra - VājasaṇeyāMādhyaandina - bhaṭṭaGauridattaputra - bhaṭṭa-
26 Bhavadatta-bhaṭṭaHaradattabhaṭyām Jyēṣṭha-dvādaśyām-udaka-pūrvaṃ prati-
27 pādita i-
28 ty=avagyāmī bhavadbhir=yathā-ōchitam-āsmāī bhōga-bhāgam-ūpanayadbhīh
29 sukhām-prati-
30 vāstāya(ḥya)m-iti II Bhāvinās=cha bhūmipālān-uddīśy-ēdam-abhidhīyatē [1ª]
31 Bhūmi[a]-pra-
32 dā divi lalanti patanti hri(ha)nta hṛītvā mahī ḫripatayō narakē
33 nṛs-ānśaḥ

Third Plate.

38 ētad=[d*]vāya[m*] parikalayya chaḷaṇ=cha lakṣhṇi(kṣhmt)m=āyus=tathā
39 kuruta yad=bhavatām=abhi(bhih)sṛṣṭa[m] [11ª]

1 Read śvara. The engraver first cut the rā, of rājāḥ, omitting both va and ra; and then, partially cancelling the d, he omitted to insert the va.
2 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
3 Read s-ōpanidhir.
4 The engraver first formed va, and then corrected it into ta.
5 The engraver first began to form pītrō, and then corrected it into mātī.
6 The engraver first formed bhrī, and then partially cancelled the superscript ī.
TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

This charter, which is for the sake of the increase of religion, of the illustrious Tivaradêva, the supreme lord of (the country of) Kôsala, shall endure firmly as long as the moon and the stars!

The Plates.

Ôm! Victorious is the illustrious Tivaradêva, the ornament of the three worlds; the auspicious thread of the palaces of the race of kings; the most energetic of all those who do works of religion!

(Line 2.)—Hail! From the town of Śrípura,—He who verily is made resplendent by the mirror of the nails of (his) feet, that is polished by a crown of diadems of the many kings, bowing down (before him in the act of performing obeisance), who have attained the pâñchamahâsiddha;—whose fingers are discourteous in pulling the flowing tresses of

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1. Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
3. This râcha is imperfect in the lower part. It was repeated, and formed completely; but the greater part of the second râcha was then destroyed by the ring-hole.
4. Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.
5. Read yudhishthira.
6. Read mahîm.
7. Read dāndch=ehhrêyd.

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pâñchamahâsiddha; itit, 'five great sounds'—This is a technical expression, the meaning of which remained for a long time in doubt. In Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, mahâsiddha is given as meaning 'an official title beginning with the word mahîd ('great'); and pâñchamahâsiddha, in accordance with this, would denote five titles of rank and honour, such as Mahârâja, Mahâprajâpâta, Mahâdârâja, Mahâdâmpata, etc. This explanation was adopted by me (Jour. B. S. B. R. A. S. Soc. Vol. X. p. 307, note), in preference to a suggestion previously made to me (id. Vol. IX. p. 307, note), that the term was identical with the pâñchamahâmantra of the Jains, and denoted the five titles of Arhat, Siddhâ, Achôrya, Upâdhyeya, and Sarvasiddha. And, finding the five titles of Mahâsiddhâsas.
the goddess of the fortunes of hostile kings, mourning, and looking up in anxious expectation (of even further ill-treatment), and exposed in public;—who is a very submarine

Mahāprathāra, Mahādānāyaka, Mahādāridēritika and Mahādrāja, twice applied to Dhruvasena I. of Valabhi, in lines 13 f. and 20 f. of his grant of (Gupta)-Saṅvat 207 (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 103). Dr. Bühler (id. p. 106, note) accepted the same explanation. Also, the same rendering has been given by Professor Kiellhorn, in his translation of line 3 of the Kanheri inscription of the Rāṣṭrākūta king Amoghavasuha I. and his Śilāhāra feudatory Kapardin II., dated Śaka-Saṅvat 775 (id. Vol. XIII. p. 135).—Meanwhile, Mr. Sh. P. Pandit (id. Vol. I. p. 81, note), while accepting the same explanation, added, though without quoting his authority, that it had been usual to accept the term as referring to the sounds of five musical instruments. Taking up this idea, Sir Walter Elliot (id. Vol. V. p. 251 f.) quoted two passages from Fērishta, and one from the nineteenth book of Chand’s Prithvirāj-Rasa, which speak of the naubat or ‘imperial band’ being played at the courts of kings five times daily; and expressed his opinion that this was the custom to which the expression of the notice under referred. In commenting on this, Mr. Growse (id. Vol. V. p. 354 f.) pointed out that the passage in Chand refers to “a noise of the five kinds of music playing every day,” rather than to “song and music playing five times a day;” quoted a line from the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsidās, book 1, which speaks of “the noise of the five kinds of music, and auspicious songs;” and also gave, from a commentary on the same poem, a Hindi couplet which explains the five kinds of music as being the sounds of the tāntrā or lute, the tālī or bell-metal instrument played with a stick, the ḍhātā or cymbals, the nagdrā or kettle-drum, and a wind-instrument. And finally, Mr. K. B. Pathak (id. Vol. XII. p. 95 f.) quoting an Old-Kanarese passage from a Jain author, descriptive of a royal procession, which mentions the sound of the paṇcamaḥdiśṭāba and auspicious drums, stated that the Linghyat Viśvabhinīmaṇi enumerates the five musical instruments as being the śringā or trumpet, the tāmmata or tambour, the lākha or conch-shell used as a horn, the bhūrī or kettle-drum, and the jayaghaṇḍa or gong.—The last two contributions to the discussion leave no doubt whatever that the expression paṇcamaḥdiśṭāba denotes the sounds of five musical instruments, the use of which was allowed, as a special mark of distinction, to persons of high rank and authority.—Some of the inscriptions mention certain specific musical instruments, which, if they are to be classed among the customary and technical five instruments, remain to be identified with those enumerated in the Viśvabhinīmaṇi. Thus, the Balagāhī inscription of Śaka-Saṅvat 1102 (Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 45, line 4) gives to the Kalachuri king Bijjala the epithet gāmaruka-tūrya-nirghōṣhaṇa, ‘he who has (played before him) the sound of the musical instrument called gāmaruka’ (a double drum, shaped like an hour-glass). So, also, the Rāṣṭrākūta chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum had the epithet trīvaiś-tūrya-nirghōṣhaṇa; e.g. in the case of Lakshmīdēva, in the Saundatti inscription of Śaka-Saṅvat 1151 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 268, and Arch. R. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. III. p. 113, line 6). And the Kādambara of Goa had the epithet permāt-tūrya-nirghōṣhaṇa; e.g. in the case of Śivachitta-Permāt, in the Veṇkaṭapur inscription of Śaka-Saṅvat 1080 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 273, line 7 f.)—Occasionally, instead of paṇcamaḥdiśṭāba, ‘the five great sounds,’ we have aṅgha-mahādiśṭāba, ‘all the great sounds,’ e.g. in line 41 of the Baroda grant of the Rāṣṭrākūta chieftain Karaka II. of Gujarāt, dated Śaka-Saṅvat 734 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 160), and in line 24 of the Baroda grant of the chieftain Dhruva II. of the same family, dated Śaka-Saṅvat 757 (id. Vol. XIV. p. 199). But, that this had no wider meaning, is shown by the double expression aṅgha-paṇcamaḥdiśṭāba, ‘all the five great sounds’ which occurs in line 1 of the Ambarnāth inscription of the Śilāhāra chieftain Māmāḍi, dated Śaka-Saṅvat 782 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329), and in line 2 of the Aṯājanē inscription of the Yādava chieftain Sūṇādeva, dated Śaka-Saṅvat 1063 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 126).—The epithet samadhiṭaga-paṇcamaḥdiśṭāba, ‘one who has attained the paṇchamaḥdiśṭāba,’ is of very constant occurrence in inscriptions, in connection with the names of feudatories, and even of Mahākumāras or heirs-apparent. But the only instances that I can quote, in which it is applied to paramount sovereigns, are the cases of the Rāṣṭrākūta king Amoghavasuha I., in line 6 f. of his Śīrū inscription, dated Śaka-Saṅvat 758 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 218); of another Rāṣṭrākūta king named Kakka, in line 22 of his Chāṭrā inscription, dated Śaka-Saṅvat 679 (Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVI. p. 108); and of Dēvāpāla of Dīkār, in line 5 f. of the ‘Chāṭrā’ inscription of Vikrama-Saṅvat 1275 (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 111).—The only instance known to me, in which any reference is made to the source of this mark of distinction, viz. to its being bestowed upon a feudatory
fire to the salt water of (his) enemies, gaping with the greedy desire to acquire a multitude of various jewels in battle-fields which are decorated with numbers of pearls that are always sprinkled with the thick blood that trickles down from the foreheads of the elephants of (his) enemies, struck down with the crushing blows of (his) sharp sword;—who has not caused distress by (his) taxes, just as the rising moon does not cause distress by (its) rays;—who, like the sea of milk, manifests a wealth of many most excellent jewels;—who, like Gārurmat; is skilful in eradicating the serpents;—who breaks the saffron-leaves on the cheeks, soft with the collyrium (washed down by the tears) from (their) eyes, of the violated wives of (his) enemies;—whose thoughts are solely given to the establishment and protection of virtuous behaviour;—

(L. 9.)—Who, moreover, is not too much puffed up with satisfaction, (though he is) unweariedly worshipped by mankind, in (respect of his) religious austerity (and) fame (and) secrecy (and) intellect (and) faculty of sight and (beauty of) form resulting from (good) acts done in a former life;—who is reserved, and is decorated with an impene- trable, pure, and comelous countenance;—who, even in the palace of (his) lord, is never at a loss (for words), though he does not talk too much;—who, though he is thirsty for (the, acquisition of) land, is yet exceedingly liberal;—who, though he is fierce to (his) enemies, is yet mild of aspect;—who, though he is adorned with majesty, is yet not harsh;—who, moreover, is by nature never quite satisfied in accumulating religion in the acquisition of wealth, (and) in (displaying only) mild anger in (spite of all his) power;—who is greedy for fame, (but) not for the appropriation of the wealth of others;—who is aspable in excellent conversations, (but) not in the dailyings of wanton women;—who has burned with the fire of (his) prowess all the heap of cotton that is the race of (his) enemies;—who has irradiated the ends of the quarters of the world with the mass of (his) fame that is as white as the rocky mountain of snow;—(and) who is by nature beautiful;—

(L. 16.)—(He), the illustrious Mahāsīva-Tīvararāja,—who is the adopted son of the illustrious Nannādeva, who was the son of the illustrious Indrabala, (and) who adorned the lineage of Pāṇḍu; who has allayed all the troubles of the world with the abundance of his religious merit; who has extracted all thorns with the needle of his wisdom; who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Viṣṇu; (and) who meditates on the feet of (his) parents,—being in good health, (and) having done worship to the Brāhmaṇs at (the village of) Pimparipadraka belonging to the Penthāma bhukti, issues a command to the residents;—

(L. 19.)—"Be it known to you, that this village is given by Us, with libations of water, on the twelfth lunar day of (the month) Jyeṣṭha, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourselves, to the Bhāṭṭa Bhavadatta and the Bhāṭṭa Haradatta, sons of the Bhāṭṭa Gauridatta, of the Brāhadvāja gōbra and the Vājasaneya-Mādhyam- dina (ākha),—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness

by the reigning paramount sovereign, is in the Dēṇḍagāḍ inscription of Bhōjadēva of Gwālior, dated Vikrama-Saṅvat 919 and Śaka-Saṅvat 784, in which (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 101, and Pl. xxxii. No. 2, l. 3) the Mahāsīmanta Viṣṇu (?) has the epithet tat-pradatta-pakhamahāśabda, "possessed of the pakhamahāśabda conferred by him, i.e. by Bhōjadēva."

¹ This possibly contains an allusion to the well-known Nāga family or tribe.
² tanaya-prāpta; lit. 'acquired as a son'; see page 293 above, note 3.
dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (its) hidden treasures and deposits; not to be entered by the regular or the irregular troops; (and) accompanied by (the right of) receiving the ddradranaka\(^1\) and all the taxes.

(L. 24.)—"Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness, rendering to them, in a proper manner, (their) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 26.)—And for the guidance of future kings, this is said,—"Those kings who bestow land, enjoy pleasure in heaven; (but) alas! those who confiscate land (that has been given), and (thus) work injury to mankind, fall into hell: bearing in mind these alternatives, and also that fortune (and) life are transient, do that which pleases you!" Moreover,—"The reward of protection ensures a fortunate condition, and of omission to protect, a state of misfortune; who, indeed, will (willingly) disregard heaven and obtain hell?"

(L. 30.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa:—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Vishnu; and cows are the daughters of the sun: therefore the three worlds are given by him, who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant!

(L. 35.)—The year 7 of the increasing victorious reign; (the month) Kārttika; the eighth day, (or in figures) 8.

\(^1\) dd\text{r}ad\text{r}anaka is a fiscal term that requires explanation. The dictionaries give dāra, in the sense of ' a cleft, gap, hole; a ploughed field; a wife; ' but they do not give dranaka, or any root by means of which it can be explained. The term may refer either to some agricultural cess, or to a marriage-tax of the kind spoken of in line 6 ff. of the Daṇḍāpur inscription of Jagattunga II., dated Saka-Samyat 840 (\textit{Ind. Ant.} Vol. XII. p. 223 f.)
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Sinhala, one of the names of Ceylon; mentioned as conquered by Samudragupta.  

Sindhu, the river Indus; mentioned as having seven mouths.  

Sirpur, a town in the Rājpur District; mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit name of Śrīpura.  

Sirī, a village in the Dhrāvāk District; examination of the date of the inscription of Amogha-varaśa I., of the Śaka year 788, which proves that the amanta arrangement of the lunar fortinights was applied to the Śaka years, in Southern India, between A.D. 804 and 866.  

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Śiwanī, the chief town of the Siwan-Chhapārā District; the grant of Pravaraśāna II.  

Śambhāsena, a proper name.  

Śkanda, a name of the god Kārttikeya.  

Śkandabhaṭa, Sāṃdhīvigrāhīka, writer of the grant of Dharasena II. of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 252.  

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ERRATA.

INTRODUCTION.

Page 36, line 15, for Mr. Blochmann's, read Mr. Kaj's.
106, note 1, line 3, for Kâdamba, read Kadamba.
117, line 3, for navô-łątārē, read nav-öttārē.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

6, Text line 5, for óchchhrī, read óchchhrī (chchhrī).
9, for sadrisāny, read sadrisāny.
17, for parâkram-ānkasya, read parâkram-ānkasya.
20, for māhâbhâgyasya, read māhâbhâgyasya.
20, for kula-vadhuh, read kula-vadhuh (dhâh).
21, for drîjîtam, read drîjijîm.
26, for paribhîñjan(u), read paribhîñjan(u).
1, for óchchēttuh, read óchchēttuh.
27, note 4, in lines 1 and 13, for óchchēṭṭri, read óchchēṭṭri; and in line 1, for óchchēṭṭā, read óchchēṭṭā.
28, note 6, line 4 from the bottom, for Purana, read Purâna.
31, Text line 3, for jîvita-sâdhanaḥ, read jîvita-sâdhanaḥ.
35, 3, for rmmanah, read rmmanah.
43, 6, for śuḥ-navatē, read śuḥ-navatē.
48, note 1, line 2, for Visvarman, read Viśvarman.
59, Text line 4, for Api, read Api.
11, for an-upaskritair, read an-upaskritair.
15, for Athā, read Atha.
27, the word Gupṭānām should be in the thick type.
73, line 4, for appratimēna, read appratimēna.
74, Text line 8, for a-sahyatamān, read a-sahyatamaḥ.
19, for (ś)īṭhā, read (ś)īṭhā.
23, for tritlyam, read tri(tri)tīlyam.
39, for śrmāṇ, read śrmāṇ.
17, for ābhirāmāṃ read ābhirāmāṃ.
12, for pramukhānāṃ, read pramukhānāṃ.
14, for khaṇḍa, read khaṇḍa.
6, for ādin, read ādīn.
7, for Kāṇva, read Kāṇva.
4, for drisṭa, read drisṭa.
4, for ōḍapān, read ōḍapān.
7, for udāḍham, read udāḍham.
10-11, for garimnas, read garimnas.
12-13, for visamāṃ바(vā)ditā, read visamāṃba(vā)ditā.
17, for dēśāṃ, read dēśāṃ; and for dūmbāṃ, read dūmbāṃ.
18, for Dharmaṇḍo, read Dharmaṇḍo.
Page 154, Text line 19, for khatayāṃ, read khanayāṃ.
156, line 27, for mighty, read mighty.
162, Text line 4, for vrishashya, read vrshasya.
165, " " 3, for didhitir, read didhitir.
168, " " 14, for vad-apast, read d-apast.
173, " " 5, for triṇa, read triṇa.
183, line 6, to the word TEXT attach the note-reference 3.
194, Text line 11, for atisra(sri)shṭah, read atisra(sri)shṭah.
" " 19, for Shasṭhim, read Shasṭhim.
203, " " 10, for pariṇāyitavan, read pariṇāyitavan.
204, " " 23, for lakshmīvan, read lakshmīvan.
" " 24, for āhō, read āhō.
237, " " 13, for Chakra, read Chakra.
238, " " 25, for atisrishtah, read atisrishtah.
245, " " 1, for Drīṣṭam, read Drīṣṭam.
250, line 35, for Oldhausen, read Olshausen.
254, Translation, line 2, twice, for ana, read and.
280, No. 74, Text lines 2 and 3, the note-references should be 3 and 4.
296, line 12, the word Mihiralakshmi should be in the thick type.
294, Text line 1, as pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, for sūtra[h艰苦], read sambha[h艰苦]; and cancel the latter part of note 4.
296, Translation, line 9, for thread, read pillar, in accordance with the correction in the Text.

I have not had the opportunity of examining the final printed sheets as thoroughly as I could have wished; and doubtless some other instances of oversight on my part will be discovered, in addition to the present corrections, most of which I owe to the kindness of Prof. F. Kielhorn. Some suggestions by him for altering my readings and translations, will be considered in the Indian Antiquary; since, to include them here, would further delay the issue of the book.